

NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THEOLOGY

*A MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE
KONSO VERB WITH EMPHASIS ON THE
INFLECTION OF THE VERB*

BY
GALLO AYLATE

*A Linguistic Project Submitted To The Graduate School
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts in Translation Studies*

JULY, 2008

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Approved:

Supervisor:



Dr Steve Nicolle

Second Reader:



Dr Maik Gibson

External Reader:



Prof. Okoth Okombo

July, 2008

STUDENT'S DECLARATION

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**I declare that this is my original work and has not been submitted to any other
College or University for academic credit.**

**The views presented herein are not necessarily those of the Nairobi Evangelical
Graduate of Theology or the Examiners**

(Signed) _____



Gallo Aylate

July, 2008

ABSTRACT

This linguistic project focuses on a Morphological Analysis of the Konso verb within the tense system of the language. The project has eight chapters which deal with particular topics. The first chapter deals with general introduction about the people, the syntactic typology of the language, and the scope of the research. Chapter two focuses on an over view of the verb system of the language. Chapter three gives a brief introduction on the relationship between the tense and aspect of the language. Chapter four begins the analysis of the inflection of the verb in context of the past tense. Chapter five continues to deal with the analysis verb in the context of the present tense. Chapter six continues with the analysis of how the verbs are inflected in the future tense. In chapter seven, we briefly see how the verbs are inflected in relative clauses. In doing this analysis, tables are used to summarize the discussions. Of course, some examples are given to see the functions of tenses in the language. Finally, chapter eight summarizes what has been discussed so far.

TO

my own family members, my wife, my three sons Misgana, Bereket, and Ulfena who dedicate their time and energy to take all the responsibilities that I should have taken. The patience and concern they had when I was writing the project and other papers has encouraged me to continue my work without being worried for other responsibilities. Specially, my wife, Halge, who took all the responsibilities at home so that I could be able to concentrate only on my work, was invaluable.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	First Person
2	Second Person
3	Third person
1 SG	First Person Singular
2 PL	Second Person Plural
3 PL	Third Person Plural
DEF	Definite article
ASS	Assimilation
AUTO	Autobenefactive
CUAS	Causative
EECMY	The Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus
EOC	The Ethiopian Orthodox Church
DEM	Demonstrative
FUT	Future Tense
F	Feminine
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive
INF	Infinitive
INS	Instrumental
M	Masculine
MIDD	Middle
PASS	Passive

PRS Present

REL Relative

SIL Summer Institute of Linguistics

SNNPRS Southern, Nations, Nationalities, and People's Regional States

SOV Subject Object Verb

SUBORD. Adverbial Subordinating Morpheme

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Geographical Location

Konso is one of the culturally rich areas in Ethiopia which attracts a lot of tourists every year. According to the present decentralization policy of the country, it belongs to the Southern, Nations, Nationalities, and People's Regional States (SNNPRS). It is located in the south west of the country. Its central town, Karatti is found at about a distance of 600 kilometers from Addis Ababa, the capital city of the country. Konso is surrounded by different ethnic groups who speak different languages. These ethnic groups are Burji and Amaro in the east, Arero Zone of Oromia Regional State to the east, South Omo Zone to the West and Dirashe in the north. Topographically, Konso is characterized by hills and mountains intersected by valley, and plains. The majority of the people are living on the hill sides.

1.2. The People and its Clan Organization

According to oral literature information, there is a complex pattern of migration of the people into their present territory over the last several centuries. The people were independent in their traditional socio-political structures before they were conquered by the army of Emperor Menelik II, the northern King of Ethiopia in 1897 (Aylate 2000, 3). Kongsos are known for their terracing system which they use as a means of protecting their fields from erosion and the walls they built around their traditional towns called *pallewa*. Commonly, the people call themselves Karatta or Xonsitta.

They are patri-lineal society in which the inheritance and the political hierarchy follow the male line.

Looking at its clan structure, Kongsos have a clan based society where there are nine well known clans which are distributed all over the area. These clans are:- Sawdata, Tookimaleeta, Eelayta, Arkamayta, Paasanta, Mahaleta, Tikisayta, Keertitta, and Ishalayta. More or less one can find each clan in every village. Each clan has its own *poqalla*, the chief, in every village that carries ritual ceremonies and harmonizes the clan members both politically and religiously. Beside the clan chiefs, there are main chiefs who usually built their compounds on hills separated from normal villages. Socially, each Konso person must find his own clan wherever he goes and has to make relationship and cooperate with it.

1.3. Demographic Description

According to the recent information, the total population of the area is estimated to be 200,607 (Ganshole 2003, 8). This figure shows the people who live in the original home land. The majority of the population lives in what is called Rural Peasant Associations. Out of this total population, 96.5% is dwelling in 44 Rural Peasants Associations. The rest live in Karatti and Segen towns. These are some of the towns which are found in the area. However, there has been migration from time to time. The 2004 resettlement program of the government moved more than 2000 people from their home land to different surrounding areas. Looking back into the history, because of different reasons, Kongsos were moved outside Ethiopia to Kenya and has been settled in Marsabit. Recently some have been moved from Moyale to Nairobi and live in Kariobangi where they formed small association to keep their identity and unity.

1.4. Religious Life

Socio-culturally, the people have rich traditional heritages which need deep research and studies. In addition to their cultural heritage, because of social relationships and communication, they also share some cultural heritage with their neighboring ethnic groups. The people are culturally conservatives in keeping their culture and identity. Just before the coming of the outsiders to the area all the people were traditionalists who believed in one masculine Sky God called *waaqa*. They believe in both the existence of physical and spiritual world. They also believe in the existence of life after death, where the deceased is believed to have been gathered to his/her deceased relatives. Besides to the traditional religion, there are Coptic Christianity now known as the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (EOC) and the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus (EECMY) which was introduced through the Norwegian Lutheran Mission in 1954. EECMY is now the largest religion next to the nominal traditional religion of the area. This church comprises about 24% while the Ethiopia Orthodox Church is only 5.5%. The rest 66% is traditional religion. The rest is any other religions (Ganshole 2003, 8).

1.5. Language Use

The language is widely used in oral communication among the speakers for daily communication. However, SIL under the EECMY of the South West Synod run both Bible translation and literacy program in the area. This contributes a lot to the language development in its written form. According to the recent information, the literacy rate in first language (Konso) is below 1% and that of the second language (Amharic) is 7.2% (Raymond 2005, 116). The language for education is Amharic, the official language of the country. This language is the just school language and language of

communication with non-Konso speakers. It is used also used by the elites, town dwellers, and non- Konso but not spoken by common people.

1. 6. Phonology and Orthography

Konso has 21 consonants which can be short or long. When they are long, they are doubled in writing. The following table shows the IPA symbols for the consonant phonemes.

Table. 1. Konso consonants phonemes

Manner of Articulation	Place of Articulation							
	labial	Labio dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post Alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
plosives	p		t̪		c		k	ʔ
implosives	ɓ			d		ɟ	ɡ	
Central fricatives (flat)		f					x	h
Central fricatives (Grooved)				s	ʃ			
nasals	m			n		ɲ	ŋ	
trills				r				
lateral approximants				l				
Central approximants	w					j		

The language also has five vowels a, e, i, o, and u which can also be short and long.

The vowels are symmetrically balanced by the central vowel *a* as indicated in the following table.

Table. 2. The vowel phonemes

	front	central	back
	unround	unround	round
Close	i		u
mid-close	e		o
Open		a	

Most Konso literature like the Konso New Testament and other religious, cultural, and few educational materials which were produced by the church (EECMY) exist in Ethiopic script. But recently the people have decided on the Latin Script for writing. The following table shows the orthographic symbols for both the consonants and the vowels. When the phonemes are lengthened, they are followed by (:) and in the graphemes column the symbols are doubled as we can see in table 3 below.

Table .3. Phonemes and graphemes

Phonemes	Graphemes	Phonemes	Graphemes	phonemes	Graphemes
/p/	P	/f/	f	/w/	w
/p:/	Pp	/f:/	ff	/w:/	ww
/t/	T	/s/	s	/l/	l
/t:/	Tt	/s:/	ss	/l:/	ll
/c/	Ch	/ʃ/	sh	/r/	r
/c:/	Cch	/ʃ:/	ssh	/r:/	rr
/k/	K	/x/	x	/j/	y
/k:/	Kk	/x:/	xx	/j:/	yy
/b/	Bh	/h/	h	/a/	a
/b:/	Bbh	/h:/	hh	/a:/	aa
/d/	D	/m/	m	/e/	e
/d:/	Dd	/m:/	mm	/e:/	ee
/ɟ/	J	/n/	n	/i:/	i
/ɟ:/	Jj	/n:/	nn	/i:/	ii
/g/	Q	/ɲ/	ny	/o/	o
/g:/	Qq	/ɲ:/	nny	/o:/	oo
/ʔ/	ʔ	/ŋ/	n	/u/	u
/ʔ:/	ʔʔ			/u:/	uu

Note: In this paper, I will use the orthographic symbols in my data analysis.

1.7. Dialect

The language is divided into five local dialects such as Karatti, Takkadi, Xolme, Tuuro, and Pa'aati dialects. There are no grammatical differences and difficulties of misunderstandings among them.

1.8. Syntactic Typology and the Order of the Constituents

Konso is a Cushitic language of the lowland East Cushitic Language which belongs to the large Afro-Asiatic family which has its own features. Syntactically, Konso is an SOV language where the subject usually comes before the object if there is one as we

can see in (1); adverbial clauses usually come before the main clauses as in (2).

Similarly, the infinitives come before the finite verb as we can see in example (3).

- (1) Inna aanna iki - ni.
Child milk drink- PRS.

‘A child drinks/is drinking milk.’

- (2) Oto dee- t- o - yye, ishi padaw- a.
When come-3F - PST. PRTC - SUBORD. 3SG. DAT. add- 2PL.IMP.

‘When she came, add (some) for her’

- (3) Misgana piifa dam- eeta faa- ni
Misgana lunch eat - INF. want- PRS.

‘Misgana wants to eat lunch’

As indicated in the following examples, demonstrative adjectives are suffixed to the head noun of the sentence rather than the modifiers of the head noun as one can differentiate from the examples (4) and (5). When the head noun ends with *-a*, the final vowel *a* of the head noun changes into *o* before the demonstrative adjective marker come as one can be see in examples (4) and (5).

- (4) lwall- ose- n maana dam- e- n?
Cattle- DEM- PL. what eat- PST- PL?

‘What did these cattle eat?’

- (5) lwall- ose- n kukutta maana dam- e- n?
Cattle- DEM- PL big (ones) what eat- PST-PL.

‘What did these big cattle eat?’

The definite article is also suffixed to the head noun. However, unlike the demonstrative adjective, the definite article does not affect the final vowel *a* of the head noun. Like the demonstrative adjective, it has both singular and the plural forms as we can see in the following examples.

- (6) nama-se a xala hale- t- etin disi.
Man-DEF.REL. yesterday call- 2- PST. look there.

‘The man you called yesterday is over there.’

- (7) kaway-a- se- ne a- paleeta i- harmis- am- e- n.
 Stone wall- DEF- PL. GEN - village³- prepare- PASS- PST- PL.

‘The stone walls of the village were prepared.’

1.9. Previous Studies on the Language

Konso being a language widely used in oral communication does not have enough written materials like grammar books and dictionaries. However, there are some research that have been done on the language so far by some linguists. Among them, Paul Black (1973) has produced draft on Konso phonology. Ronald James Sim also wrote his MA thesis on Konso phonology and morphology of the word in 1977, where he more advanced the study on the phonology and morphology of the Konso Word. The Konso New Testament translation advisor, Miss. Mirijami Uusitalo has also contributed a lot to the language development. One of her contributions is discourse features outline (2003) where she has listed some recent works which have been done so far on the language (Uusitalo 2003, 1). I could not get access to all these works to utilize them for my research.

1.10. The Goal and the scope of the Research

The focus of this research is verbal morphology as it is realized with the absolute and relative forms of the three main tenses: Past, Present, and Future. I will describe how these tenses are encoded within the verb system. The verbs are affected when they are inflected for grammatical person, gender, and number in many cases. I will also describe the ways in which voices and negations are marked within the system of the verb morphology.

1.10.1. Significance

From the bibliographies that I have come across and the works cited by other linguists, I realized that less attention has been paid to the topic of my research and I have found it is relevant to address it. The ignorance of the topic and my personal interest have motivated me to do this research on the area. I believe that this research will contribute to the development of the language grammar as well as to the ongoing work of the Konso Old Testament translation. This research will focus primarily on the morphological features of the Konso verbs within the tense system of the language rather than syntactic aspects.

1.10.2. Methodology

In my analysis, I use typological functional approach of analysis (Payne 2004). The data I use in this research project mainly depend on my personal knowledge as a native speaker of the language and the experiences I gained during the time I was in the Konso New Testament translation project. The knowledge I have gained in linguistics classes on the language at NEGST will also contribute a lot to the work. I also use some written Konso stories, folktales, and other available resources.

1.10.3. Limitation

The time limit for the research and lack of access to all the written and oral resources has limited me to focus only on the morphological analysis of the Konso verb within the absolute and relative forms of the three main tenses: past, present, and future. It is also my hope that this research will pave a way for future further studies on the area.

CHAPTER TWO

OVERVIEW NOTES ON THE VERB SYSTEM AND PREVERBAL SUBJECT MARKER

The aim of this chapter is to have an overview survey of the verb system even though the exhaustive treatment of the verb system is beyond the scope of this chapter. But since in Konso tenses are morphologically encoded on the verb, it is essential to have an overview introduction on the verb system at this level. In addition to the tense marking on the verb, the subject of the verb for its number, person, and gender is also marked on the verb. This is what we will see more in detail in the following chapters. Especially, the tables will give full details about this. Before closing the chapter, I will mention some points about the preverbal subject marker.

2.1. Definition of the verb

Before dealing with some important features of the nature of the verbs of the language, it is important to define what the verb is all about in relation to tense. In different linguistics studies, different linguists may define the verb differently. Crystal for example defines the verb as:

“... an element which can display morphological contrast of tense, aspect, mood, person and number” (Crystal 1994, 371- 372).

This definition of the verb is used in the Konso verb system.

2.2. Characteristics of the Konso verb

In Konso various categories such as subject, mood, and tense are indicated on the verb. A Konso verb consists minimally of a stem, representing the lexical meaning of the

verb, and a suffix, representing tense or subject agreement in its inflected form. So, any finite verb in Konso conveys tense as we can see from examples (8) and (9). In example (10) we can see how the imperative mood is indicated for both the singular and plural second persons. Konso marks the subject number on the verb as we can see in (8), where it is located after the tense marker *-a* since *inna*, ‘son, child’ grammatically take plural number.

(8) Inn- aadi parri de- a- n
 Son-3 SG. GEN tomorrow come- FUT- PL

‘His son will come tomorrow’

(9) Isheetta dama anqal- t- e
 She food cook- 3F- PST.

‘She cooked food.’

(10) a) xooy- e. b) xooy- a
 come- 2 SG. IMP come- 2 PL.IMP.

‘Come!’

‘Come!’

2.3. Types of the Verbs

In Konso, verb roots can begin either with a vowel (11), or a consonant (12), or they can also end with vowels as indicated in (13) in the following examples. The last parts of the root are the infinitives marker of the verb class according to my analysis.

(11) uum- eeta (12) xasoo- tt-a (13) paldi-ss-a
 Create- INF. be happy-MIDD-INF make-CAUS-INF.

‘to create’

‘to become happy’

‘to make wide’

From the above examples we can categorize the verb classes into three types according to their nature. For the middle voice and causative verbs, the markers of the voice undergo certain morphological changes when inflected for tense and mood. They are also affected for the grammatical person, gender, and number. These three groups of

verbs are the main ones which I will focus on in my morphological analysis of the verb. A sample of list of each verb class is found in Appendix A at the back of the book.

2.3.1. The Ordinary Verbs

In general, ordinary verbs whether transitive verbs like *dam-eeta* ‘to eat’ or intransitive verbs like *keer-eeta* ‘to run’, fall under this category. The common property of these verbs is that they share an infinitive ending-*eeta*. These verb classes drop the infinitive suffix when inflected for tense. Tense markers and grammatical person, gender, and number markers come at the end of the verb root. More details about these grammatical categories will be dealt in the following chapters as we continue to deal with the morphological analysis of the verb for tense and person.

2.3.2. The Causative Verbs

This group comprises the causative marker-*ss*-and the –infinitive marker-*a* as we can see in example (14) below. The causative marker consonants -*ss*- goes under some phonological change when inflected for tense and different grammatical person, gender and number. For example, in past tense, the -*ss*- changes into -*sh*- for first person singular, third person masculine singular, and third person plural. For first person plural it is dropped out while for the remaining persons it remains as root final (see table 11). For the present or continuous tense the -*ss*- drops out completely as indicated in table 15 below. In the future tense, the -*ss*- becomes -*sh*- for first person singular, third person masculine singular and the third person plural. For the second person Singular, third feminine singular and second plural -*ss*- remains unchanged (table 21). It is only for the third person feminine singular that the -*ss*- remains unchanged. I could not find any reason for that for a time being. The -*eeta* intransitive verbs such as

keer-eeta ‘to run’ as in (15) when they take a causative marker *-ss-* and its infinitive marker *-a*, it becomes transitivized. In a similar way, transitive verbs like *dam-eeta* ‘to eat’ becomes causativized when the causative marker *-ss-* and its infinitive marker *-a* are added to the root as we can see in (16) below.

- | | | | | | |
|------|---|------|--|------|--|
| (14) | paldi- ss- a
wide-CAUS- INF.

‘to make wide’ | (15) | keeri-ss-a
run- CAUS-INF

‘to cause to run’ | (16) | dami- ss- a
eat- CAUS-INF.

‘to feed’ |
|------|---|------|--|------|--|

The vowel *-i* in (15) and (16) is just added to the root since the language’s phonological rule does not allow three consonants in row without any vowel insertion. The roots of the above verbs are: *pald-* ‘wide’, *keer-* ‘run’, and *dam-* ‘eat’ respectively.

2.3. 3. *The Middle Voices*

The middle voices in Konso take their voice marker *-tt-* after the root of the verb before the infinitive marker *-a* comes at the end of the verb. Semantically speaking, in middle voices the subject is mainly affected or benefited by the action or the state of the situation. The usage of the middle voice may vary from language to language but there a common function to all. Saeed confirms this when he says:

As we might expect, the use of middle voice varies from language to language, but a central feature is that middle forms emphasize that the subject of the verb is affected by the action described by the verb (Saeed, 1997, 162).

These verbs show some characteristics when they are inflected. For examples, in imperatives, the *-tt-* changes into *-d-* before the subject suffix *-o* for the second singular imperative and *-a* for the second plural imperative is added (See table 4 below).

Table. 4. The table of imperative mood

verb class	2 SG	2 PL
keer-eeta 'run-INF'	keer- e run-2SG. IMP.	keer- a run-2PL.IMP
paldi-ss-a 'wide-CAUS-INF'	pasldi-sh- e wide- CAUS- 2SG IMP.	pasldi- sh-a wide- CAUS.- 2PL IMP.
xasoo-tt-a 'to be happy-MIDD-INF'	xasso-d-o be happy-.MIDD- 2SG IMP.	xasso-d-a be happy- MIDD-.2PL IMP.

The middle voice include the verbs of feelings/ sensation like the one in (17), of desire as in (18), that of cognition as in (19), of existence as in (20), that of possession as in (21), and adjectival verb as in (22) and the copula verb as in (23) as we can see from the table below. Most of the roots of these verbs end in *-a* as we can see in the table

Table .5. Table of Stative verbs

No.	Verb root- MIDD-INF	Meaning
(17)	daaka-tt-a	'to be heard, to feel'
(18)	heena-tta	'to desire, wish'
(19)	upna-tta	'to know'
(20)	kalla-tta	'to live'
(21)	qapna-tta	'to have. possess'
(22)	kappa-tta	'to become fat'
(23)	cha-tta	'to be'

2.4. Derivation

The following derivations can be formed from some root of the verbs.

2.4.1. Passive Voice

The Konso passive voice corresponds closely to the English passive in function. It is formed by adding the suffix *-am-* before the infinitive *-eeta* for *-eeta* verb classes as indicated in (24). For *-tta* and *-ssa* verb classes as indicated in (25) and (26), we can see that the passive marker comes after the reduction of the consonants *-t* and *-s* in *-tta* and *-ssa* class verbs in the passive derivation process. There is a reduction of *-t* and an *-s* before the passive marker is added. But I could not find the reason behind the reduction of these consonants. The final vowel *a* in the active infinitive is also dropped out before the passive marker is added. When all the verb classes are passivised, they take the same infinitive ending *-eeta* as indicated in the table below.

Table .6. The derivation of passive voice

No.	Active infinitive	Verb root-PASS-.INF
(24)	dink-eeta 'kiss-INF'	dink-am-eeta 'kiss-PASS-INF.'
(25)	Paldi-ss-a 'made-CAUS-INF.'	paldi-s- am-eeta 'wide-CAUS-PASS- INF.'
(26)	Upna-tta 'know-INF'	upnat-am-eeta 'know-PASS- INF'

Most middle voices do not form passive voice. In Konso, the agent of the action is not important to be mentioned in the passive construction. More about passive voice inflection will be discussed in the following chapters.

2.4.2. Indirect Causative

The Konso indirect causative of a verb gives the corresponding meaning 'to make or cause someone to do something'. The derivation can be formed by adding the suffix *-acchis-* at the end of root of the verb and transitivizes both transitive and intransitive verbs. Note also that when the root of the verb ends in *-a*, it is only the suffix *-cchis-* is added into the root as indicated in example (29).

Table .7. Derivation of indirect causative forms of the verb

No.	verb-CAUS.-INF.	meaning
(27)	dink-acchis-eeta	‘to cause to kiss’
(28)	pald-acchis-eeta	‘to cause to make wide’
(29)	upna-cchis-eeta	‘to cause to know’
(30)	Keer-acchis-eeta	‘to cause to run’

2.4.3. *Autobenefactive*

In its category, autobenefactive is a type of middle voice. Saeed defines it as follows:

This type of middle voice is used to express that the action of the subject is done for his or her own benefit (Saeed 1997, 163).

The Konso autobenefactive of a verb clearly meet this definition. It can be roughly translated into equivalent English ‘to do something for oneself’. It is formed by adding the vowel *-a-* before the middle voice marker *-tt-* comes. Note that for the causatives or *-ss-* verb classes, the autobenefactive marker *-a* comes after the degemination of an *-s-* from the causative marker *-ss-* as we can see in the following table before its middle voice marker *-tt-*. Both transitive and intransitive verbs can autobenefactived. Autobenefactive is largely derived from the transitive and causative verbs. When they inflect for tense and mood, the conjugation follow the pattern of the middle voice for all grammatical persons, number and gender and share similar phonological properties.

Table .8. Derivation of autobenefactive

No.	Infinitive form of other verbs	Infinitive form of autobefactive
(31)	dink-eeta kiss-INF	dink-a- tt-a kiss-AUTO-MIDD-INF
(32)	paldi-ss-a wide-CAUS-.INF.	Palidi-s-a- tta wide-CAUS-AUTO-MIDD
(33)	keer-eeta run-INF.	Keer-a- tt-a run-AUTO- MIDD-INF.

2.4.4 . Reduplication

The last derivational category of the Konso verb system is that of the reduplication. In reduplication process, when the verb begins with a consonant it generally follows a form like *X-XX-*, where *X* is the initial consonant of the first syllable of the verb stem and *-XX* is the reduplicated part. For the verbs that begin with vowels, rather than doubling the vowel, it employs the glottal stop instead of geminating the vowel. In the reduplication process, the resulting stem expresses repetition, intensity, distribution, hastiness, or frequentative of events or actions expressed by the verbs.

Table .9. Sample of reduplication process

No.	1 st SYL- REDUP- SYLL- INF.	meaning
(34)	di- <i>ddi</i> - nk- eeta 1 st SYL- REDUP- SYLL- INF	‘to kiss hastily’
(35)	pa- <i>ppa</i> -ldi-ss- a 1 st SYL- REDUP- SYLL- CAUS-INF.	‘to widen quickly’
(36)	xa- <i>xxa</i> -soo-tt-a 1 st SYL- REDUP- SYLL- MIDD-INF.	‘to be happy several times’
(37)	u -ʔ-uum-eeta 1 st SYL- REDUP- SYLL- INF.	‘to create many times’

These reduplicated verbs follow the same form for inflectional pattern of the main verb according to the nature of the verb ending for tense and mood.

2. 5. The Preverbal Subject Marker

I have already mentioned that in Konso verbs are inflected for grammatical person, number, and gender. In all short utterances where there is no other constituents like direct object or indirect object other than the subject of the sentence as indicated in examples (38), (39), and (40), the preverbal subject marker is indicated on the finite verb.

(38) Anti in- de- a
 I 1- come- FUT

‘I will come’

(39) Isheeta i- dam- t - e
 She 3- eat- F - PST.

‘She came /has come’

(40) Atti i-ʔ- uum- mi-
 You (SG.) 2-SG - create- PRS.

‘You are creating’

The Konso preverbal subject marker is movable and thus when there is a direct object or any element before the verb; it can be attached at different positions to the preceding constituents depending on its different pragmatic roles. For example when the direct object is not emphasized, the third and second person preverbal subject marker *i* is dropped out as we can see in (41). But if it is focused, the *i* appears before the direct object to indicate emphasis as we see in example (42). In similar manner, the *i* of the first person in *in* of the preverbal subject marker in affirmative utterance disappears and only the *-n* is suffixed to the preverbal constituent as we can see in example (43). In this example, *karma* ‘the lion’ is the direct object of the sentence. In these examples neither the direct object nor the exampleverb is in focus.

- (41) Ishootta pisha orapi- ni
They water fetch- PRS.

‘They fetch / are fetching water’

- (42) Ishootta i-pisha orapi- ni
They 3 FOC-water fetch- PRS.

‘They fetch / are fetching water’

- (43) Ino karma- n ika- ni- nna
We lion -1 kill- PRS-1PL.

‘We kill/ are killing a lion’

Similarly, the *i* in the *in* of the negative utterance of the third person disappears and only the *-n* is suffixed to the object as in (44). However, if the negation of the action is in focus, it comes on the verb as indicated in example (45). Here the full third person preverbal negative marker fully appears in preverbal position of the negated verb.

- (44) Kussia koda- n koo- n- e
Kussia work- 3NEG work- NEG- PST.

‘Kussia did not do the work.’

- (45) Koyyittetik- opa in- dee- n- e
Koyyitthpuse- to NEG- come-NEG - PST.

‘Koyyitte did not come (to) home.’

In the third person, the negative marker *in* never comes before the preverbal constituent. the *-n* of the negative marker is suffixed to the object in normal utterance or appears before the verb if the action of the verb is in focus as we can see in the following examples (a) and (b) of (46).

- (46) a) Teykane tika- n qup - o.
Teykane house-3NEG build- FUT. NEG.

‘Teykane will not build a house.’

- b) Teykane tika in- qup- o.
Teykane house 3 NEG - build- FUT. NEG.

‘Teykane will not build a house.’

But in the first and the second persons as indicated in the examples (47) and (48), the negative marker *an* for the first person and *a* for the second person can come either before the verb as in (47a) or before the object and the verb of the sentence at the same time as indicated in (47b) depending on the pragmatic function it plays in the sentence. Here in (47b), both the direct object *dama* ‘food’ and the verb *dam-* ‘eat’ are emphasized.

(47) a) Anti dama an dam- o.
I (NOM) food 1_{NEG} eat- FUT. NEG

‘I will not eat food.’

b) Anti an dama an dam- o.
I (NOM) 1_{NEG} food NEG eat- FUT. NEG

‘I do not eat food.’

(48) a) Atti a karma a ika- nn - e
You (SG.) 2_{NEG} lion 2_{NEG} kill- NEG - PST.

‘You did not kill a lion.’

b) Atti a karma a ika- nn- e
You (SG.) 2_{NEG.} lion 2_{NEG} kill- NEG - PST.

‘You did not kill a lion.’

However, when there is an indirect object to which the subject performs an action, the preverbal subject marker *-i* changes into *-e* when the noun phrase ends in vowels like *-a*, *-e*, *-o*, and *-u* and functions as a direct object indicator we see in (49). But when the final vowel of the noun of the indirect object (here Pawloosi) ends with *-i*, the *i* of the preverbal subject marker remains unchanged when it is suffixed to the indirect object as we see in (50). Here I use the symbol (-) between the identical vowels to show that the two vowels are pronounced independently as two different syllables. Similarly, the *-i* in the *-in* of the first person changes into *-e* and the *-n* remains unchanged as we see in example (51) below.

- (49) Misgana Ulfena- e damta daa- sh- e
 Misgana Ulfena- PREV. food give- CAUS- 3MS. SG. PST.

‘Misgana gave food to Ulfena’

- (50) Ishina Pawloosi- i xopa pididi- ni- tan
 You Paul- PREV shoes buy- PRS- 2PL.

‘You are buying shoes for Paul’

- (51) Anti Teykanto- e- n kodatteeta daa-sh- a
 I Teykanto- PREV-1 property give- CAUS- 1SG. FUT.

‘I will give the property to Teykanto.’

Both the positive and negative subject preverbal markers can be summarized as follows.

Table .10. Subject person marker

Person	1SG.	2SG.	3M.SG.	3 F.SG.	1 PL.	2 PL.	3 PL.
pronoun	anti	Atti	isha	sheetta	ino	ishina	ishootta
positive	in	i	i	i	in	i	i
negative	an	A	in	in	an	a	in

2.6. Summary

So far, we have seen the nature of the verbs and their derivations. We have also seen the preverbal subject maker and its functions in different pragmatic contexts which of course still need further studies. The introductory notes in this chapter will help us as we advance in this research of the morphological analysis of the verb form within the main tenses system of the of the language. Based on the main verb classes and the grammatical person, I will use a paradigm to analyze the verb system.

CHAPTER THREE

TENSE AND ASPECT

Tense and aspect are closely related categories which are usually difficult to distinguish one from the other especially when a language does not mark them differently. Konso is one of the Languages which does not mark aspect differently from the tense. Konso has three basic tenses: the past tenses, the present tense, and the future tense. These three tenses differ from one another by their forms and meanings. My hypothesis is that Tenses, aspects and other complex tenses are not marked morphologically and do not exist in from, but interpreted from the tense by the use of adverbial words and some lexical strategies. So, I will show this by examples and confirm that Konso is tense based system language but the aspectual meaning is interpreted from the tense by using adverbials and the context provided.

3.1. Definition

Aspect and tense are much related grammatical categories and usually are very difficult to make any distinctions. Many people have defined tense and aspect in relation to each other. One of them is Saeed who explains aspect and tense as follows:

Tense and aspect system both allow speakers to relate to time, but they offer different slants on time. Tense allows a speaker to locate a situation to relative some point in time, most likely the time of speaking. Aspect systems allow speakers to relate situations and time, but instead of fixing situations in time relative to the act of speaking like tense does, aspect allows speakers to view an event in various ways: as complete, or incomplete, as so short as to something repeated over a period (Saeed 2004, 124-125, 126).

To make these distinctions clear, different language use different strategies. For example English use auxiliary verbs like ‘has, have’ and the different forms of the verb ‘to be’ to differentiate aspect and form tense.

(52) He has come (53) They are eating their lunch

The meaning of example (52) is that he has come and as a result of his coming he is still here while example (53) shows that the action is in progress at the moment of speaking.

But in example (54) below, the action of coming was completed and has no relevance at the point of speaking while (55) carries the habitual action, the act of eating every day.

(54) He came yesterday (55) They eat their lunch

In contrast to these examples, Konso has only three main tenses that are morphologically marked on the verb. In the following, I will brief how the tenses are used in different contexts and give aspectual meaning though there is no special morphological marker for aspects and other complex tenses.

3.2. The Past Tense

This tense is marked by a morphological vowel *-e* on the verb. The action expressed by this tense form may have taken place a long time ago or just before the moment of speaking. What matters is the completion of the action which took place before the time of speaking. When time adverbials are used, they only indicate the remoteness or proximity of the action that took place otherwise there is no grammatical or morphological sign to indicate the length of the time at which the action took place. Look at the following examples.

- (56) Xuum- ose para kuma lakki turanne lel-am- e.
 Prophecy-DEM. year thousand two before tell-PASS- PST.

‘This prophecy was told two thousand years ago’

- (57) Ishootta amma asu taw- e- n
 They now just leave- PST-PL.

‘They just left now.’

- (58)) Kussia helanna are- pa de- e.
 Kussia earlier here- to come-PST.

‘Kussia has already come/ came to here.’

- (59) Ishoonna xalayye Teyakanto saara reexa- d- e- n
 They yesterday Teykanto leader choose- MIDD- PST- PL.

‘They chose / have chosen/ Teykanto yesterday as a leader’

Here, the basic morphological marker of the past tense or completed actions as we can see from the above examples is *-e* which is suffixed to the verb slightly at different positions depending on the subject of the sentence. More details about the inflection of the verbs for the tense will be given in the next chapter where I will give more information about the verb inflection in the context of the past tense. Generally, the Konso past tense can either be translated into English simple past or perfect tense.

3.3. The Present Tense

Any action which is started some moment ago before the time of speaking and still is under process is expressed by this tense. Basically, it is marked by a morpheme *-ni* or *-nni* depending on the nature of the verb. More details will be provided below in chapter five of this work concerning how different verbs are inflected with in the different types of the verbs. In its different contextual occurrences, the Konso Present Tense can convey different meanings.

First, it can convey an idea which has an equivalent meaning to simple present tense or present continuous tense of English depending on the context of the utterance.

- (60) Ishoota haarta daa- nni .
 They pool swim- PRS.

‘They are swimming/swim in the pool.’

Secondly, habitual actions can also be expressed by this tense by using some temporal adverbials as we can see from the following example.

- (61) Kutano letta pisa telefisioneta too-ni.
 Kutano sun all Television watch-PRS.

‘Kutano watches television every day.’

Thirdly, to make clearer what is happening at the moment of speaking, temporal adverbials like *amma* ‘now’ is used as one can see in (62).

- (62) Ishoota amma haarta daa- nni .
 They now pool swim- PRS. .

‘They are swimming in the pool now.’

Fourthly, general truths or the scientific facts can also be expressed by this tense as one can see from the following examples.

- (63) para i-dée-ni ka tarpi-ni
 Year 3-come-PRS and pass-PRS.

‘A year comes and passes away.’

- (64) nama idela-nnika too-ni.
 man 3-bear-PRS and die-PRS.

‘A man is born and dies.’

Finally, habitual actions in the past can also be expressed by this tense. But the context should be provided by the time adverbs like *xatta*, ‘in the past’ to make clear that the action used to happen in the past as habitual action.

- (65) Isha xatta lwalla siki- nni.
I in the past cattle graze- PRS.

‘In the past I used to graze/ was grazing/ the cattle.’

- (66) Dakaaccha xattayye harqeeta iki- ni.
Dakaaccha in past alcohol drink- PRS.

‘Dakaaccha used to drink alcohol in the past.’

Generally speaking, the present tense is used to express the continuous, habitual actions both in that past and present as well as general truths.

3.4. The Future Tense

The future tense is the tense which is used to express any action which takes place after the moment of speaking to definite or indefinite time in the future. Basically it has an equivalent meaning of the English simple future. The remoteness and the proximity of the time of the action can be simply indicated by the time adverbs if the context needs more clarification as we can see in the following examples.

- (67) Shakkayya amma dee - t- a
Shakkayya now come - 3F- FUT.

‘Shakkayya will come now.’

- (68) Ishonna parra lekaya kammayye de- a - n
They years many after come- FUT- PL.

‘They will come after many years’

- (69) Letta saateta lakki kammayye in- dum- t- o.
Sun hour two after 3NEG-set-3F - FUT. NEG.

‘The sun will not set down after two hours.’

As we can see from these examples, the affirmative form of the future tense is marked by the morpheme *-a* while the negative is marked by *-o* as we see in example (69).

There is no any way of marking the future tense to indicate the actions which are going

to happen in the near future or distant future. More details about the inflection of the verbs for future tense and more examples will be given in chapter six of this paper.

3.5. Conclusion

From the above discussion, as far as the tenses and their forms are concerned, the language seems basically tense based language. So, according to my analysis, Konso seems a language which primarily marks for tense rather than for aspect. Coming to this conclusion concerning the relationship of tense and aspect, now, I will concentrate on my topic which is the Morphological Analysis of the Konso Verb within the context of these basic tenses of the language in the following chapters.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PAST TENSE

In the previous chapter, I briefly discussed the different functions of the tenses in different contexts of utterances. In this chapter, I will continue to work more on the past tense by paying more attention to the inflection of the verbs in the context of this tense.

4.1. Introduction

Before proceeding to discussion, let's have a brief introduction to the concept of the tense since tenses have a close relation to time and verbs. In many linguistics works, one can find different definitions to the concept of tense in relation to time concept.

Crystal, for example, in relation to verb defines tense as follows:

Tense is a category used in the grammatical description of verbs (along with aspect and mood), referring primarily to the way the grammar marks the time at which the action denoted by the verb took place (Crystal 1994, 348).

Other linguists, like Saeed define tense by relating it to a deictic system and puts the definition as follows:

Tense is said to be a deictic system, since the reference point for the system is usually the act of speaking. Deictic systems are the ways in which a speaker relates references to space and time to the 'here and now' of utterance. Most grammatical tense systems allow the speaker to describe situations as prior to, concurrent with or following the act of speaking (Saeed 2004, 125).

Based on these basic definitions, I will represent the three basic tenses on a horizontal straight line so that it could be easy to understand their basic concepts. The middle point on the line will be considered as the point of moment of speaking and the past will be represented to the left of the point O. The future tense will be of course located to the right side of the point. The figure is adapted from Saeed (Saeed 2004, 125).

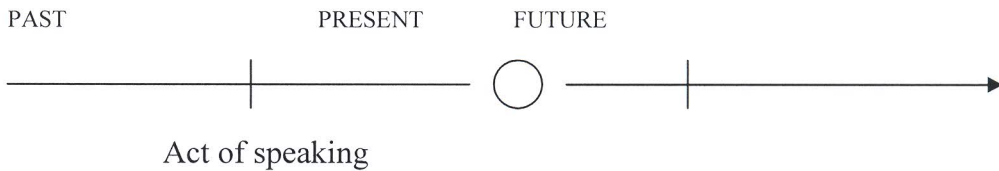


Fig.1. Representation of events on time

4.2. Kinds of Tenses

As it has been already mentioned above, we can say that Konso has three basic tenses which are morphologically marked on the verb. As we can see from the diagram above, these are the past tense, present tense, and the future tense.

4.3. The Past Tense

From the above diagram, what is happened or done prior to the moment of speaking is expressed by the past tense. The the tense marker is suffixed to the finite verb of the sentence. The action may have occurred a long time ago as in (70) or just before the moment of speaking as indicated in (71). Generally speaking, in dealing with the tense system, time adverbials can be used as indicated in examples (70) and (71) or absent as we can see from example (73). Apart from the time adverbs, there is no grammatical sign to indicate the remoteness or the proximity of the action that happened in past time.

(70) Haaso-se-n para kuma turanne haasaw-am-e-n.
 Speech-DEM- PL. year thousand before speak-PASS- PST.PL

‘These words were spoken a thousand years ago’

(71) Ishootta amma asu taw- e- n
 They now just leave- PST-PL.

‘They have just left’

- (73) Kuta swa dam-e.
Dog meat eat- PST

‘A dog ate the meat’

4.3.1. The Marker of the Past Tense

In Konso, the basic morphological marker for past tense is *-e*, which is suffixed to the verb at slightly different positions for different persons that are marked on the final part of the finite verb. For the first person singular and third person masculine singular, the tense mark comes at the end of the root of the verb for *-eeta* verb classes as we can see from examples (74) and (75) below. In the past construction, the infinitive part *-eeta* is dropped out before the tense marker comes.

- (74) Anti appuyati- nno- n hal- e
I uncle-1 PL. GEN-1 call- PST

‘I called my uncle.’

- (75) Isha tik- opa aan- e.
He home- to go- PST.

‘He went (to) home’

But for the causative verbs, the consonants *-ss-* changes into *-sh-* before the tense marker come. In the same manner, for the middle voices, the voice *-tt-* changes into *-d-* before the tense marker comes for the first person singular and the third person masculine singular as indicated in examples (76) and (77) below.

- (76) Anti dula- se in- paldi-sh- e.
I field- DEF 1- widen- CAUS- PST.

‘I widened the field’

- (77) Kuyyittaharmoe xassoo-d- e
Kuyyitta very become happy- MIDD- PST.

‘Kuyyitta was very happy.’

For the second person singular and plural, the tense marker comes after the person marker *-t-* for *-eeta verbs* but *for* middle voices it comes after the *-tt-* as we can from the following examples. Remember that the second person singular doubles the initial consonant of the verb just after the person marker *i*. Most of the time, the *i* disappears as we can see in second and third persons for example in (78) where there subject of the verb is the second person singular, the consonant is doubled in utterances of motion toward certain location.

- (78) Atti tik-opa k- keer- t- e
 You (SG) home-to 2SG -run-2- PST.

‘You ran to home.’

- (79) Ishina xalayye arreppa- e nessa- tt- e- n.
 You yesterday here-PREV rest- 2MIDD- PST- PL.

‘Yesterday you rested here.’

For the third feminine singular the tense marker appears after the gender marker *-t-* for *-eeta* verb classes while it appears after *-tt-* for the middle voices. For the causative verbs, it comes after the casusative suffix *-ss-*. This can be easily realized from table 11 below across the row of the third person feminine singular. For first person plural, the infinitive marker *-eeta* for transitive and intransitive verbs and the middle voice marker *-tt-* and the causative marker *-ss-* for causative verbs are dropped out and replaced by the plural marker *-n-* or *-nn-* respectively. The second and third person plural marker *-n* comes at the end of the finite verb just after the past tense marker as we can see from the table below.

Table .11. The Past Tense Marker in the affirmative form

person	dink- eeta 'to kiss'	paldi-ss- a ' 'wide-CAUS-INF'	xassoo-tt-a 'to become happy-MIDD-INF.'
1 SG.	in - dink-e 1- kiss- PST	in - paldi -sh- e 1-wide-CAUS- PST	in- xasoo- d- e 1-become happy-MIDD- PST
2 M.SG.	i- d-dink- t- e 2-SG -kiss- 2- PST	i- p-paldi -ss- e 2-SG -wide-CAUS-PST	i- x- xasoo - tt- e 2-SG- become happy-MIDD- PST
3 M.SG.	i- dink- e 3- kiss- PST	i- paldi-sh- e 3- wide- CAUS. SG- PST	i- xasoo- d- e 3- become happy-MIDD- PST.
3 F.SG.	i- dinki- t- e 3-kiss- F.SG- PST	i- paldi- ss- e 3-wide- CAUS- PST	i - xasoo - tt- e 3-become happy-F.SG MIDD- PST
1 PL.	in- dinki- n- e 1-kiss -PL- PST.	in - paldi- nn- e 1-wide-PL- PST	in- xasoo - nn- e 1-become happy- PL- PST
2 PL.	i- dinki- t- e- n 2-kiss-2-PST- PL.	i - paldi- ss- e- n 2- wide-CAUS-PST-PL.	i - xasoo - tt- e- n 2-become happy-MIDD- PST- PL.
3 PL.	i- dink- e - n 3-kiss- PST- PL.	i - paldi- sh- e - n 3-wide-CAUS.- PST- PL.	i- xasoo- d- e - n 3-kiss- .MIDD- PST- PL.

As we have seen above, in simple utterances the preverbal subject marker appears on the verb without being affected as we see in the table above where the subject of the sentence is indicated by preverbal subject marker on the verb. But when constituents are added before the finite verb, the person marker *i* is dropped out under normal utterance situation as we can see from examples (80) and (82). But the *-n* in the *-in* of the first person remains undropped. It is usually attached to the preverbal constituent as we can see in example (81). Here it is attached to the object (*dama-n*). In examples (80) and (82), the preverbal *i* of the third person and second plural of the subjects of the sentences is simply dropped out since there is no pragmatically motivated element in the sentence.

- (80) Ishootta dul- opa sooka-d- e- n
 They field- to go to field- MIDD-PST- PL.

‘They went to the field’

- (81) Ino xalayye dama- n dam- m- e
 We yesterday food-1 eat- 1PL.ASS- PST.

‘Yesterday we ate food’

- (82) Ishina loqta dink- t- e- n
 You (PL) foot kiss- 2- PST- PL.

‘You kissed the foot.’

Still there are occasions where the marker moves before an element which is focused in the sentence. For in examples (83) and (86) the first person marker *in* and the third person *i* come before the object *inna*, ‘son’ and *dula* ‘the field’ gives focus on the object of the sentences. But in predicate adjectival sentences, it usually appears on the predicate adjective as we can in example (83). But in (85.a), the first person subject marker *in* comes on the verb to emphasize the verb of the sentence. But in example (85.b), pragmatically, there is no such an emphatic sense in the utterance. It is just a normal speech.

- (83) koda a- aapp- ose- ti i- neeqi.
 Work GEN- man- DEM- SPEC. 3- bad

‘The work of this man is bad’

- (84) Anti *in-* inaa- yyo sak- e
 I 1- son- 1SG.GEN. bless- PST.

‘I blessed my son’

- (85) a). Anti inna-adi in- sak- e
 I son- 3SG.GEN. 1- bless- PST.

‘I blessed his son’

- b) Anti inna-adi- in sak- e
 I son- 3SG.GEN-1. bless- PST.

‘I blessed his son’

- (86) Hella- se- ne i- dula sessatta qot- t- e- n
 Children- DEF- PL. 3- field third dig- 2 - PST- PL.

‘The children farmed the third field.’

4.3.2. *The Passive Voice*

I have already mentioned about the passive voice and its distinctive marker *-am-* in chapter two. From now on I will focus on how the passive voice is marked within the context of the tense of the language. In passive construction, the tense marker comes just after the passive marker for the first person singular (87) and the third person masculine singular (88) as we see from the following examples.

- (87) Anti in- dink- am - e
 I 1- kiss- PASS - PST.

‘I was kissed’

- (88) dula i- paldi-s- am - e
 Field 3- ide- CAUS- PASS- PST.

‘A field was made wide.’

For the second person singular and the third person feminine singular, the tense marker comes after the person and the gender marker respectively as indicated below in examples (89) and (90).

- (89) Atti xalayye i- qid- am- t- e
 You yesterday 2- bit- PASS -2- PST.

‘Yesterday you (SG) were bitten.’

- (90) Haarta- se a- xtta i- paldi- s- am - t- e
 Pool- DEF. GEN- old 3-wide -CAUS- PASS -F - PST.

‘The old pool was made wide’

The first person plural is marked by adding an extra- *m-* to the basic passive marker *-am-*. The tense marker comes after the extra- *m-*. The extra- *m-* here is due to the

assimilated plural marker *-n* to the preceding part of the passive marker *-m-* as it is shown below in example (91).

- (91) Ino in-ulfes- am- m- e
 We 1- respect- PASS- PL- PST.

‘We were respected.’

For the second person plural and third person plural, the tense marker comes just after the passive marker and before the plural marker *-n* which comes at the end of the finite verb as we can see from the following examples.

- (92) Ishina tik-opa dela hal- am- t- e- n.
 You (PL.) home- to up call- PASS -2- PST - PL.

‘You were called up to the home.’

- (93) Dul- la - se - ne i- pa - (ppa)- ldi- s- am- e - n.
 Field- PL- DEF - PL. 3- (RED.) wide- CAUS- PASS - PST- PL.

‘The fields were made wide hastened.’

Now we can let us summarize the discussion about the passive voice in the section by using the basic verb classes in the following table

Table .12. Inflection of affirmative passive past tense construction

person	dink-am-eeta 'kiss-PASS-INF'	paldi-s-am-eeta 'wide-CAUS-PASS-INF'
1 SG.	in- dink- am- e 1-kiss- PASS - PST.	in- paldi-s- am- e 1-wide-CAUS- PASS- PST,
2 M.SG.	i- d-dink- am- t -e 2-SG - kiss- PASS- 2- PST.	i- p-paldi-s - am-t- e 2-SG -wide - CAUS-PASS- 2- PST
3 M.SG.	i- dink- am- e 3-kiss- PASS- PST.	in- paldi-s- am- e 3- wide- CAUS- PASS- PST.
3F.SG.	i- dink- am- t- e 3-kiss- PASS- F. SG - PST	in- pald- s- am- t- e 3- wide -CAUS- PASS- F. SG -PST
1 PL.	in- dink- am- m- e 1-kiss- PASS- 1PL-PST.	in-paldi-s- am- m- e 1-wide-CAUS- PASS- 1PL- PST.
2 PL.	i- dink- am- t- e- n 2-kiss- PASS -2- PST- PL.	i- i- paldi-s- am- t- e- -n 2- wide- CAUS- PASS -2- PST -PL.
3 PL.	i- dink- am - e- n 3-kiss- PASS -PST - PL.	i- paldi-s- am- e- n 3-kiss-CAUS- PASS- PST- PL.

The other derivations such as reduplication, indirect causative which we have seen in chapter two, follow the same pattern of the *-eeta* verb class in every aspect. The only difference is the reduplicated part and the causative suffix that appears as the new element in the verb.

4.3. 3. Negation of the Past Tense

Konso does not employ any auxiliary verb or copula in the negative forms of the past tense. There are three negative preverbal subject markers. These are: *an* for the first persons, *a*, for the second persons, and *in*, for the third persons respectively. In addition to these markers, there is also an *-n* negative suffix for *-eeta* verb classes and *-nn* for the causatives verbs and middle voices. The *i* of the negative marker in the *in* of

the third person usually disappears and only the *-n* appears on the preverbal constituent when the verb is not focused pragmatically as we can see from the following example.

- (94) Ishoonna koda kod - eeta - n paayyi- n - e.
 They work work- INF- NEG begin- NEG - PST.

‘They did not begin to work’

The doubling of the negative suffix *-nn* for the middle voice and causative verbs is due to the phonological factors. Because the dropped out ending of the middle voice marker and causative marker are produced at the same place of articulation (alveolar) like that of the negative marker and are compensated by long consonant of the negative marker to keep the balance.

- (95) Anti kod-ose-ti- n an xasoo - nn- e.
 I work- DEM -SPEC - INS. 1 NEG. become happy- NEG- PST.

‘I was not happy with this work.’

The full inflection of the negative past tense can be summarized in table 13 below.

Table .13. The Inflection of the Negative Past Tense

person	dink-eeta 'kiss-INF'	xasoo-tt-a 'become happy-MIDD-INF.'
1 SG.	an dinki -n- e 1NEG. kiss- NEG-PST.	an xasoo - nn- e 1NEG. become happy- NEG-PST
2 SG.	a d- dinki- n- e 2NEG. SG - kiss- NEG- PST.	a x- xasoo - nn- e 2NEG. SG- become happy- NEG- PST.
3 M.SG.	in - dinki- n- e 3NEG - kiss- NEG - PST.	in- xasoo - nn- e 3NEG. become happy- NEG - PST
3 F.SG.	in- dinki- n- e 3NEG. kiss- NEG- PST.	in- xasoo - nn- e 3NEG- become happy- NEG- PST.
1PL.	an dinki- n- e 1NEG. kiss- NEG - PST.	an xasoo - nn- e 1NEG. become happy - NEG - PST
2 PL.	a dinki- n- e 2NEG. kiss- NEG - PST.	a xasoo - nn- e 2NEG. become happy - NEG- PST
3 PL.	in- dinki- n- e 3NEG - kiss- NEG - PST.	in- xasoo - nn- e 3NEG- become happy- NEG - PST

In the middle voices, the voice marker *-tt-* and its infinitive marker *-a* are dropped out and the negative suffix marker *-nn-* is replaced instead. The causatives also follow the pattern of the middle voice in their endings in formation of negation of the past tense. As we can see from the above table, the tense marker comes after the negation marker *-n/-nn-* which is at the end of the finite verbs in both cases.

4.3. 4. The Negation of the Passive Voice

The negative form of the passive is simply formed by lengthening the *-m* of the affirmative passive voice. The reason for the lengthening is that the negative suffix *-n* is phonologically assimilated to the preceding *-m* of the passive marker thereby producing another *-m-*. Therefore, the negative form for passive is uniform for all persons throughout regardless of person, gender, and number as summarized below in table 14.

Table .14. Inflection of negative passive past tense

person	dink-am-eeta 'kiss-PASS-INF'	paldi-s- am- eeta 'wide-CAUS- PASS-INF'
1 SG.	an dink- am - m - e 1NEG. kiss- PASS -NEG -PST.	an paldi-s- am - m-e 1NEG.wide-CAUS- PASS -NEG -PST
2 SG.	a d- dink- am - m - e 2NEG. SG - kiss- PASS -NEG -PST	a p- paldi-s - am - m-e 2NEG - SG- wide- CAUS-PASS -NEG -PST
3 M. SG.	in- dink- am - m - e 3NEG - kiss- PASS -NEG -PST	in- paldi-s- am - m-e 3NEG-wide- CAUS-PASS -NEG -PST
3 F. SG.	in- dink- am -m- e 3NEG - kiss- PASS -NEG -PST	in- palid-s- am - m-e 3NEG - wide- CAUS-PASS -NEG -PST
1PL.	an dink- am - m - e 1NEG. kiss- PASS -NEG -PST.	an- plaid-s- am- m-e 1NEG.wide -CAUS-PASS -NEG -PST
2 PL.	a dink- am - m- e 2NEG. kiss- PASS - NEG -PST	a paldi-s- am- m-e 2NEG wide-CAUS- PASS -NEG -PST
3 PL.	in- dink- am - m- e 3NEG- kiss- PASS - NEG -PST	in- paldi-s- am - m-e 3NEG-wide- CAUS-PASS -NEG -PST

Generally, the tense marker for the negative passive voice still comes after the negative marker *-m* since the negative marker- *n* is assimilated to the preceding *-m*. The uniform ending might seem confusing for the hearer except for the second person singular which usually marks the number at the beginning of the verb. However, the subject number, person, and gender have to be inferred from the provided context if not indicated by name or pronoun. For example, if the subject is inaccessible to the audience, the following sentences could be interpreted as follows.

(96) in – lel- am- m-e

3- tell- PASS - NEG - PST.

‘It/ he/ she/ they were not told.’

(97) an hal- am- m-e

1NEG. call- PASS- NEG - PST.

‘I/ we were not called.’

4.4. Function of the Past Tense

The past tense is the natural tense for reporting past action which happened either in remote past as in (98) or in near past as (99) as we can see from the following examples. Now from our discussion, you can easily identify the past tense marker on the main verbs in the following sentences as you read them.

- (98) waaqa we paisa turanne xatta xatta
 God thing all before long long
- piita ka moonta uum- e
 earth and heaven create- PST.

‘God created the earth and heaven before all things long time ago’

- (99) Isha amma Sakanne- yye ela kay-e.
 He now Sakana- from up reach- PST.

‘He just now arrived from Sakana .’

Similarly, the Past Tense is the most common tense for telling stories in narration as we see from the following example taken from a folk tale ‘squirrel and lion’ (5, 6 and 14) respectively.

- (100) Karra ka aan - e ka hoodd -e
 Squirrel and go- PST and take- .PST.
- ka ee kal-lo-yye, alle pulpul- e
 and when come- PRS. PRTC- SUBORD. away scatter- PST

‘The squirrel went and took (the fire) and when he comes he scattered away.

- (101) Karma ka amma kid-e-we
 lion and now say- PST- also

“Amma ishi aan- e -win ka sayn- e”
 “Now 3 SG.DAT. go- PST-also and you-2SG.IMP.”

‘And the lion now said again “Please, now go for it again”

- (102) Ka oori apitta-se-ti taw-e.
 And then fire- DEF- SPEC leave for- PST

‘And then he went for the fire.’

4. 5. Summary

So far, we have seen that how different verbs are inflected for past tense both in active and passive voices. We have also seen that in different contexts of utterances, the preverbal subject marker *i* can be retained on the verb or dropped out or can also take different positions for some pragmatic reasons. Throughout our discussion, we have realized that the past tense marker appears in different environments after different subject of the verb. We have also realized that in negations, the past tense marker-*e* appears at the end of the verb within the different verb system. We have also realized about some morphological changes for different grammatical reasons or functions.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE PRESENT TENSE

In the previous chapter, we have seen how the past tense is marked within different verb system of the language. In this chapter, I will continue to analyze the verb morphology within different grammatical categories of the present tense. Passive voice, negations, and the phonological changes that occur within during the inflections will be addressed.

5.1. Meaning

The Konso present tense can be translated into the English simple present tense or the present tense continuous tense depending on the context of the utterance. According to Figure.1 in chapter four, the present tense is the tense that expresses an action which is started some moment ago before the time of speaking and still is under process.

General truths as indicated in (103), dynamic states as in (104) and progressive actions in (105) are expressed by this tense.

(103) Pisha oon i- fool- li- yyi, foola qara xaa- ni.
 Water when 3- boil- PRS-SUBORD. steam on rise-PRS.

‘When the water boils, steam comes out of it.’

(104) Inn- ose- n harmo- e kutta- nni
 Son- DEM- PL very- PREV grow- PRS.

‘The son is growing well’

(105) nama-se eeyye dula pald- s-a- nni tin.
 Man-DEF there field wide- CAUS-AUTO- PRS. look.

‘Look! The man is widening the field for himself.’

5.2. The Marker

The basic morphological marker of the present tense is *-ni* as we can see in (103) for *-eeta* verb classes and *-nni* as in (104) and (105) for middle voices and causative verb classes as we can see from the above examples. In this process, if the verb does not end with a vowel, the vowel *i* is suffixed to the root before the tense marker comes unless the assimilation occurs on the final root consonant.

5.3. Assimilation

In dealing with present tense, one can come across assimilation of some consonant letters at the end of the root of certain verbs when the present tense marker is added to the verb root. This assimilation takes place when these consonants at the root verb are single. For the verbs whose final consonants are single *-t* or *-d*, the two consonants are dropped out. For those which end in single *-d*, after dropping of *-d*, the final vowel is lengthened before the tense marker comes. For example the infinitive form of the verb *koo-ni* ‘works, is working’ in example (106) is *kod-eeta* ‘to work’ which ends in *-d* just before its infinitive marker.

- | | | | | |
|-------|--------|-----------|------|------------|
| (106) | Kalato | dulo- ppa | koda | koo - ni. |
| | Kalato | field- in | work | work- PRS. |

‘Kalato is working/ works/ in the field.’

But if the root final of the verb ends in *-dd* for example in verb *kodd- eeta* ‘to become, be’, and *hoodd- eeta* ‘to bring fire’, *i* is added to the root final of the verb before the tense marker *-ni* comes as one can see in (107) and (108). The *-dd* is not dropped out in this case.

- | | | | |
|-------|------------|-------|---------------|
| (107) | Amtemta-se | pisha | koddi- ni. |
| | ice-DEF | water | become - PRS. |

‘The ice becomes water.’

- (108) Ayyanna appitta hooddi- *ni*.
 Ayyanna fire bring fire- PRS.

‘Ayyanna brings/is bringing the fire,

Similarly, the verbs that end in *-t*, like *hat-eeta* ‘to steal’ in (109), the consonant *-t* is assimilated to *-n* where by the *-n* of the tense marker is geminated. But if the root final of the verb ends in *-tt*, for example in verb *mitt-eeta*, ‘to break a thread’ like in example (110), *i* is inserted in between the root and the tense marker *-ni*.

- (109) Kereeta paata ha-n- *ni*.
 Thieves things steal- ASS- PRS.

‘Thieves steal things’

- (110) Aapp- ose xaynata mitti- *ni*.
 Man- DEM threads break- PRS

‘This man breaks the thread.’

In the case of the verbs which end in *-n* like *aan-eeta*, ‘to go’, the root final *-n* is automatically lengthened and *-i* comes finally at the end of the finite verb as we can see in example (111) below.

- (111) Orr- ose Karatti- pa an- *ni*.
 People- DEM. Karatti- to go- PRS.

‘These people are going/ go/ to Karatti.’

But if the verb ends with *-nn*, like in verb *qann-eeta* ‘to be pressed’, *-i* is added to the root final before the final tense marker *-ni* comes as indicated in example (112).

- (112) Nam-ose dakadda karae qanni- *ni*.
 Man- DEM. stones in be press- PRS.

‘This man is being pressed between the stones.’

In verbs which end in single *-m*, *-l*, and *-r*, the *-n*- of the tense marker *-ni* is assimilated into the consonants thereby doubling them. In this case, the final part of the new form of the verb indicates the tense marker as one can see in the following examples.

- (113) Lwalla kapin- opp aykitta dam- mi
Cattle field - in grass eat- PRS.

‘Cattle eat grass in the field.’

- (114) Nama takka inna- e dehamta lel- li.
Man one son- PREV advice tell- PSR.

‘Someone is give advice to a son.’

- (115) Tilayyolaya wetiyyi paata toor- ri.
Trouble makers usually things oppose- PRS.

‘Trouble maker usually oppose people.’

Generally speaking, there is no assimilation when the consonants of the root are originally double. The following table summarizes the discussion concerning the assimilation that take place during the inflection of the present tense.

Table .15. The assimilation process

Verb root ending +ni	Example	Meaning
-d+ni = ni	in+kod+ni=in-koo-ni	I work/am working
-dd+ni = ddi-ni	i+kodd+ni= i-koddi-ni	It becomes/happens
-t+ni = nni	i+ot+ni= i-o-nni	He insults/is insulting
-tt+ni = tti-ni	in+faatt+ni=in-faatti-ni-nna	we chop/are chopping
-m+ni = m-m-i	i+uum+ni=i-uum-mi	He creates/is creating
-mm+ni = mmi-ni	i+toomm+ni=i=toommi-ni	She nails/is nailing
-n+ni =n-n-i	in+aan+ni=in-an-ni	I go/am going
-nn+ni = nni-ni	i-eenn+ni=i-eenni-ni	He/she milks/is milking
-r+ni = r-ri	i+toor+ni= i-toor-ri	He opposes/is opposing
-rr+ni = rri-ni	i+torr+ni+tan=i-torri-ni-tan	You tell/are telling
-l+ni = l-li	i+kal+ni=i=kal-li	He comes/is coming home
-ll+ni = lli-ni	i+kull+ni=i=kull-i-ni	He enters/is entering

The present tense marker *-ni* for the *-eta* verb classes and *-nni* for the causative and middle voices comes at the end of the root of the verb. When it happens, the infinitive suffixes are dropped out and the tense marker comes at the end of the verb for all first person singular, second person singular, third person singulars and the third person plural. Of course, in (118) there are two things that we need to remember. First one is that the second person singular marks at verb initially for its number. Secondly, since the root ends in *-d*, it is dropped out the last *-d* of the root verb and the vowel *i* is lengthened before the tense marker *-ni* comes. Remember that in the first example, where the first consonant *-d* is assimilated, the *-o* of the root is lengthened as a compensatory lengthening.

- (116) inn- ose- n qoyra qar- opa fayya - nni.
 Son-DEM - PL. tree on-to climb - PRS.

‘This son is climbing up the tree.’

- (117) Ino kosa- n harmi- nni- nna.
 We store-1 prepare- PRS - 1 PL.

‘They are preparing/ prepare/ a store.’

- (118) Atti lwlla- ppa q- qii- ni.
 You cattle- in 2_{SG} - beat- PRS.

‘You are beating/beat the cattle.’

The little difference which we can observe, is that the first person plural and the second person plural indicate their number after the tense marker as *-nna* as in (119) and *-tan* as in (120) respectively in the following examples.

- (119) Inno Sakan- opa- n ku- nni - nna.
 We Sakana- to- 1 go hunt- PRS-1PL.

‘We are going for hunting to Sakana.’

- (120) Ishina xasa- nne kado koo- ni- tan.
 You joy- INS. Work do- PRS- 2PL.

‘You are working with joy.’

The following table gives the full inflection of the verb system for all persons, number, and gender for present tense.

Table .16. The inflection of the verb for the present Tense

person	dink- eeta 'kiss- <i>INF</i> '	xasoo -tt-a 'become happy-MIDD.- <i>INF</i> '
1SG.	in- dinki- ni 1-kiss- PRS.	in- xasoo - nni 1- become happy- PRS
2SG.	i-d- dinki- ni 2- SG - kiss- PRS	i-x- xasoo- nni 2- SG - become happy- PRS
3M.SG	i-dinki- ni 3-kiss- PRS	i-xasoo - nni 3- become happy- PRS
3 F.SG	i-dinki- ni 3-kiss- PRS.	i- xasoo- nni 3-become happy- PRS
1 PL.	in- dinki- ni – nna 1-kiss- PRS - 1PL.	in- xasoo- nni- nna 1-become happy- PRS- 1PL.
2 PL.	i- dinki- ni- ttan 2- kiss- PRS - 2PL.	i- xasoo- nni- ttan 2- become happy- PRS -2PL.
3 PL.	i-dinki- ni 3-kiss- PRS.	i-xasoo- nni 3- become happy- PRS

Causative verbs follow the same pattern of middle voice in their inflection like that of *xasoo-tt-a* 'to become happy' in the right column of the above table.

5.4. Negation

As we have seen in the above table, in the affirmative form of the present tense, the copula verb, *cha-tt-a* 'to be,' is not used. But in negation, the copula in its non-continuous form is used with the main verb as an auxiliary verb of the clause to express negation. The Konso copula, like the English verb to 'to be' has irregular form for different persons, number, and gender.

Before dealing with the inflection of the copula, it is important to see some occurrences of the copula in its affirmative constructions. Most of the time, the copula

in some affirmative form is used to express the statements of existence of something in non-continuous state as we can see from the following examples.

- (121) Waaqa moote - yye ch- a.
 God heaven- in be- PRS.

‘God is in heave.’

- (122) Ino amma Kenya- yye- n ki- nn- a
 We now Kenya- in-1 be-1PL-PRS.

‘Now we are in Kenya.’

- (123) Ishina koda qarayye ki – tt-a-n.
 You work on be- 2- PRS- PL

‘You are at work.’

The following table shows the full inflection of the copula for both negative and positive forms. Except for the irregularity of the root forms, the preverbal subject marker, the person, the number, and the gender are indicated in their proper places on the verb as they do on the other main verb system.

Table .17. The Inflection of the copula

person	The affirmative form	The negative form
1 SG.	in- ch- a 1- be- PRS	an ch- o 1NEG be- NEG.PRS.
2 SG.	i- k- ki- tt- a 2- SG- be - 2- PRS	a k- ki - tt- o 2NEG 2 SG - be -2- NEG. PRS.
3 M. SG	i- ch- a 3- be - PRS	in - ch- o 3NEG be- NEG. PRS.
3 F. SG.	i- ki- tt- a 3- be - F.SG - PRS	in- ki- tt- o 3NEG- be- F.SG - NEG. PRS
1 PL.	in- ki- nn- a 1- be- 1PL-PRS	an ki- nn- o 1NEG be-1PL- NEG. PRS
2 PL.	i- ki- tt-a- n 2- be- 2- PRS- PL.	a ki- tt- a-n 2NEG. be- 2- PRS- PL.
3 PL.	i- ch- a- n 3- be- PRS- PL.	in- ch- a- n 3NEG - be- PRS - PL

Looking at the negative forms, we can easily learn that the final vowel *-a* of the affirmative form changes into *-o* except for the second plural person and the third person plural as one can see from the above table. The negative copula is used to express non existence or non locating situations. In these cases, it functions as the main verb of the sentences as is indicated in the following examples.

- (124) nama takka nefo urmala- ppayy- n ch- o
Man one even market- in - 3NEG. be- NEG.PRS

‘There is / was no one in the market’

- (125) Ino ishoota kapayye an ki- nn- o.
We them near 1NEG be-1PL -NEG. PRS.

‘We are/ were not with them.’

- (126) Awwe ishoonna tik- oppa- n ch- a- n.
Today they home- at- 3NEG. be- PRS- PL.

‘They are not at home today.’

- (127) Xalayye ishina Karratti- yyi a ki- tt-a-n.
Yesterday You Karatti -in 2NEG be- 2- PRS- PL.

‘Yesterday you were not in Karratti’

In in case, the copula is used to describes the state or the existence of something. So, the tense is inferred from the provided context for precise interpretation when the time adverb is indicated as we can see in (126) and (127), the time adverbs are helpful to understand the time reference. As we have seen above in (125), the first person negative marker *an* and the second person negative marker *a* in (127) remain before the verb in contrast to the third person negative marker *in* which usually at normal instances drops *i* and the *-n* is attached to the preverbal constituent as we see in examples (126) and (124) above. The same thing happens when both the main verb and the copula are used together in the sentence.

In the following sentences, we can see that the copula verb negative subject marker is attached to the negative suffix of the main verb in normal speech where the *i* is lost and only the *-n* is attached to the main verb as we can see from example (128). In these examples, the negative coupla is used as an auxiliary verb and is used as periphrastic strategy.

(128) Orra- ysho xaykitta jaala- ni- n ch- o.
 People-their guest love- PRS- NEG be- NEG.PRS

‘Their people do not love gusets.’

(129) Ino nama an on - ni an ki- nn- o.
 We person 1NEG insult- PRS. 1NEG. be-1PL- NEG. PRS

‘We do not insult a person.’

(130) Ishina tika a paldi- nni a ki- tt-a-n.
 You house 2NEG. widen- PRS. 2NEG. be-2PL-PRS- PL.

‘You do not widen a house.’

5.5. Autobenefactive

The inflection of the autobenefactive follows the same pattern of the verb *xasoo-tt-a* ‘to become happy’ except for the addition of the voice marker *-a* on the root of the *-eeta* verb classes. After *-a* is added to the root final of the *-eeta* verb classes, the new

form of the verb takes the middle voice ending. For example the verb *dink-eeta* ‘to kiss’, becomes *dink-a-tt-a* ‘to kiss for oneself’. Similarly, for causative verbs, there is a degemination of an *-s-* before the autobenefactive marker *-a* comes.

Table .18. Inflection of the autobenefactive of the present tense

Person	dink-a-tt-a 'kiss -AUTO-MIDD-INF'	paldi-s-a-tt-a "wide-CAUS-MIDD-INF."
1SG.	in- dink- a- nni 1-kiss- AUTO - PRS.	in- paldi-s- a- nni. 1- wide- CUSA-AUTO - PRS.
2SG.	i- d-dink- a- nni 2-SG -.kiss - AUTO - PRS.	i- p-paldi-s - a- nni 2-SG -wide -CUSA- AUTO- PRS
3M.SG.	i- dink- a - nni 3-kiss- AUTO - PRS.	in- paldi-s- a - nni 3- wide- AUTO - PRS.
3F.SG.	i- dink- a- nni 3- kiss- AUTO - PRS.	in- paldi-s- a- nni 3- wide -CAUS- AUTO - PRS.
1PL.	in- dink-a- nni- nna 1-kiss- AUTO - PRS-1PL.	in- paldi-s- a- nni- nna 1-wide- CAUS-AUTO- PRS - 1PL.
2 PL.	i- dink- a- nni- ttan 2-kiss- AUTO -PRS- 2PL	i- paldi-s- a- nni- ttan 2-wide-CUSA- AUTO - PRS - 2PL.
3 PL.	i- dink-a - nni- n 3-kiss- AUTO - PRS - PL.	i- paldi-s- a- nni - n 3- wide -CUSA-AUTO -PRS - PL.

As we can see from the above table, in autobenefactive construction of the present tense, it is only the first person plural and the second person plural that are marked for number. The rest persons follow the third person masculine singular form as we can see from the table.

- (131) Isha dula paldi- s -a - nni
He field wide - CAUS-AUTO - PRS

‘He makes wide the field for himself’

- (132) Ino sookattae- n harmis- a - nni - nna
We to go field-1 make ready- AUTO - PRS - 1PL.

‘We are preparing ourselves to go to the field’

- (133) Ulfena porsa heedis - a - nni.
 Ulfena bag sew- AUTO - PRS.

‘Ulfena is sewing a bag for himself’

- (134) Ishina ana hal - a - inni - ttan .
 You I (ACC.) call - AUTO - PRS- 2PL

‘You call me for yourself’

Generally speaking, there is no autobenefactive for the middle voice verb classes because the autobefactive by itself is Middle.

5.6. The Passive Voice

When we discussed the passive construction in chapter four, we said that in passive construction, the subject of the active voice is not mentioned in the passive voice as a reference of the active voice. Like in the active voice, the verb in the passive voice agrees with the object that receives the action. In the present tense, the affirmative passive form is *-am-mi-* for all the persons and numbers that receive the action and it comes at end of the root of the verb. As we have already mentioned, the addition of *-mi* to the *-am-* of the passive marker is due to the assimilation of the present tense marker *-ni* or *-nni* which is supposed to come after the passive marker. The *-ss-* verb classes generally follow the pattern of the *-eta* verb classes except for the reduction of *-s-* in the root before the present passive marker comes. You can see the inflection of the passive voice as indicated in the following table.

Table .19. The Inflection of the present tense passive voice

Person	dink - am- eeta ‘ ‘kiss-PASS- INF’	paldi-s- am-eeta ‘made-CAUS-PASS-INF.’
1 SG.	in- dink- am- mi 1- kiss- PASS- PRS	in- paldi-s - am - mi 1-wide- CAUS-PASS - .PRS
2 SG.	i- d-dink- am- mi 2-SG - kiss- PASS- PRS	i- p-paldi-s- am- mi 2- SG.wide - CAUS- PASS- .PRS
3 M. SG	i- dink- am- mi 3- kiss- PASS- PRS.	i- paldi-s - am- mi 3-wide - CAUS-PASS - PRS.
3 F. SG.	i - dink- am- mi 3. kiss- PASS- PRS	i- pladi-s - am - mi 3-wide - CAUS-PASS - PRS
1 PL.	in- dink- am- mi - nna 1- kiss- PASS- PRS - 1PL.	in- pladi-s - am- mi - nna 1-wide – CAUS-PASS - PRS-1PL.
2 PL.	i- dink- am- mi - ttan 2- kiss- PASS- PRS- 2PL.	i- paldi-s- am- mi - ttan 2-wide-CAUS- PASS- PRS - 2PL.
3 PL.	i - dink- am- mi 3- kiss- PASS - PRS.	i- paldi-s - am- mi 3- wide- CAUS-PASS - PRS.

As we can see from the above table, the tense is marked by *-mi* and comes after the voice marker. However, for the first person plural and the second person plural, it comes before the number and person marker respectively. Let see some examples of the passive construction based on the pattern set up above in the table.

- (135) Xattayye pinana lekaya ollin kal- a kid - am - mi.
In the past animals many together live- PRS. say- PASS- PRS.

‘In the past it is said that many animals were living together.’

- (136) Dukaat- aadi piita pis-oppa- e torr- am- mi
Truth - 3SG. GEN country all -in-PREV tell - PASS- PRS.

‘His/ her/ its truth is being told every where.’

- (137) Ishina maanae asse oppa qid- am- mi- ttan?
You why like that in bit- PASS - PRS - 2PL.?

‘Why are you being bitten like that?’

(138)	ino	ollini- n	hal- am- mi - nna
	We	together-1	call- PASS - PRS -1PL.

‘We are called together.’

5.7. Negative of the Present Passive

The Present Tense Passive negative form can simply be formed by the combination of the negative copula with the main verb. As we have already mentioned that when the main verb and the copula verb occur in negative present tense construction, the preverbal negative subject marker is zero on the main verb and usually, the negative preverbal subject marker of the copula verb is suffixed to the present passive marker-*mi-* of the main verb. The only difference which we can observe from table 20 below is that the first and the second persons have negative preverbal marker on the main verb. The third person does not indicate their negative marker (*in*) on the main verb. But it does on the on the copula where the *-n* of the negative preverbal marker *in* on the copula is suffixed to the end of the main verb as it usually does in normal utterance.

Table .20. The negative form of passive present tense

person	dink- am-eeta ‘to be kissed’			
1 SG.	an	dink- am - mi	an	ch- o
		1 NEG. kiss- PASS- PRS.	1NEG	be- NEG. PRS
2 SG	a	d- dink- am- mi	a	k- ki - tt- o
		2 NEG. 2 SG- kiss- PASS- PRS.	2NEG	2SG- be -2- NEG. PRS.
3 M. SG	Ø	dink- am- mi- n	ch- o	
		kiss- PASS - PRS-3NEG.	be- NEG. PRS	
3 F.SG.	Ø	dink- am- mi- n	ki- tt- o	
		kiss- PASS- PRS-3NEG. .	be- F.SG - NEG. PRS	
1 PL.	an	dink- am- mi	an	ki- nn- o
		1NEG. kiss- PASS- PRS.	1NEG	be- 1PL- NEG. PRS.
2 PL.	a	dink- am- mi	a	ki- tt-a -n
		2 NEG kiss- PASS- PRS.	2NEG.	be- 2-2-PRS- PL
3 PL.	Ø	dink- am- mi- n	ch- a - n	
		kiss- PASS- PRS- 3NEG	be- PRS - PL	

As we can see, from the table above except for the second person singular, the number, the person, and the gender are indicated on the copula rather than on the main verb.

The *-n* of the negative marker *in* of the third person is suffixed to the tense marker *-mi* of the main verb as we can see from the table above. Let us also see from example

(139).

(139) Hell- ose- n hal- am- mi- n ch- a- n
 Children - DEM - PL call- PASS - PRS - 3NEG. be- PRS- NEG.

‘These children are called.’

(140) Ino an qid- am- mi an ki- nn- o
 We 1NEG beat- PASS- PRS. 1 NEG be-1PL- PRS. NEG .

‘We are not beaten.’

- (141) Atti a ulfeess- am- mi a k- ki - tt- o
 You 2_{NEG} respect- PASS- PRS. 2_{NEG} 2_{SG}- be -2- NEG. PRS.

‘You are not respected.’

5. 8. The Stative verbs

These group of verbs include the verbs of the existence, *kalla-tt-a* ‘to live’ of copula verb, *cha-tt-a*, ‘to be’, of cognitive, *upna-tt-a* ‘to know, ’possessive, *qapna-tt-a* ‘to possess’, and of desire or wish like *henna-tt-a*’ to desire, wish’. These verbs follow the endings of the copula verb *chat-tt-a* ‘to be’ when they are used to express the present or habitual states or actions. Concerning Stative verbs, Comrie says:

Naturally then, Stative verbs do not have progressive forms, since this would involve an internal contradiction between stativity of the verb and the nonstativity essential to progressive (Comrie 1985,35).

These group of verbs when they refer to states or habitual actions, their ending is *-a* except for the second person plural and the third person plural. This you can see from the following table across the corresponding rows. This pattern is unique to thses group of verbs as far as my data and knowledge is concerned. In this form, they do not express the sense of continuity or progressiveness but they just state the situation or habituality as we can see from the following examples.

- (142) Kusse arreyye kal-a
 Kusse here lives-3_{SG}.MS.PRS.

‘Kusse lives here.’

- (143) Ayyanna tika qap- t- a
 Ayyanna house have- 3_F.-PRS

‘Ayyanna has a house.’

But when the temporal adverbs that show past time are used, the same pattern can convey habitual past or what used to happen in the past.

- (144) Kusse xattayye areyye kal- a.
Kusse in the past here lives-3SG. MS. PRS

‘In the past, .Kusse used to live here.’

- (145) Isha xalayye pillawa qap- a.
He yesterday knife have-3M. SG. PRS.

‘Yesterday he had a knife.’

You can see the inflection of these verbs in the following table for summary,

Table.21. The inflection of the stative verbs

person	upna-tt-a ‘know-MIDD-INF’	kallaa-tt-a ‘live-MIDD-INF’	qapna- tt-a ‘possess-MIDD-INF’
1 SG.	in- up- a 1- know- PRS.	in - kal- a 1- live- PRS	in – qap- a 1-have- PRS
2 SG.	i - ? -up- t- a 2-SG-know-2- PRS.	i - k-kal- t- a 2- SG- live-2- PRS.	i – q-qap- t- a 2- SG- have- 2- PRS.
3 M.SG	i- up- a 3- know- PRS.	i - kal- a 3- live- PRS.	i- qap- a 3-have- PRS.
3 F.SG.	i- up- t- a 3- know- F- PRS.	i - kal- t- a 3- live- F- PRS.	i - qap- t- a 3- have- F- PRS.
1PL.	in- up- n- a 1- know- 1PL- PRS.	in - kal- l- a 1- live- 1PL- PRS	in - qap- n- a 1- know- PL- PRS
2PL.	i- up- t-a- n 2- know-2-PRS-PL.	i - kal-t- a- n 2- live- 2- PRS-PL.	i- qap- t-a- n 2 - have- 2-PRS-PL.
3PL.	i- up - a- n 3-know-3- PRS- PL.	i - kal- a- n 3- live-3- PRS- PL	i- i- qap - a- n 3- have-3- PRS- PL

In the table above, we can also notice that there is assimilation of *-n* of the first person plural to the preceding *-l* where it produces the doubling of the consonant *-l* in the first person plural of the verb *kallaa-tt-a*, ‘to live’. These verbs are used to express the general state of an event without showing any sense of continuity action or state.

- (146) Waaqa moonte- yye kal- a
God heaven- in live- PRS.

‘God lives in heaven.’

(147)	Ishoota	lwalla	lekaya	qap - a - n.
	They	cattle	many	have- PRS- PL.

‘They have many cattle.’

(148)	Anti	tamaareeta- n	heen - a.
	I	education-1	want - PRS

‘I want education.’

5.9. Negation of the Stative verbs

Like the affirmative form, the negation of the stative verbs follow the negative inflection pattern of the copula verb which which we have seen earlier in table 17. As we can see from the table, the final *-a* affirmative form changed into *-o* in all cases except for the second person plural and the third person plural where it remains unchanged.

Table .22. The Negation of the Stative verbs

person	upna-tt-a 'Know-MIDD-INF'	henna-tt-a 'desire-MIDD-INF'
1 SG.	an up- o 1 NEG know- NEG. PRS	an heen- o 1 NEG. desire- NEG. PRS
2 SG.	a -ʔ-up- t- o 2 NEG- SG- know- 2- NEG. PRS	a heen- t- o 2 NEG. deisre- 2- NEG. PRS
3 M.SG	in- up- o 3 NEG- know- NEG.PRS	in- heen- o 3 M. NEG- desire-NEG.PRS
3 F.SG.	in- up- t- o 3 NEG- know- F. NEG. PRS	in- heen- t- o 3 NEG- desire- F. NEG. PRS
1 PL.	an up- n- o 1 NEG- know- PL- NEG. PRS	an hee- nn- o 1 NEG- desire -PL- NEG. PRS
2 PL.	a up- t-a- n 2 NEG. know- 2-PRS-PL	a heen- t-a- n 2 NEG. desire- 2- PRS-PL.
3 PL.	in- up- a- n 3 NEG- know- PRS- PL.	in- heen- a- n 3 NEG- desire- PSS- PL.

Remember that in the second person, we have glottal stop (ʔ) instead of the doubling of the first letter since the verb begins with the vowel (*upna-tt-a* 'to know') as one can see in the first column. Before closing the discussion of stative verbs, let us see few examples of the negative forms of these verbs.

- (149) Ishhotta piita laka dikkeeti- n up- a- n
They country outside much- NEG. know- PRS PL.

'They do not know much about the foreign land.'

- (150) Wa ittur- opa kodd -a ishina a up- t-a-n
Thing in front -to happen- FUT. you (PL.) 2 NEG. know-2- PRS-PL.

'You do not know what will happen in the future.'

- (151) Ino wa a kii- ni- tanne an up- n- o
 We thing 2REL. say- PRS- 2PL. 1NEG. know- PL- NEG.PRS

‘We do no know what you say.’

- (152) Atti koda kod-eeta a heen- t - o
 You (SG.) work do-INF. 2NEG want - 2- NEG. PRS.

‘You don’t want to work.’

However, this group of verbs can also take *-nni* to express the sense of progressiveness of an action that happen sometimes.

- (153) Luutte awta demo are kall-nni.
 Luutte time other here live-PRS.

‘Sometimes Luutte lives here.’

- (154) Kalluto wettiyyi esse Xolme-yye chaa-nni.
 Kalluto usually this time Xolme-in be-PRS.

‘Kalluuto usually at this time exists in Xolme’

In addition to this unique form used to express states and habituality, these verbs also form their past tense and future tense. The past form of these verbs can be simply marked by the normal past tense marker *-e* to express the completion of the action in the past as we see in (155) and (156). In this case, their inflectional pattern follows that of the middle voices.

- (155) Kusse xattayye Karatti kalla-d-e.
 Kusse in the past karatti lieve- MIDD-PST.

‘In past, Kusse lived in Karatti.’

- (156) Innna-se-ne i-chaad-e-
 Son-DEF-PL. 3-be-MIDD-PST-PL.

‘The son became alive.’

Similarly, the future events or actions can also be expressed with future tense marker and the inflection of the verbs generally follows the pattern of the future middle voices.

Let’s look at the following examples.

- (157) Kusse tik-ose i-upnaa- d-a
 Kusse house-DEM 3-know-MIDD- 3M.SG.FUT.

‘Kusse will know this house.’

- (158) Ishina parriyyi arre chaa-tt-a-n.
 You tomorrow here be-MIDD- FUT-PL.

‘Tomorrow you will be here.’

Before concluding our discussion on the present tense, let’s us see once more a possibility of expressing continuous or progressive actions. In this case, the main verb of the sentence appears in the infinitive form and then followed by some prepositions like *qarayye/ tupayye* ‘at, on’, or *kamayye* ‘after’ and other similar prepositions. In such constructions the verb *cha*, ‘to be’ is used to indicate the presence of the doer on the action.

- (159) Alemu kod- ose kod- eeta qarayye ch-a
 Alemu work- DEM work-INF. on be-3SG.PRS.

‘Alemu has been doing/is at this work.’

- (160) Alemu kod- ose kod- eeta qarayye-n ch-o
 Alemu work- DEM work-INF. on-3NEG be-3SG.PRS. NEG

‘Alemu is not at this work.’

- (161) Aappa-se axattati ikee-eeta tupayye ch-a
 Man-DEF of past drink-INF. behind be-3SG.M-PRS

‘The man is still drinking.’

The reason why the infinitive forms are used in this construction seems that since the infinitive forms function as a gerund. In nature, the gerund carries the meaning of the progressiveness; it can function as one the ways of marking in affirmative in progressive or continuous tense.

5.10. Summary

So far, we have seen how the verbs are inflected for the grammatical person, number, and gender within the context of the present tense. We have also seen the voice and the negative patterns of the active and passive voices and noticed that each case has its unique morphological characteristics according to the nature of the verb and voice.

We have also seen some stative verbs which have special mark when they describe the state or situation of some thing in present tense. In this case, their endings behave like future tense pattern of *-eeta* verb class. It seems that this is because of the nature of the verbs because they also have future tense form in which they follow the regular inflectional pattern of middle voices. In general, in addition to this habitual form, they are also inflected for the past tense, Present tense and future tense by following the normal inflectional pattern of the Middle voices. With this I conclude the discussion of the verb inflection in the context of the present tense. In the following chapter, I will continue my analysis of the verb inflection in the context of the future tense.

CHAPTER SIX

THE FUTURE TENSE

In this chapter we will continue to analyze the verb morphology within the context of the future tense. Like the previous chapters, we will look at the basic morphological features of the tense, voice, and negation marker of the future tense within the different verb system of the language.

6.1. Meaning

From our diagram 1 in chapter four, we know that the future tense is located on the right side of the center, which is referred to as a present. Taking the Figure as the reference point, the future tense is the tense which is used to express any action that takes place after the moment of speaking. The Konso future tense has an equivalent meaning to the English simple future. There is no complicated feature of the tense in the tense system of the language. There are no any morphological phenomena on the verb or particle to indicate the time distance. The remoteness and the proximity of the future time can just be indicated by the time adverbs if the context needs more clarification as we can see in (162) and in (163).

(162) Shakkayya amma dee - t- a
 Shakkayya now come-3F- FUT.

‘Shakkayya will come now.’

(163) Ishonna parra lekaya kammayye de- a - n
 They years many after come- FUT- PL.

‘They will come after many years’

6.2. The Future Tense Marker

The affirmative future tense is marked by the morpheme *-a*. This marker or morpheme can appear in different positions according to the grammatical person, number, and gender of the subject of the verb. For example as we see from the above example (162), the future marker comes before the plural number marker *-n*. For the third person feminine singular, the tense marker comes after the gender marker *-t-* as one can see in (164) below.

(164)	Letta	saateta	lakki	kamayye	dum- t- a.
	Sun	hour	two	after	set-3F - FUT.

‘The sun will set after two hours.’

Similarly, for the first person plural, the tense marker comes after the plural marker *-n* as we see from the following example.

(165)	Ino	parriyy- n	kod- ose- ti	dee- n - a
	We	tomorrow-1	work- DEM - SPEC.	come -1PL- FUT.

‘Tomorrow we will come for this job.’

The position of the future tense marker for the second person plural as we can see in (166) and for the third plural as in (167) precedes the number of the subject of the verb.

(166)	Ishina	hekeri	are - pa	oor - tan
	You (PL.)	later	here - to	return - 2PL.

‘In the future, you will return to here.’

(167)	Namm- ose - n	kulixi	kirpa	sook- a- n.
	Guys - DEM - PL .	later	dance	come out- FUT- PL.

‘These guys will come out for dancing later.’

The general description about the location of the Future tense marker in the affirmative form can be summarized in the following table.

plural marker *-n* comes at the end of the tense marker on the inflected verb, In other words, except for the second plural and the third person plural. The future tense marker *-a* comes at the end of the verb.

6.3. Negation of Active Future

The vowel *-a* which characterizes the future tense in the affirmative form changes into *-o* except for the second person plural and third person plural. For the second plural and the third person plural, the future tense marker *-a* remains unchanged. Here the only change is the addition of the preverbal negative marker *-a* and *in* respectively. In the following table, I will inflect only for the two verbs since the final endings of the *xasso-ita* ‘to become happy’ is similar to that of the *paldi-ssa* ‘to make wide’ in terms of the last ending.

Table .24. The inflection of the negative active future tense

person	dink-eeta 'kiss-INF.'	paldi-ss-a 'wide- CAUS-INF.'
1 SG.	an dink- o 1NEG kiss- FUT.NEG	an paldi- sh- o 1NEG-wide- SG. CAUS- FUT.NEG
2 SG.	a d- dinki- t- o 2NEG SG- kiss- 2- FUT.NEG	a p- paldi- ss- o 2NEG SG- wide- 2CAUS- FUT. NEG
3 M.SG	in- dink- o 3NEG- kiss- FUT.NEG	in - paldi- sh- o 3NEG-wide- SG. CAUS - FUT. NEG
3 F.SG.	in – dindi- t- o 3NEG- kiss- F- FUT	in - paldi- ss- o 3NEG-wide- F. CAUS- FUT. NEG
1 PL.	an dinki- n - o 1NEG kiss- 1PL- FUT.NEG-	an paldi- nn- o 1NEG wide-1PL- FUT. NEG
2 PL.	a dinki- t-a-n 2NEG kissk- 2PL.	a paldi- ss-a-n 2NEG. wide- CAUS-FUT-PL.
3 PL.	in- dink- a- n 3NEG- kiss- FUT- PL.	in - paldi- sh- a- n 3NEG -wide-3CAUS- FUT- PL.

So, the main features that we can easily distinguish are that all the persons mark for preverbal personal negative marker. The ending of the second and third persons plural remain the same as that of the positive future active forms.

6.4. The Passive Form of the Future Tense

In the previous chapters, we have seen that the common passive voice morpheme is *-am-* in all the tenses. We also have seen that it comes at the end of the verb stem for *-eeta* verb classes. But for casuative verbs it comes after the degemination of the causative marker *-ss-*. The only difference in the marker is in the first person plural, where the *-m* of the passive marker is lengthened in both verbs. This is because the first person plural marker *-n* is assimilated to the preceding *-m* of the passive voice marker. All the person and number markers come after the passive marker as we see in the following table. As we see here the tense marker *-a* just follows the voice marker in the first person singular and the third person masculine singular. For the second person singular and plural, the person marker *-t* immediately follows the voice marker and then the tense marker comes at end of the finite verb. As we have noticed in the past tense in chapter three, the second person singular and the the third feminine singular, have the suffix *-t* after which usually the tense marker comes. This marker does not occur in the present tense as we saw in chapter four above.

Table .25. The inflection of affirmative future passive

person	dink-eeta 'kiss-INF.'	paldi-ss- a 'wide-CAUS- INF.'
1 SG.	in - dink- am- a 1-kiss- PASS- FUT	in – paldi- s- am- a 1-wide- CAUS-PASS- FUT
2 SG.	i - d-dink- am- t-a 2-SG-kiss- PASS-2- FUT.	i- p-paldi- s- am- t- a 2-SG -wide- CAUS- PASS- 2- FUT
3 M.SG	i - dink- am- a 3.kiss- PASS - FUT.	i- paldi- s- am - a 3- wide- CAUS-PASS- FUT.
3 F.SG.	i- dink- am- t- a 3-kiss- PASS - F- FUT.	i- paldi- s- am- t- a 3- wide-CAUS -PASS- F - FUT.
1 PL.	in- dink- am- m- a 1-kiss- PASS - 1PL- FUT.	in- paldi-s- am- m- a 1-wide-CAUS- PASS-1PL- FUT
2 PL.	i -dink- am- tan 2- kiss- PASS- 2PL.	i - paldi-s- am- tan 2- wide -CAUS-PASS-2PL
3 PL.	i -dink- am- a- n 3-kiss- PASS- FUT- PL.	i - paldi-s- am- a- n 3- wide- CAUS-PASS- FUT-PL.

6.5. The Negative Form of the Future Passive

The negative passive form of the future tense is basically based on its affirmative form. In negation, the final future marker *-a* changes into *-o* for all persons except for the second person plural and the third person plural. The preverbal subject negative marker *an* for the first person, *a* for the second person, and *in* for the third person are indicated on the verb as we see in the table below.

Table.26. The inflection of the negative future passive voice

person	dink-am- eeta 'kiss-PASS-INF'	paldi-s-am- eeta 'wide-CAUS-PASS-INF.'
1SG.	an dink- am- o 1NEG -kiss- PASS- FUT. NEG	an paldi- s- am- o 1NEG wide- CAUS- PASS- FUT. NEG
2SG.	a d-dink- am- t- o 2NEG. SG- kiss- PASS- 2- FUT. NEG	a p-paldi-s- am- t- o 2NEG SG- wide-CAUS- PASS- 2- FUT. NEG
3M.SG	in - dink- am- o 3NEG- kiss- PASS- FUT.NEG	in- paldi-s- am-o 3NEG- wide- CAUS-PASS- FUT.NEG
3F.SG.	in- dink- am- t- o 3NEG-kiss- PASS- F- FUT.NEG.	in – paldi-s- am- t- o 3NEG-wide- CAUS-PASS- F- FUT.NEG
1 PL.	an dink- am- m- o 1NEG kiss- PASS-1PL- FUT.	an paldi-s- am- m- o 1-wide- CAUS- PASS- 1PL- FUT. NEG.
2PL.	a dink- am- tan 2NEG- kiss- PASS- 2PL.	a paldi-s- am- tan 2NEG.wide –CAUS- PASS - 2PL
3PL.	in -dink- am- a- n 3-kiss- PASS- FUT- PL.	i – paldi-s- am- a- n 3-wide- CAUS- PASS- FUT- PL.

From the table we can notice that there is a reduction of *-s* in the causative verb before the passive marker *-am-* comes. There is no passive voice for the middle verb class.

6.6. The Future of Autobenefactive

The autobenefactive future is marked by *-a*. The inflection pattern follows the structure of affirmative form of the *-ss-* verb class of the future tense. As we can see from the table below, there is a reduction of *-s* from the *-ss-* of the *-ssa* verb class just before the insertion of the benefactive marker *a*. The first person singular, the third person masculine singular, and the third person plural take *-d* just after the benefactive marker before the tense future marker-*a* comes. The second persons both plural and singular and the third person feminine singular insert *-tt-* after the autobenefactive marker *-a* and before the tense marker *-a* comes.

Table 27 The autobenefactive affirmative inflection

person	dink-a-tt- a 'kiss -AUTO-MIDD-INF.'	paldi-s-a-tt-a 'wide CAUS-AUTO- MIDD- INF '
1SG.	in- dink- a-d-a 1- kiss- AUTO- SG. MIDD- FUT.	in- paldi-s- a- d-a 1-wide- CAUS-AUTO- SG.MIDD- FUT.
2SG.	i-d- dink- a- tt-a 2-SG- kiss- AUTO-2MIDD- FUT.	i - p-paldi-s- a- tt- a 2-SG-wide-CAUS-AUTO- 2MIDD-FUT.
3M.SG	i - dink- a- d -a 3- kiss-AUTO- SG.MIDD.-FUT.	i- paldi-s-a- d- a 3-wide- CAUS-AUTO- SG. MIDD- FUT.
3F.SG.	i - dink- a- tt- a 3- kiss- AUTO- F. MIDD- FUT.	i- paldi-s- a- tt- a 3-wide-CAUS.AUTO- F. SG- FUT.
1PL.	in - dink- a- nn- a 1- kiss- AUTO- PL- FUT.	in- paldi-s- a- nn- a 1- wide-CAUS AUTO- PL- FUT
2PL.	i - dink- a- tt-a-n 2- kiss- AUTO- 2MIDD- FUT-PL.	i- paldi-s- a- tt-a-n 2-wide- CAUS-AUTO - 2 MIDD- FUT- PL.
3PL.	i - dink- a- d- a- n 3-kiss- AUTO- 3MIDD- FUT- PL	i – paldi- s- a - d- a- n 3-wide- CAUS-AUTO-3- FUT- PL

Generally, as we can see from the table above both the *-eeta* verb classes and the causative verbs take the same ending just after the autobenefactive marker *-a*. and that is why we have similar ending in the inflection.

6.7. The Negation of Future Autobenefactive

The negative form of the future tense of the benefactive follows similar pattern in both columns since the endings of both verbs are similar as we can see from the table below.

Table 28 The Negative inflection of the Autobenefactive

person	dink- a- tt-a 'kiss-AUTO- MIDD- INF'	paldi-s- a- tta 'wide-CAUS-AUTO- MIDD- INF'
1SG.	an dink- a-d- o 1NEG kiss- AUTO- SG.MIDD- FUT.NEG	an paldi-s- a- d- o 1NEG kiss-AUTO- SG MIDD- FUT. NEG.
2SG.	a d- dink- a- tt- o 2-SG kiss- AUTO-2MIDD- FUT.NEG	a p- paldi- s- a- tt- o NEG SG. wide- CAUS- AUTO- 2MIDD –FUT. NEG.
3M.SG	in - dink- a- d -o 3NEG- kiss- AUTO- 3MIDD- FUT.NEG	in- paldi-s- a- d- o 3-wide- CAUS-AUTO-3MIDD- FUT. NEG.
3F.SG.	in - dink- a - tt - o 3NEG- kiss- AUT- F.MIDD- FUT.NEG	in- paldi-s- a- tt- o 3NEG- wide- CAUS-AUT- F- FUT.NEG
1PL.	an dink- a- nn- o 1NEG kiss- AUTO- PL- FUT NEG	an paldi-s- a- nn- o 1NEG wide- CAUS-AUTO- PL- FUT. NEG
2PL.	a dink-a- tt-a-n 2NEG- kiss- AUTO- 2MIDD- FUT- PL.	a paldi-s- a- tt-a-n 2NEG wide-CAUS-AUTO- 2MIDD-FUT-PL.
3PL.	in - dink-s- a- d- a- n 3NEG- kiss- AUTO- 3MIDD- FUT-PL.	in- paldi- s- a- d- a- n 3NEG-wide- CAUS-AUTO- 3MIDD- FUT- PL

As we can easily notice in the negation, the voice marker is not affected but it is the tense marker *-a* which changes into *-o* except for the second person plural and the third person plural as we have seen in the active voice of the negative future.

6.8. Summary

So far, we have seen different features of the verb inflection for the future tense in relation to grammatical voices (active, passive, and middle) and grammatical persons, number, and gender. We have also seen that the autobenefactive shares similar endings in both *-eeta* and causative verbs.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RELATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS AND PARTICIPLES

In the previous chapters, we have seen that how the verbs are inflected in absolute tenses for different grammatical persons, number, and gender. But in this chapter, we briefly look at relative constructions and verb inflection as we have been analyzing so far. Before proceeding to the details, let us start with adverbial clause in (168) which gives background for the main clause and a relative clause in example (169) which have different vowel ending in the verb.

(168)	Oo	Skan- opa	an - no - yye,	letta
	When	Sakana- to	go -PRS. PRTC- SUBORD.	day
	pisa	are - ppa	nesa - nni	
	all	here - in	rest - PRS.	

‘When he goes to Sakana, he always rests at this place.’

(169)	a	keer- ri- tt- o- yye,	fura	kela	pi- e.
	3 REL.	run- PRS - 3F- PRS. PRTC- SUBORD.	key	under	fall- PST.

‘While she was running, key fell from her.’

As we can see from the above adverbial time clause (168) and the relative clause as we see in (167), we have present participle form of the verb in the subordinate clause while the tense in the main clause can be either present tense as in (169) or past tense as one can see in (169). In the following sections, we will try to see how the verbs are inflected in different tenses in the relative clauses.

7.1. The Past Participle

In relative clauses, the verbs do not fully inflect for all the persons. Here the preverbal subject marker does not occur on the verb as it usually happens in absolute tenses. Instead of the preverbal subject marker, in relative clauses, the common relative marker *a* comes before the participle form of the verb. All the subjects of the verb follow the pattern of the third person masculine singular form except for the third person feminine singular where the gender marker *-t/-tt* at the root final of the verb is kept as an indicator of the gender marker as we can see in the following example.

- (170) Kussiyya teleteeta a qep - t- e qul- e.
 Kussiyya female goat REL break -3F- PST. drive- PST.

‘Kussiyya drove a broken female goat.’

Morphologically, Konso does not mark nouns for case. However, in the personal pronouns we have two accusative forms *ana* ‘me’ for the first person singular and *ke* ‘you’ for the second person singular respectively which are used in relative construction. Look at the following couple of examples.

- (171) Roopo ana a keer-e hal- e.
 Roopo I (ACC.) REL. run - PST. call- PST.

‘Roopo called I who ran.’

- (172) Uramale ke a dam - e daan - e.
 Urmale you (ACC.) REL eat- PST chase - PST.

‘Urmale chased you who ate.’

In the relative clauses, the past participle ends with the same tense marker *-e* for all persons. However, the plural subjects are differentiated by intonation on the final vowel of the tense marker. This intonation affects the *i* of the preverbal subject marker of the main verb in the main clause which follows the subordinate clause. Therefore, when the subject of the relative clause is plural, the *i* on the following main verb of the main

clause changes into-*e* and suffixed to the final part of the verb of the relative clause and pronounced as an independent syllable as we can see in example (174) and (175).

- (173) Pittitta ana a sooka-d- e hal- e.
Pittitta I (ACC.) REL. go field- MIDD- PST. call- PST.

‘Pittitta called I who went to the field.’

- (174) Pittitta ishhotta a sooka- d- e- e hal- e.
Pittitta they REL. go field- MIDD- PST- PREV. call- PST.

‘Pittitta called they who went to the field.’

- (175) ino ishina a soka-d- e- e- n hale- n- e
We you REL. go field- MIDD- PST- PREV-1 call-1PL- PST.

‘We called they who went to the field.’

The full past participle inflection with their subject pronouns are indicated in the following table.

Table .29. The inflection of the past participle

person	dink- eeta 'kiss-INF'	paldi-ss- a 'wide-CAUS-INF'	xassoo-tt- a 'become happy-MIDD-INF'
1SG.	ana a dink- e I REL. kiss- PST	ana a paldi- sh- e I REL wide- CAUS- PST	Ana a xasoo- d- e I REL. become happy- PST
M.SG.	ke a dink- e you REL kiss- PST	ke a- paldi- sh- e you REL- wide- 2CAUS - PST	ke a- xasoo- d- e you REL.- become happy- PST
M.SG.	isha a dink- e he REL. kiss- PST	isha a- paldi- sh- e he REL wide- 3CAUS- PST	Isha a xasoo- d- e sha REL. become happy- PST
3F.SG.	isheeta a dinki- t- e she REL. kiss- 3F- PST	isheeta a plaid- ss- e she REL wide- 3FCAUS- PST	isheeta a xasoo - tt- e e REL. become happy- 3F- PST
1PL.	ino a dink- e we REL. kiss- PST	ino a paldi- sh- e we REL. wide- PL CAUS- PST	ino a xasoo- d- e we REL. become happy- PST
2PL.	ishina a dink- e you REL. kiss- PST	ishina a paldi- sh- e you REL. wide- 2CUAS- PST	ishina a xasoo- d- e you REL. become happy- PST
3PL.	ishootta a dink- e they REL kiss- PST	ishootta a paldi -sh- e they REL- wide- 3PL. CAUS- PST	Ishootta a- xasoo- d- e they REL.- become happy- PST

From the table we can note that the *-ss-* of the causative verbs changes into *-sh-*. For all persons regardless of the number except for the third person feminine singular where it remains as *-ss-* to indicate the gender. Similarly, the middle voice, the voice marker *-tt-* changes into *-d* for all persons except for the third person feminine singular where it remains as *-tt-*. In fast speech, the relative marker *a* usually assimilates to the final *-a* of the noun phrase of the relative clause and most of the time creates difficulty for the beginner learners to identify. Most of the learners perceive it as indicated in the following examples.

- (176) Xaykitta-a de- e ulfeess- a
 Guest-REL. come-PST respect- 2PL.IMP.

‘Respect the guest who came.’

- (177) Nama- a put- e xorma.
 Man- REL win- PST hero

‘A man who won is hero.’

But when the final vowel of the subject of the relative clause ends in different vowel other than *-a*, the relative marker *a* of the relative clause is not assimilated to the preceding noun phrase and can easily realized as an independent element as we can see from following examples.

- (178) Ishoota ke a dula qot- e faa- ni.
 They you (ACC.) REL. field farm- PST want- PRS.

‘They want you who farmed the field.’

- (179) Kusse Dako a pi- e qii- ni.
 Kusse Dako REL. fall - PST beat- PRS.

‘Kusse beats Dako who fell.’

7.2. The Negation of the Past Participle

The negative form of the past participle uses the relative negative marker *an* for all persons in relative clause. The *-ss-* of the causative verbs and *-tt-* of the middle voices are dropped out and replaced by *-nni* before the final negative suffix *-n* comes for the

singular subjects. For plural subjects, the final negative suffix marker is *-ni* when the relative clause is not yet followed by the main clause. When the relative clause combines with the main clause, the *-i* of the preverbal subject marker of the main clause normally suffixed to the negative marker *-n* of the singular relative negative marker and makes it as we can see in (180) *-ni* while for the plural relative negative marker, it makes the negative relative ending as *-ni-i* where the final *-i* is pronounced as an independent syllable as indicated in examples (181) and (182).

(180) Isha nama an dee- ni- ni hal- e
He man NEG.REL come- NEG- REL NEG. call- PST.

‘He called a man who did not come.’

(181) Kalato ino an dee- ni- ni- i hal- e.
Kalato us NEG. REL come- NEG- PREV. call- PST.

‘Kalato called we who did not come.’

(182) Ino ishoota an dee-ni- i- n hale- n-e.
We them REL.NEG. come- NEG- PREV-1 call- PL- PST.

‘We called them who did not come.’

The following table shows the inflection of an independent negative Relative past tense.

Table .30. The negation of the relative past tense

Number	dink- eeta 'kiss-INF'	Paldi-ss- a 'wide-CAUS- INF'
SG.	an dinki- ni- n NEG. REL kiss- PST - NEG.	an paldi - nni- n NEG. REL. wide- PST- NEG
PL.	an dinki- ni- ni REL. kiss- PST-NEG	an paldi -nni- ni REL.wide- PST- NEG.

Another factor is that when there is a preverbal constituent or a direct object in the relative clause, the relative negative marker *an* of the negated verb comes before the direct object of the verb where by it drops out *-n* and only the *-a* of the negative

marker appears at the beginning of the object of the relative clause as we see in in example (183) as contrasted with example (184).

(183)	Ino	isha	a	koda- n	koo- n
	We	him	NEG.REL.	work- NEG	work- NEG.
	qarae	kal- e- n.			
	on	come- PST -3PL			

‘We came up on he who did not do the work.’

(184)	Ino	isha	an	koo- n	qarae	kal-e- n.
	We	him	NEG.REL.	work- NEG.	on	come- PST- PL

‘We came upon him who did (not do the work).’

7. 3. The Present Participle

In present participle, the absolute present tense marker *-ni* changes into relative present participle marker *-no* for all *-eeta* verb classes and *-nno* for causative verbs and middle voices for singular subjects. In the third person feminine singular, we have *-nni* before the gender marker *-tt-* then comes the participle marker *-o* of the dependent clause. All the infinitive suffixes are dropped out from the root and substituted by the participle marker. The causative verbs and the middle voices follow the same inflectional pattern after the root of the verb. Therefore, the causative voices will follow similar pattern of the verb *xassoo-tt-a* ‘to become happy’ as can we see in the following table

Table 31 The inflection of the present participle

person	dink- eeta ' kiss-INF'	xassoo-tt-a ' become happy-MIDD-INF'
SG.	a dinki- n- o REL. kiss- PRS- SG. PRTC.	a xasoo- nn- o REL. become happy- PRS- SG. PRTC.
3F.SG.	a dinki- ni- tt- o REL. kiss- PRS- F- PRTC.	a xasoo - nni- tt- o REL. become happy- PRS-F- PRTC.
1PL.	a dinki- n- a REL. kiss- PRS- PRTC.PL	a xasoo - nn- a REL. become happy- PRS- PRTC.PL

From the above table, we can generalize that the present participle marker for singular subject is *-o* while for plural subjects it is *-a* and come after *-n* the marker for the present tense. For the third person feminine singular, the participle marker vowel *-o* comes after the gender marker *-tt-*. Let us also see a couple of sentences concerning the present participle.

- (185) Tannapo ino a piifa piifa- nn- a
 Tannapo we REL. lunch eat-PRS -PRTC .PL
- kappa- nne tarp- e.
 near- INS pass- PST.

‘Tannapo passed by us who eat lunch.’

- (186) Killano isheeta a dama anqal- li- tt- o.
 Killano she REL. food cook- PRS-F-PRTC.SG
- dawri- ni
 prohibit- PRS

‘Killano prohibits she who cooks food.’

- (187) Hell- ose- n enenta a keer- ri- tt- o hal- e- n.
 Children- DEM- PL. girl REL. run- PRS- F- PRTC. SG. call- PST- PL.

‘These children called a girl who runs.’

Generally speaking, the relative marker *-a* comes just after the subject of the relative clause whether there is a direct object as in (185) and (186) or not as in (187).

7.4. The Negative Present Participle

The negative of present participle uses the copula as we have seen in the case of the absolute present tense in chapter four. The negative preverbal marker *-n* on the copula verb is suffixed to the main verb of the relative clause while the negative suffix *-n* of the copula verb remains on the copula as we can see in the following table.

Table 32 The negative form of the present participle

Subject	Combination of the main verb and the copula in present Tense relative tense	
SG.	a dinki- ni - n REL kiss- PRS - NEG.	ki- nni - n be- PRS- NEG.
PL.	a dink- ni - n REL.- kiss- PRS- PL.	ki- nni - n- i be- PRS- NEG- PL.
SG.	a xasoo- nni- n REL. become happy- PRS- NEG.	ki- nni - n be-SG- NEG.
PL.	a xasoo - nni- n REL. become happy- PRS-	ki- nni- n- i be- PSR.- NEG- PL.

Again here we can see, that the final *-i* at the end of the negative copula suffix shows plural subject. This *-i* predicts the expectation of the *i* of *i(n)* of the preverbal subject marker of the main clause that follows the negative copula which under normal utterance comes at the end of the preverbal constituent of the sentence as indicated in

(188)

(188) Isha a kaha- nni- n ki- nni- ni hal- e
He_{NEG.} REL. play - PRS- NEG. be- PRS- NEG. call- PST

‘He called the children who are not playing’

- (189) Ishonna a xasoo- ni- n ki- nni- ni- i- n
 They REL. NEG become happy- PRS- NEG-1 be- PRS-NEG- PREV- 1 NEG.
 hale- n- e
 call-1PL- PST

‘We called them who are not playing.’

- (190) Ino a tiko- pa kal- li- nn ki- nni- ni- i
 We REL. home- to come- PRS- NEG. be- PRS- NEG -PREV
 hale- t- e
 call- F- PST.

‘She called we who are not coming to home.’

But, if the mood of the main clause is imperative, where the subject is not emphasized and not marked on the verb, there is no-*i* at the end of negative suffix of the copula.

Look at the following examples.

- (191) Hella a kaha- nni – n ki- nni- ni hal- a
 Children NEG.REL. play- PRS – NEG be- PRS- NEG. call-2PL.IMP.

‘Call the children who are not playing.’

- (192) Isha a kaha- nni- n ki- nni- n hal- e.
 He NEG REL. play- PRS- NEG be- PRS- NEG. call-.PST.

‘He called he one is not playing.’

7.5. The Future Participle

The inflection of the future Participle can fall into two endings as far as the endings of the vowels are concerned. The singular persons, including the third person feminine singular, all have an *-o* ending.

- (193) Ropayyo Kusse a de- o tura mur- e
 Ropayyo Kusse REL. come- FUT. PRTC. before block- PST

‘Ropayyo blocked Kusse who will come.’

- (194) Ishseeta ke a dam- o dawri- t- e.
 She you (SG..ACC.) REL. eat- FUT.PRTC prohibit- F -PST.

‘She prohibited you will eat.’

However, the plural subjects have *-a* ending. The *-ss-* of the *-ssa* verb classes changes into *-sh-* for all persons except for the third person feminine singular where the gender marker *-t/-tt* is kept as a compulsory marker to indicate the gender.

- (195) Paallee-se ishoota a dam- a- e dawir- t- e.
 Village- DEF. they REL. eat- FUT. PL. PRTC - PREV. prohibit- F- PST

‘The village prohibited they who will eat.’

- (196) ino ishina a taaf- a- e- n akki- n- e.
 We you(PL.) REL.write- FUT. PL. PRTC. PREV- 1 see- PL- PST.

‘We saw you who will write’

The inflection of the future participle including the personal pronouns can be summarized as in the following table.

Table .33. The affirmative inflection of the future participle

Person	dink- eeta 'kiss-INF'			paldi-ss-a 'wide-CAUS- INF'		
1SG.	ana me	a REL.	dink- o kiss- SG.	ana me	a REL.	paldi- sh- o wide- CAUS- SG.
2M.SG.	ke you	a REL.	dink- o kiss- SG.	ke you	a REL.	paldi- sh- o wide-CAUS- SG.
3M.SG.	isha he	a REL.	dink- o kiss-SG	isha he	a REL.	paldi-sh- o wide- CAUS-SG.
3F.SG.	isheeta she	a REL.	dinki- t- o kiss- 3F-SG	isheeta she	a REL.	paldi- ss- o wide-3F.CAUS. SG.
1PL.	ino we	a REL.	dink- a kiss- PL	ino we	a REL.	paldi-sh- a wide-CAUS- PL.
2 PL.	ishina you	a REL.	dink- a kiss- PL.	ishina you	a REL.	paldi-sh- a wide- CAUS- PL.
3 PL.	ishoota they	a REL.	dink- a kiss- PL.	ishoota they	a REL.	paldi- sh- a wide- CAUS-PL.

The *-tt-* of the middle voices marker changes into *-d* for all persons except for the third person feminine singular where *-tt-* remains unchanged as it is compulsory marker to indicate the gender before the relative future marker *-o* comes. Except for the third person feminine singular, the subject of the future participle is understood from the context of the utterance or should be indicated since the end of all singular subjects is *-o* and that of the plural subjects is *-a* as we can see from the above table.

7.6. The Negative Future Tense

The negative form of the Future participle has the preverbal negative subject marker *an* for all persons regardless of the number and gender and the negative suffix *-n* for singular subjects and *-ni* for plural subjects. When the *-i* or *in* of the main clause combines with the negative suffix *-n* or *ni*, it is attached to the end of the verb of the

relative clause. The tense is marked with *-ni* for *-eeta* verb class and *-nni* for *-ssa* and *-tta* verb classes as it is summarized in the following table.

Table .34. The negative inflection of the relative future tense

Subject	dink- eeta 'kiss-INF'	xasoo-tt-a 'become happy-MIDD-INF'
SG.	an dinki – ni - ni REL. NEG.- kiss- FUT. NEG	an xasoo- nni- n REL. become happy- FUT- NEG.
PL.	an dinki- ni- ni- i RELNEG - kiss- FUT- NEG.	an xasoo - nni- n- i REL. NEG. become happy FUT.- NEG - PL.

Note here that the negative future participle suffix *-ni/ -nni* is similar to the affirmative suffixed of the present tense. The difference is that the negative future participle has an initial negative marker *an* for all persons and the negative suffix marker *-n* for singular subjects and *-ni* for plural subjects as indicated in the table above.

When the subject of the relative clause is plural and the subject of the main clause is plural other than the first person plural, the preverbal subject marker *i* of the second and third person comes at the end of the relative clause and stand as an independent morpheme as cotarst to singular subject of the real clause (196). When it is independent, we use the symbol (-) between the identical vowels to show that the vowel is pronounced as an independent syllable.

(197) Kaaso isheetta an xasoo- nni- ni hal - e.
Kaaso she REL.NEG. become happy- FUT. NEG-SG. call- PST.

‘Kaaso called she who does not rejoice.’

(198) Furoote ino an harmisa- nni- ni- i asi- ni.
Furoote we REL.NEG. ready- FUT- NEG- PREV. wait- PRS.

‘Furoote is waiting for we who are not ready.’

But when the subject of the main clause is the first, the *-n* is suffixed to the relative clause as we can see in example (199) where the subject of the relative clause is

singular. But when the subject of the relative clause is plural as in example (200), the *-n* of the first person in the main clause, comes after *-i* the prverbal subject marker of the verb of the main clause.

(199) Ino Sokkate an dee-ni- n asi- n- e.
We Sokkate REL.NEG. come- FUT. NEG -1 wait- PL.PST.

‘We waited for Sokkate who did come.’

(200) Anti hella an dee- ni- i- n asi-ni.
I children REL. NEG. come- FUT.NEG - PREV- 1 wait- PRS.

‘I wait for the children who did not come.’

7.7. Relative Construction and Definiteness

So far we have seen some examples where the subject of the relative clauses is not definite. But when the subject of the relative clause is definite or takes a demonstrative adjective, the relative marker *a* of the relative clause disappears. Remember also that when the verb of the main clause is pragmatically unfocused, the *i* of the preverbal subject marker on the main verb of the main clause disappears after the *-o* of the relative clause as one can see in the following examples.

(201) a) Ishina orra a dee - no dawri- t- e - n.
You people REL. come - 3 SG. PRS.PRTC. prohibit-2-PST- PL.

‘You prohibited a people who come.’

b) Ishootta orra-se dee- no dawr - e - n.
They people -DEF come- PRS.PRTC. prohibit- PST- PL.

‘They prohibited the people who come.’

c) Mato orr-ose dee-no dawr- e.
Mato people- DEM come- PRS. PRTC. prohibit- PST.

‘Mato prohibited these people who come.’

d) Ino Parisha-se dee- no - n dawri- n- e
We Parisha-DEF. come- PRS. PRTC-1 prohibit-1PL. PST.

‘We prohibited Parisha who comes.’

But when the verb of relative ends in *a* as in the case of the plural subject of the relative clause, the *i* of the persons preverbal subject marker of the main clause becomes *-e* after the relative *a* of the relative clause. Look at the following examples.

(202) a) Olata ino a dee-na-e dawr - e
 Olata we REL. come- PL.PRS. PRTC- PREV. prohibit- PST.

‘Olata prohibited we who come.’

b) Olata ino- se- ne dee- na- e dawr- e.
 Olata we- DEF- PL. come- 1PL.PRS. PRTC- PREV. prohibit - PST.

‘Olata prohibited we who come.’

c) Anti lwalla-se-ne dee-na- e- n dawr- e.
 I cattle-DEF-PL. come-PL. PRS.PRTC- PREV-1 prohibit- PST.

‘I prohibited the cattle which come.’

d) Ino lwill-ose-n dee- na- e- n dawri-n - e.
 We cattle-DEM-PL. come- PL.PRS. PRTC- PREV -1 prohibite-PL.- PST.

‘We prohibited these cattle which come.’

In Konso, it is possible for personal pronouns and proper names to take the definite article to express the definiteness of the objects as we can see in example (203,a) and (203,b) indicated in the following examples.

(203) a) Killano ishoonna- se- ne dee-na-e fuk- e
 Killano they- DEF- PL. come- PRS. PRTC- PREV. rebuke- PST.

‘Killano rebuked the ones who come/ are coming.’

b) Killano-se dee- no ayshayye ch- a?
 Killano- DEF. come- PRS. PRTC. where be- PRS

‘Where is Killano the one who is coming?’

7.8. Summary

Here I would like to conclude the discussion on the relative and participle constructions. We have seen that present participle take *-no/-nno* in contrast to the present continuous tense where it is marked *-ni/-nni* as we have seen in chapter

five. The past past participle, more or less keeps its past tense marker-*e* on the verb in the relative clause. The future tense in relative clause end with *-o* for singular subject and *-a* for plural subject. This topic is deeper and needs further investigation with what I have tried to figure with in the context of the verb system and tense.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

So far we have seen the morphological analysis of the Konso verb. In the analysis I have tried to assess morphological features of the verb within the tense system of the language. We have seen that the project has seven chapters which have dealt with different topics.

In chapter one, I described some general important background information concerning the language, the people, and the research prospectus and the objective of the research.

In chapter two, we have seen an overview of the verb system and their derivations. We also saw some important information about the preverbal subject marker and its functions.

In chapter three, I briefly discussed how the main tenses of the language in different contexts and occurrences could be interpreted in aspectual sense while there is no clear morphological marker for aspect.

In chapter four, I briefly mentioned about the concept of tense with a time diagram. Then we continued our discussing about the past tense and how it marks the tense, and the different positions of the tense marker within the different verb classes.

In Chapter five, I discussed the present tense and its morphological marker with the main types of the verb classes. Similar related issues connected with the present tense are discussed in this section.

The sixth chapter deals with the verb morphological analysis of the verb in the context of the future tense. We have seen basic marker of the future tense and how the verbs are inflected in this particular tense.

In chapter seven we have seen about participles and relative constructions with their distinctive features.

I hope this research will pave a way for further studies on this area and other related topics of the language.

In this analysis of the verb morphology, we realized that different verb classes undergo different morphological and phonological change as they inflect for grammatical categories such as tense, mood, voice, and agreement. Specifically, tenses, mood, voice are marked at the end of the root. They never come at the beginning of the verb. Ordinary verbs such as transitive and intransitive verbs drop out the infinitive marker *-eeta* before they are inflected for tense and agreement. A certain group of Stative verbs have special form when they state habitual action or states (See section 5.8. and the following section). However, they also follow the inflectional pattern of the middle voice in other constructions. Verbs derived from adjectives like *kappa-tt-a* ‘to be fat’ exhibit similar inflectional pattern like that of middle voice. Except for the reduplications forms where the reduplicated part comes in the second syllable of the root, all the derivational forms of the different verbs take place at the end of the root of the verb.

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APPENDIX A

Sample lists of the three verb classes

Causative verbs(-ssa) class	Middle voice (-tta) class	Normal verbs (-eeta) class
paldi-ssa 'to make wide'	xasso-tta 'to become happy'	Dink-eeta 'to kiss'
pati-ssa 'to destroy, lose'	pifa- tta 'to eat lunch'	Peeq-eeta 'to rebuk'
puri-ssa 'to change'	tufa- tta 'to ignore, despise'	Taar- eeta 'to pour, liquid'
pixi- ssa 'to add water'	taroo- tta 'to be mad'	tiir- eeta' 'to uncoil'
paqi- ssa 'to break'	jeejja- tta 'to boast'	Puss- eeta 'to write '
pahi-ssa 'to soften.	kola- tta 'to learn, to be accustomed'	to- eeta 'to die'
libhi- ssa 'to put of fire'	kalla- tta 'to live'	ku- eeta 'to bewean'
pixi- ssa 'to forgive'	kippa- tta 'to hope fro'	tuq- eeta 'to pour out, scatter'
dai-ssa 'to hit, bit'	upina- tta 'to know'	dash- eeta 'to give'
tammaqi- ssa 'to frighten'	fayya- tta 'to climb'	dek- eeta 'to hide'
kolli- ssa 'to teach'	xasso- tta 'to be happy'	kut- eeta 'to go for hunting'
qepi- ssa 'to break'	Haasawa- tta 'to speak'	qom- eeta 'to bite'
akki- ssa 'to show'	xaxa- tta' To swear, vow.	juut- eeta 'to hide'
iki- ssa 'to water, let drink'	chaa- tta 'to lve'	uum- eeta 'to create'
ika- ssa 'to kill'	chapa- tta 'to be strong'	keer- eeta 'to run'
atta - ssa 'to make white'	Dukaysa- tta 'to believe'	dam- eeta 'to eat'
alawna- ssa 'to make smell good'	Suraysa- tta 'to feel sympathy'	qal- eeta 'to slaughter'
ilawna- ssa 'to make green'	nessa- tta 'to rest'	hoodd- eeta 'to bring fire'
upna- ssa 'to make known'	imaka- tta 'to fill for onselfed'	Haad- eeta 'to carry'

fayyi- ssa 'to help to climb'	nessa- tta 'to rest'	Juujj- eeta 'to suck'
fanni- ssa 'to crucify'	sooka- tta 'to go to field'	Mur- eeta 'to cut'
xasa-ssa 'to make happy'	uwisa- tta 'to wear'	Maq- eeta to change a way'
muqi- ssa 'to show sign of sllep'	alaysa- tta 'to smell'	torr- eeta 'to tell, narrate'
mai- ssa 'to tak away'	oorsa- tta 'to get it back'	Toor- eeta 'to oppose'
miira- ssa 'to make angry'	xora- tta 'to be ounished'	Qudd- eeta 'to spear'
nukkula- ssa 'to weaken'	porinatta 'to become black'	Xojj- eeta 'to skratch'
nyapali- ssa 'to destroy, damage'	Paqarina- tta 'to become beautiful, good'	hal- eeta 'to call'
seka- ssa 'to make far'	tipina- tta 'to become red'	mur- eeta 'to cut'
impasi- ssa 'to make awake'	kutta- tta 'to grow'	uy-eeta 'to shout for joy'
oori- ssa 'to return'	xayyo- tta 'to grow into youthhood'	
araari- ssa 'to reconcile'	dika- tta 'to think'	
leka- ssa 'to multiply'	jaqa- tta 'to wash'	

APPENDIX B

The following table shows verbs with root endings which go under assimilation during present tense inflection (See discussion under Assimilation in chapter five).

T	d	r	L	N	M
ot-eeta 'to insult'	kod-eeta 'to do'	mar-eeta 'to coil up'	lel-eeta 'to tell'	aan-eeta 'to go'	uum-eeta 'to create'
pat-eeta 'to be lost'	haad-eeta 'to carry'	keer-eeta 'to run'	xol-eeta 'to put'	on-eeta 'to be empty'	dam-eeta 'to eat'
kut-eeta 'to go for huntig'	ked-eeta 'to go ealry'	taar-eeta 'to pour'	hal-eeta 'to call'	pan-eeta	tum-eeta 'to crush'
hat-eeta 'to steal'	qeed-eeta 'to take'	nyer-eeta 'to dare'	qal-eeta 'sluaghter'	qun-eet 'to put in order'	toom-eeta 'to bit with fist'
yet-eeta 'to step on'	ad-eeta 'to nurse'	nyir-eeta 'to cusre'	yaal-eeta 'to labour'	an-eeta 'to go'	
fat-eeta	fad-eeta 'to look for'	oor-eeta 'to return'	peel-eeta 'to flee'	qanin-eeta 'to bite'	
diit-eeta 'to kick'	dud-eeta 'to spear'	aar-eeta 'to get angry'			
juut-eeta 'to hide'	ad-eeta 'to nurse'	shor-eeta 'to jumb'			
ot-eeta 'to insult'					

APPENDIX C

Kara ka Karma Squirrel and lion

1. Xattayye karra ka karma ollin kal- a kii- ni.
In the past squirrel and lion together live-PRS. say-PRS.

‘In the former times, it was said that a squirrel and a lion were living together’

2. Karma aypuyyata Karra ka- n ashuma.
Lion uncle Squirrel and- FOC cousin.

‘The lion is the uncle and the squirrel is the cousin’

- (3) Ete ollin kal-a-n-e- yye, kuyyaata
When together live-PRS-3PL.-PST-SUBORD, day
- takka- yye, karra i- ppayy- e ka karma
one-SUBORD. squirrel 3- begin- PST. and lion
- kii-ni “alle lwall-ose- n qal-a- nn- a
say-PRS. ”away cattle-DEM- PL kill-PRS- 1PL-JUSS.
- ka oori lwalla- se-ne qala-d- e- n ka swa
and then cattle- DEF- PL. kill- MIDD- PST- PL and meat
- kasu olli qoot – e - n.”
also each other divide - PST-PL.

‘While they were live together, one day the squirrel began to say to the lion “Let us kill our cattle; and then they killed the cattle and divided the meat between themselves.”

- (4) Karma ka karra kii- ni “Asum-o karr- o,
Lion and squirrel say PRS. “Cousin- VOC. squirrel- VOC,
- aan- e ka apitta ino hoodd- e.”
go-2SG.IMP and fire us bring-2 SG.IMP.

‘And the lion said “My cousin, squirrel, go and bring a fire for us.”

- (5) Karra ka aan-e ka hoodd- e ka
Squirrel and go- PST. and bring- PST and

ee	kal- lo- yye,		alle	pulpul- e	ka
when	come- PRS.PRTC- SUBORD.		away	scatter- PST	and
de- e	ka	karma	kii- ni	“Ha, apuyya,	
come-.PST.	and	lion	say- PRS.	“look uncle	
puppeeta	ana	qara	libbi-sh- e.”		
”wind	me	on	put off-CAUS- PST		

‘And the squirrel went out to bring the fire. While he was coming back, he scattered the fire and said (the lion) ‘My uncle, wind has put off the fire.’

(6)	Karma	ka	amma	kid- e- we	“Amma	ishi
	Lion	and	now	say- PST- also	“Now	3SG.DAT
	aan- e - win-		ka	sayne.”		
	go- 2SG. IMP-also		and	you”		

‘But the lion said again (to him) “Please go for it again”

(7)	I-kka	aan- e.
	3-and	go- PST.

‘And he went.’

(8)	Ete	hoodd- e	ka	kal- lo- yye- w,		
	When	bring- PST	and	come -PRS. PRTC- SUBORD- also,		
	sinda	oppa	sindaw - e	ka	libb-sh- e	ka
	urine	in	urinate - PST.	and	put off-CAUS-PST	and
	kii- ni	“Apuyya,	uusheta	takka	ana	qara
	say- PRS.	”uncle,	little rain	one	me	on
	de -e	ka	apitta	libb-sh- e - y		hela
	come -PST.	and	fire	put off -CAUS-PST- SUBORD.,		Q
	i-are	kay- t- e?”				
	3- here	arrive-F- PST?”				

‘And again when he took (it) and comes, he urinated on it and put it off and said to (the lion) ‘My uncle did a little rain which has come up on me, arrive here?’

(9)	Karma	ka	kii- ni	“Ashum-o,	in- kay- n- e
	Lion	and	say- PRS.	“Cousin-VOC	3NEG- arrive- NEG- PST
	ma	amma	aan- e- w	ka	hoodd- e- w.”
	but	now	go- 2SG. IMP- also	and	take-2SG. IMP- also.

‘And the lion said ‘My cousin, it did not arrive. But now go again and bring it’

- (10) I-kka anta xee- w ka ee an- no- yye,
 3-and go-INF rise- also and when go- PRS.PRTC- SUBORD
 qetta xalenta kamant- oppa issi toomm-e
 thorn tree heel- in for himself he put in-PST
 ka oor- e ka karma kii- ni “Apuyy-a
 and retun- PST. and lion say-PRS. “uncle-VOC,
 in- to- e sayne.”
 1- die- PST. please.”

‘And he started to go again and while he is going he put a thorn of tree into his heel and returned back and said to the lion I have died please.’

- (11) I-kka kii- ni “Maana?”
 3-and say-PRS “What?”

‘And he (the lion) said ‘What happened to you?’

- (12) i-kka kii- ni “Qetta xelta an-oppa qep- e”
 3- and say- PRS. “thorn tree me-in break- PST.”

‘And he says a thorn of a tree was broken in me.’

- (13) karma ka oori kid- e “Ashum- o, fate- aayti
 Lion and then say- PST. “Cousin- VOC, chance-2SG. GEN
 i- tiit- t- e - yy, xooy- e swa
 3- refuse- F-PST-SUBORD. come- 2SG. IMP. meat
 tooyt -e ka ana ishi aan-a-y.”
 keep -2SG. IMP. and me 3SG.DAT I go-FUT-SUBORD.”

‘And then the lion said “My cousin, since your fate is not good, come and keep the meat and I will go and bring it. “

- (14) Ka oori apitta-se-ti taw-e.
 “And then fire- DEF-SPEC leave-PST.

‘And then he left for the fire’

- (15) Ete karma apitta-se-ti aan- e - yye, karra swa-se- ne
 When lion fire-the-SPEC go- PST- SUBORD, squirrel meat-DEF-PL
 pisa turan qaawa kar-opa qhash- e ka pir- e
 all before hole in-to collect- PST. and finish- PST.

‘When the lion left for the fire, the squirrel took all the meat into the hole.’

- (16) Ete karma oor- e- yye, swa apari- n cha-n.
When lion return- PST-SUBORD, meat where -NEG be-NEG

‘When the lion came back, there was no meat’

- (17) Ete faa - no - yye, isha a matta tin- no
When want- PRS.PRTC-SUBORD, he REL head pull-PRS. PRTC.

kaasa ka qaawa kar-opa kull-a tiit- e
horn and hole in-to enter- INF. refuse- PST

akk- e ka kamma eekta qap- e
see - PST. and behind tail catch- PST.

‘When he was looking for him (the squirrel), he saw the squirrel who was pulling the head and the head got stuck in the hole. And the lion grasped the tail of the squirrel.’

- (18) Karra ka xosal- li ka kii- ni
Squirrel and laugh- PRS. and say- PRS.

“ana- n dab- t- e hittina kolalta dab.”
“me-INS miss-2- PST. root kolalata catch”

‘And the squirrel laughed and said ‘You missed and caught the root of the kolalta (tree) ‘

- (19) I-kka isha di-sh-e ka hittina kolalta lab
3-and him leave-CAUS- PST. and root kolalta catch

kii-sh- e.
make-CAUS- PST

‘And he (the lion) left him and caught the root of Kolaoata’

- (20) Karra ka oori qaawa-se kar- opa taw- e kii- ni
Squirrel and then hole-the in- to go- PST. say-PRS

“And then the squirrel went into the hole it was said.”