29 Qafar (East Cushitic)

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Introduction

The language described in this chapter is spoken by at least three million
people who call themselves 'Qafar', though earlier European writers and trav-
ellers usually referred to them as 'Dankali' or 'Danakil'. The Qafar inhabit that
vast tract of land which stretches from the Red Sea coast south and west as far
as the scarplands of the Ethiopian plateau, an area generally referred to as the
'Danakil Depression'. With the exception of narrow belts of luxuriant jungle
along the banks of rivers, such as the Awash and the Mille, which descend into
the Depression, the country is largely desert; though even quite short spells of
rain can resurrect grass and other seasonal plant life. Although Qafar living
in large coastal towns such as Djibouti and Assab and those on the Red Sea
coast who live by fishing have clearly abandoned pastoralism as a way of life,
the majority of Qafar remain pastoralists, and this is strongly reflected in the
lexicon of their language.

The Qafar language belongs to the Northern Lowland (Saho–Qafar) divi-
sion of East Cushitic, a sub-family of Cushitic whose two best-known mem-
bers are Somali and Oromo. At a remoter level of genetic affinity, Cushitic is
classified, along with Semitic, Omotic, Berber, Chadic and Egyptian, as a family
of the Afro-Asiatic phylum.

Although generally not so well known as Somali or Oromo, Qafar has not
escaped the attention of linguists, the first descriptions having appeared as
long ago as the 1880s (Reinisch 1886, Colizza 1887). More recently, a number
of works have been published on aspects of the language, the most compre-
hensive of these being Bliese 1981 and Parker and Hayward 1985.

In company with most Ethiopian languages, Qafar exhibits strongly head-
final syntax. Qafar is a consistently right-headed language; complements, modi-
fiers, and specifiers all precede their heads. This is exemplified in (1).[1]

(1) VP   *ħán nake* (milk he-drank-milk) '(He) drank milk'; *núm lih yabta* (person with she-talks) '(She) is talking to someone'; *inkínnak baye* (entirely he-got-lost) 'Altogether/entirely lost'

    NP   *yí toobokoytih ina* (my brother-gen. mother) 'mother of my brother'; *woó ʕari* (that house) 'that house'; *nabá num* (great/old person) 'big/great/old man'; *tiḍḍigillé boddina* (it-was-broken tooth) 'tooth that was broken'

    AP   *nabám xeera* (very tall/long) 'very tall/long'

    PP   *gíta-t* (road-on/in) 'on/in the road'; *daʕaár-ak* (wadi-from) 'from the wadi'; *yó-llih* (me-with) 'with me'

As we might expect from the syntactic order, Qafar is predominantly a suffixing language. However, there are some obvious relics of an ancient Afro-Asiatic feature in the form of a class of verbs with subject agreement and valency-changing derivational morphology attached prefixally. Other Afro-Asiatic legacies show up in aspects of the morphology that are 'non-concatenative': that is, have infixal and reduplicative properties. Cleft constructions based on free relatives are frequent in Qafar, as in most other Ethiopian languages where they generally function as devices for contrastive focalization. Another prominent areal characteristic shared by Qafar is the extensive use of direct speech, together with the development of a type of compound involving the quotative verb 'to say'.

From the point of view of morphological behaviour Qafar words fall into three broad sets, which may conveniently be labelled 'nominals', 'verbals', 'indeclinables'. On account of their morphological behaviour, what are adjectives semantically are included within a special inflectional class of stative verbals. Where not expressed by postpositional phrases, adverbial concepts fall under either the nominal or the verbal categories. Numeral quantifiers pattern like nominals, while most non-numeral quantifiers join the aforementioned set of statives.[2]

1 Nominals

The class of nominals are characterized by the following properties: (a) they are subcategorized for gender, which requires control of agreement in the verb; (b) they may be assigned distinct case forms; (c) they may show formal variation for up to three number categories. Prototypical nominals are, or course, nouns. Personal pronouns and a few Wh-words and numerals also fit comfortably into the nominal category. A few nominals have to be regarded as dependent, in so far as they never occur as free-standing items, even in citation.

1.1 Nouns

There is no phonological shape common to the stems of underived nouns; some terminate in consonants, others in vowels, and stems may range from one to five syllables in length. It is nevertheless the case that the great majority of nominal stems are monosyllabic or bisyllabic.

1.1.1 Gender   Nouns are subcategorized for the control of masculine (m.) or feminine (f.) gender in the verb;[3] for example:

(2)   *yí boddin biyaakit-áh.*[4]
      My teeth (m.) hurt-3m.sg-impf.   'My teeth hurt.'

      yí amo biyaakit-t-áh.
      My head (f.) hurt-3f.sg.-impf.   'My head hurts.'

Gender is also a determinant for the marking of case. Except in the case of sexually differentiable animates, it is not possible to relate gender to any inherent semantic properties. There are, however, such regular correlations between the phonological form of a nominal and its gender that gender need never be marked lexically; thus (a) all feminine nominals are vowel-final in their basic case (i.e. absolutive case, cf. section 1.1.4) form; and (b) all feminine nominals are unaccented. It may only be inferred from these statements, however, that any consonant-final or any accented nominal will be masculine, for the properties of consonant finality and bearing of accent do not always coincide; and it should be noted that while all accented vowel-final nominals are masculine, not all consonant-final nominals are accented. Typical nominals are illustrated in (3).

(3)   masculine: (i)   *ʕåri* 'house'; *waåmu* 'male ostrich'; *sôḍa* 'mistake'
                    (ii)   *kålam* 'throat'; *gûbun* 'venomous snake sp.'; *ḍållaħ* 'cockroaches'
                    (iii)   *nahar* 'chest, front'; *musut* 'comb'; *kumakum* 'snails'
      feminine: *dale* 'wound'; *kaʕalso* 'washing'; *waaga* 'doubt'

There is a further strong correlation between gender and the occurrence of certain vowels in final position; thus, final mid-vowels occur only in feminine nouns, while final high vowels tend to occur in masculine nouns; nouns in final *a* can be of either gender: for example, *amo* (f.) 'head'; *saare* (f.) 'type of song'; *koôri* (m.) 'saddle'; *mûlħu* (m.) 'bitterness'; *ħaḍa* (f.) 'tree'; *gîta* (m.) 'way, road'.

1.1.2 Number   There are two marked categories of number: plural (pl.) and singulative (sgt.). There is also an unmarked 'base' form. In some cases the base form refers to a mass or a collective entity – for example, *ḍågo(o)r* 'hair'; *wadar* 'goats, flock of goats' – but in other cases the base form is either generic in reference or indeterminate in referring to one item or many – for example, *feera* 'finger(s)' as in *yí feera biyaakitta* 'My finger(s) hurt(s)'. In contrast to the base form, a singulative form will always refer to a single individual, while a

plural form will refer to a number of individual entities – for examples, *faroosa* (pl.) 'horses', cf. *faras* 'horse', or (in the case of the base form having collective reference) it may refer to a number of collective entities – for example, *ḍagorta* (sgt.) 'single hair'; *wadaariyowa* (pl.) 'flocks of goats'. While all three forms occur for some nouns (e.g. *guruf* 'beehive(s)', *gurufta* (sgt.) 'a single beehive', *gurufwa* (pl.) 'beehives'), for others either a singulative or a plural may not be in use. Occasionally, a base form itself may be lacking, and the plural is built upon the singulative – for example, *baadônta* (sgt.) 'bell', *baadontitte* (pl.) 'bells', *baadon* ??. The fact that a singulative may effectually replace the base form, whereas the plural form may not, suggests that the relationship of these two forms *vis-à-vis* the base form is not symmetrical. This suggestion is strengthened by the fact that some singulatives have come to have idiosyncratic meanings that would require lexical listing, which, again, is not true of plurals – for example, *daroyta* 'loaf of bread', cf. *daro* 'grain'; *amôyta* 'headman, chief', cf. *amo* 'head'.

The great majority of singulatives involve suffixation of *-yta* to the base form. If the base form is consonant-final, the *y* of the suffix undergoes truncation, and if the final vowel of the base form is *a*, the vowel of the suffix dissimilates to *o* in the case of feminine nouns and to *u* in the case of masculine nouns – for example, *tooboko* (f.) 'siblings', *toobokôyta* (m.) 'brother', *toobokoyta* (f.) 'sister'; *gade* (f.) 'type of reed', *gadeyta* (f.) 'single blade of reed'; *dåħul* (m.) 'calves', *daħŭlta* (m.) 'bull calf', *daħulta* (f.) 'cow calf'; *ʕåday* (m.) 'tree species', *ʕadayto* (f) 'twig of *ʕåday* tree'; *båsal* (m.) 'onion(s)', *basåltu* (m.) 'single onion'. There are, however, some exceptions to this statement about singulative formation: for example, *gennaʕta* 'palm, sole', cf. *gĕnna(a)ʕ; baddiyta* 'eastwind from the sea', cf. *bad* 'sea'; *ilmônta* 'bastard', cf. *îlmu*.

The preceding examples also illustrate another feature of singulatives: namely, that the gender of a singulative may not be the same as that of its base form; indeed, in the case of collectives denoting animates, it is common to find a pair of singulatives which distinguish male and female individuals.

There is a bewildering variety of plural shapes, and great difficulty is experienced in attempting to establish patterns of formal relationship between base forms and plurals.[5] Plural forms are not used with great frequency, and speakers may often disagree in their judgements about what is the appropriate plural for a given base form. Broadly speaking, plural formation itself seems to be of two distinct types. One type, the 'external' plural, involves simple suffixation to the base form. The other type (the 'internal' plural) involves processes of stem-internal lengthening and of what has usually been regarded as reduplication. Not infrequently, we encounter plurals exhibiting a mixture of these two.

External plurals are formed by two main suffixed plural formatives *-itte* and *-wa*. Plurals in *-itte* occur commonly for vowel-final masculine nouns, where the suffix replaces the final vowel: for example, *fîlla* (m.) 'neck' – *fillitte* (f.); *bågu* (m.) 'belly' – *bagitte* (f.); *gînni* (m.) 'demon' – *ginnitte* (f.); *gårba* (m.) 'stomach' – *garbitte* (f.). There are, however, numerous exceptions: for example, *barkuma* (f.) 'headrest' – *barkumitte* (f.); *bar* (m.) 'night' – *baritte* (f.). Plurals in *-wa* occur commonly for consonant-final (masculine) nouns: for example, *ʕarum* (m.) 'belt,

strap' – *ʕarumwa* (f.); *baayu(u)r* (m.) 'irrigation canal' – *baayurwa* (f.); *damum* (m.) 'tip, end' – *damumwa* (f.); *danan* (m.) 'donkey' – *danawa*[6] (f.). But once again, there are numerous exceptions: for example, *ʕeĕla* (m.) 'well' – *ʕelwa* (f.); *dabeĕla* (m.) 'billy-goat' – *dabelwa* (f.).

When considering internal plurals, it is less helpful to concentrate on the many kinds of base form: plural form relationships than to recognize that internal plurals themselves actually conform to a relatively small set of target shapes, which is the approach adopted here. Just three types are selected for illustration.

(a) Plurals terminating in the target shape -CVVC*a*, where VV represents a long counterpart of the last vowel of the base form, and the final C represents the final (third) consonant of the base form; where a base form lacks a third consonant, the final consonant is 'copied'/'reduplicated':[7] for example, *duʕur* (m.) 'fool' – *duʕuura* (f.); *ħaagid* (m.) 'affair, matter' – *ħaagiida* (f.); *minin* (m.) 'eyebrow' – *miniina* (f.); *gide* (f.) 'amount' – *gideeda* (f.); *mago* (f.) 'debt' – *magooga* (f.); *bĕʕra* (m.) 'steer' – *beʕeera* (f.); *bĭrta* (m.) 'metal' – *biriita* (f.).

The matter is further complicated by a constraint disallowing the low vowel, *a*, from occurring in two consecutive syllables in internal plural forms. (Actually this constraint is attested elsewhere in Qafar morphology, though it is clearly not part of the general phonology.) This results in dissimilation of the penultimate long vowel of the plural to *oo* if the preceding vowel is low. Where a penultimate long *aa* does not undergo dissimilation, the final *a* will dissimilate to *i*: for example, *gafan* (m.) 'sandbank' – *gafoona* (f.); *taama* (m.) 'work' – *taamooma* (f.); *gårba* (m.) 'stomach' – *garooba* (f.); *booha* (m.) 'hole' – *boohaahi* (f.); *gůra* (m.) 'left hand' – *guraari* (f.).

(b) Plurals terminating in the target shape -CVVC*i*. Apart from the final *i*, this pattern is in all respects like that described under (a): for example, *gaafo* (m.) 'gap in teeth' – *gaafoofi* (f.); *maaʕo* (m.) 'food' – *maaʕooʕi* (f.). Here too the operation is complicated by dissimilation to avoid successive syllables containing *a*: for example, *lafa* (m.) 'bone' – *lafoofi* (f.); *dala* (m.) 'gourd' – *dalooli* (f.).

(c) Plurals targeting the shape CVC*aå*C*i*C. Such 'broken' plurals occur mainly, though not quite exclusively, with Semitic loan words. Apart from the fact that the base forms nearly always contain an internal cluster, they are not of a uniform shape: for example, *sandug* (m.) 'box' – *sanaådig* (m.); *bismaar* (m.) 'nail' – *bisaåmir* (m.); *busʕado* (f.), *busʕådu* (m.) 'Soemmering's gazelle' – *busaåʕid* (m.); *balbala* (f.) 'verandah' – *balaåbil* (m.).

1.1.3 Plural, gender and agreement   Inspection of the preceding forms demonstrates that very frequently plurals do not have the same gender as their base form counterparts. It is, of course, clear that the correlation between phonological shape and gender referred to in section 1.1.1 is what governs this. Change of gender between singular and plural, sometimes termed 'polarity', has been long noted for Arabic, and is known also from other Cushitic languages, such as Somali.[8]

The Qafar verb paradigm does not distinguish 3m.pl. and 3f.pl. forms, and the gender agreement in verbs having plural nouns as subjects is expressed in

3m.sg. and 3f.sg. verb forms. In other words, in the case of noun subjects there is gender (but not number) agreement. In fact, virtually the only lexical item requiring number agreement in the verb is the 3pl. personal pronoun *óson* 'they'.[9]

1.1.4 Case   Like many other languages of the region, Qafar has a case system in which the unmarked absolute form of the noun occurs as head in NPs functioning as complements of verbs or clitic postpositions. Heads of some subject NPs exhibit a marked nominative case form. The system, however, is not an ergative one, for when nominative case marking occurs, it does so with intransitive as well transitive verbs. All nouns have at least one distinct genitive form. In addition, nouns which are consonant-final in the absolute exhibit a further form when functioning as nominal predicates. The details are taken up in the next three paragraphs.

   For the majority of nouns the absolute and nominal predicate forms are identical. Unless otherwise stated, all examples of nominals cited in isolation throughout this chapter are absolute forms. However, when functioning as simple nominal predicates (i.e. not as complements of an overt copula), consonant-final nouns appear with a final vowel. The quality of this vowel is predictable in terms of the last stem vowel. Where this is rounded, *u* is added; where it is a front vowel, *i* is added; otherwise, the vowel added is *a*.[10] For example:

(4)   *áh roóbu* 'This is rain';[11] cf. *nanú rób fanḍa* 'We want rain'.
       áh debéni 'This is a beard'; cf. *anú debén liyóh* 'I have a beard'.
       wóh danána 'That is a donkey'; cf. *yangulí danán yibbiḍe* 'A hyena seized a donkey'.

   Overt nominative marking occurs only with vowel-final masculine nouns, in which a suffix *-i* replaces the terminal vowel. Such a noun also undergoes 'de-accentuation', which means that any phrasal high tone for which it might happen to be the locus, associates by default with the final syllable of the word – the suffix in this case. Consonant-final nouns never take *-i*, but will, if accented, undergo de-accentuation. Feminine nouns show no nominative marking: for example, *awkí yemeetéh* 'A/the boy has come', cf. *åwka* (m.) 'boy (abs.)'; *yangulí umáh* 'The hyena is bad', cf. *yangůla* (m.) 'hyena (abs.)'; *oggól mámeʕe* 'Consent is not good', cf. *ǒggol* (m.) 'consent, agreement (abs.)'; *awká temeetéh* 'A/the girl has come', cf. *awka* (f.) 'girl (abs.)'; *gadlá mámeʕe* 'Sleeping sickness is not good', cf. *gadla* (f.) 'sleeping sickness (abs.)'.

   As the general syntactic typology would predict, the genitive precedes its head. In terms of case marking, two situations need to be distinguished: what may conveniently be referred to as 'indefinite' and 'definite' genitives. The distinction hinges upon whether or not the head of the genitive phrase is itself preceded by a modifying element, such as a determiner, relative clause, quantifier or its own genitive NP. Indefinite genitives lack any such modifier, and inflection is realized according to the following rules:

    (a) Polysyllabic consonant-final nouns (all masculine) undergo de-accentuation, if lexically accented, but show no other change: for example, *aʕán iba* '(a) frog's leg(s)', cf. *åʕan* 'frog (abs.)'; *danan iba* '(a) donkey's leg(s)', cf. *danan* 'donkey (abs.)'.

    (b) Monosyllabic consonant-final nouns (all unaccented) suffix *-ti*: for example, *ħantí dala* '(a) milk gourd', cf. *ħan* 'milk (abs.)'.

    (c) Vowel-final masculine nouns undergo de-accentuation and replace the final vowel with *-i*: for example, *kutí ḍagor* '(a) dog's fur', cf. *kůta* 'dog (abs.)'.

    (d) Feminine nouns (all vowel-final) suffix an underspecified consonant which receives phonological content from the initial consonant of the following (head) noun; in the event that the following noun is vowel-initial, the features for *h* (the default consonant of the language) are supplied: for example, *sagággaysa* '(a) cow's horn', cf. *saga* 'cow (abs.)', *gaysa* 'horn (abs.)'; *sagáḍḍaylo* '(a) cow's offspring', cf. *saga* 'cow (abs.)', *ḍaylo* 'offspring (abs.)'; *sagáhiba* '(a) cow's leg(s)', cf. *saga* 'cow (abs.)', *îba* 'leg (abs.)'.

The definite genitive is realized by suffixation of *-ih* to masculine nouns, which also replaces any final vowel. In the case of feminines, an *-h* is suffixed to the final vowel: for example, *yí dananih iba* 'my donkey's leg(s)', cf. *danan* 'donkey (abs.)'; *woó kutih ḍagor* 'that dog's fur', cf. *kůta* 'dog (abs.)'; *laʕín ħanih suruy* 'the smell of warm milk', cf. *ħan* 'milk (abs.)'; *rabté barrah baḍa* 'the son of the woman that died', cf. *barrá* 'woman (abs.)'.

1.2 Pronouns

In terms of the three defining criteria of inflection (cf. section 1), certain sets of pronouns fall within the nominal category. Thus the personal pronouns distinguish number for all persons, but gender only for the third person singular. They also have distinct case forms in subject and possessor functions, though suppletion is extensive. For example:

(5) | Case | 1sg. | 2sg. | 3m.sg. | 3f.sg. | 1pl. | 2pl. | 3pl. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| absolutive: | *yoo* | *koo* | *kåa* | *te(e)t* | *nee* | *si(i)n* | *ke(e)n* |
| nominative: | *anu* | *atu* | *ůsuk* | *is* | *nanu* | *îsin* | *ŏson* |
| genitive: | *yi* | *ku* | *kay* | *tet* | *ni* | *sin* | *ken* |

A handful of items which might traditionally be regarded as pronouns fit easily within the morphological paradigm of nominals. The list includes the two Wh-words, 'what?' and 'who?': for example, *akíttu* (m.), *akitto* (f.) 'another, the other one'; *gersíttu* (m.), *gersitto* (f.) 'a / the next one'; *hebélu* (m.), *hebelo* (f.) 'so-and-so'; *tíya* (m.), *tiya* (f.) 'a / the thing, something'; *íyya* (m.) 'who?'; *maħa* (f) 'what?'.

1.3 Numerals

The nominal character of cardinal numerals is evidenced both by their being subcategorized for gender (e.g. *nammay* (m.) 'two'; *sido(o)ħ* (m.) 'three'; *tåban* (m.) 'ten', etc.[12]) and number, where the two forms for 'one' clearly show a type of singulative morphology (viz. *inkitto* (f.), *inkîttu* (m.), cf. *inîki* (counting form)), and higher basic cardinal numerals form reduplicative plurals (e.g. *nammammay* 'twos', cf. *nammay; sidoddo(o)ħ* 'threes', cf. *sido(o)ħ; tabåbban* 'tens', cf. *tåban*). With regard to case, a few numerals have the *-i* nominative (e.g. *inkitt-i* (m.) 'one', cf. *inkîttu* (abs.); *labaatann-i* 'twenty', cf. *labaatånna* (abs.); *alf-i* 'thousand', cf. *ålfi* (abs.). Moreover, the special forms assumed by numerals in attributive function is interpretable as a form of genitive case morphology (e.g. *nammá saga* 'two cows', cf. *nammay* (abs.); *kooná ʕari* 'five houses', cf. *konoy* (abs.); *baħrá ruga* 'eight calves', cf. *baħåar* (abs.), etc.[13] Finally, it may be observed that with the exception of 'one', the absolutive forms are all consonant-final and their counting forms behave manifestly like predicative nominals (cf. section 1.1.4): for example, *feréyi* 'four', cf. *ferey* (abs.); *konóyu* 'five', cf. *konoy* (abs.); *tábana* 'ten', cf. *tåban* (abs.).

The commonest formation of ordinal numerals pairs masculine and feminine forms: for example, absolutive: *nammahayto* (f.), *nammahåytu* (m.) 'second'; *leħeyhayto* (f.), *leħeyhåytu* (m.) 'sixth', cf. *leħey* 'six (abs.)'.

1.4 Dependent nominals

There is a small set of commonly occurring nominals that never appear alone: that is, they only ever occur as heads of expanded NPs. In the case of some of them, the choice of modifying element is severely restricted, either semantically or syntactically. In spite of their dependent status, these items inflect for case, and control gender agreement in an entirely nominal way: for example, *måra* (m.) 'people'; *waʕådi* (m.) 'time'; *ikke* (f.) 'place'; *gide* (f.) 'amount'; *inna* (f.) 'likeness'. The vowel-initial members of this set usually cliticize on to the preceding modifier element: for example, *á tiya wókkel háys* 'Put this thing there' (where *wókkel < woo ikke-l* that place-in); *úsuk silaytínna le* 'He is like the wind' – that is, 'He is fast' (where *silaytínna < silaytí inna* 'wind-gen. likeness').

2 Verbals

Description of the verb system from the point of view of morphology poses several distinct problems. First, there is the problem that although a discussion of the two main inflectional classes ought in some sense to be a relatively
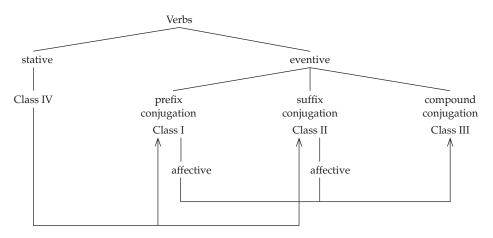
Figure 29.1

lower-order object in the hierarchy of things to be considered, it turns out that class membership affects the allomorphy not only of inflection but of derivation as well. Secondly, a formation which creates an 'affective' verb category has probably to be seen from an inflectional point of view as constituting a third class. It takes as its input (among other items) any verb, simple or derivationally complex, from either of the two main classes. On a relatively superficial inspection, the formation could be considered as part of the inflection of these verbs; yet in so far as the formation (a) behaves differently according to whether the base verb is transitive or intransitive, and (b) also has the capacity to create verbs from non-verbal items, it appears to belong more with lexeme building than with lexeme inflection; a more detailed, properly exemplified account appears below. A third problem concerns the 'stative' verbs. Earlier it was stated that Qafar has no adjectives, and that the items that do the semantic work of adjectives behave morphologically like verbs in having agreement and tense morphology when in predicative function. Nevertheless, the morphological elements concerned are distinct enough to warrant speaking about a fourth inflectional class. Stative verbs inflect neither for aspect nor for mood, as other verbs do. The question here is simply: Is it correct to classify these items as verbs in the first place? Most statives may furnish input to word-formation processes creating 'eventive' (i.e. non-stative) verbs, some belonging to Class I, others to Class II. The schema in figure 29.1, furnishes a simple overview of the issues just described. In the diagram, simple lines indicate classificatory divisions, and arrow-headed lines indicate cross-class derivational links.

For ease of presentation the morphological basis for distinguishing four inflectional classes is considered first.

2.1 The inflectional classes

As the names in figure 29.1 suggest, Classes I and II are most obviously distinguished in terms of prefixal versus suffixal morphology. This distinction manifests itself in person and gender agreement, cf. (6), and in class-maintaining derivational morphology, cf. (7).

(6)   <u>Class I</u>   <u>Class II</u>

	Class I		Class II	
3m. sg. perf.	*y-eeḍegeh*	'he knew'	*fak-eh*	'he opened'
3f. sg. perf	*t-eeḍegeh*	'she knew'	*fak-t-eh*	'she opened'
1pl. perf.	*n-eeḍegeh*	'we knew'	*fak-n-eh*	'we opened'

(7)   <u>Class I stems</u>   <u>Class II stems</u>

	Class I stems		Class II stems	
basic stem	*-eeḍeg-*	'know'	*fak-*	'open'
passive stem	*-im-iḍḍig-*	'be known'	*fakk-iim-*	'be opened'
causative stem	*-iys-iḍḍig-*	'make known'	*fak-siis-*	'get sthg. opened'

Equally diverse in the two classes are the basic mechanisms for marking (perfect and imperfect) aspect and certain mood distinctions, where Class I employs ablaut (sometimes in addition to suffixation), while Class II makes use of suffixation only. For example:

(8)   <u>Class I</u>   <u>Class II</u>

	Class I		Class II	
3m. sg. perf.	*yeeḍeg-e*	'he knew'	*fak-e*	'he opened'
3m. sg. impf.	*yaaḍig-e*	'he knows'	*fak-a*	'he opens'
3m. sg. jussive.	*yaaḍág-ay*	'let him know!'	*fák-ay*	'let him open!'
2sg. imper.	*iḍig*	'know!'	*fak*	'open!'

However, prefixing versus suffixing, and ablaut versus suffixing allomorphy is not pursued rigorously throughout the two classes, and many inflectional and derivational categories are realized identically. In general in Qafar morphology suffixation has to be seen as the typological default. Thus, plural agreement for second and third persons is expressed by identical suffixes in both classes. For example:

(9)   <u>Class I</u>   <u>Class II</u>

	Class I		Class II	
2pl. perf.	*teeḍege-n*	'you(pl.) knew'	*fakte-n*	'you(pl.) opened'
2pl. impf.	*taaḍige-n*	'you(pl.) know'	*fakta-n*	'you(pl.) open'
3pl. perf.	*yeeḍege-n*	'they knew'	*fake-n*	'they opened'
3pl. impf.	*yaaḍige-n*	'they know'	*faka-n*	'they open'

Numerous examples similar to this could be adduced. On the other hand, primary marking of negation in main verbs is prefixal in all verb classes, cf. section 2.3.6.

The third class of eventive verbs consists of a compound formation in which an invariable base (termed here a 'particle') is followed by one or other of the verbs *-eɗħ-* or *hay-*, which in this function are enclitic and lexically bleached – though, when functioning independently, they have the meanings 'say' and 'do, put' respectively. Inflection takes place entirely by means of *-eɗħ-* or *hay-*. Both these verbs exhibit inflectional idiosyncrasies: *-eɗħ-*, for example, has suppletive stem morphology for various cells of the paradigm, and since each of the two stems involved belongs to a different primary class, compounds based on *-eɗħ-* have 'hybrid' (Class I × Class II) inflectional behaviour.[14] The idiosyncrasies of *hay-* are only at the level of morphophonology. Because the peculiarities of *-eɗħ-* and *hay-* are carried over into the inflection of the compounds in which they participate, a new inflectional class is created. For example,

(10)		Class IIIa		Class IIIb	
1sg. perf.		*sígga-eɗħe*	I became strong	*sígga-hee*	I strengthened
2sg. perf.		*sígga-inte*	you became strong	*sígga-hayte*	you strengthened
1pl. perf.		*sígga-inne*	we became strong	*sígga-hayne*	we strengthened
2sg. imper.		*sígga-inɗiħ*	become strong!	*sígga-hay*	make (it) strong!

One obvious question that arises is: Why should this be treated simply as one class? On the basis of the sort of argumentation just employed in establishing Class III as a distinct class, ought we not to treat members of the compound conjugation based on *-eɗħ-* and members of the compound conjugation based on *hay-* as belonging to two separate classes? One argument for the unifying classification is that the selection of *-eɗħ* or *hay-* is not an arbitrary matter. It relates to the formation of intransitive and transitive verbs respectively; the examples in (10) show this: *sígga* is an underived (primitive) particle, and the transitivity of the compound verbs *sígga-eɗħ-* and *sígga-hay-* depends entirely on which of the two compounding verbs has been chosen. This suggests that the formation of these compounds is functionally analogous to processes in the derivational morphology which create verbs with differing argument structures; see sections 2.2.2–2.2.4.[15]

The strongest evidence in favour of a unitary treatment, however, is the fact that a Class III verb can be formed (potentially at least) from any verb (simple or derived) belonging to Classes I or II. A 'particle' is formed (apparently from the imperative stem) to which *-eɗħ-* or *hay-* attaches, just as in the case of a primitive particle such as *sígga*. There are two differences, however, in the case of deverbative compounds. First, the selection of *-eɗħ-* or *hay-* now depends on whether the particle is derived from an intransitive or a transitive verb; thus, *ɗóʕʕa-eɗħ-* derives from the intransitive *ɗooʕ-* 'perspire', while *usgúdda-hay-* derives from the transitive *-usguud-* 'slaughter'. Secondly, compound verbs based lexically on derived (deverbative) particles are semantically distinct

from their base counterparts of Class I or II. The precise nature of this difference is difficult to pin down. Often the compound form denotes a diminution of the event or action expressed in the base counterpart, but in other cases it may denote simply that the speaker is employing a rather dramatic style. Considerably more research will be necessary in order to reach a proper appreciation of the semantics and sociolinguistic functions of these forms; as a temporary measure, I have simply labelled them as 'affective'. However, the point to note here is that the availability of such affective forms for any verb of Class I or II could even suggest that they be treated as (a formally neutralized) part of the inflectional paradigm of those classes. The occurrence, however, of verbs such as *sígga-eḏħ-*, formed from primitive particles, argues against such an analysis.

Verbs of Class IV denote states of being, and in addition to typical adjectival concepts (e.g. *meʕ-e* 'be good', *um-a* 'be bad', *ʕas-a* 'be red, be new', *kaḍḍ-a* 'be big/great/old'[16]), they include *kiħn-a* 'love, be happy/pleased', *niʕb-a* 'hate, dislike', *l-e* 'have', *sinn-i* 'be without', *kinn-i* 'be' (copula) and *hinn-a* 'not be' (negative copula). The relatively small stock of simple stative verbs is augmented by a large number of compounds consisting of a nominal together with one of the simple statives: for example, *gabá-gibd-i* 'be stingy' (lit. 'hand is tough'), *makó-l-e* 'be bent/dishonest' (lit. 'it has a bend',) *másu-ʕunḍ-a* 'be skinny/shrimpy' (lit. 'stature is small').[17]

Like verbs of all classes, statives heading independent clauses require the prefix *mǻ-* in negation; otherwise, however, suffixation is the norm in this class too. Agreement in the 'present state' paradigm has a distinct set of realizations and there is a common third-person singular form where gender of the subject is not distinguished. The full paradigm of the present state is given in (12), alongside the imperfect aspect paradigm[18] of a typical Class II verb. (Both paradigms express predicate focus; cf. section 2.3.7.)

(11)

		Class IV			Class II	
1sg.		*nibd-iyoh*	'I am awake'		*duf-ah*	'I push'
2sg.		*nibd-itoh*	'you are awake'		*duf-tah*	'you push'
3m. sg.		*nibd-ah*	'he is awake'		*duf-ah*	'he pushes'
3f. sg.		*nibd-ah*	'she is awake'		*duf-tah*	'she pushes'
1pl.		*nibd-inoh*	'we are awake'		*duf-nah*	'we push'
2pl.		*nibd-itoonuh*	'you are awake'		*duf-taanah*	'you push'
3pl.		*nibd-oonuh*	'they are awake'		*duf-aanah*	'they push'

2.2 Derivation

Verb derivation is highly productive. Once the inflectional class membership, the argument structure, and certain semantic properties of a base lexeme are taken into account, verbs are seen to fit into regular patterns of derivation. Such regularity, however, does not always extend to allomorphy, and there is

very considerable irregularity in the case of the ancient Class I derived verbs. The highest degree of predictability with regard to derivation within the verbal system is seen in the fact that every basic intransitive verb has a derived transitive counterpart.[19] If we omit various minor patterns, five main formations are readily recognized.

Inchoativization is the derivation of eventive verbs from statives. Inchoative derivatives belong to Class I or II, though the selection of which it will be is not predictable: for example, *ʕunḍ-a* 'be small/young' – *-uʕunḍuy-* (I) 'become small'; *meʕ-e* 'be good' – *-emʕ-* (I) 'become good'; *dat-a* 'be black' – *dattoow-* (II) 'become black'; *lab-i* 'be male' – *labboow-* (II) 'become male, become hard'; *kurdudin-i** 'be round' – *kurdudinit-* (II) 'become round'. (The number following the stems above and in other examples that follow indicates class membership. An asterisk following a base stem indicates that that form itself is derived.)

Transitivization is the derivation of transitive verbs from basic intransitives as well as from inchoativized verbs. Such verbs require that the agent introduced into their argument structure is expressed as subject: for example, *faħ-* (II) 'boil (intr.)' – *faħis-* (II) 'boil (tr.)'; *-ifriħ-* (I) 'feel glad/happy' – *iyfirriħ-* (I) 'gladden'; *-uʕunḍuy-** (I) 'become small' – *-usʕunḍuy-* (I) 'diminish (tr.)'; *dattoow-** (II) 'become black' – *dattoys-* (II) 'blacken (tr.)'.

Causativization is the derivation of causative verbs from basic intransitives (including inchoativized verbs) and transitives. Causatives require that the controlling agent (causee) introduced be expressed as subject:[20] for example, *ḍaam-* (II) 'buy, sell' – *ḍamsiis-* (II) 'cause to buy/sell; get bought/sold'; *faħ-* (II) 'boil (intr.)' – *faħsiis-* (II) 'cause to boil; get boiled'; *dattoow-** (II) 'become black' – *dattoysiis-* (II) 'cause to blacken; get sthg blackened'; *-ukkuʕ-* (I) 'pick up, carry' – *-uysukuʕ-* (I) 'cause to pick up, etc.; get picked up'; *-esħess-** (I) 'indicate' – *-esħessiis-* (I) 'cause to indicate, get indicated'.

Passivization is the derivation of passives from basic transitives, transitivized and (rarely) causativized verbs.[21] Passives require that the patient be expressed as subject. The agent is almost always suppressed – though see note 20. For example, *fiy-* (II) 'sweep' – *fiyyiim-* (II) 'be swept'; *admis-** (II) 'tan' – *admisim-* (II) 'be tanned'; *-eħet-* (I) 'chew' – *-emħett-* (I) 'be chewed'; *massoys-** (II) 'cause to get ready; get made ready' – *massoysim-* (II) 'be made ready'.

Autobenefactivization is the derivation of forms indicating that the action denoted by the verb is performed for the benefit of the subject. Autobenefactives can be derived from any verb, basic or derived providing the thematic role expressing the subject is capable of volitional action: for example, *ab-* (II) 'do, make' – *abbaasit-* (II) 'do/make f.o.b.'[22]; *digir-* (II) 'play' – *digirit-* (II) 'play f.o.b.'; *-iḍħiḍ-* (I) 'sew' – *-iḍḍiħiḍ-*[23] (I) 'sew f.o.b.'; *faħis-** (II) 'boil (tr.)' – *faħsit-* (II) 'boil f.o.b.'; *ʕaddoysiis-** (II) 'cause to whiten; get sthg whitened' – *ʕaddoysiisit-* (II) 'get sthg whitened f.o.b.'.

2.2.1 Denominal verbs Some of the actual affixes employed in the above processes have homophonous counterparts which serve to form verbs from

nouns. Thus, alongside the transitivizing *-is* we find a denominalizing *-is*, as in *amris-* 'command', cf. *ảmri* 'order'; *ʃadayis-* brush teeth with twig from an *ʃadayto* tree'; *giiris-* 'swim', cf. *giíru* 'floating'; and alongside autobenefactivizing *-it*, we find a denominalizing *-it*, as in *gosonit-* 'catch a cold', cf. *goson* 'common cold'; *sanit-* 'have a nosebleed', cf. *san* 'nose'. Likewise, alongside inchoativizing *-oow*, we find a denominalizing *-oow*, as in *dirabboow-* 'become a liar', cf. *dĩrab* 'lie'; *marroow-* 'encircle', cf. *maro* 'circle'.

It is quite common to find derived verbs for which there is no (extant) simple stem base. Such verbs are often 'deponent' in the sense of having passive (if Class I) or autobenefactive (if Class II) morphology while functioning as simple intransitives. Moreover, they very frequently occur coupled with a cognate lexeme having transitivized morphology, the two together furnishing an intransitive: transitive 'complementary pair', which reflects the core organization of the verb lexicon. Thus Class I: *-embeḍ-* 'be used up' and *-esbeḍ-* 'use/ finish up'; *-enkett-* 'gather (intr.)' and *-eskett-* 'gather (tr.); *-onkonoonoħ-* 'glow' and *oykonoonoħ-* 'cause to glow'; and Class II: *ugut-* 'get up' and *ugus-* 'rouse'; *summit-* 'suffer poisoning' and *summis-* 'poison'; *firʃit-* 'convulse' and *firʃis-* 'make convulse'. The need for this same fundamental pairing is clearly reflected in the existence of the two series of compound verbs of Class III; cf. section 2.1.

2.3 Inflectional categories

Leaving aside agreement, eventive verbs of Classes I, II and III carry inflections for a great many categories, the most obvious of these being aspect, mood, subordinate clause role and polarity. In addition to these categories, which are typically marked on the verb lexeme itself, there are a variety of periphrastic constructions furnishing systems of tense and modality. Finally, the verb is the locus of a rather simple but highly important scheme of focus-marking morphology. The following sections will offer a brief overview of these categories and their expression.

2.3.1 Aspect It can be generalized that the perfect : imperfect dichotomy is expressed by a phonological opposition of *a* : non-*a* in the morphology; witness the imperfect : perfect ablaut patterns of the typical Class I verbs *-abbiḍ- : -ibbiḍ-* 'seize, hold', *-ard- : -erd-* 'run', *-akm- : -okm-* 'eat', *-abl- : -ubl-* 'see',[24] and the uniformity of suffixes in Class II *nak-a : nak-e* 'drink milk', *fiil-a : fiil-e* 'comb', etc., and in the hybrid features of Class IIIa verb forms such as *gúmma-aḍħ- : gúmma-eḍħ-* 'become dazzled' (1sg. forms), *gúmma-int-a : gúmma-int-e* 'become dazzled' (2sg. forms).[25]

The Class IV statives do not distinguish aspect so much as tense; see section 2.3.3.

2.3.2 Mood Since the indicative, jussive and requestive carry a marker in at least one class, while the imperative never does, there are grounds for

considering the latter to be the unmarked mood. The indicative is marked only in Class I, where a *-e* suffix appears in both the perfect and imperfect: for example, *yubl-e : yabl-e* 'he saw/sees'. All eventive verbs share the same suffixal marking for jussive and requestive. As in many languages, the jussive (oblique command) and imperative moods display a paradigm complementarity with regard to person,[26] and the requestive is confined to the first person. In (13) these points are illustrated with Class I *-erd-* 'run' and Class II *nak-* 'drink milk'.

(12)	1sg.	2sg.	3m. sg	3f. sg.	1pl.	2pl.	3pl.
requestive	*ardóò*				*nardóò*		
	nakóò				*naknóò*		
imperative		*eréd*				*eréda*	
		nák				*náka*	
jussive	*árday*		*yárday*	*tárday*	*nárday*		*yardoónay*
	nákay		*nákay*	*náktay*	*náknay*		*nakoónay*

Stative verbs do not show any inflection for mood.

2.3.3 Tense   In general tense is expressed by means of a periphrastic construction in which the second ('auxiliary') verb component is *-en*, a verb which in independent function is the locative existential verb. *-en* is unique in behaving as a Class I verb (albeit somewhat irregular) with regard to inflection, while at the same time displaying the reduced paradigm typical of statives.[27] The *a* : non-*a* contrast, which marks imperfect : perfect aspect in eventive verbs, distinguishes a present : past distinction in the case of *-en* and in those periphrastic paradigms in which it appears. With both components of the construction engaged in the selection of the *a* : non-*a* feature, the language is furnished with perfect and imperfect present and past tenses. This is exemplified in (13), where only 3m. sg. and 3f. sg. forms are shown for Classes I and II.[28] (The forms assumed by the 'main' (lexical) verb will be considered below in section 2.3.5.)

(13)	past		present	
perf.	*yerdeh yen*	'he had run'	*yerdeh yan*	'he has run'
	terdeh ten	'she etc.'	*terdeh tan*	'she etc.'
	nakeh yen	'he had drunk milk'	*nakeh yan*	'he has drunk milk'
	nakteh ten	'she etc.'	*nakteh tan*	'she etc.'
impf.	*árduk yen*	'he was running/ used to run'	*yardeh yan*	'he is running/ runs'
	árduk ten	'she etc.'	*tardeh tan*	'she etc.'
	nákak yen	'he was drinking milk/ used to drink milk'	*nakah yan*	'he is drinking milk/ drinks milk'
	nákak ten	'she etc.'	*naktah tan*	'she etc.'

The unmarked base form of a stative verb expresses a 'present state' – for example, *ḍeeriyoh* 'I am tall', *ḍeeritoh* 'you are tall' – while a form structurally analogous to the imperfect past of eventive verbs expresses a 'past state' – for example, *ḍeéruk en* 'I was tall', *ḍeéruk ten* 'you were tall'.

2.3.4 Modal forms

Qafar has a great variety of forms expressing modalities such as anticipation, probablility, intention, factual condition, contrafactual condition, etc. Many of them are periphrastic, and many of them show distinctions of aspect expressed in the ways described above. In the interests of brevity, just one of these, the anticipatory, will be considered.

The anticipatory denotes an event that the speaker expects to happen, and can readily be translated by a 'future' tense. It has a periphrastic structure, and inflects by means of the stative verb *l-e*, which in independent function would normally be translated as 'have'. Perfect and imperfect anticipatory paradigms are constructed on the model of the past- and present-tense formations, though here *sug-* occurs, rather than *-en*. For example:

(14)		Simple anticipatory	Perfect anticipatory	Imperfect anticipatory
	1sg.	*ardé-liyo*[29]	*erdéh sugé-liyo*	*árduk sugé-liyo*
		'I shall run'	'I shall have run'	'I shall be running'
	3m. sg.	*ardé-le*	*yerdéh sugé-le*	*árduk sugé-le*
		'he will run'	'he will have run'	'he will be running'
	1sg.	*naké-liyo*	*nakéh sugé-liyo*	*nákak sugé-liyo*
		'I shall drink milk'	'I shall have drunk milk'	'I shall be drinking milk'
	3m. sg.	*naké-le*	*nakéh sugé-le*	*nákak sugé-le*
		'he will drink milk'	'he will have drunk milk'	'he will be drinking milk'

2.3.5 Lexical base forms

The leftmost (lexical) element occurring throughout the wide variety of periphrastic paradigms is almost always one of five forms: (1) the simple perfect – for example, *yerdéh, nakéh*; (2) the simple imperfect – for example, *yardéh, nakáh*; (3) the imperfect participle ('K-participle', cf. Parker and Hayward 1985: 256), which is invariant – for example, *árduk, nákak*; (4) what has been termed the 'E-form' (cf. ibid. 286), which is an invariant form terminating in *-e* that is devoid of any aspectual significance – for example, *ardé, naké* (elsewhere it often has a distinctly nominal character in functioning as a complement for a particular set of verbs); (5) what has been termed the 'U-form' (cf. ibid.) – for example, *árdu* – which terminates in *-u*, and must derive historically from the East Cushitic 'subjunctive/optative', which, unlike the E-form, shows full agreement morphology. What all these forms have in common is that in complex sentences (whether we think of coordination or subordination) they can occur in the non-final clause. Qafar lacks a distinct non-final conjoining ('converb') form, which is so typical of

the Ethiopian Semitic languages; simple perfect and imperfect forms fulfil this role. The imperfect participle, E-form and U-form never occur sentence-finally; it is not surprising, therefore, that they have undergone a high degree of grammaticalization in these periphrastic paradigms.

Simple perfects and imperfects appear not only in the various tense paradigms (cf. section 2.3.3) and in aspectually distinct forms of the anticipatory (cf. section 2.3.4), but also in various conditional modalities (e.g. *yardék* 'if he runs', *yardéh sugek* 'if he has run'). The imperfect participle occurs in present-tense paradigms. The E-form occurs in the various anticipatory paradigms and in both the protasis and apodosis of contrafactual conditionals (e.g. *ardínnay*[30] 'if he had run', *ardé ḏaaḏe* 'he would have run'), but its role, *par excellence*, is in forming negatives for subordinate clause verbs; cf. section 2.3.6. The U-form is the lexical base in the 'intentive' (e.g. *yárdu waa* 'he is intending to run', the 'probable' (e.g. *yárdu takkeh* 'he may run') and the 'purposive' (e.g. *yárduh* 'that he run') paradigms.

2.3.6 Negation   East Cushitic languages generally have distinct strategies for negative marking in independent and dependent clauses (including relative clauses). In Qafar the former always requires the prefix *må-*, though other suffixal elements may occur in various paradigms.[31] For example (the verb *gúmma-eḏħ-* 'become dazzled' has been selected to represent Class III):

(15)

		Affirmative	Negative
perfect	Class I	*yerdéh*	*márdinna*
'he ran/has	Class II	*nakéh*	*mánakinna*
run', etc.	Class III	*gúmma-iyyéh*	*gúmma-máḏħinna*
present state	Class IV	*nibdáh*	*mánibda*
'he is awake'			
impf. past	Class I	*árduk yen*	*árduk mánanna*
'he was	Class II	*nákak yen*	*nákak mánanna*
running', etc.	Class III	*gúmma-áḏħuk yen*	*gúmma-áḏħuk mánanna*
past state	Class IV	*nibduk yen*	*nibduk mánanna*
'he was awake'			

Dependent clauses (including) relatives, however, employ a periphrasis involving the verb *way-*, which as a free lexeme means 'lack, miss'. For example:

(16)

		Affirmative	Negative
conditional[32]	Class I	*yerdék*	*ardé weék*
'if he runs', etc.	Class II	*nakék*	*naké weék*
	Class III	*gúmma-iyyék*	*gúmma-adħé weék*
purposive	Class I	*yárduh*	*ardé wáyuh*
'that he run', etc.	Class II	*nákuh*	*naké wáyuh*
	Class III	*gúmma-íyyuh*	*gúmma-adħé wáyuh*

Some stative verbs come in antonymic pairs, and may make use of lexical negation alongside the regular morphological negation, but only in the case of *kinn-i* 'be' and *hinn-a* 'not be' is this obligatory.

2.3.7 Focus The majority of affirmative verbs marked for aspect or tense that have been cited as examples in the preceding pages have terminated in *-h* preceded by a vowel associated with a (phonological) phrasal high tone. Such forms are always required when there is predicate focus, which probably represents the unmarked or neutral situation. When, however, some NP or PP constituent is focused – as, for example, in a Wh-word question or in a sentence responding to one – the focused item occurs immediately preceding the verb and forms a single phonological phrase with it. This is signalled by the association of the high tone with the focused item rather than with the verb, and by dropping the terminal *-h*. This is illustrated in (17) in a comparison of Yes/No and Wh-word questions and their responses.

(17)   predicate focus   other focus

  Sáli tubléè? 'Did you see Ali?' *iyyá tuble?* 'Who did you see?'
  yeéy, ubléh 'Yes, I saw (him).' *Sáli uble*   'I saw Ali.'

2.4 Nominalizations

There are a number of regularly formed nominalizations. Some of these have already been considered in section 2.3.5. Most Class I verbs have nominalizations which refer to the verbal event; such a nominalization involves a prefix *m-* together with a pervading vocalism in *a* – for example, *m-ambada* 'getting up', cf. *-imbid-* 'get up'; *m-anḍaSa* 'swallowing', cf. *-unḍuS-* 'swallow'. But there is variation of both form and meaning – for example, *m-argaade* 'type of dance', cf. *-irgid-* 'dance in line'; *m-abraka* 'hollow formed by rolling', cf. *-ubruk-* 'roll'. Class IV verbs form nominalizations fairly regularly in *-iina* and *-aane* – for example, *kaḍḍ-iina* 'being big'; *maS-aane* 'being good'. For Class II a number of recurrent patterns exist on a lexically determined basis (in *-itto*, *-to*, *-ta*, *-o* and *-a*, etc.), but the only perfectly general formation here has the suffix *-îyya*, and this exists for Class I too: for example, *geḍ-íyya* 'going'; *faħis-îyya* 'boiling (tr.)', etc. The *-îyya* form is rather gerund-like, and its meaning is perfectly predictable. Complements of transitive verbs are expressed as genitive NPs of their *-îyya* form counterparts – for example, *sarí kaSalisiyya míyaaḍiga* (clothes-gen. washing neg.-he-knows) 'He doesn't know laundry-work'; *yí Sarih ḍisiyyi gidíbuk suge* '(my house-gen. building-nom. expensive-being 3m. sg.-was) 'Building my house was expensive'.

Possibly the most important nominalization from a syntactic point of view is the M-nominalization considered in section 3.3.3.

3 Indeclinables

Words that lack nominal or verbal morphology – indeed, that lack any inflectional morphology at all – comprise a highly heterogeneous group and from a syntactic viewpoint possess no uniting factor at all. Omitting consideration of the rag-bag of 'interjections' (items such as *yeey* 'Yes', *baleey* 'No', *aleya* 'Hey!', etc.), the following sets deserve to be distinguished: determiners, particles and clitics.

3.1 Determiners

There are no 'articles' in Qafar, but there are three pairs of deictic determiners: namely, *a ~ ta* 'this, these – near to speaker'; *ama ~ tama* 'this, these/ that, those – near to addressee'; *woo ~ too* 'that, those – distant from speaker and addressee'.[33] None of these forms shows any agreement in gender, number or case with its head – the *t*-initial forms are simply variants. In addition, there is an assortment of indeclinable words with determiner-like functions – for example, *inni* 'my own',[34] *ninni* 'our own', *issi* 'you/his/her own', *sinni* 'your (pl.)/their own', *anni* 'which?', *aki* '(an)other', *uli* '(a) certain', *gersi* 'the next', *kŭlli* 'every', *gidiidin* 'the entire/complete'.

Pronouns are derivable from some of the determiners by suffixation of *-h* (e.g. *ah, amah, woh, innih, issih*). These derivative pronouns, however, are as morphologically inert as their bases.

3.2 Particles

Particles resemble clitics in being phonologically dependent, but go further than clitics in being dependent upon particular words with which they must co-occur. They exist only in combination with verbs in the (Class III) compound conjugation, cf. section 2.1. 'Primitive' – that is, non-deverbative, particles are often onomatopoeic, and the same root may also sometimes turn up in derived nominals or verbals – for example, *tutúħ-eɖħ-* 'whisper', cf. *tutuħ-to* 'whispering'; *kúʕ-eɖħ-* 'cry out', cf. *kuʕ-ta* 'shout, cry'; *firíg-eɖħ-* 'move convulsively', cf. *firg-o* 'convulsive movements', *firg-it-* 'move convulsively'.

3.3 Clitics

On functional grounds three sets of clitics are distinguishable: postpositions, conjunctions and the M-nominalizer.

3.3.1 Postpositions   The four postpositions are all single-consonant forms. In view of the fact that there are only four of them, each has to cover a range of distinct meanings, though we can easily denote their core meanings: namely, *-l* 'locative', *-k* 'ablative', *-t* 'instrumental', *-h* 'allative, dative, benefactive'. For example, *gíta-l* 'on the road/way', *ʕaléh-amo-l* 'on top of the mountain', *gaantá-k* 'from the encampment', *yó-k* 'from/than me', *ħáḍḍa-t* 'with a stick', *baabúr[u]-t* 'by car', *addá-h* 'to the interior', *keén[i]-h* 'for them'. Certain verbs obligatorily require postpositional complements headed by particular postpositions, though the semantic reason for the choice is sometimes far from obvious; thus, 'say to' requires *-k* (e.g. *káa-k innéh* 'we said to him'); 'reply to' requires *-l* (e.g. *káa-l gaħséh* 'I replied to him'). When these postpositions attach to a consonant-final nominal, an epenthetic vowel is inserted (shown in preceding examples within square brackets) which harmonizes qualitatively with the vowel of the preceding syllable, as in predicative nominals, cf. section 1.1.4.

Although there are no 'relative pronouns' in Qafar for relativizations based on NPs, there is a set of pro-forms corresponding to each of the postpositions, which function in relative clauses: namely, *elle* (cf. *-l*), *edde* (cf. *-t*), *akak, kak* (cf. *-k*) and *akah* (cf. *-h*). For example, *ħán elle hee ayni* 'the container in which he put the milk', *leé akak bahne ʕeela* 'the well from which we bring water'.

3.3.2 Conjunctions   Both *-kee* and *-y* function in conjoining NPs; they cliticize onto the left-hand conjunct. *-y* tends to occur as the non-final conjunction when the conjuncts exceed two in number. Attachment of either element is assocated with lengthening of a final vowel – for example, *lubakwaá-kee kabaaʕá* 'lions and leopards'; *lubakwaáy, kabaaʕaáy yangulwá* 'lions, leopards and hyenas'.

The conjunction *-y* seems to be acquiring the additional role of a topic marker, for it commonly appears on pre-sentential items that furnish foregrounding.

All types of independent clause, except those in which the verbs are indicative affirmative, may be conjoined by means of a clitic *-ay* attached to the non-final conjunct(s) – for example,[35] *eréd-ay káah waris* 'Run and tell (to) him!', *maámaatinn[ay] mágeḍinna* 'He did not come and did not go', *yí saro máʕas[ay], máʕad[oy], mádata* 'My cloth is neither red, white, nor black'.

Two other common and important clitics concerned with disjunction are discussed in Parker and Hayward (1985: 292).

3.3.3 M-nominalizer(s)   Nominalizing morphology has already received some attention (cf. section 2.4), but the most ubiquitous form remains to be considered.

In one set of forms having a final clitic *-m* we can clearly identify a complementizer-like function. This is illustrated in the following sentences: *umá num kinni-m akkaléh* (bad man he-is-M I-opine) 'I think that he is a bad man'; *úsuk yoó yuble-m aaḍigeħ* '(he me he-saw-M I-know) 'I know that he saw me'; *lubák aggifé wee-m naaminéh* '(lion he-not-killing-M we-believe) 'We believe that he did not kill the lion'. M-nominalizations also appear as complements

of verbs that would take an infinitival complement in English – for example, *nanú genḍá-m fanḍéh* (we we-go-M we-wanted) 'We wanted to go'; *yamaaté-m káak faḍen* (he-comes-M him-from they-wanted) 'They wanted him to come'; *giirissá-m duddáh* (she-swims-M she-is-able) 'She can swim'; *á taama aba-m efferéh* (this work I-do-M I-am-unable) 'I am unable to do this work'. In all cases the clause terminating in *-m* looks formally like a relative clause, which suggests that *-m* occurs where we might expect a nominal. The impression of 'nominalness' is strengthened by noting that when appearing in subject function, clauses terminating in *-m* control feminine gender in the verb – for example, *úsuk rabé waa-m nét ħelta.* (he he-not-dying-M us-to 3f.sg.-seems) 'It seems to us that he is not dying'; *káa ħatna-m nél tingiddibéh* (him we-help-M us-on 3f.sg.-presses) 'We ought to help him'. 'Free' relative clauses are extremely common in the language. Formally these are M-nominalizations of relative clauses the verbs of which carry feminine agreement – for example, *neé tássa-hayta-m mangóh* (us 3f.sg.-makes-happy-M it-is-much) 'The things that make us happy are many'; *yí toobokoyta taaḍige-m íyyay* (my brother 3f.sg.-knows-M who-is?) 'Who is it knows my brother?'. The thoroughly nominal character of *-m* is further affirmed by the fact many constructions involve attaching postpositional clitics to it – for example, *sinám takmee-m[i]-k meysinnáh* (people 3f.sg.-eats-M-from we-fear) 'We fear that which eats people'.[36]

NOTES

1   The transcription employed here for Qafar does not follow that adopted in *An Afar – English – French Dictionary*, which accepted the proposals made by Dimis and Reedo (1976a, b). In some respects that orthography is far from optimal, and it is likely that it will be revised in the near future. With this is mind, the present study adheres closely to IPA usage, although double letters are employed to represent geminate consonants and long vowels. The name of the language itself, however, retains its orthographic spelling, in which the voiced pharyngeal fricative is represented by 'Q'. Upper-case letters will not be employed in Qafar examples. On account of an absolutely general process of contraction of long vowels in closed syllables, underlying long vowels are masked in the citation forms of some consonant-final nouns; such long vowels are indicated here, but the second vowel letter is placed in parenthesis. An acute accent denotes high tone, which occurs once per phonological phrase, and is associated at some point in the syntax. In most recent works on Qafar, high tone is only marked on vowel moras where the unpredictable property of lexical accent requires it. The default location of high tone in unaccented or de-accented words is on the final vowel mora of the first word in the phonological phrase, and, being predictable, is not usually marked.

Nevertheless, in the present study it has, as a convenience to readers, been marked wherever it occurs within a phonological phrase, though it has not been marked in unaccented words cited in isolation. Accent, which is a lexical property of some words and affixes is indicated (where appropriate) by a superscript circle above the vowel mora where it is hypothesized to occur. Detailed accounts of the segmental and tonal accent phonology appear in Hayward 1974 and Hayward 1991 respectively.

2 Although this study attempts to provide an overview of the main morphological features of the language, limitations of space have made it necessary to omit some aspects. The interested reader should consult Bliese 1981 and Parker and Hayward 1985 for further detail and exemplification.

3 There is no formal expression of agreement within the NP; nor, in general, is the selection of anaphoric pronouns controlled by gender considerations.

4 In the examples adduced here morphological boundaries are indicated by hyphenation (where possible), but it will be indicated only where it is relevant to the point under discussion.

5 Bliese's (1967, 1981) attempts to reduce plural formation to more manageable proportions represent a *tour de force* within a classical Generative Phonology framework.

6 Also *dananitte* and *danoona*.

7 To relate the base and plural forms in such manifestly 'non-concatenative' morphology would seem to call for something along the lines of Prosodic Morphology, an approach in which consonantal and vocalic melodies are segregated on separate tiers and mapped onto prosodic templates of various types (see McCarthy and Prince, Prosodic Morphology). It would be most satisfactory in the present instance to see the root-final melody element as spreading on to the final C position in the template; the terms 'copy' and 'reduplicate' are, accordingly, rather misleading. In both (a) and (b) types of internal plural there are cases where a consonant cluster in the stem remains intact: e.g. *mablo : mabloola* council(s), court(s); *gadma : gadmoomi* vixen(s), etc. These would call for special attention in a sustained analysis.

8 Corbett and Hayward (1987) present, *inter alia*, an analysis of the polarity phenomenon in the East Cushitic language Bayso.

9 Aspects of Qafar plural agreement phenomena are analysed in Corbett and Hayward 1987.

10 Language comparison suggests that this vowel may be a relic of an earlier copula.

11 The vowel length alternation in this noun results from the closed-syllable contraction process referred to in n. 1.

12 Due to the fact that all cardinal numerals are consonant-final in their absolutive forms, they all have masculine gender. The only exception to this is 'one', which is not consonant-final, and has masculine and feminine forms, e.g. *inkitto* (f.), *inkîttu* (m.).

13 From these examples it will be observed that with attributive numerals nouns appear in base rather than plural forms.

14 All forms of the paradigm based on the first person singular or on the imperative make use of reflexes of the E. Cushitic root *-*d'eħ*- 'say', while all other forms employ a somewhat disguised form of the E. Cushitic root *-*i/en* 'say, be'.

15   There is a rather special parallel with the 'complementary pairs' referred to in that section.

16   The vocalic ending of the common third-person ending is included in stems of statives when cited since, as the examples here show, the quality of this vowel varies, and, indeed, is a lexically determined feature.

17   Cf. English 'small of stature', 'hard of heart', etc. For discussion of these, see Hayward 1978, 1996.

18   This paradigm is the nearest match semantically.

19   Consideration of passivization as basically an 'intransitivizing' strategy would furnish the reverse side of this organizational scheme.

20   When the patient is expressed as the object, a causative resembles a passive in suppressing expression of the agent immediately concerned in an action. If pressed, native speakers allow an expression of the agent in sentences like this, but usually only by means of a postpositional phrase involving periphrasis – e.g. *Acmàd gabat* 'by the hand of Ahmad' (lit. 'Ahmad's hand-by').

21   There seems to be a morphologically determined constraint here, however, for I have found no clear cases of passives derived from transitivized verbs of Class I.

22   'f.o.b.' is an abbreviation for 'for one's own benefit'.

23   The autobenefactive formative in Class I often involves an underspecified consonantal prefix, which receives phonetic content by means of leftward spreading from the first stem consonant.

24   It is clear from these examples that on grounds of predictability the vocalism of the perfect has generally to be seen as lexically significant. The fact that such a generalized pattern can be abstracted is on account of the fact that the suffix conjugation (Class II) originated as a periphrastic construction in which the second element was a monosyllabic prefix conjugation verb which happened to have *e* as its vocalism in the perfect.

25   Class IIIb verbs are based inflectionally entirely on the Class II verb *hay-*, which shows some peculiarities: e.g. *gúmma-haa/ gúmma-hee* 'it dazzles/it-dazzled', but in general *hay-* does follow the inflectional pattern of Class II.

26   Unlike many of the Ethiopian Semitic languages, East Cushitic languages provide no grounds for including jussive and imperative in a single paradigm.

27   It should be noted, however, that a dialect alternative exists, in which the auxiliary *sug-* functions in an identical way to *-en. sug-* is an entirely regular Class II verb with regard to inflection.

28   Class III(a) verbs behave entirely as would be predicted: e.g. *gúmma-eɖ̱ḥeh en* 'I had become dazzled', *gúmma-inteh ten* 'you had become dazzled', etc.

29   As a modal verb the 1sg. form *liyo* usually undergoes contraction to *-yyo*, viz. *ardéyyo*. A similar contraction occurs with 2sg. and 1pl. forms, viz. *ardé-lito > ardétto, ardé-lino > ardénno*.

30   < *ardé innay*.

31   Such elements commonly contain a component deriving from the stative verb *hinn-a* 'not to be'.

32   The expression of the conditional (and many other forms) is not possible for stative verbs; the nearest equivalent expression requires the substitution of the stative lexeme by its eventive counterpart – in this case Class II

-imbid- 'wake up, become alert', thus: *yimbidék* 'if he wakes up'.

33 In addition to the primary function of spatial indexing, these forms seem to have acquired a secondary function in indexing close, intermediate and remote time.

34 It will be recalled that what would usually be regarded as 'possessive determiners' fall into the personal pronoun paradigm morphologically, cf. section 1.2.

35 On account of long vowel contraction in closed syllables, the *a* of the conjunction is not in evidence with vowel-final conjuncts. Clauses in which the verbs are indicative affirmative are simply juxtaposed, and an intonation of non-finality is associated with every verb except the last.

36 Vowels in square brackets are again epenthetic. It is not clear whether the *-m* clitic discussed here should or should not be identified morphologically with another nominalizing element *-m ~ -im* which attaches to NP modifiers (genitive NPs, relative clauses, numerals) and creates a nominalization having the meaning 'ones/things of X', where X is the modifier in question (e.g. *káy-im* 'his ones/things'). From a syntactic point of view, there would appear to be little merit in identifying them, and the allomorphy of this second clitic would require resolution; but given the wide range covered by the first clitic anyway, and given the possibility of an autonomous morphology, the task of uniting them in some insightful way remains a challenge.