NOUN

The noun may end in any consonant or vowel. Examples: ləğ 'child', färäs 'horse'; hema 'road', abäba 'flower'; amole 'bar of salt', fəre 'fruit'; bägi 'shep', sänţi 'knife'; wofço 'mill', hanţərro 'fence'; bərtu 'strong'.

19. ARTICLE

- 19.1. Argobba has no special morpheme for the indefinite article.
- 19.2. The definite article has different forms for masculine and feminine singular nouns. For plural nouns there is only one form for the definite article.

For masculine singular nouns ending in a consonant, the definite article is -u; e.g., bed 'house': bed-u 'the house'.

For nouns ending in a vowel other than -i, the definite article is -w; thus, hema 'road': hema-w 'the road'; bərçəqqo 'drinking glass'; bərçəqqo-w 'the drinking glass'; fəre 'fruit': fəre-w 'the fruit' (but see also below).

For nouns ending in -i, the definite article is -yu or -wu, that is, -u preceded by a semivowel y, w; e.g., $b\ddot{a}gi$ 'sheep': $b\ddot{a}gi^yu$, $b\ddot{a}gi^wu$ 'the sheep'.

A semivowel y is likewise intercalated in a form such as yä-šärrähke u-n bed 'the house that you bought' (lit. 'that-you-bought-it-n house').

- 19.2.1. The article for feminine singular nouns is -wa whether the noun ends in a consonant or in a vowel; thus, lam-wa 'the cow', bazra-wa 'the mare', ənəšča-wa 'the woman'.
- 19.2.2. The article for plural, masculine or feminine nouns, is -u placed after the plural marker (see 21.1); e.g., su 'man': su- $č\check{c}$ -u 'the men'; $\partial n\partial \check{c}a$ 'woman': $\partial n\partial \check{c}a$ - $\check{c}\check{c}$ -u 'the women'.

The morphemes -u, and -wa serve also as nominal suffix pronouns of the 3d person, masculine -u 'his', feminine -wa 'her' (see 28.1.1). The same morphemes are used in Amharic. For the article in the other Ethiopian languages, see *Gafat*, pp. 44-45.

19.3. The article is placed before the morpheme -n of the direct complement; e.g., huy ləğ bərçəqqo-w-ən säbbärätte 'this girl broke the drinking glass' (lit. 'this girl glass-the-n [direct object] she-broke-it'). Note the object suffix pronouns with the verb referring to the direct object (22.3).

19.4. If the noun is qualified by an adjective, a relative clause or a qualifier-qualified complex, the article is placed after the qualifier. Examples: läham-u bed 'the big house'; od bä-ged-yä yä-halla-w su man ne? 'who is that man behind me?' (lit. 'that behind-me who-is-the man who he-is?'); bä-bed-yä yälella-w-ən tawra šerrəhiy 'buy me the objects that are not in my house' (lit. 'in-my-house that-is-not-the-n object[s] buy-for-me'); bämmimät-u (for bä-ämmimät-u) amät hud bed näham yəhonäl 'this house will be big next year' (lit. 'in-that-will-come-the year this house big it-will-be'); yängus-u bed 'the king's house' (lit. 'of-the-king house'); yäšum-u-n bet gähare 'he built the chief's house' (lit. 'of-the-chief-n house he-built-it').

With a relative clause without an antecedent; e.g., yä-halla-w haw-äňň 'give me what there is!' (lit. 'that-is-the give-me!').

- 19.5. The article is also used with various kinds of pronouns: e.g., ənna-w binna əssanän 'we quarreled with one another' (lit. 'we-the with-we we-quarreled'); ye-dəňňa-w färäz ne? 'which horse is it?' (lit. 'which-the horse it-is'?); tä-bäqlo-čč-u yedəňňa-w-ən šeţk-e? 'which one of the mules did you sell?' (lit. 'of-the-mules which-the-n did-you-sell-it?'); bimäţ-əmm baymäṭəmm hud-u ne 'whether he comes or whether he does not come, it is the same' (lit. 'if-he-comes if-he-does-not-come the-same it-is'); bä-hud-u qäna 'on this day' (lit. 'on-this-the day'); handhandačč-u bärbäre yəšeṭāllu 'some (or 'the ones') sell pepper' (lit. 'some-the pepper they-sell').
- 19.5.1. With the distributive element or with the distributive complex. Examples: hand hand-u mäṭaf 'each book'; läyyä (for lä-äyyä) färäsačč-u äšiṭ äšiṭ haw-em 'give a little to each of the horses!', or 'to each horse' (lit. 'to-each horses-the a-little a-little give-them'); bäyyä (for bä-äyyä) qäna-w wädä tämari bed təhedällah? 'do you go to school every day?' (lit. 'in-each day-the to school you-go?').
- 19.5.2. The article may be used with some adverbs: e.g., čoga-w əndä-moda 'as soon as he died' (cp. Amharic wädiya-w əndä-motä).
- 19.6. The use of the definite article in Argobba does not always parallel its use with English. Thus, bä-gäbäta səlbäl lihanğ-äňň mäţţa 'he came to see me when I was eating at the table' (lit. 'at table'); wädä bed sigäb wähazi 'they caught him when he entered the house' (lit. 'entered house'); tä-hema tämmelläsa (for tä-ämmelläsa) čoga alhanğuhu 'I haven't seen him since he returned from the trip' (lit. 'from trip').

As in Amharic, the article is used mainly with reference to a previously mentioned noun. Otherwise the noun appears without the article and can be rendered with 'a' or 'the'; e.g., yä-halle bed mans näd 'the house that he has is small' (lit. 'that-isto-him house small she-is')¹.

¹ For the feminine expressing smallness, see 20.4.

20. GENDER

20.1. The masculine-feminine treatment is normally not marked by a gender marker attached to the noun. Gender distinction is indicated by the definite article, the demonstrative pronoun, the verb referring to the noun, or by a special gender specifier. Examples: aškär-u 'the he-servant': aškär-wa 'the she-servant'; ləğ-u 'the boy': ləğ-wa 'the girl'; hud ləğ 'this boy': huy ləğ 'this girl'.

The feminine marker, whenever indicated, is $-(\partial)d$, -it; e.g., $\ddot{a}h$ 'brother': $\partial h\partial d$ 'sister'; mis 'husband': $m\partial st$ 'wife'; $\ddot{a}k\ddot{a}le$ 'so-and-so': fem. $\ddot{a}k\ddot{a}lid$; aroge 'old': fem. arogit; hand 'one': fem. handid.

For the feminine marker -t used in the various Ethiopian languages, see Gafat, p. 41.

Some nouns with a feminine marker have no corresponding masculine; e.g., $q \rightarrow m \ddot{z} \ddot{a} d$ 'daughter-in-law'.

20.2. Argobba has also gender specifiers for the male and female sex of human beings and animals. The specifiers for human beings are: wänd for males, ənəšča for females; e.g., wänd(ə) ləğ 'boy': ənəšča ləğ 'girl'.

The specifiers for animals are: wänd or awra for males, ənəšča for females. Examples: wänd ahəyya 'he-donkey': ənəšča ahəyya 'she-donkey; awra doro 'cock'. ənəšča doro 'hen'.

For the gender specifiers in the various Ethiopian languages, see Gafat, p. 41.

- 20.3. The differentiation between males and females in reference to specific human beings or animals is often expressed by different lexical items. Thus, su 'man' (also 'human being'): ənəšča 'woman'; aw 'father': əmm 'mother'; anıme 'paternal uncle': awwəhəd 'paternal aunt'; bara 'ox': lam 'cow'; färäs 'horse': bazra 'mare'.
- 20.4. The feminine marker may be used to expresses smallness; e.g., yä-halle bed mansə näd 'the house that he has is small' (lit. 'that-is-to-him house small she-is'; note the feminine näd 'she is' referring to the small house).

21. PLURAL

21.1. Noun plurals, both masculine and feminine, are formed by suffixing -č (if the noun ends in a vowel) or -ač (if the noun ends in a consonant). Examples: bed 'house': pl. bed-ač; fəyyäl 'goat': pl. fəyyäl-ač; gamela 'camel': pl. gamela-č; bäqlo 'mule': pl. bäqlo-č; bägi 'sheep': pl. bägi-č; amole 'bar of salt': pl. amole-č; bərtu 'strong': pl. bərtu-č.

In the [A] dialect the gender marker is also expressed by -ičči for the masculine, and iti for the feminine; e.g., ləğ-ičči əčçawwät 'the boy played'; ləğ-iti əčçawwätäčč 'the girl played' (Survey, p.9).

On the basis of Amharic $-o\check{c}\check{c}$ it is quite possible that the plural marker of Argobba is $-a\check{c}$, with geminated \check{c} , but in final position the gemination is hardly audible.

The article is placed after the plural marker; e.g., aškär-ačč-u1 'the servants'.

With a double plural: su 'man': pl. su- \check{c} (with the regular plural marker) and su- $\check{c}\check{c}$ - $a\check{c}$ (with the addition of - $a\check{c}$ by analogy with $\partial n\partial \check{s}\check{c}a\check{c}$ 'women'); $\partial \check{g}$ 'child': pl. $\partial \check{g}$ - $a\check{c}$ and $\partial \check{g}$ - $a\check{c}$ - $o\check{c}$.

The plural morpheme $-a\dot{c}$ is also used in Gafat, Harari, and occasionally in Soddo. The affricate $-\dot{c}$ is found in Amharic, and Soddo $-o\dot{c}\dot{c}$, and in Selti, Wolane, Zway $-\dot{c}\ddot{a}$. For more details on the plural marker, see Gafat, p. 42.

- 21.2. The morpheme of the plural is also used with adjectives, pronouns, and relative qualifiers; e.g., bərtu-č 'strong' (pl.); lela-č su 'other people' (note that the noun su 'man' has no plural marker; see 21.4.); handhand-ačč-u 'the ones'; wädä gäbäya yämməlhedənna-čč-u ənna nänna² 'it is we who will go to the market' (lit. 'to market who-we-go-the we we-are'; note the plural marker -ačč with the relative verb yämməlhedənna).
- 21.3. When the noun is preceded by an adjective, both the noun and the adjective may have the plural marker; e.g., $l\ddot{a}ham(a\ddot{c})$ su- \ddot{c} c- $a\ddot{c}$ $b\ddot{a}$ -hud kätäma hallu 'there are important people in this city' (lit. 'important people in-this city there-are').

When the noun is preceded by a quantifier (such as a numeral or 'many, how many?'), the noun may be used in the singular, or the plural. Examples: sost qärš 'three thalers'; ket qäna wäy sost qäna 'two days or three days'; sost aškär-ač 'three servants'; ket zärr-ač 'two rivers'; bä-gäbäya nəbbur su halla 'there are many people at the market'; nəbbur leba-č 'many thieves'; äyy-əmm äğğəg wädağač halluňň 'as for me, I have many friends', but also bä-bed äğğəg su aləmbära 'there were not many people in the house'; sənt amäd 'how many years?', but also sənt aškär-ač 'how many servants?'.

21.4. In general the plural marker with the noun is optional; e.g., handhand su or handhand su-č 'certain people'; lelač su 'other people'.

A collective is expressed by the singular; e.g., bä-gäbäya yä-hallu sučč-ač näggade nem 'the people who are at the market are merchants' (lit. 'at-market who-are people merchant they-are').

21.5. Plurality may also be expressed by the element ənnä-. When followed by a proper noun, it may have the meaning 'X and his followers'; e.g., ənnä täklä maryam 'Täklä Maryam and his followers'.

¹ The geminated $\check{c}\check{c}$ is marked only in intervocalic position.

² Occasionally I recorded nännä.

With parts of speech other than the noun: *ənnāma* 'who?' (plural), that is, *ənnā* with the interrogative ma; or *ənnakum* 'you' (pl.) from *ənnā* and ank 'you' (sg.). The element *ənnā* is used in nearly all the Ethiopian languages (see Gafat, p. 43).

22. DIRECT OBJECT

- 22.1. If the direct object is a pronoun, it is expressed by the object suffix pronouns; e.g., gäddäle 'he killed him'.
- 22.2. If the direct object is an indefinite noun, it has no special marker. Its function as a direct object becomes clear because of its position in the sentence. Indeed, the normal order of the sentence is: subject-object-verb. Example: mägadač-yä diyyumm qəwi wizdämuy (from wähaza) mäṭṭu 'all my relatives brought butter' (lit. 'my-relatives all butter they-taking-it they-came').
- 22.3. If the direct object is a definite noun, determined either by the article or by a possessive pronoun, it takes the suffixed element -n after a vowel, -ən after a consonant. In this case the direct object may be placed at the beginning of the sentence and the verb will have a resumptive object suffix pronoun. Examples: bärr-u-n atəkfät-e 'don't open the door' (lit. 'door-the-n don't-open-it'); tä-təwwah ansədo əstä-mušed-dəräs bägi-yu-n yəzorel 'he looks for the sheep from morning until evening' (lit. 'from-morning he-beginning until-evening sheep-the-n he-looks-for-it'); äh-əyä-n yä-näkkäse wəšša hudinna 'here is the dog that bit my brother' (lit. 'my-brother-n that-he-bit-him dog here-it-is'); huyətte-n ləğ hanğoha 'I saw this girl'² (lit. 'this-n girl I-saw-her'); aw-u sayhed ləğ-u-n märräqe 'the father blessed his son before leaving' (lit. 'the-father while-he-doesn't-leave his-son-n he-blessed-him'); tä-bäqločč-u yedəňňaw-ən šetke 'which one of the mules did you sell?' (lit. 'of-the-mules which-n did-you-sell-it?').

For the expression of the direct object in the various Ethiopian languages, see Gafat, p. 48.

22.4. Direct object with pronouns: mən-ne hud-ən färäs alhawk-äňň-u 'why didn't you give me this horse?' (lit. 'what-is-it this-ən horse you-did-not-give-me?'); kəssu mann-ən mähaṭa 'whom did he hit?' (lit. 'he who-n he-hit?'); mannəmm bihon hud-ən lä-mämäňňid yəčəläl 'anyone can do this' (lit. 'whoever if-it-is this-n to-do he-can').

¹ The only element that follows the marker -n is the enclitic -mm: e.g., hand-ämmun-əmm alzoremm 'I don't want any of them' (lit. 'any-of-them-n-indeed I-don't wantthem').

² Note that $l \ni g$ is rendered here 'girl' because of the feminine demonstrative huyətte.

With a verb of movement or direction: e.g., dagät-u-n sətwät attərut 'don't run when you go up the uphill slope' (lit. 'the-uphill-slope-n when-you-go-up don't-run').

- 22.5. Occasionally the element -n is found even though the direct object is not determined; e.g., žəb-ən əndä-hanğa färra 'as soon as he saw a hyena he became afraid' (lit. 'hyena-n as-soon-as-he-saw he-became-afraid').
- 22.6. If the direct object is qualified by an adjective, demonstrative, complement of possession or a relative clause, the element -n is placed after the qualifier. As mentioned above, the verb has most normally the object suffix pronouns referring to the direct object. Examples: hud-ən bərçəqqo yä-säbbäre mən ləğ ne? 'which boy is it who broke this glass?' (lit. 'this-n glass who-broke-it which boy he-is?'); yedənna-w-ən korəčča ne əmməttəçine? 'which saddle will you load?' (lit. 'which-the-n saddle it-is that-you-will-load-it?'); yä-sum-u-n bed gähare 'he built the chief's house' (lit. 'of-the-chief-n house he-built-it'); läham-u-n bed lämən setke 'why did you sell the big house?' (lit. 'big-the-n house why did-you-sell-it?'); yä-serrähke-yu-n bed asänğ-änn 'show me the house that you bought!' (lit. 'that-you-bought-it-the-n house show-me'); dunya yämmiggänna-ən (for yämmə-yəggänna-ən) satən äzorelluh 'I look for the box where the money is to be found' (lit. 'money that-is-to-be-found-in-it-n box I-look-for-it').
- 22.7. The particle -n is also used in adverbial or circumstantial expressions; e.g. hod-ən gəze 'then' (lit. 'that-n time'); äy bəčča-yä-n näňň 'I am alone' (lit. 'I in-my-aloneness-n I-am'); näg hud-ən gəzet na 'come tomorrow at the same time!' (lit. 'this-n time come'!). Preceded by a preposition and followed by -n in bä-wod-ən gəzet 'at that time'; todən (from tä-wod-ən) qäna čuga 'since that day'.

23. INDIRECT OBJECT

- 23.1. The indirect object is generally expressed by the preposition $l\ddot{a}$ attached to the noun or pronoun. Examples: $a\breve{s}k\ddot{a}r$ - $y\ddot{a}$ $l\ddot{a}$ - $b\ddot{a}qlo$ -wa $\ddot{a}\breve{g}\breve{s}g$ sir hawaya 'my servant gave much grass to the mule' (lit. 'my-servant to-the-mule much grass he-gave-her'); tamay $l\ddot{a}hay\ddot{a}$ (for $l\ddot{a}$ - $a\ddot{a}h$ - $ay\ddot{a}$) ket $b\ddot{a}qlo$ hawku 'yesterday I gave two mules to my brother' (lit. 'yesterday to-my-brother two mule[s] I-gave').
- 23.2. Certain verbs may add the direct object suffix pronouns to express an indirect object even if the indirect object is already present in the sentence; e.g., minne hud-ən färäs läy (for lä-äy) alhawk-äňň-u 'why didn't you give me this horse?' where -äňň of alhawk-äňň expresses the indirect object (lit. 'why-is-it this-ən horse to-me you-did-not-give-me?'). Note that in this sentence läy may also be omitted. For the expression of the indirect object in the various Ethiopian languages, see Gafat, p. 51.

24. COMPLEMENT OF POSSESSION

24.1. The complement of possession rendered by 'of' is expressed by yä+ possessor. The yä+possessor structure functions as a qualifier and as such it precedes the possessed object. Examples: yä-wädağ-əyä färäs 'my friend's horse' (lit. 'of-my-friend horse'); yä-balagär wəšša aynäksu 'the dog of the countryside does not bite' (lit. 'of-countryside dog he-does-not-bite').

 $y\ddot{a}$ +possessor occurs in all the South Ethiopian languages except in Harari. For Harari and the other Ethiopian languages, see Gafat, p. 48.

Example for yä+pronoun: hud kitāb yä-man ne 'whose is this book?' (lit. 'this book of-who is-it?').

- 24.2. If yä+possessor is a predicate it may also be rendered by 'it belongs to': e.g., bä-gäbäta-w lef yä-halla-w kitāb yähəyä (for yä-äh-əyä) ne 'the book that is on the table belongs to my brother' (lit. 'on-the-table [on] that-is-the book of-my-brother it-is)'; hud bed yawyä (for yä-aw-yä) ne 'this house belongs to my father' (lit. 'this house of-my-father it-is').
- 24.3. If the complement of possession is preceded by a preposition, the element yä- of possession is omitted; e.g., təmay bä-wädağ-əyä (for bä-yä-wädağ-əyä) färäs aräggäzku 'yesterday I rode on my friend's horse' (lit. 'yesterday on-[of] -my-friend horse I-rode'); bä-krämt (for bä-yä-krämt) wärəh 'at the month of the rainy season' (lit. 'at-[of]-rainy-season month'); tähəyä (for tä-yä-äh-əyä) wädağ mäs wädä gäbäya hekk" (for hedk") 'I went to the market with my brother's friend' (lit. 'with-[of]-my-brother friend [with] to market I-went').

In the contact of the vowel $-\ddot{a}$ of $y\ddot{a}$ - and of the initial vowel of the noun, various kinds of elision occur. Thus, \ddot{a} - \ddot{a} > \ddot{a} , as in $y\ddot{a}hiy\ddot{a}$ (for $y\ddot{a}$ - $\ddot{a}hiy\ddot{a}$ 'of my brother'); \ddot{a} -a > a as in $yawy\ddot{a}$ (for $y\ddot{a}$ - $awy\ddot{a}$) 'of my father' (see 14.1; 14.2).

- 24.4. If the complement of possession is qualified by an adjective or a demonstrative, the element yä- is placed before the adjective; e.g., yä-hud mändär bedač 'the houses of this village' (lit. 'of-this village houses'); yä-lela su bäqlo ahekku (for ahed-ku) 'I took the mule of another man' (lit. 'of-another man mule I-took').
- 24.5. If the possessor-possessed complex is determined, the yä+possessor takes the article; e.g., yä-ngus-u bed tä-hud äǧǧəg rəhuq ne 'the king's house is very far from here' (lit. 'of-the-king house from-this very far it-is'). For tä-hud 'from here', lit. 'from this', see 29.6.
- 24.6. As in Amharic, the $y\ddot{a}$ +noun structure has various meanings, such as 'something made for, place where a commodity is sold, expression of time and duration', and so on. I only recorded the phrases $y\ddot{a}$ -bräd $m\partial tad$ 'a griddle made of iron', $y\ddot{a}$ -

bərr bərçəqqo 'a drinking glass made of silver'. For more details on the usages of yä, see Amhāric, pp. 198-201.

25. ADJECTIVE

- 25.1. There are few primary adjectives in Argobba of the type wägär 'good', däg 'good', hagəs 'new', läham 'big'. Most adjectives are derived from nouns, verbs, adverbs, and so on. Are derived from verbs adjectives such as bərtu 'strong', tänkarra 'strong'. From nouns: səssət-am 'avaricious', habt-am 'wealthy', and others.
- 25.2. An adjective is occasionally formed by the relative marker yä+verb. Examples: mənəmm-ənkwa həgg yä-täbbäqa bihon (for bə-yəhon) bä-hud ge bəzu lebač hallu 'even though the law is strict there are many thieves in this country' (lit. 'eventhough [the]-law that-was-strict if-it-is in-this country many thieves there-are'); bä-wad bəmbära (for bä-əmbära)-gəzet yä-bärätta zənab tähala 'when he was in the forest a violent rain fell' (lit. 'in-[the]-forest when-he-was that-was-violent rain fell'); yämmimät amät 'next year' (lit. 'that-comes year').
- 25.3. Adjectives, like any other qualifier, precede the nouns; e.g., *läham bed* 'a big house'.
- 25.3.1. If an adjective-noun complex is definite, the article is placed after the adjective; e.g., *läham-u bed* 'the big house' (lit. 'big-the house').
- 25.3.2. If a noun has the plural marker, its adjective may also have the plural marker; e.g., *lähamač* (or *läham*) su-čč-ač bä-hud kätäma hallu 'there are important people in this city' (lit. 'big people in-this city there-are').
- 25.3.3. In an adjective-noun complex, possessive suffix pronouns are attached to the noun; e.g., näham bed-u 'his big house' (lit. 'big his-house').
- 25.3.4. If the complement of possession is qualified by an adjective, the element yä- is placed before the adjective; e.g., yä-läham-u su bäqlo ahekku (for ahedku) 'I took the mule of the important man' (lit. 'of-important-the man mule I-took').
- 25.3.5. The marker -n of the direct object is attached to the adjective; e.g., läham-u-n bed afärräsa 'he demolished the big house' (lit. 'big-the-n house he-demolished').

For the adjective of insistence 'my own, his own', and so on, see 28.6; 28.6.1.

PRONOUN

26. INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUN

26.1. The forms of the independent personal pronoun are:

Pl. anna 'we' Sg. 1st c. $\ddot{a}v(v)$ 'I'* 1st c. ənnakum 'you'**** ank 'vou'** 2d.c. 2d m anč 'vou'*** 2d f. kəssam 'they' 3d m. kassu 'he' 3d c. 3d f. kassa 'she'

*For the 1st person possessive pronoun, see 26.2. The element y of the 1st person also occurs in Čaha, Ennemor əya, Masqan əyya, Zway äya. The 3d m. is composed of kəss- (from kərs-probably from kärs, käss 'stomach') with the suffix pronoun -u 'his'. The form kəssa 'she' is strange since one would expect kəss^wa. For the personal pronouns in the Ethiopian languages, see Gafat, p. 53.

**For ank in the meaning of a vocative, see 119. An element -k for the 2d masc. sg. also appears in Tna. nəss-əka 'you', Har. aka-k, Č. M. En. a-ka, Ms. a-hā, So. dä-hā. In all these languages -k(a) is the suffix pronoun of the 2d masc. sg. The situation may be the same in Argobba.

***From anki.

****Also ənnankum. One would expect ənnank, that is, ənnä-ank (sg. 2d masc.), a structure that occurs in Amharic ənnantä, that is, ənnä-antä.

For the personal pronoun, see also 120.2; 139.3.

26.2. The personal pronoun preceded by yä 'of' expresses possession. The forms are:

Sg. 1st c. yəy or yəyyo 'my'*

2d m. yank 'your'***

2d f. yanč 'your'

3d m. yäkəssu 'his'

3d c. yäkəssäm 'their'

 bed 'in my house' (for $b\ddot{a}$ - ∂yyo), $t\partial yyo$ mäs 'with you' (for $t\ddot{a}$ - ∂yyo). Note that within Argobba ∂a alternates with \ddot{a} (see 12.2).

- **Here again ä-ə results in ə (yənna 'our' for yä-ənna; yənnakum 'your' for yä-ənnakum). This is not the case in Amharic where ä-ə results in ä, as in yässu 'his' for yä-əssu.
- ***The combination ä-a results in a as in yank (from yä-ank) 'your' (masc.), yanč (from yä-anč) 'your' (fem.). The situation is the same in Amharic.
- 26.3. The complex yä+ personal pronoun may be either a possessive adjective or a possessive pronoun. Examples: yəyyo bed näham ne 'my house is big' (lit. 'of-I house big it-is); hud mäsob yank ahune 'u' 'this basket is not yours' (lit. 'this basket of-you it-is-not'); aw yəyyo ne 'yes, it is mine' (lit. 'yes of-I it-is'); hud bed yä-kəssäm ne 'this house is theirs' (lit. 'this house of-they it-is').

The complex of possession may be preceded by a preposition. In this case the particle yä is omitted; e.g., bä-kəssu bed 'in his house' instead of bä-yä-kəssu bed.

- 26.4. The repetition of a personal pronoun in the plural, the 2d occurrence being preceded by bä-'with', serves for the expression of reciprocity. Examples: kəssäm bä-kəssäm əssanu 'they quarreled with one another'; ənna-w binna (for bä-ənna) əssanün 'we quarreled with one another'; ənnakum binnakum (for bä-ənnakum) əssankum 'you quarreled with one another'*.
- *For the combination \ddot{a} - ∂ becoming i (as in binna for $b\ddot{a}$ - ∂ nna), see 14.3.
- 26.4.1. Reciprocity may also be expressed by the personal pronoun in the singular followed by bä+the singular of the same person with nominal suffix pronouns (for which see 28.1). Examples: kəss bä-kəss-ämmu (also ärs bärs-ämmu) əssammu 'they were mutually reconciled'; kəss bä-kəss-ənno täkafäli 'share it among ourselves!'; ärs bärs-ənno əssanän 'we quarreled with one another'.

Note that in all the examples the verb is in the $t\ddot{a}$ -C type (see 61.1).

27. PRONOUN OF INSISTENCE

27.1. The pronoun of insistence 'I myself, he himself', and so on, is expressed by the personal pronoun followed by the noun näbs 'soul' or dəmah 'head' with the corresponding possessive pronouns. Note that the noun näbs or dəmah may be preceded by the preposition bä 'with'. Examples: äy näbs-e (or bä-näbs-e) or dəmah-e (or bä-dəmah-e) əmäṭālluh 'I shall come myself', lit. 'I my-soul (or with my soul) or my head (or with my head) I-shall-come'; bä-näbs-u fəqad mäňňədul 'he did it of his own accord' (lit. 'with -(of)-his-soul will he-did').

28.1.1. With nouns ending in a consonant

28.1.2. With nouns ending in a vowel

For the suffix pronouns of the other Ethiopian languages, see Gafat, p. 57-58.

Examples:

		bed 'house'	gamela 'camel'	<i>bäqlo</i> 'mule'
Sg.	lst c.	bed-əyä, bed-e	gamela-yä	b äqlo-yä
	2d m.	bed-ah	gamela-h, gamela-ha	bäqlo- ^w ah, bäqlo-ha
	2d f.	bed-ih	gamela- ^y ih, gamela-hi	bäqlo- ^w ih, bäqlo-hi
	3d m.	bed-u	gamela-w	bäqlo-w
	3d f.	bed-wa	gamela-wa	bä qlo-wa
Pl.	lst c.	bed-ənno	gamela-nno	bäqlo-nno
	2d c.	bed-əhu(m)	gamela-hu(m)	bäqlo-hu(m)
	3d c.	bed–ämmu	gamela-mmu	bäqlo-mmu

amole 'bar of salt' bägi 'sheep' Sg. 1st c. amole-yä bägi-yä bägi-^yah, bägi-ha amole-yah, amole-ha 2d m. 2d f. bägi-yih, bägi-hi amole-^yih. amole-hi amole-w 3d m. bägi-w amole-wa 3d f. bägi-wa Pl. amole-nno 1st c. bägi-nno 2d c. bägi-hu(m) amole-hu(m) amole-mmu 3d c. bägi-mmu

28.2. In an adjective-noun complex, it is the noun that takes the suffix pronouns; e.g., näham bed-u 'his large house'.

41. BASIC STEM, TRIRADICALS

41.1. Based on the vocalic structure and on the absence or presence of gemination of the 2d radical, the verb has three types: A, B, and C. Regardless of the type, the 2d radical is always geminated in the perfect, and the vowel of the 3d radical is a in the perfect, 3d person, masculine, singular. For the biradicals, see 72 and following.

Type A, säbbära, is characterized by the lack of gemination of the 2d radical in verb forms other than the perfect.

Type B, $bedd\ddot{a}la$, is characterized by the vowel e after the 1st radical and by the gemination of the 2d radical in all verb forms.

Type C, $marr\ddot{a}ka$, is characterized by the vowel a after the 1st radical and by the gemination of the 2d radical in all verb forms.

These types are not conditioned either by the nature of the consonants or by the meaning of the verb. Indeed, verbs of any type may be active, transitive, verbs of state, and so on. The types are therefore to be considered lexical items and are not predictable.

41.2. A special class of triradicals comprises verbs with initial a: annäsa 'be small'; verbs with initial h: habbäṭa 'swell'; with 2d radical h: lähasa 'lick'; and with 3d radical h: fälläha 'boil'.

42. Type A: säbbära

42.1. This type is characterized by the gemination of the 2d radical in the perfect only.

I recorded about 90 verbs of this type. Some of them are: bärräda 'be cold', bässäla 'be ripe', gäddäla 'kill', läqqäma 'collect, pick up', mässäla 'seem', qäbbära 'bury', särräqa 'steal', täqqwära 'be black', zärräfa 'pillage'.

¹ A final vowel a also occurs in Harari and in Tigre.

There are verbs that are of type A in Argobba, but of type B in Amharic: & äkk "äla 'hurry', & älläfa 'draw with a ladle'. \text{1}

- 42.2. Some verbs of the class 1.2.2. are: kässäsa 'accuse', läqqäqa 'let go', märrära 'be bitter', täbbäba 'be narrow', säddäda 'send away', näddäda 'burn', qälläla 'be light'. For their conjugation, see 58.1.
- 42.3. Some verbs with initial radical w are: wäddäda 'love', wäddäqa 'fall', wälläda 'give birth', wäqqäṭa 'pound', wärräda 'go down', wärräsa 'inherit'. Note that due to the labial w, the vowel following it may be rounded and pronounced å; thus, wåddäqa, wåddäda, and so on.
- 42.4. There are a few verbs with an initial labiovelar: $g^w \ddot{a} d d \ddot{a} a$ 'decrease', $g^w \ddot{a} r r \ddot{a} s a$ 'take a mouthful', $q^w \ddot{a} f \ddot{a} r a$ 'dig', $q^w \ddot{a} r r \ddot{a} s a$ 'break bread', $q^w \ddot{a} t t \ddot{a} b a$ 'save money', $q^w \ddot{a} t t \ddot{a} r a$ 'count'.
- 42.4.1. The labiovelars followed by \ddot{a} may be reduced to a velar followed by o; e.g., $korr\ddot{a}ha$ 'be proud', $qoll\ddot{a}fa$ 'lock', $qorr\ddot{a}ta$ 'cut, decide' going back to $k^{w}\ddot{a}rr\ddot{a}ha$, $q^{w}\ddot{a}ll\ddot{a}fa$, $q^{w}\ddot{a}rr\ddot{a}ta$.

A verb such as *tolläga* 'wither' goes back to a quadriradical *täwällāga*, with -äwä- becoming -o- (see Amharic *täwällägä*).

For the gemination or the non-gemination of the 2d radical in the various Ethiopian languages, see *Gafat*, pp. 91-92.

43. Type B: beddäla

43.1. Type B is characterized by the vowel e after the 1st radical. As for the 2d radical, it is geminated in all verb forms of the basic stem.

This type corresponds morphologically to the 2d stem of Arabic and to the pixel of Hebrew, but whereas in Arabic and Hebrew this stem is a derived stem, type B is a basic stem in Argobba as in the Ethiopian languages in general. It can no longer be derived either morphologically nor semantically from type A. The verbs of type B in Argobba are rather vocabulary items.

For the vowel \ddot{a} , e, i after the 1st radical and the gemination or non-gemination of the 2d radical in the various Ethiopian languages, see Gafat, pp. 93-94.

I recorded about 45 triradical verbs of type B. Some of these verbs are: beddäla 'mistreat, do injustice', čeggära 'be difficult', čebbäţa 'seize', čerräsa 'finish', lemmäna 'beg', šeffäna 'cover', žemmära 'begin'.

It is quite possible that čäkkwäla, čälläfa are phonetic variants for čekkwäla, čelläfa. These verbs would then be of type B in Argobba as they are in Amharic. Of course, the imperfect would clearly indicate the type of the verb, but I didn't have occasion to record the imperfect.

- 43.2. Nearly all the verbs that are of type B in Argobba are also of type B in Amharic. The verbs that are of type B in Argobba, but of type A in Amharic are: felläsa 'uproot', geffäfa 'strip off', gemmäsa 'taste', tekkäla 'plant'.
- 43.3. There are a few verbs with a geminated 2d radical in all the verb forms, but the vowel of the 1st radical is o. This vowel is due to an initial labial, as in fokkära 'boast' (Amharic also fokkärä), mokkära 'try' (Amharic also mokkärä), qolläla 'heap'. The vowel o of qoffära 'dig', qorräţa 'cut' goes back to q^w äffära, q^w ärräţa, with q^w ä-becoming qo (cp. Amharic q^w äffärä, but also qoffärä).

44. Type C: marräka

44.1. Type C has the form *marräka*. It is characterized by the vowel a after the 1st consonant and by gemination of the 2d radical in all verb forms of the basic stem.

This type corresponds formally to the 3d stem of Arabic, but whereas the 3d stem of Arabic is a derived stem with a special meaning, type C of Argobba is neither morphologically nor semantically a derived stem. As was the case with type B, type C belongs to the domain of vocabulary.

For type C in the various Ethiopian languages, see Gafat, p. 95.

Some verbs of type C are: dabhäsa 'grope', dammäţa 'card wool', gaggära 'bake', galläba 'gallop', garräda 'curtain off', marräka 'take prisoner', naffäqa 'long for', qarräma 'glean', šaggäta 'become mouldy'. Rounded verbs: bwaţtäţa 'scratch', qwaţtära 'make a knot'.

45. TENSES AND MOODS

45.1. PERFECT

45.1.1. The perfect in the affirmative and in the negative expresses the past. It is formed with suffixes, and the forms are:

Sg.	3d m.	säddäb-a 'offend'	Pl.	3d c.	säddäb-u
	3d f.	säddäb-äd ¹			
	2d m.	säddäb-k		2d c.	säddäb-kum
	2d f.	säddäb-č(i)			
	1st c.	säddäb-ku		1st c.	säddäb-ən

A final -a in the sg. 3d masc. also occurs in Tigre and Harari. A suffix - \check{c} in the singular, 2d fem. occurs only in Argobba. Note that in the class $s \ddot{a} m m a$ the suffix is - \check{s} (73.7); in the class $\check{s} \ddot{a} \check{c} \check{c} a$, it is -ih (74.1.4); in the verb $han \check{g} a$ 'see', it is $han \check{g} ih$ and $han \check{g} i \check{s}$ (74.6.2.). For the various suffixes of the perfect, see Gafat, pp. 97-98.

The suffixes of types B and C are the same as those of type A.

¹ Also pronounced säddäbä^dt, säddäbät.

ADVERBS

There are primary and derived adverbs. Primary adverbs are basic; derived adverbs are pased on a verbal or a nominal form.

113. Adverbs of place

113.1. Primary adverbs: čuh 'here'; e.g. bä-ma fəqad čuh əggeňňih? 'with whose permission are you here?' (lit. 'with-[of]-who permission here you-are-found?');

čo, čow 'there, over there';

čo mado 'over there'; e.g., čo mado näham čis yəčesäl 'over there a big smoke smokes'; čow aššeme (for as-šeme) 'put it over there';

interrogative: ¿ä, ¿e 'where?'; e.g., ¿e ne? 'where is he?'; ¿e haddärk? 'where did you spend the night?';

če-ga 'whither?'; e.g., če-ga yəhedäl? 'whither does he go?, where does he go?'; see also čo, čow, above;

čugga-ga 'toward here'; čogga-ga 'toward there' (see prepositions); yed 'where? (Amharic yät).

113.2. Adverbs combined with prepositions, nouns or pronouns; bäyed, bed 'where?, whither?'; täyed, ted 'from where?, whence?'; e.g., bä-yed hema heda? 'which way did he go?'; tä-yed təmäţälläh? 'from where do you come?';

bä-hud 'here' (lit. 'in-this'); bä-hod, bod 'there' (from bä-wod, lit. 'in-that'); tä-wod, tod (contracted from tä-wod) 'from there';

tef, bä-tef 'under'; lef, bä-lef 'up, up there';

 $b\ddot{a}$ -wə ξi 'outside'; e.g., $b\ddot{a}$ -wə ξi yətebbəq $\ddot{a}l$ 'he waits outside' (cp. Amharic $b\ddot{a}$ wə ξ' 'outside'), from $b\ddot{a}$ 'in' and wə $\xi(i)$ 'the outside' (from w \ddot{a} tta 'go out');

fid lä-fid 'face to face, opposite' (Amh. fit läfit, from fit 'face');

dar dar-u-n 'along the side'; e.g., dar dar-u-n heda 'he went along the side' (from dar 'limit, border').

114. Adverbs of time

114.1. Primary adverbs: *dəro* 'formerly, previously, long ago'; combined adverb: *zändəro* 'this year';

huma 'today'; huma mušed 'tonight' (lit. 'today night'); yä-huma 'ago' (lit. 'of-today'); yä-huma ket samət mätta 'he came two weeks ago' (lit. 'of-today two week[s] he-came'); yä-huma assər qäna əmbära 'it was ten days ago'; tä-huma ğemmərdo 'beginning today', the gerund being used in a form according to the person, as in tä-huma ğemmərəč wädä fid əmätälluh 'beginning today I shall come in the future' (lit. 'from-today I-beginning toward future I-shall-come'); tä-huma niddo (gerund of wähaza; see 69.1) 'beginning today, henceforth'; käm yä-mässäla bed əstä-huma alhanğuhu 'until today I haven't seen such a house' (lit. 'thus that-resembled house until-today I-have-not-seen');

təmay 'yesterday'; tä-təmay bayye 'the day before yesterday'; tä-təmay čoga 'the day before yesterday';

näg 'tomorrow'; tä-näg čoga 'after tomorrow';

ahaň 'now, at present';

gäna 'still, yet'; gäna ne 'not yet' (Amharic gäna näw); säatu gäna ne 'it is not time yet';

mäče 'when?':

tälo, tolo, tälo tälo 'soon, quickly, at once, immediately';

wätro 'always, continually';

dəro 'formerly, ago';

 $\check{c}og(g)a$ -w $\partial nd\ddot{a}$ +perfect 'as soon as', as in $\check{c}og(g)a$ -w $\partial nd\ddot{a}$ moda 'as soon as he died'.

114.2. Derived adverbs: qädäm bədo 'before' (gerund of ala 'say'), as in hudən nägär qädäm bədo alsämmuh 'I haven't heard this thing before';

bä-fid 'before, formerly'; wädä fid 'in the future';

bä-ğed 'afterwards';

diyyə gəze 'always';

tä-hud čuga-ga 'from now on, henceforth'; təngədih čogga 'henceforth';

bä-mä¢ärräša 'finally'.

114.3. Note that adverbial expressions may also be used with the element -n. Examples: wod-ən gəze or bä-wodən gəze or hod-ən gəze 'then, at that time'; tod-ən qäna čuga 'since that time, since then'.

See also the indefinite pronouns, such as 'somewhere, somehow, sometimes'.

115. Adverbs of cause and reason

lä-mən 'why?' (lit. 'for what?'); mən-ne 'why?' (lit. 'what-it-is?'), as in mənne almätteh? 'why didn't you come?'; mənne hud-ən färäs alhawkäňňu 'why didn't you give me this horse?';

səlä-hud 'therefore'.

Wolf Leslau

Ethiopic Documents: Argobba

Grammar and Dictionary

Die Deutsche Bibliothek - CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Leslau, Wolf:

Ethiopic documents: Argobba: grammar and dictionary / Wolf

Leslau. – Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997 (Aethiopistische Forschungen; Bd. 47)

ISBN 3-447-03955-8

© Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1997

This work, including all of its parts, is protected by copyright. Any use beyond the limits of copyright law without the permission of the publisher is forbidden and subject to penalty. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations, microfilms and storage and processing in electronic systems.

Printed on permanent/durable paper.

Manufactured by MZ-Verlagsdruckerei GmbH, Memmingen Printed in Germany

ISSN 0170-3196 ISBN 3-447-03955-8 1997

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden