

# Dawro verb morphology and syntax

*A description*

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MA Thesis in Linguistics

Department of Linguistics and Scandinavian Studies

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# Abstract

This Master's thesis is a descriptive study of verb morphology and syntax in Dawro, an Omotic language spoken in Ethiopia. The data material was gathered during two fieldtrips to Ethiopia where I spent most of my time in the city of Hawassa interviewing native speakers of Dawro. An additional source of data was a translation of the New Testament into Dawro. I describe aspects of Dawro morphology in general and Dawro verb morphology and syntax in particular. The main contributions of the thesis are descriptions of previously undescribed morphology and the behaviour of verbs in dependent sentences and in clause-chains. Throughout the thesis, I am in critical engagement with the few previous works there are on the language, and I provide some novel remarks on the segmentation of finite verbs. The description is not exhaustive, but it does expand on the collected linguistic knowledge of Dawro. Underexplained features of the language still remain, and previously undescribed features of the language emerge.



# Acknowledgements

Few projects see the light of day without help, especially not projects about describing languages previously unknown to oneself. First, a great thanks to Professor Emeritus Rolf Theil for help and pointers in the early stages of this project and for referring me to Binyam Sisay Mendisu, to whom I am deeply grateful for help with all things Ethiopia, good conversation, and telling me about Dawro. I thank the Bible Society of Ethiopia, represented by Dr. Haileyesus Engdashed and Getnet Fikre in Addis Ababa, and Ato Alemneh Shigute of the Hawassa branch for practical help, blessings and contacts in Hawassa. At Addis Ababa University I thank Derib Ado and Moges Yegizu for help and for access to Dawro-related material at AAU. Thanks to the team of the UiO-AAU project “Linguistic capacity building in Ethiopia” for letting me listen in on the workshop at AAU in October 2017 and for letting me join you to dinner. A particular thanks to Kristin Hagen for help with ELAN. In Hawassa, I thank Alex Menta, for enthusiastically driving me around on his bike, putting me in contact with a wide range of wonderful people and speakers of Dawro, as well as enjoyable lunches and dinners. I also would like to thank the Dawro Zone Educational Department for interesting conversation and providing me with the tri-lingual dictionary and learning materials for Dawro native language instruction. And of course, to the two groups of people without which there would really be nothing: First, thanks to all the Dawro people who spent their time with me telling me about Dawro, answering my questions about Dawro, translating into Dawro and correcting my attempts at speaking Dawro. *Galatay, S’ossi immo!* Thank you for translating from Amharic the sermons heard at church on Sundays, and the Sunday lunches afterwards. Second, thanks to those two who set the deadlines, corrected my written language, pointed the way, and told me when I was not making sense: my advisors Patrick Georg Grosz and Åshild Næss.

# List of abbreviations and conventions

1	first person	EQ	equative
2	second person	F	feminine
3	third person	FOC	focus
ABL	ablative	FOR	for (benefactive/oblique)
ABS	absolutive	FUT	future
ACC	accusative	IMP	imperative
ANT	anterior	IND	indicative
BUT	but	INDIR	indirect
CAUS	causative	INF	infinitival
COM	comitative	INS	instrumental
COMP	complementizer	INT	interrogative
COMPLETE	complete	INTENS	intensive
COND	conditional	IO	indirect object
CONJ	conjunction	JUSS	jussive
CV	characteristic vowel	LOC	locative
CVB	converb	NEG	negative
DAT	dative	NIV	New International Version
DEF	definite	NMLZ	nominalizer
DIR	directional	NOM	nominative
DS	different subject	NT	New Testament

M	masculine	VOC	vocative
O	object		
PART	participle		
PASS	passive		
PAST	past		
PER	perlative		
PL	plural		
PRES	present		
PROG	progressive		
POL	polite		
POSS	possessive		
Q	question		
RA	right after		
RECIP	reciprocative		
S	subject		
SAY	say		
SS	same subject		
SG	singular		
SIM	simultaneous		
SUBJ	subjunctive		
UNR	unreal		



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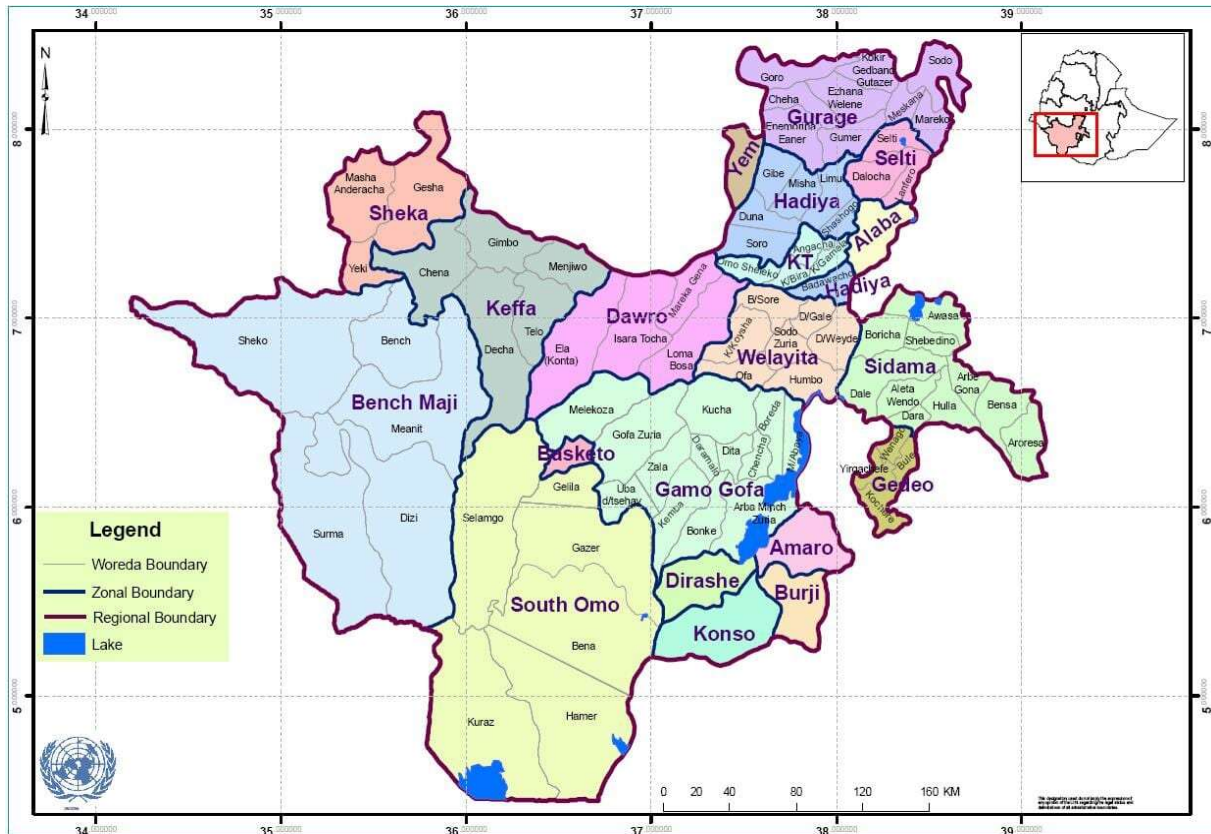
# 1 Introduction

This thesis is about the Omotic language Dawro, spoken in the southwest of Ethiopia, and primarily in the Dawro zone. The primary focus of the thesis is to give a fuller description of the verb system in Dawro. The thesis is primarily based on my own fieldwork data as well as text data from a New Testament (NT) translation into Dawro. Most previous studies of Dawro grammar have been rather short. The primary contribution of the thesis is that I go further than the previous descriptions regarding primarily the morphology and syntax of verbs. Naturally, for a thesis that is largely exploratory, there are several phenomena in the language that still need further investigation and that remain open questions due to lack of data. Whenever a question is left open and data is lacking, I have made a point to point it out.

## 1.1 The language and the people

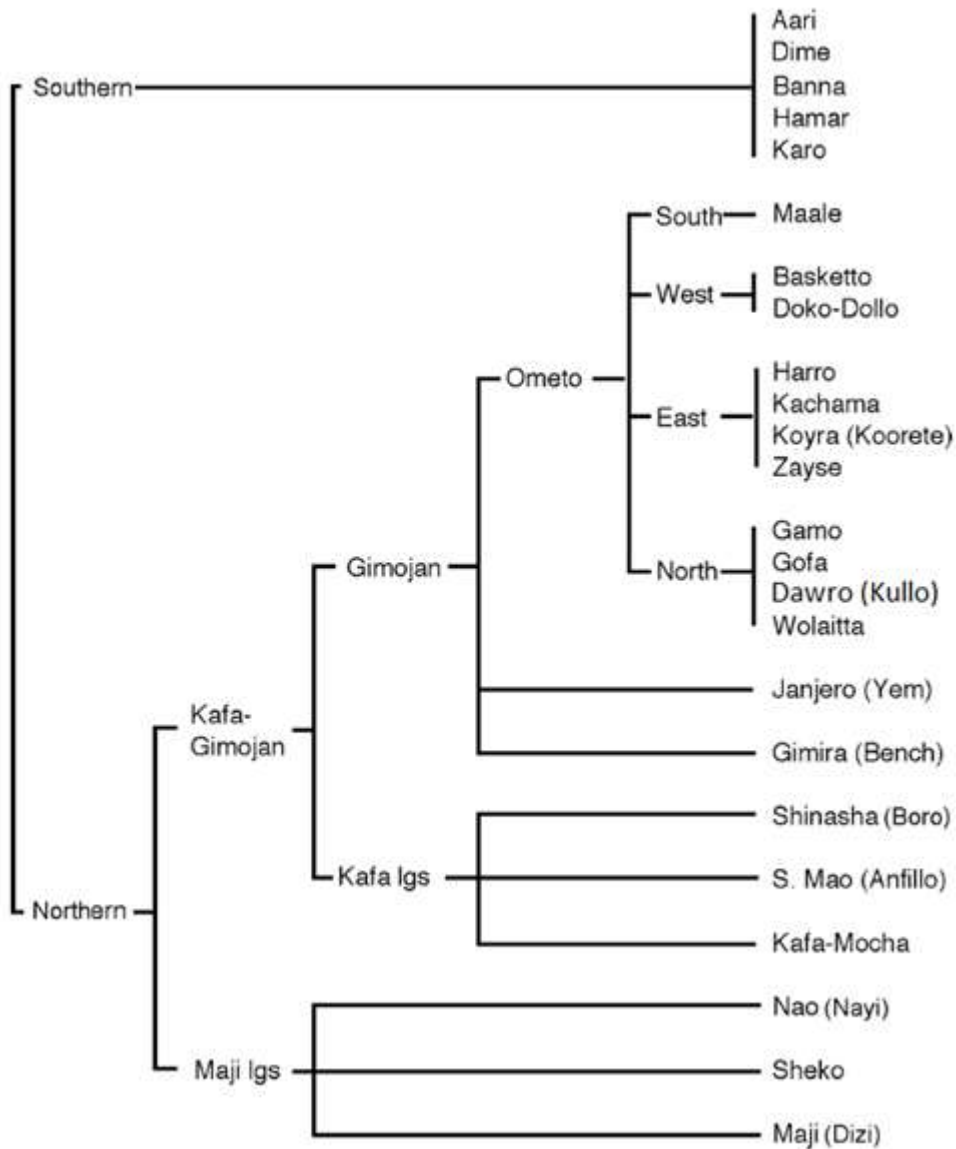
Dawro (alt.: Dauro, Dawuro, Kullo) is an Omotic language spoken primarily in the Dawro zone of the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' Region (SNNPR) in the Southwest of Ethiopia. According to Ethnologue, Dawro is spoken by about 533 000 people according to a 2007 census (Dawro ISO code: "dwr"). The vast majority of the Dawro population are agriculturalists. The remaining population live in urban areas and are involved in governmental or non-governmental jobs (Dawit, 2017). Historically, the Dawro kingdom came into being in the 11th century and lasted until the late 1800s, when it fell under control of the central government of Ethiopia (Dawit, 2017). According to the Dawro Zone Educational Department (DZED), Dawro is used in education in the Dawro Zone, and students receive native language instruction through all grades. As of 2017 it is also possible to study Dawro in higher education to obtain a diploma (DZED, personal communication). See Figure 1 for the location of the Dawro zone within the SNNPR. The Dawro zone borders Welayita (Wolaytta) to the east, Gamo-Gofa to the south, Keffa to the west, and the Oromia Region to the north (not named on the map).

Figure 1: Map of the SNNPR showing the Dawro zone. (Map credit: UNOCHA)



Within the Omotic cluster, Dawro is classified as a North Omoto language (Fleming, 1976; Amha, 2012). Within the debate of Omotic languages and their internal classification, Dawro has enjoyed a stable classification as part of the Northern Omoto branch even though the macro-level labels as well as ordering of other Omotic languages have been under debate (Hayward, 1990). When it comes to higher level genetic classification, Omotic is generally classified as Afro-Asiatic, but this is disputed by Theil (2006), who claims that Omotic should be treated as an independent language family. Dawro is mutually intelligible with the neighbouring and related languages Wolaitta, Gamo, and Gofa. Dawro is, however, the more divergent of the four and the mutual intelligibility is asymmetric in favour of Dawro, meaning that speakers of Dawro have an easier time understanding Wolaitta, Gamo, and Gofa than vice versa (Dawit, 2017). Figure 2 (adapted and modified (I put “Kullo” in parentheses after “Dawro”) from Hayward, 1991, 2003, and Azeb, 2012) shows the Southern and Northern branches of the Omotic Languages. Dawro is, according to the tree, a Northern Omotic, Gimojan, North Omoto language.

Figure 2: Classification of Omotic languages (Hayward, 1991, 2003; Azeb, 2012).



The SNNPR is among the most diverse regions (in terms of ethnicities, languages and local histories) of Ethiopia, and one of the most diverse regions in Africa (Data Dea, 2006). Partly because Dawro, Wolaytta, Gamo and Gafo are closely related and mutually intelligible, an attempt was made in 1998, by the then government of Ethiopia, to impose an artificially constructed language, WoGaGoDa, as an administrative language and language of instruction. This imposition was met with violent resistance from the affected peoples, and the project was abandoned (Data Dea, 2006).

### 1.1.1 Dialects

Dawro can be broadly divided into two dialects: *Mes'etsuwa* – the highland dialect, and *Gok'atsuwa* – the lowland dialect. The highland dialect is the majority dialect and the dialect from which this thesis draws the majority of data. The geographical area of the lowland dialect is in the lowlands close to the border to Wolaitta (“Welayita” in Figure 1). *Gok'atsuwa* – the lowland dialect – is spoken in 31 villages (*kebele* – the smallest administrative unit) total according to Dawit (2017). *Mes'atsuwa* – the highland dialect – is spoken in the rest of the Dawro zone. Dawit (2017) mentions an additional three varieties of the highland dialect named *Gurs'atso*, *Gadatso*, and *Daletso*. Out of 146 highland villages, 140 speak *Gurs'atso* and only three villages each speak *Gadatso* or *Daletso*. The following illustration from Dawit (2017:35) shows some phonological differences between the three:

(1)	<b><i>Gurs'atso</i></b>	<b><i>Gadatso</i></b>	<b><i>Daletso</i></b>	<b>English</b>
	[ma: deʔaj]	[ma: duʔaj]	[ma: fe]	“I am eating”

The differences between the highland dialect, *Mes'atsuwa*, and the lowland dialect, *Gok'atsuwa*, are some sound differences illustrated below. The differences between the *Mes'atsuwa* and *Gok'atsuwa* dialects need further investigation. The lowland dialect, *Mes'atsuwa*, being closer to the Wolaitta border, shares a lot of similarities to the Wolaitta language. Phonological similarities between Wolaitta and the Dawro lowland dialect appear *prima facie*, and informally, as a prevalence of the sound /s/ word finally in verb inflections. One such instance is the inflections of the 1SG present (Dawro) and 1SG imperfective (Wolaitta, as described by Wakasa, 2008):

(2)	<b><i>Mes'atsuwa</i></b>	<b><i>Gok'atsuwa</i></b>	<b>Wolaitta</b>	<b>English</b>
	<i>koyy-ay</i>	<i>koyy-ays</i>	<i>kóyy-ais</i>	“I want”

Dawit (2017:36) shows the difference between the Dawro dialects for the 1sg progressive:

(3)	<b><i>Mes'atsuwa</i></b>	<b><i>Gok'atsuwa</i></b>	<b>English</b>
	[ma: deʔaj]	[ma: jis]	“I am eating”



Hirut (2007:73) shows the difference for the 3m past tense:

(4)	<i>Mes'atsuwa</i>	<i>Gok'atsuwa</i>	<b>English</b>
	<i>meedda</i>	<i>miis</i>	“he ate”

Some other differences are:

Table 1: Some other differences between *Mes'atsuwa* and *Gok'atsuwa*

<i>Mes'atsuwa</i> (M)	<i>Gok'atsuwa</i> (G)	
[ts]	[t]	as in “he ran”: <i>wotseedda</i> (M) – <i>woteedda</i> (G)
[s’]	[t’]	as in “he wrote”: <i>s’afeedda</i> (M) – <i>t’afeedda</i> (G)
[bo:de]	[bjo:de]	anterior different subject converb of “go”
[bad:e]	[bajd:e]	simultaneous same subject converb of “go”

The highland and lowland dialects, in general, may also differ in some grammatical matters. For instance, where Dawro primarily seems to mark tense on finite verbs, Wolaitta is said to mark aspect (Wakasa, 2008). The Dawro lowland dialect might be influenced by Wolaitta on this, since lowland speakers seem to treat some verb forms more aspectually based on some systematic differences observed during elicitation of verb forms. The data is not conclusive on this matter, however, and it remains an open question.

The majority of my informants spoke the majority highland dialect. Some of my informants spoke the lowland dialect. Dawit (2017) claims that the highland dialect is the older dialect. My informants also claimed that the highland dialect is the older dialect and the lowland speakers would often spontaneously provide a highland version of the lowland sentence they gave, revising their sentence to fit some conception of a highland standard variety. In my fieldwork I had time to go through data from lowland speakers with highland speakers and vice versa. The highland speakers would often point out features they found to be “Wolaittic”, and the lowland speakers would also provide some alternatives to the highland data. The orthography of Dawro reflects the highland dialect and the speakers hence do have an idea of

the highland dialect as standard. All examples in this thesis are in the highland dialect, and more specifically in the *Gurs'atso* variety.

### 1.1.2 Orthography

All examples in the thesis is written in the Dawro orthography. Dawro orthography uses the Latin script. The orthography is relatively recent and has gone through some revisions since being launched in 2003 (Hirut, 2014). In this thesis I mostly use the newest orthography for examples (as of the time of writing), which is the one found in the extant written material, like teaching materials for first-language instruction, a monolingual dictionary and the Tri-lingual Dawro-Amharic-English dictionary. The Dawro New Testament (NT) translation (2011) – *Ooratha Caaquwaa* – uses the pre-reform orthography, and the examples from the Dawro NT is presented with that orthography. Both orthographies reflect, as mentioned, the highland dialect of Dawro. What follows is an orthographical guide:

For the current orthography, the letters used correspond mostly to their IPA counterparts. The ejectives, for instance, are thus written with an apostrophe after the consonant: *p'*, *s'*, *c'*, *k'*. Long vowels are written as two vowels and geminated consonants are written as two consonants. Other things to note are that:

Table 2: Other orthographic conventions

The glottal stop is an apostrophe, two if geminated:	<i>C'o''u</i> – “silence”
The palatal fricative <i>f</i> is written <i>sh</i> :	<i>Shooshshaa</i> – “snake”
The implosive <i>d</i> is written <i>d'</i> :	<i>Wod'ee</i> – “kill”

As mentioned, some examples are from the Dawro NT. Those examples are presented as they are written in the pre-reform orthography. Here are the differences:

Table 3: NT orthography and current orthography differences

NT	Current orthography
7	= ' (glottal stop apostrophe)
x	= ts
dh	= d'
ph	= p'
th	= s'
ch	= c'
q	= k'

Treatment of long vowels and geminated consonants are different in the two orthographies, which results in discrepancies between the Dawro NT and the tri-lingual dictionary. One such difference in the orthographic conventions can be exemplified by the 2PL pronoun which is *hinttentu* in the Dawro NT, implying that the /t/ is geminated. The newer orthography shows *hintentu* without gemination. Third person pronouns are in both orthographies rendered with capital letters, as shown on the right side of the equal sign below. They are pronounced with an initial glottal stop, to illustrate:

Table 4: Orthographic conventions for single-letter pronouns

	Nominative	Accusative
3m	[ʔi] = I	[ʔa] = A
3f	[ʔa] = A	[ʔo] = O

## 1.2 Previous literature

Not much work has been done on Dawro. Dawro may get a brief mention in articles and works providing overviews of Omotic languages or general areal features as in Azeb (2012, 2017) and Azeb & Dimmendaal (2006, 2007). The first sketch grammar of Dawro, then called *Kullo*, appeared in 1976 as a 26-page chapter in Bender (ed.) *The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia* written by Edward J. Allan. Allan mainly provides a phonological analysis and a few paradigms for declarative and negative verb inflections. He gives some overview of the syntax and describes some derivational morphology. Additional topics are imperatives, the

passive, and the morphology of subordinated verbs. His analysis of subordinated verbs was later rejected by Alebachew (2010).

Lionel Bender (2000) in his *Comparative Morphology of the Omotic Languages* summarizes some studies on Dawro morphology made up to that point. Among his sources is Allan (1976), but also some other studies which have remained unavailable to me. Bender provides some verb paradigms not mentioned in Allan (1976), like the negative jussive, interrogatives and a morphologically variable future. He deals somewhat with derivational morphology providing morphemes for noun derivation, as well as identifying the passive, reciprocative, causative and intensive morphemes. He also proposes some possible segmentations of verb inflections.

Encyclopaedia Aethiopica volume 3 contains an entry for *Kullo* written by Azeb Amha (2007). She gives complete conjugations for a perfective declarative (same as “past” in Allan, 1976), and perfective negative inflection of the verb as well as only the 3M, 3F, and 1PL of an imperfective (“present” in Allan, 1976) interrogative conjugation. She mentions both positive and negative forms for the imperative as well as the optative/hortative (termed “jussive” in Bender (2000)). A puzzle emerges here, however, in that the future paradigm is said to be invariable. This is in agreement with Allan (1976), but not with Bender (2000). Moreover, her use of aspectual terminology does not agree with Allan (1976) and only partially with Bender (2000), who reserves aspect terms only for the negative and interrogative inflections of the verb.

Alemayeh Abebe (2002) in his “Ometo Dialect Pilot Survey Report” gave a brief lexical comparison between the languages Wolaitta, Gofa, Gamo, Dorze, C’ancha and Dawro, providing a word list that was particularly valuable in the early stages of work with this thesis.

Hirut Woldemariam (2007) in *Some Aspects of the Phonology and Morphology of Dawuro* describes the phonology and some basic morphology of Dawro. She analyses Dawro as almost exclusively suffixing with the exception of agreement markers, which she describes as discontinuous. She presents a good overview of general morphology in Dawro with an emphasis on nouns, demonstratives and pronouns. She treats verb morphology as well, but not exhaustively. Verbs are wholly described in tense terminology. The literature in general does not have consensus on whether to use tense terms or aspect terms in discussion of the finite

verb inflections. Because of this, I have provided some rationale for each terminological choice when discussing finite verbs in section 3.3.

Alebachew Biadgie (2010) in his MA-thesis *Verb Complements in Dawro – A Descriptive Approach* deals with the morphology and syntax of verbal complements. He provides a syntax of simpler clauses before moving on to verbal complements. He deals with five main complementizers: infinitival complements, subject and object complements, indirect commands and indirect questions (his findings are revisited in section 3.6). The analysis in Allan (1976) explained infinitival complementizers and object complementizers as same and different subject subordination markers. Alebachew showed that analysis to be faulty.

Dawit Bekele (2017) in *Lexical Study of Dawuro* contains a preliminary 53-page grammar sketch based partly on some works unavailable to me. Dawit provides examples of supposedly periphrastic tense marking utilizing the verb *han-* “become” coupled with a verb in the future, supposedly giving constructions like *b-aana han-ay* - go-FUT become-1SG.PRES - “I am going to go”, something that is not mentioned in other studies, and not here either due to data indicating that sequences of two adjacent finite verbs do not occur without further suffixation or at least are strongly dispreferred. Dawit further gives some imperative and jussive morphology, and he deals with interrogatives to a larger extent than previous studies. Dawit also has an appendix containing a sizeable collection of words in the language.

Some works are mentioned in other works on the language, but these have remained unavailable to me. The works are unpublished senior essays or MA-theses that are at Addis Ababa University (Dawit (2017) mentions some of these in his literature review).

## 1.3 Methods and my fieldwork

Dawro is an understudied language. The main question driving research is descriptive, namely: “what kind of verb inflections are there in Dawro?” and further “how do they relate to each other and what do they mean?” As a side effect of trying to answer these questions, one has to keep in mind “what about the rest of the grammar?” Earlier sketch grammars of the language have been rather short and point in directions for further study. Hence, a question driving this thesis has also been “what gaps are found in previous descriptions and analyses of Dawro?” As a consequence of these questions, this thesis takes stock of previous studies in order to describe previously undescribed phenomena in the language. There are still a lot of

unanswered questions and underdescribed aspects of the language which need addressing, but I am here describing aspects of Dawro morphology and verb morphology and syntax in particular. I received ethics approval from NSD – Norwegian Centre for Research Data before commencing work on the thesis.

I made two month-long trips to Ethiopia in order to gather language data. The first trip was undertaken in October 2017, the second in February-March 2018. Before travelling, I had access to language data via a Dawro New Testament translation that also had audio, available at: (<http://listen.bible.is/DWRTBL/Matt/1>). The NT translation was first published in 2007 by the Bible Society of Ethiopia for Word for the World and an identical edition was published in 2011 by Wycliffe available at: (<http://ebible.org/Scriptures/details.php?id=dwrNT>). I started reviewing Allan (1976) and Azeb (2007) and I summarized their (sometimes contradictory) claims on grammar and worked on verifying their claims via the NT text. I compared the Dawro NT to the English International Version (NIV) in order to triangulate word senses and to get a practical idea of the grammar. I compared instances of a word or a morpheme as they appeared in context and saw if the corresponding NIV passage had a consistent sense that correlated with the use of the word or the morpheme. To begin with I utilized a Bible-comparison corpus tool which at the time was available at: (<http://paralleltxt.info/data/>) developed by and described in Mayer & Cysouw (2014). The website appears to have been taken down at some point in October 2017, as I have failed to find the interface since. After that I used basic search functionalities in Adobe Reader when reading the Wycliffe 2011 Dawro NT PDF file. This pre-fieldtrip work allowed me to develop hypotheses and ideas on the language from which I constructed some sentences for translation and plans for joint “bible study” with the native speaker consultants (I also use “native speakers”, “speakers” and “informants” throughout this thesis as synonymous). The native speaker consultants I worked with found the Dawro NT to have excellent language.

The October 2017 fieldtrip ended up consisting mostly of finding language informants. I came into contact with the Bible Society of Ethiopia whom I thank for providing me with contacts and pointers. I stayed in Ethiopia for a total of 4 weeks, the first and last week was spent in Addis Ababa, the two middle weeks was spent in Hawassa (the capital of the SNNPR, located in the Sidama Zone). I had 10 recorded elicitation sessions of an average duration of 1.5 hours each. All my informants were from highland areas and spoke the highland dialect. All of them lived in Hawassa for work or study, but they frequently visit family in the Dawro zone. The

sessions were spent with English to Dawro translations as primary prompts, with a somewhat loose structure in order to avoid calque translations. The informants happily corrected every attempt I made at speaking Dawro. I had some opportunity to cross-check obtained language data with other informants who could verify the translated sentences as authentic, non-strange Dawro. In addition to material I prepared for myself I also used and benefited particularly from Dahl's (1985) Tense-Mood-Aspect questionnaire. This first fieldtrip was marked by unsteady availability of informants so this rather self-contained sentence elicitation style was a good fit for this trip.

My recordings were done with a Zoom h1 recorder. I never managed to eliminate all background noise, so the recordings are not suited for fine phonological analysis. I wrote down all language data at the same time as doing elicitations, and since the concern of this thesis is not phonological, the recordings have proved adequate. At this time I was made aware of and obtained copies of Alebachew's (2010) MA-thesis on verb complements in Dawro and Dawit's (2017) "Lexical Study of Dawuro". I was also made aware of and received the new Tri-lingual Dawro-Amharic-English dictionary released by the Dawro Zone Educational Department in 2017. The dictionary uses the newest Dawro orthography. I have consulted it in order to check spellings of words in the examples I present here as far as possible, to double check the meanings of words, and to identify possible morphology. At the same time I also received schoolbooks for native language instruction in Dawro – grades 1-4 and Dawro for adults – year 1-2. The schoolbooks have been useful as additional sources of text, but no examples in this thesis are taken from these learning materials. The style and genre of a schoolbook compared to the NT is different. The NT as narrative text and with the possibility of consulting translations in languages familiar to me, proved much easier and reliable as a source of language data. Another book that has proven helpful has been a monolingual Dawro dictionary published by the Dawro Zone Educational Department in Ethiopian year 2002 (2009 for Gregorian calendars), also received in October 2017. I consulted the monolingual dictionary when the tri-lingual dictionary was unclear in an entry or when it missed entries. Bibliographical data of the text material and dictionaries are provided under the reference list.

The February-March 2018 fieldtrip consisted of 4 weeks in Hawassa. Opposed to my October 2017 Hawassa stay, I now met one or more informants for elicitation sessions every day. The informants this time consisted of a majority of highland speakers and some lowland speakers. All of the informants were either Dawro living in Hawassa for work or study, or Dawro who

had permanently resided in Hawassa for some time. Some of the informants were the same as from October 2017, but I also met several new informants mostly from the highlands of the Dawro zone, and some from the lowland areas. Now I became aware of the dialectal differences in the Dawro language. The speakers have a conception of standard Dawro such that some speakers, the lowland speakers, would suppress dialectal tendencies. Even if they did insist on pronouncing words like in the highland dialect, some sentences were judged as “Wolaittic” by highland speakers. In particular, there seemed to be a systematic difference in some grammar judgements. A lowland speaker would for instance, at times, use the present tense form of the verb to describe past imperfective action, whereas the highland speaker consistently would use the past tense in the same circumstances. I spent some time figuring out whether this difference stemmed from interference from neighbouring languages, dialectal differences, or even using English as the meta-language. Hawassa, as the capital of SNNPR, is very linguistically diverse, and in the first elicitation session with a new informant, it was not unusual to first get Amharic words before he corrected himself and gave the Dawro equivalent. The question of dialects need further study. In the previous literature on Dawro, it is usually unclear what dialect the informants of the researcher spoke, and even if some informants may suppress the phonological identifiers of their dialects, other grammatical features particular to their dialect linger in the resulting description. Since the majority of my informants spoke the highland dialect, and the orthography favours the highland dialect, *Mes’atsuwa*, my description is of the highland dialect. Without being able to ascertain for certain particularly which variety of the highland dialect the present description favours, the description seems to favour the *Gurs’atso* variety, due to the fact that the orthography reflects it. As exemplified by Dawit (2017:35), where the *Gurs’atso* [ma: deʔaj] - “I am eating”, is rendered *maade’ay* in the orthography, true to the *Gurs’atso* sounds and not the *Gadatso* or *Daletso* sounds (which can be seen in example (1) above for comparison).

From this February-March fieldtrip, I had 30 recorded elicitation sessions with an average duration of 1.5 hours. The elicitations are mostly sentence based, similar to the October 2017 sessions. I also obtained some narrations of Storyboards as well as the “Frog Story” - *Frog, where are you?* by Mercer Mayer. The fieldtrip was very successful and productive and I managed to test and recheck my ideas, hypotheses and predictions several times over.



## 1.4 Contributions and outline

This study aims to present aspects of Dawro grammar, primarily verb morphology and syntax. The thesis goes well beyond previous work regarding presentation of the workings of the converbs and verbs in dependent sentences. Previous studies have either not mentioned the converbs, or made no attempt to understand them. Furthermore, what is presented here, is a description of the language as it appeared in my data. Where there are points in other descriptions I either never came across, or came across too rarely to understand, I point that out. I have thus attempted to give a picture of Dawro that is mindful of previous analyses, competing analyses and misanalyses, as well as findings found in one text, but in no others.

Chapter 2 is a grammatical introduction to the language in the form of a brief grammar sketch covering basic phonology, nouns, case, adjectives, adverbs, and some other suffixing morphology. Most of this description is informed by previous works on the language, and the phonological part contains nothing original, as previous descriptions of the Dawro sound system have proven adequate and unproblematic for my purposes. As for case, original contributions are the benefactive or oblique case, and a consideration of absolutive noun case. Moreover, section 2.7 consists of descriptions of phenomena that have not been mentioned in previous works.

Chapter 3 is the main part of this thesis. Here I present complete verb paradigms of main, finite, verbs and dependent verbs. I also discuss and describe a problem of decomposition that arises in consideration of Dawro verb morphology. Previous descriptions of Dawro do not have paradigms of verb inflections as exhaustive as presented here and either give only a few paradigms or a few half-paradigms. Other contributions are: longer presentation of the imperative/jussive, and the existence of a 1<sup>st</sup> person jussive; presentation of the converb system; presentation and expansion of complementizer morphology, based on Alebachew (2010); and conditional morphology.

Chapter 4 is about the syntax of independent and dependent clauses. Here I find which forms of the verb appear in relative sentences and complement sentences and how case assignment in such clauses functions. I find out that some complement clauses are nominalized clauses and I investigate how and where converbs show up in complex sentences.

## 2 Sketch Grammar

This chapter is a short sketch grammar of Dawro dealing with Dawro grammar not directly related to verbs. I will deal with phonology, noun morphology, adjectives and adverbs, pronouns and demonstratives, as well as some other suffixes. This grammar draws on previous descriptions of Dawro grammar by Allan (1976), Azeb (2007) and Hirut (2007). The data I have used are from my own fieldwork, the Dawro New Testament text, and the Dawro tri-lingual dictionary.

### 2.1 Phonology

Previous descriptions of Dawro phonology presented the phoneme inventory as seen below in table 5. The phonology presented here is adapted from Allan (1976), Azeb (2007), Hirut (2007), and Alebachew (2010). Tables 5 and 6 on the phoneme inventory is copied with the format found in Alebachew (2010), in turn adapted from Hirut (2007), using characters as they are found in Dawit (2017). Not all characters in the earlier works are standard IPA. Since I did not conduct phonological analysis myself, I present the table using characters found in Dawit (2017), and have made no further modifications (except changing the symbol for the alveolar flap which in previous descriptions have been rendered [r], which in IPA is a trill to [r], which is the flap in IPA), the characters in the parentheses are the orthographic characters.

Table 5: Consonants

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p b		t d		k g	ʔ (')
Nasal	m		n			
Fricative		f	s z	ʃ (sh)		h
Affricate			ts	tʃ (c) dʒ (j)		
Implosive			ɗ (d')			
Ejective	p'		s'	c'	k'	
Flap			r (r)			
Glide	w			j (y)		
Lateral Approximant			l			

Table 6: Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		o
Mid	e		u
Low		a	

Vowel length and consonant gemination are contrastive. See the following pairs from Allan (1976) and Hirut (2007) respectively, copied as found in their text:

Table 7: Long vowels and consonant gemination

Consonant gemination:	<i>tama</i> – “fire”	<i>tamma</i> – “ten”
Vowel length:	<i>ašwa</i> - “meat”	<i>aašwa</i> - “bridge”

### 2.1.1 Pitch

Allan (1976) writes that pitch normally is non-contrastive, but with some exceptions. Consider the following minimal pairs from Allan (1976), which was later confirmed by Alebachew (2010). The contrast is between high (acute accent) and low (grave accent) pitch. Two examples are shown below:

Table 8: Contrastive pitch

<i>bàná</i> - “I will go”	<i>báná</i> - “dust”
<i>dútsà</i> - “part torn off”	<i>dùtsá</i> - “tail”

Hirut (2007), on the other hand, does not mention pitch. Alebachew (2010) recounts an unresolved problem of classification in Dawro on whether or not it should be classified as a tonal language or a pitch-accent language. Alebachew (2010) presents two instances of supposedly grammatical tone. These are shown in table 9 below, where, for *zo’o*, an adjective, the change is from singular to plural. For *punna*, there is derivational change according to Alebachew (2010).

Table 9: Grammatical pitch according to Alebachew (2010)

[zòʔó] ‘red’	[pùnnà] ‘some thing blown’
[zóʔò] ‘red things’	[pùnná] ‘blew’

Alebachew (2010) takes this as evidence that Dawro not only showcases lexical tone, or contrastive pitch, but that tone also plays a grammatical role in the language. Based on this, he claims that Dawro is a tone language. His study is not about tone, however, and he concludes that the question of tone vs. pitch is understudied in Dawro, saying that it needs further study. A strange finding in table 9, however, is that [púnná] is translated as “blew”, if this indeed is the past tense of “blow”, then we would expect it to show a past tense morpheme. The tri-lingual dictionary shows the 3M citation form *punnee* “blow”. The 3M past tense is *punneedda*. Alebachew (2010) shows that there are grounds to investigate the question of pitch and tone further, but tone has not proven an obstacle during elicitation for the examples in this thesis.

## 2.2 Grammar

Dawro is an SOV language and exclusively suffixing (Hirut, 2007). Modifiers, like adjectives and adverbs, are placed in front of the modified word.

### 2.2.1 Nouns and nominalizations

A Dawro noun ends in a vowel. The vowel disappears in suffixation or changes according to case. No nouns have been identified that end in a consonant. Dawro nouns have an identifiable root, however, which may end in a vowel or a consonant. Consider for instance the root *na-* “child”, where *na’a* is “boy”, *natta*, “girl”, and the reduplicated *naanaa* is “children”. Another root to consider is *mich-*, where *michiratta* is “wife/woman”, and *michatta* is “sister”. The root does not appear bare, and does not necessarily carry any identifiable meaning by itself.

#### 2.2.1.1 Gender and definiteness

Grammatical gender is most often masculine. The suffix *-tt* identifies a noun as feminine (as seen above with *natta* - “girl”). *-tt* attaches onto the stem, and the vowel following *-tt* is a case marker (see 2.2.2). For nouns that have a biological sex, gender is thus indicated by the presence or absence of the feminine suffix *-tt* (an exception, an alternative word for “sister” - *michcho*, is considered below). Consider the following:

- (5) *kana* – dog (male)                      *kanatta* – bitch  
*gawara* – tomcat                              *gawaratta* – female cat  
*hari* – jack donkey                            *haratta* – jenny donkey

Notice also that the vowel before the *-tt* suffix is /a/ regardless of the end-vowel seen for the masculine noun (as seen in *hari* – *haratta*). As for chickens, the gender is not as clear. The word *kuttu* is the generic word for “chicken” and verb agreement shows it as masculine. Consider, however, the following where “rooster” is an entirely different word and “mother hen” is explicitly marked feminine as indicated by the *-tt* suffix attaching onto the generic *kuttu*.

- (6) *kuttu* – chicken (in general)    *awuri* – rooster                      *kuttatta* – mother hen

In some cases it is not possible to form a feminine noun by *-tt*: \**asatta* from *asa* - “man/person (in general)” is seen as strange. All nouns are thus in general grammatically masculine unless marked as feminine (with exceptions for nouns such as *michcho* - “sister”, which is tied to biological sex, considered below). The grammatical gender of nouns is known by verb agreement. All nouns that are not marked feminine (or otherwise clearly feminine like *michcho* - “sister”, considered below), have the verb inflected for masculine. If the noun is feminine, then the verb is inflected for feminine. Verb agreement is illustrated by the following:

- |     |    |                              |                 |    |                                 |                 |
|-----|----|------------------------------|-----------------|----|---------------------------------|-----------------|
| (7) | a. | Hari                         | m- <b>eedda</b> | b. | Hara- <b>tt</b> -a              | m- <b>aaddu</b> |
|     |    | donkey.NOM                   | eat-3M.PAST     |    | donkey-F-F.NOM                  | eat-3F.PAST     |
|     |    | “The (male) donkey/jack ate” |                 |    | “The (female) donkey/jenny ate” |                 |

As for the exception, *michcho* – “sister”, Allan (1976) and Hirut (2007) claims that *-tt* is a feminine definite. Hirut presents some examples of indefinite feminine nouns, one of which is *michcho* - “sister”, such that *michchatto*<sup>1</sup> according to Hirut (2007) is the definite “**the** sister”. There is thus an asymmetry between masculine and feminine nouns in their ability to be marked as definite (as for the masculine, the masculine nominative marker (-y) was said by Allan (1976) to also mark definiteness). My own data shows that *-tt* is a marginal method of

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<sup>1</sup> The difference between *michatto* and *michatta* is about case, dealt with in 2.2.2.

marking definiteness. *-tt* can in some circumstances function as an ad hoc definite marker as in *dabidaabi*- “letter” to produce *dabidaabattu* – “**the** letter”, but this is uncommon. *Dabidaabattu* is masculine since a verb in agreement with it will show the masculine inflection, as seen in (8) below. Notice also that unlike the feminine nouns shown, the last vowel in *dabidaabattu* is /u/, not the vowels /a/ and /o/ as seen with the feminine nouns. The following illustrates verb agreement with the (definite masculine) *dabidaabattu* and (indefinite feminine) *michcho*. Both examples are rather marginal according to informants, however, who really preferred *dabidaabi* and *michatta* for (8a) and (8b) respectively:

- (8) a. Dabidaaba-tt-u      oydiya-ppe      kund-**eedda**      (marginal)  
letter-DEF-NOM      table-ABL      fall-3M.PAST  
“The letter fell off the table”
- b. Michch-a      oydiya-ppe      kund-**aaddu**      (marginal)  
sister-F.NOM      table-ABL      fall-3F.PAST  
“(a) sister fell off the table”

It remains unclear precisely to what extent *-tt* marked masculine nouns and feminine nouns lacking *-tt* are in usage. It also remains an open question precisely how definiteness works in Dawro, and if it does have a meaningful function in the language at all.

### 2.2.1.2 Plural

Plural number can be indicated by the suffixes *-tu*, *-atu*, *-etu* depending on phonological factors. Here it is shown that if the final vowel of the noun ends in /a/, then *-tu* is suffixed, if the final vowel is /i/, then the plural is *-etu*, if the vowel is /u/, the plural is *-atu*:

- (9) *kana* – dog                      *kanatu* - dogs  
*asa* – man/person              *asatu* – people  
*dabidaabi* – letter              *dabidaabetu* – letters  
*kuttu* – chicken                  *kuttatu* - chickens

Dawro nouns are not marked as plural if there are modifying numerals in front. A numeral, when modifying a noun, ends in *-u*. The numbers up to five, from 1 to 5, are: *itta*, *laa''a*, *heezza*, *oydda*, *ichasha*.

- (10) *ichashiu laytsa* – five years (lit.: five year) *heezzu bitani* – three men (lit.: three man)

A noun that is not marked as plural may still be semantically plural from context, however. In the following example, (11a) is formally ambiguous between a singular and a plural reading, but (11b) is marked plural, and not ambiguous:

- (11) a. Dabidaabi-ya s'af-eedda  
 letter-ACC write-3M.PAST  
 “(He)<sup>2</sup> wrote a letter (/letters)”
- b. Dabidaab-etu-wa s'af-eedda  
 letter-PL-ACC write-3M.PAST  
 “(He) wrote letters”

### 2.2.1.3 Noun derivation

There are several ways of deriving nouns. Consider the following derivations from the verb stem *ush-* “drink”:

- (12) *ush-aa* – a drink                      *ush-ancha* – a drinker/drun kard (agentive noun)  
*ush-osan* – a place of drinking (place noun)

Other common derivational suffixes are *-uwa*, *-asaa* (lit. “man/person”, forms agentive nouns), and in a sense<sup>3</sup> *-iya* (not to be confused with the participle suffix seen in (14) below).

Technically, all three examples shown in (13) below are in the accusative case, which is the

<sup>2</sup> The subject is indicated by the verb inflection, allowing pro-drop, see chapter 3.

<sup>3</sup> Several nouns will end in *-iya*, and this must not be confused with a participle suffix *-iya* on account of case marking. Consider *kushiya* – “hand” which does not end in *-iya*, but rather *-ya* which is what the accusative marker looks like for nouns whose stem ends in /i/. The tri-lingual dictionary treats the accusative form of a noun as citation form. Hence, the technically correct segmentation for *amasalliya* in (13) is really *amasalli-ya* – blame-ACC





- (16) Neen-i            Abebe na'-ee?  
 2SG.NOM        Abebe boy-INT  
 "Are you Abebe's son?"

In addition to interrogative marking, interrogative sentences in general have a sharp rise in pitch on the interrogative-marked word.

### 2.2.2 Case

Hirut (2007) provides a good description of the nominative, accusative, dative, instrumental/locative, comitative, ablative, and vocative (as well as a genitive my own data lacks). What follows is a confirmation of those findings in addition to presenting an absolutive case and a benefactive/oblique case.

**Nominative:** The nominative marks the subject of a clause. The nominative is marked by *-i* or *-y* depending on the noun stem, meaning that if the noun stem already ends in /i/, then nothing is added (*bitani* below). If the noun stem ends in /a/, then *-y* is added (*kanay* below). Feminine nominative is *-a* (*michatta* below). For the nouns whose stem end in *-u*, the /u/ vowel gets elongated (*kuttu* below). Plurals, like *kanatu* "dogs", are by default nominative and do not have vowel lengthening. The same principle holds for plural agentive nouns like *wod'iyawanttu* - "killers". Allan (1976) analysed *-y* as a marker of definiteness for the grammatical subject, but he gave no indefinite alternative and did not mention of case. It is dubious whether or not definiteness actually plays a role in Dawro.

- (17) *bitani* – man.NOM                      *kana-y* – dog-NOM  
*michatt-a* – sister-F.NOM                *kuttu-u* – chicken-NOM  
*kana-t-u* – dog-PL-NOM                  *wod'iyawantt-u* – killers-NOM

- a. *Kana-y*            *gem'ish-ee*  
 dog-NOM        sleep-3M.PRES  
 "the **dog** sleeps"

b. *Kuttu-u waass-eedda*  
 chicken-NOM shout-3M.PAST  
 “the **chicken** cried/crowed”

c. *Michatt-a gem'ish-aw*  
 sister-F.NOM sleep-3F.PRES  
 “the **sister** sleeps”

**Accusative:** The accusative marks the object of a clause. The accusative is marked by *-a* for masculine, and *-o* for feminine (seen with *kanaa* and *michatto* below). If the noun ends in *-i*, there is an epenthetic glide /y/ added before /a/ (see *bitaniya* below), for nouns ending in *-u*, the epenthetic glide is /w/ (*kuttuwa* below). If the base form already ends in /a/, then the vowel gets lengthened (*kanaa* below). The accusative and the nominative are the only cases that have different endings for masculine and feminine. Plural nouns like *kanatu* - “dogs”, can be accusative marked the same manner as bare nouns ending in /u/, namely by *-wa* (*kanatuwa* below). Plural agentive nouns like *wod'iyawanttu* - “killers” simply change the last vowel. Azeb (2007), in an obverse move relative to Allan’s (1976) claim of the definite marker *-y*, claimed that the accusative is only marked for definite nouns, while making no such claims about the nominative case. This contradiction is dealt with under “absolute” below.

(18) *bitani-ya* – man-ACC      *kana-a* – dog-ACC  
*michatt-o* – sister-F.ACC      *kuttu-wa* - chicken-ACC  
*kana-tu-wa* – dog-PL-ACC      *wod'iyawantt-a* – killers-ACC

a. *Gawara-y kana-a yederts-eedda*  
 cat-NOM dog-ACC chase-3M.PAST  
 “The cat chased the **dog**”

b. *Hara-tt-a kana-tu-wa k'akk-aaddu*  
 donkey-F-F.NOM dog-PL-ACC kick-3F.PAST  
 “The jenny donkey kicked the **dogs**”

- c. *Gawara-tt-a michatt-o sa'-aaddu*  
 cat-F-F.NOM sister-F.ACC bite-3F.PAST  
 “The (female) cat bit the **sister**”

The nominalizations *-aa* and *-uwa* and *-iya* as seen in 2.2.1.3 are thus technically the accusative forms, their nominative forms are accordingly the following:

- (19) *usha-y* – drink-NOM            *bonchu-u* – honor-NOM  
*amasalli* – blame.NOM

The tri-lingual dictionary lists the accusative form of the noun as citation form. All case marking other than nominative, accusative, dative (and absolutive<sup>4</sup>), as well as other case and other possible suffixation attaches onto this (technically) accusative form of the noun, as seen with the ablative marked *oydiya* – “table”: *oydiya-ppe* in (8) in section 2.2.1.1 above.

Nominative, accusative and ablative forms of *oydiya* are the following:

- (20) *Oydi* – table.NOM    *oydi-ya* – table-ACC    *oydiya-ppe* – table-ABL

**Absolutive:** Some nouns in some contexts seem at first glance to be without case marking, that is, they seem to be neither nominative, accusative, nor anything else. These nouns are not caseless, however. These nouns occur in some contexts I will deal with shortly. Consider first that Allan (1976) and Azeb (2007) claimed that only definite nouns are marked (Allan had his definite *-y*, which is here regarded as nominative case marking; Azeb claimed that only definite nouns may mark accusative case). From this it is not surprising that forms of the noun without these case-markers exist. While the question of precisely how definiteness works (if at all) in Dawro remains open, there are some instances in the NT text, entries in the tri-lingual dictionary, and in orthographical choices in Hirut (2007: 83-85) which imply that there are apparently absolutive nouns in some circumstances. It does not seem to be the situation, however, that these absolutive nouns are merely indefinite nouns, as Allan (1976) and Azeb (2007) would imply. Instead, they are something else and does not necessarily have anything to do with definiteness. The term “absolutive” has according to König (2006) been used in East African linguistics to refer to several types of cases, one of which is for unmarked forms

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<sup>4</sup> And vocative, see below.

of the noun. The Cushitic language Kemantney, for instance, is said to have only definite nouns marked for case. Indefinite nouns in Kemantney that are subject, agent, or object all have “absolute case” (König, 2006; Zelealem Leyew, 2003). The Dawro absolute, contrary to Kemantney, is not as regular in its usage. Regarding other Omotic languages, Azeb (2001) claims that the term “absolute” has ties to Omotic/Cushitic tradition where it designates an unmarked form of the noun which have the functions of being the noun-case for direct objects and as the form used for citation, among a range of other functions hazily defined. Azeb (2001) describes Maale (South Ometo) as having such an absolute. Wakasa (2008) describes Wolaytta (North Ometo, closely related to Dawro) as having an unmarked absolute case with a wide range of usages. In both the description of Maale (Azeb, 2001), and of Wolaytta (Wakasa, 2008), the absolute is described as being the case for direct objects and citation. Dawro uses the (so-termed) accusative for these functions, and hence I reserve the term “absolute” to designate the form of the noun that is neither nominative nor accusative (and no other discernible type of case either for that matter). The Dawro absolute, while not used as the case for direct objects, or the form used in citation, has a hazily defined range of other usages. The absolute in Dawro lies implicit in the background in the previous literature as can be seen in Hirut (2007), who follows Allan’s and Azeb’s claims about definiteness, but with a curious detail observable in her text: Her citation forms, if they end in /a/<sup>5</sup> as in *mara* - “calf”, gets the vowel doubled in the accusative, where she writes *maraa* - “calf-ACC”. As I wrote in the section above, on accusatives, a noun with a stem ending in /a/ gets the vowel lengthened in the accusative case. The word *mara* is not restricted to cattle, and is used in conjunction with several types of animal to indicate that it is a young animal, such that the noun indicating the type of animal is in the absolute case, and the noun *maraa* is in the accusative form since citation forms in the tri-lingual dictionary is the accusative. Consider the entries on “chicken”, “chick”, “sheep”, “lamb”, “jack donkey” and “foal” (glosses are my own). The absolute case ending for *kuttuwa* is syncretic with the feminine accusative ending *-o*.

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5 In her article, she does not show any nouns (that are also shown elsewhere in the text) ending in vowels other than /a/, and thus lacks examples where other “absolute” nouns can also be seen in the accusative.

- (21) a. *kuttu-wa*                      *kutt-o*                      *mara-a*  
           chicken-ACC                      chicken-ABS      calf-ACC  
           “chicken”                      “chick”
- b. *dorsa-a*                      *dors-a*                      *mara-a*  
           sheep-ACC                      sheep-ABS              calf-ACC  
           “sheep”                      “lamb”
- c. *hari-ya*                      *har-e*                      *mara-a*  
           donkey-ACC                      donkey-ABS      calf-ACC  
           “jack donkey”                      “donkey foal”

Based on this, and the presentation of the nominative and the accusative above, it is possible to set up the following case-paradigm showing the three cases, as well as the unmarked forms of the noun which function as the noun stem. The unmarked form of the noun is known from the accusative or nominative form of the noun when all discernible case marking is taken away. The absolutive hence attaches directly to the noun root, and unlike the accusative form, there is no further suffixation attested on an absolutive marked noun. All nouns in table 10 are grammatically masculine. In my data, there are seemingly no instances of feminine absolutives.

Table 10: Accusative, nominative and absolutive cases

English	Accusative (citation)	Nominative	Absolutive	Unmarked
Chicken	Kuttuwa	Kuttuu	Kutto	<b>Kuttu</b>
Sheep	Dorsaa	Dorsay	Dorsa	<b>Dorsa</b>
Donkey	Hariya	Hari	Hare	<b>Hari</b>

It is an unresolved question whether there is a true phonological difference as to length or tone between the absolutive and accusative forms of nouns where the base-form ends in /a/ like *dorsa* and *dorsaa* here, or if it is some sort of orthographic artifact. Table 10 shows that the absolutive case in Dawro is not necessarily identical to the stem form of a noun, as evidenced by *kuttu* and *hari*.



analysis of the presence of *-e* in disjunction is therefore that it is the interrogative morpheme and not related to the absolutive case. As for other examples, The Dawro NT has some sentences with nouns in the absolutive. It remains unclear under precisely what circumstances these absolutives are licenced. Consider the following example where (25a) and (25b) show absolutives, and (25c) shows the accusative. The expected absolutive of *golliya* – “house” is indeed *golle* by analogy to the absolutive of *hariya* - “donkey” being *hare*:

(25) a. *Ne goll-e b-a* (Matt 9:6)  
 2SG.POSS house-ABS go-2SG.IMP  
 “Go home”  
 Alt.: “Go to your house”

b. *Goll-e gel-iide* (Matt 9:25)  
 house-ABS enter-PL.SS.ANT  
 “Having entered the house”

c. *Itti golli-ya gel-eedda* (Mark 7:24)  
 one house-ACC enter-3M.PAST  
 “He entered a house”

Note that the numeral *itti* is used to indicate that an unspecified house was entered, but the house has accusative case. Moreover, in order for a numeral to indicate amount, the last vowel is /u/, hence, “one house” in Dawro is *ittu golliya*. Hence, *itti*, in (25c) indicates indefiniteness. The nouns in (25a) and (25b) are both definite, yet both nouns are in the absolutive case. Case assignment in Dawro thus does not necessarily have anything to do with definiteness, and the role of the absolutive case seems to have lost ground to the accusative case, assuming Dawro cases were more like Wolaytta and Maale at an earlier point. Dawro thus differs from the closely related Wolaytta and the more distantly related Maale in that the absolutive case of those two languages may mark the direct object of a clause and be used as the citation form, as well as a hazily defined set of other functions. Dawro divides these functions into two and assigns the accusative case as both the marker of direct objects and as citation form, but leaves the hazily defined set of other functions to the absolutive (herein the unexplained absolutives in (25b, c), where one could otherwise expect the accusative).

**Dative:** The dative marks the indirect object in a sentence. The dative suffixes are *-w* if attached onto a vowel, and *-oo* if attached onto a consonant (exemplified primarily by the pronouns in section 2.4. Alternatively: *wod'iyawantt-oo* – killers-DAT). The indirect object can go after or before the direct object.

(26) Na'a-y        koosi-ya        akk-iide<sup>7</sup>        naatt-uw        ol-eedda,  
 boy-NOM        ball-ACC        take-3M.SS.ANT        girl-DAT        throw-3M.PAST  
 “The boy took the ball and threw it to the girl”

(27) Matsaafa-a    ta                ketta-w        imm-adi'ay  
 book-ACC        1SG.POSS        house-DAT        give-1SG.PROG  
 “I am giving a book to my house”  
 alt.: “I am bringing a book to my house”

(28) Ta                new                birra-a        imm-ana  
 1SG.NOM        2SG.DAT        money-ACC        give-FUT  
 “I will give you birr (i.e. money)”

**Benefactive/oblique:** The benefactive/oblique (glossed: “FOR”) marks some oblique arguments by the suffix *-ssi*. The most transparent English translation seems to be via the preposition “for” as in *saakettennawa-ssi*<sup>8</sup> – “for health”

(29) Saakettennawa-ssi    k'uma-a        m-aaddi  
 health-FOR                food-ACC        eat-1SG.PAST  
 “I ate food for the health”

(30) nu-ssi                k'uma-a        imm-ana-w    baawa  
 we-FOR                food-ACC        give-FUT-INF    absent  
 “There is no food **for us** to give”

<sup>7</sup> Converb, a dependent verb. See section 3.5.

<sup>8</sup> Decomposed: *Saakett-enna-wa* – sick-NEG-NMLZ – “not-sickness”



**Allative/directional:** The allative, or directional (glossed “DIR”), is used to designate motion to or towards something by the suffix *-kko*. *Doktoriya-kko* – doctor-DIR “to/towards the doctor”:

- (31) Abebe            doktoriya-**kko**            hamett-eedda  
 Abebe.NOM    doctor-**DIR**            walk-3M.PAST  
 “Abebe walked towards the doctor”

**Ablative:** The ablative is used for motion away from something by *-ppe* or *-appe*. *Addis Ababa-ppe* – Addis Ababa-ABL “from/away from Addis Ababa”

- (32) Michiratt-a    Addis Ababa-**ppe**    b-aaddu  
 woman-NOM    Addis Ababa-**ABL**    go-3F.PAST  
 “The woman went away from Addis Ababa”

**Locative/instrumental:** The locative/instrumental is used for stative location and to designate means with which something is done by the suffix *-n*. Some highland speakers pronounce it as a velar nasal [ŋ]. *Akumuwa-n* – dream-LOC “in a dream”, *musimaariya-n* – nails-INS “with nails”. In (33), the conjunction *-nne* (here: *-inne*) attaches to the penultimate noun in the sequence and after other case marking. The *-nne* conjunction can attach to verbs as well. An example where it attaches to verbs are seen in sections 3.2 and 4.4.2.

- (33) Bitani            hins’a-a            madosha-**n**  
 man.NOM    house-ACC    hammer-INS  
 mitsa-**n**-inne            musimaariya-**n**            kes’s’-ide’e  
 wood-INS-CONJ    nail-INS            build-3M.PROG  
 “The man builds a house with a hammer, wood, and nails”

- (34) Xoosa-y            akumuwa-**n**    untuntut-a (...)  
 God-NOM    dream-LOC    they-ACC  
 “God (said) to them in a dream (...)” (Matt 2:12)

**Comitative:** The comitative is used to denote in what company the referent of a noun is by the suffix *-nna*. The comitative-marked nouns do not influence person-marking on the verb as the person marking agrees with whatever is marked nominative, which is the subject. It can be translated as “accompanied by” or “with”. The conjunction suffix *-nne* still attaches to the penultimate noun in the sequence and after the comitative marker here.

- (35) Bitani           wora-a           doktoriya-**nna**           shankancha-**nna-nne**  
man.NOM       forest-ACC       doctor-COM           hunter-COM-CONJ  
astamaariya-**nna**       b-eedda  
teacher-COM           go-3M.PAST  
“The man went into the forest with a doctor, a hunter and a teacher”

**Perlative:** The perlative (so termed following Haspelmath (2009)) is used for the object through which an action goes. The perlative suffix is *-nna*, which is homophonous to the comitative. Due to this homophony, Hirut (2007) analyzed *-nna* as a comitative that also happens to have the peculiar usage of meaning “through”. *Maskootiya-nna* – window-PER “through the window”.

- (36) Na’a-y           maskootiya-**nna**           kana-a           s’ell-ide’e  
boy-NOM       window-PER           dog-ACC           see-3M.PROG  
“The boy is seeing the dog through the window”

**Vocative:** The vocative is used to address someone. The suffixes are *-ee* for feminine, *-aw* for masculine, and *-oo* if attaching onto a consonant. Hirut (2007) is the only author to mention a vocative<sup>9</sup>. According to her, these are *-e* for feminine and *-aa* for masculine (identical to the accusative). The NT seems to use *-aw* or *-oo* (identical to dative) for the masculine, as in *Tanaa-t-oo* – My child-PL-VOC – “My children!” (John 13:33)

- (37) Dhaliya-a       god-**aw**,       ne           huuphiya-a       path-a!  
medicine-ACC lord-M.VOC   2SG.POSS       head-ACC       heal-2SG.IMP  
“Doctor, heal yourself!” lit.: “Medicine lord, heal your head!” (Luke 4:23)

<sup>9</sup> She is also alone in claiming there is a genitive case *-waa*. There seems to be some instances of the genitive *-waa* in the Dawro NT, for instance 1 Cor. 3:21: *ubbabaykka hinttewaa* – “Everything is yours!”

- (38) Ha    naatt-ee,    beegott-a!  
 This   girl-F.VOC    get\_up-2SG.IMP  
 “Girl! Get up!” (Luke 8:54)

### 2.2.3 Possession

In order to indicate possession, if the base form of the possessor noun ends in a vowel other than /a/ and is not feminine, then the possessor noun is in the absolutive as described above. This is seen in example (40) (glossed as “ABS”). If the base form of the noun already ends in the vowel /a/, then the possessor noun is identical to its form in the accusative (39a, b) (glossed as accusative “ACC”). If the noun is feminine, then the suffix is *-i* as seen in (39e.), (41), (42). The possessed noun is case marked according to syntactic role. In (39b), since *oydiya* is in the accusative and not the absolutive, which would be *oyde*, (39b) shows that possession in Dawro is not similar to the “lamb” constructions in example (21) above in connection with the absolutive case.

- (39) a.    *Maakina-a*    *motori-ya*    b.    *Iita*    *oydi-ya*    *gedi-ya*  
          car-ACC    motor-ACC            bad    chair-ACC    leg-ACC  
          “Car motor”    “Bad chair leg”
- c.    *Xoossa-a*    *na7a-y*    d.    *Dorssa-a*    *suutha-n*  
          God-ACC    son-NOM            sheep-ACC    blood-LOC  
          “God’s son” (Mark 14:61)                            “In sheep’s blood” (Rev 7:14)
- e.    *Gibxe kaatiya-a*    *naatt-i*    *na7a-a*  
          Egypt king-ACC    girl-F.POSS    boy-ACC  
          “An Egyptian king’s daughter’s son” (Heb 11:24)

- (40) A    Aabbu    suuntha-y    deemuwa-n    xaaf-ett-eedda  
       3M.POSS Father.ABS    name-NOM    forehead-LOC    write-PASS-3M.PAST  
       “His Father’s name written on foreheads” (Rev 14:1)

- (41) Mayraam-i na7a-a Yayiqoob-a isha-a gid-ennee?  
 Mary-F.POSS boy-ACC Jacob-ACC brother-ACC be-3M.NEG.INT  
 “Is it not Mary’s son, Jacob’s brother?” (Mark 6:3)

- (42) Yesuusi Am77att-i Na7a-a  
 Jesus.NOM widow-F.POSS boy-ACC  
 Hayquwa-apppe Denth-eedda  
 death-ABL awaken-3M.PAST  
 “Jesus awakened a widow’s son from death” (title of Luke 7:11-17)

## 2.3 Relational nouns

Relational nouns functioning as postpositions are *garsa* – “interior/in/below/under”, *giddo* – “inside/middle”, *bolla* – “on/above”, and *guyye* “back/behind”. The relational nouns can be suffixed further or stay bare. *Bolla* is according to Azeb (2007) the noun meaning “body”. The tri-lingual dictionary and the NT disambiguates by writing the relational noun *bolla* with one *a*, and list the proper noun with two, as *bollaa*. How and whether the relational nouns govern the case of the following noun remains an open question. The following examples show case-marked (43-45) and unmarked (46) relational nouns (in bold).

- (43) Ta haatsa-n **garsa-n** de'-iya wode<sup>10</sup>  
 1SG.NOM water-LOC **under-LOC** exist-PART time.ABS  
 “When I am being under water”

- (44) Zawa-a k'antuwa-ppe **guyya-n**  
 border-ACC crossing-ABL **behind-LOC**  
 “Behind the border crossing”

- (45) Ne ayfiya-a **garssa-ppe** suulla-a  
 2SG.POSS eye-ACC **in-ABL** dust-ACC  
 “(...) the dust from your eye” (Luke 6:42)

<sup>10</sup> The noun *wodiya* “time”, when in the absolutive as seen here, heads a relative clause. This is a productive way of forming adverbial clauses. Participle + *wode* constructions receive more attention at the end of section 4.4.1.

(46)	Yesuusi	moog-ett-eedda	gonggoluwaa	<b>giddo</b>
	Jesus.NOM	bury-pass-3M.PAST	cave-ACC	<b>inside</b>
	gel-iyaa	wode...		
	enter-PART	time.ABS		

“At the time of entering **inside** where Jesus was buried...” (Mark 16:5)

## 2.4 Pronouns

As can be seen in table 11, Pronouns have a long and a short form for the nominative case. The short form may be possessive, but doubles as a short nominative for all persons except 3M and 3F. For the 3M and 3F there are optional short and long forms for (mostly) all cases in table 11. Notice that for the nominative and accusative cases, the 3M and 3F pronouns show vowels that are identical to those seen in masculine and feminine case-marking where the masculine nouns have *-i* as nominative, *-a* as accusative, and the feminine has *-a* as nominative and *-o* as accusative.

Table 11: Nominative, accusative, dative and possessive pronouns

Person	Nominative	Accusative	Dative	Possessive (and short nominative)
1SG	taani	taana	tawu	ta
2SG	neeni	neena	new	ne
3M	i/izi	a/iza	aw	a (possessive only)
3F	a/iza	o/izo	iw/iziw	i/izi (possessive only)
1PL	nuuni	nuuna	nuw	nu
2PL	hintentu	hintenta	hintentoo	hinte
3PL	untuntu/ intentu	untunta/ intunta	untuntoo/ intuntoo	untu/inte

The orthography, both pre- and post-reform, writes the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular pronouns with capital letters. They are pronounced with a glottal stop, giving 3M nominative *i* >

Orthography: “I”, pronunciation: /ʔi/. The following examples illustrate 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns:

- (47) a. I goshshancha-a b. A goshshancha-a  
 3M.NOM farmer-ACC 3F.NOM farmer-ACC  
 “He is a farmer” “She is a farmer”
- c. A kaalliyaa-wanttu d. izi kushiya-a  
 3M.POSS disciple-PL.NOM 3F.POSS hand-ACC  
 “His disciples” (Luke 9:6) “Her hand” (Luke 8:54)

There is also a reflexive/reciprocal pronoun, *bare* - “self”, inflected as follows:

Table 12: The reflexive pronoun *bare*

Possessive (also nominative):	<i>bare</i>
Accusative:	<i>barena</i>
Dative:	<i>barenaw</i>
Plural (nom/acc):	<i>barenttu/barentta</i>

- (48) I bare-na dech-eedda  
 3M.NOM self-ACC hit-3M.PAST  
 “He hit himself”

The 2PL and 3PL possessive/short nominatives can also be honorific 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns respectively. A variation on the 2PL pronoun, namely *hintena*, can be used as a polite 2<sup>nd</sup> person accusative.

Hirut (2007) also lists “genitive” forms of pronouns, all ending in *-waa*, i.e. 1SG genitive – *twa*, 2SG genitive – *newaa* and so on. One such pronoun is found in the Dawro NT, as mentioned in footnote 9, in 1 Cor. 3:21: *ubbabaykka hinttewaa* – “Everything is **yours!**”. Neither Allan (1976) nor Azeb (2007) mention genitive pronouns. Dawit (2017) draws on Hirut (2007) in his grammatical sketch, and hence lists genitive pronouns, but goes further and lists genitive pronouns for all persons for masculine, feminine, and plural possessed entities. For the first person, these are respectively: *tawe* “mine (M)”, *taawanna* “mine (F)” and *tawanttu* “mine (PL)”. My data is lacking on this point, so I can neither confirm nor reject the existence of these pronouns. The demonstratives presented in the next section seem to follow this pattern of declension, however.

## 2.5 Demonstratives

Demonstratives can be proximal or distal. Demonstrative adjectives are invariable with respect to gender, case and number.

- (49) *Ha mishiratta* – “This woman”      *He mishiratta* – “That woman”  
*Ha bitani* – “This man”      *He bitani* – “That man”  
*Ha bitaniya* – “this man (acc)”      *He bitaniya* – “that man (acc)”  
*Ha naanaa* – “These children”      *He naanaa* – “Those children”

Pronominal demonstratives are case inflected. They are case and number inflected. The stem is identical to the demonstrative adjectives in (49):

Table 13: Pronominal demonstratives

Proximal:	<i>Hawe</i> – this one (nominative)	<i>Hawa</i> – this one (accusative)
	<i>Hawantu</i> – these ones (nominative)	<i>Hawanta</i> – these ones (accusative)
	<i>Hawan</i> – this (locative) – “here”	
Distal:	<i>Hewe</i> – that one (nominative)	<i>Hewa</i> – that one (accusative)
	<i>Hewantu</i> – those ones (nominative)	<i>Hewanta</i> – those ones (accusative)
	<i>Hewan</i> – that (locative) – “there”	

- (50) Nu            ha-wa            ud-oppe...  
 1SG.NOM      this-ACC      do-IND.COND  
 “If we do this...”

- (51) He-we            wur-iyā            saatiya-n...  
 that-NOM      finish-PART      time-LOC  
 “When that is finishing...”

Hirut (2007) includes a detailed description of Dawro demonstratives. In addition to that article, there is an article: Hirut (2001), “Demonstratives in Dawuro”, which I have not had access to. Hirut (2007) lists a different distal demonstrative, namely *hini*, and does not mention *hewe*. She also has gender-inflections for the demonstratives where *hawe* is proximal

masculine nominative, and *hanna* is proximal feminine nominative. She also lists three more distal demonstratives and one used for confidentiality, repeated below in their adjectival form.

Table 14: Additional demonstratives listed in Hirut (2007)

<i>yee</i> – horizontal distal – “the (one) over there”	(not attested in the NT)
<i>hirki</i> – downwards distal – “the (one) down there”	(attested in Eph 3:9)
<i>killi</i> – upwards distal - “the (one) up there”	(attested in Luke 19:38)
<i>inii</i> – confidential demonstrative - “the (one) only we know”	(not attested in the NT)

My own data does not contain these, with the exception of a single instance of the horizontal distal *yee* in *yee kanay* - “that dog (nom) over there”. The Dawro NT has instances of *hirki* and *killi*, hence the reference to example verses. Neither *yee* nor *inii* are attested in the NT text as far as I can see.

## 2.6 Adjectives and (manner) adverbs

Adjectives go in front of the modified noun and do not inflect for case, number or gender, but may for polarity (52a, b). If the adjectives are predicates, then they inflect for mood, but require a negative copula for polarity (52c-e). The inflectional morpheme of the negative copula *-enna* is the same as that of a negated adjective.

- (52) a. Kussa na’a-a                      b. Kus-enna      mashsha-a  
       sharp boy-ACC                      sharp-NEG      knife-ACC  
       “Sharp (i.e. clever) boy”            “Not sharp (i.e. dull) knife”
- c. Kana-y            karetsa              d. Kana-y            karets-e?  
       Dog-NOM      black                dog-NOM      black-INT  
       “The dog is black”                “Is the dog black?”
- e. kana-y            karetsa              gid-enna  
       dog-NOM      black                be-3M.NEG.PRES  
       “The dog is not black”



For completeness, note that negating the adjective *karetsa* - “black” yields the negated adjective *karetsenna* – “not black”.

Comparison involves the ablative marker *-ppe* affixed onto the compared element: positive-comparative-superlative constructions goes as follows (including focus markers, explained in 2.7):

- (53) Bulla-kka      gawara-y      ordowa,      zo'o      gawara-y      A-**ppe**-kka  
 gray-FOC      cat-NOM      fat      red      cat-NOM      him-ABL-FOC  
 ordowa,      karetsa      gawara-y      ubba-**ppe**-kka      ordowa  
 fat      black      cat-NOM      all-ABL-FOC      fat
- “The GRAY cat is fat, the red cat is fatter than HIM, the black cat is fatter than ALL”  
 lit.: “The GRAY cat is fat, the red cat is fat FROM HIM, the black cat is fat FROM ALL”

Comparative constructions require the compared noun or a pronoun onto which the ablative attaches (in (53) onto the pronoun *A* - “him”, giving *A-ppe-(kka)*). Superlative constructions have the ablative attach to *ubba* - “all”, giving *ubba-ppe-(kka)*.

**Adverbs:** Adverbs are morphologically invariable, i.e. they do not inflect. Manner adverbs go in front of the modified verb. Time adverbs can be found all places in the sentence as long as it is in front of the verb (the curly brackets indicate the options), (54f) shows two possibilities possible in that sentence. The adverb *loytsi* in (54a) is a general intensifying adverb.

- (54) a. Untu              loytsi      yes's'-ino  
           3PL.NOM      intensely      sing-3PL.PRES  
           “They sing loudly”
- b. Bitani              elleelle      wots-ee  
           man.NOM      fast      run-3M.PRES  
           “The man runs fast”

- c. Ne            elleelle        wots-ay?  
 2SG.NOM      fast            run-2SG.PRES.INT  
 “Do you run fast?”
- d. bitani        c’o’’u g-eedda  
 man.NOM      quiet    say-3M.PAST  
 “The man said (spoke) quietly”
- f. {zizoni}      haatsa-a      {zizoni}      doogg-eeddo  
 {yesterday}    water-ACC    {yesterday}    forget-1PL.PAST  
 “We forgot water yesterday”

## 2.7 Other suffixes

The following are suffixes that may attach to most word classes. The focus marker *-kka* (as seen in (53) above) may attach after all other suffixation. A nominalizer *-b(aa)* is used for unreal things and may be further case-inflected. The morpheme *-adan* marking equatives or similitives may attach to the end of a clause.

**Focus marker:** *-kka*. This is illustrated in the comparative-superlative example above. It can be used as contrastive focus, but also to mark emphasis. Consider the following where there are three independent clauses where the second and third clauses have focus marking. In the third clause, *-kka* marks emphasis:

- (55) A            ayfi-i            pax-eedda;  
 3M.ACC        eye-NOM        cure-3M.PAST;  
 bitani-i-**kka**      loythi            xeell-eedda.  
 man-NOM-**FOC**    intensely        look-3M.PAST  
 Qassi ubba-b-aa-**kka**      geeshsh-iide      be7-eedda.  
 also    all-UNR-ACC-**FOC**    clarify-3M.SS.ANT    see-3M.PAST  
 “His eyes were cured. The MAN looked intensely. Also, he saw EVERYTHING clearly” (Mark 8:25)

**Unreal: -b(aa).** The morpheme is termed “unreal”, but could also be dubbed an “irrealis nominalizer” due to its associations with hypothetical things, abstraction and absence. Its precise function and distribution beyond this is an open question. In addition to being a kind of nominalizer in (59), *-b(aa)* is at least used 1. when talking *about* something or someone, seen in (56) (the thing is the topic of discussion), 2. About something that was *not* done (57), or 3. about things in hypothetical situations as in (58). In addition, (58) and (59) also may suggest that the verb *hirgg-* “worry” has something to do with the unreal marker, but this needs further investigation. Examples (58) and (59) show negative imperatives, which may also have an influence. In all circumstances, the thing is not present at the time of utterance. Technically, the unreal suffix only refers to the /b/ in *-b(aa)*, as the rest may be further inflected as seen in (57) and (59) where we see the dative *-aw* attach after *-b*. Several sub-headers in the NT text make use of *-baa* which provides the sense “about”, as in: *woosa-b-aa* – prayer-UNR-ACC “About prayer” (title Matt 6:5-15), and *xooma-b-aa* – fasting-UNR-ACC – “About fasting” (title Matt 6:16-18). The English word corresponding to the *-b(aa)* marked word is in bold in the translation.

(56) He gadiya-a ubbaa-n Yesuusa-**b-aa** od-eeddino  
 that land-ACC all-LOC Jesus-UNR-ACC tell-3PL.PAST  
 “They told about **Jesus** everywhere in that land” (Matt 9:31)

(57) Simm-i hinttenttu ha laafa-**b-aa** ooth-ana-w  
 return-PL.CVB 2PL.NOM this small-UNR-ACC do-FUT-INF  
 dandday-enna-wantt-a gid-oope  
 be\_able-NEG-PL-ACC be-IND.COND  
 ayaw hara-**b-aw** hirgg-ett-iitee?  
 why other-UNR-DAT worry-PASS-2PL.PRES.INT  
 “Since (=”returning”), you are such that are unable to do this **little thing**, why do you worry about **other** things?” (Luke 12:26)

- (58) Geeshsha-**b-aa** kana-tu-wassi imm-opp-ite;  
 Pure-UNR-ACC dog-PL-FOR give-NEG-2PL.IMP  
 untuntutu guyye simm-iide, hinttena sa77-ana.  
 3PL.NOM back turn\_back-3M.SS.ANT you.POL bite-FUT  
 “Do not give for/to dogs what is **pure** (=holy); they will turn around and bite you”  
 (Matt 7:6)

- (59) Hintte de7-oo m-aana-**b-aw**-unne  
 2PL.POSS exist-DAT eat-FUT-UNR-DAT-CONJ  
 ush-ana-**b-aw** hirgg-oopp-ite  
 drink-FUT-UNR-DAT worry-NEG-2PL.IMP  
 “Do not worry for your life, about **what you will have to eat**, about **what you will have to drink**.” (Matt 6:25)

Moreover, *-b(aa)* is used as a marker of abstraction, deriving abstract nouns from negative verbs. Consider the entries from the tri-lingual dictionary on “unavoidable” and “sudden, unexpected”:

- (60) a. att-enna-**baa** from *att-* “leave”  
 leave-NEG-UNR via the negative verb: *attenna* – “not leave”  
 “unavoidable”
- b. k’opp-enna-**baa** from *k’opp-* “think”  
 think-NEG-UNR via the negative verb: *k’oppenna* – “not think”  
 “sudden, unexpected”  
 lit.: “unthinkable”

**Equality, similarity and similes:** *-adan*. This is used to express that one thing is as or like another, i.e. a simile, or if something is equal in sentiment to something else. Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998) (on European languages) use the terms “similative” and “equative” where similatives express equal manner and equatives equal extent. In a world-wide perspective, Haspelmath (2017) finds that equative and similative are often marked in the same or in a similar manner to each other. The similarity denoted by *-adan* will be compared to another

construction denoting weaker similarity after the following examples. Vanhoeve (2017) and Treis (2017) report considerable overlap in the morphological marking of equative and similitive constructions. I gloss *-adan* “EQ” for “equal”, but this is supposed to be understood in the sense of a simile, and not as identification per se. The reason for this is that constructions coding the *similarity* of one entity to another, are different and utilize the word *mala*, meaning “colour”, “type” or “kind”.

(61) Dorssa-**adan** I shuk-ett-ana-w laag-ett-ee.  
 sheep-EQ 3M.NOM slaughter-PASS-FUT-INF drive-PASS-3M.PRES  
 “Like a sheep he is driven to be slaughtered” (Acts 8:32)

(62) He gawara-y kana-**adan**  
 This cat-NOM dog-EQ  
 “This cat is as a dog”  
 “This cat is the same as a dog” → (in height or in manner of being)

(63) Yesuusi Yohaannisa-b-aa shiiq-eedda  
 Jesus.NOM John-UNR-ACC meet-3M.PAST  
 asaa-ssi hawa-**adan** yaag-i haasay-eedda: (...)  
 people-FOR this-EQ say-3M.CVB speak-3M.PAST  
 “Jesus spoke about John, saying **like this** for the people who had met: (...)”  
 (Matt 11:7)

(64) A haasay-iya-we oshincha-y oykk-eedda asa-**adan**  
 3F.NOM speak-PART-S.COMP cold-NOM catch-PAST person-EQ  
 “She is speaking as a person who a cold has caught”  
 alt.: “She speaks like she has a cold”

The first example, (61), is arguably a simile as opposed to complete identification. The second example, (62), shows a comparison where the cat is seen as having qualities equal to that of a dog. (63) shows an equative demonstrative *hawaadan* - “like this”, which may introduce direct speech. (64) is a comparison of manner of speaking and likens her manner of speaking to that of a person with a common cold.

Treis (2017) treats equatives, similatives and purpose clauses in Ethiopian languages and other languages of the Horn of Africa and states that for Kambaata (Highland East Cushitic) these three categories are compressed into a single multifunctional morpheme. As for other languages of Ethiopia, she states that words or morphemes meaning “like”, “manner” or “type” may be employed in similative constructions as well as purpose clauses. She reports that Gamo (North Omete, closely related to Dawro) uses a word *malá* in such constructions. This is also the case in Dawro, where *mala*, meaning “colour”, “type” or “kind”, is used in similative constructions as well as in purpose clauses. Example (65) contains both an *-adan* construction and a *mala* construction. The *-adan* construction denotes same manner (“wake him the same way he woke me”), the *mala* construction compares the new prophet to the speaking prophet, saying that the new prophet will be of the same type or calibre as himself. Example (66) is similar to example (63) above in that *mala* appears together with a demonstrative. Example (67) and (68) shows *mala* in purpose clauses. Example (69), although not using *mala*, uses a verb *malat-* “be like” where the face of a person is compared to, “is like”, the face of an angel.

- (65) Xoossa-y      taan-a      denth-eedda-**waadan**,  
 God-NOM      1SG-ACC      wake-PAST-EQ  
 hintte      zari-yaa      giddo-ppe      ta      **mala**      nabi-yaa  
 2PL.POSS      lineage-ACC      middle-ABL      1SG.POSS      **colour**      prophet-ACC  
 hinttentt-oo      denth-anawaa  
 you-DAT      wake-3M.FUT  
 “God will wake a prophet **of my type** from the midst of your lineage **the same way he woke me**” (Acts 7:37)

- (66) Yesuusi      Kiristtoosa      yeleta-y      hawa-a      **mala:** (...)  
 Jesus.NOM      Christ      birth-NOM      this-ACC      **colour**  
 “The birth of Jesus Christ (was) like this: (...)” (Matt 1:18)

(67) Taani            Yesuusi, (...) **markkatt-ana**        **mala,**  
 1SG.NOM        Jesus.NOM    witness-FUT        **colour**  
 ta                kiitanchcha-a kiitt-aaddi.  
 1SG.POSS        angel-ACC     sent-1SG.PAST  
 “I, Jesus, sent my angel **to witness** (about this)” (Rev 22:16)

(68) Unttuntu        Heroodisa-kko        **simm-enna** **mala,**  
 3PL.NOM        Herod-DIR            return-NEG        **colour**  
 Xoossa-y        akumuwa-n    unttuntt-a,  
 God-NOM        dream-LOC    3PL-ACC  
 <<Hinttena    er-ite>>        g-iina            hara  
 2PL-POL        know-2PL.IMP say-DS.SIM        another  
 ogiya-anna    barenttu        gade              simm-eeddino.  
 road-PER        self-PL.NOM    country.ABS    return-3PL.PAST  
 “God said to them in a dream “You shall know” (i.e. warned them) **not to return**  
 towards Herod; They returned through another road to their country”  
 (Matt 2:12)

(69) A                som77i            kiitanchchaa    som77iyaa        **malat-ee**  
 3M.POSS        face.NOM        angel-ACC        face-ACC        be\_like-3M:PRES  
 “His face **is like** an angel’s face” (Acts 6:15)

Having introduced the Dawro grammar not exclusive to verbs, chapter 3 presents the verb morphology.

# 3 Verb morphology

Dawro is a suffixing language (Hirut, 2007). Section 3.1 describes Dawro verb roots and stems. Imperative and jussive moods are described in section 3.2. Finite verbs are described in 3.3. Section 3.4 is a discussion about issues of verb decomposition. Sections 3.5-3.7 deal with morphology that figure in dependent clauses. The general syntax of Dawro, as well as the syntax of dependent clauses are discussed in chapter 4.

## 3.1 Roots and stems

Allan (1976) was the first to identify the Dawro verb roots and stems as always ending in a consonant. Booij (2007:28) defines stems as “the word form minus its inflectional affixes”, he goes on to define roots as “simplex stems”, that is, words without internal morphological structure. It follows that roots can be stems, but non-simplex stems can not be roots. Dawro verb roots may be monosyllabic or polysyllabic, but they do not end in a vowel. Consider the following examples:

- (70)
- |                       |                |                     |
|-----------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| a. consonant cluster: | <i>ments-</i>  | “break”             |
| b. glide:             | <i>danday-</i> | “can, be able to”   |
| c. glottal stop:      | <i>de’-</i>    | “exist, be present” |
| d. single consonant   | <i>m-</i>      | “eat”               |

Verb roots are the basis for several processes of Dawro word formation. Some ways of derivation were mentioned in chapter 2, here repeated as a reminder:

- (71)
- |                   |                               |                                    |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| a. agentive noun: | <i>wots-ancha</i> - “runner”  | from verbal <i>wots-</i> “run”     |
| b. nominalizing:  | <i>giyaam-iya</i> - “a curse” | from verbal <i>giyaam-</i> “curse” |
| c. nominalizing:  | <i>wojj-uwa</i> - “an award”  | from verbal <i>wojj-</i> “award”   |



### 3.1.1 Stem forming passive, reciprocative, causative and intensive suffixes

Passive, reciprocal, causative and intensive stems are formed by suffixes attaching to the verb root, in turn forming a stem. The passive and reciprocal share the morpheme *-ett*, causative is *-iss*, and the intensive is *-eret*.

Transitive verbs have their valency reduced in *-ett* suffixation.

(72) *shoc'* - “punch” > *shoc'-ett* - “get punched”

Some intransitive verbs with the *-ett* morpheme take on a meaning distinct from the counterpart without the *-ett* morpheme:

(73) a. *sak*- “wilt/be wilted” > *sakett*- “be sick”.  
b. *des'* - “be heavy” > *des'ett*- “boast, carry overload”

The grammatical subject of an *-ett* suffixed verb is in the nominative:

(74) Bitani            *shoc'-ett-eedda*  
man.NOM        punch-PASS-3M.PAST  
“The man got punched”

(75) Ta                *sakett-aaddi*  
1SG.NOM        be\_sick-1SG.PAST  
“I was sick/I got sick”

The reciprocal use of *-ett* can be illustrated by the examples below. Notice that in both examples, the subject is plural. Whether passive readings with a plural subject or reciprocal readings with a singular subject are possible remains an open question due to lack of data. In (76) the constructions *ittu ittuwanna* - “one another” contributes to the reciprocal reading. In (77), the *-ett* morpheme would technically yield ambiguity between reciprocal and passive readings, but the free translation given is the one preferred by informants.

(76) Untuntu        ittu    ittu-wanna    mee**ch-ett**-ino  
 3PL.NOM        one    one-COM        wash-RECIP-3PL.PRES  
 “They wash one another”

(77) Untuntu        s’eell-**ett**-ino  
 3PL.NOM        look-RECIP-3PL.PRES  
 “They look at each other”

Semantically, the causative *-iss* introduces a cause for the action. The Dawro words for “learn” and “teach” are illustrative: *tamaar-* “learn” becomes *tamaariss-* “teach”, lit.: “cause to learn”. Syntactically, a causative verb agrees with the causer of the action and does not necessarily agree with the agent of the action, unless the agent and the causer are identical, which they may be. The causer (the killer in (78a-b)) does not have to be coded in the sentence. In (78a) the speaker is ordering a second person to get a third person to do the killing. In example (78b) the subject is pro-dropped. (78b) is ambiguous between a reading where the subject performs both the role of killer and causer, and a reading where the killer is a third party. The ambiguity is a result of the instrumental-marked *mashsha* - “knife” (a similar, but non-ambiguous, example is seen in example (147) in 3.5.5. The data is unclear as to whether the presence or absence of the causative marker makes a difference in such constructions). Example (78c) shows that the grammatical subject is the newly introduced causer, and not the one who carries out the action (the killing). Example (78d) consists of two sentences that show the nominalized versions of *tamaar-* and *tamaariss-*. *Tamaarissa* - “teacher” is then literally “one who causes to learn”. The transitivity of causative-marked verbs does not seem to differ from their non-causative counterparts.

(78) a.    Ha                    bitani-ya        wod’-**iss**-a!  
           this                man-ACC        kill-CAUS-2SG.IMP  
           “Have (someone) kill this man!”

- b. Ha bitani-ya mashsha-n wod'-**iss**-eedda  
 this man-ACC knife-INS kill-CAUS-3M.PAST  
 “He had (someone) kill this man with a knife” → (The subject is not the killer)  
 “He had the man killed with a knife” → (The subject is killer and causer)
- c. Untuntu bitani-ya wod'-**iss**-eeddino  
 3PL.NOM man-ACC kill-CAUS-3PL.PAST  
 “They had a man killed (by someone)”
- d. Tamaara-y tamaar-ino. Tamaarissa-y tamaar-**iss**-ee.  
 Student-NOM learn-3PL.PRES Teacher-NOM learn-CAUS-3M.PRES  
 “The students learn. The teacher **teaches**.”

The causative morpheme is subject to several morphophonological processes depending on the verb root. Since the root-final consonant for *wod'*- “kill” is the implosive *d'*, the pronunciation of the causative is /-ɪf-/. This is also the case when the morpheme follows an alveolar or palatal stop. The causative morpheme can also trigger morphophonological processes in the root, here illustrated via the imperatives of *be'*- “look”, where the causative imperative has the glottal stop replaced by /s/. In addition to removing parts of the root, the causative *-iss* loses the /i/<sup>11</sup>:

(79) *be'a* - “look!” > *be-s-a* - “show (me)!”

The intensive *-eret* is used as a general intensifier of the action, the following pair illustrates the difference:

(80) a. Ootsu-wa ments-eedda  
 pot-ACC break-3M.PAST  
 “He broke the pot”

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<sup>11</sup> Whether the length of the /s/ changes from longer to shorter is beyond the scope here.

- b. Ootsu-wa ments-eret-eedda  
 pot-ACC break-INTENS-3M.PAST  
 “He broke the pot into pieces”

Coupled with durative verbs, the intensive expresses a distributed and sustained sense:

- (81) Bitani Hawassa-n wots-eret-eedda  
 man.NOM Hawassa-LOC run-INTENS-3M.PAST  
 “The man ran all over Hawassa”

Some words are clearly suffixed by one of the mentioned stem-forming suffixes without having a discernible meaning for the root. The root *ufay-* has entries in the tri-lingual dictionary for only the passive *ufay-ett-* and causative *ufay-ss-* variations, and none with the bare root. The root has something to do with happiness as evidenced by the following:

- (82) a. *ufay-ett-* “rejoice, become happy”  
 b. *ufay-ss-* “be charming, be pleasing” (i.e.: “make happy”)

The data is not as substantial concerning co-occurrence of stem-forming suffixes, but at least the passive and causative morphemes are attested to appear together in my fieldwork data. The passive is closer to the stem, the causative attaches after the passive. It is unknown whether this is a rule.

- (83) *kol-* “demolish/destroy” > *kol-ett-is-* “cause to get demolished”  
 passive: *kol-ett-* “get demolished”  
 causative: *kol-is-* “cause to destroy”

## 3.2 Imperative and jussive

The imperative and jussive are directive moods. The imperative will here be the term used when the directive is addressed to one of the 2<sup>nd</sup> persons, i.e. the 2SG or 2PL. The jussive is here the term used to designate directives concerning 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> persons. Previous literature on Dawro only mentions the imperatives and the 3<sup>rd</sup> person jussive. Azeb (2007) termed the

third person directives (here: jussive) “exhortative/optative”. To begin with, arguments in favor of keeping Azeb’s terminology (exhortative/optative) can be seen by the exhortative interpretation of the 1<sup>st</sup> person jussive in (90), which conveys collective encouragement, as it is both addressed to the 1PL and concerning the very same 1PL (which is exhortation). Contrast this with (87b), which although concerning the 1PL, is addressed to someone unspecified, other than the 1PL, essentially telling whoever is the addressee to leave the 1PL alone (which amounts to a jussive, a 3<sup>rd</sup> person directive). The jussive may also take on optative senses, as seen in the well-wishing expression below in (91). Suspending judgement on precise semantics due to lack of targeted data, I term the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person directive moods “jussive”. This choice corresponds to semitologist tradition on terminology for the directive moods (Aikhenvald, 2010:4). I will not engage further with terminological issues regarding the imperative and jussive in this thesis.

The imperative inflections are *-a* for singular and *-ite* for plural:

- (84)    *wots-a*                      *wots-ite*  
           run-2SG.IMP                run-2PL.IMP

Imperatives can appear in sequences of two without further modification, as seen in (85). If there are more than three imperatives, as in (86), then the conjunction *-nne* attaches to the penultimate verb. Sequences of verbs in other moods are dealt with in chapter 4. The conjunction is added to the penultimate verb when there is more than two imperatives as seen in (86):

- (85)    Ettiba            m-a            ush-a!  
           Something    eat-2SG.IMP    drink-2SG.IMP  
           “Eat, (and) drink something!”

- (86)    Utt-a,            k’uma-a            m-a-nne            ufayett-a  
           sit-2SG.IMP    food-ACC            eat-2SG.IMP-CONJ    be\_happy-2SG.IMP  
           “Sit, eat food and be happy!”





- (94) Untunt-a kess-opp-a  
 3pl-ACC leave-NEG-2SG.IMP  
 “Stop them from leaving!”  
 “Don’t let them leave!”

The addressee in both examples above is some person with the capability of stopping “them”. The jussive shows “them” to be in the nominative, the imperative shows the accusative. One may think that (94) says “don’t leave them!”, but then the pronoun would be ablative:

- (95) Untuntu-**ppe** kess-opp-a  
 3PL-ABL leave-NEG-2SG.IMP  
 “Do not leave (from) them!”

It is possible to form imperatives of greater urgency via the suffix *-adigg* which attaches in front of the imperative suffix. According to Dawit (2017) this historically comes from a verb *digg* “completed/took”. Imperatives with *-adigg* are stern and usually considered impolite.

- (96) a. Ush-a b. Ush-**adigg**-a  
 drink-2SG.IMP drink-COMplete-2SG.IMP  
 “Drink!” “Drink up!”

Usage is felicitous if quick completion of the action is of high importance, consider the following from the Dawro NT:

- (97) Heroodise neen-a wodh-ana-w koyy-iyaa diraw,  
 Herod.ABS 2SG-ACC kill-FUT-INF want-PART CONJ<sup>12</sup>  
 hawaa-ppe **b-adigg**-a  
 here-ABL go-COMplete-2SG.IMP  
 “Herod is wanting to kill you, go away from here!” (Luke 13:31)

It remains unknown under what conditions *-adigg* may attach to jussives, if at all.

<sup>12</sup> *diraw* appears to appear in adjoined clauses that describe an activity or state that is ongoing or holds concurrently to whatever is expressed in the matrix clause.



### 3.3 Tense/aspect and person-inflected verbs

Having explained the structure of the stem, and presented the imperative and jussive moods, I now turn to verbs in the declarative and interrogative moods. Declarative and interrogative sentences in Dawro show a sentence final finite verb fully inflected for person, mood, polarity and tense/aspect. In my data, these finite verbs are sentence final without exception<sup>13</sup>. The already presented imperative and jussive moods are also considered part of this category of fully inflected verbs. Verbs that are not found in sentence final position are dependent and will be dealt with later in this chapter as well as in chapter 4. Both the declarative and interrogative moods are marked for positive and negative polarity. The interrogative seems to be derived from the declarative. The interrogative and declarative inflections are hence shown side by side in the following description. Interrogatives are pronounced with a question intonation consisting of a rise on the penultimate syllable of the interrogative-marked verb. The morphological characteristics of the interrogative are vowel-alternation for some persons, and morphological differences for other persons. It is a feature of Omotic languages that interrogativity and polarity is marked on the verb (Azeb, 2017; Bender, 2000). Tense and aspect in Omotic languages are according to Azeb (2017) in general described in terms of either or both, with different researchers finding different terms more suitable depending on what their available data suggests, or from where they adapt definitional criteria (Azeb, 2012). Due to this multitude of approaches, it is not uncommon to find contradictory terminology between earlier works on any given Omotic language. My approach to tense and aspect is informed by Comrie (1976, 1985), where, concisely and sharply divided, tense is deictic and aspect is not. Aspect is concerned with the internal organization of an action, and tense is concerned with the temporal placement of an action. The distinction is not always clean in the world's languages, however, and Comrie (1985:63) mentions Classical Arabic as an example of a language which hybrid tense-aspect categories. Dahl (1985:23) points out, in response to Comrie, the problem of distinguishing “perfective aspect” from “past time reference” since “[Perfective] typically combines ‘perfectivity’ and ‘past time reference’”. In response to Comrie’s (1976) view of the perfective aspect as showing an action as a whole, de Haan (2010:451) summarizes: “Dahl (1985:74) criticizes that view [Comrie’s] and points out that there are cases in which the action is viewed as a whole, yet there are languages in which the imperfective aspect must be used.” My data shows that Dawro main verbs code past tense, a

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<sup>13</sup> The copula verb may be null in copula constructions. If the copula is overt, it is sentence-final. This is shown in section 2.6 on adverbs, ex. (52e).

present tense/habitual aspect hybrid, a progressive aspect with default present tense interpretation, and a future tense. My choice of tense or aspect terminology is informed by data that leans towards either holding the stronger semantics, and rationales for each terminological choice are given for each tense/aspect category. Tense/aspect in Dawro may well be more entangled than any one choice of terminology implies and further semantic investigation is needed.

What follows are tables of Dawro sentence final finite verb inflections of the verb *ush-* “drink”. My data has not revealed any substantial irregularities, but table 16 below shows one I did find.

### 3.3.1 The present/habitual positive

The following table shows the present/habitual positive inflections in both the declarative and interrogative moods. Interrogatives for the singulars are comparatively more different than interrogatives for the plurals with respect to their declarative counterparts.

Table 15: Declarative and interrogative positive present for *ush-* “drink”

	Declarative	Interrogative
1SG	ush-ay	ush-ayta
2SG	ush-aa	ush-ay
3M	ush-ee	ush-a’ee
3F	ush-aw	ush-ay
1PL	ush-eto	ush-eto
2PL	ush-ita	ush-ite <sup>14</sup>
3PL	ush-ino	ush-ino
Free translation 3M	He drinks	Does he drink?

<sup>14</sup> Notice that the 2PL imperative suffix is also *-ite*. Disambiguating the 2PL imperative from the 2PL interrogative is done by intonation. Interrogative intonation is sharply rising, as earlier mentioned.

The present/habitual (from now: “present”, and glossed: “PRES”), is used to denote presently happening activity or state (98, 99) or habitual action valid at the time of speaking (100) as well as habitual action that happened in the past if given an adequate conversational context or adverbs like *ubbawode* - “usually” (lit.: all-time) coupled with temporal adverbs that places the action in the past, like *zillayts* – “last year” as shown in (101).

(98) (Context: Describing what is happening outside the window)

Na’a-y-nne            naatt-a            ogiya-n            kaa’-ino  
 boy-NOM-CONJ      girl-F.NOM      street-LOC      play-3PL.PRES

“A boy and a girl are playing in the street”

(lit. :) “A boy and a girl play in the street”

(99) Ayaa koyy-ay?

What want-2SG.PRES.INT

“What do you want?”

(100) (Context: What does your brother do after breakfast usually?)

I                    ubbawode      dabidaabi-ya    s’af-ee  
 3M.NOM          usually          letter-ACC      write-3M.PRES

“He usually writes letters”

(101) (Context: What did your brother usually do after breakfast last summer?)

Zillayts            ubbawode      guuraa            guuraa  
 last\_year          usually          morning            morning  
 dabidaabi-ya    s’af-ee  
 letter-ACC      write-3M.PRES

“He usually wrote letters in the morning”

In (101), *guuraa* – “morning” is reduplicated. Reduplication can be used to indicate that the action took place several mornings and not just one.

The present tense can be used to denote events in the future provided there is a temporal adverb like *wonti* - “tomorrow” in the sentence. How the present tense future relates to the proper future tense is explained in section 3.3.6:

- (102) **Wonti** michiratt-a kess-aw  
 tomorrow woman-F.NOM leave-3F.PRES  
 “Tomorrow the woman will leave”  
 lit.: “Tomorrow the woman leaves”

If the stem ends in /ay/, there are consequences for the interrogative inflections. For the 3M interrogative, as seen in table 16, the stem /y/ gets deleted and instead of the -a'ee as seen in table 15, we see only -'ee without the /a/. Due to the stem ending in /ay/ we also see that this results in null-endings for the 2SG and 3F interrogatives, but leaves -ta for the 1SG, since the stem already ends in a sequence identical to the interrogative -ay morpheme. The declarative inflections are not influenced by the stem and are the same as in table 15.

Table 16: Declarative and interrogative positive present of *danday-* “can/be able to”

	Declarativ	Interrogative
1SG	danday-ay	danday-ta
2SG	danday-aa	danday-Ø
3M	danday-ee	danda-'ee
3F	danday-aw	danday-Ø
1PL	danday-	danday-eto
2PL	danday-ita	danday-ite
3PL	danday-	danday-ino
Free translation 3M	He can...	Can he...?

- (103) Ne gupp-ana-w danday-Ø?  
 2SG.NOM jump-FUT-INF can-2SG.PRES.INT  
 “Can you jump?”

### 3.3.2 The past positive

The past positive declarative and interrogative inflections are shown in the following table. Here the interrogative 2SG, 3M, and 3F, all alternate their final vowel from the declarative counterpart. The 1SG shows an interrogative which is similar to the one seen for its present tense interrogative, /ta/, albeit with the vowel being /e/. The vowels closest to the stem, /aa/ for the singulars except the 3M, and /ee/ for the 3M and the plurals, reveal a systematic vowel pattern which also shows up in the past negative and in the progressive. This pattern is termed “characteristic vowels” by Hayward (1991), where he found out that this pattern of vowel alternation is common in Ometo languages, of which Dawro is a member. I return to this phenomenon in section 3.4.

Table 17: Declarative and interrogative positive past of *ush-* “drink”

	Declarative	Interrogative
1SG	ush-aaddi	ush-aaddite
2SG	ush-aadda	ush-aaddi
3M	ush-eedda	ush-eeddi
3F	ush-aaddu	ush-aaddi
1PL	ush-eeddo	ush-eeddo
2PL	ush-eeddita	ush-eeddite
3PL	ush-eeddino	ush-eeddino
Free translation 3M	He drank	Did he drink?

The past tense is used to talk about any kind of event that happened in the past, except past habitual actions if under the conditions as mentioned and shown above in 3.3.1. The Dawro past tense seems to be a simple past tense as it is used to describe any action that happened in the past regardless of further aspectual distinctions, as seen in the ambiguity of (104), where the context asks for what activity the brother was engaged in when the speaker arrived. Sentence (104) thus says nothing about whether the brother finished or stopped writing letters, but simply that it was the activity the brother was engaged in at the time.

(104) (Context: What was your brother doing when you went to see him yesterday?)

Ziino I dabidaabi-ya s'af-**eedda**  
 yesterday 3M.NOM letter-ACC write-**3M.PAST**  
 “Yesterday he was writing letters /wrote letters”

(105) Ta ketta-y wogga-shin, kol-ett-is-**eedda**  
 1SG.POSS house-NOM big-BUT, demolish-PASS-CAUS-**3M.PAST**  
 “My house was big, but it was demolished”

(106) Tammu layts-appe kasenna, girgida-a k'ok'k'of-**aaddi**  
 Ten year-ABL before wall-ACC break-**1SG.PAST**  
 “Ten years ago I broke walls”

The past tense coupled with the morpheme *-adigg* makes a present perfect. Recall the “imperative of urgency” shown in 3.2 which made use of the morpheme *-adigg* to urge the completion of an action. The same morpheme may appear with the past tense inflections to create a present perfect denoting a past event with present consequences. To repeat, *-adigg*, according to Dawit (2017), comes from a verb *digg-* “completed/took”.

(107) Ne naatt-a hayqq-**adigg**-aaddu  
 2SG.POSS girl-F.NOM die-**COMPLETE**-3F.PAST  
 “Your daughter has died” (Mark 5:35)

(108) Ababi haatsa-a ush-**adigg**-eedda  
 Abebe.NOM water-ACC drink-**COMPLETE**-3M.PAST  
 “Abebe has drunk up all the water” /”Abebe drank up all the water”

Example (108) has the added sense of exhaustiveness, i.e. that all the water is in fact gone. Without the *-adigg*, the sense would simply be past tense, i.e. “your daughter died” for (107), and “Abebe drank water” (with end point unspecified) for (108). It does not seem to be possible to put *-adigg* onto present tense verbs as in *\*ush-adigg-ee* ~ “he drinks up all” as the native speaker consultants did not accept it.

### 3.3.3 The present negative

The table below shows the declarative and interrogative inflections of the present negative. The 2SG, 3M, and 3F once again show vowel alternations in the interrogative, as is also the case with the positive past. What is new, however, is that the vowels of 2SG and 3F change in front of the consonants as well (ex.: 2SG DECL. *-akka* becomes 2SG INT. *-ikki*). The 1SG shows the familiar word-final /ta/ in the interrogative inflection as seen in the positive present 1SG interrogative. The 2PL and 3PL interrogative endings, barring the negative specific /ikk/, are the same as before, namely /ite/ and /ino/ respectively. The 1PL shows a long vowel in the interrogative.

Table 18: Declarative and interrogative negative present of *ush-* “drink”

	Declarative	Interrogative
1SG	ush-ikke	ush-ikketa
2SG	ush-akka	ush-ikki
3M	ush-enna	ush-enne
3F	ush-ukku	ush-ekke
1PL	ush-okko	ush-okkoo
2PL	ush-ikkita	ush-ikkite
3PL	ush-ikkino	ush-ikkino
Free translation 3M	He doesn't/won't drink	Does/will he not drink?

The present negative indicates the negation of an action. Tense-wise, the negative present has few limits. The negative present can negate actions that happen at all times except the past. Therefore, the present negative is more like a negative non-past, seeing as there apparently is no negative future-tense inflections in Dawro. It is unknown whether the negative present can function as a negative habitual in the same contexts as the positive present tense habitual usage. The negative present can also be used to negate future action:

- (109) Wonti, nu wots-**okko**  
 tomorrow 2PL.NOM run-**1PL.NEG.PRES**  
 “Tomorrow, we will not run”
- (110) Hintentu k’uma-a m-**ikkite?**  
 2PL.NOM food-ACC eat-**2PL.NEG.PRES.INT**  
 “Do you not eat food?”
- (111) Er-**ikke**  
 know-**1SG.NEG.PRES**  
 “I don’t know”

### 3.3.4 The past negative

The past negative declarative and interrogative are shown in the table below. Notice that the 1sg interrogative lacks the word-final /ta/ or /te/ which figures in the 1SG interrogative forms in the other inflections shown above. We again see vowel alternations for the 2SG, 3M, and 3F between the interrogative and declarative. The plural interrogatives are as expected the same as their declarative counterparts, with the exception of the 2PL interrogative which shows final /e/ and not the expected /o/. Notice, however, that there is no vowel lengthening for the 1PL as it is in the 1PL present negative interrogative.

Table 19: Declarative and interrogative negative past of *ush-* “drink”.

	Declarative	Interrogative
1sg	ush-abikke	ush-abikki
2sg	ush-abeykke	ush-abeykki
3m	ush-ibeenna	ush-ibeenne
3f	ush-abeykku	ush-abeykke
1pl	ush-ibookko	ush-ibookko
2pl	ush-ibeekketa	ush-ibeekkete
3pl	ush-ibeekkino	ush-ibeekkino
Free translation 3m	He did not drink	Did he not drink?



The past negative is used to indicate negated past action:

- (112) Ta                    michatt-a        shoshshaa      be'-**abeykku**  
 1SG.POSS        sister-F.NOM   snake-ACC      see-**2SG.NEG.PAST**  
 “My sister did not see a snake”

- (113) Ayaw kari-ya        k'ach-**abeykki?**  
 Why door-ACC        close-**2SG.NEG.PAST.INT**  
 “Why didn't you close the door?”

The *-adigg* perfectivizer does not attach to the negative and forming *\*ush-adigg-ibeenna* ~“he has not drunk” was not accepted by the native speaker consultants.

### 3.3.5 The progressive

The progressive marker *-de'/-di'* attaches to the stem via a vowel and co-occurs with the present tense inflections. The vowels that occur between the verb stem and the progressive marker alternate such that we see /a/ for the singulars except the 3M and /i/ for the 3M and the plurals. As seen from the table, the progressive marker may be found in both polarities and in both the declarative and interrogative mood. The suffix known from the present tense inflections are seen to be placed after the progressive marker. The endings are identical to the endings as they appear without the present tense marker (but notice the discrepancies in the declarative 3M and 2SG which here show only a single vowel. The 3M interrogative is also different, namely /i/ opposed to /a'ee/). (Table 20 showing progressives on the next page.)

Examples (116) and (117) even further below show how the progressive in sentence final position works, i.e. as denoting progressive (presently ongoing) action. Before getting back to that, it is important to state what the progressive is *not*. The progressive marker does not appear together with any other tense inflection. A construction like *\*ush-adi'-aaddi* ~“I was drinking” where the progressive marker is put together with the past tense inflection, is not a valid past progressive. The past tense alone, as illustrated in section 3.3.2, does not specify aspect and *ushaaddi* may be interpreted as “I was drinking” in the right context.

Table 20: The present progressive of *ush-* “drink”.

	Positive		Negative	
	Declarative	Interrogative	Declarative	Interrogative
1sg	ush- <b>adi</b> 'ay	ush- <b>adi</b> 'ayta	ush- <b>ade</b> 'ikke	ush- <b>ade</b> 'ikketa
2sg	ush- <b>adi</b> 'a	ush- <b>adi</b> 'ay	ush- <b>ade</b> 'akka	ush- <b>ade</b> 'ikki
3m	ush- <b>ide</b> 'e	ush- <b>ide</b> 'i	ush- <b>ide</b> 'enna	ush- <b>ide</b> 'enne
3f	ush- <b>adi</b> 'aw	ush- <b>adi</b> 'ay	ush- <b>ade</b> 'ukku	ush- <b>ade</b> 'ekke
1pl	ush- <b>ide</b> 'eto	ush- <b>ide</b> 'eto	ush- <b>ide</b> 'okko	ush- <b>ide</b> 'okkoo
2pl	ush- <b>ide</b> 'ita	ush- <b>ide</b> 'ite	ush- <b>ide</b> 'ikkita	ush- <b>ide</b> 'ikkite
3pl	ush- <b>ide</b> 'ino	ush- <b>ide</b> 'ino	ush- <b>ide</b> 'ikkino	ush- <b>ide</b> 'ikkino
Free translation 3m	He is drinking	Is he drinking?	He is not drinking	Is he not drinking?

Hirut (2007) puts forth that constructions like (114) (adapted from Hirut (2007:106)) constitutes past progressive tense (in her terms: past continuous tense). We are not dealing with tenses as such however, since all verbs in a sentence that are not sentence final have a tense interpretation defined relative to the finite sentence final verb. Constructions with what Hirut (2007) calls “past progressive” are used to denote an action that is intruded upon. Examples (114) and (115) are included to illustrate this. “Past progressives” that denote interrupted or intruded action are formed by attaching the *-shin* morpheme, literally meaning “but”<sup>15</sup>, onto the verb in a dependent sentence. The *-shin* attached verb in the dependent sentence may be progressive inflected ((114), adapted from Hirut, 2007:106), but it may also

<sup>15</sup> “*shin*” can be both an independent word and a suffix. It shows up in several contexts, in many of which *shin* has a rather abstract meaning unexplainable by my available data. The rationale for saying it literally means “but” is as follows:

- Shin* as a word: (i) **Shin** taan-a digg-eeddita.  
**But** 1SG-ACC prohibit-2PL.PAST  
 “But you prohibit me” (Luke 13:34)
- shin* as a morpheme: (ii) *Kiitett-abeykka-shin,* k'uma-a shamm-aaddi  
 Work-1SG.NEG.PAST-BUT food-ACC buy-1SG.PAST  
 “I did not work, but I bought food”

attach onto the bare stem as in (115), from my data, as linked by the vowel /ii/<sup>16</sup>. The finite sentence final verb provides the past tense reference.

- (114) Zino            haatsa            wad’-adi’ay-shin    agg-a            kes-aaddi  
 yesterday        water.ABS        swim-1SG.PROG-BUT leave-SG.CVB exit-1SG.PAST  
 “Yesterday I was swimming but then I quit it”        (Adapted from Hirut, 2007)

- (115) Nu            k’uma-a            m-iishin,  
 1PL.NOM        food-ACC        eat-BUT  
 karen            c’abu-u            sis-ett-eedda  
 outside        noise-NOM        hear-pass-3M.PAST  
 “We were eating when a noise was heard outside”

As a finite and sentence final verb, however, the progressive indicates presently ongoing (i.e. progressive or continuous) action as seen in (116) and (117). Attaching *-shin* to a sentence-final finite verb is ungrammatical<sup>17</sup>.

- (116) I            matsaafa-a        nabbab-ide’e (\*-shin)  
 3M.NOM        book-ACC        read-3M.PROG  
 “He is reading a book”

- (117) Na’a-y-nne            naatt-a            ogiya-n            ka’-ide’ino. (\*-shin)  
 Boy-NOM-CONJ        girl-F.NOM        road-LOC        play-3PL.PROG  
 “A boy and a girl are playing in the road”

### 3.3.6 The future

The following table (table 21) shows two de facto future tense inflections, termed the “intentional” and the “inferential”. The third paradigm listed (“certain”) is really the present tense paradigm except the 1SG and 1PL. The present tense forms are included because they are

<sup>16</sup> Alternatively, the /ii/ in *miishin* may be analyzed as the plural short converb inflection. A problem for this analysis is that a singular short converb equivalent is not attested in my data. The singular short converb equivalent to *miishin* would be *maashin*.

<sup>17</sup> *-shin* may, however, attach to the finite verb in conditional sentences, see 3.7.

used to talk about the future in some circumstances as explained below. In order for the present tense to refer to future action, temporal adverbs are needed. The intentional future is morphologically invariable. The inferential future inflects for person. The 1SG and 1PL inferential future is here listed as a compound construction as there does not seem to be a single morpheme for that combination.

Table 21: The declarative future of *wots*- “run”

	Intentional	Inferential	Certain (≈present positive)
1SG	wots-ana	(wots-ana-ga (kuppay))	wots-ana (not: wots-ay)
2SG	wots-ana	wots-ana <sup>18</sup>	wots-a
3M	wots-ana	wots-anawa	wots-ee
3F	wots-ana	wots-anano	wots-aw
1PL	wots-ana	(wots-ana-gi (kuppeto))	wots-ana (not: wots-eto)
2PL	wots-ana	wots-anita	wots-ita
3PL	wots-ana	wots-anawanta	wots-ino
Free translation 3M	He will run (his intention)	He will run (speaker thinks)	He (will) run (speaker knows)

If the stem consists of a single consonant, the first vowel of the intentional future elongates. The intentional future of *m*- “eat”, is *m-aana*. Previous descriptions of the Dawro future have listed a morphologically invariable future paradigm consisting of *-ana* for all persons (Allan, 1976; Hirut, 2007; Dawit, 2017) (i.e. my “intentional”). Bender (2000), extracting data and results from Azeb (1996), lists a morphologically variable future that roughly corresponds to my “inferential” paradigm above, with the exception of listing the simple *-ana* for the 1SG and 1PL, and listing 3F as *-ana(w)* and 3m as *-ane(wa)*. I found that all three kinds of future as presented in Table 21 are in use. See the pairs presented below in (118-123).

The intentional future is used if the speaker knows the intentions of the subject. The

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18 According to one informant, this 2SG form is really more of an order of the sort: “you will run! (because I say so!)”

inferential future is used when the speaker cannot know for certain whether the action will in fact take place, and/or if the speaker infers it. The certain future (i.e. the present tense with temporal adverbials) is used when the speaker has some sort of evidence to back up his claims. The certain future (i.e. co-opted present tense) requires temporal adverbs (or a context where it has been established that the talk is about the future and not the present) to be interpreted as having future reference. If (118) had lacked the adverb *wonti* - “tomorrow”, (118) would be interpreted as having present time reference. Consider the following, where the arrows explicate the implicature of the statement:

(118) **Wonti**            A                    Addis Ababa    **b-aw**  
tomorrow        3F.NOM            Addis Ababa    go-**3F.PRES**  
“Tomorrow she goes to Addis Ababa”→(I know, she told me)

(119) **Wonti**            A                    Addis Ababa    **b-anano**  
tomorrow        3F.NOM            Addis Ababa    go-**3F.FUT**  
“Tomorrow she will go to Addis Ababa”→(Inference, not certain)

As for the 1<sup>st</sup> persons, the certain future and intentional future are identical. 1<sup>st</sup> persons know their own intentions. In order for a 1<sup>st</sup> person to speak of the future in uncertain terms it then becomes necessary to make that uncertainty clear. 1<sup>st</sup> person uncertain future is therefore a compound consisting of the complementizer *-ga* lit.: “say” which is used together with verbs of thinking.

(120) **Wonti**            ta                    wots-ana-**ga**    kupp-ay  
tomorrow        1SG.NOM            run-FUT-SAY    think-1SG.PRES  
“Tomorrow I will run, I think”

(121) **Wonti**            ta                    wots-ana  
tomorrow        1SG.NOM            run-FUT  
“Tomorrow I will run”

When speaking of certain things or even the rising of the sun, the inferential future is preferred, but it is possible to use the intentional future if the speaker wants to underline his certainty as absolute. Consider the following, where the first (122) is casual, and the second

(123) is considered an extremely confident statement and usually dispreferred in favor of the moderate (122). The certain future (the co-opted present tense) can be used given a temporal adverb and certainty in the same ways as explained in (118).

(122) Wonti            ushancha-y    ush-anawa  
 tomorrow        drinker-NOM    drink-3M.FUT  
 “Tomorrow the drinker will drink” → (inferred, since he always does)

(123) Wonti            ushancha-y    ush-ana  
 tomorrow        drinker-NOM    drink-FUT  
 “Tomorrow the drinker will drink” → (somehow known to be absolute truth)

As a consequence, the intentional future is linked to statements of a prophetic nature. Hence, the intentional future is frequently used in the NT text. The subjects and the future-marked verbs are in bold:

(124) **Isha-y**            bare    isha-a,            **aawu-u**            bare    na7a-a  
**brother-NOM** self    brother-ACC    **father-NOM**    self    boy-ACC  
 bolla **dendd-ana**; **naana-y**            bare-nttu            aatti-nne  
 above **stand-FUT**    **children-NOM**            self-PL.NOM    mother-CONJ  
 aawu-waa    bolla    dendd-iide,            untuntt-a            **wodh-iss-ana**  
 father-ACC    above    stand-PL.SS.ANT            3PL-ACC            **kill-CAUS-FUT**  
 “Brother will betray (=stand above) his brother, a father his son. Children will betray their fathers and mothers and have them killed.” (Matt. 10:21)

Example (124) is a prophecy of what will happen around and to the disciples in their mission. The NT also makes use of the “uncertain” future in contexts that are not prophetic. Example (125a) in the following example is from a parable. *he wode* “this time” refers back to an event specified earlier in the verse. Example (125b) shows that the person-inflected future (here 2PL *-anita*) is used to indicate only the possibility of future events.

- (125) a. **Unttuntu** he wode xoom-**anawantta**  
 3PL.NOM this time.ABS fast-3PL.FUT  
 “(At) this time they will fast” (Mark 2:20)
- b. Zaaringgiya-a **hinttentu** shodd-iidde,  
 weed-ACC 2PL.NOM uproot-PL.SS.SIM  
 zargga-anna shodd-**anita**  
 wheat-COM uproot-2PL.FUT  
 “While you uproot the weeds, you will/may also uproot the wheat”  
 (Matt 13:29)

The 3PL uncertain future *-anawantta* looks like it incorporates the nominalizer for plural agentive nouns *-wantta*. Even though that may be the case, *-anawantta* is the form given by the native speaker consultants for the 3PL future inflection. This similarity remains unexplained due to lack of data.

As the description of the Dawro future shows, Dawro futures seem to involve epistemic modality or features of evidentiality, or even both. The “certain future” is not a future in morphological terms since it co-opts present tense morphology, but I put forward the question: to what degree do the intentional future and the uncertain future, but also the “certain future” depend on epistemic modality or evidentiality in order to be licensed?

Consider first de Haan (2001:1) giving brief definitions of epistemic modality and evidentiality: “*One of the most interesting problems that scholars of evidentiality are faced with is the relation between evidentiality, the marking of the source of the information of the statement, and epistemic modality, the degree of confidence the speaker has in his or her statement.*”

Definitions of evidentiality are not homogenous in the literature. Aikhenvald (2004:3) claims that evidentiality *primarily* marks source of information, a subtle difference: “*Evidentiality is a linguistic category whose primary meaning is source of information. (...) without necessarily relating to the degree of speaker’s certainty concerning the statement or whether it is true or not.*”

Jacobsen (1986:3) straddles the border to modality when making reference to the speakers' judgements of the matter: "*I take evidentials to constitute a linguistic category which applies to predications that the speaker assumes have a reasonable likelihood of being true, but which he cannot vouch for out of direct observation or experience.*" What distinguishes his definition from epistemic modality is that even though the speaker is making assumptions on the likelihood of a predication, the speaker is dependent on some commitment to the external world. Epistemic modality, on the other hand, does not have to be dependent on external evidence and can in practice allow baseless confidence in a proposition.

The "certain future", meaning the formally present tense as used to refer to the future, may according to all three definitions be called an evidential future since its usage, as shown in (118) where the speaker was told of the subject's plans, is dependent on some external source (in (118): being informed by the referent of the grammatical subject herself of her plans). As for the futures formally marked as futures, i.e. the intentional and the inferential, we may categorize the intentional as an evidential only if we construe intention, meaning direct access to the intention without being told of said intentions, as an informational source. Being told of someone's intentions constitutes evidence that is used to licence usage of the formally present tense future. We may also say that both the intentional and the inferential futures are governed by epistemic modality since usage of the intentional future entails a high degree of confidence and the inferential future does not necessarily have anything to do with confidence. An inference is simply a conclusion based on some premises the speaker has. Thus, a speaker may use the inferential future to talk about the sunrise tomorrow because he draws a conclusion from past experience of sunrises. Due to experience that implies that the sun will rise also tomorrow, the speaker *infers* that the sun will rise tomorrow, and he may be very confident in his conclusion, but he does not *know* that the sun will rise tomorrow. Aikhenvald (2004:346) highlights the role of evidentials in prophetic statements in the Arawak language Tariana of the Amazon. In Tariana, the shamans speak of their prophetic visions by employing the visual evidential. Aikhenvald (2004:347) explains that this is because prophetic visions are "*tantamount to true visual experience.*" Using this as analogy, it now makes sense that the intentional future is dispreferred even in contexts of even trivial inference as in "the drinker will drink", as shown in examples (122) and (123). Native speaker consultants were also reluctant to use the intentional future in speak of natural cycles as "the sun will rise tomorrow". Confidence and certainty, i.e. epistemic modality, is thus not the governing principle behind the usage of the intentional future. Rather, the usage of the intentional future



depends on knowledge of the intentions of the subject, such that these intentions act as the evidential source. First persons know their intentions, but supernatural means are required to speak of the intentions of others without being told of those intentions. A prophecy is a statement that claims to speak of true futures by making a statement based on the unspoken intentions of others. Therefore, in the way prophecies in Tariana are “*tantamount to true visual experience*”, one may say that prophecies in Dawro are tantamount to *mind-reading*. The Dawro intentional future is thus an evidential since it relies on a source of information, namely knowledge of intentions. The Dawro inferential future relies on inferential evidence, the usage of the certain future requires two criteria: a temporal adverb referencing the future and adequate certainty backed by evidence that is not inferential. Hence, all Dawro futures are governed by evidential concerns and not epistemic concerns. The difference of confidence in the inferential and the certain futures is due to the nature of the evidence as inferential and reportive respectively. The possible differences in confidence in connection to the usage of those futures are therefore side effects, and hence not primarily epistemic.

Returning to morphology, the future interrogative is formed from the intentional future by vowel alternation of the last vowel, from /a/ to /i/. The plurals are *-anite*.

Table 22: The interrogative future of *wots-* “run”

	Interrogative
1SG	wots-ani
2SG	wots-ani
3M	wots-ani
3F	wots-ani
1PL	wots-anite
2PL	wots-anite
3PL	wots-anite
Free translation 3M	Will he run?

There is no discernible epistemic or evidential flavour to the interrogative future, it is a simple polar inquiry. A question-answer pair may look like the following:

- |       |                          |         |                |    |                      |           |
|-------|--------------------------|---------|----------------|----|----------------------|-----------|
| (126) | Q: Wonti                 | ne      | wots-ani?      | A: | Ee,                  | wots-ana! |
|       | tomorrow                 | 2SG.NOM | run-SG.FUT.INT |    | yes,                 | run-FUT   |
|       | “Will you run tomorrow?” |         |                |    | “Yes, (I) will run!” |           |

The morpheme *-adigg* coupled with the future forms a sentence with an urgent and aggressive sense. It remains unclear whether it may form future perfect constructions. In the following example, the context is that the speaker is unhappy with the parking of the addressee:

- |       |  |           |                   |
|-------|--|-----------|-------------------|
| (127) | Ta   | ne        | motori-ya         |
|       | 1SG.NOM  | 2SG.POSS  | car-ACC           |
|       | A  | sa'aappe  | akk-adigg-ana     |
|       | 3M.ACC   | place-ABL | take-COMplete-FUT |
|       | “I will absolutely take away your car from its place!” |           |                   |

Having presented the fully inflected finite verbs, I now turn to discussing issues of their morphological decomposition.

### 3.4 Decomposition of the main verbs

Some elements of Dawro verb inflections are recurrent. I will therefore first give a brief sketch of previous analyses before discussing if Dawro verb inflections should be treated as consisting of several morphemes or as portmanteau morphemes. The recurring elements in Dawro verb inflections have caused previous analyses of Dawro finite verbs to range from morphologically fusional (“portmanteau morphemes”), in the sense that there is one inflectional form encoding person, mood/polarity and tense/aspect, to the morphologically agglutinative by separating person from tense/aspect and mood/polarity. Allan (1976) treated verb inflections as single morphemes. Hirut (2007), Alebachew (2010), and Dawit (2017) all treat verb inflections as consisting of more than one morpheme except the present declarative positive, which according to them only consists of person marking. They moreover allow the existence of discontinuous morphemes for person marking, see (128c) below. Bender (2000) follows Hayward (1991) in having a notion of “characteristic vowel” (CV) which is first and

foremost an interesting regularity in some paradigms (past positive, past negative and positive progressive) without necessarily being a morpheme carrying individual meaning as such. The CV refers to the vowels closest to the verb stem in the positive past, negative past and progressive, see (128b). The CVs are *-i-* for the negative past and the progressive 3M and all the plurals. For the 3F and the rest of the singulars it is *-a-*. For the positive past, the CVs are *-ee-* for the 3M and plurals, *-aa-* for the 3F and the rest of the singulars. Allan (1976) also pointed out this regularity but did not put a name to it, see (128a). The three analyses are summed up schematically as follows, using the 1SG past positive declarative of *er-* “know”:

(128) a. Fusional analysis (Allan, 1976)

er-    -aaddi  
 know- -1SG.PAST

b. CV analysis (Hayward, 1991; Bender, 2000)

er-    -aa            -dd    -i  
 know- -CV(SG)    -PAST -1SG

c. Discontinuity analysis (Hirut, 2007; Alebachew, 2010; Dawit, 2017)

er-    -aa-    -dd    -i  
 know- -1SG- -PAST -1SG

The discontinuity analysis posits that most of the vowels are person marking together with the final, usual, person markings. The 3PL is thus analyzed as *-ee-dd-ino* → 3PL-PAST-3PL. For the negative present, the 3PL *-ikkino* is thus analysed as *-i-kk-ino* → 3PL-NEG-3PL. The CV analysis does not posit discontinuity and operates with CVs coding an opposition between 3M and the plurals on the one hand, and the rest of the singulars on the other. CVs are a common phenomenon in Omotic languages, with the clearest instantiations found in the Ometo cluster (Hayward, 1991), of which Dawro is part of the North Ometo branch. As my glosses show, I treat the Dawro finite verb inflections as portmanteau, but I find the notion of the CV useful. When I refer to the CV, I speak here merely of a sound and not a morpheme as such. I reject the discontinuity analysis since the CV as a concept is more useful in the sense that it accounts for the systematic vowel alternations found close to the stem in some inflections. The discontinuity analysis and the CV analysis both fail to account for the consonant alternation of the 3M in the negative, namely that 3M negative shows *-nn-* where the rest show

*-kk-*, see table 18 and table 19. In the subsections below, I point out recurring and non-recurring features in the paradigms, I explain the notion of CVs in more detail, and conclude that Dawro verb inflections are portmanteau.

### 3.4.1 Recurring features and non-recurring features

I will here go through recurring and non-recurring features in the Dawro main verb paradigms. I do not deal with the future tense inflections since it is a distinct paradigm, and none of the features found in the future tense paradigms appear in the paradigms of the other verbal inflections. The declarative inflections for 3PL and 1SG are illustrative:

Table 23: 3PL and 1SG declarative inflections (excluding the future)

	PRES. POS.	PRES. NEG.	PROG. POS.	PROG. NEG.	PAST POS.	PAST NEG.
3PL	-ino	-ikkino	-ide'ino	-ide'ikkino	-eeddino	-ibeekkino
1SG	-ay	-ikke	-adi'ay	-ade'ikke	-aaddi	-abikke

For the 3PL, *-ino* is ubiquitous and found at the end. For the 1SG, *-ay* is found in the present and progressive positives, the negatives show *-e* as final. The past positive ends in *-i*. The geminated *-kk-* figures in all the negatives. *-dd-* figures in the positive past, and *-b-* in the negative past. The progressive shows *-de' / -di'* with the alternation conditioned by the preceding CV *-i-* for the 3PL, *-a-* for the 1SG. The progressive negative, however, shows *-de'* regardless of CV. By breaking it down like this, one may posit the following morphemes:

Table 24: Recurring features in the verb inflections

3PL person marking: <i>-ino</i>	1SG person marking: <i>-ay</i> (POS. PRES. and PROG.)
Negation: <i>-kk</i> (but for 3M: <i>-nn</i> )	Progressive marker: <i>-de'</i> or <i>-di'</i>
Positive past: <i>-dd</i>	Negative past: <i>-b</i>

The person markers are the most variable. It is not possible to point out any one, cross-polar, cross temporal element that is the 1SG marker. This same problem is also found with other persons as can be seen from the paradigms. Table 23 also reveals an order to the elements in the inflections where: the CV may go after the stem, after which there may be information

about tense or aspect before there may be negation. Last, one always finds person. The positive declarative present tense is thus unmarked. A generalized schema of morpheme ordering would look like the following. The curly brackets indicate the slots that are optional:

Table 25: Generalized schema of morpheme ordering for finite verbs

STEM-            -{CV}            -{TENSE/ASPECT}    -{NEG}            -PERSON

The past negative and progressive negative mark all categories in the schema. The progressive positive and past positive mark all except negation. The present negative marks negative and person, the present positive marks only person. The present negative and positive do not have characteristic vowels.

I pointed out features of interrogative morphology when presenting the finite verb inflection in the previous section (3.3). To repeat, for the 2SG, 3F, and 3M, the interrogative morphology consists of vowel alternations of various kinds. For the 2PL, the inflection consistently shows the alternation *-ita* for declarative and *-ite* for interrogative. The 1SG interrogatives are consistent in showing the word-final /ta/ (/te/ for positive past<sup>19</sup>) as shown in the table below. The 1SG past negative shows neither, however:

Table 26: 1SG declarative and interrogative inflections

	PRES. POS.	PRES. NEG.	PROG. POS.	PROG. NEG.	PAST POS.	PAST NEG.
1SG – DECL.	-ay	-ikke	-adi'ay	-ade'ikke	-aaddi	-abikke
1SG – INTERR.	-ay <b>ta</b>	-ikk <b>eta</b>	-adi'ay <b>ta</b>	-ade'ikk <b>eta</b>	-aadd <b>ite</b>	-abikk <b>i</b>

The 1SG past negative alternates the final vowel instead. The interrogative vowel alternation in general tends to change the final vowel in the declarative to either /e/ or /i/. The 1PL present negative shows elongation of the final /o/, from: *-okko* (DECL.) → *-okkoo* (INTERR.). The 3PL interrogative is always morphologically identical to its declarative counterpart. Another

<sup>19</sup> Which incidentally makes the 1SG and the 2PL past positive interrogatives differ only in CV: 1SG **-aaddite**, 2SG: **-eaddite**

feature to note is that for the 2SG and 3F negative present and progressive interrogatives, the vowels on both sides of the consonants change, here illustrated by the negative present:

Table 27: 2SG and 3F negative present

2SG negative present:	Declarative: <i>-akka</i>	Interrogative: <i>-ikki</i>
3F negative present:	Declarative: <i>-ukku</i>	Interrogative: <i>-ekke</i>

The interrogative morphology is, compared to the declarative morphology, of a variable and non-uniform nature. It is hard to point to any one feature that contributes interrogative mood as interrogativity is encoded by different means for different persons. To sum up: the consonants in Dawro main verb inflections are regular and may identify features such as tense, aspect, and polarity. Person marking may often be found at the end of the inflections (with the 3PL *-ino* being the paragon example since it figures in every 3PL inflection dealt with here). It is, however, more often the case that it is the vowels in-between the consonants in conjunction with the inflection-final person-marking that define person. In consideration of the negative paradigms, it is clear that vowels in the negatives are distinct from their positive counterparts. Since it is possible to identify a negative verb by the consonants in its inflections, it is not explanatory to posit a new set of person-agreement vowels for specifically the negatives. By extension, this logic also applies to the interrogatives. Discontinuity analyses in the vein of Hirut (2007) of the negative and the interrogative would thus have to look like the following contrasted with the declarative. I use the 2SG present tense inflections for illustration:

Table 28: 2SG present tense discontinuity analysis

<b>POS. DECL.:</b>	<i>-aa</i>			<b>POS. INT.:</b>	<i>-ay</i>		
	-2SG				-2G.INT		
<b>NEG. DECL.:</b>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>-kk</i>	<i>-a</i>	<b>NEG. INT.:</b>	<i>-i-</i>	<i>-kk</i>	<i>-i</i>
	-2SG-	-NEG	-2SG		-2SG.INT-	-NEG	-2SG.INT

I reject the discontinuity analysis, and the CV-as-morpheme analysis since they both leave large amounts of vowels in the inflections unexplained or in turn would posit a very large inventory of person-markers that have no use outside of their own very limited domain. I now turn to considering the notion of CVs (as sound pattern, not morpheme) as an explanatory tool for the progressive and the negative past in particular.

### 3.4.2 Characteristic Vowels

The notion of CVs, Characteristic Vowels, was first put forward by Cerulli (1951) for the North Omotic language Kafa. CVs are prominent in other Omotic languages as well. Hayward (1991) is exclusively concerned with the phenomenon of CVs in Ometo languages in particular, a subgroup of the greater group of North Omotic languages. Dawro is an Ometo language. Hayward (1991) pointed out that, in his surveyed Ometo languages, the CVs are generally /a/ for 1SG, 2SG and 3F; /i/ for 1PL, 2PL, 3PL and 3M. CVs are not found in every paradigm. In Dawro, there are CVs in the past positive, past negative and progressive paradigms. For the past positive, Dawro shows /ee/ instead of /i/. Hayward presents the paradigms for the Gamo perfect affirmative (i.e. positive) and negative. Gamo is a closely related as well as neighbouring language to Dawro. Consider the Gamo 1SG and 1PL perfects of *šiik'* - “approach” as contrasted with the Dawro past equivalents of *shiik'* - “meet”:

Table 29: Gamo and Dawro characteristic vowels

Gamo perfect (Hayward, 1991):	affirmative	negative
1SG	<i>šiik'adis</i>	<i>šiik'a beekke</i>
1PL	<i>šiik'idos</i>	<i>šiik'i bookko</i>
Dawro past:	positive	negative
1SG	<i>shiik'-aaddi</i>	<i>shiik'-abikke</i>
1PL	<i>shiik'-eeddo</i>	<i>shiik'-ibookko</i>

CVs in the Dawro progressive paradigms follow the general pattern posited by Hayward (1991) of /a/ and /i/ alternation. This alternation has further consequences for the positive progressive, where the *-de'/-di'* alternation is conditioned by the CV. Hayward (1991) mentions Allan's (1976) “present affirmative” (my progressive, i.e. *-de'/-di'*) in his survey of languages that has CVs. Hayward (1991) does not pick up on the *-de'/-di'* alternation, however. The negative progressive, while alternating CV, shows *-de'* regardless of CV. The 1SG and 1PL are representative examples for illustration. The verb is *ush-* “drink”:

Table 30: Characteristic vowels in the progressive

1SG:	POS. PROG.:	<i>ush-adi'ay</i>	NEG. PROG.:	<i>ush-ade'ikke</i>
1PL:	POS. PROG.:	<i>ush-ide'eto</i>	NEG. PROG.:	<i>ush-ide'okko</i>

The progressive is according to Bender (2000), reporting from Azeb (1996), a compound consisting of a converb (see section 3.5) and a fully inflected finite verb *de'* - “exist/be present”. The converb here refers to the non-finite dependent verb that is marked as a short converb, meaning it is only marked as plural or as singular. The analysis of Azeb (1996) looks like the following:

Table 31: Compound analysis of the progressive

1PL progressive as a compound:	<i>ush-i</i>	<i>de'-eto</i>
	drink-PL.CVB	exist-1PL.PRES
	~“drinking, we exist /are present”	

When considering the 1SG, however, there is a problem. Dawro verb stems do not change their vowels. Under no circumstances does the verb *de'* - “exist/ be present” look like *di'*-. The 1SG of *de'* - “exist/be present” is *de'ay* and not *\*di'ay*. While the analysis of Azeb looks like an appealing diachronic hypothesis, it looks like *de'* - has gone from auxiliary verb to part of the progressive morpheme. The negative progressive still retains *de'* - without alternation, however.

The negative past may also seem to have been a compound diachronically. The CV appears in front of the negative past /b/. The /b/ may be related to the so-called unreal marker presented in chapter 2. The /b/ in both cases may, to speculate, ultimately be related to the predicative adjective *baawa* “absent”. Positing a stem *b*<sup>20</sup>, we may imagine the negative past as a compound, albeit without a proper meaning for *b*-:

Table 32: Compound analysis of the negative past

1SG negative past as compound:	<i>ush-a</i>	<i>b-ikke</i>
	drink-SG.CVB	“absent”-1SG.NEG.PRES
	~“Drinking, I was not”	

The negative past thus shows strong parallels to the progressive in that the the verb plus CV looks like a short converb and in the fact that *b*- (from *baawa*) may have verbal origins. Unlike the progressive, the possible origins of the negative past are not as transparent. It

<sup>20</sup> The verb “go” in the 3M present is: *bee*, giving the stem *b*-, which may complicate the speculation in table 32.



remains an open question if the CVs are artifacts of historical compounding akin to what is shown in Tables 31 and 32.

I have now discussed why I treat Dawro main verb inflections as portmanteau rather than as segmentable. Especially the consonant sequences, like the negative *-kk-* or the past tense *-dd-*, could be segmented out of the inflection, but this would leave too many vowels unexplained. I now turn to presenting the morphology of converbs (3.5) before moving on to the morphology of other dependent verbs (3.6) and finally conditional morphology (3.7).

### 3.5 Converbs

A converb is a verb that is dependent and that has special converb marking. A converb is dependent since it cannot appear without a governing sentence-final finite verb to provide information on tense, person, and mood. The term “converb” in the East-Africanist and Omoticist tradition is defined by Azeb & Dimmendaal (2006) as: “*non-finite verb forms marking a clausal dependency relation.*” Any verb can be a converb if marked as a converb. In Dawro, there are three types of converb inflections: same subject, different subject, and short same subject. There are no short converbs with different subject marking. The same subject converbs further mark a two-way person distinction between singular and plural, as well as anteriority or simultaneity to the finite sentence-final main-verb action<sup>21</sup>. The different subject converb only marks anteriority or simultaneity. The short same subject converb only marks a two way person distinction. A same subject converb indicates that the subject in the next clause (ignoring complement clauses or relative clauses) is the same as the one in the clause with said same-subject converb. A different subject converb indicates that the subject in the next clause (again, ignoring complement clauses or relative clauses) is different from the subject of the aforementioned different subject converb. Converbs are involved in clause-chaining constructions where there is a fully inflected main verb found at the end of a clause sequence which fixes the temporality of the sentence as well as defines the subject via agreement. Converbs never appear in sentence final position. I will here present the morphology of converbs, their syntax is dealt with in chapter 4, section 4.4.

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<sup>21</sup> Terms are following Azeb & Dimmendaal (2006). The precise semantics of the Dawro anterior and simultaneous converbs need further investigation. It is also unclear whether it is the case that the converbs are anterior or simultaneous only to the main verb or whether they may be relative to each other in some capacity.

### 3.5.1 Same subject converb

The inflections for the same subject anterior and simultaneous converbs are shown in the following table.

Table 33: Same subject anterior and simultaneous converb inflections of *be'*- “see”

	anterior	simultaneous
1SG	be'-aade	be'-adde
2SG	be'-aade	be'-adde
3M	be' -iidi /-iide	be'-iddi /-idde
3F	be'-aade	be'-adde
1PL	be' -iidi /-iide	be'-iddi /-idde
2PL	be' -iidi /-iide	be'-iddi /-idde
3PL	be' -iidi /-iide	be'-iddi /-idde

As for the two alternatives of the 3M and plural converbs, both varieties are attested and it remains an open question whether this is allophonic or not, or whether one form is preferred over the other for specific persons. As for glossing, I gloss the singulars as “SG”, the plurals as “PL”, and the 3M as “3M” when it is clear beyond a doubt that there is a 3M subject, and not a plural subject.

Same subject converbs signal that the subject of the following clause is the same as the subject of the mentioned same subject converb. Anterior converbs signal that the action happened before the main verb, that is, whether it finished or started before the main verb. Examples (129), (130) and (131) illustrate anterior converbs.

- (129) Deeshsha-a shukk-**aade**, ashu-wa k'ans'-adi'ay  
 goat-ACC slaughter-SG.SS.ANT meat-ACC cut-1SG.PROG  
 “Having slaughtered the goat, I’m cutting the meat”  
 “After slaughtering the goat, I (start) cutting the meat”

(130) Bitani-ya      dech-**iide**,                      Ababi              oyk-ett-eedda  
 man-acc      punch-3M.SS.ANT      Abebe.NOM      arrest-PASS-3M.PAST  
 “Having punched a man, Abebe got arrested”

(131) Yohaansi      gupp-**iide**                      miit-appe      avokado      akk-eedda  
 John.NOM      jump-3.SS.ANT              tree-ABL      avocado      take-3M.PAST  
 “John jumped, (and) took an avocado from the tree”

Simultaneous converbs signal that the action happens simultaneously with the main verb or extends beyond the main verb. (132) illustrates simultaneity. (133) and (134) illustrates simultaneity over punctual events.

(132) Ashu-wa      k’ans’-**adde**,      suyk’-aaddi  
 meat-ACC      cut-SG.SS.SIM      whistle-1SG.PAST  
 “While cutting the meat, I whistled”

(133) Wots-**adde**,      ta                      heezzu              shoshsha-a      yed’d’-aaddi  
 run-SG.SS.SIM      1sg.NOM              three              snake-ACC      step\_on-1SG.PAST  
 “While running, I stepped on three snakes”

(134) Wots-**adde**,      gaammu-wa      be’-aaddi  
 run-SG.SS.SIM      lion-ACC              see-1SG.PAST  
 “While running, I saw a lion”

### 3.5.2 Different subject converb

There are two different subject converb morphemes: *-oode* for anterior and *-ina* for simultaneous. They do not inflect for person. The following are minimal pairs. Notice the verb agreement and the sound made in (136): example (136) illustrates a case-assignment phenomenon in different-subject sentences where the referent of the nominative marked noun

in front of the converb acts simultaneously as the subject of the main clause and the object for the converb:

(135) a. Bitani appili-ya ah-**oode**, hara-y m-eedda  
 man.NOM apple-ACC pick-DS.ANT donkey-NOM eat-3M.PAST  
 “The man picked apples, the donkey ate (them)” (Sequential)  
 → “After the man picked the apples, the donkey ate (them)”

b. Bitani appili-ya ah-**ina**, hara-y m-eedda  
 man.NOM apple-ACC pick-DS.SIM donkey-NOM eat-3M.PAST  
 “The man picked apples, the donkey ate (them)” (simultaneous)  
 “While the man picked apples, the donkey ate (them)”

(136) a. Gawara-y dagants-**oode**, miu g-ee  
 cat-NOM disturb-DS.ANT meow say-3M.PRES  
 “After disturbing a cat, it meows”

b. Gawara-y dagants-**ina**, miu g-ee  
 cat-NOM disturb-DS.SIM meow say-3M.PRES  
 “While disturbing a cat, it meows”

Different subject converbs signal that the subject of the converb is not the same as the subject of the next clause, example (135a-b) shows this clearly by introducing a subject in both clauses. In (136a-b), the subject of the converb is some unexpressed person and *gawaray* “cat” is rather the subject of the main clause verb (*miu gee* “say (meow)”, and the object of the converb *dagants-* “bother”. Examples (136a-b) thus illustrates that the nominative noun closest to the converb does not have to be the subject of the converb. *Gawaray* “cat” is the main clause subject and not the converb subject due to the fact that the main verb *gee* “say” agrees with *gawaray* “cat”. Contrast with (137) below where the nominative subject of the converb *dagants-* “bother”, is not the subject of the main clause. Instead, the main clause subject is coreferential with the accusative marked object of the converb, namely the female cat – *gawaratto*. Inflecting the verb as 3m is thus ungrammatical:

- (137) Gawara-y      gawara-tt-o      dagants-ina,      miu      g-aw      /\*g-ee  
           cat-NOM      cat-F-F.ACC      bother-DS.SIM      meow      say-3F.PRES      /\*say-3M.PRES  
           “While the tomcat bothers the female cat, she meows”

Apparently, if there is a single nominative-marked noun in the sentence, then that may be the main clause subject, with the converb subject being unexpressed. If we introduce more overt arguments, there are locality constraints barring nominative-marked nouns from being the subject of any verb that is not their closest verb, i.e. *gawaray* “cat” must be the subject of *dagants-* “bother” and not *g-* “say”.

If there are several nominative-marked nouns in a sentence consisting of a converb and a sentence-final finite verb, then the subject of any given verb is found in its own clause. In the following example (138a), *untuntu* “they” is the subject of the converb *kesina* “go out”. The subject of the next clause – the main clause – is *ta* “I”. (138b) is ungrammatical because the presence of the two nominative-marked pronouns compete for subject-hood at the same level and it becomes impossible to determine which pronoun is the subject of the converb (if there were no 1SG pronouns in (138a-b), however, the sentences would be grammatical due to pro-drop and subject-verb agreement).

- (138) a.      Untuntu      shank-aw      kes-**ina**,  
                   3PL.NOM      hunt-INF      go\_out-DS.SIM  
                   ta              shoshsha-a      demm-aaddi  
                   1SG.NOM      snake-ACC      find-1SG.PAST  
                   “While they were out to hunt, I found a snake”
- b.      \*Ta              untuntu      shank-aw      kes-**ina**,  
                   1SG.NOM      3PL.NOM      hunt-INF      go\_out-DS.SIM  
                   shoshsha-a      demm-aaddi  
                   snake-ACC      find-1SG.PAST  
                   “\*I they were out to hunt, I found a snake”

### 3.5.3 Short converb

The short converb is made up of the verb stem plus a single vowel, as seen with *hemetti* in (139) below. The single vowels are identical to the “Characteristic Vowels” as found in the main verb inflections. The short converb endings are *-a* for 1SG, 2SG, and 3F; *-i* for 3M, 1PL, 2PL, and 3PL. The short converb always has the same subject as the following verb. In glosses, I gloss the short converbs as “SG.CVB” and “PL.CVB” for the singulars and plurals in general, but gloss the 3M as “3M.CVB” even though it is formally identical to the plural short converbs. Short converbs appear in front of another, more inflected verb. Short converbs may take on an adverbial function as in the following example where the short converb functions like a manner adverbial:

- (139) Ababi            gaammu-wa    heera-kko    hamett-i      b-eedda  
Abebe.NOM    lion-ACC      locality-DIR    walk-3M.CVB    go-3M.PAST  
“Abebe went **walking** into the lion’s area”

Short converbs also appear in compound-like constructions where the combination of short converb plus main verb is the regular way of expressing the sense. In the following, the sense “be prepared” is obtained from the short converb of “be ready” and the main verb of “sit”:

- (140) Ta                wots-aw        giig-a                utt-aaddi  
1SG.NOM        run-INF        be\_ready-SG.CVB    sit-1SG.PAST  
“I am prepared to run”

Short converbs also appear denoting an action in an action sequence and may take their own object:

- (141) Shoshsha-a    be’-aade,        shuch-a        akk-a                wod’-aaddi  
snake-ACC      see-SG.SS.ANT    stone-ACC      take-SG.CVB    kill-1SG.PAST  
“Having seen a snake, I took a stone and killed it”  
“Having seen a snake, taking a stone, I killed it”

There are two translations due to the fact that converbs are inherently ambiguous, see section 4.4 for a discussion.

In sequential constructions, the long and the short converbs are interchangeable in the position before the sentence-final finite verb. The following example illustrates that both long and short converbs are acceptable in sequential constructions:

- (142) I                   wora-n            b-iide,            shoshsha-a    be'-iide,  
           3M.NOM        forest-LOC    go-3M.SS.ANT snake-ACC    see-3M.SS.ANT  
           shucha-a    akk-i            (/-iide)        wod'-eedda  
           stone-ACC   take-3M.CVB   (/-3M.SS.ANT) kill-3M.PAST  
           “He was walking in the forest when he saw a snake, took a stone and killed it”  
           “He was walking in the forest when he saw a snake, taking a stone, he killed it”

### 3.5.4 Negative converb

The negative converb is morphologically invariable and marks neither anteriority nor simultaneity. The morpheme is *-ennan*, which is similar to the negative declarative 3M present morpheme *-enna*.

- (143) Ayanne           sham-**ennan**, untuntu            b-eeddino  
           anything       buy-NEG.CVB 3PL.NOM        go-3PL.PAST  
           “Without buying anything, they left”
- (144) Zawa-a           k'ant-**ennan**,  
           border-ACC   cross-NEG.CVB  
           Yohaanis-i   k'uma            ketta-a           s'eell-eedda  
           John-NOM    food.ABS        house-ACC       look-3M.PAST  
           “Not having crossed/not crossing the border, John looked for an inn”

### 3.5.5 “Right-After” converb

The “Right After” converb (RA) is any verb ending in *-osana*. *-osana* is a specialized immediacy marker used to express immediate anteriority in contexts where something “just” happened and the following event is a notably fast reaction to the action denoted by the *-osana* verb. I group these together with the converbs because they show relative time

reference, which is similar to the other converbs. They also appear in the same position as the other converbs and are dependent on the sentence-final finite verb.

- (145) I                    marziya-a    ush-**osana**,                    hayk'k'-eedda  
           3M.NOM        poison-ACC    drink-**RA.CVB**                die-3M.PAST  
           “Quickly after drinking the poison, he died”

If attaching the focus marker *-kka*, the reaction is even faster:

- (146) I                    marziya-a    ush-**osana-kka**,                hayk'k'-eedda  
           3M.NOM        poison-ACC    drink-**RA.CVB-FOC**            die-3M.PAST  
           “Immediately after drinking the poison, he died”

Alternatively it is used to emphasize that the action happened at the “very same” moment as the reaction in order to highlight the allegedly amazing reaction time:

- (147) Ta                    isha-y        shoshsha-a    be'-**osana-kka**,  
           1SG.POSS    brother-NOM    snake-ACC    see-**RA.CVB-FOC**  
           shucha-a    akk-i        wod'-iss-eedda  
           stone-ACC    take-3M.CVB    kill-CAUS-3M.PAST  
           “My brother, having JUST seen a snake, took a stone and had it killed”

### 3.6 Complementizers

A complement clause functions as a (core) argument of a higher order clause (Dixon 2006:15). Dawro has unique complementizing morphology which attaches to a verb. The verb may be past tense, future tense, or a participle that signals simultaneity to the main clause verb. Here I present seven complementizers. Alebachew Biadgie (2010), in his MA-thesis “Verb Complements in Dawro”, identified five complementizing morphemes in Dawro. My own data revealed two additional complementizing morphemes. In chapter 4 I deal with the syntax of complement clauses. Chapter 4 also looks at Dawro complementizing morphemes, particularly *-we*, *-wa*, and *-wu*, as markers of “clausal case”, essentially acting as nominalizers. There is additional complementizing morphology I deal with in chapter 4 as a



consequence of considering “clausal case”, namely oblique case markers and other morphology as they attach to whole clauses.

### 3.6.1 Alebachew on complementizers and two other complementizers

Alebachew responds to claims in Allan (1976). Allan claims that there are two complementizing suffixes *-naw* and *-ewa* for same and different subject respectively in the complement clause as relative to the matrix clause. Alebachew shows an alternative analysis where the complementizer morphology is really *-w* (from *-naw*) and *-wa* instead of *-ewa*. As for the leftovers after the reanalysis of the two complementizers, *-na-* is part of *-ana* (which according to Alebachew is an infinitive marker). As for *-e-* from *-ewa* Alebachew found nothing in his data to support an analysis where it is part of a morpheme rather than the word it belongs to. Alebachew says, however, that there might be unknown dialectal differences between his own data and that of Allan (1976). Alebachew’s five complementizers are (i-v) below (Alebachew’s additional semantic judgements in parentheses), in addition to these, my own data revealed the complementizers in (vi, vii):

- |  |                |
|--|----------------|
| i. Infinitival object complement (with a sense of futurity): | <i>-w</i>      |
| ii. Object complement (with certainty of happening):         | <i>-wa</i>     |
| iii. Indirect commands and advice: object clause complement: | <i>-da</i>     |
| iv. Object complement (with “dubiousness”):                  | <i>-entto</i>  |
| v. Subject complement (with high confidence):                | <i>-we</i>     |
| vi. Indirect object complementizer:                          | <i>-wu</i>     |
| vii. Clitics selected by <i>kupp-</i> “think”:               | <i>=ga/=gi</i> |

My own data is lacking as to say anything about Alebachew’s additional semantic flavours of the complementizers as indicated in the parentheses. I will present the complementizers in the following order:

- (3.6.2) *-w* – infinitival complement
- (3.6.3) *-we* – complement clause is subject
- (3.6.4) *-wa* – complement clause is object
- (3.6.5) *-wu* – complement clause is indirect object
- (3.6.6) *-da* – indirect command or advice

(3.6.7) *-entto* – indirect question

(3.6.8) *=ga/=gi* – cliticizes onto the clause selected by *kupp-* “think”.

Notice that particularly the complementizers *-wa*, and *-wu* have vowels that correspond to, respectively, the accusative *-a* (which is also *-wa* for some nouns in some circumstances) and the /u/ of the dative case (as in: *naatt-uw* - girl-DAT). The subject complement *-we* does not correspond as directly to the nominative case sound-wise. This is further discussed in section 4.3.2.

### 3.6.2 Infinitival complementizer *-(a)w*

A clause with the infinitival complementizer marks infinitival complements. Allan (1976), to repeat, had a claim that *-naw* was a same-subject marker. Alebachew (2010:35) claimed *-w* to be an object complementizer and *-ana* to be an infinitive marker (sic). Here I claim the opposite, namely that *-ana* marks future (which explains why Alebachew found a “sense of futurity”) and term *-w* as an infinitival marker due to (150) below showing an infinitival complementizer *-aw* (the /a/ links the consonant in the stem to the complementizer *-w*) attaching directly to the stem. For single-consonant stems, like *m-* “eat”, the vowel /a/ in the future tense morpheme gets elongated:

(148) Ta            m-**aana-w**    koyy-ay  
1SG.NOM        eat-FUT-INF    want-1SG.PRES  
“I want to eat”

(149) Ta            dorsa-tu-wa    demm-**ana-w**    koyy-ay  
1SG.NOM        sheep-PL-ACC    find-FUT-INF    want-1SG.PRES  
“I want to find the sheep”

Alebachew’s “sense of futurity” is presumably due to the fact that the subordinate complement clause verb is inflected as future. The complementizer can attach to uninflected verbs as well, then signalling simultaneity. The following is a repetition of (138a) from section 3.5.2. The sentence describes two simultaneously ongoing events due to the converb being marked simultaneous. Since the complementizer *-aw* is attached directly to the stem of *shank-* “hunt”, the sense expressed is that the hunting was ongoing and concurrent to the time of finding the snake:

- (150) Untuntu shank-aw kes-ina,  
 3PL.NOM hunt-INF go\_out-DS.SIM  
 ta shoshsha-a demm-aaddi  
 1SG.NOM snake-ACC find-1SG.PAST  
 “While they were out to hunt, I found a snake”  
 alt.: “While they were out hunting, I found a snake”

The /a/ in *-aw* seems epenthetic due to *-w* not being able to attach onto a consonant by itself. The *-w* complementizer is not attested in my data to attach to verbs in the past tense, as in *\*shankeeddaw* – “\*to hunted/\*to have hunted”.

### 3.6.3 Subject complementizer *-we*

A clause with the subject complementizer takes the subject function in the main clause. *-we*, may, unlike the *-w* complementizer above, attach to a verb in the past tense, as seen in (151) below. The *-we* complementizer, as well as the *-wa* and *-wu* complementizers, attach either to verbs in the past tense, or onto an *-iya* participle verb. Past tense verbs in complement clauses signal anteriority to the matrix verb action (151a). Participle verbs in complement clauses signal simultaneity to the matrix verb action (151b). Past tense verbs in complement clauses are always identical to the 3M past tense form *-eedda* regardless of the gender, person, and number of the complement clause subject. In (151a), the complement clause subject is feminine and we would have otherwise expected the past tense verb in the complement clause to show the feminine *-aaddu*. In chapter 4, it is shown that past tense verbs in relative clauses follow the same pattern. Therefore, I gloss the past tense verbs in complement clauses (and relative clauses) as simply “PAST”, so as not to imply any agreement that is not there.

- (151) a. Maariya-a Kabbad-a shoc'-eedda-we siis-ett-eedda  
 Mary-F.NOM Kabbade-ACC punch-PAST-S.COMP hear-PASS-3M.PAST  
 “It was heard that Mary **punched** Kabbade”  
 “Mary’s punching Kabbade was heard”

- b. Maariya-a Kabbad-a shoc'-iya-we siis-ett-eedda  
 Mary-F.NOM Kabbade-ACC punch-PART-S.COMP hear-PASS-3M.PAST  
 “It was heard that Mary was **punching** Kabbade”  
 “Mary’s punching Kabbade was heard”

The main verb, *siisett-* agrees with the *-we* clause, and since agreement defaults to 3M, the main verb is 3M.

### 3.6.4 Object complementizer *-wa*

The object complement clause takes the object function in the main clause. Consider the following example where the main clause subject is *ta* – “I” in the short nominative, and the complement clause subject is *taani* – “I” in the long nominative. The complement clause is in brackets. Had *ush-* “drink” in (152) been in the participle form, then the translation would be “I believe I am drinking”:

- (152) Ta [taan-i zizoni ush-**eedda-wa**], amanett-ay  
 1SG.NOM 1SG.NOM yesterday drink-PAST-O.COMP believe-1SG.PRES  
 “I believe I drank yesterday”

If the complement clause action is simultaneous to the main verb, then the complement verb takes the participle, *-iya*. Had *m-* “eat” in (153) been in the past tense, then the translation would be: “Abebe wants Kabbade to have eaten food”.

- (153) Ababi [Kabbade k'uma-a m-**iya-wa**] koyy-ee  
 Abebe.NOM Kabbade.NOM food-ACC eat-PART-O.COMP want-3M.PRES  
 “Abebe wants Kabbade (to be) eating food /food-eating”  
 “Abebe wants Kabbade to eat food”

Both the subject complementizer *-we* and object complementizer *-wa* figure in predicate constructions. The two following examples are adapted from Alebachew (2010). Alebachew used proper names that do not conform to the Dawro naming template (all the names in my data that may get marked for case end in the vowels /i/ or /e/). The names in (154-155) end in /o/ and /a/ and do not get case-marked. *Albazo* and *Baaruda* are therefore without marking

here. I have added *Kabbade*, a name that does conform to the naming template, to illustrate case assignment. The following examples are copula constructions and follow the case assignment pattern of copulas. Copula constructions have the subject in the nominative and the predicate in the accusative. The copula is null:

- (154) [Naatt-a        wod'-eedda-**we**]        Albazo        (/Kabbad-a)  
 girl-F.NOM    kill-PAST-S.**COMP**    Albazo        (/Kabbade-ACC)  
 “The girl’s killer is Albazo (/Kabbade)”        (Alebachew, ex. 105.)

- (155) Albazo(/Kabbade)                [Baaruda        wod'-eedda-**wa**]  
 Albazo(/Kabbade.NOM)        Baaruda        kill-PAST-**O.COMP**  
 “Albazo (/Kabbade) is the one who killed Baaruda” (Alebachew, ex. 106.)  
 “Albazo (/Kabbade) is Baaruda’s killer”

The following illustrates two complementized participles in a predicative construction with a null-copula. The verb *de'*- “exist/be present” (NT orthography: *de7-*) is part of an embedded clause conveying direct speech (in the NT marked with double pointed brackets: << >>):

- (156) [<<Ammaneela>>    yaag-iyaa-**we**],  
 Immanuel.ABS        say-PART-S.**COMP**  
 [<<Xoossa-y nuuna-nna    de7-ee>>    yaag-iyaa-**waa**].  
 God-NOM        1PL-COM        exist-3M.PRES say-PART-**O.COMP**  
 “Saying “Immanuel” is saying “God is with us”” (Matt. 1:23)

### 3.6.5 Indirect object complementizer *-wu*

The *-wu* complementizer attaches onto clauses that function as an indirect object or oblique argument. A *-wu* complementized clause takes the same positions as a dative-marked noun. The *-wu* complementizer still needs further investigation, however, as data is scarce. In (157), the short 1SG pronoun is technically ambiguous between being a short nominative or possessive, which is why there are two alternative free translations, and two sets of brackets which illustrate the two alternatives. I discuss whether the presence of some complementizers result in nominalization of the clause in section 4.3.2. In (158), *bitani* is the understood

subject of both the complement clause and the matrix clause. In (159), *bitani* is only the subject of the matrix clause. The verb *akk-* can mean both “get” and “take”:

- (157) [Ta [wots-eedda-**wu**]], birra-a akk-aaddi  
 1SG.POSS(/NOM) run-PAST-IO.COMP money-ACC get-1SG.PAST  
 “I got money for my running”  
 “I got money for having run”
- (158) Bitani [wots-eedda-wu] misha-a akk-eedda  
 man.NOM run-PAST-IO.COMP prize-ACC get-3M.PAST  
 “The man got a prize for (his) running”
- (159) Bitani [ta wots-eedda-**wu**], birra-a akk-eedda  
 man.NOM 1SG.POSS run-PAST-IO.COMP money-ACC take-3M.PAST  
 “The man took money for my running”  
 “The man took money for me having run”

The *-wu* complementizer can also be used in manners similar to the infinitival *-w*. There is a subtle difference in sense between the following two examples as indicated in the free translations by the English *for* + participle, and *to* + infinitive constructions. Recall that the infinitival *-w* can attach directly onto the verb stem with an epenthetic vowel, as *-aw*. The indirect object complementizer *-wu* attaches onto the participle:

- (160) Ta wots-**iya-wu** giig-ay  
 1SG.NOM run-PART-IO.COMP be\_ready-1SG.PRES  
 “I ready (myself) for running”  
 “I am (getting) ready for running”
- (161) Ta wots-**aw** giig-ay  
 1SG.NOM run-INF be\_ready-1SG.PRES  
 “I ready (myself) to run”  
 “I am (getting) ready to run”

For comparison, in order to say that someone *is* ready as opposed to *getting ready*, Dawro uses the past tense of the main verb and the infinitive *-aw* attached to the verb stem:

- (162) Bitani            wots-aw            giig-eedda  
 man.NOM        run-INF            be\_ready-1SG.PAST  
 “The man is ready to run”

### 3.6.6 Indirect command or advice *-da*

*-da* is used to signal indirect commands or advice and is attested to attach onto a verb in the future inflection:

- (163) Ta                bitani                b-aana-**da**        ooch-aaddi  
 1SG.NOM        man.NOM            go-FUT-**INDIR**    ask-1SG.PAST  
 “I asked the man to go”

- (164) Ababi            Kabbade            m-aana-**da**        koyy-ee  
 Abebe.NOM    Kabbade.NOM    eat-FUT-**INDIR**    want-3M.PRES  
 “Abebe wants Kabbade to eat (something)”

The complementizer *-da* is like the infinitival *-w* in that it attaches to verbs in the future. In my data, *-da* is only attested to attach to verbs in the future tense. *-da* signals that the embedded subject should do the action as directed by the subject in the matrix clause. The following variation on (164), showing the infinitival *-w*, signals that the matrix subject does the action:

- (165) Ababi            Kabbad-a            m-aana-**w**        koyy-ee  
 Abebe.NOM    Kabbade-ACC    eat-FUT-**INF**        want-3M.PRES  
 “Ababe wants to eat Kabbade”

### 3.6.7 Question complement *-entto*

*-entto* is used where the complement is a question, and can be translated as “whether”. Subordinate tense-marked verbs lose their final vowel when *-entto* attaches, for (167) and (168) the tense markers *-ana* and *-eedda* lose their final /a/. *-entto*, like the infinitival *-w* may

attach directly onto the verb stem and onto the future, but unlike *-w* it may also attach onto the past tense.

- (166) Ababi Marta y-**entto** ooch-eedda  
 Abebe.NOM Martha come-Q ask-3M.PAST  
 “Abebe asked whether Martha is coming”
- (167) Ta bukk-an-**entto** er-ikke  
 1SG.NOM rain-FUT-Q know-1SG.NEG.PRES  
 “I don’t know whether it will rain”
- (168) Kawu-u iza b-eedd-**entto** ooch-eedda  
 King-NOM 3F.NOM go-PAST-Q ask-3M.PAST  
 “The king asked whether she had gone”

### 3.6.8 The =*ga*/=*gi* clitic

These two clitics come from the verb root *g-*, literally meaning “say”. As complementizers, they attach to clauses selected by the verb *kupp-* “think”. My data lacks instances where the clitic attaches to complement clauses selected by other verbs. The clitic has usages other than as a complementizer, however, and I will show those here. As complementizers, they alternate between =*ga* or =*gi* depending on whether the matrix subject is singular or plural respectively (the 3M patterns with the singulars and not the plurals here, as seen in (172) below where we would otherwise have expected =*gi* on account of the 3M *bitani* “man”):

- (169) Ta gem’ishsh-ana=**ga** kupp-**ay**  
 1SG.NOM sleep-FUT=SAY.SG think-1SG.PRES  
 “I think I will sleep”
- (170) Nu wots-ana=**gi** kupp-**eto**  
 1PL.NOM run-FUT=SAY.PL think-1PL.PRES  
 “We think we will run”



The =*ga*/=*gi* complementizer clitics may attach onto fully inflected verbs that agree with their subject as found in the complement clause. The complementizing suffixes presented above may attach only to a few possible verb forms depending on the complementizer, namely *-eedda*, *-iya*, *-ana*, or the bare stem. The =*ga*/=*gi* clitic attaches onto fully inflected verbs and seemingly have few restrictions, if any. Keep in mind that the verb *g-* “say”, as a short converb, is *ga* for singular and *gi* for plural (and the 3M), in the following, observe that we see =*ga* occurring with 3M subjects both inside the complement clause (171), and outside the complement clause (172). Had it been the case that we were dealing with the converbs *ga* and *gi*, we would expect *ga* in (171) on account of the 1SG matrix clause subject, and *gi* in (172) on account of the 3M matrix clause subject. Another argument for why they are not short converbs is because short converbs are same-subject only. In the following examples, the subjects of the complement clauses and the matrix clauses are different. The complement clauses are in brackets:

(171) [I                    dabidaabiya-a                    s’af-ee=**ga**]                    kupp-ay  
           3M.NOM            letter-ACC                    write-3M.PRES=**SAY.SG**            think-1SG.PRES  
           “He writes letters I think”

(172) Bitani            [gawara-tt-a    eceriya-a  
           man.NOM        cat-F-F.NOM    rat-ACC  
           yederts-ade’ukku=**ga**]            kupp-ee  
           chase-3F.PROG.NEG=**SAY.SG**    think-3M.PRES  
           “The man thinks that the cat is not chasing rats”

The clitic also has a diverse range of other usages. (173) shows it as an adverbializer:

(173) c’o’u=**ga**        gem’ishsh-a  
           silent=**SAY.SG**    sleep-2SG.IMP  
           “Sleep quietly!”

But this does not work in all cases:

(174) \*lo’o=**ga**        shank-a  
           good=**SAY.SG**    hunt-2SG.IMP  
           “Hunt good!”

Instead, if attaching =*ga* onto an adjective suffixed by *-iya*, we get a modified sense. In the following, “good” becomes “not bad” according to the intuitions of the native speaker consultants and is felicitous if someone asks “how was the hunt?” It is unclear whether such constructions should be analysed as copular or adjectival.

- (175) lo’-iya=**ga**                    shanka-a  
           good-PART=SAY.SG    hunt-ACC  
           “the hunt was not bad”  
           Alt.: “A not bad hunt”

Another discourse-dependent usage of =*ga* is confirmation. The following would be felicitous to say if the speaker has heard a claim about the dog in the utterance beforehand, but wants to check for himself, and then says the following, confirming what he had heard before:

- (176) tsink-**iya**=**ga**                kana-y  
           stink-PART=SAY.SG    dog-NOM  
           “The dog sure is stinking”  
           Alt.: “a really stinking dog”

Lord (1993) identified a cross-linguistic trend in grammaticalization where “say” verbs, like *g-* in Dawro, get grammaticalized into light verbs and then into suffixes used in modification. The two-way person distinction of *g-* is reminiscent of the converbs, particularly the short converb, where the endings are simply *-a* for singular and *-i* for plurals. The crucial difference here is that *g-*, when the matrix subject is 3M, as in (172) above, patterns with the singulars and not the plurals, which would be the expected pattern. The verb *g-* can be used as a fully inflected main verb, but then as a “dummy” verb in that it does not denote a proper action. This is a well-known feature of Ethiopian languages. Ferguson (1976:71) writes that there are “many verbs consisting of a noun-like or interjection-like “preverb” plus a semantically colourless auxiliary, commonly the verb “to say””. Wakasa (2008) relates this to Wolaytta (North Ometo), where he treats the word in front of the verb of saying as a “preverb”. The equivalent construction in Dawro can be seen in example (177) where *c’o’u* – “silent” would function as a “preverb” to the semantically colourless (i.e. bleached) *gee* – lit.: “he says”, the resulting construction means “he stays silent”. Azeb (2001) on Maale (South Ometo), reports that a semantically bleached verb of saying, for Maale: “*geʔ-*“, is used as a verbalizing element for predicative ideophones (words that evoke an idea through its sound) in Maale

such that an ideophone associated with fastness and lightness (the first word) may be verbalized by *geʔ-*, as in *lúkkúlúkkú geʔ-* “walk fast and with light steps” (Azeb, 2001:255). My data does not contain such ideophonic constructions for Dawro (except, of course, the sentences involving “meow” in section 3.5.2), but the family resemblance is clear with both Wolaytta and Maale.

In both the sentences below, the tense-inflected *g-* only functions to set the tense-reference of the sentence as a whole. Consequently, (177) is as a whole in the present tense and the verb *gee* “(he) says” agrees with a 3M person which due to the different subject converb *odina* is coreferential with the dative pronoun *aw* which is the indirect object of *odina*. The 3M subject of *gee* does not actually say anything since he is silent. The present tense verb *gee* only serves to indicate present tense. Example (178) places the arrival of the king, due to the anterior converb *yiide*, before the reference time set by the past tense *geedda*. The 3M past tense verb *geedda* lit.: “said” agrees with *kawuu* “king”, but it is not the case that the “king” actually says anything:

(177) Ne                    ayaka                    aw                    od-ina                    c’o”u   **g-ee**  
 2SG.NOM            whatever            3M.DAT            tell-DS.SIM            silent   say-3M.PRES  
 “Whatever you tell him, he is (/stays) silent”

(178) Kawu-u            y-iide    **g-eedda**  
 king-NOM            come-3M.SS.ANT                            say-3M.PAST  
 “The king had arrived”  
 Alt.: “The king arrived already”

The fully inflected finite verb *g-* may be analysed as a light verb, which is a type of verb said to not predicate fully (Butt, 2010). The verb *g-*, in both the above examples does not indicate that anyone actually says anything. Hence, the fully inflected finite *g-* does not predicate fully. The verb *g-* only serves to provide tense information.

### 3.7 Conditional morphology

Dawro has unique morphology for indicative conditionals and subjunctive conditionals. In Dawro, the indicative conditional is in logical terms akin to a material conditional. The subjunctive conditional is an irrealis conditional for hypotheticals and potentialities. Concessive conditionals (“even if”, “although” etc.) are formed by suffixing the focus marker *-kka* onto the subjunctive conditional. Counterfactuals are formed by several means, but are based on the subjunctive conditional in all attested cases. Here I will present the conditional morphology found in my data. Precisely how the subjunctive conditional morphology works remains an open question due to lack of data. Allan (1976) analysed the conditional suffix *-oppe* (in Allan’s text: *-ope*) as marking conditional clauses in the future. He moreover analyses a pair of conditional-marking morphemes *-aditento* and *-adento* as marking “‘if’ clauses in past time” (Allan, 1976:348) which according to Allan (1976) figure in the dialects spoken in Waka (in the Dawro zone and east of the town Tarcha) and Gine (now an area within the Gamo-Gofa zone). These two do not appear in my data. As for the conditional *-oppe*, it does not seem to have anything to do with the future, and I analyse it as an indicative conditional.

Conditional clauses are types of adverbial clauses. Adverbial clauses are subordinate, but not complements since they are not arguments of the main verb (Payne, 1997:335). Dawro conditional morphology attaches to the dependent clause, which is the protasis, the condition. The apodosis, the consequence, is the matrix clause and contains the TAM-inflected main verb. The protasis is always first and to the left in the sentence, the apodosis is found to the right in the sentence and contains the sentence final TAM-inflected main verb. The indicative conditional suffix is *-oppe*. The following examples illustrate indicative conditionals. In (180) and (181), the focus markers on the 1SG pronouns yield “also” and “too” in the translations.

(179) Gawara-tt-a    garssa-n        de’-oppe                    gem’ishsh-aw  
          cat-F-F.NOM    inside-LOC    exist-IND.COND            sleep-3F.PRES  
          “If the cat is inside, she sleeps”

(180) Ne                    wots’-oppe    ta-kka                    wots-ana  
          2SG.NOM            run-IND.COND 1SG.NOM-FOC    run-FUT  
          “If you run, then I also run”

- (181) Gawaratt-a mitsa-a gi''-oppe ta-kka gi''-ana  
 cat-F.NOM tree-ACC climb-IND.COND 1SG.NOM-FOC climb-FUT  
 “If the cat can climb the tree, then I can too”

In conditionals where the protasis clause expresses a negated action, like *wotsenna* - “not run” below, then the conditional attaches to a copula *gid-*, yielding the literal translation “if there is no running”:

- (182) Ne wots'-enna gid-oppe ta-kka wots'-ikke  
 2SG.NOM run-NEG be-IND.COND 1SG.NOM-FOC run-1SG.NEG.PRES  
 “If you do not run, I also do not run”  
 alt.: “If there is no running (for you), then I also do not run”

As for the subjunctive conditionals, the suffixes are *-into* and *-anto* (as well as the additional suffixes *-iinontto* and *-ento*, introduced further below). These also attach to the verb in the protasis:

- (183) Ne ha shucha-a ha borsa-n  
 2SG.NOM this stone-ACC this bag-LOC  
 wots-**anto** ments-ee  
 put-SUBJ.COND break-3M.PRES  
 “If you were to put this stone in this bag, it would break”

- (184) Ta-w birra-y de'-into  
 1SG-DAT money-NOM exist-SUBJ.COND  
 ta ketta-a shamm-ana  
 1SG.NOM house-ACC buy-FUT  
 “I will buy a house, if there would be money for me”  
 “If I had the money, I would buy a house”

My data does not allow me to conclude on the mechanics of the *-into/-anto* alternation. Hence, they are glossed exactly the same. The alternation may be conditioned on person along the same lines as the converbs or the characteristic vowels, where *-into* is for 3M and the plurals, and *-anto* for the other singulars. However, there is also *-iinontto*, as shown in the

following examples, which shows up where there is a third person plural subject. One explanation is that *-into* is merged with the question complementizer *-entto*, another explanation is that it simply is the 3PL subjunctive conditional. Since I lack the relevant data, I gloss it as a subjunctive conditional:

- (185) Untuntu            **b-iinontto**            lo'a  
           3PL.NOM        go-SUBJ.COND        good  
           “If they would go, that would be good”

The subjunctive conditional may appear in conditionals where the sentence-final verb is an imperative. In example (186) from the Dawro NT below, the subjunctive conditional appears together with an imperative verb. In (186), the protasis is the first sentence where the sentence final verb is the imperative *xeellite* - “look!” The apodosis is then the declarative sentence that follows, where the sentence final verb is the negative *daaburikkino* “(they) are not exhausted”. The conditional meaning can then be rendered as having the general form: “look here, and you will see this”:

- (186) *Ciishsha-tu-u*            *woot-i*            *dicc-iinontto*  
           flower-PL-NOM        bloom-PL.CVB        grow-SUBJ.COND  
           *ane xeell-ite;*  
           where look-2PL.IMP  
           *Unttuntu kiitaa-n daabur-ikkino*  
           3PL.NOM        work-LOC        be\_exhausted-3PL.NEG.PRES  
           “If the flowers were to grow blooming, then: look there! They do do not exhaust  
           (themselves) in work” (Luke 12:27)

A subjunctive conditional is not necessarily a counterfactual conditional. In a counterfactual conditional, the protasis is presupposed to be false (Barwise, 1986:22). The protasis in a subjunctive conditional, however, is not necessarily presupposed to be false. Barwise (1986:22) writes that “[counterfactual conditionals] *are usually expressed using the subjunctive, but not always, and not all uses of subjunctive conditional sentences are counterfactual*”. For subjunctive conditionals it is rather that the protasis remains unproven, meaning that the usage of the subjunctive conditional is licensed when speaking of hypothetical situations. A more recent treatment of subjunctive conditionals is found in von Stechow (2012) who treats subjunctive conditionals as considering *possibilities* instead of

making claims to the truth or falsity of the protasis. Subjunctive conditionals are therefore in contrast to counterfactuals in that counterfactuals deal with the negation of a known truth, not necessarily possible truths. The protasis in subjunctive conditionals is then hypothetical or potential without reference to what is actually the case. Counterfactual conditionals in Dawro are formed by a subjunctive conditional, *-ento*<sup>22</sup>, which attaches to the protasis, and *-shin*, which attaches to the sentence final verb. The morpheme *-shin*, first introduced in section 3.3.5, literally means “but”, and can be used as an adversative conjunction, but its usage in counterfactuals shows that *-shin* has usages beyond conjunction:

- (187) Ta                    aduss-**ento**                    moodeliy-a    gid-ay-**shin**  
 1SG.NOM            tall-SUBJ.COND            model-ACC    be-1SG.PRES-BUT  
 “If I was taller, I would have been a model”

Subjunctive conditionals with negation – “unless” clauses – are also formed by the subjunctive conditional *-ento*. The adversative conjunctive suffix *-shin* attaches to the main verb:

- (188) Maakina-y    me'-ibeenn-**ento**                    saatiya-n gakk-ay-**shin**  
 car-NOM            break-3M.NEG.PAST-SUBJ.COND            time-LOC arrive-1SG-PRES-BUT  
 “Unless the car breaks down, I make it on time”  
 → “If the car doesn’t break down, I make it on time”

The example above is a hypothetical situation and not counterfactual. If the protasis is positive, as in (187), the interpretation is counterfactual if *-shin* attaches to the sentence final verb in the apodosis. Why (187) is counterfactual and (188) subjunctive is an open question, but the big difference between the two is that the protasis in (188) shows a negative verb, while in (187), the verb in the protasis is positive. Contrast this with (190) below, which is the concessive version of (187), where the sentence final verb, i.e. the verb in the apodosis, is negative. The concessive (190) also lacks the *-shin* morpheme.

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<sup>22</sup> *-ento* is rather similar to the question complementizer *-entto*. As with *-iinontto* above, I lack relevant data to explain why *-ento* looks like it does, how or why it differs from *-into* or *-anto*, and if the *-ento* and *-entto* similarity is of any consequence or substance.

Concessive clauses are in general formed by adding the focus marker *-kka* to the subjunctive conditional. (189-191) show concessive clauses with negative verb apodoses, (192-193) shows one with a positive verb apodosis:

- (189) Ne            ha    shucha-a    ha    borsa-n  
 2SG.NOM    this    stone-ACC    this    bag-LOC  
 wots-**anto-kka**    ments-enna  
 put-SUBJ.COND-FOC    break-3M.NEG.PRES  
 “Even if you put this stone in this bag, it does not break”

- (190) Ta            aduss-**ento-kka**    moodeliy-a    gid-ikke  
 1SG.NOM    tall-SUBJ.COND-FOC    model-ACC    be-1SG.NEG.PRES  
 “Even if I was tall, I would not be a model”

- (191) Moli-ya        iits-**anto-kka**,        kana-w        imm-okko  
 fish-ACC        bad-SUBJ.COND-FOC    dog-DAT        give-1PL.NEG.PRES  
 “Although the fish is bad, we do not give it to the dog”

It is also possible to express concessives by periphrasis, consider the following pair:

- (192) **K’assika**    ira-y            bukk-**into**,  
**even**            rain-NOM        rain-SUBJ.COND  
 nu            wonti            oosu-wa        b-aana  
 1PL.NOM        tomorrow        work-ACC        go-FUT  
 “Even if it rains, we go to work tomorrow”

- (193) Ira-y            bukk-**into-kka**  
 rain-NOM        rain-SUBJ.COND-FOC  
 nu            wonti            oosu-wa        b-aana  
 1PL.NOM        tomorrow        work-ACC        go-FUT  
 “Even if it rains, we go to work tomorrow”



In (192), instead of the focus marker *-kka*, the word *k'assika* - “even” is placed at the beginning of the sentence. The subjunctive conditional *-into* is still suffixed to the protasis in both cases.

Having presented aspects of Dawro verb morphology, I now turn to describing aspects of the Dawro verb syntax. Chapter 4 – the next chapter – after providing a brief overview of general Dawro syntax, describes aspects of the syntax of Dawro verbs as they appear in dependent clauses.

# 4 Syntax

I will here deal with the syntax of main clauses, relative clauses, complement clauses, converb clauses, clause chains, and monoclausality (a single clause with several predicational elements that predicate as a single predicate). Section 4.1 is a brief overview of Dawro word order. Section 4.2 presents relative clauses. Section 4.3 presents complement clauses and shows that some complement clauses are nominalized clauses. Section 4.4 deals with the syntax of converbs, clause-chains and monoclausality. First, I will define my terminology as I will use it to present Dawro clauses. A clause consists of a predicate and its arguments (Aikhenvald, 2015). Further distinctions of clause types are defined below, as informed by cross-linguistically defined clause type distinctions made in Lehmann (1988, 2004); Payne (1997:307); and Jendraschek (2007:19). For Dawro, let the following clause types be defined as:

**Main clause** – The clause that is headed by a finite verb found sentence finally. Predicate constructions with a zero-copula also count as main clauses even though there is no sentence final verb<sup>23</sup>. The main clause is the highest order superordinate matrix clause in a complex sentence. A sentence consists of at least a main clause, such sentences are shown in section 4.1.

**Matrix clause** – A clause upon which other clauses depend, i.e. a superordinate clause in a complex sentence, but not necessarily the main clause, as it is possible for other clause types to be a matrix clause.

**Dependent clause** – Any clause that is ungrammatical without a matrix clause. In Dawro, the following are types of dependent clauses:

- **Converb clause** – A clause headed by a converb. Converb clauses are dependent because they need the fully inflected sentence final verb to provide tense and person features.
- **Complement clause** – A clause that is an argument to the verb in the matrix clause.

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<sup>23</sup> If the copula is overt, it is sentence final. See section 4.1.

- **Relative clause** – A clause functioning as a noun modifier. Relative clauses in Dawro are preposed to the noun they modify.

A sentence in Dawro is always, barring zero-copula predicate constructions, headed by a sentence-final finite verb. A **complex sentence** in Dawro thus consists at least of a sentence final finite verb (excluding zero-copulas), which is the head of the main clause, the highest order superordinate clause, and a dependent clause of some sort.

## 4.1 Main clauses

Dawro is an SOV language. The subject is marked nominative, the object is marked accusative, the verb agrees with the subject:

- (194) Gawara-tt-a ec'eri-ya yederts-aw  
 cat-F-F.NOM rat-ACC chase-3F.PRES  
 “The cat chases the rat”

In Dawro, the subject does not have to be overt, allowing pro-drop:

- (195) a. Suyk'-ino b. Moli-ya shamm-aaddu  
 whistle-3PL.PRES fish-ACC buy-3F.PAST  
 “(They) whistle” “(She) bought fish”

Changes to the SOV order is rare, but it is possible to topicalize the object by preposing it. It is then strongly preferred to put a demonstrative in front of the object noun:

- (196) He bitani-ya michiratt-a shoc'-aw  
 this man-ACC woman-F.NOM hit-3F.PRES  
 “This man, the woman hits (him)”

The indirect object may go either before or after the direct object, the curly brackets indicate the possible positions:

- (197) Ta {new} birra-a {new} imm-ana  
 1SG.NOM {2SG.DAT} money-ACC {2SG.DAT} give-FUT  
 “I will give you money”

Recall from section 2.6 on adjectives that copula constructions may have a zero copula or an overt copula, (198) shows that there is little difference between adjectival and nominal predicates except that nominal predicates take accusative case in the positive declarative. In both positive declarative (198a) and interrogative (198b) present tense sentences, the copula is zero, but exceptions exist, as in the complex copula construction in example (199). In negative declarative (198c) and interrogative (198d) sentences, the copula is overt.

- (198) a. Taan-i wotsancha-a b. Taan-i wotsanch-e?  
 1SG-NOM runner-ACC 1SG-NOM runner-INT  
 “I am a runner” “Am I a runner?”
- c. Taan-i wotsancha-a gid-ikke  
 1SG-NOM runner-ACC be-1SG.NEG.PRES  
 “I am not a runner”
- d. Taan-i wotsancha-a gid-ikki?  
 1SG-NOM runner-ACC be-1SG.NEG.PRES.INT  
 “Am I not a runner?”

- (199) [*Asa-a sintha-n bonchch-ett-eedda-we*]  
 people-ACC face-LOC honor-PASS-PAST-S.COMP  
 [*Xoossa-a sintha-n tuna*] **gid-ee**  
 God-ACC face-LOC impure **be-3M.PRES**  
 “(That which is) in the face of people honored, **is** in the face of God impure”  
 (Luke 16:15)

## 4.2 Relative clauses

A relative clause is a noun modifier. Noun modifiers in Dawro precede the head noun. The verb in a relative clause can take two forms, namely with the participle *-iya* signaling simultaneity to the matrix clause, or it may be in the past tense, with *-eedda*, then signaling anteriority to the matrix clause. The verb in a relative clause does not inflect for person. The verb in a relative clause always precedes the head. The head noun in a relative clause is case marked according to its syntactic role in the matrix clause. Other nouns in the relative clause are marked according to their syntactic role in the relative clause. In the following, the dog, *kanaw*, is marked dative since it is the indirect object of the matrix clause. The noun *mishiratto* - “woman”, is marked accusative since it is the object in the relative clause. In the following examples, the brackets envelop the whole noun phrase that contains the relative clause, the head noun is in bold:

- (200) Ababi ashu-wa [mishiratt-o sa'-eedda **kana-w**]  
 Abebe.NOM meat-ACC woman-F.ACC bite-PAST **dog-DAT**  
 imm-eedda  
 give-3M.PAST  
 “Abebe gave meat to the dog that bit the woman”

As mentioned, the verb in the relative clause does not inflect for person. In the following, we would otherwise expect the verb in the relative clause to be marked feminine, namely as *-aaddu*.

- (201) [Ta kuttu-wa wu''-eedda **mishiratt-a**] polisi-ya shoc'-aaddu  
 1SG.POSS hen-ACC steal-PAST woman-F.NOM police-ACC hit-3F.PAST  
 “The woman who stole my hen hit the police”

- (202) [Hara-tt-a k'akk-eedda **asa-tu-u**] yek'k'-ino  
 donkey-F-F.NOM kick-PAST person-PL-NOM cry-3PL.PRES  
 “The people the female donkey kicked, cry”

The participle *-iya* attaches to the verb in the relative clause to signal simultaneity to the action of the matrix clause.

(203) Taan-i [kutto mara-tu-u  
 1SG-NOM hen.ABS youngling-PL-NOM  
 yederts-*iya* **asa-a**] dos-ikke  
 chase-PART person-ACC like-1SG.NEG.PRES  
 “I do not like the person who the chicks chase/are chasing”

(204) [I shamm-*iya* **moli** s’ink’-ee  
 3M.NOM buy-PART fish.NOM stink-3M.PRES  
 “The fish he is buying stinks”

(205) [Ogiya-n gem’ishsh-*iya* **kana-y** ahumett-*eedda*  
 road-LOC sleep-PART dog-NOM dream-3M.PAST  
 “The dog sleeping in the road dreamed”

### 4.3 Complement clauses

Complement clauses are identified by complementizing morphology, first introduced in section 3.6. The complementizers can be grouped in two ways. Morphologically they may be grouped according to what forms of the verb they may attach to. They may also group according to whether or not they nominalize the clause whose verb they attach to. The nominalizing complementizers may attach to verbs either in the participle form, *-iya*, or in the past tense form *-eedda*. The non-nominalizing complementizers are in general not as uniform in where they may attach. I will get back to the nominalizing complementizers in section 4.3.2 after first presenting the ones that do not nominalize.

### 4.3.1 Complementizers that do not nominalize

The complementizers I will deal with here are:

-*w* – infinitival complement

-*da* – indirect command or advice

-*entto* – indirect question

=*ga/=gi* – attested to attach to the complement clause of the verb *kupp*- “think”<sup>24</sup>

Here I will present their features in turn. These complementizers may attach to various forms of the verb of the complement clause, but neither of them are attested to attach to the participle *-iya*.

The complementizer *-w* may attach onto the bare verb stem, then realized as *-aw*. It may also attach to a verb in the future tense, yielding the interpretation that the action of the verb will happen in the future relative to the action of the verb in matrix clause. Consider the following examples where Haile, a famous long-distance runner, may in (206) be waiting for the starting shot, but in (207) is ready to run in a race that may take place in, for instance, a few hours or the next day. In the following examples, the complements are in brackets.

(206) Haile            [wotsa-w]    giig-eedda  
Haile.NOM    run-INF        be\_ready-3M.PAST  
“Haile is ready to run” → The race is now

(207) Haile            [wots-ana-w]    giig-eedda  
Haile.NOM    run-FUT-INF    be\_ready-3M.PAST  
“Haile is ready to run” → The race is some time in the future

Consider also the following examples where the difference lies in what the speaker believes he is about to do, opposed to what he believes he is doing right now:

(208) Ta            [taan-i        ush-ana-w],    amanett-ay  
1SG.NOM        1SG-NOM        drink-FUT-INF    believe-1SG.PRES  
“I believe I will drink”

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<sup>24</sup> As mentioned in section 3.6.8, I lack the relevant data to establish whether =*ga/=gi* may attach to the complements of other verbs as well.

- (209) Ta [taan-i ush-aw], amanett-ay  
 1SG.NOM 1SG-NOM drink-INF believe-1SG.PRES  
 “I believe I drink”

Infinitive complements may take the subject position in the sentence, yielding constructions with unexpressed subjects:

- (210) [Maakina-a lagg-ana-w] daro-ppe miik-enna  
 car-ACC drive-FUT-INF more-ABL be\_easy-3M.NEG.PRES  
 “To drive a car is not so easy”

- (211) [Kawu-wa kats-ana-w] zaarets-a oots-ee  
 dinner-ACC cook-FUT-INF practice-SG.CVB do-3M.PRES  
 “To cook dinner takes practice”

The complementizer *-da* is attested to attach to verbs in the future tense. Recall the pair from section 3.6.6, observe that a verb marked with *-da* signals that the second nominative marked noun, i.e. the embedded subject, should do the action. If the verb is marked with *-w*, then it is the matrix subject that does the action and the second noun, here the proper name *Kabbade*, is the object and marked accusative. Changing the case of *Kabbade* in (212) to accusative, or to nominative in (213) was rejected by the informants.

- (212) Ababi [Kabbade m-aana-da] koyy-ee  
 Abebe.NOM Kabbade.NOM eat-FUT-INDIR want-3M.PRES  
 “Abebe wants Kabbade to eat (something)”

- (213) Ababi [Kabbad-a m-aana-w] koyy-ee  
 Abebe.NOM Kabbade-ACC eat-FUT-INF want-3M.PRES  
 “Ababe wants to eat Kabbade”

The *-da* complementizer will often attach to complements of verbs of saying, such as *haasay-* “say”, *od-* “tell”, *ooch-* “ask”, *kiitt-* “order”, as well as *koyy-* “want”, as shown above. (214) is an example with *kiitt-* “order”:



- (214) Kawu-u [nuun-i untunt-a wod'-ana-da] kiitt-eedda  
king-NOM 1PL-NOM 3PL-ACC kill-FUT-INDIR order-3M.PAST  
“The king ordered us to kill them”

The *-da* complementizer, as well as the question complementizer *-entto*, and the *=ga/=gi* complementizer all attach to complements that take the object position in the sentence. Recall from section 3.6.7 that *-entto* may attach directly to the verb stem, after the future *-ana*, or after the past tense *-eedda*. The last vowel of the future and the past morphemes disappears when *-entto* attaches. The differences in meaning are illustrated in the following minimal triplet:

- (215) Ta bukk-**an**-entto er-ikke  
1SG.NOM rain-FUT-Q know-1SG.NEG.PRES  
“I don’t know whether it **will** rain”

- (216) Ta bukk-entto er-ikke  
1SG.NOM rain-Q know-1SG.NEG.PRES  
“I don’t know whether it **rains**”

- (217) Ta bukk-**eedd**-entto er-ikke  
1SG.NOM rain-PAST-Q know-1SG.NEG.PRES  
“I don’t know whether it **rained**”

The *=ga/=gi* complementizer attaches onto a fully inflected verb, unlike any other complementizer. In (218), *=ga* attaches onto a plural negative progressive verb:

- (218) Ababi [gawara-tu-u kana-a shank-ide'ikkino=**ga**]  
Abebe.NOM cat-PL-NOM dog-ACC hunt-3PL.PROG.NEG=**SAY.SG**  
kupp-ee  
think-3M.PRES  
“Abebe thinks that the cats are not hunting the dog”

### 4.3.2 Complementizers that do nominalize

Nominalization is a complementation strategy used in some of the world's languages (Dixon, 2006:37). Comrie & Thompson (2007:379) moreover write of "clausal nominalization" where clauses can be used in nominal constructions. In such languages, the complement clause itself is nominalized, as the clause has some properties that liken it to a noun. The verbal head of such a clause has no evidence for viewing it as a lexical noun, however. Clausal nominalization is unlike lexical nominalization. In lexical nominalization, the verb, due to the nominalization, changes category from verb to noun (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993:49). Some ways of lexical nominalization was shown in section 2.2.1. The following examples illustrate three manners of suffixing *ush-* "drink". Example (219) shows noun formation where case is simply added to the stem, yielding "a milk-drink". Example (220) shows an action nominal derived by the suffix *-uwa* and is used in a predicate construction: lit.: "milk drinking's good", which is a way of forming constructions with unexpressed subjects if there is no sentence final verb<sup>25</sup>. (221) illustrates clausal nominalization where the whole clause headed by the subject complementizer *-we* marked verb acts as the subject of the main clause.

(219) Maatsa-a      usha-a  
 milk-ACC      drink-ACC  
 "A milk-drink"

(220) Maatsa-a      ush-uwa      lo'a  
 milk-ACC      drink-NMLZ      good  
 "Milk drinking's good"  
 i.e.: "To drink milk is good"

(221) [Bitani      maatsa-a      ush-eedda-we]      siis-ett-eedda  
 man.NOM      milk-ACC      drink-PAST-S.COMP      hear-PASS-3M.PAST  
 "[The man's milk drinking] was heard"  
 "[That the man drank milk] was heard"

Thus, from the same stem *ush-*, (219) shows a noun, (220) shows a nominalized verb, and (221) shows a verb upon which an operation of clausal nominalization has taken place via the

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<sup>25</sup> Recall that the other way of forming constructions with unexpressed subjects is having the *-w* infinitival complementizer attached to a verb whose clause is in subject position as in examples (210) and (211). The *-w* infinitival requires a finite, sentence final verb, however, unlike the *-uwa* suffixed action nominal.

subject complementizer *-we*. I group the complementizers *-we*, *-wa*, and *-wu* together as the class of nominalizing complementizers. I mentioned that they show some similarity to noun-case markers in section 3.6.1. The idea here is then that these nominalizing complementizers are not only clausal nominalizers, but also akin to clausal case-marking. Dawro does indeed have the ability to case-mark a clause, consider the following example where we see the benefactive/oblique case marker *-ssi* attached to a verb:

- (222) [Tumu-wa hasay-eedda-**wassi**]  
 truth-ACC speak-PAST-COMP.FOR  
 S'ooss-i untunt-a ash-eedda  
 God-NOM they-ACC save-3M.PAST  
 “[By speaking the truth] God saved them”  
 “God saved them [for having spoken the truth]”

Here we run into a problem of decomposition. *-wassi* may be broken down into *-wa* and *-ssi*, which would mean that *-wa* can be a general marker of complementation, and that *-ssi* is simply the same case marker as it is on nouns. Alternatively, we may treat only *-w* as a general complementizer and treat all additional marking as case-marking, which would explain why the bare *-wa* is the object complementizer and *-wu* the indirect object complementizer, since *-a* is an accusative marker marking the object of a sentence. As for dative marking, it shows some variety, but the common feature is that it is a round or rounded vowel, as seen under “dative” in section 2.2.2. This analysis does not account for *-we*, however, as the expected vowel would be /i/, and not /e/ which rather gives associations to the absolutive form of a noun and hence not the nominative form (recall the opposition for the noun “donkey”, where *hare* is absolutive, and *hari* is nominative). Another insight one may pull from how noun case works in Dawro is that the cases nominative, accusative, absolutive and dative (as well as vocative), all attach comparatively close to the stem. Recall from section 2.2.2, as stated under “accusative”, that all the other cases, namely the benefactive/oblique, ablative, directional/allative, comitative, perlativ, and instrumental/locative, all attach onto the (technically) accusative form. Knowing this, one may see the resemblance in how the complementizers are marked. To draw an analogy, if *-wa* is to complement clauses as the accusative is to the noun, then it is not surprising that cases like the oblique/benefactive attaches onto *-wa*. The following NT example illustrates an ablative marked complement in a comparative construction:

- (223) [Neen-i koyro ooth-iyaa-**wappe**] [ha77i dar-iss-aade  
 2SG-NOM first do-PART-COMP.ABL now more-CAUS-SG.SS.ANT  
 ooth-iyaa-waa] taan-i er-ay.  
 do-PART-O.COMP 1SG-NOM know-1SG.PRES  
 “I know that [from what you first were doing], you now do much more” (Rev. 2:19)  
 Alt.: “I know that, [compared to what you did at first], you now do much more”

The equative marker *-adan* may be analysed to form an equative clause in the same manner:

- (224) [Ta bess-eedda-**wadan**] tookk-a  
 1SG.NOM show-PAST-COMP.EQ carry-2SG.IMP  
 “Carry [as I showed (you)!]”

Then one may revisit the *-we*, *-wa*, and *-wu* complementizers to see that they function like the nominative, accusative and dative marked constituents in a sentence respectively:

- (225) [Ababi Kabbad-a shoc'-eedda-**we**] er-ett-ee  
 Abebe.NOM Kabbade-ACC hit-PAST-S.COMP know-PASS-3M.PRES  
 “[Abebe’s hitting Kabbade] is known”  
 “[That Abebe hit Kabbade] is known”
- (226) Untuntu [Ababi Kabbad-a shoc'-eedda-**wa**] er-ino  
 3PL.NOM Abebe.NOM Kabbade-ACC hit-PAST-O.COMP know-3PL.PRES  
 “They know that [Abebe hit Kabbade]”
- (227) Wotsancha-y [wots-eedda-**wu**] misha-a akk-eedda  
 runner-NOM run-PAST-IO.COMP prize-ACC get-3M.PAST  
 “The runner got a prize [for running]”

Nominalized complement clauses showing other case-marking are not reliably attested in my available data. *-we*, *-wa* (and all that may attach after *-wa*) and *-wu* complements create

nominalized clauses since the clauses function like noun phrases. The marking on the verbs in these clauses are distinct from the other complementizers as dealt with in 4.3.1 since they may attach only to verbs in the *-iya* participle form or the past tense *-eedda*. Moreover, we see case-marking on these nominalized clauses. The following example further illustrates object complement clauses, here in a complex sentence where a complement clause is a matrix clause to a relative clause. The complement clause is in turn a complement in a converb clause which depends on the sentence final finite verb. The inner brackets envelop a relative clause with its NP, the next set of brackets envelop the complement clause, and the ones after that the converb clause. The matrix clause, which by itself reads *taani kanaa yedertsaaaddi* - “I chased the dog” is not in brackets:

- (228) Taan-i            [[[ bitani-ya    sa'-eedda    kana-y]    wots-*iya-wa*]  
 1SG-NOM            man-ACC    bite-PAST    dog-NOM    run-PART-O.COMP  
 be'-aade],            kana-a        yederts-aaddi  
 see-SS.ANT.SG        dog-ACC        chase-1SG.PAST  
 “I, having seen that the dog that bit the man was running away, chased the dog”  
 “I, having seen the running away of the dog that bit the man, chased the dog”

## 4.4 Converb syntax

Converbs may be the head of a clause. Such clauses will be called “converb clauses” and are discussed in section 4.4.1. Clauses containing converbs that are not heads are discussed in section 4.4.2. A converb is by definition a type of dependent verb (Azeb & Dimmendaal, 2006; Longacre 2007). Scholars disagree as to how to define converbs cross-linguistically. Haspelmath (1995:3) defines a converb as having adverbial features “*a non-finite verb form whose main function is marking adverbial subordination, taking converbs to be verbal adverbs, just like participles are verbal adjectives*”. Nedjalkov (1995:97) defines converbs more generally as “*a verb form which depends syntactically on another verb form, but is not its syntactic actant, i.e., does not realize its semantic valencies*.” In an East-African perspective, Azeb & Dimmendaal (2006:402) finds it to be the case that: “[converbs] *may grade into consecutive (medial) verbs on the one hand, and participles and gerunds on the other*”. This continuum has echoes from the semantic treatment of converbs by König (1995)

following Nedjalkov (1995) where the meanings of converbs are split into three: *specialized converbs*, performing some specialized function regardless of context, like indicating temporal relations; *contextual converbs* that take on a range of meanings but describe the background context or auxiliary information; and *narrative converbs*, that are also called *coordinative converbs*, in that they advance the narrative. In Dawro, the converbs take on meanings associated with *contextual converbs* and *narrative converbs*. As for *specialized converbs* Dawro has the “dummy verb” *g-* “say” which may be semantically bleached and only indicating temporality, as seen in section 3.6.8. Hence, Dawro has specialized finite, main verbs, rather than *specialized converbs* in the sense of Nedjalkov. Concerning terminology: I will here use the term “medial” in referring to converbs that head a non-final converb clause that advances the narrative, similar to what Nedjalkov calls *narrative converbs*. The term “adverbial” refers to converbs that are what Nedjalkov calls *contextual converbs*. This choice of terminology is following Azeb & Dimmendaal (2006), who mention the term “medial” in the quote above to capture a notion similar to *narrative converbs* in Nedjalkov (1995)<sup>26</sup>. The term “adverbial”, then, contains the converbs that grade into the “participles and gerunds” of Azeb & Dimmendaal (2006).

In Dawro, both types of converb usage (medial and adverbial) can be sensed in the following example, (229). The informants felt that there was a slight difference between (229a) and (229b), as attempted to capture in the translations. (229) will serve as a starting point of the discussion since it is a minimal pair. Problems of analyzing converbs will be discussed in the following section. (229a) is meant to exemplify a usage of the converb as sequential, i.e. medial. (229b) has the converb used as an adverbial, i.e. like a type of gerund. The only difference between the two is that in (229a), the subject is overtly expressed for both verbs, while in (229b) it is not:

- (229) a. Ta gem’ish-aade, ta ahumett-ay  
 1SG.NOM sleep-SG.SS.ANT 1SG.NOM dream-1SG.PRES  
 “I sleep, (and then) I dream”  
 \*“I dream, sleeping”

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<sup>26</sup> Nedjalkov (1995) actually reserves his term “narrative converb” for converbs in constructions involving three or more completed actions. According to Nedjalkov, then, (229) cannot show an instance of a narrative converb at all. The term “medial”, however, does not necessarily have such restrictions. The term “medial” is discussed further in the next section.

- b. Ta                    gem'ish-aade,                    ahumett-ay  
 1SG.NOM            sleep-SG.SS.ANT                    dream-1SG:PRES  
 "I dream, sleeping" alt.: "asleep, I dream"  
 \*"I sleep, (and then) I dream"

Azeb & Dimmendaal (2006) on converbs in an East-African perspective write, as mentioned, that converbs in this language area grade from the medial to the adverbial. Precisely what it means for converbs to grade between these two poles is ill-defined in the literature, and it certainly gives rise to problems in translation and analysis. The following section is thus a discussion of the Dawro converb continuum between adverbial and medial, trying to sketch their boundaries by seeing if the presence and placement of overt subjects make a difference in interpretation.

#### 4.4.1 Converb clauses and clause-chains

In order to illustrate what it means for a verb to be “medial”, consider clause-chains. A clause-chain consists of sequences of clauses headed by “defectively” marked verbs which all depend on a finite, fully inflected main verb (Haspelmath, 1995; Longacre, 2007; Dooley, 2010; Weisser, 2015). In Dawro, the “defectively marked verbs” are thus the converbs in that they, opposed to the main verbs, first and foremost mark whether the subject is the same or different from the next clause. If the converb is a same-subject converb, it marks a two-way person distinction. Converbs, both same and different subject<sup>27</sup>, moreover mark relative simultaneity (concurrent action relative to the matrix clause) or relative anteriority (action happened before, or started before, the matrix clause) only. This “defective” marking is what makes converbs unsuitable as main verbs since the converbs fail to determine absolute tense (i.e. a point of reference which relative time can be relative to). Converbs also do not mark mood. It is the sentence-final fully inflected main verb that determines tense, mood, and person. Dawro falls within what Longacre (2007) calls a “medial-final chaining language” because the main verb is found sentence finally. The converbs, which in clause chains function as the medial verbs, thus head their own medial (i.e. converb) clauses. Cross-linguistically, the term “medial verb” is not the same as cross-linguistic notions of “converb”.

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<sup>27</sup> This excludes the short converb, which is same-subject, but only marks a two-way person distinction, leaving anteriority or simultaneity unspecified.

For Dawro, however, the terms blur together since the functions of the converb (as morphological form of the verb) ranges from adverbial to medial (which are syntactic relations). Regarding Dawro, when I use the term “converb”, I thus refer to the form of the verb, when I use the term “medial”, I still talk about a converb, but I refer to its function as a medial verb in a clause-chain.

As for precisely how, in a cross-linguistic sense, the medial clauses in a clause-chain relate to each other, there is theoretical disagreement between scholars. The disagreement, from the perspective of current minimalist syntax, may be represented by Weisser (2015) who disagrees with Nonato (2014) on whether to analyse clause-chains as asymmetric coordination (Nonato, 2014) or as both subordinate and coordinate, but at different stages of the derivation (Weisser, 2015). From a typological perspective, this same disagreement may be observed in competing analyses of the converb, as explained in the last section, as either essentially adverbial (Haspelmath, 1995), or essentially something more open that allows converbs to be medial as well (Nedjalkov, 1995). Since converbs in Dawro embody a continuum between adverbial and medial usages, the clauses in a clause-chain also seem to be on a continuum. In translation, however, one is forced to translate the sentence such that the translation reflects either the medial or the adverbial usage of the converb. Hence, in all examples involving converbs, keep in mind that they can always be translated differently. Dooley (2010) points out this difficulty in translation regarding clause-chains and proposes a functional analytical apparatus employing the notions “foregrounding” and “backgrounding”, where foregrounded clauses correspond to mediality and backgrounding to adverbiality since backgrounding provides additional and auxiliary information to a sentence that is not part of the main events of the narrative, which in turn are situated in the foregrounded clauses. What follows are various examples of sentences containing converb clauses.

Consider the following examples where (230) shows a clause chain where every clause has the same subject, and (231), where the subject is switched twice. The brackets indicate the converb clauses, the converbs and the sentence final main verb are in bold:



- (230) [Naana-y tamaariti gollo-ppe **y-iide**],  
 children-NOM study.ABS house-ABL come-PL.SS.ANT  
 [soo kiita-a **kiitett-iide**],  
 house.ABS work-ACC work-PL.SS.ANT  
 [kawu-wa **m-iide**], miya-a **hem-ino**  
 dinner-ACC eat-PL.SS.ANT animal-ACC feed-3PL.PRES  
 “When the children come from school, they do housework, eat dinner, and feed the animals”

- (231) [I wora-n **b-iide**],  
 3M.NOM forest-LOC go-3M.SS.ANT  
 [be'-ennan shoshsha-a **yeed'd'-ina**]  
 see-NEG.CVB snake-ACC step\_on-DS.SIM  
 [shoshsha-y A gedi-ya **sa'-ina**]  
 snake-NOM 3M.ACC leg-ACC bite-DS.SIM  
 [shucha-a **akk-iide** **wod'-eedda**]  
 stone-ACC take-3M.SS.ANT kill-3M.PAST  
 “He walked in the forest and he stepped on a snake he didn’t see, the snake bit his leg, he took a stone and killed it”

In both examples, the narrative is advancing, and every verb describes a central event in the narrative, hence, (230) and (231) are instances of medial converbs. Converbs describing context, adverbial converbs, may appear in a clause with no overt subject, or with an overt subject. It seems to make little difference other than a possible pragmatic difference in topicalization arising from the placement of *dorsatu*, “the sheep”, in the sentence. In the following examples, observe the positions of the subjects (in bold):

- (232) [Gaammo-atu-wa yayy-iidi], **[dorssa-tu-u**  
 Lion-PL-ACC be\_scared-PL.SS.ANT sheep-PL-NOM  
 yuushshuw-a med'd'-eeddino]  
 circle-ACC form-3PL.PAST  
 “Scared by the lions, **the sheep** formed a circle”

- (233) [Dorssa-tu-u gaammo-atu-wa yayy-iidi],  
 sheep-PL-NOM lion-PL-ACC be\_scared-PL.SS.ANT  
 [yuushshuw-a med'd'-eeddino]  
 circle-ACC form-3PL.PAST  
 “**The sheep** got scared by the lions (and) formed a circle”  
 alt.: “**The sheep** scared by the lions formed a circle”

- (234) K'eeri iita kaldi-ya haasay-iide,  
 few bad joke-ACC speak-3M.SS.ANT  
 I haasay-aa er-iss-ee  
 3M.NOM speak-ACC know-CAUS-3M.PRES  
 “Having told a few bad jokes, **he** introduces the speaker”

- (235) I k'eeri iita kaldi-ya haasay-iide,  
 3M.NOM few bad joke-ACC speak-3M.SS.ANT  
 haasay-aa er-iss-ee  
 speak-ACC know-CAUS-3M.PRES  
 “**He**, having told a few bad jokes, introduces the speaker”

In converb constructions involving switch-reference, the converbs seem to always be medial in some capacity, even if there are only two actions expressed. Removing the overt subject of the converb clause creates a conditional clause. In (237) the subject of the converb clause is generic, in (239) the nominative marked noun is not the subject of the converb clause, but rather the matrix clause (as discussed in 3.5.2), and the subject of the converb clause is generic:

- (236) Ta appili-ya ah-ina ta daay-a m-aaddu  
 1SG.NOM apple-ACC pick-DS.SIM 1SG.POSS mother-F.NOM eat-3F.PAST  
 “I picked apples (and) my mother ate (them)”

(237) Appili-ya ah-ina ta daay-a m-aaddu  
 apple-ACC pick-DS.SIM 1SG.POSS mother-F.NOM eat-3F.PAST  
 “(If someone is) picking apples, my mother eats (them)”

(238) Gawara-y gawara-tt-o dagants-oode, miu g-anano  
 cat-NOM cat-F-F.NOM bother-DS.ANT meow say-F.FUT  
 “The tomcat will have bothered the female cat, (and) she will meow”

(239) Gawara-y dagants-oode, miu g-ee  
 cat-NOM bother-DS.ANT meow say-3M.PRES  
 “(If you) bother a cat, it meows”

Example (240) shows a usage of the absolutive case figuring in conditional sentences. The lack of overt subjects in the converb clauses in (237) and (239) create conditional senses. (240) shows that the presence of an absolutive noun can also yield a conditional sense. The converb clause, headed by *de'ina* - “exist”, consists of a demonstrative pronoun acting akin to an English dummy pronoun “there”, and the absolutive noun *metu* – “problem, trouble” (nominative: *metuu*, accusative: *metuwa*):

(240) K'assika hawa metu de'ina,  
 Unless there-ACC problem.ABS exist-DS.SIM,  
 maakina-tu-u wonti Addis Ababa b-iino  
 bus-PL-NOM tomorrow Addis Ababa go-3PL.PRES  
 “Unless there is a problem, the buses go to Addis Ababa tomorrow”

In sentences with three or more verbs where one of them marks different subject, then, if the different subject verb is not the first verb in the chain, the subject does not have to be restated in the clause headed by the different subject converb. Whether or not the subject is restated makes marginal difference in meaning as long as the subject is stated in the preceding clause. The following shows the pronoun *ta* “I” in curly brackets to show that it is optional:

- (241) [Ta dabidaabi-ya akk-aade] [{ta} ta kapu-wa  
 1SG.NOM letter-ACC get-SG.SS.ANT {1SG.NOM} 1SG.POSS boss-ACC  
 yedd-ina] [dabidaabi ogya-n bay-eedda]  
 send-DS.SIM letter.NOM way-LOC be\_lost-3M.PAST  
 “I got a letter, and {I} sending it to my boss, the letter got lost on the way”

As for the relationships between converbs and other manners of relating two or more actions to each other, consider the following where a participle construction accomplishes the same as a converb. The constructions with participles are relative clauses with the absolutive *wode* - “time” as the head in the participle constructions (242a) and (243a), examples (242b) and (243b) show the corresponding converb constructions:

- (242) a. Untunt-a s’ell-iyā wode, kawu-u miich-eedda  
 3PL-ACC see-PART time.ABS king-NOM smile-3M.PAST  
 “When seeing them, the king smiled”
- b. Untunt-a s’ell-idde, kawu-u miich-ee  
 3PL-ACC see-3M.SS.SIM king-NOM smile-3M.PRES  
 “Seeing them, the king smiled”
- (243) a. Untunt-a s’ell-eedda wode, kawu-u miich-eedda  
 3PL-ACC see-PAST time.ABS king-NOM smile-3M.PAST  
 “When he saw them, the king smiled”
- b. Untunt-a s’ell-iide, kawu-u miich-eedda  
 3PL-ACC see-3M.SS.ANT king-NOM smile-3M.PAST  
 “Having seen them, the king smiled”

I now turn to presenting and discussing converbs when they are adjacent to each other and do not head their own converb clause.

#### 4.4.2 Converbs that appear together

When a converb is found directly in front of another verb, then it does not head its own clause (but see (248) and the resulting discussion). Recall that in Dawro, regarding the marking on the verb, there is a three-way distinction between the least marked short converb, the long converb, and the most marked sentence-final, fully inflected finite verb. The first verb in such constructions is less marked than the second verb. Juxtaposition of verbs like this where two or more verbs are in the same clause may cause one to think of serial verb constructions. These “adjacent verb constructions” where one verb is more marked than the other, are not serial verb constructions precisely because the marking on the verbs are asymmetrical. The hallmark of serial verb constructions are, according to Bisang (1995) and Payne (1997), that verbs in serial verb constructions are equal in marking and should otherwise be able to head a sentence without changes to its morphology. Instead, these adjacent verb constructions constitute complex predication such that the verbs predicate as a single unit. Complex predicates are defined by Alsina et al. (1997:1) as: *“predicates which are multi-headed; they are composed of more than one grammatical element (either morphemes or words), each of which contributes part of the information ordinarily associated with a head”*. Butt (2010:49) defines complex predication as a *“construction that involves two or more predicational elements (such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives) which predicate as a single element, i.e. their arguments map onto a monoclausal syntactic structure.”* Butt (2010:57) further splits such monoclausal complex predication into constructions with primary or secondary predication. One may define secondary predication as a “predicate for the predicate”, and such constructions will be seen in the resultative and depictive constructions in (247). A common type of adjacent verb construction involve short converbs that are adverbial, in the sense that the short converb specifies the manner of the more marked verb:

- (244) a. Yaag-i            waass-eeddino            b. Yaag-i            ooch-eeddino  
           say-PL.CVB    shout-3PL.PAST            say-PL.CVB    ask-3PL.PAST  
           “Saying, they shouted”            “Saying, they asked”  
           “They shouted”                            “They asked”
- c. Hamett-i            b-eedda  
           walk-3M.CVB    go-3M.PAST  
           “Walking, he went”  
           “He walked”

As can be seen, these constructions consist of one verb that expresses a more general action, like going or saying, and another verb that specifies the manner of doing so. For examples (244a-b), the general action is expressed by the short converb, and the specification is expressed by the fully-inflected finite verb. For (244c), it is the other way around, where the general action is expressed by the fully-inflected finite verb and the specification by the converb. What conditions the relative order of the specifier verb and the general verb is an open question. For similar constructions with long converbs, consider the following:

- (245) a. Dhish-aade kaqq-a  
 peg-SG.SS.ANT hang-2SG.IMP  
 “Hang pegged!”  
 “Crucify!” (Luke 23:21)
- b. Galiila-anna aadhhdh-iide b-eeddino  
 Galilee-PER pass-PL.SS.ANT go-3PL.PAST  
 “They went passing through Galilee”  
 “They passed through Galilee” (Mark 9:30)

Constructions with adjacent verbs like the ones shown here, may for some combinations of verbs express what Dixon (2006) termed “secondary concepts”, which consist of verbs whose arguments are not all NPs. One such type of verb is what Dixon (2006) calls “beginning-type”, which consists of verbs like “begin”, “continue”, “finish” and so on. In Dawro, at least the concept “begin” can be expressed as a converb, with the other verb expressing what is being begun, namely “teaching” in the following example:

- (246) Doom-iidi tamars-ide’e  
 start-3M.SS.ANT teach-3M.PROG  
 “Start teaching”

Adjacent converb constructions may also express resultative or depictive secondary predicates, where a resultative, according to Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann (2006) describes a state of affairs that holds after the doing of the main action (in (247a), the sweeping is the main action and the result is “clean”). For a depictive, the state of affairs holds during the doing of the main action (in (247b), repeated from (245a), the pegging and the hanging holds at the same time):

- (247) a. Pit-ett-i                      geeyy-iide                      (...) demm-ee  
 sweep-PASS-PL.CVB    be\_clean-3M.SS.ANT                      find-3M.PRES  
 “He finds (it) swept clean” (Matt 12:44)
- b. Dhish-aade                      kaqq-a  
 peg-SG.SS.ANT                      hang-2SG.IMP  
 “Hang pegged!”  
 “Crucify!” (Luke 23:21)

It is not a given, however, that adjacent verb constructions, as seen above so far in this section, are always complex predicates. In the following, example (248a) shows a converb and a fully inflected finite verb that are simultaneously both intransitive verbs, verbs that express an individual action, and verbs that have the same subject. In (248b), the converb is transitive and the fully inflected finite verb is intransitive, the subject is shared between both verbs, but the object is only the object of the transitive verb. In (248c), one may also observe that the object of the main verb *wod'* - “kill” is found in the first converb clause, revealing an asymmetry in the possible choice of objects for verbs seeing as *shoshsha* – “snake” functions as the object of both *be'* - “see” and *wod'* - “kill”, while *shuchaa* – “stone” can only be the object of *akk*- “take”:

- (248) a. I                      gem'ishsh-iidi                      shankatt-ibeenna  
 3M.NOM                      sleep-3M.SS.ANT                      hunt-3M.NEG.PAST  
 “He slept and did not hunt”
- b. I                      k'uma-a                      m-iidde                      wots-ee  
 3M.NOM                      food-ACC                      eat-3M.SS.SIM                      run-3M.PRES  
 “He eats food and runs (at the same time)”  
 “He eats food while he runs”
- c. A                      shoshsha-a                      be-aade,  
 3F.NOM                      snake-ACC                      see-SG.SS.ANT  
 shucha-a                      akk-a                      wod'-aaddu  
 stone-ACC                      take-SG.CVB                      kill-3F.PAST  
 “She saw a snake, took a stone and killed it”  
 “She saw a snake, taking a stone she killed it”

A clause consists of a predicate and its arguments. In (248), the subject is shared among the verbs due to the converbs being same-subject converbs. Neither example in (248a-b), may receive manner adverbial readings. (248c) may, however, in that the taking of the stone can be interpreted as either a converb clause of its own, or as a manner adverbial as better conveyed in the second free translation. Whether or not adjacent verb constructions of the sort shown in (248) are instances of complex predication or individual clauses, remains outside of the scope of this thesis. If, however, two verbs share all arguments, they may be conjoined by the conjunction *-nne*. This is possible for fully inflected finite verbs, as seen in example (249), as well as for long converbs as shown in example (250). There is nothing in my data that show short converbs joined by *-nne*.

(249) Bare asa-a xomoos-eedda-**nne** woz-eedda  
 self people-ACC affirm-3M.PAST-CONJ save-3M.PAST  
 “He affirmed and saved his people” (Luke 1:68)

(250) Ubba-y he naatt-iw  
 all-NOM this girl-DAT  
 yeekk-iidde-**nne** kayyott-iiddi de7-ino  
 cry-PL.SS.SIM-CONJ be\_saddened-PL.SS.SIM exist-3PL.PRES  
 “All there are crying and mourning (lit.: being sad) for this girl” (Luke 6:52)

The presence of the verb *de'*- (NT: *de7*-) “exist/be\_present” in (250) still needs further investigation, but it seems to function as a marker of imperfectivity for the converbs, as in “*there is* crying and mourning”, alternatively as locational, as in “*those there* are crying and mourning”. Moreover, such constructions appear in narratives where sentences or clauses headed by *de'*- describe the background in a larger narrative. Such a usage of *de'*- is observable in (251) below. (251) shows two short converbs adjacent to each other without the *-nne* conjunction, and before the head *de'*-, which is here further suffixed with *-shin* – “but” (here in the NT *-ishshin*), which marks a clause break and may allow a new subject for the next clause:



- (251) Kaalliyawanttu (...) penggiya-a gordd-iidde,  
 disciples.NOM door-ACC shut-PL.SS.SIM  
**shiiq-i utt-i de7-ishshin,**  
 meet-PL.CVB sit-PL.CVB exist-BUT  
 Yesuusi y-iide (...).  
 Jesus.NOM come-3M.SS.ANT

“The disciples, having the door shut, were meeting and sitting there, when Jesus came...” (John 20:19)

In this section, I have shown some ways verbs may appear adjacent to each other without heading their own clauses. For adjacent verb constructions, the rule is that the verb of less morphological marking goes in front of the verb of more marking. Hence, a short converb may go in front of a long converb or a fully inflected finite verb, and a long converb may go in front of a fully inflected finite verb, but a fully inflected finite verb will always be placed sentence finally, and may not go in front of anything else. It is not necessarily always the case that adjacent verbs with asymmetric marking form complex predicates like those shown in (244-247). Example (248) shows three examples with adjacent verbs where it is not a given that they form complex predicates, and it is not clear precisely how verbs in such constructions relate to each other. Examples (249-251) showed that verbs with the same level of marking (two fully inflected finite verbs and two long, same-subject, converbs) may be conjoined by the *-nne* conjunction. Short converbs are not attested to appear with the *-nne* conjunction, but may appear adjacent to each other in constructions headed by the verb *de'*- whose function it was speculated either to imperfectivize the clause, putting it in the narrative background, or to define location.

# 5 Summary

This thesis has presented aspects of Dawro morphology and syntax, with a focus on verb morphology and syntax. The introduction - chapter 1 - mainly explained my methodological, logistical and practical intentions and realities, in addition to summarizing previous research and listing the original linguistic contributions of this thesis. Chapter 2 presented the grammar of Dawro through the works of previous researchers, by verifying their findings via my own data. In chapter 2 I also presented several previously undescribed features of the language, the most substantial contributions being the morphemes described in section 2.7, as well as the absolutive and benefactive cases. Chapter 3 presents the morphology of the sentence final fully inflected finite verbs in the first half, and the converb morphology, complement morphology (verified and expanded upon Alebachew's (2010) work), and the morphology of conditional clauses. Chapter 4 described the syntax of main clauses, relative clauses, complement clauses and converbs. Main contributions of chapter 4 include discovering that there are restrictions as to what forms of the verb may appear in relative clauses, namely that verbs in relative clauses may either take the participle morpheme *-iya* or the past tense morpheme *-eedda*, regardless of the person of the head or the relative clause subject. For complement clauses, a distinction was made between nominalizing and non-nominalizing complementizers. *-we*, *-wa*, *-wu* (and other case marking that may appear upon the base *-wa*), are nominalizing. *-w*, *-da*, *-entto*, and the *=ga/=gi* clitic are not nominalizing. Converbs may appear in clause-chains, for which I showed some semantic differences arising out of manipulating whether or not subjects are overt, as well as showing equivalent constructions involving participles and the word *wode*. Converbs also appear in complex predicates; as a result of discussing complex predicates and adjacent verbs, I also showed adjacent verbs that *may not* be complex predicates and adjacent verbs that *are not* complex predicates.

Undescribed features in the language remain. Some unanalyzed morphemes are presented in the appendix. Avenues for further study include: phonology and dialects, the semantics of the finite verbs, and the further syntax of Dawro converbs. As for nouns, the domain of the absolutive case relative to the accusative and nominative cases needs further study.

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**Dictionaries, Dawro learner's material, and the Dawro NT translation,  
bibliographical information:**

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Publisher: Dawro Zone Education Department, Tarcha.

Year: 2009 (Ethiopian), 2016/17 (Gregorian).

Title: *Dawrotsuwaa K'aalaa Biletsaa - Dawuro (Dawro) Dictionary*

Publisher: Dawuro Zooniyaan Timirtiya Kaaletsiyasaa (Dawro Zone Education Department), Tarc'c'a (Tarcha).

Year: 2002 (Ethiopian), 2009/10 (Gregorian)

Title: *Dawurootsuwa tamaariya mas'aafa 1-4tsa Kifiliya* (Dawro student's book grades 1-4)

Publisher: Dawuro Zooniya Timirtiya Oosuwa Kaaletsiyaa Sa'a, Tarc'a (Tarcha)

Year: 2009 (Ethiopian), 2016/17 (Gregorian)

Title: *Dawurootsuwa Tamaariya Mas'aafaa 1-4tsa Kifiliy* (Dawro teacher's book grades 1-4)

Publisher: Dawuro Zooniya Timirtiya Oosuwa Kaaletsiyaa Sa'a, Tarc'a (Tarcha)

Year: 2009 (Ethiopian), 2016/17 (Gregorian)

Title: *Oosuwan baasetto wozantsatuu tamaariya mas'aafaa 1-2 laytsaa* (Dawro for adults years 1-2)

Publisher: Dawuro Zooniya Timirtiya Oosuwa Kaaletsiyaa Sa'a, Tarc'a (Tarcha)

Year: 2009 (Ethiopian), 2016/17 (Gregorian)

Title: *Oosuwan baasetto wozantsatuu tamaariya mas'aafaa 1-2 laytsaa* (Teacher's guide: Dawro for adults years 1-2)

Publisher: Dawuro Zooniya Timirtiya Oosuwa Kaaletsiyaa Sa'a, Tarc'a (Tarcha)

Year: 2009 (Ethiopian), 2016/17 (Gregorian)

Title: *Ooratha Caaquwaa - Dawro New Testament*

Publisher: Wycliffe Bible Translators, Inc.

Year: 2011

Url: <http://ebible.org/Scriptures/details.php?id=dwrNT>



# Appendix

Some morphology in the Dawro NT and in the Dawro learning materials for native language instruction remains unknown. Some morphology is merely not very well analyzed due to having enough amounts of data to get a rough idea, but not enough data to be confident. Here I present a rough idea of some such morphemes not mentioned in the previous literature that has been left underanalyzed. The examples are from the Dawro NT. In addition to my translation, which is more literal, I give the same passage as it is rendered in the New International Version (NIV), where it may be rather different.

**-wunnu, -wunno:** These occur in the NT where there is a feminine subject or object. *-wunnu* seems to occur where there is a feminine subject:

- (A1) Iza                    attuma na7a-a                    yel-ana-**wunnu**, (...)  
 3F.F.NOM            male    boy-ACC                    give\_birth-FUT-*wunnu*  
 “She will give birth to a son (=male boy/male child)” (Matt 1:21)  
 alt.: “She will be the birth-giver to a male child”  
 “She will give birth to a son” (NIV)

*-wunno* seems to appear with a feminine object, or as a feminine nominalized verb:

- (A2) Wodalla            asa-tu-u                    gel-iyaa            wode  
 young                    person-PL-NOM            enter-PART            time.ABS  
 hayqq-eedda-**wunno** demm-iide, (...)  
 die-PAST-*wunno*            find-PL.SS.ANT  
 “At the time the young men came in, finding **the dead (woman)**” (Acts 5:10)  
 alt.: “At the time the young men entered, they found **the (the woman who) died**”  
 “Then the young men came in and, finding her dead (...)” (NIV)

- (A3) Neeni-kka            macca-wanttu                    giddo-n            anjj-ett-eedda-**wunno**  
 2PL.NOM-FOC    woman-PL.NOM                    middle-LOC            bless-PASS-PAST-*wunno*  
 “YOU are **blessed** among women” (Luke 1:28)  
 “YOU are a **blessed (woman)** among women”  
 “(The angel went to her and said, “Greetings,) you who are highly favored!”” (NIV)

Since the complementizers *-we* and *-wa* mark subject complements and object complements and that they nominalize, one may think *-wunnu* and *-wunno* to work the same way, with the difference of being specifically feminine varieties, this leaves (A1) unexplained since *yelanawunnu* seems to be a fully inflected finite verb. Moreover, in (A2) and (A3), *-wunno* seems to nominalize more than complementize.

***-waana***: May be the instrumental/locative complementizer:

(A4) (...) untuntu ooth-eedda-**waana** gid-enna.  
 they.NOM work-PAST-*waana* be-3M.NEG.PRES  
 “(...) (they are) not by/in having worked” (Rom 9:12)  
 alt.: “not by what they did” / “not by their works”  
 “not by works” (NIV)

(A5) Xoossa-a Na7a-n de7-iyaa ammanu-**waana**  
 God-ACC son-loc exist-PART believe-*waana*  
 “In God’s son existing by/in belief” (Gal 2:20)  
 “I live by faith in the Son of God” (NIV)

***-uussaa***: some sort of verbal nominalizer that may get case-marked. Frequent in the learning materials for native language instruction:

(A6) Goda-a Y-**uussa-a** Giig-iide Naag-ite  
 Lord-ACC come-*uussa*-ACC be\_ready-PL.SS.ANT wait-2PL.IMP  
 “Wait ready for the Lord’s coming” (Title of 1 Tess 5 in the Dawro NT)  
 “The Day of the Lord” (NIV title)

(A7) Laa7entho y-**uussa-a**  
 second come-*uussa*-ACC  
 “Second coming” (Title of Mark 13:24-32 in the Dawro NT)  
 (No title of this passage in the NIV)

(A8) A m-**uussa-y** ammanu-waana gid-enna (...)  
 3M.ACC eat-*uussa*-NOM believe-*waana* be-3M.NEG.PRES  
 “His eating is not by/in faith” (Rom 14:23)  
 “((...) because) their eating is not from faith” (NIV)

The tri-lingual dictionary has entries for *guussaa* and *guussay*, which are *g-* “say” suffixed with the suffix *-uussa* and a case marker. (My segmentations and literal translation below). One instance for each from the Dawro NT is also provided in (A9) and (A10), where *guussay* and *guussaa* figure in verses where the evangelist defines foreign words to the reader. The entries in the tri-lingual dictionary are the following:

(Ai) **Guussaa** saying, meaning, definition, aphorism

*g-uussa-a*

*say-uussa-ACC*

“A saying”

(Aii) **Guussay** mean, say, speak, that is to say

*g-uussa-y*

*say-uussa-NOM*

“A saying”

(A9) Context: Some people are calling to Jesus, calling him “Rabbi”:

<<Rebi-i>> **g-uussa-y** <<Tamaarissiyaa-woo>> *g-iyaa-waa*.

Rabbi-VOC *say-uussa-NOM* Teacher-VOC *say-PART-O:COMP*

““Rabbi” That is to say “teacher” (John 1:38)

““Rabbi”(which means “Teacher”)” (NIV)

Notice that (A9) is a predicational clause with a null-copula. The subject is ““*Rebi*” *guussay*” – ““Rabbi”, meaning...”, and the predicate is ““*Tamaarissiyaawoo*” *giyaawaa*” – “ is saying “Teacher””, which then supposedly creates the explanatory sense in (A9).

We see the inverse relationship in the following example, where the subject is the subject complement *-we* clause, and the predicate the *guussaa* clause:

(A10) Context: A blind man is told to “Go wash in the pool of Siloam”:

<<Saliihooma>> *g-iyaa-we* << Kiit-ett-eedda-waa>> **g-uussa-a**

Siloam *say-PART-S:COMP* send-PASS-PAST-O:COMP *say-uussa-ACC*

““Siloam”, that is to say “been sent”” (John 9:7)

““(…) Pool of Siloam”(this word means “Sent”)” (NIV)

In addition to these, the tri-lingual dictionary lists **c'o''u guussaa** as “silence” lit.: “A silent saying”, but recall from section (3.6.8) on dummy verbs, that g- not necessarily expresses an act of saying, or speaking in a silent manner.