A SKETCH OF ONGOTA
A DYING LANGUAGE OF SOUTHWEST ETHIOPIA*

Graziano Savà
Leiden University, The Netherlands

Mauro Tosco
Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples, Italy

The article provides a grammatical sketch of Ongota, a language on the brink of extinction (actively used by eight out of an ethnic group of nearly one hundred) spoken in the South Omo Zone of Southwestern Ethiopia. The language has now been largely superseded by Ts’amakko, a neighboring East Cushitic language, and code-switching in Ts’amakko occurs extensively in the data. A peculiar characteristic of Ongota is that tense distinctions on the verb are marked only tonally. Ongota’s genetic affiliation is uncertain, but most probably Afroasiatic, either Cushitic or Omotic; on the other hand, it must be noted that certain features of the language (such as the almost complete absence of nominal morphology and of inflectional verbal morphology) point to an origin from a creolized pidgin.

* We are grateful to the Italian National Research Center (C.N.R.) for funding the research upon which this paper is based, and to the Institute of Ethiopian Studies at Addis Ababa University for granting us the permission to carry on our fieldwork in the area. Previous data on various points of Ongota grammar has been presented jointly by the authors at the “XIVth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies” (Addis Ababa, November 6-11, 2000) and, by Graziano Savà, at the Symposium “Ethiopian Morphosyntax in an Areal Perspective” (Leiden, February 4-5, 2001). We thank all those who, with their comments and suggestions, greatly improved our understanding of Ongota. Special thanks are due to Aklilu Yilma (Addis Ababa University). Obviously, any error and omission is entirely our responsibility.
1. Introduction

2. Phonology

   2.1. Segments

   2.2. Allophonic variation
       2.2.1. Voicing opposition
       2.2.2. Labial alternation
       2.2.3. Fricativization
       2.2.4. Glottalization

   2.3. Phonological processes
       2.3.1. Final Height Neutralization
       2.3.2. Final Vowel Dropping
       2.3.3. Glottal Onset Insertion
       2.3.4. Final Glottal Deletion
       2.3.5. Final Devoicing
       2.3.6. Final Non-release
       2.3.7. Uvular Spirantization

   2.4. Assimilations
       2.4.1. Assimilation to a dental
       2.4.2. Nasal Assimilation
       2.4.3. Sibilant harmony

   2.5. Syllables

   2.6. Clusters and epenthesis

   2.7. Length

   2.8. Suprasegmentals

   2.9. Treatment of Ts’amakko loans

   2.10. Words, affixes and clitics

3. Morphology

   3.1. Word-classes

   3.2. Nouns
       3.2.1. Number
           3.2.1.1. Singulative
           3.2.2.2. Plural and Collective
       3.2.2. Gender
3.3. Pronouns
   3.3.1. Emphatic Pronouns
   3.3.2. Subject Clitics
   3.3.3. Object Pronouns
   3.3.4. Indirect Pronouns
   3.3.5. Possessives
   3.3.6. Postpositional series and other pronominals used with
          adpositional elements

3.4. Deictics and Determiners

3.5. Adpositions
   3.5.1. Spatial relations

3.6. Adjectives
   3.6.1. Basic adjectives
   3.6.2. Derived adjectives
   3.6.3. Verbs with adjectival meaning
   3.6.4. Colors
   3.6.5. Adjectival phrases
   3.6.6. Comparatives and superlatives

3.7. Numerals
   3.7.1. Cardinals
   3.7.2. Numeral phrases

3.8. Adverbs

3.9. Verbs
   3.9.1 Basic stems
       3.9.1.1. Plural stems
   3.9.2. Derived stems
       3.9.2.1. Causative
       3.9.2.2. Middle
       3.9.2.3. Intransitive
       3.9.2.4. Frozen derivational extensions?
   3.9.3. Tense
   3.9.4. Aspect
   3.9.5. Negative paradigms
   3.9.6. Imperative
       3.9.6.1. Irregular Imperatives
       3.9.6.2. Negative Imperative
   3.9.7. Jussive
   3.9.8. Infinitive
   3.9.9. ‘to have’
4. Syntax

4.1. Noun Phrases

4.2. Genitival phrases

4.3. Sentences
   4.3.1. Subjects
   4.3.2. Objects
   4.3.3. Passive (Impersonal construction)
   4.3.4. Reciprocal and Reflexive

4.4. Questions
   4.4.1. Content questions
   4.4.2. Polar questions
   4.4.3. Greetings

4.5. Direct speech

4.6. Nominal sentences

4.7. Relative clauses

4.8. Object and subject sentences

4.9. Sentence embedding

4.10. Coordination

4.11. Focus

5. Ongota lexicon

6. English-Ongota index

References

Map
1. Introduction

The extreme southwestern corner of Ethiopia is well-known as an ethnic and linguistic mosaic. What was formerly the western part of Gemu-Gofa and is now the Southern Omo Zone (Amharic: ይዳብብ መም መንisphere) of the “Southern Peoples, Nations and Nationalities Region” comprises peoples speaking Cushitic and Omotic languages of the Afroasiatic family, as well as Nilotic and Surmic languages of the Eastern Sudanic branch of Nilo-Saharan. But there is at least another enigmatic people, mostly known in the area as Birale, but whose ethnic selfname is rather Ongota (ёнгота). One would search in vain for either the Birale or the Ongota in the Ethiopian census (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia 1998). The state of our knowledge about this people and their language (�이따onga ‘language [“mouth”] of the Ongota’) is well summarized in Ethnologue’s entry, quoted here below:

Birale (Ongota, Bire1le, Ifa'Ongota, “Shanqilla”) [BXE] 20 speakers out of an ethnic group of 70 (SIL 1990). One village on the west bank of the Weyt’o River, southeast Omo Region. Afroasiatic, Unclassified. All the speakers are old. The others conduct their affairs in Tsamai. 18% lexical similarity with Tsamai, but from borrowing. Typology: SOV; postpositions; genitives follow noun heads; suffixes indicate noun case; verb affixes mark subject person, number, and gender; passive; causative. Agriculturalists, hunters. Nearly extinct. [Grimes 1996: 260]

The entry itself represents a decisive improvement over previous reports, such as, for example, Ethnologue’s 11th edition, where the language was said to be spoken ‘[O]n Lake Weyto, north of the Cushitic-speaking Tsamay’ [Grimes 1991: 218]. At least at the present time, no such thing as a (permanent) “Lake Weyto” exists, and Ongota is spoken to the east of Ts’amakko, rather than to the north. The improvement is mostly the result of a single article, published in 1992/93 in

---

1 The following abbreviations are used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Amharic</th>
<th>Causative verbal extension</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Intransitive verbal extension</th>
<th>Impersonal Subject Pronoun</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Middle verbal extension</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Non-Past</th>
<th>Ongota</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Progressive</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Singulative</th>
<th>Ts’amakko</th>
<th>Morpheme boundary</th>
<th>Clitic boundary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MID</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 The denomination of Tsamay or Ts’amay, although common in the area (and in the literature) is unknown in the language itself. The ethnic selfname is rather Ts’amakko (corresponding to S’aamakko of Hayward [1989]).
the short-lived *Journal of Afroasiatic Languages*. The article, entitled ‘Ongota or Birale: A moribund language of Gemu-Gofa (Ethiopia)’, was co-authored by Harold C. Fleming, Aklilu Yilma, Ayyalew Mitiku, Richard Hayward, Yukio Miyawaki, Pavel Mikeš, and J. Michael Seelig [Fleming et al. 1992/93] and presented the first real data on the Ongota language. Actually, as well-argued in the article itself, there are reasons to believe that the Ongota were first mentioned by the American explorer Donaldson Smith [1896], when he spoke of a “Borali” people in connection with other yet unidentified tribes, especially a mysterious group of pygmies, the “Dume”.

Fleming et al. [1992/93] is particularly interesting for its rich vocabulary (with comparative notes), but it also presented much grammatical data, although only incompletely analysed. A year later it was followed by a precious 320-item wordlist of Ongota, Arbore, and Ts’amakko, published by the “Survey of Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia” [Dinota & Siebert 1994]. Although the words were carefully transcribed, no phonological analysis was attempted, and grammatical data was missing. In the following years, Aklilu Yilma, a linguist at Addis Ababa University (and one of the authors of Fleming et al. [1992/93]) collected additional sociolinguistic data on the people, visiting their settlement on various occasions. But no new linguistic data has been provided.

Differently from previous researchers, we more or less stumbled on Ongota while working on another language. On August 18, 2000, in the course of a fieldwork campaign aimed at various Dullay varieties, we stopped in the small town of Weyt’o, just after the bridge on the Weyt’o river, along the road leading from Arba Minch to the Omo. We had heard that a few Ongota were working at the Birale Agricultural Development Corp., a successful cotton company whose head-quarters are located just out of town, and had decided to enquire into the subject with the local manager. Although he could not be of great help (to his knowledge, no Ongota was found among the workers), he had us taken to somebody who arranged to have a few Ongota brought to us. On the following day we were introduced to three ethnic Ongota and began interviewing them. It soon became apparent that the three had a limited command of the language (although they could remember much of its vocabulary). Finally, we were promised a much better speaker for the following day, and on August 20 we were introduced to Mole Sagane, of the baritto clan.

Mole was the informant who provided Dinota & Siebert’s [1994] word-list (where he is referred to as Moyle Sagane). A short interview convinced us that he was the man we were looking for; Mole agreed to follow us to Jinka (the provincial capital of South Omo), where we worked full-time on Ongota from August 21 to 29. The present article contains the result of that work.

Mole claimed once to be 48 years old (but later denied knowing his age); he is a well-known and much respected elder, as well as a brave hunter; a native speaker of Ongota, he speaks like all his people a perfect Ts’amakko, masters well Hamar-

---

3 Their names are: Geta K’awla, Muda K’awla, and Gename Wa’do.
A sketch of Ongota

Banna, and has also a working knowledge of both Amharic and Borana Oromo. He soon proved to be a good linguistic informant, intelligent, cooperative and, above all, patient towards our endless questioning and our first clumsy attempts at speaking his language.

According to Mole, there are eight speakers of Ongota left: apart from himself, his older brother Aburre Sagane, and four brothers: Dulo Korayo, Oydalle Korayo, Guya’o Korayo and Iida Korayo (of the famaao clan). They all live in Muts’e, a good hour’s walk upstream of the bridge upon the Weyt’o river; most Ongota live there, together, we were told, with a few Ts’amakko. Two other Ongota speakers not living in Muts’e are Mole’s older brother Tabba Sagane, and Gacco Olle (of the hizmakko clan). According to Mole, the eight speakers actively use the language among themselves (on one occasion, we witnessed a conversation between Mole and one of his brothers).

Mole also claimed that four Ongota women speak the language, but since they are married to Ts’amakko men and have been living among the Ts’amakko for many years, it is probable that their active knowledge of the language is limited. We could not have their names.

The number of the ethnic Ongota is only slightly larger: according to Mole’s mental count, they do not exceed one hundred. This accords well with Aklilu Yilma’s (p.c.) personal count of 75 Ongota in Muts’e alone, and with the figure of 89 given in Fleming et al. [1992/93: 186]. Many, according to Mole, understand Ongota, some of them also speak it a little bit (such as the three Ongota we met on August 19), but for all practical purposes Ongota is a dead language and the Ongota are Ts’amakko speakers.

Still according to Mole, the Ongota abandoned their language and ceased teaching it to their children in order to avoid being teased by the Ts’amakko and the Banna. But he had to admit that their pastoral neighbors still look upon them in scorn, since the Ongota do not possess cattle and mainly live on fishing, hunting and honey.

We do not take a position on questions of classification in this descriptive sketch; different hypotheses have been put forward about the genetic affiliation of Ongota: that it is an autonomous branch of Nilo-Saharan [Blazek 1991]; that it is a separate branch of Afroasiatic (Harold Fleming), or that it makes a separate branch within South Omotic (Christopher Ehret, p.c.). While either a Cushitic or Omotic affiliation makes sense, one must note that the almost complete absence of inflectional morphology makes Aklilu Yilma’s (p.c.) idea of a creolized pidgin attractive, if only, at the present state of our knowledge, unverifiable. This creole would involve Nilotic, Omotic, and Cushitic elements (Lionel M. Bender, p.c.), because, as Bender [1994] has shown, any statistical test on the basic lexicon does not support aligning Ongota with any single Ethiopian language family. A further element pointing in the direction of a creole is possibly provided by the oral traditions of the Ongota, who speak of themselves as originally a collection of clans from

4 Due to Mole’s insufficient knowledge of Amharic, we were partially helped by Olle Fattale, a Ts’amakko policeman servicing in Jinka.
2. Phonology

2.1. Segments. As noted by Fleming et al. [1992/93: 190], any account of the phonology of Ongota (henceforth: O) is hampered by the huge amount of free variation which is found in the data. This variation is most probably the result of the obsolescence of the language and of the pervasive influence of Ts’amakko (henceforth: Ts), which, as anticipated, is the true living language of the Ongota. Even when speaking in O, code-switching with Ts is the norm. Also, most phonological processes of O find an exact parallel in Ts (e.g., the Final Height Neutralization of Vowels, the Glottal Onset Insertion, and many others).

The O vowels are the five cardinals. Their quality is relatively stable and unaffected by neighboring consonants. As for the consonants, O operates with the 26 phonemes charted in Table 1.

Table 1. The consonant phonemes of Ongota

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>voice (±)</th>
<th>bilab.</th>
<th>lab-dent.</th>
<th>(post) alv.</th>
<th>palato-alv.</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>uvular</th>
<th>pharyn.</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oral Plosives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glottalized nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td>d’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>tf</td>
<td>d3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>χ</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>ʕ</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant central lateral</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following spelling conventions are used: IPA /ʃ/ = ʂ; /ʃ3/ = ʒ; /tʃ/ = ɕ; /ɬ/ = y; /χ/ = x.

2.2. Allophonic variation

2.2.1. Voicing opposition. As for Ts’amakko and other Dullay varieties, as well as the Konsonoid languages, the status of the voice-voiceless opposition is doubtful (cf. Hayward [1989: 7-8] for Ts’amakko and Amborn, Minker & Sasse [1980: 73] for Dullay in general). Voice alternations have been found extensively for /h/ and /ʕ/ and, in one case only, between /d/ and /t/, as in (1). A word-initial /t/ is often voiced into [d] when it comes to be found between vowels, for example, in cliticization, as in (2).
A sketch of Ongota

1. **gaddafuni** [gaddahhúni ~ gaddaʃúni] ‘big’
   
2. **gidata** [gidáta ~ gitáta] ‘you (P)’

2.2.2. **Labial alternation.** In a few cases [pʰ] is in free alternation with /f/.

3. **oxoni faʔo** [pʰaʔo] ‘to kindle the fire’

Word-internally /bb/ is optionally devoiced to [ppʰ]: [bb] → [ppʰ] / X _ X

4. **dibba** [dɪppʰa] ‘hundred’
   **abba** [appʰa] ‘good’

   In Ts, too, /p/ is in free alternation with /pʰ/, /f/ or /φ/ in all positions, except when geminated or postnasal [Hayward 1989: 5]: for example, **pari** [pari ~ fari] ‘to die’ and **pooło** [po:lo] → [pʰo:lo] ‘cloud’.

2.2.3. **Fricativization.** The palato-alveolar voiced affricate optionally loses its stop component, becoming a fricative. Again, this process occurs also in Ts: [dʒ] → [ʒ] (optional).

5. **janta** [dʒánta ~ ʒánta] ‘you’ (S)

2.2.4. **Glottalization.** There is no plain (non-glottalized) /ts/ in Ts; the phoneme Hayward [1989] transcribes /s/ ‘is usually an affricated (but occasionally a fricative) ejective’ ([Hayward 1989: 6]; hence Hayward’s “S’aamakko” for the more common “Ts’aamakko” or “Ts’amakko”). In O, on the contrary, /ts/ is plain; glottalization is frequently heard in Ts loans (e.g., **tsoonako** [ts:o:nako] ‘honeybee’) and sporadic elsewhere, for example, **nitsina** [nits’ina] ‘many’.

   Likewise, the phonemic status of glottalized /c’/ [tʃ'] vs. plain /c/ is doubtful: both phonemes are found in Ts (although the latter is rare [cf. Hayward 1989: 5]); in O, /c’/ has been recorded only in a few Ts loans, such as **cayde** [tʃ’ájde] ‘pen, enclosure’, but also in the possibly native word **conqorte** [tʃ’onqórte] ‘mud’.

2.3. Phonological processes

2.3.1. **Final Height Neutralization.** Word-finally only three vowels are in opposition, the high vowels /i, u/ being optionally lowered to mid /e, o/:

   \[ V_{[\text{+high}]} \rightarrow V_{[-\text{high}, -\text{low}]} / \_ \_ \_ \# \] (optional).

   6. **ki=** [ki ~ ke] ‘3S.M’ (3rd Singular Masculine, Subject Clitic)

   The same neutralization is common in Ts, not only in final position, for example, **geʃe** [géʃ’e ~ géʃ’i] ‘belch’ and **kuttonko** [kuttőŋko ~ kottőŋko] ‘mountain’.
2.3.2. Final-Vowel Dropping. A final /a/ is often dropped in connected speech and before clitics. Other final vowels are not apparently affected. This process is reminiscent of similar rules dropping a "Terminal Vowel" (generally, a lexicalized former gender marker) in neighboring Cushitic languages (cf. Tosco [2001: 65f.] for Dhaasanac).5

(7) barama [baráma ~ barám] ‘tomorrow’
cas’awa [tʃaʃáwa ~ tʃaʃáw] ‘water; river’

2.3.3. Glottal-Onset Insertion. The phonemic status of /h/ is doubtful: on the one hand, a handful or so of words are consistently pronounced with an initial /h/; a few examples are: handura ‘navel’, hobat-‘to wash’, and the Ts loan hokam-‘to exchange’. In all these cases, /h/ is considered phonemic. On the other hand, vowel-initial words are optionally provided with a glottal onset, and (possibly as a result of the uncertainties in voicing opposition [cf. 2.2.1.]) this is realized either as a glottal stop [ʔ] or as a voiceless laryngeal [h] in free variation:

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow [ʔ \sim h] / \quad # \quad (optional). \]

(8) ayma [áyma ~ ?ájma ~ hájma] ‘woman’

In Ts, too, apparently there is free alternation between \( \emptyset \) and /ʔ/ word-initially, for example, arre [ʔarre ~ arre] ‘donkey’, although the phonemic status of /h/ is beyond doubt.

2.3.4. Final-Glottal Deletion. The presence of /ʔ/ in word-initial position is due to the operation of Glottal Onset Insertion (cf. 2.3.3); /ʔ/ is, nevertheless, phonemic in word-internal position (although attested in very few words only, such as iʔa ‘arm’). A glottal stop is deleted word-finally, but it is recovered in affixation, for example, [ki=δji] ‘he killed, hit’ will be interpreted and transcribed ki=jî?, on the basis of such forms as the IMPV.S: jîʔá ‘kill!’ and the IMPV.P: jîʔta ‘kill! (P)’. Final Glottal Deletion (/ʔ/ \( \rightarrow \emptyset / \ # \)) is particularly relevant in Middle verbs, whose extension =iʔ is realized as [i], except when further followed by an affix, as shown by the examples in (9).

---

5 The label “Terminal Vowel” itself is taken from Hayward’s [1987] discussion of Ometo nominals, where it is used in a different technical meaning.
2.3.5. **Final Devoicing.** Voiced plosives are devoiced word-finally.

(10) ki=šúb [kiʃúb] ‘he killed’
    šubá  [ʃubá] ‘kill!’

The voiced affricate is devoiced, not only word-finally, but also, optionally, word-internally: /dz/ → /tf/ (optional).

(11) ka=báaj [kabaːtʃ] ‘I carried’
    báajjo  [bátʃːo] ‘to carry’

The same optional devoicing occurs in Ts, too, for example, jiʃfo [dʒiʃːo ~ zιʃːo] ‘a sp. of bird’.

2.3.6. **Final Non-release.** Final voiceless plosives are unreleased.

(12) ki=cák [kitʃák] ‘he ate’ compare: caká ‘eat!’

A particular application of Final Non-release is the dropping of a word-final glottal stop (Final Glottal Deletion, cf. 2.3.3).

2.3.7. **Uvular Spirantization.** The uvular stop is generally voiced and fricativized intervocally: q → [k] / V___V, as in (13). Word-finally, it can be affricated (14).

(13) kata kara ka=qáfi  [kaɾáfi] ‘I fished’
    I fish 1S=catch.PST

(14) ki=cóq  [kitʃóqχ] ‘he shot’
    3S.M=shoot.PST

Intervocalic uvular spirantization occurs in Ts, too, as, for example, in soqo [sɔkɔ] ‘salt’.
2.4. Assimilations

2.4.1. Assimilation to a dental. The Imperative Plural suffix -ta induces progressive voicing assimilation of an immediately preceding voiced plosive.

\[
\text{IMPV.P}
\]

(15) \( yeqadá \) \( \text{‘hiccup!’} \) \( yeqadítá \) \( \text{[yeqattá]} \)
\( sugá \) \( \text{‘sniff!’} \) \( súgta \) \( \text{[súkta]} \)

2.4.2. Nasal Assimilation. A nasal assimilates to the articulation point of a following plosive.

(16) \( ki=ífam \) \( \text{‘he married’} \)
\( ayma=ko \) \( kita ífan=ta \) \( \text{‘the woman he married’} \)

(17) \( tagamá \) \( \text{‘sleep!’} \) \( tagánta \) \( \text{(IMPV.P)} \)

2.4.3. Sibilant harmony. /s/ of the Causative suffixes =san, =as, =is becomes a palato-alveolar /ʃ/ when following a palatal consonant in the stem.

(18) \( ka=cóq \) \( \text{‘I shot’} \) \( ka=cóqšan \) \( \text{‘I made shoot’} \)

In Ts, /s/ of the causative suffixes -is, -as and the rarely attested -os is affected by the same kind of sibilant harmony (19).

(19) \( jooq-i \) \( \text{‘I/he ground’} \) \( jooq-aš-i \) \( \text{‘I/he made grind’} \)
\( šoh-i \) \( \text{‘I/he washed’} \) \( šoh-iš-i \) \( \text{‘I/he wade wash’} \)
\( šiggar-i \) \( \text{‘I/he stopped’} \) \( šiggar-oš-i \) \( \text{‘I/he made stop’} \)

In O., the same rule has been sporadically found in other cases, as in (20).

(20) \( šįjju \) \( \text{‘by us, chez nous’} \) \( (*sįjju) \)

2.5. Syllables. The syllable structure of O can be expressed as (C)V(V)(C). This allows the following syllable types:

- \( V \) as in: \( á.xa.co \) \( \text{‘sun’} \)
- \( CV \) \( ca.ta \) \( \text{‘meat’} \)
- \( CVV \) \( zoe.ba \) \( \text{‘beeswax’} \)
- \( VC \) \( ip.pa \) \( \text{‘door’} \)
- \( VVC \) \( iš.te \) \( \text{‘neck’} \)
- \( CVC \) \( (ka=)cóq \) \( \text{‘I shot’} \)
- \( CVVC \) \( (ka=)tiid \) \( \text{‘I put’ (past)} \)

2.6. Clusters and epenthesis. Clusters are limited to two elements and to word-internal position. A three-element cluster arising from affixation processes is
avoided through epenthesis of /i/ after the second member. That the affricates /ts/, /ç/ (= [tʃ]), and /j/ (= [dʒ]) are single segments and not sequences of a plosive and a fricative is shown by the fact that a following segment does not yield epenthesis.

(21) tuuts-

‘to push’ IMPV.S: tuutsá
IMPV.P: tūutsta (*tūutsi)

2.7. Length. Vowel length and intervocalic consonant gemination (both marked by doubling of the relevant symbol) are phonemic.

(22) aka 'foot, leg' aaka 'women, females'
aka 'foot, leg' akka 'grandfather'
ame- 'to suck' aame- 'to rest'

Certain affixes involve the gemination of a preceding consonant, such as the infinitive affix =Co (23). Again, the same rule affects the infinitive suffix -o in Ts, as in (24).

(23) d'im-

‘to plunge’ > d'immo 'to plunge' (Infinitive)
kat- 'to come out' > kátto 'to come out' (Infinitive)
(24) ko?-i 'I/he burned' ko?-?o 'to burn' (Infinitive) (Ts)
deh-i 'I/he gave' deh-ho 'to give' (Infinitive) (Ts)

2.8. Suprasegmentals. Accent is defined here as an abstract property of morphemes to be able to carry high pitch. The presence of accent is marked by /ʼ/ and is contrastive.

(25) yooba [yó:ba] 'men, males' yoobá [yo:ba] 'see!' (IMPV.S)

(in the first case, accent is placed upon the first mora by default (see below); in yoobá, the stem yoob- is followed by the morpheme of the Imperative Singular (Positive) -á, which bears inherent accent.)

The accent-bearing unit is the syllable, but, on long vowels, accent may fall either on the first or the second mora. A sequence /vv/ is phonoetically realized as a long falling tone; conversely, a sequence /v́v/ is phonoetically realized as a long rising tone. Falling and rising tones, being predictable, are not marked in the transcription.

Opposition between a falling and a rising tone may be seen in the Past vs. Non-Past of verbal stems of shape CVVC (cf. 3.9.3).

(26) ka=xáab 'I scratched' vs ka=xaáb 'I’ll scratch'
[kaxáàb] [kaxáàb]
Accent may be lexically or morphologically defined, or may be assigned by default. In this case, it affects the penultimate syllable. Default-assigned accent is not marked in the phonological transcription.

(27) *gitata* [gitáta]  ‘you (P)’  
    *kara* [kára]  ‘fish’

Penultimate position is the rule for accent placement also in plurimorphemic words resulting from the affixation/cliticization of accentless morphemes.

(28) *ayma* [ájma]  ‘woman’  
    *ayma=ko* [ajmáko]  ‘the woman’  
    *őngota* [őngóta]  ‘Ongota’  
    *őngotitta* [őngotítta]  ‘one Ongota’

Morphologically-assigned accent is found in verbs (cf. 3.9.3), where past is expressed by accent on the first (in the following example, the only) stem vowel, while non-past is expressed by absence of accent on the stem vowel, which induces high pitch on the subject clitic *ka*.

(29) *ka=cőq* [katJoq]  ‘I shot’  
    *ká=coq* [kátJoq]  ‘I’ll shoot’

Accent may be assigned lexically, either on the antepenultimate (for example, *őtába*  ‘tongue’) or on the last mora (for example, *baraš*  ‘tomorrow’ in alternation with *baraša* [baráma]).

Accent may also be assigned lexically to specific morphemes, such as the Imperative Singular *-a* or the Imperative Plural *-ta* (which induces accent on the preceding vowel).

(30) *cőqá*  ‘shoot!’  
    *cőqta*  ‘shoot!’ (P)

### 2.9. Treatment of Ts’amakko loans.

Borrowings from Ts are often left unchanged. However, a final /o/ of Ts is often changed into /a/ in O, especially in the Singulative suffixes (cf. 3.2.1.1), as in (31). There are, nevertheless, many exceptions, as in (32), which are perhaps to be regarded as unassimilated loans. A similar change of Ts final /e/ to O /a/ is also common, shown in (33).

(31) Ts’amakko  
    **Ongota**  
    *irgašo*  
    *orgo*  
    *baarø*  
    *barlo*  
    *heko*  
    *rummaštitto*  
    *orgitto*  
    *konsitto*  
    *kaykitto*  

    *irgaša*  
    *orga*  
    *baara*  
    *barla*  
    *hooka*  
    *rummaštitta*  
    *orgitta*  
    *konsitta*  
    *kaykitta*  

    ‘axe’  
    ‘Hamer-Banna’  
    ‘armpit’  
    ‘white-browed sparrow weaver’  
    ‘chest’ (note the irregular vowel change)  
    ‘an Arbore man/woman’  
    ‘a Hamer-Banna man/woman’  
    ‘a Konso man/woman’  
    ‘male guest’


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ts’amakko</th>
<th>Ongota</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(32) boraho</td>
<td>booraño</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(33) atole</td>
<td>atolla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dige</td>
<td>diga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>donke</td>
<td>donka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hezze</td>
<td>hizza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biye</td>
<td>biya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kirince</td>
<td>kirinca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurrube</td>
<td>kurruba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a few cases a Ts noun extended with a lexicalized Singulative suffix has been taken into O in its bare form, possibly from an earlier stage of Ts; in most such cases the O word ends in /a/ (34); a few end in /o/ (35). There are a few cases of irregular change in the final vowel or the suffix (36).

| (34) berko | bera | ‘season’ |
| do?osko | do?osa | ‘waterbuck’ |
| dullayko | dullaya | ‘the Weyt’o river’ |
| gereško | gereša | ‘thief’ |
| gibilko | gibila | ‘knee’ |
| gubusko | gibisa | ‘femur’ |
| gaarakko | gaara | ‘monkey’ |
| damfatto | damfa | ‘giraffe’ |
| qalatte | qalaya | ‘hyena’ |

| (35) halte | halo | ‘calabash’ |
| balgitto | balgo | ‘ostrich’ |

| (36) gogile | gofa | ‘white-headed buffalo weaver’ |
| tokenko | tokoma | ‘heel’ |
| kormicco | korome | ‘fishing hook’ |

The /š/ of Ts loanwords is sometimes devoiced to /h/ (cf. 2.2.1. for Voicing Opposition in O) (37). A cluster /št/ in a Ts loan is shifted to /tt/ in O (38).

| (37) šaaško | haaše | ‘grass’ |
| šangararoro | hangararoro | ‘worm’ |
| (38) oršatko | oršatte | ‘rhinoceros’ |
| muqotite | muqotte | ‘frog’ |

---

6 From the local name of the Weyt’o river Amborn, Minker & Sasse [1980] originally proposed to call “Dullay” an East Cushitic dialect cluster spoken on both sides of the river (with Ts’amakko being spoken on the west side, and all the other dialects on the highlands to the east).
Finally, the following kinship names are extended in O with -ne.

(39) Ts’amakko Ongota
  ḥazo ḥazane ‘younger brother’
  šafalko šafalkune ‘older brother’

2.10. Words, affixes and clitics. A word is defined here phonologically as the domain of accent placement (cf. 2.8). A word may be mono-morphemic (as is most commonly the case of nouns), or it may be formed by a root morpheme followed by one or more affixes (for example, verbal forms, which are always at least bimorphemic), or, still, by a stem preceded and/or followed by one or more clitics:

Word = (Clitic_n) + Stem + (Affix_n) + (Clitic_n)

A few examples displaying different word-compositional possibilities are shown in (40).

(40) ayma ‘woman’ (monomorphemic)
    sugá ‘sniff!’ (stem sug-‘to sniff’ + IMPV.S. Suffix -á)
    coqšaná ‘make shoot!’ (stem coq-‘shoot’ + Causative suffix -san
               + IMPV.S. Suffix -á)
    ayma=ko ayma + Determinative clitic =ko
    ka=çóq ‘I shot’ (ka= ‘1st Sing. Subject Clitic’ + stem coq-‘shoot’
               + Past /’/)

3. Morphology

3.1. Word-classes. Nouns and verbs may be clearly defined in O in terms of their different morpho-syntactic behavior. Other categories of less certain status are the adpositions, the pronouns, the adjectives, and the numerals.

3.2. Nouns. Native nouns are uninflected, apart from the occasional use of Ts number (both Singulative and Plural) suffixes. In one case, from the native noun caša ‘stone’ a diminutive has been provided through a change in vowel quality: ceša ‘pebble’.

Nouns always end in a vowel (verbal stems, on the contrary, are generally consonant-ending); the preferred word shapes are (C)V(V).CV or (C)V(V).CV. CV. The final vowel is subject to deletion when a Ts number suffix is added.

A few nouns are apparently related to verbal stems, in a few cases through the addition of a vowel copying the (last) stem vowel of the verb. dāye ‘firestick’ is apparently a borrowing from Ts dāye, but compare the verb dāy-‘to twist’.
3.2.1. Number

3.2.1.1. Singulative. Names of peoples (all of them apparently Ts loans, except fuga ‘Amhara’) have a collective meaning; from them singulative forms are built through the suffixes -itta (M) and -itte (F), corresponding to Ts -itto (M) (cf. 2.9) and -itte (F), respectively.

Examples of the use of the singulative forms (43)-(44) vs. plural (45):

(43) kata fongotitta
     I Ongota-SING
     ‘I am Ongota’ (focalized; cf. 4.11)

(44) ayma=ko fongotitta
     woman-DET Ongota-SING
     ‘the woman is Ongota’

(45) juta fongota
     we Ongota
     ‘we are Ongota’

The Ts singulative suffixes -(ak)ko (M), -(at)te (F), as well as the Plural suffix -ayke are used with derived adjectives, as in (46) (cf. 3.6.2). In one case, the same

---

7 The term is widespread in Ethiopia for depressed or outcaste clans. Its use for the Amhara is probably derogatory.
suffix -te has been used with the O word ceße ‘pebble’ with a diminutive meaning, yielding ceşete ‘pebble’.

(46) Masculine Singular Feminine Singular Plural
zaarakko zaaratte zaarayke ‘fool, crazy’
kamurko kamurte ? ‘rich’
daafakko daafatte daafayke ‘blind’
arrakko arratte arrayke ‘dark grey’
tonnakko tonnatte tonnayte ‘lame’

3.2.2.2. Plural and Collective. A common way to express plurality is through the use of the adjective baddé ‘all’ or nitsina ‘many’ (47). Occasionally, the Ts plural affix =adde is used with O nouns. A frequent case is ŋādibā ‘elder’, which is often provided a plural form ŋādibadde, perhaps because other nouns referring to groups of people express number distinctions through the use of different stems, as in (48).

(47) ayma=ko baddé ‘all the women’
woman-DET all

(48) Singular Plural or Collective
ayma aaka ‘woman; female; wife’
inta yooba ‘man; male; husband’
jaaka eela ‘child, baby’
juuka igire ‘girl; daughter’
maara eela ‘boy; son’

In a few cases (49), the element -wa has been observed with a plural function. It might be an old Plural marker fallen out of use.

(49) fongotawa ‘Ongota’ (P)
karawa ‘fishes’
juukawa ‘girls’

3.2.2. Gender. Apart from the occasional use of different gender-sensitive Singulative suffixes, gender is not formally expressed on O nouns. Nominal gender has nevertheless relevance in the pronominal system and in verbal accord. In the Personal Pronouns different forms for the 3rd Sing. Masculine and Feminine are used. Gender accord with subject nouns denoting humans is natural; with subject nouns denoting things the Subject clitic is in the 3S.F, and the same applies to most animals, especially little and socially unimportant ones (for example, most wild animals).
A sketch of Ongota

(50) **uke** \( ki=t\ddot{ib} \)  
**elephant** 3S.M-die.PST  
\textasciitilde{}  
(51) **karbo** \( ku=t\ddot{ib} \)  
**bird** 3S.F-die.PST  

3.3. Pronouns. The Personal Pronouns of O follow the usual Cushitic seven-members system, with separate Masculine and Feminine elements for the 3rd Singular.

Six series of personal pronominal elements have been identified: Emphatic, Subject Clitic, Object, Postpositional, and Possessive; a sixth series, the Indirect Clitics, has separate forms for the singular persons only. They are shown in Table 2, together with their glosses.

Table 2. Personal Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EMPHATIC (INDEPENDENT)</th>
<th>SUBJECT CLITIC</th>
<th>OBJ / INDIRECT / POSTPOS</th>
<th>POSSESSIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kata</em></td>
<td>I</td>
<td><em>ka</em></td>
<td>1S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>janta</em> ~ <em>jaama</em></td>
<td>you</td>
<td><em>i</em></td>
<td>2S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kita</em></td>
<td>he</td>
<td><em>ki</em></td>
<td>3S.M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kuta</em></td>
<td>she</td>
<td><em>ku</em></td>
<td>3S.F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>juta</em></td>
<td>we</td>
<td><em>ju</em></td>
<td>1P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gitata</em></td>
<td>you</td>
<td><em>gita</em></td>
<td>2P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ki?ita</em></td>
<td>they</td>
<td><em>ki?i</em>-a</td>
<td>3P</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.1. Emphatic Pronouns. Emphatic pronouns may occur in whatever syntactic role but do not replace members of the other series. They may be regarded as extrasentential. In the following sentence the Emphatic pronoun is underlined.

(52) **juta** hanc\(a\) \( ju=g\ddot{ad} \)  
**we** **tree** 1P-cut.PST  
\textasciitilde{}  

3.3.2. Subject Clitics. The Subject Clitics obligatorily precede the verbal form in declarative clauses. The Impersonal Subject Pronoun *a* (ISP), which is used in the Passive (cf. 4.3.3), also belongs here. In the following sentence the Subject Clitic is underlined.

(53) **janta** hanc\(a\) \( i=g\ddot{ad} \)  
**you** **tree** 2S-cut.PST  
\textasciitilde{}
3.3.3. Object Pronouns. The Object Pronouns (underlined in the following examples) are used in the role of direct objects; they may appear before the Subject Clitic but may also be cliticized after a verbal form.

(54) kata kí ka=góhís
     I    him 1S-make_grow.PST
     ‘I made him grow’

(55) kata šuʔuna=me ka=šúguc=ki
     I    butter—with IS-smear.PST-him
     ‘I smeared him with butter’

3.3.4. Indirect Pronouns. A series of Indirect Pronouns is proposed on the basis of a few sentences only, in which the 3S.M and 3S.F have irregular forms wana, wata (reported also by Fleming et al. [1992/93: 198]), 1S na, and 2S jata. na and ta as markers of 3S.M and 3S.F, respectively, are found in relative clauses (see 4.7).

For the plural persons the Object Pronouns are used followed by the postposition =ku ‘for’. The Indirect Pronouns can appear either before or after the verbal form, as in (56)-(57).

(56) hálo=ke šari uccé wana
     container-in coffee put.IMPV.S him
     ‘fill the container with coffee for him!’

(57) barama tora kä=naʃ jata
     tomorrow spear 1S-give.NPST you
     ‘tomorrow I’ll give you my spear’

3.3.5. Possessives. As expounded in 3.3.6, the Possessive pronominal series may possibly be analyzed as containing the preposition se ‘of’ followed by a special series of pronominals, also occurring with the preposition uku= ‘on’. The Possessives act as nominal modifiers but may also occur alone.

(58) ayma sinni seena=tu abba
     woman my his-from good
     ‘my wife is more beautiful than his’

3.3.6. Postpositional series and other pronominals used with adpositional elements. The Postpositional Pronouns are used with a following postposition (see 3.5). With the preposition uku= ‘on’, which is apparently used only with pronominals, the pronominal element follows in a special form. This same form is also found in the Possessives, which may be analyzed as formed with the preposition se (found, albeit not regularly, in nominal phrases; see 4.2).

The pronominal series used with all the postpositions, the one used with uku= ‘on’, and the Possessives are shown in Table 3. Use of the preposition uku= is shown in (59)-(65).

(59) uku=ni ki=déhad
     on-me 2S.M.come_near.PST
     ‘he came near (“upon”) me’
Table 3. Postpositional Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronouns + =tu ‘from’</th>
<th>uku= ‘on’ + Pronouns</th>
<th>Possessives (se ‘of’ + Pronouns)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>ka=tu</td>
<td>uku=ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>jan=tu</td>
<td>ugu=du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S.M</td>
<td>kii=tu</td>
<td>eke=na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S.F</td>
<td>kuu=tu</td>
<td>uku=?u, uku=wi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>ju=tu</td>
<td>uku=šijja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>gida=tu</td>
<td>uku=gida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>kiʔi=tu</td>
<td>uku=waya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(60) kata ka=deháď  
    I 1S-come_near.NPST on-you  ‘I am coming near (“upon”) you’

(61) eke=na dehadá  
on-him come_near.IMPV.S  ‘go near him!’

(62) uku=?u dehadá  
on-her come_near.IMPV.S  ‘go near her!’

(63) janta uku=šijja ~ uku=šijji i=dehad  
you on-us 2S.come_near.PST  ‘you came near us’

(64) kata uku=gida ka=dehad  
    I on-you.OBJ 1S.come_near.PST  ‘I went near you (P)’

(65) kata uk[u]=waya ka=dehad  
    I on-them 1S.come_near.PST  ‘I went near them’

The following sentences show the use of the Postpositional Clitics with the postposition = ki ‘in, to’.

(66) kata gida=ki ka=dehad  
    I you.OBJ-to 1S-come_near.PST  ‘I went near you (P)’

(67) janta ju=ki i=dehad  
you us-to 2S-come_near.PST  ‘you came close to us’

When one leaves out of consideration the irregular and defective Indirect Object series, it becomes obvious that the pronominal series share a common set of forms, and that this series actually coincides with the Postpositional Series. In particular, both the Subject and the Object Clitic series are actually identical to the Post-
positional series, with the exception of the 2S Subject Clitic \textit{i} and the 2S Object Clitic \textit{jami}, while the Emphatic pronouns may be analyzed as formed through affixation of an invariable element -\textit{ta} of unclear value.\footnote{It is noteworthy that a similar element is found in Omotic languages, most notably in the 1S *\textit{ta}, which Bender [2000: 197 ff] proposes to explain on the basis of an old affixed copula; in due time the original pronominal element was dropped and its function was taken over by the erstwhile copula itself.}

3.4. Deictics and Determiners. The deictic system of O is still far from clear. The elements \textit{=ko} and \textit{=nki} (the former very possibly borrowed from Ts’amakko; cf. 3.2.1.1. on Singulatives) are frequently found, with no apparent difference in meaning. Both \textit{=ko} and \textit{=nki} will be glossed “Det” (for Determiner); an alternative analysis could account for these elements as connectors, as they are generally found with nouns which are further followed by a modifier, following the pattern common in Ts’amakko and generally in Dullay:

(68) \textit{ayma=ko, inta=nki} \quad \text{‘the woman, the man’}
\quad \text{woman-DET, man-DET}

More clearly deictic is \textit{inda} ‘this’, which follows the noun, either in its bare form or, more commonly, with the Determiners \textit{=ko} and \textit{=nki}.

(69) \textit{cawo inda ka=héeni} \quad \text{‘I like this gun’}
\quad \text{gun this 1S-like.PROG}

(70) \textit{ayma=nki inda abba} \quad \text{‘this woman is beautiful’}
\quad \text{woman-DET this beautiful}

Other deictic words are \textit{áddate} ‘there’ (implying a considerable distance from the speaker and the hearer) and \textit{inkena} ‘here (for Masculine nouns)/\textit{inkona} (for Feminine nouns — females, animals, and things), possibly to be analyzed as plurimorphemic: \textit{in=ke/ko=na}, with \textit{=ke}, \textit{=ko} being the 3S.M and 3S.F Object Clitics, respectively. Both \textit{áddate} and \textit{in=ke=na/in=ko=na} follow a noun, generally with the Determiners \textit{=ko} and \textit{=nki}.

(71) \textit{maara=nki áddate sae} \quad \text{‘whose is that (faraway) child?’}
\quad \text{child-DET there whose}

(72) \textit{maara=ko inkena sae} \quad \text{‘whose is this child (nearby)?’}
\quad \text{child-DET here.M whose}

(73) \textit{tagara inda áddate ka=héeni} \quad \text{‘I like that place’ (“shade”)}
\quad \text{shade this there 1S-like.PROG}

(74) \textit{tagara inda in=ko=na ka=héeni} \quad \text{‘I like this place (“shade”) here’}
\quad \text{shade this here-F 1S-like.PROG}
3.5. Adpositions. Adpositions are clitics to a preceding element, either a noun, a noun modifier, or a pronoun.

=tu ‘from’

(75) haw=tu éeni ‘where do you come from?’
where-from come.PROG

(76) longot=tu ka=éeni ‘I came from Ongota’
Ongota-from 1S-come.PROG

(77) kata caśáw=tu katto ka=ḥáabiní ‘I want to come out of the water’
I water-from come_out.INF 1S-want.PROG

(78) ka=tu eefi ku=Ja1m ‘I finished the milk’
me-from milk 3S.F-finish.PST

The postposition =tu may also follow a Possessive pronominal with a spatial meaning (‘by’, Fr. ‘chez’).

(79) sijji=tu maara xodi ‘a boy was born to us’
our-from child be_born.PST

Noteworthy is also the use of =tu in insults, such as in sorra=du from sorra ‘anus’ (see also the lexicon; note also the intervocalic voicing of =tu to =du ; see 2.2.1).

=ki ‘to, in’ (movement):

(80) haw=ki i=róota ‘where are you going?’
where-to 2S-go.PROG

(81) longot=ki ka=róota ‘I am going to Ongota’
Ongota-to 1S-go.PROG

(82) kata caśáw=ki réehu ka=ḥáabiní ‘I want to go in the water’
I water-to go_down.INF 1S-want.PROG

(83) halo=ke šari uccé=ju=ku ‘fill the container with coffee for us!’
container-in coffee put.IMPV.S-us-for

=me ‘with’ (instrumental and comitative)

(84) hak=me gida=éeni ‘who did you (P) come with?’
who-with 2P-come.PROG

(85) kata cawo=me binta ka=ḥát ‘I shot the animal with the gun’
I gun-with animal 1S-shoot.PST
(86) *inta gúlbata=mi ki=dángadí* ‘the man is strong’ [“works with man strength-with 3S.M-work.PROG strength”]

=ku ‘for’ (also used to express an indirect object with nominals and, as anticipated in 3.3.4., with plural pronouns)

(87) *halo=ke fari ka=úcci gida=ku*
container-in coffee 1S-put.PST you.P-for
‘I filled the container with coffee for you (P)’
[“I put coffee in the container for you”]

(88) *halo=ke fari uccé ju=ku*
container-in coffee put.IMPV.S us-for
‘fill the container with coffee for us!’

=na ‘with, and’

(89) *cašáw=na eefi ella ki=Sángata*
water-and milk together 3S.M-mix.PST
‘he mixed water with milk’

(90) *halo=ke fari uccé na*
container-in coffee put.IMPV.S me
‘fill the container with coffee for me!’

(91) *halo=ke fari uccé waya=ku*
container-in coffee put.IMPV.S them-for
‘fill the container with coffee for them!’

(92) *halo=ke fari ka=úcci ja=ta*
container-in coffee 1S-put.PST you-for
‘I filled the container with coffee for you’

(93) *halo=ke fari ka=úcci=wa=ta*
container-in coffee 1S-put.PST-her-for
‘I filled the container with coffee for her’

3.5.1. Spatial relations. A few items, possibly nouns, which follow a noun to which the postposition =*tu* ‘from’ is affixed, are used to express and further delimit various spatial relations.

galla ‘under’ (from Ts gallo)

(94) *inta hanca=tu galla ki=ída*
man tree-from under 3S.M-be_there.PST
‘the man was under the tree’

ippa=tu ‘out of’ (“door.from”)

(95) *janta wura=tu ippa=tu i=kát*
you house-from out 2S-go_out.PST
‘you came out of the house’

gúskuto ‘in, within’ (gusku ? + =tu ‘from’)

(96) *karbo wura=tu gúskuto ku=gáyya*
bird house-from within 3S.F-fly.PROG
‘the bird is flying in the house’
A sketch of Ongota

rúggitu ‘above, over, upon’ (ruggi ? + =tu ‘from’)

(97) karbo wura=tu rúggitu ku=róota ‘the bird is flying over the house’
    bird house-from over 3S.F-go.PROG

bagáttu ‘behind’ (baga ? + =tu ‘from’)

(98) inta wura=ko=tu bágattu ki=ída ‘the man is behind the house’
    man house-DET-from behind 3S.M-be_there.PST

balfásttu ‘in front of’ (bálías ? + =tu ‘from’)

(99) inta wura sinni=tu bálásttu ki=déhéni ‘the man is sitting in front of my house’
    man house my-from front 3S.M-stop.PROG

(100) inta juuka=tu bálásttu ki=yáwa ‘the man is standing in front of the girl’
    man girl-from front 3S.M-stand.PROG

3.6. Adjectives. There is not a unitary category “Adjective”: many adjectival concepts are expressed by verbs, a minority of others by true adjectives.

3.6.1. Basic adjectives. A few adjectives have different endings for Masculine and Feminine, or for Singular and Plural, but most are invariable. A few native adjectives end in =uni, which is also used in derived adjectives from verbs (see below). A list of basic adjectives is given below.

(101) gaddafuni; P: giddeyeta ‘big; large; wide; fat, old (of people and animals)’
munnufuni; P: minfeta ‘small, little; young (of people and animals)’
abba ‘nice, beautiful; good; sweet’
šádala ‘ugly; bad’
šádiba ‘old’ (for Masculine nouns only)
geccate; P: geccayke ‘old’ (for Feminine nouns only; from Ts)
kamurko; F: kamurte ‘rich’ (from Ts)
carba ‘thin’
hólbátuni ‘short’
órma ‘tall’ (from Ts)
zaarakko; F: zaaratte; P: zaarayke ‘fool; crazy’ (from Ts)
mekente ‘sterile’ (from Ts; subj: woman; for men the expression moolo tiibto [“the penis died”] is used
3.6.2. Derived adjectives. A few adjectives are derived from verbs; an ending -ni has been noted in a few cases. Compare (102) with (103)-(104), (105) with (106), (107) with (108), and (109) with (110).

(102) inta=ko šašatuni
man-DET afraid
‘scared, fearful man’

(103) kata ka=šašáti
1S-be_afraid.NPST
‘I am afraid’

(104) inta=ko juta ju=ma=šašáti=ʔi
man-DET we 1P-NEG-be_afraid-NEG
‘we are not afraid of that man’

(105) cašáw tsántuni
water cold
‘cold water’

(106) sibíla=ko ku=tsán
iron-DET 3S.F-be_cold.PST
‘the iron is (became) cold’

(107) ayma=ko erehte
woman-DET pregnant
‘pregnant woman’

(108) ku=érehi
3S.F-be_pregnant.PST
‘she is pregnant’

(109) inta daafakko
man blind
‘blind man’

(110) kata ka=daaf
1S-be_blind.PST
‘I became blind’

3.6.3. Verbs with adjectival meaning. Other adjectival concepts are expressed through verbs.

(111) kata ka=malál
1S.be_tired.NPST
‘I am tired, weak’ (from Ts)

(112) hanca ki=šóoni
wood 3S.M-be_hot.PST
‘the wood is (became) hot’

(113) caša ku=bóyi
stone 3S.F-be_hard.PST
‘the stone is (became) hard’

(114) našana=ko ku=tsáqami
food-DET 3S.F-be_salty.PST
‘the food is (became) salty’
3.6.4. Colors. Like other languages of the area (cf. Tosco [2001: 582ff.] for Dhaasanac), the color system of O has five basic colors:

- áttomuni ‘white’
- dákkamuni ‘black’
- róomini ‘red’
- cárkamuni ‘green’
- silbe ‘yellow’

The following non-basic colors have been recorded; note the use of silbe ‘yellow’ in these compounds.

- silbe áttomuni ‘light blue’ (“yellow+white”)
- silbe cárkamuni ‘dark green’ (“yellow+green”)
- silbe dákkamuni ‘blue’ (“yellow+black”)
- silbe róomini ‘pink; violet’ (“yellow+red”)
- moora ‘light gray’ (from Ts)
- arrakko; ‘dark gray’ (from Ts)
F: arratte; P: arrayke

3.6.5. Adjectival phrases. The adjective follows the noun it modifies. Both the noun and the adjective may be followed by a determiner.

(115) ayma=nki gaddaluni=nki (sinni) ‘the big woman (is my wife)’
woman-DET big-DET my

(116) juuka=ko abba=ko (ka=haabini) ‘(I want) a beautiful girl’
girl-DET nice-DET IS-want.PROG

3.6.6. Comparatives and superlatives. In comparatives the adjective does not change; the subject may either precede or follow the element against which the comparison is made, which is followed by the postposition =tu ‘from’. The same construction, which is common in the area, is used in Ts.

(117) a. inta=nki ayma=ko áddate=tu gaddašuni
man-Det woman-Det there-from big
‘the man is taller than that woman’

b. Ts:
qawko kutta gaant=issa kaysa=nu ko đamma
man this woman-that there-to CONN big
‘this man is taller than that woman’
(118) a. \textit{ayma=nki=tu inta=nki gaddaluni}  
woman-DET-from man-DET big  
‘the man is taller than the woman’

b. Ts:  
\textit{gaante=nu qawko damma}  
woman-to man big  
‘the man is taller than the woman’

(119) a. \textit{inta=nki inda ayma=ko áddade=tu abba}  
man-DET this woman-DET there-from beautiful  
‘this man is more beautiful than the woman’

b. Ts:  
\textit{qawko=kutta gaante kaysa=nu ko qayya}  
man-this woman that-to CONN beautiful  
‘this man is more beautiful than the woman’

(120) a. \textit{ayma=nki=tu inda áddate abba}  
woman-DET-from this there beautiful  
‘that (woman) is more beautiful than this one’

b. Ts:  
\textit{gešant=itta=nu kissa abba}  
woman-this-to that beautiful  
‘that (woman) is more beautiful than this one’

(121) a. \textit{hanca=nki baddi=tu inda gaddaluni}  
tree-DET all-from this big  
‘this tree is the biggest of all’

b. Ts:  
\textit{gar=e xumbi=nu kutta ko damma}  
tree-P all-to this CONN big  
‘this tree is the biggest of all’

Other sentences:

(122) \textit{ayma=nki inda=tu inta áddate gaddaluni}  
woman-DET this-from man there big  
‘that man is taller than this woman’

(123) \textit{wura siidi=tu wura sinni gaddaluni}  
house your-from house your big  
‘my house is bigger than yours’
For the equative comparative, the Ts structure with the Ts word *gura* ‘like’ following the second element is used.

(124)  a. *hanca=nki hanca=nki áddate gura gadda*ñuni
     tree-DET tree-DET there like big
     ‘this tree is as big as that one’

     b. Ts:
     
     *garko kutta garko kaysa gura ko damma*
     tree this tree there like CONN.M big
     ‘this tree is as big as that one’

Sometimes =*tu* appears also after the second element in an equative comparison.

(125)  *inta=nki ayma=ko áddate=tu gura abba*
     man-DET woman-DET there-from like beautiful
     ‘this man is as beautiful as that woman’

3.7. Numerals

3.7.1. Cardinals. The following numerals have been recorded:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Ts</th>
<th>Ts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>kálbano</em></td>
<td><em>akkálbano</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>lama</em></td>
<td>‘two’ (Cushitic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>zaha</em></td>
<td>‘three’ (Ts <em>zéh</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>tálahä</em></td>
<td>‘four’ (Ts <em>tálahä</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>xubbi</em></td>
<td>‘five’ (Ts <em>xobín</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td><em>tsanafa</em></td>
<td>‘six’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td><em>tahanke</em></td>
<td>‘seven’ (Ts <em>tahán</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td><em>ista</em></td>
<td>‘eight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td><em>gollanke</em></td>
<td>‘nine’ (Ts <em>gollán</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td><em>coma</em></td>
<td>‘ten’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9 The form *akala* mentioned by Fleming et al. [1992/93: 203] has not been found. On the other hand, *kálbano* ~ *akkálbano* apparently contains a formative -*bano* which is also found in the special forms for ‘two’ and ‘three’ used in numeral phrases (see 3.7.2).

10 When counting or mentioning numbers, the oral expression of the numbers is usually accompanied by a conventional manipulation of the fingers; the numbers up to ten are expressed as follows:

1: little finger curled by the other hand, other fingers extended;
2: little finger and ring finger curled by the other hand, other fingers extended;
3: little finger, ring finger and middle finger curled by the other hand, other fingers extended;
4: all fingers except the thumb curled by the other hand, thumb extended;
5: all fingers clenched over the thumb;
6: thumb of left hand held between the thumb and the forefinger of right hand; other fingers of left hand extended;
Teens are formed with *coma* ‘ten’ followed by the unit, for example:

- *coma akkálbano* ‘eleven’
- *dibba* ([ˈdɪppa]) ‘hundred’
  (cf. Dullay *dippá* [Amborn, Minker & Sasse 1980: 96])

3.7.2. **Numeral phrases.** The numeral always follows the head noun. The following special forms used in phrases have been recorded (see also fn. 9).

- *lámbano* ‘two’
- *zéhbano* ‘three’

(126) *wura=ko áddate zéhbano ku sinni* ‘those three houses are mine’
  house-DET that three 3S.F my

The other numerals are used in phrases without changes.

(127) *wura=ko áddate xubbi ku sinni* ‘those five houses are mine’
  house-DET that five 3S.F my

3.8. **Adverbs.** A few elements have been tentatively classified as adverbs; they can precede or follow a noun or an emphatic subject pronoun, but always precede the verb and the pronominal clitics.

Adverbs of time:

*barám ~ barama* ‘tomorrow’:

(128) *barama kata ka=kolí* ‘I will return tomorrow’
  tomorrow 1 1S-return.NPST

---

7: thumb and forefinger of right hand inserted between the thumb and the forefinger of the left hand; the forefinger of the left hand is curled, while the other fingers are extended; 8: thumb, forefinger and middle finger of the right hand inserted between the thumb and the forefinger of the left hand; the fingers of the left hand are extended; 9: all fingers of the right hand except the little finger inserted between the thumb and the forefinger of the left hand; the fingers of the left hand are extended; 10: both hands as for 5.; the two fists knocked together.

This system is, in a way, the reverse of the one used among the Dhaasanac [cf. Tosco 2001: 108]; in particular, the Dhaasanac start from the forefinger and proceed toward the little finger, while the Ongota start from the little finger; among the Dhaasanac, extension of one or more fingers expresses the counted number, while the other fingers are kept curled, while for the Ongota it is the curling of one or more fingers which expresses the counted number. For example, among the Dhaasanac 1. is expressed extending the forefinger and keeping the other fingers curled; for 2. the forefinger and the middle finger are extended, and so on.
A sketch of Ongota

naxani ‘yesterday’:

(129) kata naxani ka=gáñi ‘yesterday I ran’
      I yesterday 1S-run.PST

burinki ‘this morning’:

(130) burinki ka=málal baram ka=dangád ‘this morning I was tired, I will work tomorrow’
      this_morning 1S-be_tired.PST tomorrow 1S.work.NPST

wuuni ‘today’:

(131) wuuni ka=róó ‘I went today’
      today 1S-go.PST

ayke ‘now’:

(132) ayke ka=róota ‘I am going now’
      now 1S-go.PROG

qarra ‘before’:

(133) qarra ku=bóíi=ba ayke cárqamuni ‘it was fresh and now is yellow’
      before 3S.F-be_fresh.PST and now green

sidda ‘before’:

(134) juuka=ko sidda abba ayke fádala ‘the girl before was nice, now she is ugly’
      girl-DET before nice now ugly

kolba ‘again’ has been found only in the sentence:

(135) ayma ka=išéeni=ba kolba ka=háabini ‘I have a woman and I want another one’
      woman 1S-bring.PROG and again 1S-want.PROG

Adverbs of quantity and intensity

ekkete ‘much’:

(136) ekkete caká ‘eat a lot!’
      much eat.IMPV.S

(137) ekkete riirá ‘scream loudly’
      much scream.IMPV.S
\textit{iccama} ‘a little bit; slowly’:

(138) \textit{iccama} ca\textit{ká} \quad \text{‘eat a little!’}
\begin{align*}
\text{little} & \quad \text{eat.IMPV.S} \\
\end{align*}

(139) \textit{iccama} ro\textit{ót\text{á}} \quad \text{‘go slowly!’}
\begin{align*}
\text{little} & \quad \text{go.IMPV.S} \\
\end{align*}

The adjective \textit{abba} ‘good’ is used as an adverb with the meaning ‘well, properly’:

(140) \textit{kita} ca\text{ta} \textit{abba} \textit{ki=.gfá.\text{di}} \quad \text{‘he is cutting the meat properly’}
\begin{align*}
\text{he} & \quad \text{meat} \quad \text{good} \quad \text{3S.M-cut.PROG} \\
\end{align*}

The following adverbial phrases have been noted:

\textit{qane qane} ‘sometimes’ and \textit{qane ba\text{dd\text{ee}}} ‘always’ (Lit. “all day”. A calque of Ts \textit{qane xumbi}. Cfr. Amh \textit{k’An} ‘day’).

(141) \textit{qane} ba\text{dd\text{ee}} ca\text{ra} \textit{ka=chá.\text{ki}} \quad \text{‘I am always eating fish’}
\begin{align*}
\text{day} & \quad \text{all} \quad \text{fish} \quad \text{IS-eat.PROG} \\
\end{align*}

\textit{kanna kanna} ‘quickly’ (Ts \textit{kanna kanna}):

(142) \textit{kanna kanna} \textit{ki=ro.\text{to}} \quad \text{‘he is going quickly’}
\begin{align*}
\text{quickly} & \quad \text{3S.M-go.PROG} \\
\end{align*}

\textbf{3.9. Verbs.} The following categories find expression in verbal inflection:

- tense: Past (: PST), Non-Past (: NPST);
- aspect: unmarked vs. Progressive (: PROG);
- mood: Main, Imperative (: IMPV), Jussive, Verbal Noun or Infinitive (: INF);
- polarity: Positive vs. Negative (the latter tagged NEG).

It will be noted that the person, number, and gender of the subject of the sentence is not indexed on the verb itself, although a few verbs use different stems for Singular and Plural Subjects and/or Objects. Other categories find their expression in verbal derivation; the simplest form of a stem, both morphologically and semantically, is the Basic stem. From a Basic stem one or more derived stems are derived through suffixation.

Inflection may be suffixal or suprasegmental (tonal); derivation is exclusively suffixal.\textsuperscript{11}

\textsuperscript{11} It is difficult to decide whether the extreme reduction in inflectional categories expressed on the verb is exclusively a function of the obsolescence of the language; other Cushitic languages, all of them spoken in close contact with non-Cushitic languages, show similar, although perhaps not so radical, reduction: Dhaasanac, Elmolo, and Yaaku are the most evident examples. But two continued on next page
3.9.1. Basic stems. In the following discussion and in the Lexicon, verbs will be
given under their stem forms, which never surface as such; for most verbs the
stem is actually identical to the form found in the Past and Non-Past, but without
accent (cf. 3.9.3); this is also the form to which suffixes (both derivational and
inflectional) are added. This applies to the consonant-ending verbs, which are the
vast majority of all verbs. Among the consonant-ending verbs, most are mono-
syllabic and have the shape CV(V)C; a minority are bi- and pluri-syllabic.

A good number of verbs are vowel-ending; the final vowel is -i in the tensed
forms, but -e before the inflectional suffixes. Finally, no final vowel is generally
found before the derivational suffixes. For example, one finds the following forms:

- Past: \( ka=múxi \) ‘I laughed’
- Non-Past: \( ka=muxí \) ‘I laugh, will laugh’
- Imperative Singular: \( muxé \) ‘laugh!’
- Imperative Plural: \( muxéta \) ‘laugh! (P)
- Causative, Past: \( ka=múxsan \) ‘I made laugh’

Considering that only /e/ or Ø are found before suffixes, and taking into
account Final Height Neutralization (cf. 2.3.1), it is possible to consider these verbs
as ending in -e in their stem-form. As shown above, both /i/ and /e/ appear word-
finally; now, while it is tempting to hypothesize that a final accented /e/ avoids
raising, thereby accounting for, for example, the Past \( ka=múxi \) ‘I laughed’ vs. the
Imperative Singular \( muxé \) ‘laugh!’; this would leave unexplained the Non-Past
\( ka=muxí \) ‘I laugh, will laugh’. It is tentatively assumed here that /e/ is the final
stem-vowel and that raising to /i/ is morphologically determined; all the basic
vowel-ending verbs are therefore reported with a final /e/ in the following
discussion and in the Lexicon. A few examples are: \( aame- \) ‘to rest’, \( ame- \) ‘to suck’,
\( ee- \) ‘to come’, \( išee- \) ‘to bring’, \( åbeåe- \) ‘to vomit’, \( bašce- \) ‘to carry on the back’,
\( be?e- \) ‘to give’, \( berre- \) ‘to touch’, \( boye- \) ‘to cry’, \( goxe- \) ‘to put out’, \( mayye- \) ‘to
kiss’, \( muxe- \) ‘to laugh’

3.9.1.1. Plural stems. A few verbs have different stems for Singular and Plural
Subject and/or Object. These verbs are the following:

of these (Elmolo and Yaaku) were recorded in their terminal stages, too. Derivation has been on
the whole more resistant to decay than inflection.
### Singular stem

- gay-
- xo?-
- gad-
- dehe-
- dat-
- kat-
- reex-

### Plural stem

- bafat-
- kuše-
- qits-
- aame-
- xot-
- foof-

### Other verbs

- 'to run' Cfr. Ts sor (S), bafad (P)
- 'to hit'
- 'to cut' Cfr. Ts qits
- 'to put down'
- 'to stop (intr.)'
- 'to make fall'
- 'to leave'
- 'to go down'

\[(143) \text{kita hanca } kí=gadā \text{ 3S.M-cut.NPST} \]

\[(144) \text{kiʔita hanca } kiʔa=qits \text{ 3P-cut.P.NPST} \]

Other verbs seem to be used only with plural subjects, without a corresponding singular stem.

- hadi- 'to collect, pick up'
- hokam- 'to exchange'

### 3.9.2. Derived stems

The productive derivational system consists of a Causative (CAUS) extension and of a Reflexive-Middle (MID) extension (whose productivity is unclear).

#### 3.9.2.1. Causative

The most common extension is -san; possibly this was, at least originally, a compound Causative-Passive extension, since a scarcely productive extension -am is found with an Intransitive meaning (cf. 3.9.2.3).

The Causative in -san is completely productive. Basic vowel-ending verbs (cf. 3.9.1) delete their final -e before the extension.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Stem</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>coq- 'to hit'</td>
<td>coqsan- 'to make hit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caʃaw- 'to drink'</td>
<td>caʃawsan- 'to make drink'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lool- 'to be angry'</td>
<td>loolsan- 'to make angry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muxe- 'to laugh'</td>
<td>muxsan- 'to make laugh'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A second Causative derivation, apparently of less productivity, is =is. This is the same suffix used in Ts, and is frequent with Ts loans, but not limited to them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Stem</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bafat- 'to run' (P subj.)</td>
<td>baʃis- 'to make run' (P subj.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gutal- 'to jump, dance, sing'</td>
<td>gutalis- 'to make jump, dance, sing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goh- 'to grow' (from Ts)</td>
<td>gohis- 'to make grow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kox- 'to leak'</td>
<td>koxis- 'to make leak'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In a few cases, both -san and -is have been recorded, with apparently no difference in meaning:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Stem</th>
<th>-is Causative</th>
<th>-san Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mag-</td>
<td>magis-</td>
<td>magfsan-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morom-</td>
<td>moromis-</td>
<td>moromsan-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sal-</td>
<td>salis-</td>
<td>salsan-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiid-</td>
<td>tiid-is/-as-</td>
<td>tiidsan-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>magsan-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moromsan-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salsan-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiidsan-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few verbs have, possibly as a variant of -is, a Causative extension -as (or -aš, very possibly a variant of -as):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Stem</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ucce-</td>
<td>uccas-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sad-</td>
<td>sadas-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diig-</td>
<td>diigas-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, the following shows a Causative -os, apparently borrowed from a Dullay variety other than Ts together with the Basic stem:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Stem</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>daggab-</td>
<td>daggabos-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.9.2.2. Middle. The usual Cushitic Reflexive-Middle (or Auto-benefactive) extension is found in O with the unusual shape -i?, which has been recorded for a substantial number of verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Stem</th>
<th>Middle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>boš-</td>
<td>boši?-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coq-</td>
<td>coqi?-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gad-</td>
<td>gadii?-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ges-</td>
<td>gesi?-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hobat-</td>
<td>hobati?-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In fili?-‘to comb’, the Middle extension has been added to a loan verb (Ts fil) without a Basic correspondent. Other verbs, such as goi?-‘to take, get’ and fiqqisil- ‘to sneeze’, are found only in their Middle forms without a Basic stem.

3.9.2.3. Intransitive. An Intransitive extension in -am has been recorded for a few verbs. It is evidently connected to the Passive East Cushitic extension of the same form, and, as anticipated, could be the origin of the common Causative extension -san.
Basic Stem | Intransitive
---|---
bul- | ‘to pull out’
lax- | ‘to mix’ (tr.)
šud- | ‘to cover, dress’ (Ts)
xot- | ‘to put down’

At least the following has an irregular double Intransitive extension -mam.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Stem</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>caq-</td>
<td>‘to hide’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few Intransitive-extended verbs have been recorded without a corresponding Basic stem, such as ṭifam-‘to marry’, hokam-‘to exchange (P. subj.; from Ts). Maybe also morom-‘to speak’ belongs here.

The opposition between a Basic transitive stem and its Intransitive derivate may be seen in the following sentences:

(145) kuta eefi=na cašáw ella=ki ku=láx
she milk-and water together-to 3S.F-mix.PST
‘she mixed the milk with water’

(146) eefi=na cašáw ella=ki ku=láxm
milk-and water together-to 3S.F-mix.INTR.PST
‘the milk mixed with water’

The complete series of (regular) derivational possibilities is illustrated, for example, in the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Stem</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
bul- | ‘to pull out’ | buli?- | bulam- |
diig- | ‘to pour into’ (from Ts) | diigi?- | diigam- |

3.9.2.4. Frozen derivational extensions? A few verbs appear with a dental ending in their Basic stem; while for a few of them a Ts origin is evident, this is not always the case. They can act as the base of further, “true” derivation:

Basic Stem

غاگا- ‘to mix’ (tr.)
hobat- ‘to wash’
nabad- ‘to hate’ (from Ts)
noqot- ‘to look, aim at’ (from Ts)

3.9.3. Tense. A twofold opposition Past vs. Non-Past is found. The Non-Past is used for an incomplete action, either present or future. The Past tense is marked by tone on the first (or only) mora of the verbal form. If the verb stem is a long monosyllabic one (CVVC), the sequence High-Low yields a falling tone. The Non-
Past tense is marked by absence of tone on the mora of the stem if this is monomorphic (CVC). In this case, the Subject Clitic gets High tone; a certain amount of non-phonological lengthening of the stem vowel is occasionally heard.

(147) a. `(kata) ka=búd' I 1S-spit.PST
   'I spat'

b. `(kata) ká=bud [búd]' I 1S-spit.NPST
   'I’ll spit'

(148) a. ka=cíg 1S-sew.PST
   'I sewed'

b. ká=cíg 1S-sew.NPST
   'I’ll sew'

(149) a. ka=cóq 1S-hit.PST
   'I hit'

b. ká=coq 1S-hit.NPST
   'I’ll hit'

(150) a. tampo ka=súg tobacco 1S-sniff.PST
   'I sniffed tobacco'

b. tampo ká=sug tobacco 1S-sniff.NPST
   'I’ll sniff tobacco'

(151) a. ka=héd 1S-tie.PST
   'I tied'

b. ká=hed 1S-tie.NPST
   'I’ll tie'

If the verb is at least bimoraic, the verbal form gets a Tone on the last mora and the Subject Clitic does not get High tone. If the stem is a long monosyllabic one (CVVC), the sequence Low-High yields a rising tone.

(152) a. ka=xááb [xááb] 1S-scratch.PST
   'I scratched'

b. ka=xaál [xáál] 1S-scratch.NPST
   'I’ll scratch'

(153) a. ka=zii? 1S-fart.PST
   'I farted'

b. ka=zii? 1S-fart.NPST
   'I’ll fart'
If the stem is bi- or pluri-syllabic the Non-Past has High tone on the last mora.

(154) a. naxani ju=iški
    yesterday IP-play.PST
    ‘we played yesterday’

   b. barám ju=iški
    tomorrow IP-play.NPST
    ‘we’ll play tomorrow’

(155) a. kata ka=iikkisi
    I 1S-sneeze.PST
    ‘I sneezed’

   b. kata ka=iikkisi
    I 1S-sneeze.NPST
    ‘I’ll sneeze’

Native verbs and loans do not differ in their treatment, as shown by the following verbs from Ts.

(156) a. ka=gef
    1S-belch.PST
    ‘I belched’

   b. ká=gef
    1S-belch.NPST
    ‘I’ll belch’

(157) a. ka=gufaf
    1S-cough.PST
    ‘I coughed’

   b. ka=gufaf
    1S-cough.NPST
    ‘I’ll cough’

3.9.4. Aspect. An on-going action is expressed through the Progressive ending -i/-ni. The verb receives the accent on the first vowel. Verb stems ending in a consonant (cf. 3.9.1) add -i; verbs ending in a vowel add -ni. Compare the following sentences.

(158) a. barám kata ka=dangad
    tomorrow I 1S-work.NPST
    ‘tomorrow I’ll work’

   b. inta gülbata=mi ki=dangadi
    man strength-with 3S.M-work.PROG
    ‘the man is working hard’

(159) a. naxani narfe=me ka=cíg
    yesterday needle-with 1S-sew.PST
    ‘yesterday I sewed with the needle’

   b. barám narfe=me ká=cíg
    tomorrow needle-with 1S-sew.NPST
    ‘I’ll sew with the needle tomorrow’

   c. ayki narfe=me ka=cígi
    now needle-with 1S-sew.PROG
    ‘I am sewing with the needle now’
A sketch of Ongota

(160) a. naxani kata kara ka=qafi
    yesterday I fish 1S-catch.PST
    ‘yesterday I fished’

b. barám kata kara ka=qafi
    tomorrow I fish 1S-catch.NPST
    ‘I’ll fish tomorrow’

c. ayki kata ka=qafini
    now fish 1S-catch.PROG
    ‘I am fishing now’

(161) a. naxani kata ka=hobi
    yesterday I 1S-wash.PST
    ‘yesterday I washed’

b. barám kata ka=hobí
    tomorrow I 1S-wash.NPST
    ‘I’ll wash tomorrow’

c. kata ka=hóbini
    I 1S-wash.PROG
    ‘I am washing’

(162) a. naxani na i [ne]= xá
    yesterday what 2S do.PST
    ‘what did you do yesterday?’

b. barám na í=xá [= nýchá]
    tomorrow what 2S-do.NPST
    ‘what will you do tomorrow?’

c. ayki na i [ne]= xání
    now what 2S do.PROG
    ‘what are you doing now?’

The verb roo-‘to go’ has an irregular Progressive in -ta.

(163) cařáw=ki ka=róota
    river-to 1S-go.PROG
    ‘I am going to the river’

The Progressive may be used for an on-going action in the present or in the past.

(164) cařáw=to ka=éeni
    river-from 1S-come.PROG
    ‘I am coming from the river’

(165) naxani ka=áxay=ba ka=qafini=ba ku=gírib
    yesterday 1S-get_up.PST-and 1S-catch.PROG-and 3S.F-be_night.PST
    ‘yesterday I woke up and spent the day fishing until it became night’

(166) kita ki=éeni na=tu kata ka=yób
    he 3S.M-come.PROG what-from I 1S-see.PST
    ‘I saw him as he was coming from over there’

(167) kita ki=éeni na=tu juta ju=yób
    he 3S.M-come.PROG what-from we 1P-see.PST
    ‘we saw him as he was coming from over there’
(168) cafáw=ki ki=róota na=tu kata ka=yób
   water-to 3S.M-go.PROG him-from I 1S-see.PST
   ‘I saw him as he was going (there) to the river’

3.9.5. **Negative paradigms.** For both the Past and the Non-Past a single Negative form is used, marked on the verb by a suffix -ʔi and by a negative marker ma (both glossed NEG) preceding the verbal form.

(169) barama kata ka=ma=éeni-ʔi
   tomorrow I 1S-NEG-come.PROG-NEG
   ‘I won’t come tomorrow’

(170) kata ku=mi ka=ma=móromi-ʔi
   I 3S.F-with 1S-NEG-speak-NEG
   ‘I don’t speak with her’

3.9.6. **Imperative.** The Positive Imperative (: IMPV) Singular of consonant-ending verbs (cf. 3.9.1) is marked by final High-toned -á; the Plural by -ʔa.

(171) budá ‘spit!’
    spit.IMPV.S
    búdta ‘spit (P)!’
    spit.IMPV.P

(172) gufašá ‘cough!’
    cough.IMPV.S
    gufášta ‘cough! (P)’
    cough.IMPV.P

Vowel-ending stems (cf. 3.9.1) end in their Imperative Singular in High-toned -é, while for the Plural the same -ʔa ending of all other verbs is used.

(173) muxé ‘laugh!’
    laugh.IMPV.S
    muxéta ‘laugh (P)!’
    laugh.IMPV.P

3.9.6.1. **Irregular imperatives.** The Imperative of roo- ‘to go’ is built from the irregular Progressive (cf. 3.8.3) róota: S rootá, P róotta. The verb xa?- ‘to do’ extends its stem in the Imperative: S xaašá, P xáašta. As in many Ethiopian languages, the verb ee- ‘to come’ has a suppletive Imperative: S háy, P háyta.

3.9.6.2. **Negative imperative.** The Negative Imperative uses the special Negative element intima (composed with ma?).

(174) intima qáfi ‘don’t fish!’
    NEG fish
    intima gida qáfi ‘don’t (P) fish!’
    NEG 2P fish

3.9.7. **Jussive.** A separate Jussive form has been found for the 1st Plural only and is built with the suffix -ítu (after consonant) or -tu (after vowel; but a few irregular forms have been found).
A sketch of Ongota

(175) axay-  axáytu  ‘let’s stand up!’
boye-  bóytu  ‘let’s cry!’
cafaw-  cafawítu  ‘let’s drink’
ji?-  jí?tu  ‘let’s kill!’

(176) kata kara šúubbo  ka=táábeani  I fish kill.INF 1S-want.PROG
‘I want to kill fish’

(177) rotto  ka=áábeani  go.INF 1S-want.PROG
‘I want to go’

(178) jami  xó??o  ka=táábeani  you.OBJ hit.INF 1S-want.PROG
‘I want to hit you’

(179) cafáw  bá??o  ka=táábeani  water carry.INF 1S-want.PROG
‘I want to carry water (on the back)’

(180) laalbe  šúdammo  ka=táábeani  dress wear.INF 1S-want.PROG
‘I want to put on the dress’

(181) oxoni  gúyyo  ka=táábeani  fire kindle.INF 1S-want.PROG
‘I want to kindle the fire’

(182) kata  tágammo  ka=táábeani  I sleep.INF 1S-want.PROG
‘I want to sleep’

(183) kuta  šu?una  šúgucco  ku=táábeani  she butter smear.INF 3S.F-want.PROG
‘she wants to smear butter’

3.9.8. Infinitive. Verbs in the basic stem, both monosyllabic and bisyllabic, make their Infinitive with the suffix -Co (where C is the last stem consonant); the accent falls on the first syllable. The Infinitive is used in object and subject clauses (cf. 4.8).

(175) axay-  axáytu  ‘let’s stand up!’
boye-  bóytu  ‘let’s cry!’
cafaw-  cafawítu  ‘let’s drink’
ji?-  jí?tu  ‘let’s kill!’  (note the idiom cáxma jí?tu  ‘let’s eat!’ [“let’s kill meat!”])

(176) kata kara šúubbo  ka=táábeani  I fish kill.INF 1S-want.PROG
‘I want to kill fish’

(177) rotto  ka=táábeani  go.INF 1S-want.PROG
‘I want to go’

(178) jami  xó??o  ka=táábeani  you.OBJ hit.INF 1S-want.PROG
‘I want to hit you’

(179) cafáw  bá??o  ka=táábeani  water carry.INF 1S-want.PROG
‘I want to carry water (on the back)’

(180) laalbe  šúdammo  ka=táábeani  dress wear.INF 1S-want.PROG
‘I want to put on the dress’

(181) oxoni  gúyyo  ka=táábeani  fire kindle.INF 1S-want.PROG
‘I want to kindle the fire’

(182) kata  tágammo  ka=táábeani  I sleep.INF 1S-want.PROG
‘I want to sleep’

(183) kuta  šu?una  šúgucco  ku=táábeani  she butter smear.INF 3S.F-want.PROG
‘she wants to smear butter’
Vowel-ending stems have a suffix -le; again, the accent falls on the first syllable.

(187) bóyele ka= háabini
    cry-INF 1S-want.PROG
    ‘I want to cry’

(188) qáadíle  ka= háabini
    lie_down-INF 1S-want.PROG
    ‘I want to lie down’

(189) šóxele  ka= háabini
    have_sex-INF 1S-want.PROG
    ‘I want to have sex’

(190) gidata kúšile ka= háabini
    you.P.OBJ hit-INF 1S-want.PROG
    ‘I want to hit you (P)’

3.9.9. ‘to have’. “to have” is expressed by the construction “from me X is”, widely found in Ethiopian languages. It has a parallel also in Ts.

(191) a. ka=tu darbo ku= ida
    me-from skin 3S.F-there_is
    ‘I have a skin’

    b. Ts:
       eeta doolte fagay
       to-me skin there_is

(192) a. gida=tu darbo ku= ida
    you(P)-from skin 3S.F-there_is
    ‘you (P) have a skin’

    b. Ts:
       ineta doollo fagay
       to-you (P) skin there_is

The negative form employs the negative of ba ‘to be’, which is a borrowing from Ts.

(193) a. ka=tu ba
    me-from not_be
    ‘I do not have’

    b. Ts:
       eta ba
       to-me not_be
‘to have’ is also expressed through the Progressive form of the verb išee- ‘to bring’.

(194) kata ayma ka=išeeni
I woman 1S-bring.PROG

(195) kita hugu ki=išeeni
he itching 3S.M-bring.PROG

(196) kata bor=mi jata ka=išeeni
I stomach-with you 1S-bring.PROG

(197) inta iifa ki=ma=išeeni
man mouth 3S.M-NEG-bring.PROG

4. Syntax

O is an SOV, dependent-marking language. The verb is the last element of a sentence, but a pronominal object often follows the verbal form (v. 4.3.2).

4.1. Noun Phrases. The Noun is the first element of the phrase; a Possessive immediately follows the head, but the relative order of other modifiers is apparently free.

(198) wura sinni lama
house my two

(199) wura sinni lama giddejeta
house my two big.P

but:

(200) wura sinni minjeta lama
house my little.P two

(201) ayma=ko maar ku=ma=xódi(=ʔi)
woman-DET child 3S.F-NEG-generate.PST(-NEG)
‘a woman who did not gave birth to a child’

4.2. Genitival phrases. The Possessed precedes the Possessor; in closed, possibly frozen, expressions, no element intervenes.

(202) iifa fongota
‘the Ongota language [“mouth”]’
mouth O.

Generally, the Possessor is further followed by an element =te:

(203) iʔa inta=te
hand man-?
‘the man’s hand’
The possessed may be followed by se, glossed ‘of’, which is also found in the Possessive pronominal elements. Its use is sporadic; it could also result from the transfer into O of the common Ts Determinative or connector -se.

Frequently the first element is followed by the Determiners =ko or =nki.

A reverse Possessor-Possessed is possible but, apparently, less used. In this case, the Possessor precedes, followed by the eventual Determiners and the case-marker =tu ‘from’; the Possessed is, in its turn, followed by the Possessive pronominal referring to the Possessor following the possessed.

This order is instead normal when further modifiers are present.

4.3. Sentences. Although verbs are the prototypical predicates, also nouns, adjectives, possessives, and numerals may act as predicates in nominal sentences (see 4.6).

4.3.1. Subjects. A nominal subject is normally found in sentence-initial position; there are reasons to believe that such nouns do not act as the syntactic subjects of the sentence, a function which is rather filled by a Subject Clitic; only the presence of a Subject Clitic is mandatory for any declarative clause, while a noun may
appear in the first position in the clause or also (possibly as a right-dislocated topic?) at the end, or may be altogether absent.

4.3.2. Objects. The only element that can intervene between the Subject Clitic and the Verb is the Negative marker *ma*. An Object Pronoun can take the position of a corresponding object noun before the Subject Clitic.

(213) *kata uke ka=ji?* ‘I shot an elephant’
   I     elephant 1S-shoot.PST

and:

(214) *kata ki ka=ji?* ‘I shot him’
   I     3S.M 1S-shoot.PST

Sentence (214) above may be analyzed as having the structure:

\[ \text{[kata]}_{\text{Top}} \text{[uke]}_O \text{[ka]}_S \text{[ji?]_V} \text{[V]}_C \text{[S]} \]

I     elephant 1S shoot.PST

More commonly, an Object Pronoun is affixed after the verbal form. It can also be introduced with an Emphatic Pronoun or repeated after the verb.

(215) *kita cata ki=gaf* ‘he bit the meat’
   he   meat 3S.M-bite.PST

vs.

(216) *gabare ki=gaf=ki* ‘a snake bit him’
   snake 3S.M-bite.PST-him

An indirect object precedes the direct object.

(217) *šiggi=tu maara xódi* ‘a boy was born to us’
   us-to boy generate.PST

4.3.3. Passive (Impersonal construction). A passive construction is expressed through the use of the Impersonal Subject Pronoun *a* (ISP); the object follows the verbal form:

(218) *(kata) a=xódi=ka* ‘I was born’ (“me, they generated me”)
   I     ISP-generate.PST-me

(219) *(janta) a=xódi=jámi* ‘you (S) were born’
   you   ISP-generate.PST-you

(220) *(kita) a=xódi=ki* ‘he was born’
   he     ISP-generate.PST-him
(221) (kuta) a=xódi=ku
   she    ISP-generate.PST-her
   ‘she was born’

(222) (juta) a=xódi=ju
   we    ISP-generate.PST-us
   ‘we were born’

(223) (gidata) a=xódi=gita
   you    ISP-generate.PST-you.OBJ
   ‘you (P) were born’

(224) (ki?ita) a=xódi=ki?i
   they    ISP-generate.PST-them
   ‘they were born’

The Negative Paradigm involves the (optional?) use of the Negative particle ma (NEG), which is often missing, and, obligatorily, of the suffix =?i at the end of the verbal form:

(225) (kata) a=(ma) xódi=ka=?i
   I    ISP-(NEG) generate.PST-me-NEG
   ‘I was not born’

(226) (janta) a=(ma) xódi=jámi=?i
   you    ISP-(NEG) generate.PST-you-NEG
   ‘you (S) were not born’

4.3.4. Reciprocal and Reflexive. Both a Reciprocal and a Reflexive are expressed through the use of ella or elella ‘self’ and ‘together’ (from Ts) and the clitic =na ‘and’ after the first element:

(227) ka=na jami ju=šúb ella
   1S-and 2S 1P-kill.PST self
   ‘we (me and you) killed each other’

(228) ki=ji? ella
   3S.M-kill.PST self
   ‘he killed himself’

(229) ka=gád ella
   1S-cut.PST self
   ‘I cut myself’

(230) juta elella ju=éeni
   we together 1P-come.PROG
   ‘we come together’

Followed by a postposition:

(231) cašáw=na eefi ella=ki reekisá
   water-and milk self-in mix.IMPV.S
   ‘mix milk with water!’

4.4. Questions

4.4.1. Content questions. Content questions (“Wh-questions”) do not have fronting of the question word. When the question word is subject of the sentence, no Subject Clitic is found, a fact that can be assumed to imply that the question word is always focalized.
A sketch of Ongota

haka ‘who?’:

(232) haka ée who come.PST ‘who came?’

Note the following idiom:

(233) meša=ko siidu haka name-DET your.S who ‘what’s your name?’

sae ‘whose?’:

(234) wura=nki sae house-DET whose ‘whose is the house?’

A possible elliptical answer is:

(235) se ayma=te of woman-of ‘It is the woman’s’

na ‘what?’:

(236) na ki=xá what 3S.M-happen.PST ‘what did he do?’

haw= ‘where?’:

The element haw= ‘where’ is always followed by a postposition:

(237) haw=ki i=áskam where-to 2S-go.PST ‘where did you go?’

(238) haw=tu i=éeni where-from 2S-come.PROG ‘where are you coming from?’

bari ‘when?’:

(239) bari i=ée when 2S-come.PST ‘when did you come?’

ayta ‘which?’:

(240) cawo ayta i=héeni gun which 2S-like.PROG ‘which gun do you like?’

miʔa ‘how much/many?’:

(241) kara miʔa i=jíʔ fish how-many 2S-catch.PST ‘how many fish did you catch?’
na=ku ‘why?’ (“what-for”):

(242) na=ku i=éeni
    what-for 2S-come.PROG

ašana ‘how?’:

(243) ašana ki=dangat
    how 3S.M-do.PST

4.4.2. Polar questions. Polar questions are marked by a final =? (INT) on the verb and by a rising intonational contour.

(244) janta naxani kara i=qafi=?i
    you yesterday fish 2S-fish.PST-INT

When the question relates to the subject of the sentence, no Subject Clitic is present on the verb; as in the case of content question words (cf. 4.4.1), it can be assumed that this is because a questioned nominal is inherently focused.

(245) mole=mu aburre ée
    M.-or A. come.PST

4.4.3. Greetings

(246) a. ašana i=tag
    how 2S-sleep.PST

b. janta nágayko tág=í
    you peace sleep.PST-INT

answer:

(247) abba ka=tág
    good 1S-sleep.PST

or simply nágayko ‘peace’ (from Ts).

4.5. Direct speech. The quoted speech follows the main clause.

(248) kita ku=tu ki=gísí=na cařáw laxá
    he her-to 3S.M-tell.PROG-and water mix.IMPV.S
    ‘he told her: “mix the water!”’

4.6. Nominal sentences. In nominal sentences no verb appears and the role of predicate is fulfilled by an adjective or a noun, introduced by a Subject Clitic. Absence of the latter is found in focalized nominal sentences (see 4.11), in which
the subject noun (or an Emphatic pronoun) is followed directly by the nominal predicate.

(249) kata munnu\textsuperscript{uni} 'I am small'
   I small

In negative nominal sentences the usual negative markers ma and =?i (affixed to the noun or adjective in predicative position) appear. ?i and ma can also both follow the predicate.

(250) a. kata gadda\textsuperscript{uni} ?i=ma 'I am not big'
    I big NEG-NEG

   b. kata ma gadda\textsuperscript{uni}=?i 'I am not big'
    I NEG big-NEG

(251) kata gadda\textsuperscript{uni} ?i=ma munnu\textsuperscript{uni} 'I am not big, I am small'
    I big NEG-NEG small

(252) ayma sinni wura=\textit{tu} 'my wife is at home'
    woman my house-from

For the past, the verb \textit{ida} 'to be' is used.

(253) ayma sinni wura=\textit{tu} ku=\textit{ida} 'my wife was at home'
    woman my house-from 3S.F-be_there.PST

(254) kata fongotitta 'I am Ongota'
    I O.SING

(255) ki?ita fongota 'they are Ongota'
    they O.

(256) a. kata fongota=?i 'I am not Ongota'
    I O.-NEG

   b. kata fongotitta=?i 'I am not Ongota'
    I O.SING-NEG

(257) wura=ko \textit{áddate} gidde\textit{feta} lámbano ku sinni 'those two big houses are mine'
    house-DET there big.P two 3S.F my

4.7. Relative clauses. The following rules apply:
   — relative clauses precede the matrix clause;
   — the end of the clause is marked by the Indirect Clitics of third person =\textit{na} 'him' if its head is masculine, and =\textit{ta} 'her' if feminine (cf. 3.3.4).
— the relative verb is generally not preceded by a Subject Clitic; this is especially the case when the subject of the relative is also the subject of the main clause.

(258) naxani inta=nki áddate kara qáfíni=na aza sinni
yesterday man-DET there fish fish.PROG-him sibling my
‘that man who yesterday caught the fish is my brother’

(259) inta kara qáfíni=na ka=yób
man fish fish.PROG-him 1S-see.PST
‘I saw the man who caught the fish’

(260) ayma=ko janta ifan=ta ka=tsíini
woman-DET you marry.PST-her 1S-know.PROG
‘I know the woman you married’

(261) ayma=ko kita ifan=ta ka=tsíini
woman-DET he marry.PST-her 1S-know.PROG
‘I know the woman he married’

(262) ayma maara xódi=ta aza sinni
woman child generate.PST-her sibling my
‘the woman who gave birth to a child is my sister’

(263) ayma=ko janta ifan=ta maara ku=xódi
woman-DET you marry.PST-her child 3S.M-generate.PST
‘the woman you married gave birth to a child’

The presence of the Object Clitic representing the head is excluded if the relative clause contains an Object Clitic.

(264) inta kimiša cák=ta ki=tíb
man crocodile eat.PST-her 3S.M-die.PST
‘a man who eats a crocodile dies’ (crocodile is feminine)

not: *inta kimiša cák=ta=n aki=tíb
eat.PST-her-him

(265) inta kara ji=ta aza sinni
man fish shoot.PST-her (= it) brother my
‘the man who caught fish is my brother’

(266) inta=ko burinki cařáw=ki ki=róota aza sinni
man-DET today river-to 3S.M-go.PST brother my
‘the man who today went to the river is my brother’

In negative relative clauses:
— the Subject Clitic is present, followed by the Negative marker ma, which, evidently, cannot stay alone before the verb;
— the suffixed negative marker =\textit{i} generally does not appear after a relative
verb;
— the end of the clause is not marked by =\textit{na} ‘him’ if its head is masculine,
and by =\textit{ta} ‘her’ if feminine.

(267) \textit{inta cata ki=ma=cák aza sinni} 
\textit{man meat 3S.M-NEG-eat.PST brother my}
‘the man who did not eat meat is my brother’

(268) \textit{inta=nki kara ki=ma=jí=ta aza sinni} 
\textit{man-DET fish 3S.M-NEG-shoot.PST-her (= it) brother my}
‘the man who did not catch fish is my brother’

(269) \textit{inta ayma ki=ma=ífam aza sinni} 
\textit{man woman 3S.M-NEG-marry.PST brother my}
‘the man who didn’t marry the woman is my brother’

4.8. Object and subject sentences. The Infinitive (cf. 3.9.8) is used in the object
or subject clause, which precedes the matrix clause: 12

(270) \textit{kata jami ſu?una=me šúgucco ka=ḥábini} 
\textit{I you.OBJ butter-with smear.INF 1S-want.PROG}
‘I want to smear you with butter’

(271) \textit{kata tora=me binta cóqho ka=ḥábini} 
\textit{I spear-with animal hit.INF 1S-want.PROG}
‘I want to hit the animal with the spear’

(272) \textit{wákkọ kata ka=ma=ḥábini=\textit{i}} ‘I don’t want to fall’
\textit{fall.INF I 1S-NEG-want-NEG}

(273) \textit{múxele abba} ‘to laugh is good’
\textit{laugh.INF good}

4.9. Sentence embedding. The embedded clause always precedes the matrix
clause.

(274) \textit{hawki ki=róo ka=ma=tsíī[ni=\textit{i}] where 3S.M-go.PST 1S-NEG-know(.PROG-NEG)
‘I don’t know where he went’

(275) \textit{haw=to ki=ée ka=ma=tsíī[ni=\textit{i}] where-from 3S.M-come.PST 1S-NEG-know(.PROG-NEG)
‘I don’t know where he came from’

12 Ts also uses this infinitive construction.
(276) *haw=tu ki=éeni ka=ma=tsíi[ni=?i]*  
where-from 3S.M-come.PROG 1S-NEG-know(.PROG-NEG)  
‘I don’t know where he comes from’

(277) *yooba=ko mi?a éé káta ka=ma=tsíi[ni=?i]*  
people-DET how-many come.PST 1S-NEG-know (.PROG-NEG)  
‘I don’t know how many come’

(278) *báre ki=áskam ka=ma=tsíi[ni=?i]*  
when 3S.M-go.PST 1S-NEG-know(.PROG-NEG)  
‘I don’t know when he went’

(279) *haka éé ka=ma=tsíi[ni=?i]*  
who come.PST 1S-NEG-know(.PROG-NEG)  
‘I don’t know who came’

(280) *kata ku=mi mórommo ka=háabiní*  
I 3S.F-with speak.INF 1S-want.PROG  
‘I want to speak with her’

(281) *kata ku=mi mórommo ka=ma=háabiní=?i*  
I 3S.F-with speak.INF 1S-NEG-want.PROG-NEG  
‘I don’t want to speak with her’

(282) *haka i=yób sále na=ku*  
who 2S-see.PST tell.IMPV.S 1S-for  
‘tell me whom you saw’

(283) *barama ku ééyo ka=háabiní*  
tomorrow 3S.F-come.INF 1S-want.PROG  
(note the irregular Infinitive of éé ‘to come’ with epenthetic /y/)  
‘I want her to come tomorrow’

(284) *na i=yób sále na=ku*  
what 2S-see.PST tell.IMPV.S 1S-for  
‘tell me what you saw’

(285) *barama i=róota=na sále na=ku*  
tomorrow 2S-go.PROG-and tell.IMPV.S 1S-for  
‘tell me if you are going tomorrow’

Specific sentence-subordinating (or coordinating?) devices are =*na* ‘and’ and  
=*ba* ‘if’ (possibly borrowed from Ts.).

(286) *ayki šera i=ma=náf? na=ku=na barama tora ka=ma=náf=i*  
today knife 2S-NEG-give me-for-and tomorrow spear 1S-NEG-give-NEG  
‘if today you don’t give me your knife, tomorrow I won’t give my spear’

(287) *kimíša inta ki= háf=ba ki=jí[=ni]*  
crocodile man 3S.M-bite-and 3S.M-kill(.PROG)  
‘if a crocodile bites a man, it kills (will kill) him’
4.10. Coordination. Sentences are often linked without marking:

(288) janta rootá hanca=ko gfadá ‘go and cut the tree!’
you go.IMPV.S tree-DET cut.IMPV.S

Apart from =na ‘and’ and =ba ‘if’ (cf. 286, 287), a partial list of coordinating elements—all of them clitics—follows here below.

=?i ‘also’

(289) ki=?i gaddasuni ‘he too is big’
3S.M-too big

=ma ‘but’

(290) kata gaddasuni=ma kata munnufuni ‘I am not big; instead, I am small’
I big-but I big

=mu ‘or’

(291) cañawa=mu eefi háabiní ‘do you want water or milk?’
water-or milk want.PROG

4.11. Focus. As far as one can tell from our data, the absence of the Subject Clitics in declarative sentences is a focus-marking device, as shown above in nominal sentences (v. 4.6), and in:

(292) gabare gfá ki ‘a snake bit him’
snake bite.PST 3S.M

No specific focus-marking element has been identified, except for the following contrastive-marking repetition of a Subject Clitic.

(293) ka=?i ki=ki=ám ‘not me; he was (to do it)!’
I-NEG 3S.M-3S.M-be

As anticipated, the absence of the Subject Clitics in Content and Polar Questions (cf. 4.4.1., 4.4.2) is probably to be explained on the basis of the inherently focalized status of the word on which the question bears.
5. Ongota lexicon

Words are arranged in alphabetical order; vowel-initial words are listed all together at the beginning, followed by /ś/-initial words. Ts’amakko and a few other loans are underlined. Verbs are reported under their stem-form; the Imperative Singular and Plural forms are given whenever available.

**aaka** women; females

**aame** to rest

- IMPV.S: aamé
- IMPV.P: aaméta

**abba** good; beautiful; well

**abun** to embrace, to lull (Ts)

- IMPV.S: abuná
- IMPV.P: abúnta

**áddate** that (faraway); there

**afa** eye; afa axay ka= tu — ‘the eye hurts me’ (calque from Ts)

**ah** to lose

- IMPV.S: ahá
- IMPV.P: áhta
- CAUS ahsan to make lose
- IMPV.S: ahsaná
- IMPV.P: ahsánta

**aka** foot; leg

**akka** grandfather (both father’s father and mother’s father)

(ak)kálbano one

**akkuyte** father’s older brother/sister

**algas** can, to be able (Ts)

**am** to be

**ama** breast; ama=to iifá — ‘nipple’ (“breast’s mouth”; calque from Ts)

**amate** white sorghum (Ts)

**ame** to suck

- IMPV.S: amé
- IMPV.P: améta
- CAUS amsan to make suck
- IMPV.S: amsaná
- IMPV.P: ansánta

**andulle** heron (cf. bargada)

**ardo** ox

**arka** hartebeest (Ts)

**ármata** catarrh, mucous

**arrakko**; F: arratte dark gray (Ts)

**árrre** donkey (Ts)

**aryitta** friend (Ts)

**askam** to go

- IMPV.S: —
- IMPV.P: askánta

**ašana** how?

**ašawa** earring (Ts)

**ášinkuni** sister’s son

**áttonuni** white

**átolla** pigeon (Ts atole)

**áxaco** sun

**axay** to rise, stand up

- IMPV.S: axayá
- IMPV.P: axáyta

**ayki** now

**ayma** woman, wife; female (P: aaka)

**ayta** which?

**ayyane** mother

**aza** sibling

**ázole** sp. of edible grass (Ts)

**ee** to come (irr. IMPV.: háy/háyta);
- IMPV.NEG: ínti ma éa — ‘don’t come!’

**eeda** relative (Ts)

**eefi** milk; tear

**eela** children

**ekkešad** sad, to be (Ts)

- IMPV.S: ekkešadá

**ékkite** loud; a lot (Ts)

**ella, elella** oneself

**erangolle** necklace of white and red beads (Ts)
ereha foetus; ereha ku=áh ‘she had a miscarriage’; kuta ereha ka=ahsan ‘I make her have a miscarriage’

erehí- to become pregnant
IMPV.S: erehíá, IMPV.P: erehíta;
CAUS erehsan- to make pregnant
IMPV.S: erehsaná,
IMPV.P: erehsánta

erehte P: erehiwa pregnant (a Ts loan?)

íccama (=íccaíma ?) slowly; a little bit; softly; íccama caká — ‘eat a little bit!’

ifam- to marry
IMPV.S: ifamá, IMPV.P: ifánta

igire daughters; girls

ii?a arm; hand; finger

iída there is/are

iiña mouth; language; íína Songota — the Ongota language; inta iiña ki ma išéení — ‘dumb (“man who doesn’t have a mouth”)’

iila sons; boys

iište neck (cf. also denge)

ílaša bushpig (Ts ilaaša)

inkena so; this

innakko spider (Ts)

inta man; husband; male (P: yooba)

inta akkálbano twenty (‘one man’; calque from Ts qawko mume ‘a whole man’)

ippa door

irgaša axe (Ts irgašo)

irmatte termite (Ts irmatte)

ista eight

išee- to bring; to have
IMPV.S: išée, IMPV.P: išéeta

iške- to play
IMPV.S: išké, IMPV.P: iškéta

išma play (n.)

itima tooth; itima miintite incisor (calque from Ts ilge miinate)

olla village, settlement

oobde son’s daughter (Ts?)

oofe beans (Ts)

oofto son’s son (Ts?)

orga SING: orgötta Hamar (Ts)

orma tall (Ts)

oršatte rhinoceros (Ts)

ottako calf (Ts)

óxaya lion

oxoni fire

ucce- to pour, fill (Ts)
IMPV.S: uccé, IMPV.P: uccéta CAUS uccaš to make fill
IMPV.S: uccasá, IMPV.P: uccásta

uke elephant

úkubu sister’s husband

ukubu sp. of gray fish with many scales

uppatte amniotic fluid (Ts)

šabuya uncle

šabuyte grandmother (both father’s mother and mother’s mother or father’s/mother’s older sister)

šad- to lick
IMPV.S: šadá, IMPV.P: šáda CAUS šadas to make lick

šádaba tongue

šádala bad, ugly

šada father’s older brother’s wife or son (Ts šadda ‘friend, brother’)

šádiba elder, old man; husband

šahaye bird

šálala kind of dove or pigeon (Ts xälle)

šale Gawwada (and other Dullay-speaking groups of the highlands; Ts)

šale- to tell
IMPV.S: šalé, IMPV.P: šaléta
**Studies in African Linguistics 29(2), 2000**

- **fangaba** big acacia umbrellaphera
- **fangat**- to mix
  - IMPV.S: **fangátá**, IMPV.P: **fangátta**
- **fango** wisdom tooth
- **far**- to stink
  - IMPV.S: **fará**, IMPV.P: **fárta**
- **fari** coffee (Ts)
- **fázane** younger brother (Ts fazo)
- **fèbe**- to vomit
- **fiqqisi**- to sneeze
  - IMPV.S: **liqqísíña**, IMPV.P: **liqqísínta**
- **figad**- to hiccough (Ts)
  - IMPV.S: **liqáá**, IMPV.P: **liqááta**
- **fizza** root, vein (Ts hezze)
- **fongota** SING: **longóttá** Ongota (the people and the area); **longót=t** from Ongota
- **=ba** and
- **båhante** bow (Ts)
- **baara** armpit (Ts báaro)
- **baaxa** dirty
- **baaye** father
  - **báaye munnušuni** father’s younger brother (“little father”)
- **ba?**, **ba?ate** there is not (Ts); neg. of ida
- **bašatuni** poor
- **bașce**- to carry (on the back)
- **badío** pelican (Ts)
- **badde** all
- **bașayé** small portable container for water
- **baǧada** back (body part)
- **baǥat**- to run (P subj.)
  - IMPV.P: **bağáttá**;
  - CAUS **bağıssá** to make run (P obj.)
  - IMPV.P: **bağısséta**
- **bašsasa** face
- **balgo** ostrich (Ts balgitto)
- **balo** shrew
- **bannáddá** beetle (Ts)
- **baq**- to die (P stem?)
  - IMPV.P: **bágta**
- **baqa** excrement
- **baqas**- to divide, share (Ts)
- **barám**, **barama** tomorrow
- **bárgada** heron (Ts)
- **bargadde** collar-bone (Ts)
- **bári** when?
- **barla** white-browed sparrow weaver (Ts barlo)
- **báyafa** buffalo
- **be??e**- to give
  - IMPV.P: **be??é**, IMPV.P: **be??éta**
- **bëhatto** left (Ts)
- **bera** year (Ts berko)
- **berre**- to touch (Ts)
  - IMPV.S: **berré**, IMPV.P: **berréta**
- **bia** land (Ts bie)
- **bih**- to lose
  - IMPV.S: **bihé**, IMPV.P: **bihéta**
  - CAUS **bihsaná** to cause to lose
  - IMPV.S: **bihsaná**, IMPV.P: **bihsánta**
- **biibe**- to chase, send away
  - IMPV.S: **biibé**, IMPV.P: **biibéta**
- **bine** head; hair
- **binta** wild animal
- **bof**- to be hard, strong; to be dry
- **boda** saliva
- **bor** chest, stomach (Ts borko); kata **bor=mi jata ka=išééni** — ‘I remember you’ (“I carry/have you in the chest”)
  - IMPV.S: **bor=mi išée**
  - IMPV.P: **bor=mi išéeta**
- **boraho** seed (Ts borahó)
- **bositte** pubic hair (Ts)
boš- to pick up, collect
  IMPV.S: boošá, IMPV.P: boóšta;
  MID boše to pick up, collect
  IMPV.S: boošé, IMPV.P: boošéta;
  CAUS bośisan to make collect
bote wild peas (Ts)
boye- to cry
  IMPV.S: boyé, IMPV.P: boyéta
buš- to dry up, become dry
  IMPV.S: bušá, IMPV.P: búšta
bud- to spit
  IMPV.S: budá, IMPV.P: būdta
buhad- to bark (subj.: dog)
bul- to pull out
  IMPV.S: bulá, IMPV.P: búlta
  PASS bulam to be pulled out
  MID buli to pull out
  CAUS bulsan to make pull out
burinki today
buusa belly (Hamar busa ‘lower belly’
[Fleming et al. 1992/93: 210]);
  buusa=mi ku=išéeni pregnant (‘she has a belly’)
buute sp. of snake (Ts)
caša (masc.) stone; grinding stone
  (below)
cašaw- to drink
  IMPV.S: cašawá, IMPV.P: cašawta
  CAUS cašawšan- to make drink;
  IMPV.S: cašawšá, IMPV.P: cašawšta
caña water; river;
  caña=to ki=šáb ‘he crossed the river’;
  caña=to gúskuto ki=zóguy ‘he swam in the river’
cak- to eat
  IMPV.S: caká, IMPV.P: cákta; bine
  cáki=ka ‘my head hurts (“eats”) me’
  CAUS cakšan- to make eat
  IMPV.S: cakšaná, IMPV.P: cakšánta
caq- to hide
  IMPV.S: caqá, IMPV.P: cáqta
  MID caqi- to hide for oneself
  IMPV.S: caqi?á, IMPV.P: caqíta
  caqmam- to hide oneself
  IMPV.S: caqmamá, IMPV.P: caqmánta
  CAUS caqšan- to make hide
  IMPV.S: caqšaná, IMPV.P: caqšánta
carba thin
cárkamuni green
carke dew (Ts)
cata meat
cawo gun, rifle (cf. Ts qawa?)
caxti?- to ask
  IMPV.S: caxti?á, IMPV.P: caxtíta
cayde pen, enclosure (Ts)
ciši little stone, pebble (cf. caša)
cig- to sew
  IMPV.S: cigá, IMPV.P: cíga
cikila elbow (Ts tsekila)
cincaqe ant (cf. Ts shinshalle?)
coma ten; coma akkálbano eleven;
  coma lama twelve; coma zeha
  thirty
comba lung (Ts somba)
conqorte mud
cog- to hit, pierce, spear, sting;
  káta tóra=me ka=cóq ‘I speared with the spear’;
  ka=cóq ba ka=jí ‘I speared and I killed’
  IMPV.S: coqá, IMPV.P: cóqta
  coqi?- to hit for oneself (w/spear)
  IMPV.S: coqi?á, IMPV.P: coqi?ta
  CAUS coqšan- to make hit (w/spear)
  IMPV.S: coqšaná, IMPV.P: coqšánta
corkoto sp. of fish, not eaten
cuutta red-fronted tinkerbird (Ts suutta)
**daaf-** to become blind (Ts)
  IMPV.S: daafá, IMPV.P: dáafáta

**daafakko** F: daafatte; P: daafayke
  blind (Ts)

**daafis-** to make be blind (Ts)
  IMPV.S: daafísá, IMPV.P: daafísta

**dábarsa** genet

**dábaša** baboon

**dabb-** to miss the target (Ts)
  IMPV.S: dabbé, IMPV.P: dabbéta

**daggab-** to arrive (Ts)
  IMPV.S: daggabá, IMPV.P: daggábta
dággabos- to make arrive

**dakkakko** F: dakkatte; P: dakkayke
  deaf; stupid (Ts)

**damía** giraffe (Ts)

**dambalafitte** sp. of snake (Ts damba-laše)

**dangadangaco** porcupine (Ts)

**dangfad-** to plough; to do, make, work
  IMPV.S: dangfadá, IMPV.P: dangfádta

**daqse** [daqša] long-crested eagle

**darbo** skin; hide

**dat-** to make fall
  IMPV.S: datá, IMPV.P: —

**deela** hole

**denge** neck (Ts; cf. also iište)

**dibita** cat

**diga** owlet (Ts díge)

**diig-** to add water (and other liquids) (Ts); cařáw cata=ki ki=diig ‘he added water to the meat’
  IMPV.S: diigá, IMPV.P: diigta
diigam- to be poured (?)
  MID diigi?- to pour into
  IMPV.S: diigíá, IMPV.P: diigíta
  CAUS diigas- to make pour
  IMPV.S: diigásá, IMPV.P: diigástá

  cf. also tu? - ‘to add (things, one by one, or other liquids)’ and fa? ‘to add salt (sand, earth)’

**diira** sp. of small fish, with many spines

**dizza** klipspringer (Ts)

**dořosa** waterbuck (Ts dořosko)

**doore** sp. of fish

**dúbaza** mongoose (Ts)

**dullaya** the Weyt’o river (Ts dullayko)

**dunko** pupil of the eye (Ts)

**d’akkamuni** black

**d’ay** to twist the firesticks
  IMPV.S: d’áya, IMPV.P: d’áyta

**d’ayte** firesticks (together)

**d’efse** kidney (Ts)

**d’eesa** poison; medicine

**d’ehad-** to reach (someone) (Ts)
  IMPV.S: d’ehadá, IMPV.P: d’ehádta

**d’ehe-** to stop (intr.); P stem: aame-
  IMPV.S: d’ehé, IMPV.P: aaméta

**d’ibba** hundred (Dullay)

**d’iim-** to plunge (Ts d’iim)
  IMPV.S: d’iimá, IMPV.P: d’iinta

**d’onka** hornbill (Ts d’onke)

**d’ugate** truth (Ts)

**fa?-** to kindle; to add (salt, sand, earth), to put into; kita soqo ki=fá? ‘he added salt’
  IMPV.S: fařá, IMPV.P: fá?ta
  fa?am- to be added
  fa?i- to add for oneself
  IMPV.S: fařiá, IMPV.P: faříta
  CAUS fa?san- to make add
  IMPV.S: fa?saná, IMPV.P: fa?sánta

  cf. diig- ‘to add water (and other liquids)’ and tu?- ‘to add (things, one by one)’

**fad-** to put down; IMPV.P: fádta
**fálde** [pálde] arrow’s point (Ts pálde)

**farat**- to send away
- IMPV.S: faratá, IMPV.P: faratta
- CAUS faratsan- to cause to send away
- IMPV.S: farsaná, IMPV.P: farsánta

**fi?i?-** to milk
- IMPV.S: fi?iá, IMPV.P: fiíta

**fidis**- to whistle (Ts fidis)
- IMPV.S: fidisá, IMPV.P: fidísta

**filii?i?-** to comb (Ts fili)
- IMPV.S: filii?á, IMPV.P: filííta

**filma** comb (Ts)

**foof**- to leave; to emerge (P. stem)
- IMPV.P: fóofta
- CAUS foofsan- to make leave (P. obj.)

**foolo** cloud (Ts poolo)

**fuga** SING: fugitta Amhara

**fulfula** [pulpula] sacrum (anat.)

**gaba** bush duiker (Ts)

**gabare** snake

**gaddafuni** P: giddefeta big; old

**gallabdi** evening (Ts gallaw?; or areal word?)

**game** corn (Ts)

**garaboko** shin (Ts garaboko)

**gats**- to climb; to come out
- IMPV.S: gatsá, IMPV.P: gá[t]sta

**gawarsa** bateleur (Theratopius ecuadatus; Ts gawarakko)

**gawšo** chin (Ts gawso)

**gef**- to belch (Ts)
- IMPV.S: gešá, IMPV.P: gešta

**geccate** P: geccayke old (Ts) (not used for S.M)

**geref**- to steal (Ts)
- IMPV.S: gerešá, IMPV.P: geréšta

**gerefa** thief (Ts)

**gergittita** enemy (Ts)

**gešante** firestick (horizontal) (cf. Ts gešante ‘woman’?)

**gibila** knee (Ts gibilko)

**gibisa** femur (Ts gubusko)

**gidana** hair

**gillata** fish eagle (Ts giloto)

**gira** [haji ki...] to lighten

**girib**- to become night

**gis**- to say; *dugate ka=gisi=jantu* ‘I tell you the truth’
- IMPV.S: gisá, IMPV.P: gísta;
- MID gisi?- to say
- IMPV.S: gisi?á, IMPV.P: gísííta

**giš**- to enter; to understand

**gofa** white-headed buffalo weaver (Ts gohile)

**gola** beer

**gollanke** nine (Ts)

**gorgora** beehive

**gosa** tribe (Amh)

**goxe** to put out

**goyangoyo** a sp. of fish, not eaten

**gūbale** rabbit (Ts)

**guťa**- to cough (Ts)
- IMPV.S: guťa, IMPV.P: guťta

**gula** a sp. of lizard (?) (Ts)

**gūlbata** strength; *inta gūlbata=mi ki=dán̄ŋađi* ‘the man worked with strength’

**gulma** kind of big calabash (Ts)

**gúmarə** throat

**gunture** hartebeest (Ts)

**gura** such as, like (Ts)

**gürbaťa** little swift (Ts gürbaťakko)

**gure** hunting dog

**gurtulla** galago; bush baby? (Ts gurtullo)
gúskutu inside

gusunte navel (cf. also handúra)

gutal- to jump; to dance, sing
  IMPV.S: gutalá, IMPV.P: gutálta
  CAUS gutalis- to make jump, dance, sing
  IMPV.S: gutalisá, IMPV.P: gutálísta

gutula stump (Ts gutsunko)

gafa- to bite
  IMPV.S: gafaá, IMPV.P: gáfíta

gad'- to cut
  IMPV.S: gadá; P. stem: qits- (Ts)
  gadí?- to cut for oneself
  IMPV.S: gadííá, IMPV.P: gadííta
  CAUS gadísan- to make cut
  IMPV.S: gadísaná, IMPV.P: gadísánta

gar- to be happy
  CAUS garsas- to cause to be happy; IMPV.S: garsásá, IMPV.P: garsástä

gas- to hunt (see also qoš) (Ts gaaši ‘to fish’)

gay- to run
  IMPV.S: gayá; P stem: baqat-
  CAUS gaysan- to make run
  IMPV.S: gaysaná

gése side

ges- to shave
  IMPV.S: fili?á, IMPV.P: fili?ta
  gesi? to shave oneself
  IMPV.S: gesi?á, IMPV.P: gesi?ta

ginafa rib (Ts)

ginano mosquito

goh- to grow (Ts)
  IMPV.S: gohá, IMPV.P: góhta CAUS
gohis- to make grow
  IMPV.S: gohisá, IMPV.P: hohísta

goi?- to take, get
  IMPV.S: goi?á, IMPV.P: goi?ta

guy- to kindle the fire
  IMPV.S: guyá, IMPV.P: guyta

haka who

handúra navel (Ts handurte; cf. also gusunte)

haš- to hear, listen
  IMPV.S: ašá, IMPV.P: ášta

hat- to clap the hands

hawki to where?

hawtu from where?

háy P: háyta ‘come!’ (irregular IMPV of éé ‘to come’)

hobat-, hobe- to wash
  IMPV.S: hobatá, IMPV.P: hobátta
  hobati?- to wash oneself
  IMPV.S: hobati?á, IMPV.P: hobati?ta

hokam- to exchange (P. subject) (Ts ooki)
  IMPV.P: hokánta

haabi- to want (always as háabini PROG)

haaši leaf; grass (Ts faaško ‘grass’)

habura wind (Ts háburko)

had- to collect (stem)
  IMPV.S: hadá, IMPV.P: hádta
  MID hadi- to collect, pick up (P. stem)
  IMPV.P: hadítà
  CAUS hadísan- to make collect
  IMPV.S: hadísaná, IMPV.P: hadísánta

hágalo edible leaves

hagun- smell good, to
  IMPV.S: haguná, IMPV.P: hagúnta

haji rain

halo calabash (Ts halte)

hanca tree; wood

hangararo worm (Ts)

hat- to hunt, shoot; kata ca wo= m e binta ka=hát ‘I shot an animal with the rifle’
  IMPV.S: hatá, IMPV.P: háttta; binta noqóttta= ba gída háttta ‘you (P) take aim and shoot the animal!’
hed- to close, tie
  IMPV.S: hedá, IMPV.P: héttá
hee- to like, love (always PROG: héeni)
hizge star (Ts hezge)
hólbatuni short
hooka chest (Ts heko)
hugu itching
jaaka child, baby (P: eela)
jeta -jaami you
ji?- to kill; to hit; to extinguish (fire) (see also šúb); kata uke ka=ji ‘I killed an elephant’
  IMPV.S: ji?á, IMPV.P: ji?ta
juuka daughter; girl (P: igire)
kaada rope
kaanna since long ago (Ts)
káasala molar (Ts)
karba to wait
kacce shoulder (Ts)
káfaSa sp. of snake
kala bead
kamurre, kamurko, kamurte rich (Ts, areal)
kaanna kanna in a hurry (Ts)
kano vagina; kanu=du an insult
kara fish (general term); sp. of big black fish (cf. Ts xarre?)
karba power, authority (?); used in the sentence: inta kara ki=roota ‘he is powerful’
karawa colobus (Ts karawko)
karbo bird
kat- to leave; to come out, emerge
  IMPV.S: katá; P stem: foof-
kawlal cheek
kaykitta bridegroom (Ts)
kaykitte bride (Ts)
keesa other
kere headrest (Ts)
kermayle zebra (Ts?)
kidisa cooking stones
kimisha crocodile
kirda testicle (Ts)
kirinde ankle (Ts)
kiti road
kobis- to pinch (Ts)
  IMPV.S: kobisá, IMPV.P: kobista
kol- to come back, return (Ts)
  IMPV.S: kolá, IMPV.P: kólta
  MID kola- to come back, return
  IMPV.S: kolé, IMPV.P: koléta
  CAUS kolsan- to make return
  IMPV.S: kolsaná, IMPV.P: kolsánta
kolba another time, again
kolokolfo hamerkop (or cormorant, or bishop bird?; cf. Ts qolaqolfo)
komba beads necklace (Ts)
konqayle goose
koola wing (Ts koolo)
koon- to dig
  IMPV.P: koomá, IMPV.P: kóonta
kórkiša [=sa] francolin or spurfowl (Ts korkiya)
kórome fishing hook (Ts kormicco)
kox- to leak
  CAUS koxis- to make leak
kubis flower (cf. Ts bisko?)
kufa tortoise (Ts)
kuhnen fruit
kúlula guinea-fowl (Ts kulule)
kum- to finish (intr.) (Ts kum)
  IMPV.S: kumá, IMPV.P: kúnta
kunkumitte cheek (Ts)
kúrruba crow, raven (Ts kúrrube)
kuskuso hyena (cf. Ts küsüšu cock’s mane’?)
kuše- to beat, hit (obj.: P)
  IMPV.P: kušé, IMPV.P: kušéta
kutsa [kutša] vulture (Ts kutso)
kuttunko mountain (Ts kuttunko)
laahko arrow (Ts)
laalbe dress
laale oribi (Ts)
laamaxode twins (‘2nd-born’)
lášakko plain (Ts lášakko)
lama two (Cushitic)
lattu soft (Ts)
lax- to mix (tr.) (Dullay)
  IMPV.S: laxá, IMPV.P: láxta laxam-
  to mix (intr.)
  IMPV.S: laxamá, IMPV.P: laxámta
leefa moon; month (Ts leefo)
leelefa uvula
lool- to be, get angry
  IMPV.S: loolá, IMPV.P: lóolta
  CAUS loolsan- to cause to be angry
  IMPV.S: loolsáná, IMPV.P: loolsánta
luqqa cuckoo or coucal (Ts lukkale)
maaqa sp. of lizard (Ts maaqa)
maara 1. son, child (male), boy; 2. sun-
  bird (Ts, this meaning only)
mac’e sp. of edible grass (Ts)
mañf- to go away; to take a different
  road (Ts)
  IMPV.S: mañfá, IMPV.P: mágta
  MID mañfí?- to go away
  IMPV.S: mañfjé, IMPV.P: mañfjéta
  CAUS mañfis- to cause to take a dif-
  ferent way
  IMPV.S: mañfisá, IMPV.P: mañístta
  CAUS mañfisan- to chase away; to
  cause to take a different way
  IMPV.S: mañfisaná, IMPV.P: mañfsánta
malal- to be tired (Ts)
  IMPV.S: malalá, IMPV.P: maláltta
  CAUS malaltal to tire
marrahe sp. of edible grass(Ts)
marróte forearm bracelet (Ts)
marte she-calf; marte oráa he-calf
martsa little acacia umbrelliphera (Ts)
maš- to cut with a knife, slice; to slaugh-
  ter (for ‘to cut’ in general see had-);
      kata šera=me barama kara ká=maš
      ‘tomorrow I’ll cut the fish with a knife
  IMPV.S: mašá, IMPV.P: mášta
mayye- to kiss (Ts)
  IMPV.S: mayyé, IMPV.P: mayyéta
meeñ- to shout (subj.: animal)
mekente sterile (F; Ts); for male: mooool
  tibto
merja antelope (Ts)
meša name
mi?a how much/many?
mic’a bone
mido wrist bracelet (Ts)
midisa grinding stone
midítte clitoris; midit=du an insult
milmille sp. of fish, not eaten
miramatte intestine (Ts mirima?atte)
mirila cheetah; leopard (Ts moralle)
mizigitte right (Ts)
mooool penis; mooool siido an insult;
  mooool tibto sterile (said of male;
  ‘the penis is dead’)  
moora light gray (Ts)
moqotte frog (Ts muqotte)
morom- to speak
  IMPV.S: moromá IMPV.P: morónta
  MID moromi?i- to converse
  IMPV.S: moromi?á, IMPV.P: moromi?ta
CAUS moromis- to make speak
IMPV.S: moromisá, IMPV.P: morómista
CAUS-MID moromsan- to make speak
IMPV.S: moromsaná,
IMPV.P: moromsánta
moyle gerenuk (Ts moyle)
munnušuni P: minšeta little, small; young
múralla kori bustard (Ts mûrale)
muta crane (Ts mute)
muusko sorghum; muusko roomíni red sorghum
muuts- to answer; to give back
IMPV.S: muutsá, IMPV.P: mùutsta
muxe- to laugh
IMPV.S: muxé, IMPV.P: muxéta
CAUS muxsan- to make laugh
IMPV.S: muxsaná, IMPV.P: muxsánta
naš- to give
IMPV.S: našá, IMPV.S: nášta
CAUS našsan- to cause to give
našana food
nabad- to hate (Ts)
IMPV.S: nabadá, IMPV.P: nabádta
nágayko peace; a greeting (Ts)
nah- to be surprised, shocked
IMPV.S: nahá, IMPV.P: náhta
CAUS nahsan- to surprise, to be a cause of surprise
IMPV.S: nahsaná, IMPV.P: nahsánta
na=ku why? (“what-for”)
narfí needle (Amh)
naxani yesterday
nilla little fish used for bait
nitsina many
noqot- to look, aim at (Ts)
IMPV.S: noqotá, IMPV.P: noqóta
noqotí?- look, aim at, to
IMPV.S: noqotí?á, IMPV.P: noqotí?ta
qaabakko sp. of fly (tse-tse?; Ts)
qaade- to lie down
IMPV.S: qaadé, IMPV.P: qaadéta
qaara monkey (Ts qaarakko)
qaba saucepan
qafe- to fish
IMPV.S: qáfé ~ qappé,
IMPV.P: qáféta ~ qappéta
qalaya golden cat; hyena (Ts qalate)
qalte sp. of big white fish
qane day (Amh); qane badde always;
qane qane sometimes (calque from Ts)
qaqayo little frog
qagge bark (Ts qaqqatte)
qaske dog
qaw- to burn (intr.); to catch fire;
qawad- to burn (intr.)
qawte pumpkin (Ts)
goba finger (Ts qobakko)
gode snail (Ts)
gola animal (domestic) (Ts qole)
qolo goat
qoš- to hunt (see also has) (Ts qooší)
qumu container (general term)
raaw- to finish (tr.) (Ts raawi)
IMPV.P: raawá, IMPV.P: ráawta
rakke- to hang (Ts)
IMPV.S: rakké, IMPV.P: rakkéta
CAUS rakkis- to make hang
reekis- to mix (Ts)
IMPV.S: reekisá, IMPV.P: reekísta
reex- to go down
IMPV.S: reexá; P stem: ?
renta hippopotamus (Ts rento)
rewa sp. of edible grass
rig- to smooth a skin with a stone (Ts?)
IMPV.S: rigá, IMPV.P: rígda
riir- to shout (Ts riir)
   IMPV.S: riirá, IMPV.P: riirta

roo- to go
   IMPV.S: rootá, IMPV.P: róotta

róomini red

roqinta heart

ruggi=tu in front of

rummahte SING: rummatitta Arbore  
(Ts)

saalta oryx (Ts šaalto)

sáamule ibis

sagayto wrist

sal- to wait (Ts sál)
   IMPV.S: salá, IMPV.P: sálta
   CAUS salis- to make wait (CAUS)
   IMPV.S: salisá, IMPV.P: salista
   CAUS-MID salsan- to make wait
   IMPV.S: salsaná, IMPV.P: salsánta

sarba calf (body part) (Ts sarba)

sayra dikdik (Ts sawro; cf. also sémere)

sémere dikdik (cf. also sayra)

sey flea (Ts)

sibila iron (areal word)

sidda before

siibde bow string (Ts siibde)

siida eyebrow (Ts sido)

siina nose

siinsad- to smell
   IMPV.S: siinsadá, IMPV.P: siinsádtá

silbe yellow
   silbe áttomuni light blue
   (‘yellow+white’)
   silbe cárkamuni dark green
   (‘yellow+green’)
   silbe dákkmamuni blue
   (‘yellow+black’)
   silbe róomini pink; violet
   (‘yellow+red’)

sippa [tsippa] sweat (Ts sippo)

sira?a sp. of very small fish

sodda sister (Ts ‘brother/sister-in-law’)

sonon- to blow the nose
   IMPV.S: sononá, IMPV.P: sonóná

sonqitte fingernail

soorto umbilical cord (Ts)

sogo salt (Ts)

sorra anus; sorra=du an insult

sug- to sniff (obj.: tampo ‘tobacco’)  
   IMPV.S: sugá, IMPV.P: súgte

suude flank

ša?at- to be afraid
   IMPV.S: ša?atá, IMPV.P: ša?átta

šaaha urine; sperm

šašalkuni older brother (Ts šašalko)

šab- to cross
   IMPV.S: šabá, IMPV.P: šábta

šammasši?- to yawn (Ts)
   IMPV.S: šammasšiá,
   IMPV.P: šammasšita

šanne- to rest (on the headrest) (Ts šánni)
   IMPV.S: šanne, IMPV.P: šannéta

šeera knife

šompola namaqua dove (Ts šumpulo)

šona bongo (or kudu?) (Ts)

šóokaya honey

šoon- to be hot; to be feverish, ill
   IMPV.S: šoona, IMPV.P: šóonta

šoqta male; bull; firestick (vertical)

šoxe male- to have sexual intercourse (subj.:  
   male; female: passive)
   IMPV.S: šoxé, IMPV.P: šoxéta

šoxo blood

šu?una butter

šu?a to anoint
   IMPV.S: šu?á, IMPV.P: šúta
A sketch of Ongota

šub- to kill (see also ji?); ki?ita šub ella ‘they killed each other’; kata barám kara šubbo ka=róota ‘I go fishing tomorrow’; korome=me kara ka=šub ‘I fished with the fish hook’

šud- to cover; to dress (tr.) (Ts)
  IMPV.S: šudá, IMPV.P: šúttta
  šudam- to dress oneself
  IMPV.S: šudamá, IMPV.P: šudánta;
  CAUS šudas- to make dress, cover
  IMPV.S: šudašá, IMPV.P: šudástta

šuguc- to anoint oneself
  IMPV.S: šugucá, IMPV.P: šugúcta

šumaha sand (Ts šumahto)

ta?- to take, catch
  IMPV.S: ta?á, IMPV.S: tá?ta
  MID ta?am- to take, catch
  IMPV.S: ta?amá, IMPV.S: ta?ánta
  CAUS ta?san- to make take, catch
  IMPV.S: ta?saná, IMPV.S: ta?sánta

tafanta very

taba thorn

tafó thigh (Ts tapo)

tag-, tagam- to sleep
  IMPV.S: tagamá, IMPV.P: tagánta
  CAUS tagsan- to make sleep
  IMPV.S: tagsaná, IMPV.S: tagsánta
  CAUS tagansan- to make sleep
  IMPV.S: tagansaná,
  IMPV.P: tagansánta

tágara shadow; met. place

tagats- to make go up
  IMPV.S: tagatsá, IMPV.P: tagátsta

tahanke seven (Ts tahhan)

talaha four (cf. Ts salah?)

tamar- to learn (Amh)
  IMPV.S: tamará, IMPV.P: tamárta

tampo tobacco (areal word)

taw- to build
  IMPV.S: tawá, IMPV.P: táwta

taw[w]i- to build for oneself
  IMPV.S: tawi?á, IMPV.P: tawi?ta

taxay- to raise
  IMPV.S: taxayá, IMPV.P: taxáyta

tereh- to make go down
  IMPV.S: terehá, IMPV.P: teréhta

terekko dust (Ts teerikko)

tib- to die
  IMPV.S: tibá, IMPV.P: tibta

tiid- to put, store
  IMPV.S: tiidá, IMPV.P: tíitta
  CAUS tiidis?- tiidas- to cause to put
  IMPV.S: tiidisá, IMPV.P: tiidústa
  CAUS tiidsan- to cause to put
  IMPV.S: tiidsaná, IMPV.P: tiidsánta

tildó paradise flycatcher (Ts tilda)

tilile black kite (Ts)

stinniša potato (Amh)

tira liver (Ts tire)

tókoma heel (Ts tókonko)

tonnakko F:tonnatte; P:tonnayke lame;
  hump-backed (Ts)

toonte frankincense

toollo stick (Ts toolingo)

tora spear; tora ki=ná?=na ‘he gave me the spear’

tu?- to add (things, one by one); naxani
casá ki=tú? ‘yesterday he added a stone’
  IMPV.S: tu?á, IMPV.P: tú?ta
  tu?a- to be added
  MID tu?i- to add for oneself
  CAUS tu?san- to make add (sth. solid)
  IMPV.S: tu?saná, IMPV.P: tu?sánta
  cf. diig- ‘to add liquid’ and fa?- ‘to add salt (sand, earth)’

=tu?i also, too

tule buttocks (cf. Ts turde?)

tunaw- to be blunt (Ts tunay)
**tuuts** to push (Ts *tuuts)*  
IMPV.S: *tuutsá*, IMPV.P: *tuutsa*  

**tsáamitsa** louse  

**tsal-** to curse  
IMPV.S: *tsalá*, IMPV.P: *tsálta*  
MID tsali?- to curse  
CAUS tsalsan- to make curse  

**tsan-** 1. to be cold; 2. to heal (intr.), to recover  
IMPV.S: *tsaná*, IMPV.P: *tsánta*  

**tsanafa** six  

**tsaqam-** to be salty, bitter  

**tsii-** to know  
IMPV.S: *tsiía*, IMPV.P: *tsíita*  

**tsug-** to lie down  

**tsuub-** to suck (Ts)  
IMPV.S: *tsuubá*, IMPV.P: *tsúubta*  

**tsoonaako** honeybee (Ts *ts’oonako*)  

**waaga** bat  

**wáala** generic name for various species of colored weavers  

**waaga** African hoopoe (Ts *wáaqo*)  

**wáara** forest  

**waga** god  

**wak-** to fall  
IMPV.S: *waká*, IMPV.P: *wákta*  

**wal-** to forget (Ts)  
IMPV.S: *walá*, IMPV.P: *wálta*  

**wale** panga (Ts)  

**was-** to spend the day  
IMPV.S: *wasá*, IMPV.P: *wásta*  

**wuyam-** to call (Ts *wuyá*)  
IMPV.S: *wuyamá*, IMPV.P: *wuyánta*  

**wohara** he-goat  

**woki** there  

**wowa** ear  

**wunke** here  

**wura** house  

**xa?-** to do (irregular)  
IMPV.S: *xaaśá*, IMPV.P: *xáaśta*  

**xaab-** to scratch  
IMPV.S: *xaabá*, IMPV.P: *xáabta*  

**xalle** sp. of fish  

**xam-** to become  
IMPV.S: *xamá*, IMPV.P: *xánta*  

**xarat-** to divide  

**xaraw** [haji ki...] to thunder  

**xasod-** to rejoice (Ts)  

**xibte** lip (Ts)  

**xo?-** to beat, hit; P stem: *kuše-*  
IMPV.S: *xoqá*, IMPV.P: *xóta*  

**xobbi** five (Ts *xobin*)  

**xod-** to generate; to be born (with ISP a)  
IMPV.S: *xodé*, IMPV.P: *xodéta*  

**xoona** sheep  

**xot-** to put down (P. stem)  
IMPV.P: *xótta*  

**xotam-** to go down (P. stem)  
IMPV.P: *xótánta*  

**xur-** to leave  
IMPV.S: *xurá*, IMPV.P: *xúrta*  

**yaw-** to stop, stand  
IMPV.S: *yaawá*, IMPV.P: *yáawta*  
CAUS *yaawsan*- to make stop, stand  
IMPV.S: *yaawsáná*,  
IMPV.P: *yaawsánta*  

**yaayo** jackal  

**yob-** to see  
IMPV.S: *yobá*, IMPV.P: *yóhta*  

**yooba** men; males; people  

**zaarakko** F: *zaaratte*; P: *zaarayke*  
Crazy, stupid (Ts)  

**zabarna** lie, falsehood  

**zanitte** palm lines (Ts)  

**zaqe** cotton (Ts *zaqe “cotton thread”*)
zax- to grind
   IMPV.S: zaxá, IMPV.P: záxta
   MID: zaxi?- to grind for oneself
   IMPV.S: zaxiá, IMPV.P: zaxíta
   CAUS zaxsan- to make grind
   IMPV.S: zaxsaná, IMPV.P: zaxsánta

zeha three (Ts zeh)

zii?- 1. to pull; 2. to fart
   IMPV.S: ziiá, IMPV.P: ziiita

zilanja sp. of lizard (Ts zilanja)

zoborko worm (Ts)

zoguy- to swim (Ts zoguy-)
   IMPV.S: zoguyá, IMPV.P: zoguyta

zoo?- to collect honey
   IMPV.S: zooá, IMPV.P: zóota
   MID zooiti?- to collect honey
   IMPV.S: zooité, IMPV.P: zooíteta

zooba beeswax

6. English-Ongota index

to add (things, one by one) tu?; (obj. water and other liquids) diiga

to be afraid ša?at-

all badde

also, too =tu?i

Amhara fuga; SING: fugitta

amniotic fluid uppatte

and =ba

to be, get angry lool-

animal (domestic) gola; (wild) binta
akkle kirinca

to anoint šu?a; (obj. oneself) suguc-

another time, again kolba

to answer; to give back muuts-

ant cincaqe

antelope merja

anus sorra

Arbore rummatte; SING: rummatitta

arm; hand; finger ii?a

armpit baara

to arrive daggab

arrow laahko

arrow’s point falde [palde]

to ask caxti?-axe irgaša

baboon dábaša

back (body part) bahada

bad, ugly fídala

bark gaggé

to bark (subj.: dog) buhad-

bat waaga

to be am-

bead kala; beads necklace komba

beans oofe
to beat, hit xo?-; (obj.: P) kuše-; coq-
to become xam-
beehive gorgora
beer gola
beeswax zooba
beetle bannádda
before sídda
to belch geš-
belly buusa
big; old gaddaluni; P: giddešeta
bird (general term) karbo; šahaye
to bite gaš-
black dákkmuni
blind daafakko; F: daafatte; P: daafaye; to become blind daaf-; to make be blind daafis-

blood šoxo
to blow the nose sonon-
to be blunt runaw-
bone mic’a
bow baahante
bow string siibde
bracelet (forearm) marrote; (wrist) middo
breast ama
bride kaykitta
bridegroom kaykitta
to bring; to have išee-
brother (older) šašalkuni; (younger) šázane
buffalo báyaša
to build taw-
to burn (intr.); to catch fire qaw-
bush duiker gaba
bushpig íšaša
butter šušuna
buttocks tule
calabash halo
calf ottako; she-calf marte
calf (body part) sarba
to call wuyam-
can, to be able algas
to carry (on the back) bašce-
cat dibita
catarrh, mucous ármata
to chase, send away biibe-
cheek kawlal; kunkumitté
doe, leopard mirila
chest hooka
chest, stomach bor
child, baby jaaka; P: eela
chin gawšo
to clump the hands hatt-
to climb; to come out gats-
clitoris miditte
to close, tie hed-
cloud foolo
coffee šari
to be cold tsan-
collar-bone bargadde
to collect hadf-(P. stem); (obj. honey) zoo?-
to comb fili?-
comb filma
to come ee-
to come back, return kol-
container qumu
cooking stones kidisa
corn game
cotton zaqe
to cough gušaf-
to cover; to dress (tr.) šud-
crane muta
crazy, stupid zaarakko; F: zaaratte; P: zaarayke
crocodile kimiša
to cross šab-
crow, raven kúrruba
to cry boye-
to curse tsal-
to cut gad-
to cut with a knife, slice; to slaughter maš-
daughter; girl juuka; P: igire; son’s daughter oobde
day qane
def; stupid dakkakko; F: dakkatte; P: dakkayke
dew carke
to die tib--; (P stem?) baq-
to dig koom-
dikdik sayra ; sengere
dirty baaxa
to divide xarat-
to divide, share bagas -
to do xa?--; dangfad-
dog qaske
donkey arre
door ippa
dress laalbe
to drink cašaw-
to dry up, become dry buš-
dust terekko
ear wowa
earring ašawa
to eat cak-
edible leaves hágalo
eight ista
elbow cikila
elder, old man; husband ṣádiba
elephant uke
to embrace, to luil abun-
enemy gergitto
to enter; to understand giš-
evening gallabdi
to exchange hokam- (P. subject)
excrement baqa
eye afa
eyebrow siida
face balšasa
to fall wak--; to make fall dat-
to fart zii?-father baaye; father’s older brother/ sister akkuyte
femur gibisa
finger qoba
fingernail sonqitte
to finish (intr.) kum--; (tr.) raaw-
fire oxoni
firestick gešante; dayte
to fish qafe-
fish (general term) kara
eagle (fish eagle) gillata; (long-
crested eagle) daqse [daqša]
fishing hook kórome
five xobbi
flank suude
flea sey
flower kubís
foetus ereha
food našana
foot; leg aka
forest waara
to forget wal-
four talaha
frankincense toonte
friend arvitta
frog mogotte
fruit kuhhen
Gawwada (and other Dullay-speaking groups of the highlands) ŋale
to generate xod-
giraffe damfà
to give nař-; beře-
to go roo--; askam--; to go away; to take a different road mah--; to go down reex--; to make go up tagats--; to make go down tereh-
goat qolo; he-goat wohara
god waga
golden cat; hyena galaya
good; beautiful; well abba
goose konqayle
grandfather akka
gray (light) moora; (dark) arrakko:
F: arratte
green cárkamuni
to grind zax-
grinding stone midisa
to grow hoh-
guinea-fowl kulula
gun, rifle cawo
hair gidana
Hamar orga; SING: orgitta
to hang rakke-
to be happy har-
to be hard, strong; to be dry boš-
to hate nabad-
head; hair bine
headrest kere
to heal (intr.), to recover tsan-
to hear, listen has
heart roqinta

heel tókoma
here wunki
heron andulle; bárgada
to hiccough šiqad
to hide caq-
hippopotamus renta
hole deela
honey šóokaya
honeybee tsoonako
hornbill donka
to be hot; to be feverish, ill šoon-
house wura
how? ašana
how much/many? mi?a
hundred dibba
to hunt, shoot has--; goosh--; hat-
hunting dog gure
hyena kuskuso
ibis sáamule
intestine mir?amatte
iron sibila
itching hugu
jackal yaayo
to jump; to dance, sing gutal-
kidney deše
to kill; to hit; to extinguish (fire) ji?--; šub-
to kindle; to add (salt, sand, earth), to put into fa?-
to kindle the fire huy-
to kiss mayye-
klipspringer dizza
knee gibila
knife šeera
to know tsii-
lame; hump-backed tonnakko;
A sketch of Ongota

F: tonnatte; P: tonnayke
land bia
to laugh muxe-
leaf; grass haaši
to leak kox-
to learn tamar-
to leave xur-
to leave; to come out, emerge kat-; (P subj.) foof-
left behatto
to lick ḋad-
lie, falsehood zabarna
to lie down qaade-; tsuđ-
like, love, to heeni-
lion ḍxaya
lip xibte
little, small; young munnufuni;
P: minSeta
liver tira
to look, aim at noqot-
to lose ah-; bih-
loud ḍakkite
louse tsáamitsa
lung comba
male; bull; firestick ṣoqta
man; husband; male inta, P: yooba
many nitsina
to marry ifam-
meat cata
milk; tear eefi
to milk fiʔ-
to miss the target dabb -
to mix fangat-; lax-; reekis-
molar káasala
mongoose dúbaza
monkey qaara
moon; month leeʃa
mosquito hinano
mother ayyane
mountain kuttunko
mouth; language iifa
mud conqorte
name meʃa
navel gusunte; handura
neck iište; deng̠e
needle narfi
to become night girib-
nine gollanke
nose siina
now ayki
old geccate; P: geccayke
one akkálbano
oneself ella, elella
oryx saalta
ostrich balgo
other keesa
owlet diga
ox ardo
palm lines zanitte
peace nágayko
pelican badjo
pen, enclosure cayde
penis moolo

to pick up, collect boš-
to pierce, spear, sting coq-
pigeon átolla
to pinch kobis-
plain láʃakko
to play iʃke-
play iʃma
to plough; to do, make danhad-
to plunge ʃjem
poison; medicine *deeša*
poor *bafatuni*
porcupine *dangadangaco*
potato *tinniša*
to pour, fill *ucce*
pregnant *erehte*; P: *erehiwa*; to become pregnant *erehi?*
pubic hair *bositte*
to pull *ziit?*
to pull out *bulpumpkin* *qawte*
pupil of the eye *dunoko*
to push *tuuts*
to put, store *tiid-*
to put down *fad?*; *xot-
to put out *goxe-
rabbit* *gũbatle*

rain *haji*
to raise *taxay-
to reach (someone) *děhad*
red *róomini*
to rejoice *xasod-
relative *eeda*
to rest *aame-;* (on the headrest) *šanne-
rhinoceros* *oršatte*
rib *hinaša*
rich *kamurre*, SING.M *kamurko*, SING.F *kamurte*
right *mizigitte*
to rise, stand up *axay-
road* *kiti*
root, vein *fizza*
rope *kaada*
to run *hay-;* (P subj.) *bahat-
sacrum* (anat.) *fulfula* [pulpula]
to be sad *ekkešad*
	saliva *boda*
salt *soqo*
to be salty, bitter *tsaqam-
sand *šumaha*
saucepan *qaba*
to say *gis-
to scratch *xaab-
to see *yob-
seed* *boraho*
to send away *farat-
seven* *tahanke*
to sew *cig-
to have sexual intercourse *šoxe-
shadow, place* *tágara*
to shave *hes-
sheep* *xoona*

shin *garaboko*
short *hólbatuni*
shoulder *kacce*
to shout *riir-; meeś-
sibling *aza*
side *heśe*
sister *sodda*; sister’s husband *úkubu*; sister’s son *āšinkuni*
six *tsanafa*
skin; hide *darbo*
to sleep *tag-, tagam-
slowly; a little bit; softly *iccama*
to smell *siinsad*; (good) *hagun-
to smooth (a skin with a stone) *rig-

snail *gode*

snake *gabare*
to sneeze *fiqqiši?-*
to sniff (obj.: *tampo* ‘tobacco’) *sug-
soft *lattu*
son, child (male), boy *maara*; P: *iila*; son’s son *oofko*
sorghum *muusko*
to speak *moromo*
spear *tora*
to spend the day *was*
spider *innakko*
to spit *bud*
star *hige*
to steal *gerefi*
sterile (F) *mekente*
stick *toollo*
to stink *far*
stone; grinding stone *casa*
to stop (intr.) *dehe-
to stop, stand *yaw*
strength *gulbata*
stump *gutula*
to suck *ame-; tsuub-
sun *aczaco*
to be surprised, shocked *nah-
sweat *sippa* [tsippa] 
to swim *zoguy-
to take, get *hoi? -
to take, catch *ta?-
tall *orma*
to tell *sale-
ten *coma*
termite *irmatte*
testicle *kirde*
that (faraway) *addate*
there *woki*
thief *gerefa*
thigh *tafo*
thin *carba*
thorn *taba*
three *zeha*
throat *guma*
to thunder *xaraw* [haji ki...]
to be tired *malal-
tobacco *tampo*
today *burinki*
tomorrow *bara, barama*
tongue *badaba*
tooth *itima*
tortoise *kufe*
to touch *berre-
tree; wood *hana*
tribe *gosa*
truth *dugate*
twins *laamaxode*
to twist the firesticks *daj*
two *lam*
umpibical cord *soporto*
uncle *fabuya*
urine; sperm *saaha*
uvula *lelefa*
vagina *kano*
very *taanta*
village, settlement *olla*
to vomit *sebe-
vulture *kutsa* [kutsha] 
to wait *kab-; sal*
to want *haabi-
to wash *hobat-
water; river *casa*
waterbuck *doosa*
Weyt’o river *dullaya*
when? *biri*
(to) where? *hawki*; from where? *hawtu*
which? *ayta*
to whistle *fidis* -
white áttomuni
who haka
why? na=ku
wild peas bote
wind habura
wing koola
wiseom tooth sango
woman, wife; female ayma; P: aaka

worm hangararo; zoborko
wrist sagayto
to yawn šammaściǐ?-year bera
yellow silbe
yesterday naxani
zebra kermayle
REFERENCES


Department of African Languages and Linguistics
Leiden University
P. O. Box 9515
2300 RA Leiden, The Netherlands
g.sava@let.leidenuniv.nl

Department of African and Arab Studies
Istituto Universitario Orientale
Piazza S. Domenico Maggiore 12
I-80134 Napoli, Italy
mauro.tosco@libero.it
A sketch of Ongota

Weyt'o River area in Gamo-Gofa province, Ethiopia.