

A Grammar of Mursi,
a Nilo-Saharan Language

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The research presented and reported in this thesis was conducted in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research, 2007. The research study proposal received human research ethics approval from the JCU Human Research Ethics Committee on 29 November 2016, Application ID H6785.

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Abstract

This is a grammar of Mursi (ethnologue code ISO 639-3 *muz*), a Surmic language which belongs to the Nilo-Saharan language family. This grammar is the first detailed description of Mursi language written based on an immersion fieldwork in the villages of the Mursi community between 2017 and 2019. Consequently, a considerable amount of examples incorporated in this grammar came from the data collected during the two years which mainly include an extensive corpus of texts from different genres. This grammar is also based on a linguistic analysis theoretical framework called Basic Linguistic Theory (BLT). Following BLT, this reference grammar has incorporated fourteen chapters covering the phonology, morphology and syntax of the language. The result is thus a full documentation for the speakers of this little-known language. It is also a valuable source material for linguists and anthropologists who are interested in ethnocultural documentations, and for typologists who are interested in the areas of descriptive and comparative studies of the Surmic Group languages.

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Abbreviations and conventions

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	subject of transitive verb
ADJ	adjective
AP	antipassive
ANA:REF	anaphoric reference (see REF:DEM)
APPL	applicative
ATTU	attenuative
AUG	augmentative
AUX	auxiliary
BEN	benefactive
C	consonant
CAUS	causative
C.PRED	copula predicate
CC	copula complement
CCN	clause coordinator
CL	clause
COM	comitative
COMPL	complement
COP	copula
COND	conditional
CONT	continuative
CRD:PART	ordinative.partitive
CS	copula subject
D/PSD	possessed
DO	direct object
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DIS.CRD	disjunctive coordinator
DUR	durative
EXC	exclusive
FOC	focus
GEN	genitive
HORT	hortative
EMPH	emphatic
EPENT	epenthetic
IMP	imperative
IMPERV	imperfective
INC	inclusive
INCEPT	inceptive
INDEF	indefinite
INTENS	intensifier
INTERJ	interjection

INTR.PRED	intransitive predicate
IO	indirect object
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative
MOD	modification marker
MA	motion away
MN	manner
MT	motion towards
NP	noun phrase
N.S	nouns of state
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative
NOMZ	nominalizer
NRSTR	non-restrictive modification marker
O	object of transitive verb
Ø	zero
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
ORD	ordinal number
PASS	passive
PERT	pertensive
PERV	perfective
pl,PL	plural
PN	pronoun
PNC	phrase coordinator
QUOT	quotative
R/PSR	possessor
RC	relative clause
RS	resolution marker
REC	recent
RECIP	reciprocal
REDUP	reduplication
REF	referential
REFL	reflexive
RSTR	restrictive modification marker
S	subject of intransitive verb
SEQ	sequential
sg,SG	singular
RSTR	restrictive
SBJV	subjunctive
SP	specific
STV	stative
SU	subject
SUBORD	subordinate
TEMP	temporal
tr	transitive
TR.PRED	transitive predicate
V	vowel
VFS	verb-final suffix
//	phonemic

= clitics
[] phonetic
< > grapheme/orthography
word boundary
* hypothetical reconstruction/ungrammatical

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 The Mursi people: historical background

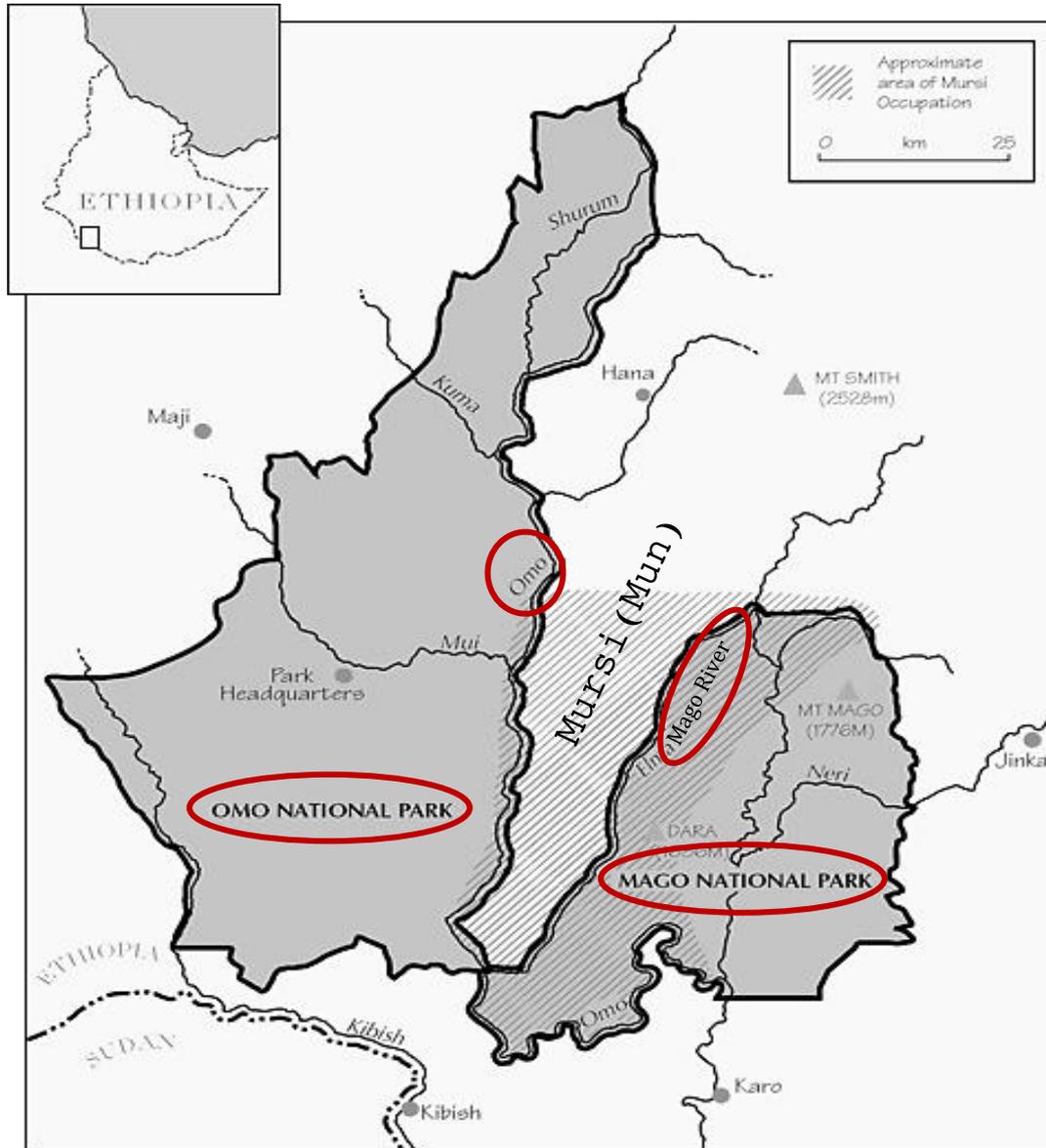
The Mursi (autodenomination *Mùn* plural or *Mùnì* singular) are a small group of people numbering around 7,500 (Population Census Commission, 2007), who live in the Lower Omo Valley (5° 20' N and 6° 14' N), Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State (SNNPRS), Ethiopia. The Mursi are called by alternative names: *Murzi*, *Murzu*, *Murutu* (see Map 2), *Meritu*, *Dama*, and *Mùnèn*. The Amhara (the so-called highlanders or *kúchúmbáj* by the Mursi) call them Mursi and their language *mursija*. Their southern neighbors (the Nyangatom) call them *jikalabəŋ*¹ and their nearest neighbours the Bodi (Me'en) call them *Dama*. However, the Mursi² call themselves *mùn* and their language *mùnèn*. They speak Mursi (Ethnologue code ISO 639-3 muz), a Surmic language which belongs to the Nilo-Saharan language family. Their territory has a size of 2,000 km² – and is located in the South Omo Zone of Southwestern Ethiopia. They live in four villages, namely: *Mákkí* (also known by the Mursi as *Mákó*³), *Móyzó*, *Bóngózó*, and *Rómós* (Hayl-Wuha) (see Map 3). These villages lie between two rivers, namely: the Omo (known to the Mursi *Wárr*) to the west and the Mago to the east – and are surrounded two National Parks named after these two rivers (Omo and Mago) — see Map 1.

¹ The name *jikalabəŋ* probably originates from the Turkana name for the Mursi *ŋalibəŋ* (a range of hills which lies on a north-eastern and south-western axis and which forms a continuation of the Omo-Mako watershed) (cf. Turton 1973: 3).

² The name Mursi originates from Murzu (a term used by the Kwegu) and adopted by some of the early travellers (cf. Bender and Turton 1976: 535; Smith 1900: 603; Vannutelli 1899 [2005]: 320). Similar names were mentioned in different literatures by different explorers, for example Murutu by Cavandish (1898: 385)

³ *Mákó* is the Mursi name of the Mago and it refers to the River and the Park.

There is not much known about their present day's territory. Yet they still claim that their territory was once vast and used to start at *Mákkí* (the Mursi's main village, until now) and stretched right across the Maji plateau (marked by a dot on the left top part of Map 1) in



Map 1. Approximate territory of the Mursi people (the red circled areas are the Omo and Mago National Parks, and Omo and Mago Rivers)

the west to the Bako range in the east. However, their territorial claim is a historical narration of migration that comes from the Mursi's ancestors and is apparently a story to be told for generations to come, a story very similar to 'Crossing the Red Sea' or 'the Exodus', led by Moses. At the center of all their stories, there was a strong man called,

Káwúlókòrò, who enabled them (the Mursi people) to cross the Omo River and settle at their present area. We will find this story later in this section; see also Appendix IV.

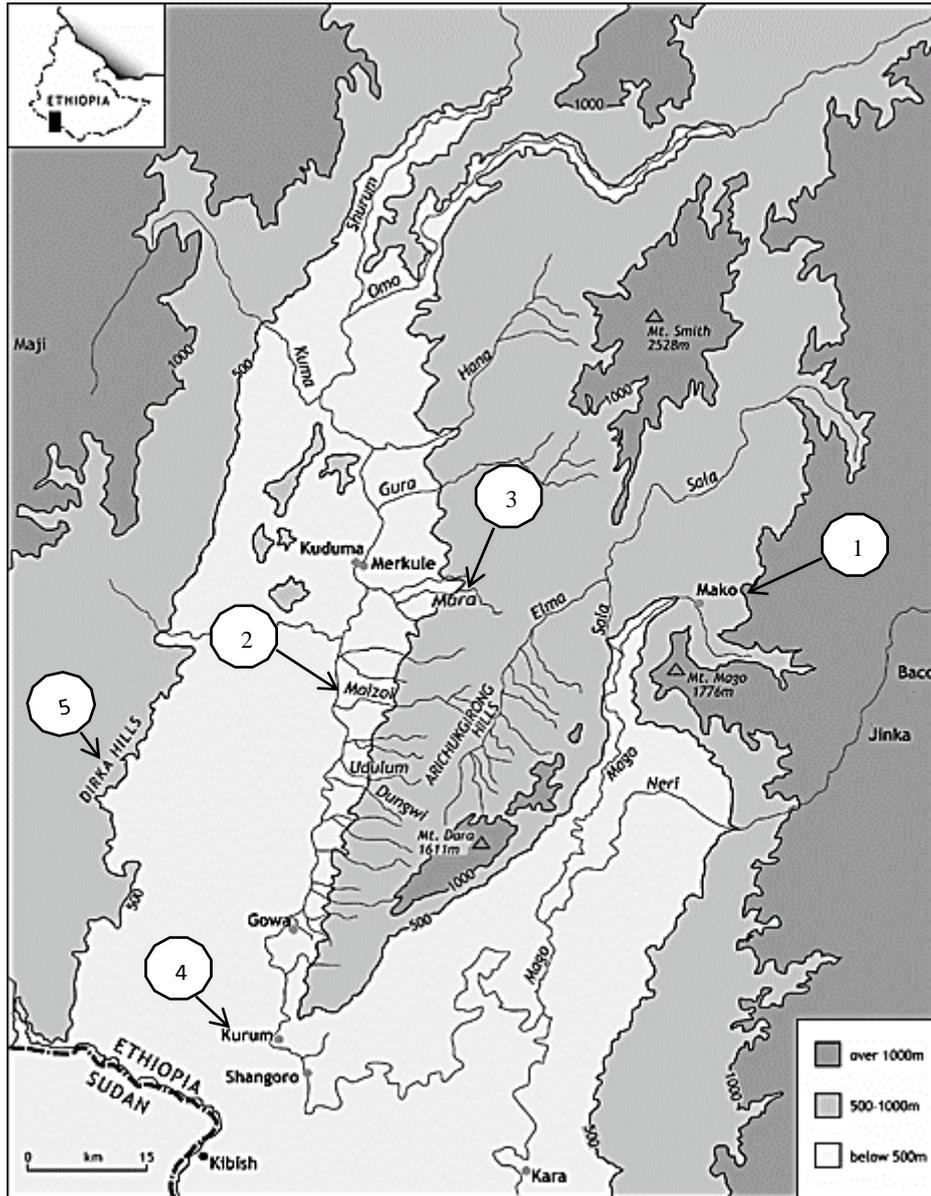
The Mursi became part of the Ethiopian state in the late 19th century following King Menelik II's control of the southern part of the country as his major ambition to establish the modern day Ethiopia's geopolitical shape (Turton 1988). The late 19th century's territorial expansion led by Menelik II to the Southwestern part of the country was not only for the sake of keeping the geographical and political shape of modern day Ethiopia, but it was also of economic importance. By the late 1890s, those who were at the top in the Menelik II's Imperial hierarchy already had engaged in collecting tribute and tax from the Mursi and the surrounding areas. At the time, collecting tax and tribute from Mursi as well as from other such societies was not an easy and smooth a process as we may think of today; the process usually involved cattle raids by the highlanders, whom the Mursi call 'kúchúmbáj'. In fact in regard to the scenario of that time, Smith (1900: 609) wrote, 'The Mursu, whom we found on the banks of the Omo, had escaped the raids of the Abyssinians, and were in a most flourishing condition.' Around the same period, Cavendish (1898: 385) wrote: 'After crossing the river, I explored up the right bank, which is densely populated by a strong, rich tribe called the Murutu', (see the map by Cavendish; Map 2).

Turton (1988: 261) who wrote much on the organization of the Mursi society, including their socioeconomic, and traditional political structure, has also written on the Mursi's population movement from 1890s to 1980s. According to Turton, the Mursi themselves describe the migrations they made during this period as 'Looking for a cool place'.



Map 2. The name ‘Murutu’, used by Cavendish (1898)

Today’s Mursi people are the outcome of three separate population movements that started around two centuries ago and continued until the late 1970s.



Map 3. Topography of the Mursi area (Circles are: 1 Mákó, 2 Móyzó, 3 Mara, 4 Kúrúm, 5 Dirka Hills)

Their first migration was around the mid-nineteenth century, as they say from the Ethiopian southwestern lowlands (around the border and juncture of Ethiopia-Sudan) to possibly the area now called southern Mursiland or Kúrúm (Map 3, circle 4). According to literature and Mursi traditional history and stories, they moved from the Dirka mountain range (see Map 3, circle 5) to the Omo and the River Mago. This first migration movement had been led by their ancestors and is known to have taken place between 100 and 200 years ago. Of all their three migrations, this one has no written evidence to substantiate it, but is believed to have lasted up to the 1920s. This was a

historic moment for the ancestors as well as for the current generation of Mursi as it was a time when they created a legendary story very similar to the story of the parting of the Red Sea by Moses. At the time, there was a strong man called *Káwúlókòrò* who took part in this movement across the Omo. He is still considered by most as a legend who enabled the Mursi to cross the Omo River (see Appendix IV, ‘About the Mursi’). According to Turton (1973), the crossing of the Omo and the new settlement in the vicinity of Kúrúm (See Map 3) is regarded by the Mursi as not only the start of a new life but also as a new birth of their current political identity. The major historical reason for the first Mursi population movement was ecological change. Turton (citing Karl Butzer 1971) wrote that after 1896, certain ecological changes had taken place in the Lower Omo basin (mainly due to reduced rainfall) which resulted in a reduced water discharge from the Omo River to Lake Turkana. This ecological change is still regarded as a major reason for their first territorial expansion towards the Eastern bank of the Omo River. By the late 1890 the Mursi were living on the east side of the Omo River.

The second movement took place in the early 1900s (around 1920s and 1930s). During this period, the Mursi were able to move northwards and expand their territory up to today’s northern border River Mara (See Map 3, circle 3).

Once more, the Mursi having the intention of expand into the plains of the Lower Omo, started their third and last migration movement at the end of the 1970s. Interestingly, the last movement took them into the arable areas of the Lower Omo, but brought them not only into regular contact with their agriculturalist neighbours Aari, but also to the place where once their long-time rivals used to live, i.e. the Bodi (in the upper Mago Valley border).

The main reasons for these three movements are ecological. The former areas abandoned by the Mursi people were uninhabitable, mountainous, rocky valleys; thus

were unsuitable for their major economic subsistence, i.e. cattle herding. Or as the Mursi say *bá lálíní* ‘cool place’ is a place where grazing ground and adequate water is available for their cattle.

1.2 Linguistic profile of Mursi

The linguistic typological profile of Mursi is similar to a certain degree to the Surmic group languages, particularly to the Suri language. The summaries given below concern the phonological, morphological and syntactic typological features of the language.

With respect to phonology, Mursi is a language with a fair number of phonemic distinctions; it has a total of twenty-nine phonemes: twenty-two consonants (see Table 2.3) and seven vowels (see Table 2.6). Mursi, to a certain extent, stands apart from the rest of the Southeastern Surmic Group languages (particularly from its closely related languages Chai and Tirmaga), because it does not have the following consonant phonemes: voiceless bilabial stop /p/, the palatal implosive /ɟ/, and the velar implosive /g/. The occurrence of the glottal stop is limited in all positions in a word. Due to its limited distribution, its phonemic status is questioned by some Nilo-Saharan scholars, but particularly by people who worked on the Southeastern language groups.

However, especially at the level of a phonological word versus a grammatical word identification, vowels are highly complex, because Mursi vowels undergo a number of morphophonological processes; including extensive vowel coalescence, harmony, copying, deletion, change, subtraction and so on. The vowel copying is one of the most widely spread and recurring morphophonological phenomenon in the language, and it can occur as a single, double, triple, and quadruple vowel copying term (see Chapter 2; §2.5.6.5). Vowel height harmony and vowel fronting harmony may also create a high degree of complexity in the analysis of the properties of vowels. One similarity between consonants and vowels is that both could have lengthened segments, but length in both

is phonetically triggered by certain prosodic and phonological processes such as: lengthened consonants at syllable boundaries and historical intervocalic consonant deletion.

The maximal syllable template is CVC. A great majority of Mursi verb roots have monosyllabic CVC shapes. Mursi has also two register tones: High and Low. Both are contrastive and play significant roles both at the lexical and grammatical levels. It is worth to note that grammatical tone plays a significant contrastive role in certain morphological categories such as number, person, and mood.

In terms of morphology, Mursi has three open word classes — verbs, nouns and adjectives; and twelve closed word classes: pronouns, adverbs, adpositions (postpositions and prepositions), question words, number words, quantifiers, connectors, discourse particles, interjections, ideophones, and expressives (discussed in detail in Chapter 3).

Mursi is an agglutinating language with some degree of fusion; it is highly synthetic (up to seven morphemes per word). Mursi is a predominantly suffixing language. Verbs have up to fourteen slots for verbal grammatical categories. Only a maximum of three pre-root slots can be available for both inflectional and derivational markers to be added to the verbal roots at a time (usually a negation marker proclitic followed by suffixes marking subject, causative, aspect, mood and so on). Generally, as in most members of the Surmic group languages, Mursi has few slots for prefixes. A Mursi post-verbal root slot can host a maximum of five suffixes or a combination of both suffixes and an enclitic. For example, verbal affixes appear roughly in the following order:

- (1.1) $\eta\grave{a}=k\acute{o}-j\acute{o}g-\acute{o}n-\acute{o}\eta-\emptyset=\acute{o}-\grave{o}$
 NEG.IMPERV=1SU-tell-MT-2pl.OBJ-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV=NEG-VFS
 ‘We (inc.) will not tell (it) to you (pl).’

Except tense, which is marked by two relative time referring particles (*wa* ‘recent past’; *be* ‘distant past’) and by other separate time words, bound pronominals S/A and O

arguments, aspect, mood, motion, and most valency and voice changing devices are marked on the verb by inflection and derivation.

Morphologically, nouns can be defined as words that obligatorily inflect for number, case, definiteness, and can occur with deictic categories. Nouns could have up to ten affixal slots for nominal grammatical categories. There is only one pre-root slot for deictic category and nine other post-root slots, of which four are shown by enclitics. Number on nouns can be shown in a number of ways and by two types of morphological forms: suffixes and clitics.

As many Nilo-Saharan languages, Mursi has a complex number marking system. Thus nouns are divided into four sets based on how they mark number: ‘replacive’, ‘marked plural’, ‘singulative’, and ‘suppletive’. Some nouns utilize a tripartite number marking system; ‘river’ *kidõ* (singular), *kidõi* (singulative) and *kidẽn* (plural). A few other nouns may utilize more than one plural suffix: ‘silver bracelet’ *érésí* (singular), *érésió* (plural) and/or *érésíná* (plural). Interestingly, close kinship nouns stand apart from the rest of noun types in that they can be marked by a special plural number marking suffix *-čõ*. A total of about 70 portmanteau number markers are found in the language, and all are suffixes (see Chapter 6). Nominal morphological categories usually display the following affix-clitic orderings.

(1.2) [hùll-á ór-é-à
 when-RSTR see.IMPERV-3pl.SU.IMPERV-RSTR
 [ɲà=múɲín-í=tùnù=ɲà]_{NP}]_{RC/SUBORD:CL}
 DEM=star-SG=FAR=DEF
 ‘When/while they saw that star...’

(1.3) [ɲà=ḃég-á-ɲá=inù]_{NP}
 DEM=watch-NOMZ-PL=FAR
 ‘Those (field) watchings (vigils)’

There are four morphological categories that can be encoded through double marking: two on verbal words and two on nominal words. Of the four, two are encoded through

circumclitics (negation on verbs in the imperfective aspect and demonstrative system on nouns). The third grammatical category, which is shown by double marking is causative. Thus, causative derivation in Mursi can be shown by morphological markers circumfixed directly to the verb root. The fourth grammatical category to be shown through double marking is genitive case. It is a very rare feature in that it is the only grammatical category in the language to be indicated by an identical marker in a successive manner, as in (1.4)

- (1.4) [zùw-á bíbí-ó]_{NP} bá-ŋ-ŋ]_{NP}
 people-RSTR big.PL-RSTR local-GEN-GEN
 ‘Village elders’ (Lit. big (pl) people of the local area’)

Mursi utilizes a complex aspect marking system, and aspect falls broadly into two categories: imperfective and perfective. Roughly, aspect can be shown on verbs in the following ways: by bound pronominal subject marking suffixes and by a number of different verb root alternations and a morphological phenomenon. The verb root alternation is quite complex and roughly one-third of Mursi verbs have different root forms for imperfective and perfective aspects. This includes full suppletion, partial suppletion, final consonant reduction/deletion, final syllable reduction, and multiple alternation. There is also one morphological phenomenon, i.e. prefixing t(V)- onto verb roots in the imperfective aspect (see Chapter 7; §7.3.1.2).

Mursi is a nominative-accusative language and has a canonical constituent order AVO (for a transitive clause) and/or SV (for an intransitive clause). Core-arguments in this constituent order are functionally-unmarked. In addition to this, depending on clause types and pragmatic context, two other constituent orders are also utilized: an AOV order (in negated clauses) (as in (1.5b)), and an OVA in a transitive clause and VS in an intransitive clause where post-verbal subjects (S and A) are marked for nominative case (as in (1.6)).

(MODIFIER)-*a* (restrictive) or HEAD.NOUN-*i* [-ti] DEPENDENT (MODIFIER) (-*i* [-ti]) (nonrestrictive).

In Mursi, within NPs, head nouns are obligatorily marked by restrictive (as in (1.7)) and nonrestrictive (as in (1.8-1.9)) forms because head nouns are required to fulfill the role of head nouns on the basis of internal structure of NPs.

- (1.7) [rúm-á hól-à]_{NP}
 cloth-RSTR white.STV-RSTR
 ‘The white dress’

When the head noun is followed/modified by the number word *dǒnɛ́j* ‘one’ or a quantifier, then the head noun is obligatorily marked by a non-restrictive modification marker.

- (1.8) [érmì-tí dǒnɛ́j]_{NP} áíw-ó
 child-NRSTR one come.PERV.SG-MT.3sg.SU.PERV
 ‘One child came.’

- (1.9) a. [kèn-í mèrì]_{NP}
 tree.PL-NRSTR many
 ‘Many trees’
 b. [zùg-tí bù mèrì]_{NP}
 people-NRSTR big many
 ‘Very many people’

The underived adjective *bú* functions as an intensifier, not as a modifier. Thus the relationship of the head is directly with the quantifier, i.e. *mèrì*. However, within a similar NP construction, if *bu* functions as quantifier, any other modifier following it may not be marked by a nonrestrictive modification marker, as in (1.10).

- (1.10) [lòg-tí bú dǎldǎl-í]_{NP}
 issue-NRSTR big difficult.STV-ADJ
 ‘Many (very) difficult issues’

In this grammar, as far as this marking is concerned, instead of the term construct-form, I prefer to call it ‘modification marker’ (see details of it in Chapter 4).

The same noun modification markers apply in possessive constructions when indicating possession/ownership in light of the head and/or possessed (D) and the

dependent and/or possessor (R) dependency relationship within the syntactic frame of ‘NP-internal possessive construction’. Accordingly, Mursi has five NP-internal possessive construction types: one structure where R (the possessor) and D (the possessed human/animate/inanimate item/object are simply juxtaposed within NP — and four other distinct structures where D is followed by R. A possessive relationship that can be expressed by a juxtaposed possessor and possessed is very different from all other possessive relationship construction types. Morphologically, both possessor and possessed nouns do not take any markers. This means that, the possessed item is not marked by ‘restrictive/nonrestrictive modification or ‘relator suffix *-a*. The same is true for the possessor, which does not take any marker including the genitive case, for example, *hírí_R sárà_D* <man.SG name.PL> ‘The man’s name’. There is no marking on either the possessor or the possessed. The noun *sárá* ‘name’ is an inherently plural noun in Mursi and has no singular counterpart, but the meaning hasn’t been affected and still has a singular interpretation. The remaining four types of possessive constructions within an NP involve POSSESSED(D)-*a* R {where the R is a POSSESSOR-GEN (as in (1.11) or a POSSESSIVE PRONOUN (1.12) or a PERTENSIVE MARKER (1.13))}.

- (1.11) [érmì-á hírí-ɲ]_{NP}
 child-RSTR man-GEN
 ‘Child (son) of man’
- (1.12) [sárá-á g=àɲù]_{NP}
 name-RSTR PL.PSD=1SG.PSR
 ‘My name’
- (1.13) [dʒòògɛ́]_{NP}
 mother.PERT.PL.3.PSR
 ‘His/her mothers’

As we can see in the examples shown above, the modification marker or the relator suffix attached to D should always be identical. The fifth type of ‘NP-internal possessive construction’ in Mursi is called ‘Noun modification construction’ (NMC). It is normally the same as with the three NP construction types mentioned earlier, i.e. a

structure where D is followed by R. Yet it stands apart from all previously mentioned possessive construction types because it may involve a series of intermediate possessors (Rs)/modifiers. Therefore the D and the intermediate R's are marked by restrictive modification marker/relator marker *-a* while the real possessor is marked by the genitive case marker. The restrictive modification marker/relator marker *-a* is marked on both NP constituents (the possessed/head noun and on the intermediate possessors/modifiers) (see more in Chapter 4). Welmers (1973) used the term 'associative construction' in reference to nouns which express a wide range of semantic relationships with other nouns occurring as modifiers within the same NP. See the following examples.

- (1.14) [[zùw-á nàgàs-á]_{NP} ór-ùŋ]_{NP} mèzì-ǰ-ó
 people-RSTR old.STV-RSTR village-GEN discuss-PERV.PL-3pl.IRR
 'The village's elders held a council.'

In addition to genitive case, the last modifier/possessor could be marked by restrictive modification marker/relator marker *-a*, as in (1.15)

- (1.15) á [lòg-á [bì-á gòlòŋ-á]_{NP}]_{NP}
 COP.3.IMPERV issue/matter-RSTR cow-RSTR red.STV-RSTR
 'This (it) is the matter of the red cow.'

For further possessive expression and construction types see Chapter 5.

How aspect is shown in Mursi has been mentioned earlier, so here I focus on mood category. The mood category of Mursi includes imperative, hortative, jussive, reality, and subjunctive. All are expressed by inflectional markings on the verbs. Only the hortative and the jussive moods can be marked by an optional morphological particle *aj/aŋ*. In Mursi, the imperative mood refers to a command given to an addressee (the second person). The verb utilized in the positive imperative construction must always occur in the perfective aspect. The negative imperative construction utilizes a verb in the imperfective aspect. However, in both constructions number can be marked on the

verb. The plural suffix *-V* is marked on the verb to denote plural addressee while the bare perfective verb root in its own indicates singular addressee. Person of the subject is unmarked. Verb-final suffixes *-a* (for singular), *-ε* (for plural) and a variant of both, *-o* can be added to a clause-finally occurring verbs of the imperative constructions.

(1.16) *ǰǰg-á*
listen.PERV:IMP-VFS
'Listen (2sg.)!'

(1.17) *ǰǰg-á-é*
eat.PERV:IMP-PL-VFS
'Eat (pl.)!'

(1.18) *ǰǰg-í-é*
listen.PERV:IMP-PL-VFS
'Listen (pl.)!'

Unlike the positive imperative, the negative imperative utilizes an imperfective verb root and different number suffixes — despite both being commands used to deliver a speaker's intent that a certain course of action must be carried out within a specified period of time. The negative imperative utilizes the imperfective negative proclitic *ǰǰ=*, imperfective verb root, and two invariable number suffixes *-i* (for singular addressee) and *-o* (for plural addressee). See the examples below.

(1.19) *ǰǰ=zámí-í*
NEG.IMPERV=swim.IMPERV-SG
'Don't (sg.) swim!'

(1.20) *ǰǰ=édǰ-ó*
NEG.IMPERV=drink.IMPERV-PL
'Don't (pl.) shoot/kill!'

The hortative and the jussive in Mursi are non-canonical imperative moods directed to first and third persons and can be used to denote a mild command. Like the canonical imperative, positive hortative and jussive moods utilize a verb in the perfective aspect for positive whereas negative hortative and jussive moods utilize a verb in the imperfective aspect. An interesting prosodic feature here is that a grammatical tone will be used to distinguish between the hortative and the jussive form. The hortative mood

takes a low-toned prefix hortative $k(\acute{V})$ - and a low-toned verb root. It may optionally be preceded by a free form high-toned hortative particle $\acute{a}j$ [áɲ] (as in (1.22)).

(1.21) $k\grave{a}$ -màg

1.HORT-catch.PERV

‘Let me catch!’

(1.22) $\acute{a}j$ k -ìdò-ò

HORT.PART 1.HORT-mix.PERV-VFS

‘Let me mix/combine!’

(1.23) $k\grave{a}$ -màg-à-è

1.HORT-catch.PERV-1pl.INC-VFS

‘Let us (inc.) catch!’

(1.24) $\eta\grave{a}$ = k -èj-t-ò

NEG=1.HORT-shoot.IMPERV-PL-1pl.EXC

‘Let us (exc.) not kill!’

The jussive mood refers to a command directed at the third person. The jussive mood marker prefix $k(V)$ - and the verb always carry a low-toned melody. Besides, the jussive marker prefix ($k(V)$ -) will not be marked when the negated form is used (as in (1.25c)).

(1.25) a. $k\acute{o}$ -jóg-ó

3.JUSS-close.PERV-VFS

‘Let him close!’

b. $\grave{a}j$ $k\acute{o}$ -jóg-ó-é

JUSS.PART 3.JUSS-close.PERV-PL-VFS

‘Let them close!’

c. $\eta\grave{a}$ =báns-án-ó

NEG=get.up-MT-SG

‘Let him not wake up!’

Subjunctive is one of the three moods in Mursi which are expressed by the irrealis morphological marker within the perfective aspect. Subjunctive, like the other two irrealis moods (hortative and jussive), utilizes a prefix $k(V)$ - and a perfective verb root. (The details await us in Chapter 7.)

Adjectives are one of the three open word classes of Mursi. Adjectives are open classes by derivation. Based on the morphological properties they display, Mursi adjectives can be divided into two major categories: underived ($tíini$ ‘small’ and $bùì$ ‘big’) and derived (Type I— mainly from stative verbs; Type II — derived from stative

verbs and from other word classes through productive and unproductive morphological derivations). The two underived adjectives display sound iconicity. This phenomenon is an association between sound and meaning. Dixon (2010:69) pointed out that a high front vowel *i* is often naturally associated with a little/small object and a high back vowel *u* with a big/large one. Adjectives always bear the general adjectiviser suffix *-i*, regardless of each adjective's morphological property. Syntactically, adjectives can modify the head of an NP, fill the head of an intransitive predicate slot (as in (1.26)), fill copula complement slots, denote degree of the compared quality in comparative constructions, and function as manner modifiers. The adjective class of Mursi covers all semantic types that can be conveyed by adjectives.

- (1.26) [nòŋ]s [ŋà=ídíbèn-Ø=nó]_{INTR.PRED}
 3sg NEG.IMPERV=fat-3SG.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘S/he is not fat.’

Reduplication is the only way of marking number on underived adjectives (as in (1.27 and 1.28)). Only the underived adjective can take degree of magnitude markers: free form *gòdǎ* (gèdǎ) (diminutive ‘very small’) and the suffix *-sís* (augmentative ‘very big’).

- (1.27) [ùrgùsá-í títi]_{NP}
 fish.PL-NRSTR small:REDUP.PL+NRTSR
 ‘small/little (pl) fishes’
- (1.28) [zùw-á bíbí-ó bá-ŋ-ŋ]_{NP}
 people-RSTR big:REDUP.PL-RSTR local-GEN-GEN
 ‘Village elders’ (Lit. big (pl) people of the local area’)

As Mursi is a free-constituent order language, the order among adjectives within NPs and in sentences is relatively free. As to the ordering of adjectives within NPs, throughout the adjective chapter and this grammar, no more than two adjectival modifiers are available. The details of adjectives are the topic of Chapter 8.

Mursi has four valency decreasing and four valency increasing derivations. The valency decreasing derivations are passive, antipassive, reciprocal, and reflexive.

Benefactive, applicative/comitative, causative, and directional/motion increase the number of core arguments. Each valency changing derivations may employ more than one strategies, for example, the reciprocal derivation has four different possibilities while reflexive derivation has at least two possibilities (these are topics that have been discussed in detail in Chapter 9).

Grammatical relations in Mursi are marked by constituent order and case. However, case-marking is often employed depending on constituent order system of the language. Mursi is a nominative-accusative language. Although Mursi utilizes case-marking, it is also a head-marking language that has cross-referencing bound pronominal forms to indicate grammatical relations. As a head-marking language, it has participant reference markings on the verb which predominantly indicate grammatical relations. This operates by indexing bound pronominal A and O argument affixes on the verb. In ditransitive clause constructions, argument indexing on the verb often operates according to referential prominence scale hierarchy and verb-adjacency constraint principles (see more on grammatical relations in Chapter 10).

Mursi has sophisticated and elaborate comparative construction techniques. Comparative constructions explicitly indicate participants being compared and parameter of comparison (often adjectives). Index of comparison may be indicated by attaching a benefactive/dative marker suffix to the element of the parameter of comparison, i.e. ‘comparative-benefactive’. Mursi has a total of seven types of comparative constructions: mono-clausal, phrasal plus mono-clausal, bi-clausal (are of two type TYPE I and TYPE II), connector *bá* ‘place’, *hékó...tèb* ‘same...as’/*hétó...tèb* ‘be.same...as’ (‘as...as’), and one additional strategy. (Chapter 11 offers more interesting details on comparative constructions.)

Mursi has both question types: content questions and polar questions. Content question words (mostly pronominals) usually occupy clause final argument slots. As a language with an AVO canonical order of constituents, all Mursi question words occur immediately following the verb, i.e. a syntactic position available for grammatical objects. Moreover, sentence-final positions, syntactic slots for core and non-core arguments, may typically function as focus-bearing positions when filled by question words. On the other hand, a polar question in Mursi can be formed either by raising the intonation of the lexical constituents that occur at end of a clause or by placing non-interrogative particles at the end of a declarative statement (see details in Chapter 12).

Typologically, negation constructions in Mursi show various striking features. In Mursi, a number of different negation strategies may be employed to negate verbal constituents. The strategies vary depending on grammatical systems or categories such as aspect, mood, and person-subject. For instance, a verb in the imperfective aspect can be negated by bound circumclitics whereas a verb in the perfective aspect is negated by independent perfective negative particle *ɲàni* <NEG.PERV> ‘not, not yet, still’ plus by negative enclitic =ó attached to the perfective verb root. Interestingly, negative declarative clauses have an obligatory SV/AOV, constituent order, for which negated verbs always occupy clause-final positions. This is a syntactic phenomenon that works only for order of negated predicates in negative clauses, which is different from the affirmative clauses in a canonical constituent order SV/AVO and from clauses having a marked-nominative and case marked S/A subjects OVA (in a transitive clause) VS (in an intransitive clause). Many more interesting features of the negation system are discussed in Chapter 13.

Mursi has the following main clause types: conditional, temporal, speech report clause, complement clause, copular clause, and obligation/deontic clause. Each clause

tourist destination with many beautiful cultural exhibits, stunning landscapes, pleasant climate and other attractive conditions.

One of the eight Woredas in South Omo Zone is the Salamago District, with the capital Hana. Hana is located at 110 km south of the South Omo Zone's capital (Jinka), 635 km from the SNNPRS's capital city (Hawassa), and 860 km away from the Capital of Ethiopia (Addis Ababa). Salamago is home of five different ethnic groups: Mursi, Bodi (Chai/Me'en), Dime and Bacha. The Salamago Woreda is comprised of three climate zones: 5% cool zone, 35% subtropical, 60% tropical, and is covered by three major landscape forms: 13% valley, 25% mountainous, 62% flat land. The Salamago Woreda, area is 45, 1120 ha, has a population of 33, 621, an average temperature of 35 °C, and an annual average rainfall of 625 millimeters.

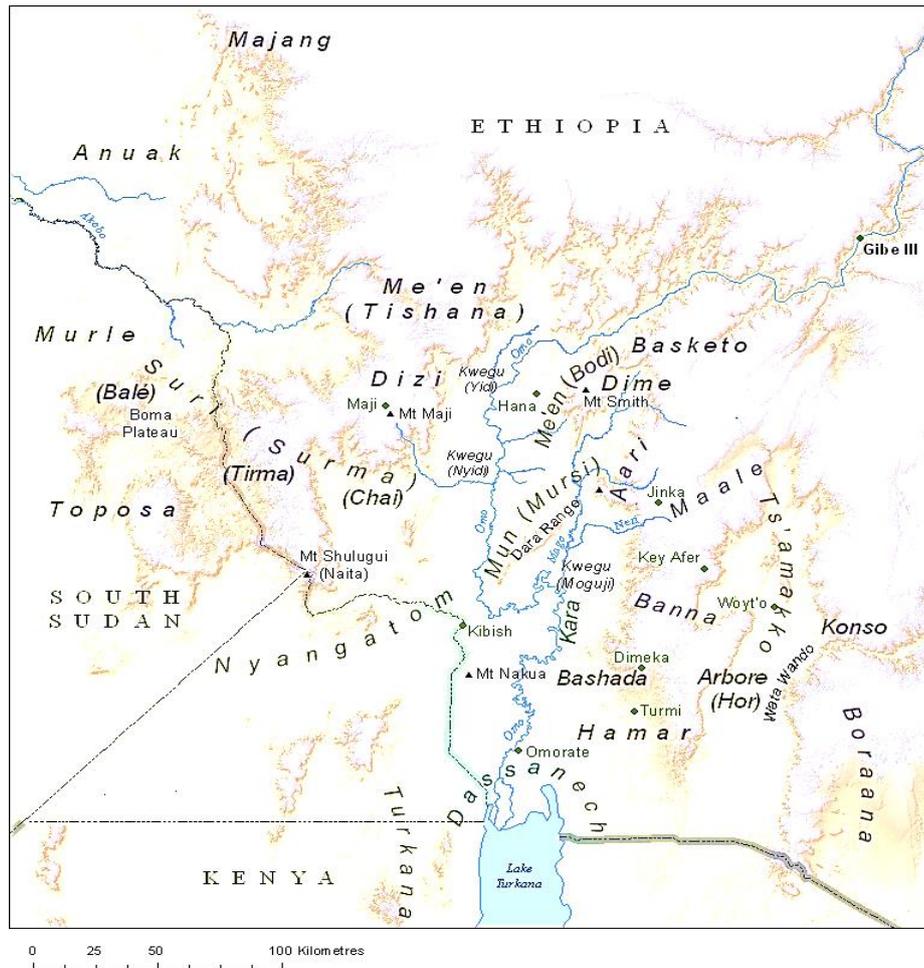
1.3.2 Mursi neighbours

Among other closely neighbouring linguistic groups, the Mursi share a high degree of linguistic and cultural similarities with the 'Suri' (known as *Chai* to the Mursi). Until recently, the terms 'Suri' and 'Surma' were the main source of confusion among ethnographers and linguistic scholars who have worked on the cultures and languages of Surmic speech communities for many years. At one point, Abbink (1991: 8) wrote, "‘Surma’, there are distinct territorial groups, including some hardly known ones (like the Bale and the Suri). It [Surma tribe or Surmic speech community] is thus certainly not a homogenous ‘tribe’, though all these Surma-speakers all share the [same]...mode of existence". Therefore, Abbink suggested one must be careful to use these two terms as ethnic labels and language labels do not always coincide. Following this, in 1998, in a volume published 'Surmic Languages and Cultures', Yigezu and Dimmendaal were able to avoid the misleading nature of these two terms. Dimmendaal (1998: 5) wrote,

“Suri” and “Surma⁵” are primarily ethnonyms covering three Surmic speech communities speaking partly different languages namely Chai, Tirma, and Baale. Suri is an ethnonym which refers a people rather than a language”.

The Mursi are surrounded by both small and large groups whose speech are from three major African language families: 1) Nilo-Saharan (Chai, Tirma (both language speakers live to the west of the Omo), Baale, Me'en (Bod-Tishena) (east of the Omo), Nyangatom and Kwegu (Koegu) (also known as Muguji); 2) Omotic (Aari, Kara, Banna, Bashada and Hamar) (all the Omotic speaking groups live South of the Omo); and 3) a Cushitic language (Dassanech) (South of the Mursi). The Mursi have their own distinct names for some of their closest neighbours. Accordingly, the ‘Suri’ are known as *Chai*, the Me'en (together with two of their sub-groups) as *Túmúrá*, the Aari as *Su*, the Kara as *Kérà* (also *kéràj*), the Hamar as *Hámárí*, the Kwegu as *Nyídíní* (singular; also *nyídíní*)/ *Nyídí* (plural), Dassanech as *Geleba*, and the Nyangatom as *Bume* (also known as *Bíméj*) (see Appendix IV).

⁵ As an additional justification to these two labels, Dimmendaal (1998: 5) wrote, ‘neighboring Dizi and Amhara communities refer to these three groups [Chai, Tirma, and Baale] collectively as Surma...’. Suri communities themselves still use the label Surma as selfname.



Map 4. The Mursi and their neighbours

1.4 Economy and Subsistence

The Mursi people engage in two activities for a living for their major economy: pastoralism and small scale farming. Nevertheless, the Mursi are known by the central government and by highland people for their main livelihood of cattle herding. To some extent, they also produce sorghum along the banks of the Omo River —dependent on flood retreat cultivation. Due to their hoe-cultivation system, they are heavily dependent on flood retreat cultivation. Based on my two fieldwork observations, I suggest ‘pastoral nomads’ may best describes the Mursi which is also how they are described by the central government officials and highlanders. For the Mursi, during times of crop failure, cattle are not only the main source of food (including milk and blood), but are

also their main asset that the Mursi use to exchange with their highland neighbours for grains. Above all, the most relevant social relationship in every Mursi's life is marriage, which is only possible through cattle exchange. A marriage process that requires the groom's family to pay bridewealth to the family of bride's father (see §1.7.1). It is not possible to think of the Mursi people separately from their pastoralist life. At one point, Turton (1973: 19) described their relationship with cattle as follows: 'For a Mursi, to have no cattle, and to be forced therefore to live "like a monkey" in the Omo forest and bush, to eat fish "like a wading bird" and never to leave the banks of the Omo''. Rarely, apart from exchanging cattle for grains, the Mursi directly sell their cattle in the Jinka market (South Omo Zone's capital city) to buy consumable products they need such as coffee, tobacco, cloth, and ammunitions. Honey and tourism are also additional income sources. In the spring season particularly in October, they often earn some money from tourists, for their dances and by posing for foreign tourists in the villages of *Mákkí* and *Gowa*.

Their main crop is sorghum, but they also grow maize, beans and chick-peas. The Mursi harvest twice a year. The first planting is done on the banks of the Omo and Mago Rivers, on the fertile soil brought and deposited by the annual flood. After the annual flood retreat, they plant their crops (mainly sorghum) in October and November, and harvest in January and February.



Picture 1. Planting at the Omo in October 2010 (mursi.org, David Turton 2010)

The second planting takes place at a little bit away from the two rivers in forested areas which are suitable for a rain-fed based shifting cultivation. This time the planting takes place between March and April, and the harvest in June and July. In Mursi, a season (a year) can be divided into months on the basis of these two subsistence activities (See Table 1.1 below). Nowadays, due to the local weather condition's unpredictability of factors such as unseasonal and inconsistent rain patterns, it has become difficult for Mursi to feed themselves based on the two life subsistence ways.

NAMES OF MONTHS	IN EUROPEAN CALENDAR	SUBSISTENCE EVENTS AND ACTIVITIES
<i>bérgú dǔnéj</i>	August-September	The Omo reaches its maximum level; storage of rain-fed harvest
<i>bérgú ràrà̀n</i>	September-October	The Omo recedes and leaves fertile soil; firing of grass, preparation of plots for flood retreat cultivation
<i>bérgú sízzì</i>	October-November	planting of the flood crops; cattle move to Elma Valley
<i>bérgú wùf</i>	November-December	flood crops weeding period
<i>bérgú háánán</i>	December-January	The Omo reaches its minimum level; flowering of sorghum; protection (bird-scaring); eating of unripe sorghum (tífu); burning of other bushbelt cultivation areas
<i>bérgú ìllèj</i>	January-February	flood crop harvesting period
<i>bérgú ìssàbàj</i>	February-March	The Omo water level begins to rise; threshing and storage of crops harvested; bushbelt cultivation
<i>bérgú issej</i>	March-April	the season's main rains begin, planting of rain-fed crops starts; the cattle which were in Elma since October will be moved to headstreams of the Omo's westward-flowing tributaries
<i>bérgú sàkkàl</i>	April-May	rain-fed crops weeding period
<i>bérgú tòmòn</i>	May-June	flowering of rain-fed crops; protection (bird-scaring)
<i>bérgú tòmòn kó dǔnéj</i>	June-July	rain-fed crops harvesting period
<i>bérgú tòmòn kó ràrà̀n</i>	July-August	drying, threshing and storing of rain-fed harvest

Table 1.1 The Mursi's subsistence-based seasonal activities

Accordingly, the Mursi do not bother about the Ethiopian calendar, which itself is a different calendar from the Western. The Mursi seasonal calendar system is based on their understanding of the nature of the phase of one cycle of the moon. By integrating this knowledge of simple astronomy with other knowledges and skills (related to reading the stomach lining of a goat), they make their own season-based calendar that suits the cattle herding and farming process.

1.5 Traditional leadership

The Mursi have their own customary administrative system, thus are governed by their own traditional power structure and hierarchy they have been practicing for the last two centuries. They are governed mainly by four levels of power structure: *Kómórú*, *Koysi*, *Hírásábáj* (lit. person/man-of-head), and *Kamisi*. The *Kómórú* (priest king) is the administrator and spiritual leader. He is said to be chosen from the three clans: *Kómórté*, *Bumai*, and *Gárákúlí*. According to Turton (1973: 253), the first two are among the largest Mursi clans. However, most of the *kómórèná* (priests) are chosen from the *Kómórté* clan. In accordance with their leadership hierarchy, each power structure has its own role and its power is more or less limited by the people. The *Koysi*, *Hírásábáj* and *Kamisi* are also accountable for the *Kómórú*.

Regarding the *Kómórú*'s leadership role, Jørgensen (2011: 8) wrote: 'The only formally defined leadership role in the society is that of *Kômoru*, or Priest'. The *Kómórú* administers the people, keeps the well-being of the community as a whole, and acts as a mediator between the people and 'Tumu' (God). When the elders file public complaints, the first thing he always does is making a sacrifice of an Ox or a goat. Then, by reading the intestines he pleads with his creator *Tùmù* 'God' to let him destroy different diseases and plagues. He also pleads for the well-being of the cattle, the fertility of the land, and for abundance of water and rain. When the priest gets older or dies he is succeeded by his oldest son or 'the first born son'. However, his assumed successor has to get approval from the people.

The *Koysi* (*Lúsiakubu*) serves as the *Kómórú*'s counselor. Among his major duties is the following: he prepares a mud from a selected and special type of soil; then he anoints the patient's body. In this traditional ritual system, the *Koysi* treats his people's illnesses and curing their sicknesses by spitting on the patient's head and body. In

addition, when there is new arable-land, he blesses the land to make it bring a good harvest; he discharges his traditional ritual duties by slaughtering a goat and pouring the blood of the goat on the new farmland.

The *Hirásábáj* (Lit. ‘man of head’) or *Hiráhátá* — is a dreamer and a prophecy teller. He is the man in charge of making prophecies about the life situation of the community,— about prosperity, peace, and wellbeing in the future. He is an able man who can predict the future sufferings or prosperity the people might face. He not only accepts dreams that come from his own people for interpretations but also dreams and ideas that come from those under his authority, the ‘Kamisi’. To interpret the dreams, he gives orders for a traditional ceremony to take place. The purpose of this ceremony is only for dream interpretation, thus all dreams will be presented to him and will be given cultural and spiritual interpretations. Then the intestine of a cow is read and the interpretations will be made ready to be carried out by members of various leadership organs in accordance with situations in his community. Thus, according to the prophecy that results from the ceremony, the *Hirásábáj* will deliver instructions to be implemented and will monitor the entire prophesy process.



Picture 2. Cleaning the Omo River of disease (Source: mursi.org)

clear cut spatial boundaries among the five local groups. Until 1980s, the *Dola* group used to refer to just one local group, the *Biogolokare* (see Map 5). Following the Mursi's occupation of new areas, the *Baruba* and *Mugđo* were included in the *Dola* local group as separate sub-units.

Within the five local groups, there are 18 *kàbìčó* (clans), who descended in the male line from the same man's side, but it could be from different co-wives.

CLANS	SUB-CLANS AND DESCENT GROUPS
<i>Komorte</i>	4 sub-clans; 32 descent-groups
<i>Juhaj</i>	2 sub-clans; 23 descent-groups
<i>Garakuli</i>	2 sub-clans; 18 descent-groups
<i>Bumai</i>	5 sub-clans; 28 descent-groups
<i>Kagisi</i>	2 sub-clans; 9 descent-groups
<i>Mangwi</i>	no sub-clan; 17 descent-groups
<i>Ngeriaj</i>	no sub-clan; 10 descent-groups
<i>Gongwi</i>	no sub-clan; 4 descent-groups
<i>Berneshe</i>	no sub-clan; 3 descent-groups
<i>Bongosi</i>	no sub-clan; 6 descent-groups
<i>Chermani</i>	no sub-clan; 4 descent-groups
<i>Galnai</i>	no sub-clan; 5 descent-groups
<i>Maiyaiyai</i>	no sub-clan; 3 descent-groups
<i>Changuli</i>	no sub-clan; 7 descent-groups
<i>Gumnai</i>	no data
<i>Gushumi</i>	no data
<i>Isai</i>	no data
<i>Kulgisai</i>	no data

Table 1.2. The Mursi clans

Almost all of these clan names have a singulative number marker *-i*, in order to signify just a single clan name, which otherwise are plural names. This further substantiates the fact that the Mursi always believe in a shared common value, called collective living. Intra-clan marriages are not allowed. Due to a strict marriage rule that limits affinal ties to three generations, marrying a fellow clan member is regarded as a taboo. Before we head toward looking at the Mursi kinship system, it is necessary to note that *kábí* (sing., clan) is the only none-kinship noun that takes the plural number marker *-čo* (<*kábí-čo*> pl., clan).

The Mursi kinship system is a highly complicated system, particularly influenced by a strong patrilineal kinship system principle. I will not go deeper into explaining the connection between the societal structure or the fundamental institutions of the Mursi society and marriage arrangements between clans. But I would argue the two are necessary as they are key to our understanding how the Mursi kinship system works. For instance, in addition to the rule that prohibits inter-clan marriages, there is a general rule that applies to the Mursi as one social group — a rule that allows one to distinguish the boundary between kinship and affinity. As Turton (1973: 181) suggested, this rule prevents new marriages from repeating existing affinal ties for a period of three generations. Thus, the rule effectively turns affines into kinsmen. Jørgensen (2011: 43) noted that the Mursi's social organization is based more or less on kinship, on the basis of complex clan systems. A clan can be a descendent of unilineal groups united through a series of lineages, who are believed to be descended from the same common ancestor. For instance, the rules that govern bridewealth distribution always have to maintain the privilege of the groups linked by marriage. The rule being put in place for marriage, is founded on a general kinship-based system and concentrates around the arrangement of the kinship relations on the mother's side and the father's side. The Diagram 1.1 below illustrates the structure of the Mursi kinship system, as the basis for kin terms associated with both sides (of father's and mother's).

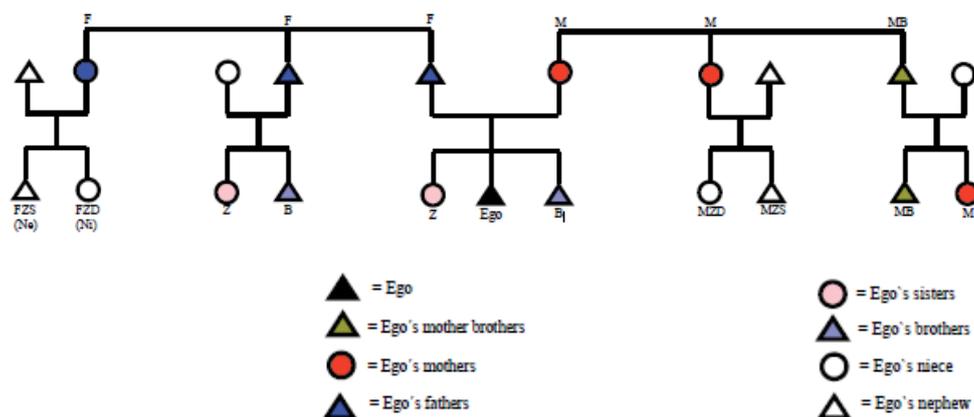


Diagram 1.1 Mursi kinship system (adopted from Jørgensen 2011: 52)

KINSHIP TERMS	MEANING	KIN RELATIONS
<i>fúúiné</i>	‘father’	F, FB, FZ
<i>dzòòné</i>	‘mother’	M, MZ, MBD, FBW, MFBD
<i>gòdóná</i>	‘brother’	B, FBS
<i>ηòná</i>	‘sister’	Z, FBD
<i>ηà</i>	‘wife’	W, BW
<i>máine</i>	‘husband’	H, HB
<i>hòjné</i>	‘son, daughter’	S, D, BD, BS, FBDS, FBDD, FBSS, FBSD, WZS, WZD
<i>gálnè</i>	‘brother’s wife’	HZ, HB
<i>kòné</i>	‘sister’s husband; wife’s brother’	SWF, ZH
<i>kògíné</i>	‘grandfather’	FF, FFB, MFB, FMBS, MMB, MMBS
<i>kàkà/Óhíné</i>	‘grandmother’	FM, FMZ, FMBD, FMBW, MM, MMZ, MMBD, MBW
<i>óóná</i>	‘uncle’	MB, MBS, MBSS
<i>jànèn</i>	‘cousin’	HM, WM, WMZ, SWM, DHM
<i>mèrè</i>	‘daughter-in-law’	SW, ZSW
<i>ηòsòsì</i>	‘sister’s child’	ZS, ZD, FZB, FZD, FBDS, FBDD
<i>kòkòjè</i>	‘great grandfather’	FFBS, MF
<i>ηàηnú</i>	‘mother’s sister’s children’	MZS, MZD
<i>áfàì</i>	‘grandchild’	DS, DD, SS, SD, BDS, BDD, BSS, BSD, ZDS, ZDD, ZSS, ZSD, FZSS, FZDS, FZDD
<i>lòmùgèn</i>	‘co-wives’	HBW, 2 nd -wife
<i>kóbànèn</i>	‘mother-in-law; (‘father-in-law’ or ‘brother-in-law’)	WZH

Table 1.3. Mursi kinship terms and kin relations (Kinship terminologies: F=Father, M=Mother, B=Brother, Z=Sister, W=Wife, H=Husband, S=Son, D=Daughter)

The kinship terms *dàdà* (fúúné) and *ǎǎǎné* refer to ‘male parent’ and ‘female parent’ respectively. In other words, rather than just referring to ‘father’ and ‘mother’; both general reference terms can be used to describe those who are believed to have given birth to ego. Jørgensen (2011: 53) who wrote his ethnographic reflections on the Mursi marriage system has noted that *dàdà* (fúúné) means all the men and women in ego’s parental generations. This includes all parental generations belonging to ego’s patriliney by descent. The *ǎǎǎné* (mother’s) side refers to a female member of a descend group to which the ego’s descent group is linked by marriage (Jørgensen 2011: 53). It is through this complex kinship system that the rules governing the distribution of bridewealth operate. In the Mursi kinship relationships, it is the affinal rather than those of descent, which defines genealogical reckoning, the network of interpersonal kinship ties, the compositional one particular to cattle settlement, and so on. In preventing new marriages from repeating existing affinal ties, the dispersal and retention of various affinal groups always keeps mutual exclusive ties between kinship and affinity (Turton 1973: 181). In Mursi, almost everything can be shared or can be possessed alienably (optional), but only kinship nouns cannot be possessed inalienably (obligatory). Thus, only kinship nouns can be marked with possessive suffix, which is a marker of inalienability.

With regard to age and age sets, all Mursi men should pass through each of the following seven age grades: *Rúmujoj* (0-7), *ǎǎǎlá* (7-10), *dǎǎà* (10-16), *Tèrò* (16-20), *Rórá* (20-40), *Bárá* (40-60), and *Káru* (> 60). There is a ceremony called *nita* ‘age set initiation ceremony’. This initiation ceremony takes place in different Mursi villages just once in many many years. The most recent one is known as *Geleba* in 1991 and the previous was known as *Bèná* ‘stones’ in 1961. From this, we know that the age set initiation ceremony happens once every thirty years. For instance, those

who were at the *Rórá* age grade when the last age set formation ceremony took place, now can become *Bárá*.

1.7 Major traditional practices

The Mursi are famous for their three major traditional practices: marriage and bridewealth distribution system, duelling (of both sexes, male and female), and body decoration by wearing clay plates in their lower lips. In the sections below, I have described each traditional practices in brief.

1.7.1 Marriage

There are five different types of marriages in the Mursi, and each has its own divorce and dowry rates. In order for any one of these five marriage arrangements to take place, families of both (groom's and bride's) must first prove that the groom's claim to the bridewealth of his patrilineal kinswomen is in accordance with the rule that limit the kin reckoning.

Levirate (inheriting the wife of the deceased brother). — Marriage based on inheritance — when the older brother dies, the younger brother marries his older brother's wife. If a younger brother is not alive, then a marriage ceremony can be between the wife of the deceased and the person who is believed to lead or administer the property of the deceased and the whole family. All children born out of wedlock after this marriage will be called on behalf of the deceased.

Marriage based on mutual consent from both sides. — This marriage type involves parents' and relatives' of the boy and the girl, and the marriage is often arranged based on the goodwill of the parties involved. The rate of the bridewealth is determined by the length of time the male is required to pay within a certain period of time The girl's families could ask the boy to help their economy in various ways including working for her family, giving tobacco to her mother and so on. During this marriage process, when

both parties are ready for marriage, the cow collection process begins – from his father, from his older brothers, from his cousins, and from all previous acquaintances.

Marriage based on Guma. — This is a marriage arrangement in which the girl's family is guilty of killing a person and needs to compensate the family of the deceased to avoid retribution. In addition to a girl, the compensation to be given to the family of the deceased may include any property, but cattle are usually included in the compensation. Roughly, 60 cattle shall be paid to the dead man's family. The main purpose of this marriage type is that only the girl who represents the compensation can stop the bloodshed between the families. If this girl gives birth to a child and once she pays all the damages to the deceased family, she can reclaim the cattle that was given as compensation. After the girl is married to the deceased's elder or younger brother, and she gives birth to a son during her marriage, the mother has to give the child up to be adopted by the family of the deceased. Meanwhile, the deceased's family deduct seven cattle from the 60 and return the rest of cattle and the son's mother back to her family. Therefore, the child becomes the child of the deceased person's elder or younger brother, and grows up in the deceased person's family. Once she returns to her family, she stays at her father's house. Whenever a man wants to marry her, she can accept and be married again but this time she can only earn between 20 and 25 cattle; the minimum bridewealth.

However, if her first child is a girl, there is one additional rule that takes place in the *Guma* marriage arrangement. That is, if she gives birth to a girl during this marriage, the baby girl will be given to her family and the marriage will be extended until a son is born. This means, only a compensation of 'male person' can satisfy the deceased's family real demand.

Likewise, if the person killed by her family is woman, this girl will be treated as one of the deceased's family member until she gives birth to a daughter. In other word, the new born daughter will be given to the deceased family in exchange for the woman killed by her family.

Forced marriage (idān, literally, 'control by force'). — If a young female is found to be pregnant while her father is alive, it is considered a shame to her family. Therefore, first, she will be beaten until she tells the truth. Once the person who impregnated her is known, then the same is forced to marry her unconditionally. If this man does not agree to the new marriage proposal, he will have no choice but is compelled to allow his property to be plundered by her own people. In addition to this, if her family has had a good relationship with his family and friends in the past, the penalty will be high, because he is considered as the one who hurt not only the impregnated girl but also the relationship between the two families.

Marriage based on the consent between the two families' —This type of marriage proposal takes place without the knowledge of the two young people. It is based on the two families' consent and needs. The boy's family is usually the one who visits the girl's family. To notify her family of the purpose of their visit. This notification is often started by the expression: 'We have come to your home to drink water'. Following this, there is a second expression used to start the negotiation: 'We are also here to ask your daughter for our boy'.

After the marriage deal is made with massive hospitality from the bride's side, the groom's family will return to the place where they came from. After this, whenever there is any social problem, it is attended to by the groom's family, at any time as long as the bride's family's request for help is in accordance with the existing marriage

arrangement. Such requests for support from the bride's family often happens at times of difficulties at her family's home.

According to Mursi's tradition, there are mediators for all kinds of marriages who can implement the bridewealth distribution rules accurately; and the bridewealth is inevitable. The girl's voluntary expressions for her willingness to engage in the process can be shown at various occasions such as in market places, during *Doḡa* dancing, in the workplace, and so on. Once the girl agrees, it means that she is expressing her willingness to make a commitment. She expresses this in two steps: first by giving her own bracelet to the man she likes; second, by giving him her own neckless, and tying it on his hand.

1.7.2 Duelling

There are duelling matches for both sexes: the boys' is called *Dóḡà* 'pole fighting' whereas the girls' is called *Úlá* 'bracelet fighting'. *Donga* is a stick fighting contest that only happens once a year in different villages of the Mursi. *Úlá* on the other hand is a contest of Mursi girls' using 'strike iron bracelets'. The *Úlá* contest allows Mursi women to measure their own strength. The girls' *Úlá* fighting is also known as *dóḡàá dóólùḡ* 'girls' Donga'. Not much is known about the *Úlá* contest type. Therefore I have focused on the pole or stick contest type.

The Mursi are well known for their traditional stick fighting contest known as 'Donga'. *Donga* has two meanings in Mursi: first it denotes a stick that all young, adult Mursi males carry for protection wherever they go about their daily routine. The second meaning is for a fighting contest between two young men from various Mursi villages.

This stick fighting contest is held on a yearly basis. Usually, it lasts for six days to a couple of weeks in a good harvest season, or in some seasons for less than a week if the harvest is not good. The *Donga* fights will be held around the second week of June

lasting until the end of the month. Unmarried young men between 16 and 32 years will take part in the *Donga* contest. The contestants prepare themselves for the contest. By consuming cows' blood and milk a couple months ahead of the contest start. Young Mursi boys do not often eat the meat of their own cattle. Instead, they drink blood collected with a calabash after puncturing the neck artery of their favorite cow with an arrow. Making sure the blood loss will not cause harm to their most valued asset (the cattle). Both (blood and milk) can be consumed in three different forms: raw blood (their favorite one), cooked blood, and/or mixtures of blood and milk.

The wood used for the *Donga* fighting stick comes from a tree called *kàlóchí*, genus *Grewia*, and is cut from the mature and strong branches of this tree. The length of a *Donga* fighting stick is roughly between 2.60 and 3 meters, equivalent to the height of an adult man with outreached arms above the head. Although the *Donga* stick fighting is a dangerous contest that can cause injury or death, it is one of their most loved traditional ceremonies that the Mursi have kept for many generations as part of their unique traditional social gathering ceremonies. During my first fieldwork stays in the Mursi villages, I was able to attend one *Donga* ceremony.

1.7.3 Lip plate

The Mursi women have probably become the last people in Africa to still wear large pottery or wooden discs or 'lip-plates' (*děbià tùgòjìn*) in their lower lips. Another type of traditional decoration are the so-called 'ear-plugs' *děbià nàwàjìn*. Clay or wood plates are still worn by many unmarried girls as well as by child-bearing women. In contrast, the ear-plug/plate is also worn by boys. The lip-plate (*děbià tùgòjìn*) is a prime symbol of their uniqueness and a major marker of Mursi identity that distinguishes them from other ethnic groups (their neighbours). For the *děbià tùgòjìn*, the girl's lip is pierced when she reaches puberty. First they stretch the size of the pierced lower lip by inserting

wooden discs, later they wear a clay-plate once their lip is stretched. Women's lower lip should be stretched enough to be able to hold a clay-plate with a diameter of 12cm or 14cm. When a girl's 15 or 16 years old, her lower lip will be cut by her mother, or by another woman from the same village as her mother. The cut lip is held open by a wooden plug until it heals, this can take up to 3 months. It appears that it is up to the individual girl to decide how far the lip should be stretched, by inserting progressively larger plugs over a period of several months. Only a few girls follow up the processes of enlarging their lips seriously; that means, they make sure that their lips must take plates with a diameter of 12 centimetres or more.

The Mursi are an egalitarian community in many ways, this means that girls or women have the right to decide for themselves to take part or not in the 'lip-piercing traditional culture'. Turton (mursi.org) described their lip-piercing tradition as 'untouched' and 'tribal'; yet it is actually done by on the basis of choice by the young girls. This old tradition of the Mursi is not something that some Mursi old women or men can impose on their girls by force. Many Mursi girls marry happily without their lips pierced. There is also a choice for Mursi women to decide to take up this tradition after they have had one or two children. The motivations are many but the main one is as a marker of an embodied morality. Lip-plate wearing is a unique tradition of Mursi in which the Mursi teach their children to be social, moral and healthy persons. There is quite an extraordinary connection between lip-plate wearing and female speech register. It was first noted by Yigezu (2001) who observed the articulatory and acoustic effects of lip-plates in the speech of Chai women (see §2.10).

1.8 Cattle, color terms and naming

The Mursi have a special appreciation of their cattle and the skin-colours of their cattle. The two, animate and the physical attribute of the animate, are intertwined. In many ways, in the Mursi community, life develops around activities that are related to cattle and cattle-oriented activities. Cattle and colour terms are the two most significant pastoralist as well as aesthetic values reflected everywhere in their day to day life. Their unique aesthetic value of cattle and colour patterns is what makes the Mursi distinct from other non-pastoralist ethnic groups in the region.

One can find cattle colours and patterns everywhere — from being the mark of wealth to religion. Cattle skin-colour is regarded by some Mursi elders as a cultural symbol of fertility. Cattle skin-colours can be reflected in a number of Mursi material cultures, which are decorations of cattle skin-colours and patterns. Anyone can hear or see an astonishing number of cattle skin-colour terms in the Mursi's day-to-day life; also in many life domains. This includes the recurrent use of terms for cattle skin-colour patterns in their names, clothes, home utensils, and so on. For the Mursi, mainly cattle skin-colour can provide colour pattern for dresses. Mursi colour patterns and terms refer to the skin-colour of their cattle and include green or blue. Only cattle can provide their full-fledged choices of colour palette.

The Mursi person naming system depends on the individual's cattle skin-colour choices. That is, Mursi men's names are indeed compound personal reference terms which usually consist of cattle skin-colours or patterns and other words. On a daily basis, I have observed that a few Mursi men wear collars that exactly match the coat-color of their favorite ox. Aside from cattle herding and some small scale seasonal farming activities, Mursi boys and girls (even adults) spend most of their time on colour experiments such as, painting various colours on their body (they call it 'body arts') and

Mursi men's first names always have a compound word form 'ox/bull+colour', based on 'ox/bull and the person's favorite ox/bull coatcolour'. Another interesting point is that there are personal names with colour spectrum variations whose ranges could include two or more colours or colour patterns. For instance, a person called 'Òlítóà' can find his favorite colour from various sources such as 'shades', 'tiger', 'mountain' (by association). Turton (1980: 329) wrote that there is a mountain in Mursiland called *kútúlátúlá* [kútúla+túlà] <mountain+tula>. So, the colour pattern *túlàì* is a derived notion from the mountain's 'streaky' appearance produced by the sun shining on its steep western slopes.

So in accordance with the compound word form 'ox/bull+colour', a total of ten major Mursi men's names exist: *òlígòlòh* <ox/bull+red> (Oligolony) *òlíkòrò* <ox/bull+black> (Olikoro), *òlíbàlà* <ox/bull+leaf (sg.)> (Olibhala), and so on. An individual man can be called by one of these first names on the basis of his family's wide range colour preferences. The colour preferences are similes of animals or objects. Although these similes refer to default names of animals or objects, they can directly reflect colours or colour pattern of objects by way of cognitive semantic association. They may occur in hetero-compound forms, which means that animals, trees or concrete other objects could combine and produce the colour spectrum of a given family. Table 1.4 below, illustrates the way in which Mursi personal names are produced from various coat-colours of cattle, colour patterns of cattle, and some similes of animals or concrete objects.

Table 1.4. Colours and patterns

PERSONAL NAMES	COLOUR/PATTERN	SIMILES/ASSOCIATION	ASSOCIATED ANIMALS OR CONCRETE OBJECTS
òlígólǎn	<i>gólǎni</i>	<i>lòmákáwúló, gólǎnmèrì</i>	<i>lòmáj</i> ‘Ximenia Americana; a small yellow-orange succulent fruits are edible’; <i>káwúló</i> ‘ear of cattle’; <i>mèrì</i> ‘many’
òlíkòrò	<i>kòrò</i>	<i>nèjmèdèrè, rúgámèdèrè</i>	<i>nèj</i> <nèbì> ‘buffalo’; <i>mèdèrè</i> ‘sheep’; <i>rúgá</i> ‘horn’
òlígìdānì	<i>gìdānì</i>	<i>káwúlòlìj, gírìlèmùtíláj</i>	<i>káwúló</i> ‘ear of cattle’ <i>mùlèn</i> ‘rhinoceros’
òlélù	<i>lù</i>	<i>sámèkáwúló, sámèlù</i>	<i>sámé</i> ‘white waist belt’; <i>káwúló</i> ‘ear of cattle’
òlísórálí	<i>sórálí</i>	<i>lugólǎn báná, lugólǎn sènò</i>	<i>lù</i> ‘back head and buttocks’ <i>sènò</i> ‘hands, front legs’
òlíkiwó	<i>kìwó</i>	<i>sámèkíwó, sámètáwáj</i>	<i>sámé</i> ‘white waist belt’; <i>táwáj</i> ‘kidney, wing’
òlíbálá	<i>bálái</i>	<i>čárdónímèdèrè, dóntórí</i>	<i>čár</i> ‘leopard’; <i>dòwùn</i> ‘zebra’; <i>tórí</i> ‘north’

For example, when we see the personal name *òlígólǎn*, it is a compound word composed of *òlí* ‘ox/bull’ and *gólǎni* ‘red’. It has two similes: one composed of two concrete objects *lòmáj* and *kawulo* while the other is composed of *gólǎni* and *mèrì*. Thus a person called by the name *òlígólǎn* can also be recognized by the two similes *lòmákáwúló* and *gólǎnmèrì*. Names of individuals can also be composed of similes that consist of one or more than one name of animals or objects that are associated the color pattern of the bull. For example a person called *òlíbálá* can be named after the bull that has *bálái* colour pattern, but the word *bálái* does not designate colour in its own. Thus the word *bálái* requires similes associating the person’s name and his favorite Ox colour with the colour of other animals or objects that have similar colours or colour patterns. Therefore, two animal names exist as similes: *čár*, because the colour of the person’s favorite ox/bull resembles a ‘leopard’; and has a stripe like *dòwùn* ‘zebra’ stretched horizontally on the back. The strip on the back of the ox/bull resembles a horn of a sheep (a straight-shaped horn of a sheep). The word *tórí* ‘North’ refers to the stripe on the ox that starts from the head of the ox (North; left) and reaches to its tail South (right)’.

Outside of the ‘ox/bull+colour’ form, there are men’s names that have ‘*bàr*+’ forms. The term *bàr* (lit. ‘night’) is a socio-spatial oriented reference name which may be given to men based on the entities, spatial conditions, or celestial bodies, available in the surrounding environment at the time of their birth. However, when *bàr* is used in naming, it can mean ‘man of’, for example, *bàrkámán* ‘man+war’ (lit. ‘one who is born at the time of war’). Accordingly these sort of names may include: *bàrgòlàn* ‘man+red’, *bàrtáj* ‘man+moon/month (sg.)’, *bàrkámán* ‘man+war’, *bàrdóri* ‘man+house (sg.)’, etc.

Women’s personal names can be formed by combining *ηa*+colour or any other nouns. Women's personal names differ from that of men's in that they must contain the inherently gendered noun *ηàhà* ‘woman’ or adjective *ηàhì* ‘female’. Some of Mursi women names include: *ηàbìò* (Ngabìò) ‘woman+cow (pl.)/cattle’, *ηàkídò* (Ngakidho) <woman+river>, *ηàkútúl* (Ngakútúl) <woman+mountain>, *ηàdóólé* (Ngadhole) <woman+girl>, *ηàlúsà* (Ngalúsà) <woman+boy (pl.)>, etc.

1.9 Linguistic affiliation

In terms of linguistic affiliation, Mursi is one of the Southeast Surmic group language within the Eastern Sudanic Branch of the Nilo-Saharan family. From the Surmic languages, Mursi, Chai, Tirma, Bodi, Me’en, and Kwegu (aslo Koegu)/Muguji are spoken in Ethiopia. The other languages, Didinga, Narim, Tenet, Murle, and Baale are spoken in Sudan (see more on Diagram 1.2).

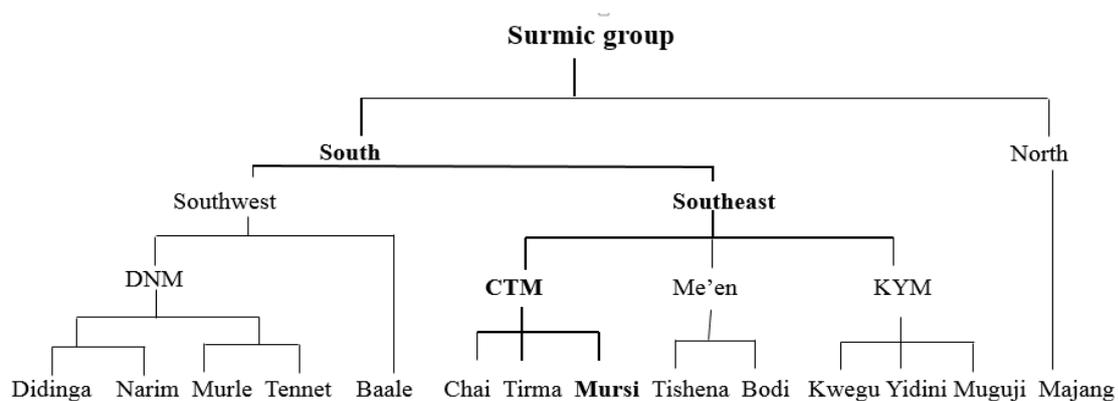


Diagram 1.2 Surmic group classification (Dimmendaal 1998: 13)

It was Fleming (in 1983) who proposed using the term Surmic instead of Surma as a family label (Dimmendaal 1998: 9). Among the various issues, the most important point to mention with regard to the classification of the Nilo-Saharan ‘Super family’ sub-branches and smaller groups is that there are certain inconsistencies until now. To mention just a few, Cerulli in 1942, proposed that various languages classified under Surmic (Tirma, Me’en (also Mekan), etc.) should be included in the Nilotic sub-branch. But, at that time, the ‘Nilotic’ which Cerulli refers to includes languages which belong to other language families such as Dime. Dime is an Omotic language within the Afroasiatic ‘Super Family’ (cf. Dimmendaal 1998: 4). Since then, a number of group names have been proposed for the current Surmic group languages. To list some: ‘Murle group’ for Didinga-Murle and ‘Suri Group’ for the Southeastern branch of Surmic (Bryant 1945), ‘Beir-Didinga Group’, (including Murle (also Beir) Murzu, Longarim, Didinga, Suri, Mekan, Surma) (Greenberg 1955); Didinga-Murle Group (Tucker and Bryan 1956), Surma (Bender 1971), and so on. As a result of this, it is Fleming’s (1983) proposal that has got a wider acceptance by many Nilo-Saharan linguistic experts. Fleming classified the so-called Surmic group languages into three clusters: Southwestern group (includes Murle, Didinga, Baale, and so on), Southeastern group (includes Suri, Tirma, Mursi, Me’en. Kwegu, and so on), and North(ern). However, as the latest genetic classification of Surmic languages, Dimmendaal (1998: 13) proposed a new idea for classifying Surmic group languages, and new abbreviations, CTM (Chai, Tirma, Mursi), YKM (Yidinit, Kwegu, Muguji) (both are Southeastern group languages), and DNM (Didinga, Narim, Murle, Tennet) Southwestern group languages. Following Abbink’s (1992) clustering of the CTM group, Mursi's linguistic affiliation is within this cluster.

1.10 Sociolinguistic situation

Despite the fact that they have a higher level of understanding of the languages spoken by their neighbors, the Mursi can be described as a monolingual society. There is a high degree of mutual intelligibility between the speakers of Mursi and Me'en (Chai) languages. Both languages can form a dialectal continuum of the Southeastern Surmic group. When we consider the nature of the Mursi speaker language skills, it is very rare to find bilingual or multilingual speakers who are able to communicate or effectively use different languages spoken in the neighboring areas. This means, the Mursi people can be regarded as 'monolinguals' despite the fact that they live in close contact with its neighbours who are alike linguistically as well as culturally. The 2007 National census of Ethiopia reported that the total population of the Mursi ethnic group is approximately 7,500, of which more than 98% were identified as monolinguals in Mursi whereas the rest 2% were bilinguals/multilinguals they speak their native language and at least one more language of their neighbours. This is due to the fact that the Mursi see themselves as well as their languages as very distinct—even from their close neighbours who speak related languages such as Chai and Tirma. Only a few younger people have some competence in Amharic.

Until recently, young Mursi who attend formal schooling in public schools have constituted less than 1% of the total population Literacy rate in second language. As far as I know, there is one primary school (grade 1-4) in Mákkí village where Mursi children attend some subjects in their native language. Until 1989, Mursi had no orthography, consequently it was not a written language. Then, in 1989, a missionary organization called SIM developed an Amharic-based orthography (based on Ethiopic scripts/alphabets). Following this, in 2005, Yigezu has developed a Latin-based orthography for the language. However, as to the vitality level of the *munen* language

itself, one can say that it is increasing, especially in the last ten years. Currently, a trilingual Mursi-English-Amharic Dictionary is available compiled by David Turton, Moges Yogezeu and Olisorali Olibù (published in 2008).

1.11 Previous studies; Ethnographic exploration in the Lower Omo Valley

An ethnographic research exploration into the Lower Omo Valley in general and the Mursi territory in particular was started in the late 19th century. The first exploration attempt in the Mursi area was in 1888 by Count S. Teleki and L.von Hohnel, who were able to reach the northern shore of Lake Rudolf (Turkana). At the time, they saw the Omo River in a huge flood. In 1895, an American medical doctor and explorer called Arthur Donaldson Smith arrived at the Northern end of Lake Rudolf from the east, and attempted to advance further northwards to the river of Omo and to reach the Mako [Mago] river. In 1896, a British explorer, soldier, hunter and travel writer Artur H. Neumann made an expedition to Lake Rudolf and travelled north along the Omo as far as its junction with the Mago. Unfortunately attempts by these explorers were unsuccessful, because none of these explorers reached the area currently called South Omo Zone (often referred to as Lower Omo Valley), and they never encountered an ethnic group called the Mursi.

It was only after 1896 that explorations became successful in many ways. In 1896, an Italian Geographical Society expedition led by a man called Vittorio Bottego travelled southwards through Mursi territory, following the left bank of the Omo River as far as Lake Rudolf. According to Turton (1973: 416), Bottego was the first explorer who reached Mursi country.

The following year, in 1897, H. S. Canendish followed the Omo River northwards from Lake Rudolf as far as the Mako. For the first time, in 1897, the ethnonym 'Murutu' which refers to the then Mursi people was mentioned in the work of Canendish. He also

described them (the Mursi) as numerous, strong and rich people. Another man who had the opportunity to visit the Mursi area was A.D. Smith. In 1900, Smith made a journey to the North of Lake Rudolf. Consequently, he reported that the Dassanech had almost ceased to exist. The 'Mursu' (Mursi) on the other hand had escaped the raiders and were in a flourishing condition.

Between 1900 and 1950, several European explorers had the chance to visit the Turkana, the Lower Omo Valley areas and the people who live in these areas. To mention some: J.J. Harrison in (1900) (reached north-eastern corner of the Omo River), R. de Bourg de Bozas in (1902) (reached the junction of the Omo and Mako), and C.W. Gwynn in 1909 (reached up to the right bank of the Omo River). He later published his journey in 1911.

In 1952, E. Haberland made an expedition to the Bodi (Tishena) area and spent a few days until he was forced to return northwards due to lack of supplies and the deaths of his mules. In 1966, he published an article entitled 'Zur Sprache der Bodi, Mursi and Yidenic in Süd-West-Äthiopien' on *New Afrikanistische Studien*.

David Turton is the first person who studied the social organization of the Mursi people and wrote much on the anthropological side of this group. Since his first fieldwork in the Mursi society in 1968, he wrote on a number of topics regarding Mursi social structure, economy, migration movements, cultural and traditional practices, and so on. In years following 1968 (1968-70), Turton carried out two anthropological field studies and was able to learn the Mursi language as well. By combining his Mursi knowledge and the information he obtained from the two field studies, in 1976, he and Bender were able to publish the first grammatical sketch of the Mursi language (less than 30 pages). He later published this grammar in French in 1981, under the title 'Le Mùn' ('The Mùn (Mursi)'). In his PhD dissertation ('A Comparative Study of the

Phonetics and Phonology of Surmic Languages’), Yigezu (2001: 92-9) revised the phonological system of the language. The latest publication, but one that has made a huge contribution to the language is that of Mütze (2014) titled ‘A sketch of the Mursi language’. In her description, Mütze pointed out a number of important features of the language such as Noun Modification Constructions (NMC), aspect, mood, valency changing derivations, and so on. On related languages, Abbink (1991, 2013), Arensen (1998), and Dimmendaal (1998, 2001, 2010, 2011) are among a few scholars who published various scholarly works of linguistic and anthropological studies.

1.12 Fieldwork methodology and language data

This grammar is the first detailed description of the Mursi language written through an immersion fieldwork approach following my two field trips to the villages of the Mursi community in 2017 and in 2019. Based on immersion fieldwork methods (cf. Aikhenvald 2015, Dixon 2010a), which is a suitable fieldwork approach to learn the language, the researcher stays in the villages of the communities who speak the language under study. My first field trip duration in the Mursi community villages was from November 2016 to October 2017 (for about 11 months), and the second was from October 2018 to January 2019 (three months).

The data collected during my two field trips include mainly an extensive corpus of texts of different genres, from different speakers, and from different locations.

Following these field trips, I have been able to record more than 40 hours of audio recordings of stories from different genres (history, stories, socio-cultural, and day-to-day life activities, songs, and other). Of this, a four hour audio recording has been transcribed and annotated (yielding over 1000 pages). A four-hour video footage is also available (because participant observation is very important). In addition, the corpus

includes: hundreds of pages of handwritten field notes, 26 stories (texts), 2 songs, 3 bible chapters, and more. Of the 26 texts, four are attached as appendices.

The bulk of my time in the fieldwork was spent on recording, transcribing, and interlinearizing these texts. All the texts used in this grammar were collected from 16 native speakers of Mursi (language consultants), of whom 14 were males and two were females. The name of my Mursi consultants are as follows: B`arihuny Girinomeri Araro Toko (30+, Male) (primary consultant; grade 10 student), B`arkadhe Kulumedere (28+, Male) (secondary consultant; he is currently studying for his Bachelor of Arts in Translation in Kenya), Olirege Regge (29, Male), `Olitùlà Olibùì (26, Male), Ngarugo (24, Female), Olelu Nyamanikiwo (17, Male), Olikoro Runèbisala Dumalo (34, Male), Olikoro Takui (28, Male), B`armoy (32, Male), Olikoro Moges (26, Male†), Oliregge Bikirinto (23, Male), Ngarori Kashai (19, Female), Arsiregge Gomonyokawulo (40+, Male), B`argolony (22+, Male; grade 12 student), Olelu Olibùì (30+, Male; works at SIM, a missionary organization on bible translation), and B`artui Bergere (30+, Male; Mago Park Guard/militia). All the data were recorded in three particular places: Romos (Hayl wuha) (one of the Mursi villages about 80km from Jinka Town), Salamago (Hana Mursi; the main Woreda for Mursi, Bodi and Dime), and Jinka Town (specifically at South Omo Research (SORC) and surrounding areas).

The data have been analysed within a theoretical framework called Basic Linguistic Theory (BLT) (Dixon 2010a, 2010b and 2012). This is a theory which offers a number of appropriate options to describe what is happening in the language under study. In light of BLT, the all-round text analysis has produced fourteen chapters covering the phonology, morphology and syntax of the language.

Chapter 2 Phonology

2.1 Introduction

Mursi is a language with a medium number of phonemes. However, for a large portion of the phonological analysis presented in different sections of this chapter, I believe that the following expression best describes the phonemic inventories of Mursi: ‘a language with a complex phonological system’. Especially, at the level of phonological word and grammatical word identification, vowels tend to be highly complex as the language also undergoes an extensive vowel coalescence, harmony, copying, deletion, change, subtraction, and so on. Mursi also has two tone registers: High and Low, and both are contrastive and play significant roles both at the lexical and grammatical levels. In addition, as an agglutinating and highly synthetic language that takes up to ten morphemes per word, morpheme boundaries are another issue that poses complexity in the morphophonological analysis.

Therefore, in sections of the chapter, notes on orthographic and phonetic transcriptions (§2.2), inventory of phonemes (§2.3), syllable structures (§2.4), phonological processes which governs the morphophonological rules (§2.5), tone (§2.6), and phonological and grammatical words (§2.7) are discussed in detail.

2.2 Notes on orthography and phonetic transcriptions

As Mursi is a hitherto unwritten language, it has no fixed orthographic system designed for literacy and other official communication domains. However, there were few attempts made to introduce one of the two common orthographic systems often used in many Ethiopian languages — the Ge'ez (Ethiopic) script and the Latin script. In fact, the Mursi still use the Ge'ez script on a daily basis for some formal and informal purposes such as writing letters at the lower government and administrative levels,

courts, informal literacy workbooks and textbooks, and so on. Side by side, the Latin-based script was designed by Yigezu (2005: 246) as he puts it, ‘for the transliteration of Mursi texts in order to enable the reader to reproduce the sounds of Mursi speech with reasonable accuracy’ (see also Turton et al., 2008: 11-13). Table 2.1 below is a Latin-based orthography suggested for Mursi consonant and vowel inventories by Yigezu. Table 2.2 below presents the Ge’ez (Ethiopic) script based on orthographic representation of Mursi phonemes. Therefore, the orthographic representation of Mursi sounds with Ge’ez⁶ graphemes treats both consonant and vowel phonemes as one grapheme or one alphabetical letter rather than as two separate graphemes or letters (as a syllabic script). Note that neither of them mark tone.

Table 2.1. Latin-based orthography of Mursi

PHONEME IN (IPA)	GRAPHEME	PHONEMES IN (IPA)	GRAPHEME	PHONEME IN (IPA)	GRAPHEME
/t/	<t>	/m/	<m>	/i/	<i>
/b/		/n/	<n>	/e/	<e>
/d/	<d>	/ɲ/	<ny>	/ɛ/	<ɛ>
/k/	<k>	/ŋ/	<ng>	/a/	<a>
/g/	<g>	/l/	<l>	/ɔ/	<ɔ>
/s/	<s>	/r/	<r>	/o/	<o>
/z/	<z>	/w/	<w>	/u/	<u>
/ʃ/	<sh>	/j/	<y>		
/h/	<h>	/ʔ/	<’>		
/č/	<ch>	/b/	<bh>		
/dʒ/	<j>	/d/	<dh>		

With respect to sound representation, throughout this grammar, the phonemic inventories were represented by the standard symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) transcriptions. Likewise, throughout all the sections of this grammar, standard transcription notations were used whenever deemed necessary. These include: phonemic is shown by slash notation / /, phonetic by square bracket [], and grapheme

⁶ Note that the Ge’ez (Ethiopic) scripts (also known as Ge’ez abugida) are always written in a syllabary system, i.e. consonants and vowels are represented by a single grapheme.

by angle bracket <>. For example, the palatal voiceless affricate will be represented as phonemic /č/, phonetic [č], and grapheme <ch>.

Table 2.2. Ge'ez/Ethiopic-based orthography of Mursi

PHONEMES	VOWELS						
CONSONANTS	[ɛ]	[u]	[i]	[a]	[e]	[o]	[ɔ]
[l] ለ	ለ [lɛ]	ሁ [lu]	ሀ [li]	ላ [la]	ሌ [le]	ሎ [lo]	ሎ [lɔ]
[m] ሞ	መ [mɛ]	ሙ [mu]	ሚ [mi]	ማ [ma]	ሜ [me]	ሞ [mo]	ሞ [mɔ]
[r] ር	ረ [rɛ]	ሩ [ru]	ሪ [ri]	ራ [ra]	ራ [re]	ሮ [ro]	ሮ [rɔ]
[s] ሰ	ሰ [sɛ]	ሱ [su]	ሲ [si]	ሳ [sa]	ሴ [se]	ሶ [so]	ሶ [sɔ]
[ʃ] ሸ	ሸ [ʃɛ]	ሹ [ʃu]	ሺ [ʃi]	ሻ [ʃa]	ሼ [ʃe]	ሽ [ʃo]	ሽ [ʃɔ]
[b] ብ	በ [bɛ]	ቡ [bu]	ቢ [bi]	ባ [ba]	ቤ [be]	ቦ [bo]	ቦ [bɔ]
[t] ት	ተ [tɛ]	ቱ [tu]	ቲ [ti]	ታ [ta]	ቱ [te]	ቶ [to]	ቶ [tɔ]
[č] ቸ	ቸ [čɛ]	ቹ [ču]	ቺ [či]	ቻ [ča]	ቼ [če]	ች [čo]	ች [čɔ]
[ŋ] ጎ	ጎ [ŋɛ]	ጉ [ŋu]	ጊ [ŋi]	ጋ [ŋa]	ጌ [ŋe]	ጎ [ŋo]	ጎ [ŋɔ]
[n] ን	ነ [nɛ]	ኑ [nu]	ኒ [ni]	ና [na]	ኔ [ne]	ኖ [no]	ኖ [nɔ]
[ɲ] ጎ	ጎ [ɲɛ]	ጉ [ɲu]	ጊ [ɲi]	ጋ [ɲa]	ጌ [ɲe]	ጎ [ɲo]	ጎ [ɲɔ]
[ʔ] <ዕ>/<አ>	አ [ʔɛ]	አ [ʔu]	አ [ʔi]	አ [ʔa]	አ [ʔe]	አ [ʔo]	አ [ʔɔ]
[k] ከ	ከ [kɛ]	ከ [ku]	ከ [ki]	ካ [ka]	ካ [ke]	ኮ [ko]	ኮ [kɔ]
[h] ኸ	ኸ [hɛ]	ኸ [hu]	ኸ [hi]	ኸ [ha]	ኸ [he]	ኸ [ho]	ኸ [hɔ]
[w] ወ	ወ [wɛ]	ወ [wu]	ወ [wi]	ወ [wa]	ወ [we]	ወ [wo]	ወ [wɔ]
[z] ዘ	ዘ [zɛ]	ዘ [zu]	ዘ [zi]	ዘ [za]	ዘ [ze]	ዘ [zo]	ዘ [zɔ]
[j] ይ	ይ [jɛ]	ይ [ju]	ይ [ji]	ይ [ja]	ይ [je]	ይ [jo]	ይ [jɔ]
[d] ደ	ደ [dɛ]	ደ [du]	ደ [di]	ደ [da]	ደ [de]	ደ [do]	ደ [dɔ]
[dʒ] ጅ	ጅ [dʒɛ]	ጅ [dʒu]	ጅ [dʒi]	ጅ [dʒa]	ጅ [dʒe]	ጅ [dʒo]	ጅ [dʒɔ]
[g] ግ	ግ [gɛ]	ግ [gu]	ግ [gi]	ግ [ga]	ግ [ge]	ግ [go]	ግ [gɔ]
[b] ቨ	ቨ [bɛ]	ቨ [bu]	ቨ [bi]	ቨ [ba]	ቨ [be]	ቨ [bo]	ቨ [bɔ]
[dʰ] ደ	ደ [dʰɛ]	ደ [dʰu]	ደ [dʰi]	ደ [dʰa]	ደ [dʰe]	ደ [dʰo]	ደ [dʰɔ]

2.3 Inventory of phonemes

Mursi has a total of 29 phonemes. With respect to certain consonant phonemes, Mursi seems to be to some extent unique compared to the rest Southeastern Surmic group languages in that it lacks the voiceless labial fricative /f/, the voiceless bilabial stop /p/, and ejectives (§2.3.1). Nevertheless, like all other languages of the group, it has retained a seven-vowel system (§2.3.2).

2.3.1 Consonant phonemes

Mursi has 22 consonant phonemes: six voiceless and voiced stops, two implosives, four voiceless and voiced fricatives, two voiceless and voiced affricates, four nasals, two glides, and two liquids (a lateral /l/ and a trill /r/). Other languages of the Southeastern Surmic group also have an almost comparable number of consonant phonemes. Table 2.3 below displays the full list of the inventory of consonant phonemes.

Table 2.3 Consonant phonemes of Mursi

	Bilabial (labio- labial)	Alveolar			Palatal	Velar	Glottal
		apico- dental	apico- alveolar	Post- alveolar	lamino- palatal	dorso- velar	
Voiceless stop		t [t]				k [k]	ʔ [ʔ]
Voiced stop	b [b]	d [d]				g [g]	
Implosive	ɓ [ɓ] <bh>			ɗ [ɗ] <dh>			
Voiceless fricative			s [s]		ʃ [ʃ] <sh>		h [h]
Voiced fricative			z [z]				
Voiceless affricate					č [č] <ch>		
Voiced affricate					ɟ [ɟ] <dz>		
Nasal	m [m]	n [n]		ɲ [ɲ] <ny>		ŋ [ŋ] <ng>	
Lateral (Liquid)			l [l]				
Trill (Liquid)			r [r]				
Glide	w [w]				j [j] <y>		

2.3.1.1 Stops

This category of stops is comprised of six phonemes — three voiceless and three voiced. The voiceless stops are /t/, /k/ and /ʔ/. The voiced stops are /b/, /d/ and /g/. Except for the voiceless glottal stop /ʔ/, all the other members of the group can occur at almost all positions in nominal and verbal roots. The occurrence of the glottal stop is limited in all positions in a word. Mütze (2014: 27) points out that it is used to separate like vowels across word morpheme boundaries. That is, /ʔ/ is being inserted between proclitics that end with vowels and phonological or grammatical words that begin with the same vowels, as in (2.1a-b).

- (2.1) a. /ɲà=àhà=à/ > [ɲàʔàhàà]
 DEM=thing.PL=NEAR
 ‘These things’
- b. /ɲà=án=ó/ > [ɲàʔánó]
 NEG.IMPERV=COP3.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘It is not; are not’

However, the word that is to be combined with the proclitic may sometimes begin with a different vowel from that of the proclitic. An instance of this type is found between the negative imperfective proclitic *ɲà=* and words containing vowel length as a result of intervocalic consonant deletion. The verb *óól* ‘beg, pray, plead’ is one example of a word-initial vowel length, which is a disyllabic verb root in three other Southeastern Surmic group languages closest to Mursi — *ógól* (Tirmaga and Chai) and *oʔol* ‘Me’en):

- (2.2) /ɲà=óól-í=ó/ > [ɲàʔóólíó]
 NEG.IMPERV=beg-2sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘You (sg.) beg’

However, the effect of the glottal stop may not be audible in fast speech. At word-final positions, it occurs in a few words such as *hóhúʔ* ‘a rope made of cow skin’ (contrasted with *hóhú* ‘lung’) *beleʔ* ‘bald’ and *bánáʔ* ‘fly’. The status of the glottal stop requires additional investigations.

Regarding the occurrence of stops in affixes and clitics, they can be divided into three groups — those that occur in affixes and clitics, those that occur only in affixes and those that do not occur in either. Those that occur in affixes and clitics are /t/ and /g/, as in (2.3a-c) and (2.4a-c).

- (2.3) a. /tɛ́-hén-ú/
 PERV-want.PERV-2sg.SU.PERV
 ‘You (sg.) wanted’
- b. /bàbì-tín/
 fool-N.STATE
 ‘Foolishness’
- c. /ɲà=zùg=tùnù/
 DEM=people=FAR
 ‘Those people’
- (2.4) a. /bì-ɲóg-i/ > [bi<g/k>-ɲógi]
 break-AGT.NOMZ-SG
 ‘(a) breaker’
- b. /sààn-ɲògà/
 ‘News/story-PL
 ‘news/stories’
- c. [[gòdón=g-à]_{NP-à} g=àɲù]_{NP}
 brother=PERT:PL-1.PSR-RSTR PL.PSD=1SG.PSR
 ‘My brothers’

The voiceless velar stop /k/ appears in one predictable position, i.e. in the *k(V)*- prefix, but carrying most important grammatical information of the language — or it is a polyfunctional prefix shape in the following morphological markers: first person singular and plural subjects (S/A), agentless passive, subjunctive and hortative/jussive moods.

- (2.5) /kí-hín-í/
 1SU-want.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV
 ‘I want’

The two velar stops /k/ and /g/ may be neutralized to the glottal stop /ʔ/ syllable as well as word-finally (see further discussion under §2.5.3). The remaining three stops — /b/, /d/ and /ʔ/ do not occur in affixes and clitics (see Table 2.5). With regard to the

occurrence of stops in affixes, it is possible to generalize that with the exception of /b/, /d/ and /ʔ/, all can occur in various positions within affixes —whether in nominal or verbal words.

2.3.1.2 Implosives

Mursi has retained only the bilabial and post-alveolar implosives /ɓ/ and /ɗ/ from Proto-Surmic. In this regard, Mursi aligns with the other two of the Southeastern Surmic group languages — Me'en and koegu. But Chai, another member of the group has retained full range of implosives including velar implosive /ɠ/ (cf. Yigezu (2001: 93-115). For instance, in terms of pronouncing of the following words, a notable difference can be observed between Mursi and Chai-Tirmaga (also subsumed under a single ethnonym, Suri) speakers.

(2.6)	Mursi	Chai-Tirmaga	Meaning
a.	[rɛ́ǵéi <j>]	[rɛǵɛ]	'pink'
b.	[gìǵà]	[ǵíǵà]	'bone (pl.)'
c.	[gín]	[ǵín]	'ask'

On the other hand, all languages of the Southwestern Surmic group have retained a full range of implosives. Majang, another Surmic language which constitutes a single North Surmic group in its own, does not have this phoneme.

Except in the word-final position, the bilabial implosive /ɓ/ occurs in all nominal and verbal word positions: *bàrá* 'rope made from grass (pl.)', *tólóǵé* 'lizard', *dòrbìn* 'a kind of tree' (Desert Rose *Adenium obesum*), *bésí* 'hatch', and *bág* 'eat'. Despite its occurrence in verb root medial position being unquestionable, it is very limited. This seems due to the fact that a great majority of Mursi verb roots are monosyllabic, and whenever it occurs at initial position of a monosyllabic verb root but is absent from the medial position of a verb root, it means that it is within polysyllabic verbs. Accordingly, there are a few polysyllabic verbs containing this phoneme whose roots appear to be

related to ideophones or syllables with inherently reduplicated shapes such as *bábári* ‘tremble’, *bíbífi* ‘to get goose bumps’, and *bóbódě* ‘completely upset’.

However, I have found one polysyllabic verb in my data with /b/, i.e. /tábúlé/ and /támúlé/ ‘dash’, with /b/ being in free variation with the bilabial nasal /m/. The bilabial implosive /b/ does not occur in affixes and clitics. Despite this, an instance of grammaticalization was found which appears to be on the way of evolving into a proclitic. That is, the polysemous word [bá] ‘place, land, country, world’ seems to be losing its independence and is bonding/fusing with the near distance marker enclitic =ùnù, — in *ηàbùnù* ‘there’, as in (2.7).

(2.7) /ηà=bá=ùnù/ > [ηà=b=ùnù] > [ηàbùnù]
 DEM=place=FAR
 ‘That place’ > ‘There’

Borrowed words from Amharic containing the bilabial ejective /pʼ/ are always readjusted to the bilabial implosive /b/. Such words include: *t’äräp’p’eza* > [tarabɛza] ‘table’, *p’et’ros* > [bitirosi] ‘Peter’, and *f(p)’ilip’p’os* > [bilabosi] ‘Philip’. Personal names listed here appear to be pronounced in the context of the bible translation which otherwise would have different pronunciations when pronounced in English. For example, ‘Paul’ would be [bóól] (cf. Mütze 2014).

The velar implosive /d/ appears at all positions in verbal roots, and at word-initial and word-final positions in nominal roots — *dúgúm* ‘curve, (bend)’, *éséd* ‘think, calculate’, *mád* ‘teach, advise’, *dǝè* ‘hump’, *kéděm* ‘traditional drinking bowl’ and so on. Like the bilabial implosive, the velar implosive /d/ appears in inherently reduplicated verb roots such as *béděděg* ‘flash (lightening)’ (+CV:REDUP) and *kéděkédě* ‘whisper (sense-speech)’ (CVCV:REDUP). Implosives are highly unlikely to occur in affixes and clitics. However, there is one instance found in which the velar implosive -

d' functions as a marker of plural number on vowel-final verb roots in the perfective aspect.

- (2.8) a. /k-ídí-d-á/
 1SU-add/combine-PL.PERV-1pl.INC.SU.PERV
 ‘We (inc.) combined (it)’
 b. /lámí-d-á/
 search/find-PL.PERV-3pl.SU.PERV
 ‘They searched’

There is also one interesting scenario where voiced geminate stops develop into implosives. This has also been noted in some Southwestern Surmic group languages such as Baale (Yigezu 2001: 203-204; Dimmendaal 2011: 28). That is /bb/ > [b̥], /dd/ > [d̥], and /gg/ > [g̥]. No such development or phonological change has been attested in the Southeastern Surmic group languages. This suggests that they could be an innovation in Southwestern Surmic group languages.

- (2.9) òlībíséní ádíśáwá-jè ṇàni kóóγ-Ø=ó
 Olebhiseni addis.ababa-OBL NEG.PERV 3.SBJV.go-3.IRR=NEG
 ‘Olebhiseni did not go to Addis Ababa.’

As it is shown in (2.9), the geminate voiced alveolar stop /dd/ (in Amharic) has triggered the velar implosive /d̥/. With respect to the changes from voiced geminate stops to implosives, Yigezu (pp. 204) noted that Southwest Surmic languages result from earlier voiced geminated stops, a phonological change which further fed into the existing pattern of implosive consonants, probably by development.

Outside SWS languages, Mursi seems to be an exception in that this development applies to Mursi. Moreover, Mursi may even further distinguish itself from both SES and SWS group languages because unlike in languages of these groups, the velar implosive /d̥/ can be triggered by stress on the second syllable of the word containing the voiced alveolar stop /d/. See the examples given below.

- (2.10) a. [bá-á [tán-á sú'dǎn-ùŋ]_{NP}]_{NP} nà
country-RSTR side-RSTR Sudan-GEN CCN
nòŋ té hírí ódǎn-éí-ni
3sg COP.3.PERV man strong.ADJ-RS
‘...on the other side of Sudan, he is a strong man there.’ (MH 6:53:2)
- b. [zùw-á so'dók-awu-jan-i]⁷
people-RSTR Sadducees-ADJ.PL:M-GEN
‘People of the Sadducees’

2.3.1.3 Fricatives

Mursi has four fricatives: /s/, /z/, /ʃ/ and /h/. All occur word-initially and word-medially in both nominal as well as verbal words. However, except for the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ they do not occur at word-final positions — *áús* ‘rest, alight’, *érés* ‘cross’, *úŋús* ‘sleep’. Their absence from word-final position is due to the fact that either they are deleted or weakened. Two fricative phonemes; the alveolar /s/ and the glottal /h/, are deleted word-finally. The palatal fricative /ʃ/ is weakened word-finally to the palatal glide /j/. Word-finally, the palatal fricative /ʃ/ is weakened to the post-alveolar glide /j/. For example, *gǎʃ* becomes *gàj* ‘bush’. There is no good justification to explain why the alveolar fricative phoneme /s/ still stayed untouched at the root-final positions in verbs. It may not be just one but it seems highly convincing that there is generally one dominant phonotactic restriction which governs the roughly 90 percent of Mursi verb roots ending in consonants. That is, if the verb has a consonant-final ending, then it must be retained except in free variation scenarios such as the occurrence of /s/ in free variation with /h/.

However, there is one exception in which this does not apply, i.e. when free variation exists.

⁷ Note that the source of the stress in these two names is Amharic — the second noun, which is a modifier the head *zuwa*, contains the Amharic nominalizer *-awi* used to form adjectives expressing a quality or a characteristic, or name of a people. When it is *-awajan*, it refers to plural masculine (Leslau 1995: 240).

For example, /s/ and /h/ can occur as free variants, as in *bús* ~ *búh* ‘curse’. Or even between /s/ and /ʃ/ and /h/ and /f/ — *rès* ~ *rèf* ‘die’, *ih* ~ *íf* ‘exist’ > (it is *i* in underlying form). In fact the palatal fricative /ʃ/ may be weakened in word-final positions of nominal and verbal roots but not in ideophones. Since ideophones have a different phonology, they cannot be easily affected by any regular phonological rules as nouns and verbs (cf. Chapter 3). All, except the voiced alveolar fricative /z/ can occur in affixes: *nèbi-só(sí)* ‘buffalo-PL’, *á/á-ǎ* (*á/á-ì* (singular)) ‘grandchildren’, *hè-hì* ‘body-PL’, *dè-híná* ‘compound-PL’, and so on. Although /s/ separately appears as a floating emphatic marker clitic (=so), they do not occur in clitics.

2.3.1.4 Affricates

Mursi has two affricates: the voiceless palatal affricate /č/ and its counterpart /ǰ/. Both appear in all word positions — *čòré* ‘hair’, *čáč* ‘exchange, translate, barter (of goods)’, *húč* ‘pay, avenge’, *gúnkáčùj* ‘pumpkin’, *múčúgí* ‘half, few’, *múǰùsì* ‘rotten’ and so on. They also appear in inherently reduplicated words such as *džàmdžamì* ‘mistaken’ and *kúčúkúčú* ‘silence, saying nothing’ — by being a disyllabic word in $\sigma_1=\sigma_2$ symmetry or a polysyllabic word in CVCV=CVCV symmetry. Word-finally, both will be neutralized after they are being weakened to the post-alveolar glide /j/. (see §2.5.3 of this chapter). Only the voiceless palatal affricate /č/ is attested in affixes — such as *sìrò* ~ *síró-ča* ‘eland/Nyala-PL’, *kàbì* ~ *kàbì-čó* ‘clan-PL’, *kì-bìg-án-čo* (1.SBJV-break.PERV-MT-COM) ‘I may/might break’ and so on. Whereas both are not attested in clitics.

2.3.1.5 Nasals

Mursi has four consonantal nasal phonemes: the bilabial /m/, the alveolar /n/, the post-alveolar /ɲ/, and the velar /ŋ/. All the four nasal phonemes appear in all positions of a

word. The bilabial nasal /m/: *mà* ‘water’, *tòmòn* ‘ten’, *džìm* ‘lead’; the alveolar nasal /n/: *nani* ‘expert’, *múnúá* ‘itch’, *kún* ‘come’; the post-alveolar nasal /ɲ/: *ɲòg* ‘close, shut’, *ɲàbì* ‘ear’, *tíríɲí* ‘gum’, *lèkèɲ* ‘knee’, *gùɲ* ‘see’; and the velar nasal /ŋ/: *ɲér* ‘divide’, *téɲér* ‘frighten’, and *nòɲ* ‘s/he, it, (pro.)’. At syllable boundaries, the velar nasal /ŋ/ is most frequently followed by its homorganic counterparts /k/ and /g/ — *bàɲkà* ‘machete’ and *gùɲgàčì* ‘pumpkin’ (see also §2.5.6.1). Full or partially inherently reduplicated words may trigger such homorganic sequences, for example *kùɲkùɲ* ‘one another’ and *góɲgóɲ* ‘murmur’.

All nasal phenomes appear in affixes: *kómórú-mò* <priest-N.ST> ‘priesthood’, *čúr-néj* <wash-NOMZ> ‘washed (n.)’, *táísí-ɲá* <month-PL> ‘months, moons’, *kóód-íɲógí* <kill-AGT.NOMZ> ‘a killer’, *kò-jòg-ùɲ* <PASS-tell.PERV-2pl.OBJ> ‘You (pl.) were not told’, and so on. However, only the /n/ and /ŋ/ occur as both clitics — as a proclitic or as an enclitic, as in (2.11a-c).

- (2.11) a. [rè-á n=ùnù]_{NP}
 body-RSTR SG.PSD=2SG.PSR
 ‘Your (sg.) body’
- b. ɲàɲì ké-džèm=nó
 NEG.PERV 1SU-lead.PERV=NEG
 ‘I have not yet gone.’
- c. [bá-á [ɲà=lògt=á kàmàn-ùɲ=ɲà]_{NP}]_{NP} ɲè
 place-RSTR DEM=issue=NEAR war-GEN=DEF 2sg
 sén-í ènèɲ?
 say-2sg.SU.IMPERV how
 ‘What is your attitude toward war?’

2.3.1.6 Liquids

The set of this category has two consonant phonemes — the alveolar lateral /l/ and the alveolar trill /r/. Both can occur in all positions of a word, as in *lámí* ‘find’, *kúli* ‘drive, paddle’, *óól* ‘beg, pray, intercede’, *rúú* ‘cry’, *tìráɲ* ‘play’, *ógor* ‘roast’, and so on. There is a strict phonotactic restriction with respect to the co-occurrence of these two. That is,

the alveolar lateral /l/ can be followed by the alveolar trill /r/ but reverse is not possible. Mütze (2014) noted that as the onset of a cross-syllable consonant cluster, /l/ can only be followed by itself /l/ and by the trill /r/. In this case, in di-or-polysyllabic words, /l/ would function as the coda of the first syllable and as an onset of the next syllable, for example *fɔllàj* [fɔl.làj] ‘problem’. But /r/ can never be a coda and an onset of a syllable in a single word at the same time. For example, *búrléléj* [búr.lé.léj] ‘kind of tree’. Liquids do not appear in any affixes or clitics.

2.3.1.7 Glides

The two Mursi glides are — the bilabial /w/ and the palatal /j/ occur word-initially and word-medially, as in *wárr* ‘River Omo’, *wój* ‘walk’, *áúwús* ‘rest, alight’, *jàg* ‘take back’, *áhúj* ‘suckle (the breast)’, and *gáj* ‘know’. They also occur word-finally but to a certain extent they are hard to distinguish from the high vowels /i/ and /u/. The phonemic status of glides at word-final position may be ascertained in three ways. First, unless due to intervocalic consonant deletion or morpheme boundaries or in some words (see §2.3.8), Mursi does not allow sequence of vowels of any type at any position in a word. For example, the first person plural inclusive possessive pronoun for singular possessed object is *nàj* ($n=\grave{a}j \sim \langle \text{SG.PSD}=1\text{PL.INC.PSR} \rangle$) ‘our (inc.)’ but it sounds like a vowel-final morpheme **nài*. Therefore, *nàj* should be analyzed as a palatal glide-final morpheme. The same is true for the exclusive possessive pronoun counterpart that has bilabial glide /w/ *nàw* ($n=\grave{a}w \sim \langle \text{SG.PSD}=1\text{PL.EXC.PSR} \rangle$) ‘our (exc.)’.

Second, word-finally, palatal fricatives and affricates /ʃ/, /č/ and /dʒ/ tend to assimilate to sounds that are alike to their natural classes, i.e. the palatal glide /j/. This evidence suggests that glides indeed are proper consonant phonemes and are permitted in word-final positions as any other consonant phonemes. The third justification would

be that they have proper representation in the orthography both in Latin-based and Ge'ez (Ethiopic)-based by graphemes (see Table 1 and 2).

Regarding the occurrence of glides in affixes and clitics, only the palatal glide /j/ can do so — in a suffix or an enclitic, as in (2.12a-d).

- (2.12) a. [jóì] ‘wild dog’
 [jóì-já] ‘wild dogs’
- b. [dòlè-tèj] ‘tortoise-SG’
 [dòlè-čá] ‘tortoise-PL’
- c. óg-ú òg-tí bú-sís-i-j
 cry-3sg.SU.PERV voice-NRSTR big-AUG-ADJ-NRSTR+OBL
 ‘He cried with a loud voice.’
- d. [hùlli ók-ú=jè]_{SUBORD:CL} [àpè
 if go-3sg.SU.PERV=SUBORD 1sg
 k-í=ηà]_{MAIN:CL}
 1SU-exist.IMPERV.SG+1sg.SU.IMPERV=DEF
 ‘If S/he goes, I will stay here.’

Generally, with respect to the phonotactic restrictions on the occurrence of Mursi consonant phonemes in various positions in a word and in grammatical elements such as in affixes and clitics, a comprehensive summary is provided below in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4. The phonotactic restrictions on the occurrence of consonant phonemes of Mursi

PHONEME	WORD POSITIONS			AFFIXAL POSITIONS		CLITIC POSITIONS	
	word-initial	word-medial	word-final	prefix	suffix	proclitic	enclitic
/b	x	x	x	-	-	-	-
/t/	x	x	x	x	x	-	x
/d/	x	x	x	-	-	-	-
/k/	x	x	x	x	-	-	
/g/	x	x	x	-	-	x	x
/ʔ/	x	(rare)	(rare)	-	-	-	-
/ʙ/	x	x	-	-	-	-	-
/dʒ/	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
/s/	x	x	x	-	x	-	x
/z/	x	x	-	-	-	-	-
/ʃ/	x	x	(rare)	-	x	-	-
/h/	x	x	(rare)	-	x	-	-
/č/	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
/dʒ/	x	x	x	-	-	-	-
/m/	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
/n/	x	x	x	-	x	x	x
/p/	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
/ŋ/	x	x	x	-	x	x	x
/l/	x	x	x	-	-	-	-
/r/	x	x	x	-	-	-	-
/w/	x	x	x	-	-	-	-
/j/	x	x	x	-	x	-	x

2.3.2 Minimal and near minimal pairs

A further account of the phonetic realization of consonant phonemes is the minimal pair system that enable us to understand if the phonemes of the language may be used to contrast in various phonological environments. Accordingly, minimal and near-minimal pairs are presented below on the basis of each phoneme's natural class or randomly, and each were represented with a single example just to illustrate their occurrence in different phonological environments.

(2.13)	<i>Stops</i>				
	[b] vs. [d]	[bè]	‘recent past’	[dè]	‘compound’
	[b] vs. [b̥]	[bág]	‘show off’	[bág]	‘eat, bite’
	[t] vs. [d]	[màtí]	‘You (sg.) drink.’	[màdì]	‘breast’
		[tòròbìn]	‘type of tree’	[dòròbìn]	‘bladder’
	[t] vs. [d]	[tórók]	‘pass gass, fart’	[dǒrók]	‘dry’
	[t] vs. [č]	[tìrì]	‘fast’	[čìrì]	‘early morning’
	[g] vs. [h]	[àgà]	‘cook (2pl.IMP)!’	[àhà]	‘thing (PL.)’
	[k] vs. [g]	[kàbì]	‘clan’	[gàbì]	‘kind of tree’
	vs. [h]	[kàhì]	‘skirt made of cow skin’		
		[kámá]	‘leather bag used to carry flour’	[gàmà]	‘marriage’
(2.14)	<i>Implosives</i>				
	[b] vs. [d]	[bág]	‘eat, bite’	[dǎg]	‘hit’
		[bòì]	‘wide’	[dǒj]	‘bone marrow’
	[d] vs. [d̥]	[dǒṅà]	‘boy (pl.), age set’	[dǒṅà]	‘rod’
(2.15)	<i>Fricatives</i>				
	[s] vs. [z]	[sèl]	‘gap in upper teeth’	[zèl]	‘stick’
		[mèsí]	‘You (sg.) do’	[mèzi]	‘meeting’
	[s] vs. [t]	[sààn]	‘news, history’	[tààn]	‘flood’
	[h] vs. [g]	[čàhì]	‘shoes’	[čàgì]	‘green’
(2.16)	<i>Affricates</i>				
	[č] vs. [dʒ]	[čálàj]	‘necklace’	[dʒàlàj]	‘flower of corn’
	[č] vs. [k]	[čàllì]	‘good’	[kàllì]	‘little stick’
	[dʒ] vs. [g]	[dʒò]	‘human faeces (pl.)’	[gò]	‘fire’
	[ʃ] vs. [č]	[ʃúr]	‘be offended’	[čúr]	‘wash’
	[ʃ] vs. [z]	[dǎʃì]	‘to sneeze’	[dǎzi]	‘to belch’
(2.17)	<i>Nasals</i>				
	[n] vs. [m]	[kún]	‘come’	[kúm]	‘feel of, touch’
	[n] vs. [ŋ]	[nèbì]	‘buffalo’	[ŋàbì]	‘ear’
	[m] vs. [ŋ]	[dìmílì]	‘kind of tree’	[dìŋilì]	‘walking slowly’
	[ŋ] vs. [ŋ]	[ŋúgì]	‘You (sg.) close’	[ŋúgì]	‘You (sg.) pull’
(2.18)	<i>Liquids</i>				
	[l] vs. [r]	[kúl]	‘drive, paddle’	[kúr]	‘dig’
		[tálá]	‘buy/sell (2sg.IMP)!’	[tára]	‘taste (2sg.IMP)!’
		[bàr]	‘night’	[bál]	‘place for adult men’
	[r] vs. [n]	[hírì]	‘man’	[hínì]	‘You (sg.) want’

(2.19) *Glides*

[w] vs. [j]	[nàw]	‘Our (exc.) singular possessed.’	[nàj]	‘Our (inc.) singular possessed.’
	[éwó]	‘debt’	[ójó]	‘rainy season, year’
[w] vs. [ʔ]	[wùhù]	‘salty water’	[ʔúhú]	‘to anoint’

2.3.3 Consonant length [gemination]

Consonant length is not phonemic in Mursi, but it can occur as contrastive phonetic feature that happens usually as a result of certain geminated consonants at the syllable-medial position. Therefore, I have analyzed consonant length as gemination. Only two words containing geminate palatal liquid /l/ were found as being contrastive, as shown in below:

(2.20)	/kállí/	[kal.li]	‘stick, switch’	/kàlì/	‘day’
	/èllà/	[ɛl.la]	‘cud’	/élà/	‘stream’

Liquids are among the most frequently occurring geminates at syllable boundaries of a word. The alveolar fricatives /s/ and /z/, bilabial nasal /m/, and the alveolar nasal /n/ also occur as geminated consonants. The examples illustrated below clearly suggest that.

(2.21)	a.	/hùlli/	[hul.li]	‘when/if’
		/čàlli/	[čal.li]	‘good’
		/kàllà/	[kal.la]	‘epilepsy’
		/éro/	[er.ro]	‘children’
	b.	/issèj/	[is.sej]	‘eight’
		/issàbàj/	[is.sa.baj]	‘seven’
		/sízzi/	[siz.zi]	‘three’
	c.	/ràman/	[ram.man]	‘two’
		/hínna/	[hin.na]	‘type of tree (pl.)’

The voiceless velar stop /k/ and its voiced counterpart tend to occur as geminate although they are extremely rare — the former in *sàkkàl* ‘nine’ and the latter mostly in pronouns *àggè* ‘we’ and *ìggè* ‘you (pl.)’. As it can be shown in examples above, geminate consonants appear to be properties of disyllabic words. Consequently, they form the coda of the first syllable and the onset of the second. Interestingly, six out of

the ten number words have geminate consonants. This seems to be due to the fact that certain lexical items of closed classes, more or less in one semantic category tend to become phonetically similar to each other. Number words of lower values can be good examples. At morpheme boundaries, geminates do not occur. However, one gemination case has been found which appears to be frequent across morpheme boundaries of the language, and it happens under one condition, that is, if a stem or a root that ends in the nasal alveolar /n/ and a morpheme that starts in the same consonant co-occur, as in (2.22a-b).

(2.22) a [bérǵú-ǵá tòmò̀n-nò]_{NP}
 year-PL ten-MOD
 ‘Ten years’

b. ǵàméá k-èli+i ké mùn-ni
 now PASS-call.PERV-1pl.OBJ QUOT Mursi.PL-RS
 ‘Now called (by the name of) Mursi.’ (MH 1:03:0)

As is illustrated in (2.22), geminates are simply sequences of nasal C₁C₁. Grammatical information carrying morphemes such as antipassives/reciprocals, nominalizer, resolution, and locative markers tend to trigger gemination when being combined with stems/roots that end in the alveolar nasal consonant. At morpheme boundaries, nasals may trigger phonetic gemination when followed by any vowel, for example — *dòrèn-è* ~ [dòrèn-nè] <house.PL-OBL> ‘from/to the houses’. The palatal liquid /l/ may also do the same when followed by the high front vowel /i/ — *zèl-i* ~ [zèl-l-i] <short.stick-NTRSR/CS>.

Except for the gemination instances in aforementioned examples at morpheme boundaries, all other C₁+C₂ sequences across morpheme boundaries may epenthesize segments — /i/, /ɛ/, /n/, and /t/. Since the majority of Mursi verbs end in consonants, these four segments will be epenthesised between the derivational morphemes and the root. A less ambiguous phonological rule is that of the rule that applies to ideophones.

Especially, in terms of consonant sequences, ideophones deviate from the canonical shape of words of the language because they allow word-final consonant sequences. Three ideophones bearing a sequence of the alveolar liquid /r/ have been found in my corpus (C₁VCC₂)— the spatial *sórr* ‘very far away, far place’, the discourse particle *čírr* ‘really (mirative marker)’ and the temporal particle *dírr* ‘always’ (see also §2.9, for special phonology of ideophones, interjections, and expressives).

2.3.4 Consonants clusters

In Mursi, except in word-medial positions, no two sequence of consonants (C₁C₂) can occur in a word. Even in word-medial position, consonant clusters come from two specific natural classes: nasals and liquids. The only four word-final consonant clusters are also sequences of nasal-liquid /rs/ and /ns/ —*gèrs* ‘bad’, *éjérs* ‘afraid’, *gúrt* ‘pull’, and *báns* ‘fly, stand, up’. Regarding consonant clusters of Mursi, the following two generalizations can be made: (i) consonant clusters made up of LC (where L stands for liquids) are the most recurring sequences in the language; (ii) this is followed by NC (where N stands for nasals), the second most recurring consonant sequences. The latter sequence, however, the reverse *CL (where other consonants precede the liquids) hardly ever occurs in the language, except in some inherently reduplicated and borrowed word. Although they are rare, *CN clusters (where consonants precede the nasals) have been found. Table 2.5 below illustrates possible and restricted consonant sequences in Mursi. Thus, boxes with different shading contain consonants, which are connected to one another by different phonological processes.

Table 2.5. The occurrence of consonant sequences in Mursi

	b	t	d	k	g	ʔ	ɓ	d̥	s	z	ʃ	h	č	dʒ	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	l	r	w	j	
b	-	+ M	B	±R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	U	± R	-	-	±	
t	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
d	-	-	- 8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
k	-	+	-	M	-	-	-	-	± B	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
g	-	+	-	C	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	C	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	U	
ʔ	-	-	-	C	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	C	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
ɓ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
d̥	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
s	-	± B	-	±B	-	-	-	-	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	± +	-	± +	-	B	-	-	
z	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	B	-	-	
ʃ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	U	U	-	
h	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
č	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
dʒ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
m	M B	+	-	R	U ⁹	-	-	-	M +	-	-	-	+	± R	M	M	-	± +	-	-	-	-	
n	B	B	-	RC BM	+	-	-	-	M F	-	± F	-	M +	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
ɲ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	M	+	-	-	-	-	
ŋ	-	+	-	M	M	-	-	-	+	-	± R	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
l	±	±	B	±M CR	± R B	-	M R B	M R	M	B	M	R	+	-	±	+	-	+	M +	-	-	-	
r	M C R	F M +	M	MC	M	-	M	M +	M F+	-	M	-	M ±	± 10	M	M +	+	+	+	+	M	-	±
w	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	R	I U	-	± +	-	-	-	+	l	-	B	-	
j	-	+	B	-	-	-	-	-	+	±	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	U	-	

I ~ word-initial, M ~ word-medial, F ~ word-final, + ~ morpheme boundary, B ~ borrowed, ± ~ extremely rare, C ~ compounds, R ~ inherently reduplicated - (hyphen) does not exist, and U ~ unknown.

8 The voiced alveolar stop /dd/ sequences are considered as geminate consonants, and they only occur in a few borrowed words of Mursi. They are geminates which usually trigger the post-alveolar implosive /d̥/.

⁹ Only one word — *ɲɔmgɔri* ‘easily broken tree’ has been found (Turton et al 2008: 131). It appears to be a compound word as the word *gɔri* has a separate meaning in its own, i.e. ‘cloud’.

¹⁰ Only one word — *marɔzogi* ‘wall of poles fastened in the ground; horizontal pieces of wood holding the uprights of a wall together’ has been found (Turton et al 2008: 120).

2.3.5 Vowel phonemes

Mursi has seven vowels. They are: two high (close) vowels /i/ and /u/, two close-mid vowels /e/ and /o/, two open-mid vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/, and an open (low) vowel /a/. The seven-vowel system is the basic configuration for almost all Southeastern Surmic languages (Yigezu 2001: 102). Vowel phonemes are displayed in Table 2.6 below.

Table 2.6. Vowel phonemes of Mursi

	Front	Back
High (close)	/i/ [i]	/u/ [u]
Close-mid	/e/ [e]	/o/ [o]
Open-mid	/ɛ/ [ɛ]	/ɔ/ [ɔ]
Low (open)	/a/ [a]	

Regarding the number of the vowel phonemes of Mursi, the current study aligns with that of the proposal by Yigezu (2001) and Mütze (2014) who claim that Mursi has a seven-vowel system. This is, however, far from the proposal made by Turton and Bender (1976) some four decades ago. In what is believed to be the first piece of work on the language, Turton and Bender came across with a five-vowel system by excluding two vowel phonemes— /ɛ/ and /ɔ/. They also suggested that four of the five vowels phonemes have allophones — /i/ [ɪ], /u/ [ʊ], /e/ [ɛ], and /o/ [ɔ]. However, the only allophones discovered in this study are [ɪ] and [ʊ]. The phonetic features of the basic phonemes is discussed below in §2.3.5.1 - §2.3.5.4.

2.3.5.1 High vowels /i/ and /u/

The high (close) vowels /i/ and /u/ occur in all positions in a word, and in few closed syllables both may appear in their allophones [ɪ] and [ʊ] respectively, as in (2.23a-e).

- (2.23) a. /tírtír/¹¹ → [tírtír] ‘fingernail’
 b. /hírrhírr/ → [hírrhírr] ‘touch, feel (active)’

¹¹ It does not have fixed pronunciation. During my fieldwork stays with the Mursi community, I used to hear when young people pronounce it either way — /tértér/ or /tírtír/.

c. /rìṅàj/	→ [rìṅàj]	‘wasp’
d. /murmuri/	→ [mormori]	‘straight’
e. /búrbúr/	→ [bórbór]	‘helicopter’

As it can be shown in (2.23a-e), except in one, in all cases allophones tend to occur in close CVC syllables. Besides, as it is shown in the examples above, it appears that the two allophones often occur in inherently reduplicated words. Nevertheless, at this stage, there is no clear reason to point out why this is the case. These allophones may have just occurred randomly because some of the reduplicated words appear as ideophones. The high front vowel /i/ is the only vowel that occurs as prefix on its own, i.e. a causative prefix *í-*. It is also the only vowel which can stand as a complete utterance on its own, i.e. *í-∅ ~ i* <exist.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV> ‘s/he, it exists’. The high front vowel does not occur in clitics whereas the high back vowel can occur as enclitic =*ùnù* (distal marker). Other vowels may appear with consonantal prefixes such as *k-* and *t-*. In addition, /i/ may function as an epenthetic vowel, thus it is being inserted between morpheme boundaries to break up impermissible consonant clusters. We may find it even in the enclitic =*ìnù* (an allomorph of the distal marker =*ùnù*), but it will be inserted only as epenthetic vowel before nouns that end in any vowel, except /i/. At morpheme boundaries, when /i/ follows the open-mid front vowel /ɛ/, it assimilates to /ɛ/ (see §2.5.6.3 of this chapter).

2.3.5.2 Close-mid vowels /e/ and /o/

Like the high vowels, the close-mid vowels /e/ and /o/ occur in all environments. Both can occur in clitics, with or without a consonant — but both occur in one particular type of morpheme, i.e. an enclitic. For example, in subordinate marker enclitic =*jè* [=è], the negator enclitic =*ó* and the floating emphatic enclitic =*só*. Vowel assimilation related to the close-mid back vowel /o/ is frequent, and thus it assimilates to the open-mid back vowel /ɔ/ (see §2.5.6.3 of this chapter).

2.3.5.3 Open-mid vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/

These two open-mid vowels occur in all positions in a word. Both occur in affixes but only the open-mid front vowel /ɛ/ can occur in clitics — as in *gòdín=gè* <brother=PERT.PL.3.PSR> ‘their brother’. Both vowels may involve in certain type of phonological assimilations for specific harmonic features such as fronting and height. For example, in some instances, the open-mid back vowel /ɔ/ can spread to the left and triggers vowel lowering of the preceding vowel. By doing this, it harmonizes with the preceding vowel in tongue height (also known as vowel height harmony), as in (2.24).

(2.24) /kà-ḃág-í-ḃ/ → [kàḃágéɔ]
 1SU-eat-1sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘I eat’

Here, the verb-final suffix -ḃ has harmonized in height with the first person singular subject suffix -i.

2.3.5.4 The low (open) vowel /a/

The low-(open) vowel /a/ is the only vowel phoneme that can occur in almost all environments including in proclitics and enclitics, for example, the bound deictic circumclitics *ḡà=...=á* and the negative imperfective proclitic *ḡà=*. Across morpheme boundaries, left to right, the open vowel /a/ usually harmonizes in height with non-high (close) vowels (see section under vowel assimilation, §2.5.6.4).

The summary below in Table 2.7 illustrates the environments in which Mursi vowel phonemes occur in words and morphemes.

Table 2.7. Vowel phonemes and the environment in which they occur

VOWEL OCCURRENCE ENVIRONMENTS	VOWELS						
	/i/	/u/	/e/	/o/	/ɛ/	/ɔ/	/a/
Word-initial/medial/final	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Affixes	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Proclitics	x	x	x	x	x	x	√
Enclitics	√x	√	√	√	x	x	√

2.3.6 Minimal pairs

A minimal pair system could be among many other effective systems to verify the phonemic status in some of the vowels in different environments. Therefore, as it is shown below, the minimal pair system is being used in order to identify contrastive vowel phonemes.

(2.25)	/i/ vs. /e/	[éí]	‘call’	[éré]	‘drop’
	/i/ vs. /ɛ/	[bíg]	‘break’	[béɣ]	‘watch; protect’
		[jírì]	‘biceps (pl.)’	[jèrì]	‘a kind of bird’
	/e/ vs. /ɛ/	[bè]	‘distant past’	[bè]	‘rock’
	/e/ vs. /a/	[éí]	‘call’	[áí]	‘talk, speak’
	/e/ vs. /ɔ/	[és]	‘sit’	[ós]	‘roast (on fire)’
	/a/ vs. /o/	[jàg]	‘return (intr.)’	[jóɣ]	‘tell, explain’
	/a/ vs. /ɔ/	[hàlì]	‘later’	[hòlì]	‘white’
	/u/ vs. /ɔ/	[rúm]	‘cloth’	[ròm]	‘ostrich’
	/u/ vs. /o/	[dʒù]	‘big clay pot’	[dʒò]	‘human faeces (pl.)’
	/ɔ/ vs. /o/	[ógór]	‘roast’	[ógór]	‘steal’
		[siirò]	‘elk, eland’	[sirò]	‘mule’
	/ɔ/ vs. /e/	[kód]	‘kill’	[kéd]	‘subtract’
	vs. /a/	[kád]	‘remember’		

Note that the minimal pairs listed above are a selective list, and they include neither the full list of all possible phonemic contrasts nor do they cover all phonetic environments.

2.3.7 Vowel length

Vowel length in Mursi is phonetic, not phonemic. Vowel length is the outcome of a historical intervocalic consonant deletion. Despite it being undoubtedly a prototypical member of the Southeastern Surmic Group language, Mursi deviates from the other languages of the group in one aspect, i.e. its trisyllabic words frequently undergo extensive intervocalic consonant deletion (see §2.5.1.2). For example, in Mursi *kààri* ‘eye’ is a disyllabic word in a V.V sequence. However, the same word in other Southeastern Surmic group languages is trisyllabic — *kaβari* Suri (Chai/Tirmaga), *kābārèc* (Me’en), and *kárbo* (Koegu/Muguji). In addition to these, there are also a handful of vowel length instances that are randomly found in some monosyllabic words

and ideophones. Inasmuch as vowel length in words whose trisyllabic root forms contracted to disyllabic forms is phonetic, the vowel length that occurs in these words and ideophones is also phonetic. Words with phonetic vowel length include *ǰɛɛ* ‘well’, *tii* ‘always’, *èè* ‘yes’, and *óó* ‘or’ and so on. Interestingly, they are all monosyllabic.

2.3.8 Vowel sequences

The ongoing consonant deletion in §2.3.7 almost exclusively happens between homorganic vowels that can underlyingly be seen as $V_1.V_2$ sequences. This would make vowel length instances in the language to be regarded as $V_1.V_2$ sequences underlyingly but they would have $V_1.V_1$ sequences in surface form. Diphthongs do not exist in the language. Nonetheless, there are dozens of heterogeneous vowel sequences, which are of two types: deletion-based and inherent. Heterogeneous vowel sequences that are deletion-based come through the same phonological deletion process that triggers long vowels. Consequently, the voiced velar stop /g/ is among the most frequently deleted consonants. See the examples given below.

- (2.26) a. /tùgò/ > [tùyò] > [tùò] ‘mouth’
 b. /mùgà/ > [mùyà] > [mùà] ‘woman (pl.)’

Note that it is imperative to see the phonology of other Southeastern Surmic languages before making a conclusive statement about deletion based-vowel sequences. A plausible reason for this is that Mursi words tend to undergo an extensive intervocalic consonant deletion process more often than we expect. In comparison to Suri (of the Baale, Kacipo-Balesi), the alveolar nasal /n/ in Mursi is deleted when it occurs between heterogeneous vowels. In the examples provided below, compare Mursi possessive pronouns and those of Baale.

- (2.27) Mursi Baale (Kacipo-Balesi)
 a. /nàw/ [nau] > /nánájo/ ‘our (exc.) singular possessed’
 b. /nùj/ [nui] > /nánnu/ ‘yours (singular possessed)’

c. /nɛ̀j/ [nɛ̀i] > /nánne/ ‘theirs’

See (§2.5.1.3) for a detailed description of phonological processes related to

consonant and word medial syllable deletion (reduction). While such V1.V1 and

V1.V2 sequences triggered by intervocalic consonant deletion are common, inherent

V1.V2 sequences are also found, mostly in nouns.

(2.28)	a.	i+a	/díá/	[di.a]	‘go with’
			/dían<ɲ>/	[di.an<ɲ>]	‘evening’
b.	i+ɔ	/mìḁ/	[mì.ḁ]	‘goat kid (pl.)’	
		/kìḁ/	[kì.ḁ]	‘tree (sg.)’	
		/sìḁ/	[sì.ḁ]	‘hand (sg.)’	
c.	u+a	/čùànéɲ/	[ču.a.nɛɲ]	‘again’	
d.	u+i	/tùì/	[tu.i]	‘cattle enclosure’	
e.	ɛ+a	/ɲàméá/	[ɲà.mé.á]	‘now, today’	
		/nèàj/	[nɛ.aj]	‘S/he, post-verbal subject pronoun’	
f.	e+o	/lèó/	[le.o]	‘thatch’	
g.	ɔ+ɛ	/dḁè/	[dḁ.è]	‘hump’	
h.	o+i	/rímwòì/	[rim.wo.i]	‘tooth stick, toothbrush’	
		/bìlbìlòì/	[bil.bil.o.i/]	‘moth’	
i.	a+i	/áíw/	[a.iw]	‘come.PERV:SG’	
j.	a+u	/áú/	[á.ú]	‘eldest children’	
		/áús/	[a.us]	‘rest, alight’	

Table 2.8 below is a summary of V₁.V₂ vowel sequences that are either triggered by

intervocallic consonant deletion or inherently occur in different environments.

Table 2.8. Vowel sequences

	/i/	/u/	/e/	/o/	/ɛ/	/ɔ/	/a/
/i/	D,O,+	+	+	+	+	I,+	I,+
/u/	I,D,+	D	??	+	+	+	I,+
/e/	+	+	D,+O	I,+	+	+	+
/o/	I,+	+	??	D,+	+	+	+
/ɛ/	D,+	+	??	+	D	+	I,+
/ɔ/	+	??	??	??	I	D	??
/a/	I,+O	I,D	+	+	+	+	D,I,+O

D = deletion-based, I = inherent

+ = morpheme boundary, O = others¹²

¹² The category 'others' includes borrowed words and ideophones.

2.4 Syllable structure

The maximal syllable template is CVC. A great majority of Mursi verb roots have monosyllabic CVC shapes. Just very few monosyllabic verbs may optionally contain CVC₁(C₂), where C₁ stands for the liquids and nasals — *gèrs* ‘bad’ and *báns* ‘fly, stand up’. Apart from these two, four other basic syllable shapes have been identified: V, VC, CV, and CVV. Of these, the CV is the most frequently occurring syllable shape in the language. The distribution of CVV syllable shape is very much limited, only confined to few words containing phonetic vowel length (see §2.3.7). Some discourse particles, interjections, and ideophones may contain syllable shape which are quite different from those of regular word classes, for example *imm* ‘no (disagreement marker)’ and *ɪɲɪ* ‘yes (disagreement marker)’ (see also §2.3.3). This is, however, the norm with discourse markers and ideophones. Deviation in the syllable shapes of small and closed word classes is often triggered when liquid and nasal consonants occurring at the coda position.

2.5 Phonological processes

Mursi has most complex sound processes which touch on almost every aspect of the grammar. Although some sound changes may be irregular as they pass through a number of phonological processes, the majority of the sound changes often have rules by which they are governed. Some may seem common and areal. For example, many of the word-final consonant deletion rules typically apply to both Southeastern as well as Southwestern Surmic languages. Quite a few of the common phonological processes are specific to the individual language thus only apply to Mursi. Therefore the subsequent sections provide detailed account of the phonological processes which occur in simple words as well as in morphologically-complex forms.

2.5.1 Deletion

There are five types of deletion in Mursi: two consonant deletion types (word-final intervocalic (word-medial)) and three syllable deletion types, namely, —word-initial, word-medial, and word-final. The first two deletion types (consonant-deletions) have the tendency to trigger vowel lengthening in all three environments of a word — see §2.5.1.1 and §2.5.1.2. The syllable deletion types do not trigger any sort of segment length, yet they could disrupt the sequence of segments in words — see §2.5.1.3 - §2.5.1.5.

2.5.1.1 Word-final consonant deletion (apocope)

The alveolar stops /d/ and /t/, the post-alveolar implosive /dʒ/, and the voiceless fricatives /s/ and /h/ are deleted when occurring word finally. The deletion of word-final consonants has also been noted in Mütze (2014: 27). Consequently the rule will be:

{/d/, /t/, /dʒ/, /s/ and /h/} → Ø/ __#.

- (2.29) a. /áɲ k-àŋìd/ → [áɲ kàŋì]
HORT/JUSS.PART 1.HORT-bite.PERV
'Let me bite'
- b. /àj k-ídǒgídǒ/ → [àj kídǒj]
HORT/JUSS.PART 3.JUSS-raise/feed.PERV
'Let him raise/feed'

As it is shown in (2.29a-b), the voiced alveolar stop /d/ has been deleted at word-final position. This is due to the fact that there is no grammatical element suffixed to the perfective verb root. Singular hortatory/jussive mood construction forms do not indicate person-number information but rather require only perfective verb roots.

Therefore, consonants of consonant-final verb roots can easily be exposed for deletion.

In fact, in (2.29), it was not a single phonological process which took place but two — deletion and assimilation (devoicing). Following the deletion of /d/, the voiced velar stop /g/ and the high vowel /i/ have assimilated to the palatal glide /j/.

and *k*-initial verb roots co-occur side by side. As the result of the co-occurrence of identical syllables, one of them will be deleted and the vowel is what remains and undergoes compensatory lengthening. This does not, however, apply to verbs that have non-*k*-initial roots, as in (2.33b).

- b. /kú-túh// → [kútú]
 3.JUSS-spit/bless.PERV
 ‘Let him spit/bless’
- (2.34) a. /kè-ŋès/ → [kè-ŋè] + /o/ (VFS) → [kè-ŋèò]
 1.HORT.run.PERV
 ‘Let me run!’
- b. /kè-ŋès-V/ → [kè-ŋè] + V (PL.INC.) → [kèŋèè]
 1.HORT-run.PERV-1pl.INC
 ‘Let us (inc.) run!’
- c. /ŋès-V/ → [ŋè] + V (PL.) → [ŋèè]
 run.PERV-PL
 ‘Run (pl.)!’

In (2.34a-c), there are two phonotactic constraint rules to be taken into account — a sequence of three vowels is absolutely not permitted, and verb-final suffixes can be attached to verbs after all phonological processes are applied. As it can be shown in all, the verb has an invariable root form for both imperfective and perfective aspects. In (2.34a), the hortative form for first person singular does not require a separate singular number marker. Thus it does take a verb-final suffix because two heterogeneous vowel sequences are permitted in the language. In (2.34b-c), the first person plural inclusive and the plural imperative forms do take a plural number marker suffix *-V*. Accordingly, the *-V* is being suffixed to both forms once the deletion process has taken place. On the verb-final suffixes, further information is found in chapter 7 & 10.

Furthermore, even though consonants [h] and [s] can occur as free variants, and as a result of this they can freely alternate with one another at a word-final position, they cannot be exempted from deletion. Some examples are given below.

- (2.35) a. [búh] ~ [bús] ‘to curse’

b. [kóh] ~ [kós] ‘to clear (farmland)’

At word-final position, the glottal fricative /h/ can occur in free variation with the palatal fricative /ʃ/, but /ʃ/ cannot be deleted at word-final environment instead it will be made to weaken to the palatal glide /j/.

(2.36) a. [íh] ~ [íʃ] ‘S/he exists (is present)’
 b. [wúj] → [wúj] ‘four’

2.5.1.2 Intervocalic-final consonant deletion (syncope)

Almost all of the information regarding intervocalic consonant deletions comes from synchronic analysis. As a result of this, any sort of word-medial consonant elision process can only be justifiable by providing plausible evidence from other closely related Southeastern Surmic group languages, and all comparisons presented below are synchronically generated ones. Therefore synchronic evidence shows that {/b/ ~*β, /g/ ~*ʒ/*ɓ} are deleted when occurring between identical vowels. Hence, the phonological rule to be applied here is: {/g/[ʒ], /b/[β,b]} → Ø/ V__V.

Table 2.9. Intervocalic consonant deletion, Mursi vs. Tirmaga-Chai and Me'en

Meaning	Mursi	Tirmaga~Chai	Me'en	Remark
‘tooth’	[ŋídàj]	< /nigidaj/	/ɲiʔidač/	*g/*ʒ
‘foot’	[dʒààri]	< /dʒagari/	/dʒàrēč/	*g
‘udder’	[kòòrì]	< /dʒogori/	---	*g
‘eye’	[kààrì]	< /kaβari/~kāari/	/kābārēč/	*β/*b/
‘father’	[ʃúúné]	< /ʃəʒəne/~čəʒəne/	/ʃuḅūne/	*g/*β/*b
‘tomorrow’	[ròònò]	< /roɡono/	/daamo/	*g
‘squat’	[líínó]	< /ligin(nd)ɔ/		*g
‘beg/pray’	[óól]	< /ogol/	/ōʔō/	*g/*ʒ
‘to be sick’	[íláás]	< /ilagas/	/ilaʔas/	*g/*ʒ
‘donkey’	[sìirò]	< /sigiro/		*g
‘clay’	[diir]	< /digir/		*g

As it is illustrated in Table 2.9 above, with the exception of a few words, the deletion is totally confined to specific type of words, i.e. those whose second syllable involve the velar stop /g/. What we see here is also a complete deletion historical scenario. In

the best case scenario, we would have had one more stage before this deletion happening, that is the velar stop /g/ weakens and becomes [ɣ] (see §2.5.3 on consonant weakening). At morpheme boundaries, whenever we see phonetic vowel length in disyllabic nominal and verbal words, at least in the majority of cases, that does mean that they have passed through word-medial deletion process.

2.5.1.3 Word-initial syllable deletion (haplology)

There is strong synchronic evidence which substantiates that at least some of the possessive pronouns of Mursi have had originated from a CV₁.CV₁.CV₂ syllable shape. This can, however, only be attested by comparing its possessive pronouns with those of other closely related languages of the SES and SWS. Thus, the examples below show the word-initial deletion process that has taken place in Mursi possessive pronouns (vis-à-vis Suri-Baale possessive pronouns).

(2.37)	Mursi		Suri-(Baale)	
	a. /nànú/	<	/nánànú/	‘Mine, singular possessed’
	b. /gàṛnú/	<	/gágàṛnu/	‘Mine, plural possessed’
	c. /nùnù/	<	/nánùnu/	‘Yours, singular possessed’
	d. /gùṛnú/	<	/gágùṛnu/	‘yours, plural possessed’
	e. /nènè/	<	/nánaènè/	‘His/hers, singular possessed’
	f. /gèṛnè/	<	/gágèṛnè/	‘His/hers, plural possessed’

As it is shown in (2.37a-f), the cognate forms of Suri-(Baale) are similar to Mursi except Mursi possessive pronoun forms undergo syllable deletion at word-initial position. In addition to possessive pronouns, such deletion has been attested in one of the Southeastern variety of the Suri (i.e. Tirmaga). For example, the instrumental interrogative word in Mursi is *ónónó* ‘with.what?’ (Lit. ‘by what means’) whereas in Tirmaga it is— *ónónónó* (cf. Bryant 2013: 62). So, in Mursi these identical syllables are deleted when occurring in the same environment. This particular type of deletion is also known as haplology.

2.5.1.4 Word-medial syllable deletion

On the other hand, in a rather rare word formation process in the language, compounding, adjective-adjective compound sequences may undergo a syllable deletion process. So there is a special morphological operation associated with compounding; particularly associated to deletion word-medial syllable. Accordingly, the last syllable of the first compound element will be deleted in the compounding process. This is being carried out in line with the consonant co-occurrence restriction rule of the language. Two typical examples illustrating this specific deletion process are given below:

- (2.38) Adjective-adjective
- | | | | |
|----------------|--------------|---------------|---------|
| a. /čàkòr̀r̀i/ | [čàgì-kòr̀i] | (green-black) | ‘green’ |
| b. /čàhólí/ | [čàgì-hólí] | (green-white) | ‘blue’ |

Both examples in (2.38a-b), could trigger suspicion because both look like instances of a morpheme-boundary consonant deletion rather than as containing a string of segments. Plausible evidence for this would be that the adjective suffix *-i* cannot be marked twice on a single compound adjective word thus it is omitted from the first element. Therefore the next step will be deletion of the voiced velar stop /g/. In principle, a homorganic sequence of [**gk*] may be allowed between compound-driven morpheme boundaries, but at this stage it seems very difficult to make assertions because both may be neutralized to the glottal stop /ʔ/ or can coalesce as a single segment **g/*k*. My Mursi language consultants when they worked with me during my two separate fieldwork period often used to prefer to insert the glottal stop /ʔ/ between these two compound adjective boundaries. The glottal stop /ʔ/ is, however, absent while they utter them in fast speech. Above all, a sequence of [**ʔg*] does not exist or at least is not attested so far in the language. Therefore, based on these factors, a word-medial syllable deletion would best describe the morphophonological scenario in (2.38).

2.5.1.5 Word-final syllable deletion

Word-final syllable deletion differs in the type depicted in §2.5.1.4 in that it may be treated as part of the morphophonologic process of the language. The word-final syllable deletion is basically one that is peculiar in its type but rarely applied in a word-final environment according to the aspectual system of the language. Examples depicting the former type are given below in (2.39a-c).

(2.39)	Imperfective	Perfective	
a.	/óŋón/	/t-óŋ/	‘smell/stink (unpleasant smell)’
b.	/óŋón/	/t-óŋ/	‘throw, lanch (a boat)’
c.	/úŋús/	/t-úŋ/	‘sleep’

Here, the perfective aspect marker prefix *t(V)-* which applied only to a few of verb root types can in no way alone indicate the perfective aspect. Instead, the final syllable of each imperfective verb roots has to be deleted before taking up the perfective prefix *t(V)-*.

2.5.2 Devoicing

Mursi does not have the voiceless bilabial plosive /p/ but it may appear in only extremely rare environments as an allophone of the voiced counterpart /b/. For example, certain environments in which [p] appears include: only a few lexical items containing the voiced bilabial stop /b/ at morpheme boundary, word-finally, reduplicated forms and interjections/ideophones. With respect to devoicing of /b/ at word-final environment, the phonological rule that applies is the following: /b/ → [p]/__ # (see 2.40a-c).

(2.40)	a.	/ké-čébt-à/		→ [kéčéptà]
		1SU-tie.up.PERV-1pl.INC.SU.PERV		‘We (inc.) have tied (up).’
	b.	/sáb/	→ [sáp]	‘leather decoration on cattle’
	c.	/kòb.kòb/	→ [kòp.kòp]	‘quickly (Lit. follow.follow)’
	d.	paf	wà	áiw-ó
		INTERJ	REC.PAST	come.PERV.SG-MT.3sg.SU.PERV
				‘(The boy) has come! (able to surprised suddenly)’

2.5.3 Lenition

Based on what we saw in §2.5.2 and the data which follows under this section, three allophones of /b/ have been identified: [p], [β] and [w]. In fact /w/ is a full-fledged phoneme. Intervocally, the voiced bilabial stop /b/ lenites to the voiced labial fricative [β] and the bilabial glide [w]. The general morphological process which describes the lenition of /b/ is the intervocalic spirantization, and has the following general rule: /b/ → [β/w]/ V__V. More specifically, the /b/ undergoes the lenition process before [-back] or [+back] vowel. Therefore, to obtain the two allophones, the following specific rules must be put in place:

- i. /b/ → [β]/ __ [-back]
 - ii. /b/ → [w]/ __ [+back]
- (2.41) a. /nèbì/ → [nèβì] ‘buffalo’
 b. /ɲàbì/ → [ɲàβì] ‘ear (sg.)’
 c. /čòbàj/ → [čòwàj] ‘pig’

Not all lexical items containing /b/ undergo the lenition process. From this point of view there are a number of lexical items exempted from this process. While this is the case, the reverse process (voicing) may also apply to the bilabial glide /w/.

Accordingly, /w/ becomes [β/b] with the same phonological rule /w/ → [β/b]/ V__V.

- (2.42) a. /àj k-áiw-é/ → [káíβé]/ [káíbé]
 HORT/JUSS.PART 3.JUSS-go.PERV:PL-VFS
 ‘Let them go!’
 b. /íw-á/ → [íβá]/ [íbá]
 take-MT:3SG.SU.PERV
 ‘S/he took (it)’

The third person plural perfective form of ‘go’ is *áitá* <ái-t-á> (go.PERV-PL-3.SU), and it takes the third person plural irrealis marker suffix *-o*. This produces a vowel sequence that does not exist in the language, i.e. **aio*. Later in the process, the irrealis marker becomes bilabial glide /w/ — **aio* > *aiw*.

The velar plosives /g/ and /k/ lenite (weaken) to the glottal stop [ʔ] word-finally and rarely at morpheme boundaries: /g, k/ → [ʔ]/{__# or __#__}.

- (2.43) a. /hólóg/ → [hólóʔ] ‘dance’
 b. /tùtùg/ → [tùtùʔ] ‘door, entrance (sg.)’
 c. /jòg múgt-á/ → [jòg múʔtá]
 3pl gather.PERV-3pl.SU.PERV
 ‘They gathered (it).’
 d. /ʃíg ηà=lòg=tá/ → [ʃíʔ ηàlòʔtá]
 listen.PERV:IMP DEM=issue=NEAR
 ‘Listen (sg.) to this issue!’

The voiced velar stop /g/ can also lenite (weakens) to [ɣ] intervocalically, as in (2.44).

- (2.44) a. /bùgùj/ → [bùɣùj] ‘back’
 b. /mùgà/ → [mùɣà] ‘women’
 c. /tùgò/ → [tùɣò] ‘mouth’

Similarly, the palatal affricates /dʒ/ and /č/ and the palatal fricative /ʃ/ lenite to the palatal glide [j] word-finally: /dʒ, č, ʃ/ → [j]/__#.

- (2.45) a. /àj kédʒ/¹³ → [àj kėj]
 HORT-JUSS.PART 3.JUSS-shoot.PERV
 ‘Let him/her shoot!’
 b. /nòŋ ódʒ-Ø hólóg/ → [nòŋ ój hólóʔ]
 3sg sing-3sg:SU:IMPERV song
 ‘S/he sings a song.’
 c. /čáč/ → [čáj] ‘translate; exchange’
 d. /húč/ → [húj] ‘avenge, pay’
 e. /wúʃ/ → [wúj] ‘four’
 f. /gàʃ/ → [gàj] ‘bush’

2.5.4 Fricative simplification

The alveolar fricatives /s/ and /z/ can undergo a simplification process to their dental allophone counterparts [θ] and [ð]. While their allophonic status is indisputable,

Yigezu (2001: 100) and Mütze (2014) reported that both [θ] and [ð] occur in free

¹³ We might see a number of hortative-jussive mood related constructions in the discussions of certain phonological processes, especially, in those that are related to consonantal changes at word-final positions. This is due to the fact that hortative-jussive forms often occur in root forms because there is little affixation or almost no morphological operation that takes place on the hortative-jussive verb forms. Therefore, as it is a language whose majority verb roots end in consonants, there are a great deal of changes which take place at word-final environments.

variation. The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ becomes [θ] word-initially and intervocalically whereas its voiced counterpart /z/ becomes [ð] intervocalically:

- $$/s/ \rightarrow [\theta] / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \# _ \\ V _ V \end{array} \right\} \quad \text{and} \quad /z/ \rightarrow [\ð] / V _ V$$
- (2.46) a. /sízzi/ → [θízzi] ‘three’
 b. /kásáj/ → [káθáj] ‘sand’
 c. /lásá/ → [láθá] ‘bread (sg.)’
 c. /mèzì/ → [mèðì] ‘meeting’
 d. /mèzèzèj/ → [mèðèðèj] ‘poisonous spider (sg.).’

Fricative simplification, a process that occurs in relation to the speech register of both female and male, and is associated with removal of lower incisors (see §2.10).

2.5.5 Cluster reduction

In rapid speech, the liquid /l/ and the nasal /ŋ/ may be reduced from the coda of the first syllables of an inherently reduplicated disyllabic word roots. Only two from a dozen disyllabic adjectival roots containing inherently reduplicated syllables were found to reduce their clusters.

- (2.47) a. /dǎldǎŋ-í/ → [dǎ.dǎŋ.í] ‘hard, difficult, expensive’
 b. /dǐŋdǐŋ-í/ → [dǐ.dǐŋ.í] ‘heavy’

Therefore, the first syllables in both adjectives were underlying closed CVC forms, but now have open CV surface forms. Note that the suffix *-i* is a general adjectivizer so not part of the roots.

2.5.6 Assimilation

2.5.6.1 Velarization

The alveolar nasal /n/ is velarized to velar nasal [ŋ] when followed by velar stops /k/ and /g/: /n/ → [ŋ] / ___ [k/g].

- (2.48) a. /čángáláj/ → [čǎŋgáláj] ‘an age grade of young boys’
 b. /áfǎngárá/ → [áfǎŋgárá] ‘servant, slave’
 c. /bànkà/ → [bǎŋkà] ‘machete’

- f. [t'äräp'p'eza] > /tárábéizá/ 'table' [p'] > /b/
 g. [fättäna] > /bètèná/ 'examination' [ä] > /ε/
 h. [bärbbäre] > /bàràbàràj/ 'pepper' [ä] > /a/
 i. [däbtär] > /dóbtèri/ 'exercise book' [ä] > /o/
 j. [dist] > /dískí/ 'aluminum pot' [i] > /i/

Many of the phonetic mapping cases involving the vowels would be good examples of vowel decentralization. That is, central vowels in the source language will be made decentralized because of the influence of the non-central Mursi vowels (as in (2.50d-j)).

2.5.6.3 Vowel assimilation

Vowel assimilation happens when sequences of vowels with different voice qualities occur at post-verbal root positions. As it is a highly suffixing language, vowel assimilation is a recurring phenomenon between morpheme boundaries. The two most common vowel assimilation types are the close-mid back vowel /o/ assimilates to an open-mid back vowel [ɔ] when followed by the [ɔ], and the high front vowel /i/ assimilates to open-mid front vowel [ε] when followed by {[a], [ε], [ɔ]}.

- i. /o/ → [ɔ]/_ɔ
 ii. /i/ → [ε]/_{a, ε, ɔ}

- (2.51) a. /k-ítím-ò-ò/ → [kítímòò]
 1SU-burn-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 'We (inc.) burn (it).'

The third person plural jussive form is also found to trigger a leftward assimilation of /o/ to [ɔ] resulting in full assimilation, as in (2.51b)

- b. /àj kómód-ó-ó/ → [àj kómódóó]
 HORT-JUSS:PART 3.JUSS-be.tired.PERV-PL-VFS
 'Let them be tired!'

The justification is that the three non-high vowels [a, ε, ɔ] may cause the high vowel /i/ to be changed into non-high vowel [ε] and this is directly associated to vowel height assimilation. (see also vowel height assimilation/harmony, § 2.5.6.4).

- (2.52) a. /kì-á n=ànù/ → [kèá nànú]
 tree-RSTR SG.PSD=1SG.PSR
 ‘My tree’
- b. /kì-fíl-ì-é/ → [kìfílèé]
 1SU-stand.PERV-PL.INC-VFS
 ‘Let us (inc.) stand (rise.up).’ (cf. Mütze 2014).
- c. /se-á ké ànè ká-már-ì-ò/ → [kámárèò]
 say-3sg.SU.PERV QUOT 1sg 1SU-dislike-1sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘He said, ‘I won’t’.’
- d. /lúsi dǎg-Ø hírí-ó/ → [lúsi dǎg híréó]
 boy hit-3sg.SU.IMPERV man-NOM
 ‘The man hit the boy.’

An assimilation scenario was found in which the high front vowel /i/ becomes a palatal glide [j] when followed by [ɛ]; following this all front vowels in a word are changed into back vowels, as in the following example.

- (2.53) /rúí-è-ò/ → [rújòò]
 cry.IMPERV-3pl.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘They cry’

2.5.6.4 Vowel height assimilation (harmony)

Mursi vowels can undergo a height harmony process that constitutes another form of assimilation on its own. There are two types of vowel height harmonies — (i) height harmony of two or more vowels within verbal and nominal roots, and (ii) height harmony between vowels of the roots of these two word classes and the vowels in suffix boundaries. The first type is very strict, straightforward and more common in the verbal roots than in nominal roots. Accordingly, close-mid vowels /e/ and /o/ do not co-occur in the same verbal root with open-mid vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/. However, the high vowels /i/ and /u/ and the open /a/ can cooccur in the same root with both close-mid and open-mid vowels. See vowel harmony restrictions in nominal (2.54) and verbal (2.55) roots in the following examples.

- (2.54) a. /tóbèj/ ‘bright star’ b. /rìdžèn/ ‘shade (pl.)’
 c. /dǒóléj/ ‘girl’ d. /fǐbél/ ‘sheath (for a knife)’
 e. /mùdǎn/ ‘mouse (pl.)’ f. /àbén/ ‘antelope’

- | | | | | | |
|--------|-------------|------------|--|-------------|------------------------|
| | g. /bènèni/ | ‘relative’ | | h. /tólóbé/ | ‘lizard’ |
| (2.55) | a. /bésí/ | ‘hatch’ | | b. /dǎzí/ | ‘burp’ |
| | c. /mósí/ | ‘wish’ | | d. /júmó/ | ‘flap’ |
| | e. /érés/ | ‘cross’ | | f. /ébéǵ/ | ‘blow, expose, reveal’ |
| | g. /ógór/ | ‘steal’ | | h. /ógór/ | ‘roast’ |

The low (open) vowel /a/ is neutral or opaque as it does not trigger height harmony with any particular vowel classes. This means that, in the same verbal root, the vowel /a/ can co-occur with all other vowels including itself. Some examples were presented as follows.

- | | | | | | |
|--------|------------|--------------|--|------------|-------------------------|
| (2.56) | a. /ítáb/ | ‘deceive’ | | b. /áhúj/ | ‘to suck’ |
| | c. /jòràǵ/ | ‘razor’ | | d. /lèédǎ/ | ‘jute mallow (a shrub)’ |
| | e. /élà/ | ‘water hole’ | | f. /ǵǵè/ | ‘I (pro.)’ |

Nevertheless, in the height harmony between the vowels of word roots and their affixes, the vowel /a/ can harmonize with /ɛ/, /ɔ/, N+/i/ and itself /a/. The vowel height harmony in Mursi is always determined by the root vowels. Moreover, the Mursi vowel height harmony system does not apply to all levels of the morphological interactions between verb root vowels roots and their suffixes. It only applies between verb roots and two suffixes namely — first person singular object suffix *-ǵǵ/-óǵ* [-high/+high] and motion towards (ventive) marker suffix [-án(a)/-ón(o)] [-high/+high]. So, it is determined partly by morphological context. Verb roots containing high vowels /i/, /e/, /o/ harmonize with first person object suffix [-óǵ] and motion marker suffix [-ón(o)]. On the other hand, verb roots containing non-high vowels /ɛ/, /a/, /ɔ/ harmonize with first person object suffix [-ǵǵ] and motion marker suffix [-án(a)].

	ROOT VOWELS	FIRST PERSON OBJECT SUFFIX
i.	{/i/, /e/, /o/}	~ /o/
ii.	{/ɛ/, /a/, /ɔ/}	~ /a/
iii.	{/i, e, u+CC(N)}	~ /a/

(2.57) Vowel height harmony between high-vowel verb roots and [-óŋ]

ROOT	1 ST PERSON OBJECT SUFFIX	SUBJECT SUFFIX	VERB-FINAL SUFFIX	MEANING
íḃ	-óŋ	-∅	-ḁ	‘S/he grabs me’
édʒ	-óŋ	-é	-ḁ	‘They shoot me’
ór	-óŋ	-é	-ḁ	‘They see me’
ítón	-óŋ	-é	-ḁ	‘They send me’

(2.58) Vowel height harmony between non-high-vowel verb roots and [-áŋ]

ROOT	1 ST PERSON OBJECT SUFFIX	SUBJECT SUFFIX	VERB-FINAL SUFFIX	MEANING
ḃón	-áŋ	-∅	-ḁ	‘S/he arrived for/to me’
dǎg	-áŋ	-é	-ḁ	‘They beat me’
ádʒ	-áŋ	-é	-ḁ	‘They give me’
jéw	-áŋ	-í	-ḁ	‘You (sg.) believe me’

As it is shown in (2.57 and 2.58), the vowels in the verb roots determine the vowel-height of the object suffixes that follow their roots. In (2.57), the entire vowel height harmony process between the high vowels in the roots and the suffix [-óŋ] can be explained either by lowering the vowel of the suffix one step or making it equivalent. With the exception of the lowering of the vowel of the suffix after the [-high] vowels, the same process applies to those in (2.58). The subject and the verb-final final suffixes are outside the domain of vowel height harmony. This appears to be due to the fact that they are not subject to vowel harmony as they are not immediately adjacent to the root.

There are however three exceptional cases detected which go against vowel height harmony process. The first is that at coda position consonant clusters are not allowed in Mursi. But, the morpheme /t/ which often epenthesised to indicate perfective aspect on verbs that do not alter their root shape for aspect will create CC sequences and block the harmony (2.59).

(2.59) ḡàni kú-čúgt-áŋ=ó
 NEG.PERV 1SU-suck.PERV-1sg.OBJ=NEG
 ‘I haven’t’ sucked (it).’ (Lit. ‘I haven’t sucked to me.’)

- a2. $\eta\grave{a}=k\grave{i}=t\grave{u}n\grave{u}$ $d\check{\text{ɔ}}\eta\text{-}\acute{a}n\acute{a}$ $\text{b}\grave{u}r\grave{a}j$ $m\grave{e}r\grave{i}$
 DEM=tree.SG=FAR pick/lift-MT.3sg.SU.IMPERV fruit many
 ‘That tree bears much fruit.’
- b. $\acute{e}d\text{-}o\acute{n}\text{-}\acute{e}$
 pick-MT-3pl.SU.IMPERV
 ‘They pick up.’ (motion towards)
- c. $k\acute{o}\text{-}\eta\acute{o}w\text{-}\acute{a}n\text{-}\acute{o}$
 1SU-steep.down-MT.1sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘I will fall.’ (motion towards)
- d. $j\grave{a}g\text{-}\acute{a}n$ $\text{b}\acute{e}$
 return-MT.2sg.SU.IMPERV axe
 ‘You (sg.) return the axe.’

Above all, it is to be noted that it is the vowel of the first syllable of a verb, which is crucial and triggers a vowel height harmony. As is shown in (2.62a-d), the verb roots have contained both [-high] and [+high] vowels, however, it is only the vowel of the first syllable which directly harmonizes with the vowel of the motion suffix (see also 2.62e).

- e. $k\acute{o}$ $[h\grave{u}l\text{li}$ $\eta\grave{a}n\grave{i}$ $k\acute{a}\text{-}\check{c}\acute{a}h\acute{u}r\text{-}\acute{a}n\text{-}\acute{o}=\acute{o}=\text{j}\grave{e}]_{\text{SUBORD:CL}}$
 PCN if/when NEG.PERV 1SU-strew-MT=NEG=SUBORD
 ‘...and if I haven’t strewn (it).’

In this regard, the vowel height harmony and the vowel copying process are proofs which indicate the point at which phonology and morphosyntax interact with one another. Particularly, vowel copying which we see in §2.5.6.6, couldn't be considered as a phonological process that exists to satisfy purely a phonological requirement.

2.5.6.5 *i*-initial verb roots as a special class

Another striking feature of Mursi phonology is the distinction between verb roots that start in high front vowel /i/ and roots that start with non-high front vowels. In *i*-initial verb roots, vowels that can occur in their second syllables are /a/ and /o/, and /i/ itself. Mursi has few verb roots that start with the high front vowel and most of these verbs behave like lexicalized causative verbs. There is diachronic evidence which

substantiates the fact that the prefix *i-* had a causative function, probably at an earlier stage of the language. See the following examples:

- (2.63)
- | | |
|------------|---------------------------------------|
| a. /ígóm/ | ‘permit, allow, admit, obey, consent’ |
| b. /ílál/ | ‘console, encourage’ |
| c. /ídǒg/ | ‘feed/raise, enlarge’ |
| d. /ílób/ | ‘try, attempt’ |
| e. /ítáb/ | ‘deceive/lie’ |
| f. /ílaás/ | ‘be sick’ |
| g. /ítím/ | ‘ignite’ |
| h. /írít/ | ‘give birth, bear’ |

All of them have one feature in common, i.e. they all are disyllabic roots and their second syllables end in a consonant-final CVC shape. Therefore, I called this set of verb roots ‘*i*-vowel’ types. The second set of verb roots can be distinguished from the ‘*i*-harmony’ types in that they lack the high front vowel in neither of their syllables. They are primarily known for repeating the vowels of their first syllables in their post-initial syllables (second and third syllables) — or $V_1=V_2$ ($\sigma_1=\sigma_2$). Examples are shown in (2.64).

- (2.64)
- | | | | |
|-------------|------------------|------------|-----------------------|
| a. /érés/ | ‘cross’ | b. /úgún/ | ‘push’ |
| c. /ógór/ | ‘steal’ | d. /márág/ | ‘walk around, wander’ |
| e. /dǒrók/ | ‘dry’ | f. /čóbós/ | ‘suck, kiss’ |
| g. /čólós/ | ‘wish’ | i. /lòtòg/ | ‘wet’ |
| j. /tórók/ | ‘pass gas, fart’ | k. /túkúr/ | ‘stir’ |
| l. /éděmés/ | ‘learn’ | | |

As we can see in (2.64), vowels of the first syllables of each roots are always crucial because they are the one that determine and initiate vowel harmony (left-to-right). Therefore, we may divide the words listed above into different vowel harmony types according to their patterns or vowel quality sequences they display, for example fronting or rounding harmony. But they can also generally be referred to as displaying transparent progressive harmony.

2.5.6.5 Vowel copying

Typologically, Mursi is one of the few languages of the world that have a rare morphophonological feature called vowel copying. At least, the other languages that have this feature and that I know of, are Surmic languages. In the context of Mursi, vowel copying is a morphophonological process of copying the vowel of a verb root and putting it in prefix or suffix slots for certain morphosyntactic functions. A number of linguists have referred to this type of segmental spreading phenomenon in terms such as melodic copying (Marantz 1982) and correspondence-based copying (McCarthy and Prince 1995). There are also a few linguists who treat the copying phenomenon in the same way as spreading. I, however, prefer to stick to the term ‘vowel copying’ because copying is quite different from spreading. First of all, Mursi has two types of vowel copying — right-to-left (prefixal) and left-to-right (suffixal). The latter doesn’t show any sign of spreading but rather it undergoes a vowel copying process. Nevertheless, the phonological motivation for the former one (prefixal) may be the phonotactic constraint of the language which triggers the copying, for example the prohibition of consonant clusters at word-initial position. This would probably be equivalent with another phonotactic constraint-based process term called copy-vowel epenthesis or echo epenthesis. Main characteristics of the vowel-copying process include:

- i. Vowel-initial verb roots cannot undergo a vowel copying process,
- ii. Only the vowel of the first syllable of a verb root is copied,
- iii. Phonetic long vowels cannot be copied (resulting from historical intervocalic consonant deletion-based verb roots) (see also §2.5.1.2), and
- iv. Some *k*-initial verb roots could trigger compensatory vowel lengthening (see rule iii below).

Accordingly, three distinctive phonological rules can be devised as can be seen below:

- i. /kV-/ → [kV₁-] / __+C₁V₁(C₂) (for consonant-initial verb roots)
- ii. /k-/ → [k-] / __+V₁(V₂)C₁ (for vowel-initial verb roots)
- iii. /kV-/ → [kV₁V₁-] / __+kV₁C₁ (for *k*-initial verb roots)

The morphological markings which utilize the prefix *k*- and the respective vowel copied from the verb root-initial syllable into its V slot are: first person S/A argument markers, third person subjunctive, agentless passive, and hortative-jussive moods. Some examples are presented as follow:

- (2.65) a1. /ták-á/
 know.PERV-3sg.SU.PERV
 ‘S/he knew.’
- a2. [ká-ták-á]
 1SU-know.PERV-1sg.SU.PERV
 ‘I have known.’
- b1. /ár-á/
 see.PERV-3sg.SU.PERV
 ‘He/she saw.’
- b2. [k-ár-á]
 1SU-see.PERV-1sg.SU.PERV
 ‘I saw (it).’
- c1. /kú-kún-í/ → [Ø-kún-í] ~ [kúúní]
 1SU-come.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV
 ‘I came.’
- c2. /kú-kúnásíd-à/ → [Ø-kúnásídã] ~ [kúúnásídã]
 1SU-dream.PERV-1pl.INC.SU.PERV
 ‘We (inc.) dreamed.’

As is shown in (2.65c1-c2), *k*-initial verb roots usually trigger compensatory vowel lengthening. One of the redundant *kV*- shapes will be deleted, but the vowel along its tone will be retained in the root. This demonstrates the fact that vowel copying phenomenon may also appear in one more identical phonological process but with a different prefix, i.e. perfective aspect marker prefix *t(V)*-.

- (2.66) a. /lòm/ ‘have (IMPERV.)’ /tò-lòm/ ‘ha (PERV.)’
 b. /már/ ‘refuse/dislike (IMPERV.)’ /tá-már/ ‘refuse, dislike (PERV.)’
 c. /ój/ ‘wash (IMPERV.)’ /t-ój/ ‘wash (PERV.)’

Therefore, Mursi displays single, double, triple, and quadruple vowel copying morphophonological phenomena, all of which are determined by morphological context.

(2.67) *Single vowel copying*
 /kí-hín-í/
 1SU-want.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV
 ‘I want’

(2.68) *Double vowel copying*
 /ké-té+hén-à/
 1SU-PERV+want-1sg.SU.PERV
 ‘I wanted’
 /kà-ḃàg-à/
 PASS-eat.PERV-PASS.3SU
 ‘(It) was eaten.’

The suffix *-a* is the third person passive subject form copied directly from the vowel of the verb root.

(2.69) *Triple vowel copying*
 /kìò kè-tè-ḡèḃ-é-è ḃé-ò/
 tree.SG PASS-PERV-cut-PASS.3SU axe.SG-OBL
 ‘The tree was cut with an axe.’

(2.69) requires obligatory oblique argument, otherwise it must be the verb marked by a verb-final suffix (cf. Mütze 2014). The verb-final suffix is a vowel, which is identical with the vowel of the verb root, as can be shown in the quadruple vowel copying example given below.

(2.70) *Quadruple vowel copying*
 /kìò kè-tè-ḡèḃ-é-è
 tree.SG PASS-PERV-cut-PASS.3SU-VFS
 ‘The tree was cut.’

2.6 Tone

Mursi has two tone levels — High (H) and Low (L). This contradicts what Turton and Bender suggested more than four decades ago. Turton and Bender (1976: 559) suggested that Mursi has four registered tones: high, mid, low, and falling. However, in this study, mid and falling tones are not attested. Besides, Yigezu (2001) in his study

of the comparative phonetics and phonology of Surmic languages, suggested three tone levels for Mursi — high, mid and low. The latest study on the language has showed only two tone levels — high and low (Mütze 2014). Therefore, as far as tone levels of Mursi is concerned, at this stage, the current study is in line with Mütze’s discovery —Low and High.

In Mursi, tone is important both lexically and grammatically. The syllable is the main tone-bearing unit in the language. A phonological word, whether it has an nominal root or verbal root must have at least one syllable as a tone-bearing unit. Thus, it is the number of syllables carrying distinct tone levels which create different tonal melodies on nouns and verbs. That means that different tonal melodies will automatically generate tonal patterns depending on number of syllables in a word. Tonal patterns, however, may not come in a straightforward way even if two simple register tones exist.

Most importantly, as any other morphosyntactic criteria, tone may be used as a phonological level criterion to distinguish between two word classes — nouns and verbs.

Accordingly, depending on the number of syllables in a phonological word, nominal words display six tone melodies whereas verbal words display three tonal melodies.

(2.71) Monosyllabic nouns — two tone melodies

- a. /bà/ L ‘place, land, country’
- b. /bè/ L ‘stone’
- c. /ór/ H ‘settlement, homestead, village’
- d. /sáj/ H ‘leather dress (women’s clothing)’

(2.72) Disyllabic nouns — four tone melodies

- a. /àpè/ LL ‘I (Pro.)’
- b. /lògó/ LH ‘word, issue (sg.)’
- c. /lúsi/ HL ‘boy (sg.)’
- d. /hírí/ HH ‘man (sg.)’

According to observations in this study and in Mütze’s sketch work, the L surface tone melodies may display two properties. First, there are nouns with an invariably L

surface tone melody regardless of the environments in which they occur in clauses. I have quoted examples from Mütze (2014) in 2.73a-c.

(2.73) An invariable (stable) L surface tone melody carrying nouns

- | | | | |
|----|--------------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| a. | <i>kònú</i> | <i>d̥̀ɔ̀m-Ø</i> | <i>sáb-ò</i> |
| | snake.SG | lead-3sg.SU.IMPERV | first/head-OBL |
| | ‘The snake leads first.’ | | |
| b. | <i>kònú</i> | <i>dák-ú</i> | <i>bà</i> |
| | snake.SG | fall-3sg.SU.PERV | ground |
| | ‘The snake fell down.’ | | |
| c. | <i>ɲà=in=à</i> | <i>á</i> | <i>kònú</i> |
| | DEM=3sg.PN.SP=NEAR | COP.3.IMPERV | snake.SG |
| | ‘This is a snake.’ | | |

As is shown in (2.73a-c), *kònú* ‘snake’ shows a stable L surface tone melody on its final syllable, it can not influence change its melody, and it can in no way change its melody by the influence of the tone melodies on the preceding or following verbs. Second, there are nouns with dynamic tone melodies that display L tone melodies underlyingly but they may change into H surface tone melodies when followed by verbs with L surface tone melodies.

(2.74) A dynamic (unstable) L surface tone melody carrying nouns

- | | | | |
|----|--------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| a. | <i>dàdà</i> | <i>dák-ú</i> | <i>bà</i> |
| | father.PERT:1sg.PSR | fall-3sg.SU.PERV | ground |
| | ‘My father fell down.’ | | |
| b. | <i>dàdá</i> | <i>d̥̀ɔ̀m-Ø</i> | <i>sáb-ò</i> |
| | father.PERT:1sg.PSR | lead-3sg.SU.IMPERV | first/head-OBL |
| | ‘My father leads first.’ | | |
| c. | <i>ɲà=in=à</i> | <i>á</i> | <i>dàdà</i> |
| | DEM=3sg.PN.SP=NEAR | COP.3sg.IMPERV | father.PERT:1sg.PSR |
| | ‘This is (my) father’ | | |

The noun *dàdà* ‘(my) father’ is a LL surface melody carrying noun (as in (2.74a)). However, the L surface tone melody on its second syllable becomes H surface tone when followed by a low-toned verb (as in (2.74b)). As can be shown in both (2.73c) and

polarity on verb roots usually happens when the H tone associates with toneless suffixes. Thus, the tone polarity on LH verbs can be interpreted in terms of the following two rules:

- iii. The L tone of the verb root associates with a polar tone (H) of the suffix (as in (2.77a-b)).
- iv. If the suffix attached to the verb root has zero morpheme realization, then the L tone of the verb root associates with a polar tone (H) of the following word (as in (2.77c)).

- (2.77) a. hàlí kì-dìr-í dórí
 later 1SU-sweep-1sg.SU.IMPERV house
 ‘I shall sweep the room later’
- b. gùŋ-í bì
 see/watch-2sg.SU.IMPERV cow.SG
 ‘You (sg.) see the cow.’ (Mütze (2014))
- c. gúŋ-Ø bì
 see/watch-3sg.SU.IMPERV cow.SG
 ‘He sees the cow.’ (Mütze (2014))

In (2.77a-b), the tonal polarity operates on the verb itself whereas in (2.77c) the tone polarity operates between the tone of the verb root and the following word.

Moreover, Mursi shows a two way lexical tonal contrast. Lexical tonal contrasts are presented as follows.

- (2.78) a. /mùni/ LL ‘Mursi person’ /múni/ HL ‘muscle’
 b. /ɲàwà/ LL ‘ear (pl.)’ /ɲáwà/ HL ‘blood’
 c. /kàkà/ LL ‘grandmother’ /kàká/ LH ‘molar (pl.)’
 d. /kòrù/ LL ‘lowland’ /kòrú/ LH ‘chisel’
 e. /lálàŋ/ LL ‘bracelet’ /láláŋ/ HH ‘a kind of tree’

As we can see, all lexical tonal contrasts come in disyllabic forms. Only two monosyllabic examples were found to be lexically contrastive — one nominal is mentioned by Mütze (2014) *mó*r ‘abdominal fat’ vs. *mò*r ‘calf’ and the other one is verbal *bá*g ‘to eat’ vs. *bà*g ‘to live’.

In addition, despite it being functionally limited to certain grammatical categories such as number and person, Mursi also exhibits grammatical tone. Some examples are presented as follows.

- (2.79) a. /bùgùj/ LL ‘back (sg.)’ /bùgúj/ HH ‘back (pl.)’
 b. /kìlòj/ LL ‘heron (sg.)’ /kìlój/ HH ‘heron (pl.)’
 c. /hùnnàj/ LL ‘small stream (sg.)’ /hùnnáj/ HH ‘small stream (pl.)’

Apart from the examples illustrated in (2.79) depicting the function of tone as a grammatical number marker, grammatical tone can also be used to distinguish between first person and third person subjects in hortative-jussive constructions. In other words, grammatical tone distinguishes between hortative and jussive moods.

- (2.80) a. kà-màg
 1.HORT-catch.PERV
 ‘Let me catch!’
 b. k-èlèhèn
 1.HORT-measure.PERV
 ‘Let me measure!’
 c. k-éléhén-é
 3.JUSS-measure.PERV-VFS
 ‘Let him measure!’

As can be shown in (2.80a-b), the hortative form takes a L-toned verb root or on the prefix $k(\acute{V})$ - because the V is direct copy of the verb root’s vowel plus tone. On the other hand, the jussive form always carry a H-toned verb root. Both constructions can optionally be preceded by a free form hortative-jussive particle *aj* [aɲ]. This particle always carries an opposite tone of the verb root, for which the two tones form a tone polarity. Compare examples (2.81a) and (2.81b-c).

- (2.81) a. áj kè-sèrè kàri
 HORT.PART 1.HORT-inherit.PERV.1PL.INC together
 ‘Let us (inc.) inherit’
 b. àj ké-séré-ó
 JUSSL.PART 3.JUSS-inherit.PERV-VFS
 ‘Let him inherit’

- c. àj ké-séré-t-ó
 JUSS.PART 3.JUSS-inherit.PERV-PL-VFS
 ‘Let them inherit’

In (2.81a), there is a vowel coalescence — the root’s final vowel and the morpheme -V of the first person plural inclusive markers are identical, i.e. $e+e > e$.

2.7 Wordhood

In sections following, the phonological and grammatical status of a ‘word’ or ‘wordhood’ is discussed briefly by utilizing phonological and grammatical criteria.

Thus, a phonological word (§2.7.1) and a grammatical word (§2.7.2), and mismatches and coincidences between the two (§2.7.1) were addressed.

2.7.1 A phonological word

A phonological word is a phonological unit larger than the syllable (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2003: 13). A phonological word in Mursi has the following major phonological properties: segmental features (internal syllabic structure), prosodic features (tone assignment and vowel height harmony), and word boundary-related phonological processes. Accordingly, the following properties define a phonological word in Musi:

- i. A phonological word does not contain cluster of consonants at word-initial and word-final positions (§2.3.4).
- ii. Unless historical intervocalic consonant deletion is involved, a phonological word does not contain vowel length. There may be a requirement that a monosyllabic phonological word should undergo compulsory lengthening (§2.3.7).
- iii. Due to a segmental restriction on the co-occurrence of long vowels between morpheme boundaries, the glottal stop /ʔ/ may be inserted to mark the beginning of a phonological word (§2.3.1.1).

- iv. Lack of occurrence of the bilabial implosive in word-final position (§2.3.1.2)
- v. Lack of occurrence of fricatives in word-final positions (§2.3.1.3).
- vi. Neutralisation of affricates word-finally (§2.3.1.4).

These points (i-vi) indicate that there are fewer distinctions made in word-final position than in any other position within a word (a statement supported by cross-linguistic studies, e.g. Dixon 2010, also Dixon and Aikhenvald 2003). For the phonotactic restrictions on the occurrence of consonants in Mursi, see Table 2.4.

- vii. Syllable is the tone-bearing unit and a phonological word must consist of one syllable carrying its own tone melody (§2.6).
- viii. A phonological word mostly consists of lexical tone melodies, which is different from mainly a grammatical word that may be accompanied by one or more than one grammatical morphemes (§2.6).
- ix. Mursi vowels can undergo a height harmony process that constitutes another form of assimilation on its own. Vowel height harmony can clearly distinguish a phonological word from a grammatical word. Accordingly, close-mid vowels /e/ and /o/ do not co-occur in the same phonological word with open-mid vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ (§2.5.6.4).
- x. Certain phonological rules can designate a phonological word status, namely lenition, deletion, and velarization.
- xi. At a phonological word final position, consonants {/d/, /t/, /dʒ/, /s/ and /h/} are deleted (§2.5.1.1). For example, The alveolar stops /d/ and /t/, the post-alveolar implosive /dʒ/, and the voiceless fricatives /s/ and /h/ are deleted when occurring word finally (§2.5.1.1.)

- xii. Synchronic evidence shows that $\{/b/ \sim *β, /g/ \sim *ʔ/*b\}$ are deleted when occurring between identical vowels of a phonological word (see §2.5.1.2).
- xiii. In Mursi, there is a word-medial syllable deletion in which the last syllable of the first compound element gets deleted in the compounding process (§2.5.1.4).
- xiv. Intervocally, the voiced bilabial stop $/b/$ lenites to the voiced labial fricative $[β]$ and the bilabial glide $[w]$ (§2.5.3). While this is the case, the reverse process (voicing) may also apply on the bilabial glide $/w/$. Accordingly, $/w/$ becomes $[β/b]$ with the same phonological rule $/w/ \rightarrow [β/b]/ V_V$. The velar plosives $/g/$ and $/k/$ lenite (weaken) to the glottal stop $[ʔ]$ word-finally and rarely at morpheme boundaries: $/g, k/ \rightarrow [ʔ]/ _ \{ _ \# \text{ or } _ \# _ \}$. The voiced velar stop $/g/$ can also lenite (weaken) to $[ɣ]$ intervocally. Similarly, the palatal affricates $/dʒ/$ and $/č/$ and the palatal fricative $/ʃ/$ lenite to the palatal glide $[j]$ word-finally: $/dʒ, č, ʃ/ \rightarrow [j]/ _ \#$.
- xv. The velar plosives $/g/$ and $/k/$ lenite (weaken) to the glottal stop $[ʔ]$ word-finally and rarely at morpheme boundaries. This could mark the final boundary of a phonological word (§2.5.3). Similarly, the palatal affricates $/dʒ/$ and $/č/$ and the palatal fricative $/ʃ/$ lenite to the palatal glide $[j]$ word-finally (§2.5.3).
- xvi. The alveolar fricatives $/s/$ and $/z/$ can undergo a simplification process to their dental allophone counterparts $[θ]$ and $[ð]$. The voiceless alveolar fricative $/s/$ becomes $[θ]$ word-initially and intervocally whereas its voiced counterpart $/z/$ becomes $[ð]$ intervocally: $/s/ \rightarrow [θ] / \{ \# _ \text{ or } V_V \}$ and $/z/ \rightarrow [ð] / V_V$ (§2.5.4).

- xvii. In rapid speech, the liquid /l/ and the nasal /ŋ/ may be reduced from the coda of the first syllables of an inherently reduplicated disyllabic word root (§2.5.5).
- xviii. At syllable-medial position, the alveolar nasal /n/ is velarized to velar nasal [ŋ] when followed by velar stops /k/ and /g/: /n/ → [ŋ] / __ [k/g] (assimilation, particularly velarisation, see §2.5.6.1).
- xix. A phonological word mostly consists of lexical tone melodies, which is different from mainly a grammatical word that may be accompanied by one or more than one grammatical morphemes. A phonological word whether it is a nominal root or verbal root must have at least one syllable as a tone-bearing unit. Thus it is the number of syllables carrying distinct tone levels which creates different tonal melodies on nouns and verbs (§2.6).

However, we may find a notable sound pattern difference between a phonological word and ideophones (plus interjections/expressives). For instance, consonant clusters such as: **bs*, **mk*, **md*, **sd*, *gj*, and **ŋt* are found in ideophones while such clusters do not exist in a phonological word. In Mursi, non-phonemic consonants or vowels may be found in ideophones and in interjections — **p* (voiceless bilabial stop) **ɪ* (close central vowel). Mursi expressives can a C_1VC_2 shapes (where C_2 stands for voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ]). There is no such syllable shape pattern in a phonological word (§2.9).

2.7.2 A grammatical word

A grammatical word may contain a number of grammatical elements, mainly three are crucial: (i) they always occur together (cohesiveness), (ii) they occur in a fixed order, and (iii) they have a conventionalized coherence and meaning (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2003: 19). Even though few exceptional conditions exist, almost all grammatical words

of Mursi can be governed by these three criteria. Thus, a grammatical word in Mursi must consist of a root (nominal or verbal) and a minimum of one morpheme. A grammatical word therefore can consist of from two up to seven grammatical elements (morphemes) that occur together. See the examples given below:

- (2.82) a. *bág-Ø*
 eat.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV
 ‘S/he eats.’
- b. [*hùll-á* *ór-é-á*
 when-RSTR see.IMPERV-3pl.SU.IMPERV-RSTR
 [*ɲà=múníɲ-í=tùnù=ɲà*]_{NP}]_{RC/SUBORD:CL}
 DEM=star-SG=FAR=DEF
 ‘When/while they saw that star...’
- c. *ɲà=kó-jóg-ón-óɲ-Ø=ó-ò*
 NEG.IMPERV=1SU-tell.IMPERV-MT-2pl.OBJ-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV=NEG-VFS
 ‘We (inc.) will not tell (it) to you (pl).’

In (2.82a), we see a minimal verbal word consisting of a root (the citation form) marked by a zero morpheme third person singular subject marker on the imperfective aspect. In (2.82b) is a maximal nominal word consisting of four grammatical elements — a suffix and three clitics. A minimal nominal word can be extracted out of (2.82b), i.e. *múníɲ-í* ‘star (sg.)’. Of these, the demonstrative system shown by the circumclitics (*ɲà=...=tùnù*), is a good indication of grammatical elements cohesiveness in a grammatical word. The order of these grammatical elements in no way changes. In (2.82c), we find a typical example that shows the morphological nature of a word in Mursi, i.e. agglutinating and predominantly suffixing. Like the circumclitics indicating the demonstrative system on nominals (2.82b), negation on verbs is mainly indicated by circumclitics (*ɲà=...=ó*). Both the circumclitics could then be taken as a perfect proof that grammatical elements occur in a fixed order. As shown clearly, all the grammatical words in (2.82a-c) have a conventionalized coherence and full-fledged meaning.

2.7.3 Mismatches and coincidences between the two word types

There are two major instances of word formations which cause coincidences and mismatches between a phonological word and a grammatical word — compounds (§2.7.3.1) and reduplication (§2.7.3.2).

2.7.3.1 Compounds

Mursi has a few compounds—mainly noun-noun and noun-quantifier. A compound word is one grammatical word consisting of two phonological words. Compounds can easily be recognized as having two forms either from the same word class or from two different word classes, and by bearing no dependency markers (relators). For example, the restrictive and non-restrictive relators *-a* and *-i/-ti* on the head of an NP. Mursi has five types of compounds — noun-noun, noun-verb, noun numeral/quantifier, adjective-adjective, and adverb-adverb.

(2.83) *noun-noun*

- | | | | | |
|----|-------------|--------------|---------------|------------|
| a. | /sábáwànné/ | [sábá-wànné] | (head-pain) | ‘headache’ |
| b. | /dóríkējó/ | [dórí-kējó] | (house-belly) | ‘floor’ |
| c. | /dóritàrá/ | [dórí-tàrá] | (house-roof) | ‘thatch’ |

(2.84) *noun-verb*

- | | | | | |
|----|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------------|
| a. | /bámágà/ | [bá-mág-à] | (place-hold-NOMZ) | ‘hidden (place)’ |
| b. | /kààrèčáktín/ | [kààrè-čák-tín] | (eye:pl-sew-NOMZ) | ‘blind (person)’ |

(2.85) *noun-numeral/quantifier*

- | | | | | |
|----|--------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|
| a. | /hírkón/ | [híri-kón] | (man-one) | ‘someone; twenty’ |
| b. | /zùdǎkákán/ | [zùgò-dǎkákán] | (people-all) | ‘everybody’ |
| c. | /àhádǎkákán/ | [àh-á-dǎkákán] | (thing-PL-all) | ‘everything’ |

(2.86) *adjective-adjective*

- | | | | | |
|----|----------|-------------|---------------|---------|
| a. | /čàkòrò/ | [čágí-kòrò] | (green-black) | ‘green’ |
| b. | /čáhòlí/ | [čágí-hòlí] | (green-white) | ‘blue’ |

(2.87) *adverb-adverb*

- | | | | | |
|----|------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| a. | /kàlikèṅò/ | [kàli-kèṅò] | (day-center) | ‘noon; mid-day’ |
| b. | /hàlíḃèlè/ | [hàlí-ḃèlè] | (later-morning) | ‘tomorrow’ |

In compounds, as they are typically composed of more than one phonological word, word boundary associated phonological rules may apply to the last syllable of the first compound word. For example in (2.85b), the noun *zùgò* ‘people, the final vowel may be elided at any time. So, the root *zùg* undergoes a lenition process /g/→[ʔ] followed by deletion of /g/ because */ʔd/ clusters cannot be permitted in any environment (recall deletion and lenition rule in §2.5.3). Finally, we will get the truncated form *zù*.

Compounds are the only one which raise mismatches between the two word types. In Mursi, two clitics can make up one grammatical word, however, they do not form a separate phonological word on their own. Only the two circumclitics (of demonstratives and negations) seem to be eligible for coming together and form a full-fledged utterance.

- (2.88) a. /*ɲà=Ø=á*/ → [ɲáà]
 DEM=Ø=NEAR
 ‘Here’
- b. /*ɲà=án=ó*/ → [ɲà=Ø=ó] ~ [ɲà=ʔ=ó] ~ [ɲájò]
 NEG=COP.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘It is not’

In (2.88a), there will be no nominal form which intervenes between the demonstrative proclitic *ɲà=* and the distal marker enclitic *=á*, whereas in (2.88b), a copula verb root in the imperfective aspect has intervened between the negation circumclitics. The glottal stop /ʔ/ is inserted between the boundary of the two clitics, nonetheless it is pronounced as a lamio-palatal glide <j> in fast speech. In addition, tone assignment to a floating clitic is another issue for further study.

2.7.3.2 Reduplication

Reduplication is not productive in Mursi. However, there are a few reduplicated words, mainly occurring in two types — those that are composed of two phonological words

but form one grammatical word, and those that constitute one phonological word and one grammatical word.

- (2.89) a. /kób/ ‘follow’ /kóbkób/ [kób.kób] ‘quickly’
 b. /dàrì/ ‘to move secretly’ /dàrdàr/ [dàr.dàr] ‘to steep downhill’
 c. /kéd/ ‘cut’ /kédúkédú/ [kédũ.kédũ] ‘cut in to pieces’
 d. /jàg/ ‘return (tr.)’ /jàgàjàgà/ [jàgà.jàgà] ‘go back and forth’
 e. /búí/ ‘big (sg.)’ /bíbí/ [bí.bí] ‘big (pl.)’
 f. /tííní/ ‘small (sg.)’ /tíítí/ [tíítí] ‘small (pl.)’
 g. zùwò [dǒné.dǒné]
 people one:REDUP
 ‘Everyone’ (Lit. people one-one.)

As it is shown in the examples above, reduplication can be full (as in (2.89a-b), where a full and unreduced phonological word form is copied. Or it could be partial (2.89c-d) which involves segment reductions from the coda of the first phonological word. In the case of full reduplication, monosyllabic verb roots are reduplicated whereas, in partial reduplication vowel alternation and even deletion may take place. In (2.89a), the high back vowel /u/ is deleted and instead replaced by the general adjectivizer suffix *-i*, i.e. *búí* > *bí*. Since the reduplicated form *bíbí+i* > *bíbí* constitutes one grammatical word instead of two, therefore, it takes only one adjectivizer suffix at a time. Likewise, without a change in functional meaning, the numeral *dǒnéj* ‘one’ (2.89e) is used as a numeral. Note that *dǒnéj* — may sometimes appears in its full form, but drops the approximant /j/, depending on the speech speed of speakers.

The second types are those with inherent reduplication consisting of one phonological word and one grammatical word. They cannot be decomposed into two distinct phonological words. Hence, phonological and grammatical words coincide.

- (2.90) a. sé [médú.médú] ‘blink’ (lit. say-blink.blink)
 b. dógí [čób.čób] ‘squat’ (lit. to tread on (and) kiss.kiss)
 c. /bíbíjǐ/ [bí.bi.jǐ] ‘to get goose bumps’
 d. /béděďěg/ [bɛ.dɛ.dɛg] ‘flash (lightening)’
 e. /bárbári/ [bar.bari] ‘tremble’
 f. /kéděkédě/ [kédě.kédě] ‘whisper (sense-speech)’

g. /kúčúkúčú	[kúčú.kúčú]	‘silence, saying nothing’
h. /héléhéhéléh/	[héléh.héléh]	‘become loose’

As we can see in both examples (2.90), they are morphologically deficient in that they do not take grammatical markers. Therefore, inherently reduplicated verbs may require an auxiliary verb *sé* ‘to say’ (2.90a) or some other support verbs. Not all of these inherently reduplicated words clearly indicate boundaries of the reduplicants. For example, *bíbi/i* and *béděděg* could have had **bi/bi/i* /**bedegdeg*, but co-occurrence of consonant cluster restrictions are to be taken into account. Accordingly, neither **fb* nor **dg* cluster is allowed in any environment. Some of the semantics that the reduplicated grammatical words could carry are repetition, plurality, and distribution.

2.8 Clitics

Clitics are morphological elements which do not have the full set of properties of an independent (phonological) word, and may form a phonological unit with the word that precedes it or follows it (Matthews 1997: 56 cited in Aikhenvald (2003: 42). Above all, Aikhenvald (ff.42) points out, ‘clitics are prosaically deficient or unusual in certain ways’. Mursi has seven clitics and each has its own syllable (including C ‘consonant’) and morphosyntactic function: demonstrative, definite, negative, number, subordinate, emphatic, and discourse particle. Of the seven morphosyntactic functions, demonstrative and negation are shown by circumclitics. In Mursi, circumclitics (proclitics combined with enclitics) can form independent phonological words. This means, both the demonstrative and negation circumclitics can form independent phonological words having the same semantic category as the one they form when attached to their hosts (see example 2.88). Table 2.10 below illustrates syllabic shapes of Mursi clitics.

Table 2.10. Syllable shapes of Mursi clitics

MORPHOSYNTACTIC FUNCTION	CLITICS		SYLLABLE SHAPES
	PROCLITICS	ENCLITIC	
demonstrative	<i>ɲà=</i>	<i>=á</i> [=tá/=ná], <i>=nù</i> [=unu/=ìnù/=tùnù/=nùnù]	V, CV
definite	none	<i>=ɲà</i>	CV
negation	<i>ɲà=</i>	<i>=ó</i> [=no/=to/	V
number	<i>n=</i> and <i>g=</i>	<i>=n</i> and <i>=g</i>	C
subordinate	none	<i>=jè</i> [=è]	CV
emphatic	none	<i>=so</i> (also <i>so</i>)	CV
discourse particle	none	<i>=čii</i> (also <i>čii</i>)	CVV

One indication that clitics are prosodically deficient is that the phonological properties which apply to enclitics may not apply to proclitics. For example, vowel height and rounding harmony rules apply to enclitics, however, they do in no way influence proclitics. No Mursi affixes exist that I know of which are exempted from these two vowel harmony rules. Table 2.11 is a comparative summary between clitics and affixes on the basis of phonological properties they display.

	CLITICS	AFFIXES
Vowel height and rounding harmony rules	do not apply on proclitics; they may be applied to enclitics	can be governed by these rules
consonant cluster/sequence restriction rules	do not apply to proclitics and their host; the rules do apply only between enclitics and their host;	consonant cluster or sequence restriction rules apply to affixes and roots/affixes
Tone change	fixed tonal melody (proclitics)	rarely have tonal melody
form independent phonological words	yes (circmclitics)	no

Table 2.11. Phonological properties of clitics and affixes

2.9 Special phonology

Interjections, ideophones and expressives may have forms that are quite different from the regular internal phonological properties of words, especially with regard to syllabic structure. As we recall from §2.3.3 and §2.3.7, Mursi has neither consonant length nor

vowel length. However, phonetic length of both types exist in the language. The former type is triggered by gemination whereas the latter is due to an intervocalic consonant deletion. Contrary to this, we may find that the consonant and vowel lengths interjections, ideophones and expressives are not phonetic neither. Table 2.12 demonstrates the peculiar sound and sound patterns displayed in interjections, ideophones and expressives.

PHONOLOGICAL PROPERTIES	INTERJECTIONS	IDEOPHONES	EXPRESSIVES
consonant length	CC (NN)	none	none
vowel length	VV	none	none
consonant cluster/sequence	none	<i>*bs/*mk/*md/*sd/*gj/*ɲt</i>	none
non-phonemic vowel or consonant	<i>*ɪ</i> (close central vowel)	<i>*p</i> (voiceless bilabial stop)	none
syllable shapes	VV, VCC, CVV	- (C ₁ V ₁ C ₂).(C ₁ V ₁ C ₂) - (C ₁ V ₁ C ₂).(C ₁ V ₁ C ₂) . (C ₁ V ₁ C ₂) - (C ₁ V ₁).(C ₁ V ₁).(C ₁ V ₁)...etc.	CV <i>f</i>
tone	unpredictable	unpredictable	fixed (high)
sound-symbolic or onomatopoeic	no	yes	yes

Table 2.12. Phonology of interjections, ideophones and expressives

For example, in Table 2.11 above, expressives can easily be recognized by having simple monosyllabic patterns composed of C₁VC₂ (CV*f*) shapes (where C₂ stands for voiceless postalveolar fricative [ɟ]). There are no such phonological restrictions on any other types of word classes as to what a word must include or exclude at the word-final positions.

2.10 Female register

There are quite rare and peculiar differences between female and male speech registers in Mursi. The speech registers in Mursi happen mainly due to physiological effects in speech production. It is a peculiar instance in which Mursi's female or male speech

production physiological organs are partially affected by their traditional practices such as body beautification, body scarification, and body ornamentation. Yigezu (2001:203) has noted two traditional practices in the Chai people: (i) the lip-plate piercing tradition, which was imperative for any girl attending puberty, but currently is optional tradition being practiced by girls of the same age; (ii) the cultural practice of removing the lower incisors in both — female and male. Like the Chai society, the Mursi have similar traditions traditional practiced by both sex groups. In terms of typological similarities, there is no language closer to Mursi than Chai.

In Chai, as Yigezu (2001: 208) noted, three possible strategies are employed in compensating for the loss of the lower lip: (i) place of articulation is maintained if the manner changes, (ii) manner of articulation is maintained if the point of articulation changes, and (iii) both the place and the manner of articulation change. Yigezu has also mentioned three consonant changes happen based on the three ways of compensating for the loss of the lower lip: (i) Strategy I — [b] > {β}, [b] > {w} and [β] > {ϕ}, (ii) Strategy II — [b] > [d], [b] > [dʲ], [s] > {θ}, [p] > [t] and [m] > [ŋ], and (iii) Strategy III — [b] > [ð].

In Mursi, as shown in these Categories, the alveolar fricatives /s/ and /z/ can undergo a simplification process to their dental allophone counterparts [θ] and [ð]. The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ becomes [θ] word-initially and intervocalically (Strategy I) whereas its voiced counterpart /z/ becomes [ð] intervocalically (Strategy III): /s/ → [θ] / {#__ or V__V} (/sízzi/ → [θízzi] ‘three’, /kásáj/ → [káθáj] ‘sand’; and /z/ → [ð] / V__V (§2.5.4). Strategy I is directly associated to Mursi’s lenition rule, in which, intervocalically, the voiced bilabial stop /b/ lenites to the voiced labial fricative [β] and the bilabial glide [w]. The general morphological process that explains lenition of /b/ intervocalically is called intervocalic spirantization; and has a rule: /b/ → [β/w] / V__V

(see §2.5.3). The rule that governs Strategy III is available in §2.5.4. Similar to Chai, in Mursi the production of the following consonant sounds are partially affected by the lower lip piercing tradition (cf. Yigezu 2001: 203-221; 2005: 241-257; Lüpke (2010: 6ff.); see also §1.7.3.

Chapter 3 Word classes

3.1 Introduction

Mursi has three open word classes and twelve closed word classes. The open word classes are: nouns (§3.2.1), verbs (§3.2.2) and adjectives (§3.2.3). The set of closed word classes include pronouns (§3.3.1), adverbs (§3.3.2), adpositions (§3.3.3) (prepositions and postpositions), question words (3.3.4), number words and quantifiers (§3.3.5), connectors and discourse particles (§3.3.6), interjections (§3.3.7), ideophones (§3.3.8), and expressives (§3.3.9). Although each word class displays their own distinct morphological, syntactic and semantic properties, establishing a straightforward distinctions between word classes may not be always easy. For example, some members of the adjective class share certain morphological categories with nouns — such as number, demonstrative and definite. Likewise, adjectives can also share morphological categories with verbs — such as person, mood, valency changing derivations and negation.

As these morphological categories do not exclusively apply to each and every members of a particular word class, extensive morphological and syntactic criteria must be applied in order to distinguish one from the other before making either a characterization statement or establishing exceptions. Moreover, as suggested in Aikhenvald (2015: 81), morphological structure and categories on one hand, and syntactic functional slots in a clause on the other hand are among the essential criteria for distinguishing between word classes. Apart from the two productive criteria, one phonological criterion has been found to be a salient segmental property of verb roots for distinguishing verbs from the rest word classes, i.e. roughly 90 percent of Mursi verb roots end in consonants. This will be discussed in §7.2, Chapter 7. In addition,

interjections and expressives have also a peculiar phonology quite different from other word classes (see the last two subsequent sections of chapter 2). Therefore, this chapter presents a detailed account of morphological and syntactic features of word classes based on the language's internal structure. Before embarking onto the details of each word classes. Table 3.1 below shows a summary of word classes vis-à-vis their syntactic functions and functional slots.

Table 3.1 Word classes and their functional slots

SYNTACTIC FUNCTION	WORD CLASS				
	NOUN	VERB	ADJECTIVE	PRONOUN	ADVERB
Head of transitive predicate	x	√	√ (very rare, only derived)	x	x
Head of intransitive predicate	x	√	√ (derived)	x	x
Core or oblique argument	√	x	x	√	x
Copula subject (CS)	√	x	x	x	x
Copula complement (CC)	√	x	√	??	x
Head of NP	√	x	x	√	x
Possessum in NP	√	x	x	??	x
Possessor in NP	√	x	x	??	x
Modifier within an NP	√	x	√	√	x
Modifier of a verb	x	x	some	x	√

The syntactic functions and functional slots of the word classes listed in Table 3.1 above may be possible properties of a particular word class as a whole and only represent general syntactic features of that particular class. However, some word classes may have sub-classes with their own specific syntactic functions, for example, the noun class has about five members, and each sub-classes may show some degree of peculiarities of morphology and syntax in line with general feature of the class.

3.2 Open word classes

In the following sections, the morphological, syntactic and semantic properties of the three open word classes of the language, nouns (§3.2.1), verbs (§3.2.2) and adjectives (§3.2.3) are discussed.

3.2.1 Nouns

A noun class generally includes: simple nouns, relator nouns, place names, kinship nouns, proper names, and compound nouns. Apart from these, all other nouns can be members of this class through various derivations mainly from verbs and adjectives.

The morphological categories that these noun types in general take (§3.2.1.1) and the syntactic functional slots they fill in a clause (§3.2.1.2) will be discussed. Following this, descriptions have been provided for each noun type (see §3.2.1.3). Mursi has no grammatical gender, but a brief overview of natural gendered nouns is presented in (§3.2.4).

3.2.1.1 Morphological categories of nouns

Morphologically, nouns can be defined as words that obligatorily inflect for number, case, demonstrative, and definiteness. Number on nouns can be shown in a number of ways and by two morphological forms: suffixes and clitics. There is only one pre-root slot for deictic function and nine other post-root slots of which four are shown by enclitics. Table 3.2 below is a schematic representation of the structure of a Mursi noun and suffix-clitic ordering.

Table 3.2 The structure of a Mursi noun

SLOT	MORPHOLOGICAL CATEGORY	MORPHOLOGICAL FORM
SLOT 1	demonstrative	proclitic
SLOT 2	ROOT	ROOT
SLOT 3	number	suffix
SLOT 4	case	suffix
SLOT 5	nominalizer	suffix
SLOT 6	pertensive	enclitic
SLOT 7	modification/relator	suffix
SLOT 8	proximal/distal	enclitic
SLOT 9	emphatic marker	enclitic
SLOT 10	definiteness	enclitic
SLOT 11	subordinate	enclitic

Note that not all these morphological categories of nouns can be added to noun roots at a time. At the same time, noun roots cannot have the same capacity in taking these categories at once. For example, de-verbal nouns or nouns derived from verbs by the nominalizer *-a* can take nominative and other case morphologies. This is not the case for other de-verbal nouns.

Based on the morphological slots shown in Table 3.2, the morphological category indicating the demonstrative function takes SLOT 1. The demonstrative system of Mursi is always shown by circumclitics. That is, the demonstrative marker proclitic (SLOT 1) always co-occurs with a two-way deictic contrast marker enclitic (SLOT 8) (see Chapter 4, §4.2.1). SLOT 2 is a noun root itself. The noun root refers to simple nouns and relator nouns. Aside from these, the term de-verbal noun can be appropriate for all other morphological form of nouns which co-occur with SLOT 5. On nouns that are derived from verbs, number marking is applied after the nominalizer, as in (3.1).

- (3.1) [ɲà=ʔég-á-ɲá-inù]_{NP}
 DEM=watch-NOMZ-PL=FAR
 ‘Those (field) watchings (vigils)’

SLOT 3 is generally a slot for overt tripartite coding of number — replative, plural, and singulative. About 70 portmanteau number marking suffixes fill this nominal slot (see number system, Chapter 5). Apart from the noun class, some members of the adjective class namely dimension and colour adjectives may take overt number marking (see §3.4 of this chapter, and Chapter 8). The case system which marks both core and non-core constituents fills SLOT 4. The case marking system depends highly on constituent order. In general, nouns can be marked for case suffixes of any type when occurring post-verbally (see Chapter 10). SLOT 6 can be filled by the pertensive morphology. Only kinship nouns take pertensive morphology.

- (3.2) a. gòdóná ‘brother (my)’
 b. gòdón=gà ‘brothers (my)’

- c. gòdón=gà-čó
 brother=PERT.1PL.PSR-PL
 ‘Our brothers’
- d. gòdón=gà-čó-à g=àw/g=àj
 brother=PERT.1PL.PSR-PL PL.PSD=1PL.EXC.PRS/PL.PSD=1PL.INC.PRS
 ‘Our (exc./inc.) brothers’

Pertensive morphology on the kinship nouns indicates number of possessed, possessor and person (as in (3.2b-c)). The possessive pronouns can follow kinship nouns marked by pertensive morphology usually when further grammatical information (first person inclusive/exclusive distinction) is required, as in (3.2d). This may also show kinship nouns that may be marked for the same category twice — or literally on the basis of a recursive system (see Chapter 4). Furthermore, the suffix *-čo* is a plural number marker that can occur only with few kinship nouns (see Chapter 6 for a full list of *-čo* taking kinship nouns). As can be seen in (3.2d), whenever a modifier follows the head within an NP, the head noun will then be marked for modification/relator marker suffix: *-a* (restrictive) and *-ti/-i* (non-restrictive). Therefore SLOT 7 will be filled by a modification/relator marker.

SLOTS 8-11 are clitics which will be marked on nouns occurring in NPs and clauses. The following examples clearly indicate the three slots — definite and subordinate (3.3a) and emphatic (3.3b).

- (3.3) a. ηà=zùg=tà=ηà=jè [hínísí-á g=èj]_{NP}
 DEM=people=NEAR=DEF=SUBORD heart-RSTR PL.SPD=3PL.PSR
 ‘For these people’s heart...’
- b. [hír-á màč-ì]_{NP} bág tílá=só
 man-RSTR teach-NOMZ eat.PERV:IMP food=EMPH
 ‘Master, eat!’ (Lit. Teacher, please eat (sg.) food!)

The emphatic marker =*so* in (3.3b) is a floating enclitic as it can also occur in free form.

3.2.1.2 Syntactic function and functional slots of nouns

Syntactically, nouns can head NPs, can be possessum and possessor in NPs, modifier within an NP, copula subjects and complements in a clause, and can fill core or oblique argument slots. The first four functional slots of nouns are indicated below within a single example (3.4a).

- (3.4) [čòr-á [ŋà=mòr=à]_{NP}]_{NP}
 hair-RSTR DEM=calf=NEAR
 ‘The hair of this calf’

In (3.4), *čòrà* ‘hair’ is head of NP in noun modification construction form and *ŋàmòrà* ‘this calf’ is a modifier noun, which is an NP itself. At the same time, *čòrà* can be a possessum thus *ŋàmòrà* becomes a possessor. The whole NP in (3.4) can be a copula subject as we can see in (3.5) below.

- (3.5) [čòr-á [ŋà=mòr=á]_{NP}]_{NP:CS} á [čáll-i]_{CC}
 hair-RSTR DEM=calf=NEAR COP.3.IMPERV good.STV-ADJ
 ‘The hair of this calf is cold.’

- (3.6) [jòg]_{CS} á [sú]¹⁴_{CC}
 3pl COP.3.IMPERV Aari
 ‘They are the Aari.’ (MH 4: 6:8)

In (3.6), *sú* ‘the Aari people’ is a complement clause.

3.2.1.3 Noun subclasses

Within its open class of nouns, Mursi has about six subclasses: simple nouns, relator nouns, place names, kinship nouns, proper names, and compound nouns. These subclasses of noun may differ from one another in terms of inflecting for some grammatical features, for example for number and case. The semantics that each subclass show could also be another basis for sub-classifying them into such different types. Therefore, each subclass show the following grammatical and semantic features.

¹⁴ *Sú* is an ethnonym which the Mursi use to call their agriculturalist neighbors, the Aari people.

3.2.1.3.1 Simple nouns

Simple nouns include: body parts, animals, plants, utensils and ornaments and so on.

These could indicate grammatical number in two ways: either by morphological forms or they may inherently occur in plural forms.

- (3.7)
- | | | | | |
|----|--------|---------------|--------|---------------|
| a. | ɲò | ‘neck (sg.)’ | ɲòćín | ‘neck (pl.)’ |
| b. | ròsò | ‘dog (sg.)’ | ròsí | ‘dog (pl.)’ |
| c. | bíríní | ‘thorn (sg.)’ | bírínó | ‘thorn (pl.)’ |
| d. | bè | ‘stone (sg.)’ | bèná | ‘stone (pl.)’ |

Nouns that are inherently plural are mass nouns —mostly nouns referring to liquids such as *mà* ‘water’, *ʃrà* ‘urine’, *ɲáwà* ‘blood’, etc. The only non-liquid noun member that occurs in plural form is *sára* ‘name’. Some members of the simple noun subclass may take more than one plural number marking such as ‘silver bracelet’ *érésí* (sg.) vs. *érésíó /érésíná* (pl.). Based on the grammatical number markers they take, simple nouns may be further sub-divided into small classes or categories (see Chapter 6). Simple nouns are in no way possessed obligatorily. But all simple nouns can potentially be possessed optionally.

3.2.1.3.2 Relator nouns

Relator nouns are nouns that are mostly derived from body parts so as to denote spatial relations. The fact that relator nouns are the results of a slow process of grammaticalization, with a clear transition from prototypical membership of fully inflected noun subclass or category to a less prototypical category (relator category).

Their new subclass or category most likely limits their grammatical distributions and inflectional potentials. For example, when they are being used to specify spatial relations, they sometimes drop the final segment of their roots, instead they take oblique case markers. Some example are presented as follows.

- (3.8)
- | | | | | | |
|----|-------|----------------------|---|-------|--------------------------------|
| a. | sábá | ‘head (sg.)’ | ~ | sáb-ò | ‘in front of, first, ahead of’ |
| b. | mùmò | ‘forehead (sg.)’ | ~ | mùm-ò | ‘in front of’ |
| c. | ròɲòj | ‘side of body (sg.)’ | ~ | ròɲ-ò | ‘side, next to (smth.)’ |

- (3.11) ηàméá tó-jé bá-á [Ø k-èlè-ò
 now in-OBL place-RSTR [Ø PASS-call.PERV-PASS.3.PL
 ké mùn
 QUOT Mursi.PL
 màkó kó mì kó bóηósó kó mára]RC
 Mákkí PNC Mis PNC Bongoso PNC Mara]
 dǎkákán kàri
 all together...
 ‘Now, in places called of the Mursi’s: Mákkí, Mis, Bongoso, and Mara all
 together...’ (ME 8:47:9)¹⁵

Four place names are listed in (3.11) without being marked for oblique case — one which appears to be in vocative form *Màkó* ‘Mákkí, the main village where the majority of Mursi people live’, *Mì* ‘a place where ancestors of the current day Mursi people used to live; grazing land’, *Bongoso*, and *Mára*. Recall the deletion rule that applies to the alveolar fricative /s/ word-finally (see §2.5.1.1 of Chapter 2).

- (3.12) ηàméá zùwò màkó-jé ɪηη mis-ó ɪηη
 now people Mákkí-OBL INTERJ Mis-OBL INTERJ
 bóηósó ɪηη ór-í dǎkákán dǎkan mára-jé
 Bongoso.OBL INTERJ village-LOC all all Mara-OBL
 ‘...now the people in Mákkí, in Mis, in Bongoso, in all villages, in Mara...’
 (ME 18:52:8)

As it can be shown in (3.12), at least two of four allomorphs of the oblique case markers have been attached to place names: *-je* (following all vowel final nouns) and *-ɔ* (consonant-final nouns). The final vowel of *bóηósó* and the oblique case allomorph *-ɔ* have coalesced.

The fact is that the oblique case covers various case functions including the locative case. But when it is used on place names, this case suffix alone would not be enough to convey the appropriate semantics. It is primarily the motion verb which provides the full-fledge semantics. Thus the motion verb would make the distinction between ‘motion away from the speaker’ and ‘motion towards the speaker’ from the specific location.

¹⁵ Texts coded in ME (stands for ‘Mursi Economy’) are not included in the Appendix.

- (3.13) *bàrì* *kùùn-í* *dǝ́ínkà-jé*
 yesterday 1SU.come.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV Jinka-OBL
 ‘Yesterday I came from Jinka.’

Place names can be modifiers of head nouns within an NP, thus can take a genitive case like any other nouns, as in (3.14).

- (3.14) [*zùw-à* *mìs-òj*]_{NP}
 people-RSTR grassland-GEN
 ‘of the grassland people (Mis people)’

Nouns referring to certain geographical features such as the generic place term *bá* ‘place, land/ground, country, world’, *mà* ‘water/river’, *kídò* ‘river’, *wárr* ‘Omo River’ take a locative marker that is different from the oblique case marker — *-i* (following vowel-final nouns) and *-ni* (following liquids and the alveolar nasal /n/).

- (3.15) *kó-hóǝ-á* *k-óí-tó* *ólǝ-ó*
 1SU-put.PERV-1pl.INC.SU.PERV 1SU-put.PERV-1pl.EXC.SU.PERV stalk-PL
bá-i-nì
 place-LOC-RS
 ‘...then we (inc.) come and we (exc.) put sorghum stalks on the ground.’ (KW 1:38:5)

- (3.16) *kóóǝ-ónó* *bá-i* *ké* *dírká*
 1SU.take.out-MT.1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV place-LOC QUOT Dirka
 ‘...we (inc.) were heading to a place called Dirka (name of a town).’
 (MH 0:31:2)

- (3.17) *káwúlókòrò* *kéǝ-ú* *wárr-nì*
 Kawulokoro cut-3sg.SU.PERV Omo.river-LOC
 ‘Kawulokoro cut the Omo River.’ (MH 0:38:2)

The noun *ǝr* ‘village’ in (3.12) could be a sole place name being marked for locative case. The reason is that *ǝr* has other meanings referring to habitation: ‘homestead, settlement’.

3.2.1.3.4 Kinship nouns

Kinship nouns of Mursi display two unique features: number and pertensive markers. These two grammatical categories are confined to kinship nouns that other subclasses

of nouns cannot simply display. The special number marker suffix which applies to a few kinship nouns is *-čo*.

Table 3.3 Mursi kinship nouns

NUMBER		MEANING	PERTENSIVE
SINGULAR	PLURAL		
<i>dàdà</i>	<i>dàdàčo</i>	‘father’	~ <i>a+a > a</i>
<i>màmà</i>	<i>màmàčo</i>	‘mother’	~ <i>a+a > a</i>
<i>kàkà</i>	<i>kàkàčo</i>	‘grandmother’	~ <i>a+a > a</i>
<i>dòḡò</i>	<i>dòḡòčo</i>	‘the co-wives mothers’	no
<i>mèrè</i>	<i>mèrèčo</i>	‘daughter-in-law’	no
<i>fúúné</i>	<i>fúúgé</i>	‘father’	+ <i>a,u,ε</i>
<i>ɖʒòné</i>	<i>ɖʒògé</i>	‘mother’	+ <i>a,u,ε</i>
<i>gòdóná</i>	<i>gòdóngá</i>	‘brother’	+ <i>a,u,ε</i>
<i>ḡnà</i>	<i>ḡnìḡèn</i>	‘sister’	+ <i>a,u,ε</i>
<i>kògónà</i>	–	‘grandfather’	+ <i>a,u,ε</i>
<i>óóná</i>	–	‘uncle’	+ <i>a,u,ε</i>
<i>jànèn</i>	<i>jànìḡèn</i>	‘cousin’	+ <i>a,u,ε</i>
<i>áú</i>	<i>áúḡá</i>	‘firstborn child, eldest’	+ <i>a,u,ε</i>
<i>bófũ</i>	<i>bófúḡá</i>	‘youngest child’	+ <i>a,u,ε</i>
<i>ḡsòsi</i>	<i>ḡsòná</i>	‘sister’s child’	+ <i>a,u,ε</i>

As it is illustrated in Table 3.3 above, as far as my data suggest at this stage, just a few kinship nouns can be possessed inalienably. Mursi’s inalienably kinship nouns include: *dàdà* and *màmà* (can only be possessed by first persons), and *fúúné*, *ɖʒòné*, *gòdóná*, *ḡnà*, *kògónà*, *kàkà*, and *óóná* (can be possessed by all persons). Inalienably possessed kinship nouns can easily be distinguished from the alienable possessed ones in that they can occur without the possessive pronouns. In this case, they only require pertensive markers: +*a* (first person), +*u* (second person) and +*ε* (third person) for possessors.

- (3.18) a1. [dàdà]_{NP}
 father.PERT.1.PSR
 ‘My father’

The noun’s final vowel and the first person pertensive vowel were fused, i.e. *a+a > a*.

In (3.18a2) below, following the pertensive form, the plural possessor marker *-no* is attached to the noun.

As can be shown in (3.22), the final vowel, from the first element of the compound (/a/) will be deleted. This indirectly avoids the similarities that may arise between compounds and noun phrases, — for example between *bárgòlòjɪ* ‘Bàrgolony’ and **bàrá-á gòlòjɪ* <man-RSTR red> *‘red man’. In (3.22b), *tági* becomes *tái~táj* due to the intervocalic consonant deletion which applies to the velar stop /g/ (see §2.5.1.2 of Chapter 2). Those listed in (3.21) and (3.22) above are men’s personal names. Those of women’s personal names can also be formed in the same way. However, women’s personal names differ from that of men’s in that they must contain the inherently gendered noun *ɲàhà* ‘woman’ or adjective *ɲàhì* ‘female’. In the formation of compound nouns, the first element of the compound must always constitute a noun.

- (3.23)
- | | | | |
|----|---------|------------|--------------------------|
| a. | ɲàbìò | ɲàhà+bìò | <woman+cow (pl.)/cattle> |
| b. | ɲàlúsá | ɲàhà+lùsà | <woman+boy (pl.)> |
| c. | ɲàdóólé | ɲàhà+dóólé | <woman+girl> |
| d. | ɲàkídǒ | ɲàhà+kídǒ | <woman+river> |
| e. | ɲàkútúl | ɲàhà+kútúl | <woman+mountain> |

The vowel (/a/) will be deleted for the same reason explained above in (3.22). As the result of this, noun form *ɲàh* appears, and finally we see a more reduced form *ɲà*. As we recall from the deletion rule in 2.5.1.1 of Chapter 2, the alveolar fricative /s/ is deleted when occurring word-finally.

Morphologically, proper names can take genitive case when they are possessors in NPs. Proper nouns also differ from other subclasses of nouns in that they use zero morpheme as genitive case marker. That is, \emptyset following proper nouns ending in post-alveolar nasal /ɲ/ and palatal glide /j/. Proper nouns that end in other consonants take -*i* whereas those which end in vowels take -*j* (except for *i*-final proper nouns). See the examples given below.

- (3.24) a. [kààrì-à bárhújɪ- \emptyset]_{NP}
 eye-RSTR Bàrihuny-GEN
 ‘Barihuny’s eye’

- b. [érmì-à ṅàkútúl-ì]_{NP}
 child-RSTR Ngakútúl-GEN
 ‘Ngakútúl’s child’
- c. [érmì-à òlíkòrò-j]_{NP}
 child-RSTR Olikoro-GEN
 ‘Olikoro’s child’

A detailed discussion on the colour terms and naming system of Mursi has been provided in Chapter 1.

3.2.1.3.6 Compound nouns

Mursi has a limited set of real compound nouns. However, phrasal nouns are highly productive. In terms of the morphological way that compound nouns are formed, they are not different from other compound words. But compound nouns composed of noun-noun elements differ from all other types of compounds in the way they take plural number marking.

- (3.25) a. [màdì tùwò]
 breast mouth.SG
 ‘nipple’
- b. [màdì-ó tùgì]
 breast-PL mouth.PL
 ‘nipples’

As it is shown in (3.25a-b), the way number is marked on both nouns of the compounds is similar to some extent to some NPs with noun modifiers. In NPs with noun modifiers, number agreement between the head noun and the noun modifiers is mostly obligatory. But, these are simple compound nouns as they have no modification marker that may indicate syntactic dependency as NPs do. Interestingly, the number marking system utilized on the first noun of the compound differs from that on the second noun. The first noun utilizes regular plural number marker while the second noun utilizes replacive number marking system. Additional examples are given in (3.26a1-c) below.

- (3.26) a1. [bì¹⁶ dʒò̀̀nè]
- cow.SG mother.SG
- ‘cow’
- a2. [bì-ó dʒò̀̀gè]
- cow-PL mother.PL
- ‘cows’
- b1. [kààrì èrì]
- eye.SG skin.SG
- ‘eyelid’
- b2. [kààrè èró]
- eye.PL skin.PL
- ‘eyelids’
- c. [rè èrì]
- body.SG skin.SG
- ‘skin (of human)’
- d. [sìò tárá[r]]
- hand.SG roof
- ‘palm of hand’
- e. [dóri tárá_{NP} dǽr-Ø-ò
- house roof leak-3sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
- The roof (of the house) is leaking.’

Syntactically, compound nouns can occur in limited slots in clauses compared to other type of compounds. They can appear in only three syntactic functional slots: S, CS and CC. Many of Mursi compound nouns are body part nouns and nouns that require natural gender. As we can see from the examples given above, Mursi compound nouns can be referred to as endocentric because they always carry the semantics of one of their parts. Only one of the compound element can determine their grammatical categories, i.e. always the first noun of the compound. Compound nouns can function as any other non-compound nouns, but they can neither be possessor nor possessed.

Phrasal nouns on the other hand are the same as NPs. They have similar morphosyntactic properties to NPs. In addition, phrasal nouns should not necessarily

¹⁶ *bì* ‘cattle’ is also a collective noun. However, it occasionally may also be used interchangeably with ‘cow’.

- b. [hír-á ɲàh-à]_{NP}
 person-RSTR female-RSTR
 ‘woman’ (Lit. ‘female person’)
- c. [tòŋ-à ɲàh-à]_{NP}
 goat-RSTR female-RSTR
 ‘she-goat’

In noun modification construction, the general adjectivizer suffix *-i* of the adjectives has been replaced by restrictive modification marker *-a*. In (3.29), a vowel coalescence process has taken place following intervocalic deletion of the velar stop /g/.

3.2.1.3.8 De-verbal nouns

Nouns can be derived from verbs by applying various nominalizers on the verb roots. About eight nominalizers have been found in my data. Many of de-verbal nouns have monosyllabic root shapes in their primary class. De-verbal nouns may take nominal categories —number, case and deictic markers. They differ from one another in terms of their syntactic functions and the functional slots they may take in phrases and clauses. De-verbal nouns can function as S, A and O arguments, copula subject and copula complements, possessed, and modifier within NPs.

A. Nominalization with *-i*

The nominalizer suffix *-i* in Mursi can be added mostly to stative verb roots to form nouns. This nominalizer is almost identical with the general adjective suffix *-i* and it only is applied on stative verbs. Whether the suffix *-i* is a nominalizer or an adjectivizer seems to depend on the syntactic function and functional slots of grammatical items in which the suffix *-i* occupy in clauses or phrases.

- (3.30) a. á [lòg-á ràmà-í-ùŋ]_{NP}
 COM.3.IMPERV word/issue-RSTR be.tall.STV-NOMZ-GEN
 ‘This is the issue of tallness’
- b. [àŋè]_{CS} [k-án-í]_{C.PRED} [kòrò-í]_{CC}
 1sg 1SU-COP.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV be.black.STV-ADJ
 ‘I am black.’

In (3.30a), *ràmàga* ‘tall’, which is in underlying free form *ràmàga* becomes *ràmà* following deletion of the velar stop, is in a noun modification construction. Syntactically, it is a verbless clause complement, therefore it is not the same as a derived adjective from a stative verb functioning as a copula complement (as in (3.30b)). The semantics in (3.30a) is that of an abstract noun describing a state of affairs. This is as opposed to its attributive meaning when functioning as real adjective, as in (3.30c).

- c. [[kútúl-í ràmà-í]_{NP} tún-ó]_{AD.P}
 mountain-NRSTR be.tall.STV-ADJ top-OBL
 ‘On a high mountain’

The genitive case in (3.30) appear to have a phrasal scope, but it needs additional investigation to find out whether it is indeed phrasal or limited to modifiers within NPs.

B. Nominalization with *-tin*

De-verbal nouns can also be derived from stative verbs by suffixing the nominalizer *-tin* on stative roots. All de-verbal nouns derived from stative verbs denote state of affairs or are nouns of state.

- | | | | | | |
|--------|----|---------|--------------------|------------|---------------------|
| (3.31) | a. | gùrgùrì | ‘be wise, skilled’ | gùrgùr-tín | ‘wisdom, knowledge’ |
| | b. | lótógí | ‘be wet’ | lótók-tín | ‘liquid’ |
| | c. | dǎldǎlí | ‘be hard’ | dǎldǎl-ín | ‘hardness’ |
| | d. | dǐŋdǐŋí | ‘be heavy’ | dǐŋdǐŋ-ín | ‘weight’ |
| | e. | gèrsí | ‘be bad’ | gèrès-ín | ‘sin’ |
| | f. | dǒrósí | ‘be dry’ | dǒsós-ín | ‘drought’ |

The segmental form of this nominalizer is phonologically conditioned: *-tin* mostly following stative verbs that have liquid or alveolar-final roots, and rarely following those that have high front vowel /i/ final roots. Its allomorph *-in* occurs usually following roots which end in nasals and fricatives.

These de-verbal nouns can act as subject of an intransitive verb (3.32), as modifiers within NPs (3.33) and as the possessed (3.34-3.35).

- (3.32) *ràmà-tín* *kún-Ø* *tílà-jé*
 be.tall.STV-NOMZ come.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV food-OBL
 ‘Tallness comes from food.’
- (3.33) *nòŋ* *á* [[*hír-á* *gùrgùr-tín-ó*]_{NP}
 3sg COP.3.IMPERV man-RSTR skilled.STV-NOMZ-MOD
dǎdǎl-á]_{NP} *háj*
 be.difficult.STV-RTSR.MOD INSENS
 ‘S/he is a man of great abilities.’ (Lit. ‘very heavy skilled man’)
- (3.34) *nòŋ* *á* [[*hír-á* *lóm-à* *gùrgùr-tín-á*]_{NP}
 3sg COP.3.IMPERV man-RSTR have-NOMZ skilled.STV-NOMZ-RSTR
álí-ŋ]_{NP}
 voice/talk-GEN
 ‘S/he is an able speaker.’ (Lit. ‘S/he is a man having knowledge of speaking.’)
- (3.35) *ŋàni* *ìggè* *sábò* *lámí-ò* [*hól-in-á*
 yet 2pl first find-2pl.SU.IMPERV be.white-NOMZ-RSTR
kòmòrù-mó *tùm-óŋ*]_{NP}
 king-N.S sky-GEN
 ‘But seek you (pl.) first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness.’
 (Lit. ‘the righteousness of the kingdom of God’)

C. Nominalization with *-mò*

Interestingly, de-verbal nouns describing state of affairs can be derived from stative verbs as well as from other nouns by a single derivational marker suffix *-mò*. The fact that those stative verbs from which de-verbal nouns of state derive are in their adjectival forms.

- (3.36) a. *gèrèsímó* ‘criminal’ < *gèrsí* ‘be bad’
 b. *karkarimo* ‘laziness’ < *karkari* ‘be lazy’
 c. *čállimó* ‘peaceful’ < *čàlli* ‘be good’
- (3.37) a. *érímó* ‘childhood’ < *érmì* ‘child’
 b. *hírímó* ‘manhood’ < *hírí* ‘man’
 c. *súmó* ‘sunny’ < *sú* ‘sun’
 d. *kásámó* ‘sandy’ < *kásáj* ‘sand’

In (3.36a-c), when we say stative verbs we mean the roots from which de-verbal nouns of state are derived. Otherwise, in their current forms, they all are derived adjectives carrying the adjectivizer suffix *-i*. In (3.37a-d), all nouns of state are derived from the

same class, i.e. noun. Morphologically, they are defective in that they do not take any nominal morphology.

De-verbal nouns denoting state can function as possessed nouns within NPs (as in (3.34), but as far as my field notes reveal, they do not function as S/A argument. See the examples given below.

- (3.38) a. áfǎṅgára-mò dǔt-ú
 slave-N.S leave-3sg.SU.IMPERV
 ‘He abolished slavery.’ (Lit. ‘slavery, he abandoned’)
- b. zíní-mò nòṅ á gèrs-ì
 thief-N.S 3sg COP.3.IMPERV bad.STV-ADJ
 ‘Stealing is bad.’ (Lit. ‘stealing/theft, it is bad’)

In (3.38a), the S argument has been indicated by bound pronominal suffix *-u* not by the de-verbal noun. The de-verbal noun *zínímo* in (3.38b) is not a copula complement on its own, but rather it acts as a topical adjunct when it precedes the copula subject *nòṅ*. Further investigation is needed to know whether any other syntactic functional slots these de-verbal nouns may possess in clauses.

D. Nominalization with *-a*

The nominalizer *-a* is a primary nominalizer of Mursi which usually be used to derive nouns from dynamic monosyllabic verb roots. Derived nouns by this nominalizer can take nominal inflections — number, case and demonstratives.

They take nominative and oblique cases like underived nouns. The nominative case will be attached to these nouns when they occur at post-verbal positions (as in (3.39a; 3.42d)), whereas the oblique case will be attached to those occurring as peripheral arguments. Examples are presented as follows.

- (3.39) a. lófǎn hín-Ø bég-á-j
 slingshot want.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV watch-NOMZ-NOM
 ‘Field-watching wants a slingshot.’

- b. [gòdón=gà-čó-à g=àw]_{NP} hóp
 brother=PERT.1PL.PSR-PL PL.PSD=1PL.EXC.PRS come.3pl.SU.IMPERV
bég-á-jé
 watch-NOMZ-OBL
 ‘Our (exc.) brothers come from the field-watching.’
- c. kí-hín-í [lófán-à [bég-á-ŋ]_{NP}
 1SU-want.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV slingshot-RTSR watch-NOMZ-GEN
 ‘I want for field-watching slingshot.’

The examples in (3.39a and 3.39c) were cited from Mütze (2014).

Syntactically, these de-verbal nouns can be modifier within NPs (as in (3.39c) and modified by bound demonstratives (3.40).

- (3.40) [[ŋà=bég-á-ŋá=inù]_{NP} [bá-á mún-ùŋ]_{NP}]_{NP}
 DEM=keep/watch-NOMZ-PL=FAR place-RSTR Mursi-GEN
 ‘The field-watching/field-keeping of Mursiland’
 (Lit. ‘The field-watching place of Mursi’)

They can also be modified or possessed by other modifiers/possessors (3.41).

- (3.41) [dafi-á¹⁷ n=ènè]_{NP} áɕ-Ø-è
 work-NOMZ+RSTR SG.PSD==3SG.PSR give-3sg.SU.IMPERV-COM
 zùwò àlèj
 people chair
 ‘His job was to show the people to their seats.’

In clauses, they can function as core arguments: A, O, copula subject, and copula complement, as in (3.42a-e).

- (3.42) a. [dóri ðir-à]_{CS} á [dǎldǎl-í]_{CC}
 house sweep-NOMZ COP.3.IMPERV hard.STV-ADJ
 ‘House sweeping is hard.’
- b. [àpè]_A [éɕ-á]_O ŋà=kí-hín-ì=ó
 1sg shoot-NOMZ NEG=1SU-want.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘I don’t want shooting.’
- c. kí-gìn-ìŋ-o àpè gín-à?
 1.SBJV-ask-1sg.OBJ-IRR 1sg ask-NOMZ
 ‘May I ask a question?’

¹⁷ Note that the nominalizer *-a* and the restrictive marker *-a* on the head noun have coalesced— *a+a >a*. This vowel coalescing process is very recurrent as these two morphemes co-occur on such type of de-verbal nouns heading NPs.

- d. àggè ké-ḃégt-o bá-á kó
 1pl 1SU-keep.PERV-1pl.EXC.SU.PERV cause/place-RSTR PNC
ḃon-á-j sààn
 arrive-NOMZ-NOM news
 ‘We waited for the arrival of news.’
- e. àggè ké-ḃég-o málsí-tí [ké
 1pl 1SU-keep-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV answer-NRSTR COMPL
*jag-á kób]*COMPL:CL
 return-NOMZ quick
 ‘We expect an early reply.’

Nevertheless, monosyllabic dynamic verbs are not the only ones which can be nominalized by the *-a*, non-monosyllabic stative verbs can also be deverbalized in the same way. See also the following examples.

- (3.43) a. [*mòḃḃs-á* bàrì n=ènè]_{NP} mòḃḃf-á
 tired.STV-NOMZ+RSTR yesterday SG.PSD=3SG.PSR be.tired.STV-NOMZ
 wà á hólólój húḃ
 REC.PAST COP.3.IMPERV empty simply/just
 ‘All his (yesterday’s) efforts were in vain.’
- b. [[*zùw-á nàgàs-á*]_{NP} ór-ùḃ]_{NP}
 people-RTSR old.STV-NOMZ+RSTR village-GEN
 mèzìḃ-ò
 discuss.PERV.PL-3pl.IRR
 ‘The village elders held a council.’

E. Nominalization with *-sɛ/-ɛsɛ*¹⁸

The other nominalizer is *-sɛ*, which is used to derive deverbal nouns from both dynamic and stative monosyllabic intransitive verb roots. This nominalizer has two allomorphs: *-ɛ* following verbs that are composed of non-high vowels, *-e* following monosyllabic roots that contain high vowels or the neutral vowel /a/.

- (3.44) a. [*hír-á kóḃ-è̀sè-n-à*]_{NP}
 man-RTSR write-NOMZ-SG-RSTR
 ‘correspondent’

¹⁸ Note that the nominalizer form *-ɛsɛ* is distinguished from the otherwise identical benefactive marker *-ɛsɛ* (on perfective and positive imperative verb roots). The initial vowel *-ɛ* of the nominalizer *-ɛsɛ* is an epenthetic vowel being inserted between some consonant-final verb roots and *-sɛ*.

- b. na ηà=ḅ=ùnù ló hírí sìḽ úwás-ìnèj
 CCN DEM=place=FAR have man hand corrupt-NOMZ
 ‘(and/then) there was a man who had his hand withered’
- c. [íggé-á]_{CS} [Ø] ηà=bá=á číb-ìnèn-á]_{RC}
 3pl.PN.SP-RTSR [Ø] DEM=place=NEAR tie.IMPERV-NOMZ-RSTR
 [tùmù tùn-ò]_{OBL} á [číb-ìnèj]_{CC}
 sky on.top-OBL COP.3.IMPERV tie.IMPERV-NOMZ
 ‘Those who are tied on earth, are tied in heaven.’
- d. [rúmí-ńá]_{CS} á [čúr-ńéj]_{CC}
 cloth-PL COP.3.IMPERV wash-NOMZ
 ‘The cloth are washed.’

Since they occupy a few syntactic slots available to nominals in phrases and clauses, they behave as less nominal compared with other deverbal nouns. They also behave like adjectives in that they may denote attributes (as in (3.45a)). Interestingly, some of these verb roots can be deverbalized by two separated nominalizers, *číb-ìnèn* ‘tied’ and *číb-ìnèj* ‘tied’ as can be shown in (3.45c). The only difference between these deverbal nouns is their syntax. The former deverbal noun types, can among other functions, be modifiers within NPs, whereas the latter ones can only be copula complements in copular constructions.

G. Nominalization with *-nèn*

The nominalizer *-nèn* is the second most productive nominalizer after the *-a*. It primarily nominalizes S/A participants. This de-verbalizer morpheme resembles the de-transitivizer antipassive (of first and second persons) and the reciprocal morpheme *-nèn*. As far as my field notes show, there is no synchronic relationship between the two homophonous derivational suffixes. This is a rather rare instance of morphological form coincidence. Most deverbal nouns derived by this nominalizer are agent nouns.

- (3.46) a. [hír-á kóh-ìnèn-á]_{NP}
 man-RTSR farm.IMPERV-NOMZ-RSTR
 ‘farmer’

- b. [àggè]_{CS} k-án-ó
 1pl 1SU-COP.IMPERV-1sg.EXC.SU.IMPERV
 [zùw-á kóh-ìnèn-o]_{NP:CC}
 people-RSTR farm.IMPERV-NOMZ-RTSR:PL
 ‘We (exc.) are farmers.’

In the NP in (3.46b), I am not sure what the role of the suffix *-o* is. Therefore, until substantiated with further morphological investigation, I have preferred to analyze it as a plural modification marker. In fact, plural number suffixes, which are applied to these types of deverbal nouns are complex and lack consistency. Compare the plural number marker in (3.46b) with that of (3.47b).

- (3.47) a. [nòŋ]_{CS} án-á [hír-á óól-nèn-á]_{NP:CC}
 3sg COP.IMPERV-TEMP man-RTSR beg-NOMZ-RSTR
 ‘It is the beggar's.’
 b. [zùw-á óól-nèn-è-á]
 people-RSTR beg.IMPERV-NOMZ-PL-RTSR
 ‘(the) beggars’

The restrictive marker suffix *-a* (on the head noun and on the modifier) is obligatory unless otherwise absent due to the following two conditions: when the bound demonstrative circumclitics are attached to the head noun and when the definite marker enclitic =*ŋà* is attached to the modifier.

- (3.48) [[ŋà=hír=inù]_{NP} óól-nè¹⁹=ŋà]_{NP}
 DEM=man=FAR beg.IMPERV-NONZ=DEF
 ‘the beggar; that beggar’

Such deverbal nouns can function as core arguments in a clause, for example as S argument in the example below.

- (3.49) [hír-á kóh-ìnèn-á]_{NP:S} kój-Ø gáwá-je
 man-RTSR farm.IMPERV-NOMZ-RSTR go-3sg.SU.IMPERV marker-OBL
 ‘The farmer goes to the market.’

Within phrases, they can be possessors in NPs, modifier within NPs,

- (3.50) [[múwá-á [hír-á kóh-ìnèn-á]_{NP}]_{NP}
 woman-RSTR man-RTSR farm.IMPERV-NOMZ-RSTR
 ‘the wife of the farmer’

¹⁹ The two nasals in *óól-nèn=ŋà* were merged into a single segment [ŋ], i.e. *n+ŋ > ŋ*.

Additional examples of agent nominals include: *hír-á dáf-ìnèn-á* <man-RTSR work.IMPERV-NOMZ-RSTR> ‘servant, worker’; *hír-á máđ-ìnèn-á* <man-RTSR teach.IMPERV-NOMZ-RSTR> ‘teacher’, *hír-á bég-ìnèn-á* <man-RTSR watch.IMPERV-NOMZ-RSTR> ‘watchman’ and so on. As we have seen from the examples presented so far, the fact is that many of such nouns are those the Mursi lacked in their language. Young people still prefer to use the Amharic version of these nouns.

Aside from these agent referring nominalized nouns, the nominalizer *-nèn* can also be used to derive non-agent nouns or non-subject nouns, as in (3.51).

- (3.51) a. [àh-á bárár-á màt-ìnèn-ùp]_{NP}
 thing-RSTR powerful-RSTR drink-NOMZ-GEN
 ‘Alcoholic drink’ (Lit. ‘a powerful drinking thing’)

barara is a modification form of the adjective *bárári* ‘powerful’. In this case it functions as an intermediate modifier, otherwise the nominalization above could refer to any sort of drink— *aha màt-ìnèn-ùp* ‘drinking thing’. Above all, it is not common to see derived nouns by the nominalizer *-nèn* being marked for genitive case as are real possessors.

- (3.52) a. ám-ìnèn
 eat.IMPERV-NOMZ
 ‘eating’
 b. túh-ìnèn-à
 bless.IMPERV-NOMZ-ATT
 ‘one who blessed’

The verb ‘to bless’ has identical verb roots for both transitivity values (intransitive and transitive) — *túh*. But when the nominalizer suffix *-nèn* is added to it, it tells us that the verb had an intransitive sense. And this may generate just another nominalization: ‘blessing’. It is the suffix *-a*, with an attributive function, that helps the nominalizer provide a full-fledged meaning. Note that there is a distinction between (3.52b) and (3.45a), even if both may convey a comparable semantics. In principle, the one in

(3.52b) can be changed into agent noun by a noun modification construction — *hírà tùhìnèṅà* ‘blessed man’.

H. Zero-marked nominalization

The final de-verbal nominalization type involves zero derivation. In other words, the verb root itself can be a de-verbal noun. Typical syntactic slots available for such deverbal nouns include modifier within NPs and complements in clauses.

- (3.53) a. wà kí-ǰígt-o [òg-á
 REC.PAST 1SU-hear.PERV-1pl.EXC.SU.PERV shout-NOMZ+RSTR
tìrání-Ø-ùṅ
 play-NOMZ-GEN
 ‘We heard shouts of joy.’
- b. dṅnè-nèn ók-ú kútúl-ò tùmù óól-Ø
 one-NOMZ go-3sg.SU.PERV mountain-OBL god pray-NOMZ
 ‘He went to the mountain by himself (alone) to pray.’

It is interesting to see the number word *dṅnéj* ‘one’ have additional functions: (i) one as an adjective without taking any additional derivational marker, (ii) as indefinite referential marker, (iii) as modifier within an NP taking the nouns of state marker suffix *-in* <-en> (*dṅnen* ‘(be) alone’), and (iv) as an adverb ‘alone’ with the derivational suffix *-nèn* (as in (3.53b)). See Chapter 6 for further discussion on the number word ‘one’. Some verbal roots are morphologically productive in accepting different nominalizer suffixes, as in (3.54a-c). Examine the examples given below.

- (3.54) a. ógór-Ø
 steal-NOMZ
 ‘theft’
- b. [hír-á ógór-nèn-á]
 man-RSTR steal-NOMZ-RSTR
 ‘robber’
- c. zíní-mò
 thief-NOMZ
 ‘thieving, stealing’

Examples (3.54a) and (3.54c) have identical meanings. They, however, differ in their morphological make ups and syntactic functional slots.

3.2.1.3.9 Summarizing the noun class

In a summary, three grammatical properties have been employed to define the various subclasses of nouns: morphological, syntactic and semantic.

To sum up the discussion of the largest open word class in the language, it is also important to rewind the three grammatical properties employed to define the class. As can be shown in the summary Table 3.4 below, Mursi nouns were divided into eight subclasses based on the semantic properties they display. In addition, although there are up to twelve nominal morphological slots in general, the majority of them can take three major morphological categories: number, case and demonstrative deictics. Not all of them have the same morphological capacity with regard to taking certain inflectional elements. For example, the subclass of compound nouns do not take any morphological inflection except number. But on the other hand simple nouns can take up to four inflections at a time. Similarly, the syntactic functions they may possess and the functional slots they occupy within phrases and clauses vary according to their subclasses. The noun subclasses and its syntactic functions and functional slots are summarized in Table 3.4 below.

Table 3.4. Noun subclasses and their syntactic functions

NOUN SUBCLASSES	SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS						
	Core arguments (A, S, O)	Peripheral/ obliques	CS	CC	Head of an NP	Possessor/ possessee	Modifier within an NP
Simple nouns	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
relator nouns	X	√	X	X	√	possessee	X
place names	O	√	√	√	X	possessee	√
kinship nouns	√	√	√	√	no data	√	√
proper names	√	X	√	√	X	possessor	√
compound nouns	S	no data	√	√	X	X	X
inherently gendered nouns	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
de-verbal nouns	some	√	√	√	X	√	√

3.2.2 Verbs

A verb in Mursi can make up a full-fledged complete sentence. Such a sentence can have two objects when a ditransitive verb is being used. Verbs have up to fourteen slots for verbal grammatical categories. Of these, three are prefixal slots while the rest are suffixal. Mursi verbs obligatorily are inflected for bound pronominal S/A and O arguments (participant reference), aspect, mood, motion/direction, valency-changing derivations, and negation (see §7.3.1 of Chapter 7).

Valence and negation are discussed in Chapter 9 and Chapter 12 respectively. Except for tense and reflexive action that are expressed by separate grammatical words, all the other components of non-spatial and spatial setting in Mursi are expressed in the inflectional system. Moreover, two verbal grammatical categories — causative and

negation have double markings. The former may be shown by circumfixes while the latter by circumclitics.

Interestingly, there are a few instances in which the size of the morphological categories which a single verb root can take, and the syllable shape of the verb root itself correlate. For example, monosyllabic verb roots usually take as many inflectional categories as they can. Disyllabic verb roots take less inflections compared to monosyllabic verb roots. There are a dozen trisyllabic verb roots which take fewer morphological categories. Ideophone-like verbs may take just one, or sometimes may not take any verbal morphological categories at all. They rather use auxiliary verbs in order to indicate grammatical information they carry.

However, as exceptions, there are a few monosyllabic and disyllabic verb roots which take a prefix and just one or two suffixes at a maximum. Verbs such as *élí* ‘call’, the auxiliary verb *sé* ‘say’, an existential verb *ih* ‘exist, present’, the verb *lòm* ‘have’ and polysyllabic ideophone-like verbs are among those that take few inflectional and derivational categories (see §7.2 and §7.3 of Chapter 7). Although phonological features cannot serve as criteria to distinguish the verb class from other word classes, certain phonological features are confined to only verbals. For example, the majority of Mursi verbs have monosyllabic CVC consonant-final roots. In addition, full suppletion of roots for a particular grammatical category is a sole feature of the verb class (see §7.3.1.2.2).

Mursi has also five inherently number-determined verb roots: *áǰ* ‘give’, *kún* ‘come, bring’, *ók* ‘go’, *ih* ‘exist/present’, and *ésé* ‘sit’. Plural arguments involved in these verbs are: O arguments for first verb while S arguments for the rest four verbs. All five of these verbs distinguish aspect by multiple root alternations. That means that each of these verbs undergo three to four root alternations (§7.3.1.2.7).

The syntactic criteria are the primary ones which clearly distinguish the verb class from other open and closed word classes. Syntactically, all Mursi verbs are categorized into the following four transitivity classes: intransitive, transitive, ditransitive, and ambitransitive (also known as ‘labile’). The first two transitivity classes will account for nearly all of the verb classes. Only three ditransitive verbs have been found in my corpus: *ádǵ* ‘give’, *jóg* ‘tell’ and *dól* ‘show, announce’ (see Chapter 10). Mursi has quite a few labile verbs. Verbs such as *táb* ‘deceive/lie’ has ‘labile’ (A-S) nature of its own. Interestingly, verbs with a VC syllable shape are associated with labile nature (S=O and A=S) (see §7.2.2.1). Verbs can function as head of a transitive as well as intransitive predicates. The only other word class which functions as head of a predicate is an adjective. But adjectives which do so belong to one particular subclass of adjectives, i.e. only those that are derived from stative verbs can function as head of an intransitive predicate.

Based on semantic criteria, Mursi verbs can mainly be divided into two subclasses: active and stative. Aikhenvald (2015: 91) noted that active verbs are those that primarily denote a process or a volitional activity. They include motion and posture verbs. These types of verbs form the largest subclass of verbs in the language. On the other hand, stative verbs are those that mainly denote states — *módǵs* ‘be tired’ *múnús* ‘be angry’, *lótóg* ‘be wet’, *dǵrós* ‘dry’ and so on. Mursi stative verbs are the major source for more than one-third of derived adjectives (see Chapter 8). Moreover, stative verbs are usually associated with heads of intransitive predicates — as a verb subclass and as an adjective subclass (derived adjectives).

Other small closed subclasses of verbs are copula verbs (§7.3.1.2.9 and §14.2.5) and auxiliary verbs (§7.3.1.2.10). Both these two subclasses are morphologically deficient

in that they only inflect a few verbal categories. Copula verbs may be inflected for S arguments, negation, and mood (only subjunctive), as in (3.55).

- (3.55) ànè ηà=k-án-í=ó
 1sg NEG=1SU-COP.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘I am not’

Therefore, a copular clause consists of a predicate (semi inflected copula verb for these three categories), and two core arguments — copula subject (CS) and copula complement (CC). As pointed out by Dixon (2012: 159), copula constructions primarily indicate five major semantic relations: (i) identity, (ii) attribution, (iii) possession, (iv) benefaction, and (v) location.

In Mursi, the first four relations can be shown by copula verbs. Like copula verbs, auxiliary verbs can be inflected for bound pronominal S/A and O arguments. In addition to these, an auxiliary verb may be inflected for mood (passive and hortative-jussive).

- (3.56) àj kè-sèd-à-ín-ò
 POL PASS-say.PERV-PASS-2sg.OBJ-VFS
 ‘May you be said/told!’

Hortative (for first person) and jussive (for third person) is shown by a prefix *k(V)-*. However, the particle *aj/aŋ* which I called *hortative-jussive particle* (<HORT-JUSS.PART>) in this grammar may be used for second person as an expression of politeness. Therefore, <POL> could be an appropriate label for this particular purpose (second person polite marker).

3.2.3 Adjectives

Adjectives comprise the third largest open word class in Mursi. Adjectives comprise an open class just by derivation. Without their derived members, adjectives would have formed a closed class consisting of just two members — *tííní* ‘small’ and *búú* ‘big’. Due to their phonological and morphosyntactic properties they display, I have labeled these

two adjectives as 'underived'. Thus the two form one of the smallest subclasses of words in the language (see §8.2.1 & §8.3.1).

Adjectives share a number of grammatical properties with nouns and verbs. For example, adjectives may be marked for number in the same way as nouns. When modifying the head of an NP, they may take nominal grammatical categories such as case and definite markers, as in (3.57).

- (3.57) [ɲà=hír=á gèrs-í-ɲ=ɲà]_{NP}
 DEM=man=NEAR bad.STV-ADJ-GEN=DEF
 'of the bad man'

However, adjectives share quite a substantially larger number of morphological and grammatical properties with verbs than nouns. Both adjectives and verbs share the following categories: bound pronominal S/O arguments, passive-nominalizer, comparative-benefactive (own term), negation and verb-final suffix. The following examples clearly show the grammatical categories that both adjectives and verbs have in common (repeated from §8.4.2)

- (3.58) [nòŋ]_s [ɲà=ídíbèn-Ø=ɲo]_{INTR.PRED}
 3sg NEG.IMPERV=fat-3SG.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 'He is not fat.'

- (3.59) [k-íláás-í-ò]_{S:INTR.PRED}
 1SU-sick-1sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 'I am sick.'

In order to be considered an adjectives, all adjectives (underived and derived) must bear the general adjectiviser suffix *-i*.

Syntactically, adjectives can modify the head of an NP, fill the head of an intransitive predicate slot, fill copula complement slots, denote degree of the compared quality in comparative constructions, and function as manner modifiers.

The adjective class of Mursi covers all semantic types that can be conveyed by adjectives. A total of about 160 adjectives have been identified in this study (see Chapter 8).

3.3 Closed word classes

As mentioned earlier in the introductory section, pronouns, adverbs, adpositions, question words, number words and quantifiers, connectors, interjections, ideophones, expressives, and discourse particles comprise the closed word class of the language.

3.3.1 Pronouns

Pronouns constitute a small closed class. Pronouns in Mursi are of six types and each forms their own closed subclasses: personal pronouns, specific pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, possessive pronouns, indefinite pronouns, and relative pronouns.

3.3.1.1 Personal pronouns

Mursi has a total of thirteen personal pronouns —six as pre-verbal subjects and seven post-verbal subjects. Those which occur post-verbally are marked as nominative personal pronouns forms. The post-verbal pronoun of the third person plural has two forms — *jə̀kù* and *jə̀kíù* ‘3pl (NOM.)’, of the same meaning and function. A full list of personal pronouns is found in Table 10.1 of §10.2.2.1.

Dixon (2010a: 207) pointed out that pronouns have more restricted possibilities than nouns at syntactic level. Mursi personal pronouns adhere to this fact. They may function as S, A, O, and E arguments in clauses. Like nouns they can be copula subjects in copular clauses, but they cannot be copula complements. Moreover, they cannot function as NP heads, modifiers within NPs, possessed or possessors. To see how grammatical number is indicated on personal pronouns, refer to Chapter 6. Note that Mursi utilizes both free pronouns and bound pronouns systems.

In languages such as Mursi, there are clear contrastive properties being employed to distinguish between the free and bound pronoun systems (cf. Dixon 2010a: 212).

3.3.1.2 Specific pronouns

Mursi has two specific pronouns that share some properties with the personal and demonstrative pronouns — *in* (<3sg.PN.SP>) and *igg* (3pl.PN.SP>). These two function as nouns or as anaphoric pronouns. Most importantly, they two can be referred to by the term ‘third person specific pronouns’. Specific pronouns share two properties with free pronouns. First, both can be used as third person pronouns, and the plural specific pronoun form *igg* can also be used to refer to second person plural.

- (3.60) *iggè-á* [Ø *háj-á* *mìs-ò*]_{RC}
 2pl.PN.SP-RSTR [Ø *go.2pl-RSTR* *grazing.land-OBL*]
úró *ḡà=lòḡ-ó*
 milk NEG.IMPERV=have/take.IMPERV-IMP.PL
 ‘You (pl.) who go to the grazing land, don’t take milk with you!’

As it is shown in (3.60), the third person plural specific pronoun form *igg* functioning as second person plural free pronouns. But undeniably it is specific pronoun as it is modified by a relative clause and has already been marked for restrictive modification marker *-a*.

Generally, unlike free personal pronouns, specific pronouns can be modified directly by other constituents as well as by relative clause modifiers. This means, like any other nouns in noun modification constructions, specific pronouns can be marked by restrictive/non-restrictive modification suffix *-a/-ti* (*-i*), depicting a dependency relation between them as head and their modifiers (see the examples given in 3.62)

Second, like free pronouns, it cannot function as copula complement, as in (3.61a).

- (3.61) a. *á* *gìój* *igg=ìḡù?*
 COP.3.IMPERV who/which.PL 3pl.PN.SP=FAR
 ‘Who were they?’
 *b. *gioj a igginu?*

As it is shown in (3.61a), like personal pronouns specific pronouns cannot occur in copula complement slots. Thus the interrogative pronoun *gìój* is set to co-occur side by side with specific pronoun *igg*. If *igg* were a nominal or an NP, it would have been

questioned like a copula complement and will have the structure of *(3.61b). They are also demonstrative-like because they may take proximal/distal marker enclitics (as in (3.61a)).

Other than the two similarities mentioned above, special pronouns are just like the English dummy ‘one’. When they function as third person special pronoun or dummy, they can be modified by either restrictive or nonrestrictive modifiers. Some examples are given below.

- (3.62) a. á ígg-í nój?
 COP.3.IMPERV 3pl.PN.SP-NRSTR who.NOM
 ‘Which ones?’
- b. ìpè hín-í [írsási-ḡá-í mèrì]_{NP?}
 2sg want.IMPERV-2sg.SU.IMPERV pencil-PL.NRSTR many
 ‘Do you want many pencils?’
- b1. àpè [ígg-í mèrì]_{NP}
 1sg 3pl.PN.SP-NRSTR many
 ḡà=kí-hín-i=ó
 NEG.IMPERV=1SU-want.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘I don’t want many.’
- b2. àpè kí-hín-í [ín-í dǔnéj]_{NP}
 1sg 1SU-want.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV 3sg.PN.SP-NRSTR one
 sòḡ (írsási)
 only pencil
 ‘I want only one (pencil).’

They behave like nominals as shown in the examples above — all are in noun modification constructions. Note that some interrogative pronouns in Mursi are pro-phrasal in that they may come in modification forms, as in (3.62a). Besides, specific pronouns are usually modified exactly the same way as nominals. As it is illustrated in (3.62), they are marked for non-restrictive modification marker because interrogatives, quantifiers and numerals are non-restrictive modifiers in Mursi. In (3.62b1), *írsási* is optional because it has already been mentioned in (3.62b).

Within NPs, when specific pronouns are modified by what are considered to be restrictive modifiers (usually possessive pronouns and adjectives), they are being marked for restrictive modification marker *-a*, as in the following examples.

- (3.63) a. [*ín-á* n=ànù]_{NP} ηàno
 3sg.PN.SP-RSTR SG.PSD=1SG.PSR not
 ‘It is not mine.’
- b. [*ín-á* gólón-ná]_{NP} á ηàrúgó
 3sg.PN.SP-RSTR red-SG-RSTR COP.3.IMPERV Nyarugo
 ‘The red one is Abebech’s.’
- c. [*ín-á* bú-sèn-á]_{NP} ηà=ìggè=à
 3sg.PN.SP-RSTR big-COMP.BEN-RSTR DEM=3pl.PN.SP=NEAR
 á jél-á
 COP.3.IMPERV love-NOMZ
 ‘The greatest of these is love.’

In (3.63c), *ηàìggèà* is a nominal demonstrative pronoun composed of deictic circumclitics and the third person plural specific pronoun (see §4.2.1.2 and the discussion under demonstrative pronouns §3.2.1.3 below).

3.3.1.3 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative modifiers are of two types — those that co-occur with nouns (Type I), and those that co-occur with specific pronouns (Type II). In this section, only Type II are discussed. Type I are discussed in detail in §4.2.1.1 as part of the noun modification construction of the language.

Demonstrative pronouns are formed from the bound demonstrative circumclitics and the two specific pronouns we have seen in the section discussed above.

There are four nominal demonstrative pronouns: *ηàìnà* ‘this’, *ηàìnùnù* ‘that’, *ηàìggèà* ‘these’, and *ηàìggèù* ‘those’.

The second stage of grammaticalization involves coalescence of the demonstrative circumclitics and third person specific pronouns. This stage reflects the current morphological composition of the demonstrative pronouns.

Syntactically, Type II demonstratives have two functions, modifiers within NPs and copula subjects in copular clauses, as in the following examples (3.65a-b are repeated from §4.2.1.2)

- (3.65) a. [lúsi ñàìnà]_{NP}
 boy this
 ‘this boy’
- b. [lúsi ñàìnùnù]_{NP}
 boy that
 ‘That boy’
- (3.66) [ñàìnà]_{CS} á [àlèj]_{CC}
 this COP.3.IMPERV chair.SG
 ‘This is a chair.’

Note that Type I demonstratives have identical morphological components as Type II, but they differ from Type II in two aspects. Type I demonstratives can occur in an NP with a noun and they can make up an NP on their own, as in (3.67).

- (3.67) [ñà=hír=ùnù]_{NP}
 DEM=man.SG=FAR
 ‘that man’

Both types, however, have deictic functions. For further discussions on the two demonstrative types and their syntactic functions, see §4.2.1.1.

3.3.1.4 Possessive pronouns

Mursi has fourteen free possessive pronouns, as shown in Table 3.6 below. Possessive pronouns come carrying three grammatical information markers about the items to be possessed. These are: person of the possessor, number of the possessor and number of the possessed item.

Table 3.6 Possessive pronouns

	SINGULAR POSSESSED		PLURAL POSSESSED	
	SINGULAR POSSESSOR	PLURAL POSSESSOR	SINGULAR POSSESSOR	PLURAL POSSESSOR
1	<i>nà̀nù</i>	<i>nà̀j</i> (inc.) <i>nà̀w</i> (exc.)	<i>gà̀nù</i>	<i>gà̀j</i> (inc.) <i>gà̀w</i> (exc.)
2	<i>nùnù</i>	<i>nùj</i>	<i>gùnù</i>	<i>gùj</i>
3	<i>nènè</i>	<i>nèj</i>	<i>gènè</i>	<i>gèj</i>

As can be shown in Table 3.6, the first person plural possessive pronouns make a distinction between inclusive and exclusive possessors. Syntactic functions of the possessive pronouns include: possessors or modifiers within an NP (3.68), reflexive pronoun (3.69), and auto-reflexive (3.70).

(3.68) [[írsási-á n=ènè]_{NP} gólón-á]_{NP}
 pencil-RSTR SG.PSD=3SG.PRS red.STV-RSTR:MOD
 ‘His/her red pencil’

(3.69) *nòŋ hálí óŋ-Ø* [sábá-à n=ènè]_{NP:REFL}
 3sg later wash.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV head-RSTR SG.PSD=3SG.PRS
 ‘S/he will wash herself/himself.’

(3.70) [[*nòŋ té íláás-ì* [hínís-á n=ènè]_{NP} *tó-jé*
 3sg COP.3.PERV sick.STV-ADJ heart-RSTR SG.PSD=3SG.PRS in-OBL
 ‘He/she become ill in her heart.’

Further details on possessive pronouns are also available in Chapter 5 (possession) and Chapter 9 (reflexive constructions).

3.3.1.5 Indefinite pronouns

Mursi has two types of indefinite pronouns — compound-type and NP-type. Compounds in Mursi can easily be distinguished from NPs for bearing no dependency markers (-*a/-i/-ti*) in contrast to those which occur on heads of noun phrases. Besides, they may also undergo some phonological processes, for example, they may delete the coda of their first element. Table 3.7 below presents a list of Mursi indefinite pronouns. The fact is that three of the indefinite pronouns have a word status; *kón*, *gén* and *àhiti*.

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS	MEANING	TYPE	POSSIBLE SOURCE
<i>kón/kóná</i>	‘one, another, other, certain’	word	<i>kón</i> ‘one’ + <i>-a</i> (restrictive modification)
<i>gén/géná</i>	‘others, some’	word	<i>g</i> = is plural marker clitic + <i>-a</i> (restrictive modification)
<i>húbǎákákán</i>	‘all, whole’	compound	<i>húb</i> ‘all/whole’ + <i>ǎákákán</i> ‘all’
<i>zùwò ǎákákán</i>	‘everybody’	NP	<i>zùwò</i> ‘people’ + <i>ǎákákán</i> ‘all’
<i>àhà ǎákákán</i>	‘everything’	NP	<i>àhà</i> ‘thing.PL’ + <i>ǎákákán</i> ‘all’
<i>àhìtì</i>	‘nothing’	word	<i>àhì</i> ‘thing.SG’ + <i>-tì</i> (non-restrictive modification)
<i>àhìtì ǎǎnéj</i>	‘nobody’	NP	<i>àhì</i> ‘thing.SG’ + <i>-tì</i> (non-restrictive modification) + <i>ǎǎnéj</i> ‘one’
<i>hírkóná</i>	‘anybody, someone’	compound	<i>hírì</i> ‘man’ + <i>kón</i> ‘one’ + <i>-á</i> (restrictive modification)
<i>tánkóno</i>	‘anyone’	word+ compound	<side-side-one>

Table 3.7 Indefinite pronouns

The first two —*kón* and *gen* function both as pronouns (3.71) and as modifiers within NPs (3.72).

(3.71) *kón-á dúgt-ò nà kón-á njáj-ò á*
 one-RSTR plant.PERV-3.IRR CCN one-RSTR cut-3.IRR COP.3.IMPERV
lògò jééjéé
 word true.REDUP
 ‘One sows and another harvests, this is a word of truth.’

(3.72) *ká-lám-í [[kè-á kóǎ-á-ŋ]NP kón]NP*
 1SU-look.for-1sg.SU.IMPERV thing.SG-RSTR write-NOMZ-GEN one
 ‘I want another pencil.’

(3.73) [*gín-á kón-á*] *húj lòm-í-ò*
 ask-NOMZ another-RSTR simply have-2sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘Have you any other question?’

Both *kón* and *gén* agree in number with the head nouns they modify, but head nouns modified by the two cannot be marked with the restrictive marker suffix *-a*. However, the indefinite pronouns themselves can optionally be marked with the restrictive

marker. Moreover, head nouns modified by indefinite pronoun can function as S or O arguments.

(3.74) *nànijà* [zùwò gén-á]_{NP:S} í-báj-sí-ò
 however people others-RSTR CAUS-heal-CAUS-3sg.IRR
 ‘He saved others, however...’

(3.75) [ùrgùsá gén-á]_{NP:S} k-ám-n-ò
 fish.PL other-RSTR PASS-eat.PERV-PL.3.PASS-VFS
 ‘Some fish are edible.’

In (3.76) below, *gén* is in O function, whether it be with quantifier *òdì* or on its own. In both ways the verb following it (*ǰilé*) will be a complement clause.

(3.76) [nòŋ]_S ár-ú [gén]_O òdì ǰil-é
 3sg see.PERV-3pl.SU.PERV other.PL all stand-3pl.SU.IMPERV
 ‘He saw others standing idle’

In narrations, indefinite pronouns can have anaphoric functions, as in (3.77).

(3.77) [zùw-á g=àw]_{NP} [Ø bè gén bè
 people-RSTR PL.PSD=1PL.EXC.PSR [Ø DIST.PAST other DIST.PAST
 kó-dǔt-ó mà tùnò]_{RC}
 1SU-leave-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV water on.top
 ‘Our (exc.) other people (who) we (exc.) left at the top of the waters (river)...’
 (MH 1:10:7)

In Suri (a much closer language to Mursi, Southeastern Surmic group), indefinite pronouns are often used in presentational sentences to introduce new participant or ideas to the listener (Bryant 2013: 52). The distinction between *kón* and *dǔnéj* ‘one’ rests on the morphosyntactic properties they display (3.78) (see also Chapter 6).

(3.78) *màmà* *kóno* *kó* *ǰzòònè*
 mother.PERT.SG.1.PSR one.INDEF PNC mother.PERT.3.PSR
á *dǔnéj*
 COP.3.IMPERV one
 ‘My mother and his mother are one (the same).’ (KW 2:34:4)

As it is the case in many other languages of the world, the development of *kón/kóná* from a number word to an indefinite pronoun is a simple grammaticalization process. This was substantiated by Givón (1981) who noted that the development of the numeral ‘one’ as a marker for singular-indefinite nouns or indefinite marker is a universal process.

In this study, *kón/kóná* has been analyzed as indefinite pronouns rather than as indefinite article or determiner. In other words, the function of *kón/kóná* may not be confined to indefinite pronouns.

The other indefinite pronouns are those whose morphological forms split between compounds and NPs: *húbdákákán*, *zùwò dákákán* and *àhà dákákán*. They function only as S argument, as shown in the following examples.

(3.79) [zùwò dákákán]_{NP:S} wà áít-á
 people all REC.PAST go.PERV-3pl.SU.PERV
 ‘Everybody else has gone.’

(3.80) [múgá-á n=ènè] kó [éró-á g=èpè]
 wife-RSTR SG.PSD=3SG.PSR PNC children-RSTR PL.PSD=3SG.PSR
 kó [àh-á dákákán]
 PNC thing-PL all
 ‘...his wife, his children, and everything (he owned).’

The three indefinite pronouns shown above need to be studied further.

The indefinite noun *àhì* ‘(a) thing’ or a combination of indefinite noun and numeral *àhì+dǔnéj* <thing+one> can be the basis for indefinite pronouns. The grammaticalization process which generates these indefinite pronouns is more or less the same as that which generated those mentioned earlier. In addition, Aikhenvald (2015: 195) noted that indefinites can be the basis for negatives. Likewise, *àhìtì* ‘nothing’ and *àhìtì dǔnéj* <[thing.SG-RSTR one]_{NP}> ‘nobody’ are among those indefinites whose meaning may also denote negation (see also §13.6). In the following examples, both are in S function.

(3.81) a. ɲà=kàlì=tá áhí-tí [Ø ká-dáǵí]_{RC}
 DEM=day=NEAR thing.SG-NRSTR [Ø 1SU-do.1sg.SU.IMPERV]
 níɲè
 not.present/exist.3.IMPERV
 ‘I have nothing else to do today.’
 (Lit. ‘Today, one thing that I do there is not.’)

b. múgt-á	íggé-à	[Ø
gather.PERV.IMP-PL	3pl.PN.SP-RSTR	[Ø
dǔgt-inèn-ε-á] _{RC}		[àhì-tí
remain:PL-AP-3pl.SU.IMPERVTSR]	thing,SG-NRTSR	dónéj]
kò-dǔt-é		
PASS-leave.PERV.3-VFS		

‘Gather up (pl.) (the fragments) that remain, that nothing be lost!’

The last two indefinite pronoun in Table 3.7 are compounds — *hírkóná* ‘anybody, someone’ and *tán tánkóno* ‘anyone’. Like many of the indefinite pronouns we saw above, both occur in limited syntactic functional slots in that they function only as S arguments.

- (3.82) hírkón-á ηà=ḡá=á ífě?
 one.man-RSTR DEM=place=NEAR present/exist.IMPERV
 ‘Is anybody (someone) else here?’
- (3.83) hírkón-á húj dáǐ-ò ηà=dàmi=tùnù
 one.man-RSTR simply work-3.IRR DEM=rule/way=FAR
 ‘Anybody can do that’ (Lit. ‘Anybody simply do that way/accordingly.’)
- (3.84) tánkónó ín-í bè ór-Ø
 side.one REL-RSTR DIST.PAST see.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV
 tùmù níjè
 god not.present/exist.3.IMPERV
 ‘Not that anyone has seen God.’ (Lit. ‘No man has seen the God/Anyone that has seen God there is not.’)

In (3.85), *ìní* is a relative pronoun (see the next section).

3.3.1.6 Relative pronoun

Mursi has two relative pronouns that are derived from specific pronouns in §3.3.1.2. They are *ìní* ‘who/that/which (sg.)’, and *ìggi* ‘who/which (pl.)’. Even though both can function pronominally, they are not prototypical relative pronouns. Both can be head/common argument of a relative clause. As a derived subclass of pronouns, they are morphologically deficient thus they must always occur with the non-restrictive marker suffix *-i*. Carrying the non-restrictive marker suffix may enable them to accept a wide range of modifiers from various word classes to modify the head. In other words,

with the help of these relative pronouns, any clause having a relative clause structure can modify the head, as illustrated below.

(3.85) àpè [ín-í tíní]_{RC} ñà=kí-hín-í=ó
 1sg REL.PN-RSTR small.SG NEG=1SU-want.IMPERV-1SG.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘I don't want the one which is small.’

(3.86) ín-í [Ø hín-Ø-í]_{RC}
 REL.PN.SG-NRSTR [Ø want.IMPERV-3SG.SU.IMPERV-NRSTR]
 ká-bág-á
 3.JUSS-eat.PERV-VFS
 ín-á [ñà=hín-Ø=ó]_{RC}
 3sg.PN.SP-RSTR NEG=want.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV=NGE
 kí-tíráj
 3.JUSS-play.PERV
 ‘He who wants (to eat) let him eat, and he who doesn't want (to eat) let him play.’

(3.87) říg-é-è ígg-í [lòm-ò
 hear-3pl.SU.IMPERV-COM REL.PN.PL-NRSTR [have-3.IRR
 ñàwà]_{RC} gá říjt-ò
 ear.PL] ATTU hear.PERV-3PL.IRR
 ‘They who have ears to hear, let them hear.’

To see further functions of these two pronouns, as modifiers, refer to Chapter 5.

3.3.2 Adverbs

Adverbs in Mursi are members of a small closed word class and whose main syntactic function is modifying verbs. Five subclasses of adverbs have been found in Mursi: manner (§3.3.2.1), time (§3.3.2.2), frequency and degree (§3.3.2.3), emphatic/intensifiers (§3.3.2.4), and locative (position and direction) (§3.3.2.5). Not all adverbs occur simply in natural adverbial forms. Some can be formed from adjectives with the help of the general adverbializer suffix *-o[-no]*. Some have identical forms with adjectives. They can only be distinguished from adjectives by their syntactic functions or by the syntactic slots they occupy in a clause.

3.3.2.1 Manner adverbs

The subclass which consists of manner adverbs have members of derived and non-derived forms. Forms such as *čùmùnò* and *čàllìnò* are adjectives derived from verbs. For this specific subclass of adverbs, the process of deriving adverbs from adjectives as well as from other word classes varies.

(3.88)	ADVERB	ADJECTIVE	(STATIVE) VERB	MEANING
	a. <i>čùmùnò</i>	<i>čùmùn</i>	<i>čùmùn</i>	‘cheerfully, happily’
	b. <i>čàllìnò</i>	<i>čàlli</i>	<i>čàll</i>	‘well’
	c. <i>kóbkób</i>	—	<i>kób</i>	‘quickly’

In (3.88), *čùmùnò* is derived from the adjectival form *čùmùn*. The adjectival form itself is a stative verb like many other derived adjectives. Morphologically, adjectives are much closer to adverbs than any other word class. So in the above case it is quite appropriate and plausible to say that (3.88a) is derived from the adjective form rather than from the stative one. In addition, example (3.88b) also strengthens this statement, that *čàllìnò* is not directly derived from the stative verb root, rather it is from the adjectival stem. There are instances where adverbs are derived from active verb roots through reduplication (as in (3.88c) — *kóbkób* <follow.follow> ‘quickly’ > *kób* ‘follow’).

Table 3.8 below shows a list of manner adverbs.

Table 3.8 Manner adverbs

MANNER ADVERBS	MEANING
<i>fàù</i>	‘quickly, fast, soon’
<i>hàlè hàlè</i>	‘slowly’
<i>fêè</i>	‘carefully, truly, well’
<i>dĩg</i>	‘firmly, well’
<i>dàmìsì</i>	‘clearly, properly, accordingly’
<i>dínjísí</i>	‘slowly’
<i>čùmùnò</i>	‘cheerfully, happily, gladly’
<i>čàllìnò</i>	‘well’
<i>kóbkób</i>	‘quickly’

Manner adverbs mostly occur at clause-final positions following verbs, as in (3.89a-d).

- (3.89) a. *nòŋ* *ók-ú* *čáll-ì-nò*
 3sg go-3sg.SU.PERV good.STV-ADJ-ADV
 ‘S/he went well.’
- b. *nòŋ* *bòròt-ú* *čùmùn-ò*
 3sg jump-3sg.SU.PERV happy.STV-ADV
 ‘S/he jumped cheerfully.’ (Lit. happily)
- c. *nòŋ* *áíw-ó* *jàù*
 3sg come.PERV.SG-MT.3sg.SU.PERV quickly
 ‘S/he came quickly.’
- d. *àpè* *kú-čúg-í* *jàù*
 1sg 1SU-chase-1sg.SU.IMPERV fast
 ‘I drive fast.’

Interestingly, adverbs which share identical meaning with adjectives may distinguish themselves by form. For example, the adverb *jàù* (3.89d) has semantically equivalent adjectival form, i.e. *tìrì* (3.90).

- (3.90) [*čár*]_{CS} *á* [*tìr-ì*]_{CC}
 leopard COP.3.IMPERV fast-ADJ
 ‘A leopard is fast.’

Sometimes setting the distinction between adverbs and adjective can be problematic, semantically as well as syntactically. One instance in which such problem arises is when an adjectival form carrying the adverbializer suffix is used in the comparative construction.

- (3.91) [*túrúmel-á* *ràmàg-á*]_{NP} *tìr-tìn-ò* *hékó* *báwúru téb*
 car-RSTR long.STV-RSTR fast-N.S-ADV same/like plane as
 ‘A train is as fast as a plane.’

As we recall from §3.2.1.3.8, the suffix *-tìn* is a nominalizer, which is used to derive deverbal nouns from stative verb roots that denote state of affairs (nouns of state). In (3.91), it is more of an adverb than an adjective because the adverbializer marker *-ò* is attached to it. On the other hand, it is an adjective because it denotes the manner of how the comparee and the standard are fast. However, such specific case is confined to only

one type of comparative construction — ‘*as...as*’ or ‘*the same...as*’. Literally, (3.91) can also mean ‘(a/the) long car is fast like as plane.’ (see also Chapter 12).

3.3.2.2 Time adverbs

Time adverbs in Mursi are tense markers. Since tense in Mursi is typically expressed by separate lexical time words, time word are used as temporal adverbs. Time referring adverbs constitute the largest of all subclasses of adverbs. A few of them share one morphological aspect with some locative adverbs and demonstratives pronouns, i.e. they take bound deictic demonstrative circumclitics (*ɲà=...=á/=ùnù*). As in the following examples, the adverbs in (3.92) and (3.93) are comprised of *méá* ‘now’ and *méaré* ‘immediately, right now’ on one hand and the bound demonstrative circumclitics on the other hand.

(3.92) *ɲáméárè ɲà=kà-dàfi-é*
 now NEG=1.HORT-do.PERV-VFS
 ‘Let me not do (it) now.’

(3.93) *ɲáméá ɲójò úhán-Ø [tán-á*
 today wind blow-3sg.SU.IMPERV other.side-RSTR
ɲó-čá sú-s-ò]NP
 descend-APPL+RSTR sun-OBL
 ‘An easterly wind is blowing today.’

Despite a few of them also appearing at clause-final or medial slots, a great majority of time adverbs occur at the beginning of a clause.

(3.94) *jóg-ón ànè ɲàhùllùnù*
 tell-1SG.OBJ 1sg at.that.time
 ‘Tell (sg.) me at once!’ (Lit. ‘Tell (sg.) me at a time (at the same time)!’)

(3.95) *bè ɲàhùllùnù nòɲ ɲàni k-ìričà=ó*
 DIST.PAST at.that.time 3sg not.yet 3.SBJV-born.APPL=NEG
 ‘At the time he was not yet born.’

Time adverbs/temporal adverbs are elaborated in depth in §7.3.1.4.

3.3.2.3 Frequency and degree adverbs

In Mursi, adverbs of frequency are one that indicate how often something/an action happens. Some of frequency and degree referring adverbs are at least semantically

subclass-crossing ones. This means, they are partly temporal adverbs because the frequency happenings or actions cannot be specified outside a temporal reference (see also §7.3.1.4.3).

(3.96) àpè tíítí k-éján-Ø [[màmà]_{NP}
 1sg always 1SU-help.IMPERV-1.IRR mother.PERT.1.SG.PSR+RSTR
 n=ànù]_{NP}
 SG.PSD=1SG.PSR
 ‘I was always helping my mother.’

(3.97) àggè nàbá dáǎ-ò nàṅà
 1pl here work-NOMZ like.this/this.way
 nà=ká-gán-Ø-é=ó dǒg
 NEG=1SU-know.IMPERV-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV-APPL=NEG at.all
 ‘We (inc.) are not able to do this at all.’

A list of frequency and degree adverbs is given in Table 3.9 below.

Table 3.9 Frequency and degree adverbs

FREQUENCY & DEGREE	MEANING
<i>ríb</i>	‘all the day, all day long’
<i>dǒg</i>	‘at all, never, forever’
<i>dírr</i>	‘for a long time’
<i>tíítí</i>	‘often, always’ < <i>tíí</i> ‘all the time’
<i>kàlì kàlì</i>	‘everyday, daily’
<i>čùànéṅ</i>	‘again’
<i>bókóno bókóno</i>	‘sometimes’

As shown in the table above, *tíítí* is a reduplicated form of the continuous or durative marker *tíí*. Two other adverbs have repeated forms: one repeats the noun *kàlì* ‘day’ and while repeats a compound indefinite location word *bókóno* <place+one> ‘somewhere’.

3.3.2.4 Emphatic, intensifiers, epistemic adverbs

Mursi emphatic and intensification inferring adverbs may also be used in adjectival function. They usually occur clause-finally. The first five adverbs in Table 3.10 have emphatic or intensifying functions. The same emphatic and intensifiers can also be used in modification of adjectives. They either describe/modify the quality of the action or

emphasise or amplify the action referred to by the verb. Unlike the two, epistemic inferring adverbs can occur clause-initially and clause-finally. They may be used when an information is believed to contain some hidden facts, possibilities, or information that creates an exclamative or dubious situation. They also commonly occur in information questions that require verification (see §12.3).

Table 3.10 Emphatic/intensifiers, epistemic adverbs

EMPHATIC/ INTENSIFIER	MEANING	TYPE
<i>húḡ</i>	‘simply, just, already’	emph./intens.
<i>háḡ</i>	‘very much’	emph./intens.
<i>wáḡ</i>	‘very much’	emph./intens.
<i>gòrí</i>	‘powerfully’	emph./intens.
<i>tíítí gòrí</i>	‘a little bit’	emph./intens.
<i>bòítííní</i>	‘a little bit’	emph./intens.
<i>sòḡ</i>	‘only’	emph./intens.
<i>kákó</i>	‘perhaps’	epistemic
<i>máníkó</i>	‘perhaps’	epistemic
<i>ká</i>	‘perhaps’	epistemic
<i>tá</i>	‘maybe’	epistemic

Some examples are presented as follows.

(3.98) *ḡág* [áćúg-á ḡáll-á]_{NP} *sòḡ!*
eat.PERV.IMP meat-RSTR good.STV-RSTR only
‘Eat (sg.) only good meat!’

(3.99) *tá* *ḡà=hír=á* *sé* *kóón*
maybe DEM=people=NEAR COMPL 3.SBJV.kill.PERV
rèè *ká?*
body+PERT.SG.3.PSR perhaps
‘Will he kill himself?’
(Lit. ‘Maybe the man want to kill himself perhaps?’)

The distinction among *húḡ*, *háḡ* and *wáḡ* is not always clear. In order to check if there any significant differences exist among these three, there is one productive way to find out. The emphatic *húḡ* is the only one that can modify the existential verb *ih* ‘exist, present’, as in (3.100a).

circumclitics $\eta\acute{a}=...=\acute{a}$ (near)/= $\grave{u}n\grave{u}$ (far). In fact, $\eta\acute{a}$ is made by combining of circumclitics without a noun denoting a location ($b\acute{a}/b\acute{a}$). Recall that circumclitics can form a phonological word (see Chapter 2).

- (3.103) a. $\eta\acute{a}$ < $\eta\acute{a}=+=\acute{a}$ <DEM+NEAR> ‘here’
 b. $\eta\grave{a}b\acute{a}$ < $\eta\acute{a}=b\acute{a}=\acute{a}$ <DEM+place+NEAR> ‘here’
 c. $\eta\grave{a}b\grave{u}n\grave{u}$ < $\eta\acute{a}=b\acute{a}=\grave{u}n\grave{u}$ <DEM+place+FAR> ‘there’

Although (3.103b-c) allow a place word to intervene between the circumclitics, they form one phonological word. In addition, (3.103c) may also occur with a locative marker suffix *-i*, as in $\eta\acute{a}=b\acute{a}-(i)=\grave{u}n\grave{u}$ <DEM=place-(LOC)=FAR>.

Table 3.11 Location, directional, distance adverbs

LOCATIVE	MEANING
$\eta\acute{a}$	‘here’
$\eta\grave{a}b\acute{a}$	‘here’
$\eta\grave{a}b\grave{u}n\grave{u}$	‘there’
$d\acute{z}\acute{a}$	‘near’
$r\grave{e}n\grave{a}$	‘far’
$s\acute{o}rr$	‘very far away’
$d\grave{i}b$	‘straight’ a head’
$s\grave{i}t\grave{e}n$	‘right’
$k\grave{a}\eta\grave{i}t\grave{e}n$	‘left’
$\eta\grave{a}\eta\grave{a}$	‘like this, this way’

Local adverbial demonstratives usually occur at clause final positions following the verbs they modify, but exceptions also exist, as in (3.104e).

- (3.104) a. $n\grave{o}\eta$ $\acute{i}-\emptyset$ $\eta\acute{a}$
 3sg exist.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV here
 ‘It is here’
 b. $\acute{a}iw-\acute{o}$ $\eta\acute{a}$
 come.PERV.IMP-MT here
 ‘Come (sg.) here!’
 c. $k\grave{a}-d\grave{a}f\grave{i}$ $\eta\grave{a}b\acute{a}$
 1.HORT-do.PERV here
 ‘Let me do (it) here!’

- d. o dáǎ ɲà=ḃ=ùnù
 POL do.PERV.IMP DEM=place=FAR
 ‘Do (sg.) it there!’
- e. ɲàméá ɲà=ḃ=ùnù dáǎǎØ òɲ?
 today/now DEM=place=FAR work.NOMZ what
 ‘What work is there now?’
- (3.105) nòɲ [ḃá-á ḃág-á]_{NP} í-Ø rènà
 3sg place-RSTR live-NOMZ.RSTR exist.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV far
 ‘His abode is far away.’

The adverb *ɲàɲà* has two functions — manner and locative. It can take some morphology such as the subordinate enclitic (3.106) and definite enclitic (3.107).

- (3.106) [hùllì séǎ-í²¹ ɲàɲà=jè]_{SUBORD:CL} àggè
 [when say.PERV.PL-1pl.OBJ+3pl.IRR like.this=SUBORD] 1pl
 k-áí-tó hóló-te
 1SU-go.PERV-1pl.EXC.SU dance-OBL
 ‘When they talk to us like that, we go to the dancing...’ (KW 2:48:0)
- (3.107) àɲè ɲà=kí-hín-í=ó ɲà=wàrkátì=tá
 1sg NEG=1SU-want.IMPERV-1sg,SU.IMPERV=NEG DEM=book=NEAR
 hékó ɲàɲà=ɲà, áǎ-áɲ-ò
 same like.this=DEF give.perv-1sg.OBJ-3sg.IRR
 ‘I don’t like this book; give me (another).’

3.3.3 Adpositions

The adposition class is divided in two subclasses: postpositions and prepositions. Mursi can be referred as a postpositional language as it has just two prepositions. Postpositions can further be divided into two types: underived and derived. The underived ones have monosyllabic shapes, whereas the derived ones have some monosyllabic but predominantly disyllabic shapes. In addition, many of the derived postpositions come from body part nouns. A table containing the whole list of postpositions is found in §10.4. All postpositions of both types, except the one (*níɲè* ‘without’) which is unique, occur with oblique case markers. Therefore their main function is to mark non-core arguments.

²¹ The first person plural object suffix *-i* and the third person plural irrealis subject suffix *-i* have coalesced.

- (3.108) mà tó-jé
 water in-OBL
 ‘Water on (the) inside’
- (3.109) áṅ nòṅ k-ók mùm-ò ná
 JUSS.PART 3sg 3.JUSS-go.PERV.SG face-OBL CNN
 kó-dǒl-èsè gòrò
 3.JUSS-show-PERV.BEN road
 ‘Let him go in front and show the way.’

The oblique case can be an optional element due to two reasons: (i) if the postposition itself is able to convey the intended meaning, as in the examples shown below.

- (3.110) mà kèrgèn
 water middle
 ‘Water in the middle.’
- (3.111) jòg bàg-é kóná tún
 3pl live-3pl.SU.IMPERV store above
 ‘They live above the store.’

(ii) when a postposition is being used in a noun modification construction. In this case, they are subject to taking restrictive modification marker *-a* (3.112).

- (3.112) lúsi bág-Ø [bá-á [mùm-á
 boy.SG show.off-3sg.SU.IMPERV place-RSTR face-RSTR
 [ṅòni-á n=ènè]NP]NP
 sister-RSTR SG.PSD=3SG.PSR
 ‘The boy was showing off in front of his sister.’

They usually occupy clause-final slots in non-complex clauses and in clauses having a postposition-free noun modification constructions. Or in a clause containing negation (as in (3.113a)). The postposition *bái* ‘under, down’ stands apart from the rest in that it also can be used as verbal word ‘to sit’. When it is used with an existential or a copula verb of a similar meaning, its verbal function will be neutralized (3.113a-b). Uniquely from the rest, the postposition *bái* ‘under, down’ can also occur with the locative case <ground/place-LOC>

- (3.113) a. bá-i ṅà=íf-ón-í
 ground-LOC NEG.IMPERV=exsit.IMPERV-MT-SG
 ‘Do not (sg.) sit down!’ (Lit. ‘Don’t (sg.) exist here/be down.’)

b. *nòŋ ké-té-á bá-ì lài*
 3sg 3.SBJV-be.PERV-3sg.SU.PERV ground-LOC silently
 ‘S/he silently (Lit. staying quiet) sat down.’

c. *kiò bá-ì bá-ì*
 tree.sg ground-LOC ground-LOC
 ‘Under (down) (of) the tree’

As it is seen in (3.113c), *bai* has a repeated form but the repetition does not alter its basic meaning.

The three Mursi prepositions are *sábò* ‘front, in front of’, *tutuò* ‘in front of’ and *wùréó* ‘behind, next, after’. *sábò* and *tútúò* are grammaticalized body part nouns — *sáb-ò* <head-OBL> and *tútúg-ò* [tútúyò] <mouth-OBL>. Furthermore, *tútúgò* ‘door, gate’ has been made a re-lexicalized body part noun, which itself is the origin for the latter meaning. Thus *tutuò* is derived from *tùgò* ‘mouth’ just by reduplicating root and adding the oblique case marker suffix *-ò* to the reduplicated form [tùg.tùg+ò].

(3.114) a. *lúkój í-Ø bì sáb-ò*
 chicken exist.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV cow head-OBL
 ‘The chicken is in front of (Lit. at the head) the cow.’

b. [*hír-á òég-ìnèn-á*]_{NP} *ʃil-Ø dóri tútúg-ò*
 man-RTSR keep-NOMZ-RSTR] stand-3sg.IRR house.sg mouth-OBL
 ‘The guard stood in front of the house.’

c. *hólísó á nòŋ wùréó*
 police COP.3.IMPERV 3sg behind
 ‘The police are after him.’

Moreover, *sábò* and *wùréó* may also be used as time words, as can be shown in the following sentences.

(3.115) a. *àpè ké-té-á ɲà=ò=ùnù [táís-íná*
 1sg 1SU-be.PERV-1sg.SU.PERV DEM=place=FAR month-PL
ràmàn-ó]_{NP} *sáb-ò*
 two-MOD head-OBL
 ‘I was there two months ago.’ (Lit. ‘before two months’)

b. *nòŋ hàli kóój-Ø [gáwá-ɲá ràmàn-ò]*_{NP} *wùréó*
 3sg later 3.SBJV.go-3.IRR market-PL two-MOD after
 ‘He will go after two weeks.’

words/quantifiers on the other hand is always a non-restrictive one. However, unlike other noun modification constructions (NPs), neither the head nouns they modify nor they themselves take the restrictive modification marker *-a*.

3.3.5.1 Number words

Mursi has a ten-based number system, also known as ‘decimal system’. All number words except two appear to be a non-borrowed ones (see Table 3.12 below). Unlike some Surmic languages, Mursi does not form numerals from six to nine by combining lower numerals and quinary form. Number words for those higher than ten can be formed by combining *tómón* ‘ten’/ *hirkón* ‘twenty’, etc and those from one to nine (see Chapter 6). The number word *hirkón* is derived from the noun *híri* ‘man’ and the indefinite pronoun *kón* ‘one’ (literally ‘one man’s ten fingers and ten toes). The number word ‘forty’ is *zùwò ràmàn* (literally ‘two people’). Additional information on how number words are formed for higher numerals is available in Chapter 6.

Table 3.12 Number words

NUMBER WORDS	MEANING	REMARK
<i>dǒnéj</i>	‘one’	also <i>kón</i> ‘only one’ indefinite pronoun
<i>ràmàn</i>	‘two’	it can be changed into ordinal number by <i>-ne</i> and can also take modification form marker <i>-o</i>
<i>sízzí</i>	‘three’	it can be changed into ordinal number by <i>-ne</i> and can also take modification form marker <i>-o</i>
<i>wùj²²</i>	‘four’	~ <i>wùj</i> weakening / <i>j</i> /→[<i>j</i>]/_#
<i>háánán</i>	‘five’	<i>hájíná</i> in Suri (cf. Bryant 1999: 27)
<i>íllé</i>	‘six’	lacks
<i>íssábàì</i>	‘seven’	also < <i>j</i> > ~ <i>íssábàj</i>
<i>íssé</i>	‘eight’	also < <i>j</i> > ~ <i>ísséj</i>
<i>sákkàl</i>	‘nine’	may be from Cushitic languages, e.g. <i>sagal</i> (Oromo)
<i>tómón</i>	‘ten’	It could be a borrowed term ²³ .

²² The cardinal number ‘four’ has two varieties: it can be pronounced with either the palatal *wùj* word-finally or metathesis form *ùwì* whose origin is unknown.

²³ *tómón* ‘ten’ is a widespread numeral and appears to be an areal form found in the rest of the three language families of Ethiopia — Afroasiatic, Cushitic and Omotic. Outside these families, the number word *ten* has similar forms in some languages of the Niger-Congo subfamilies For instance, *tom* represents ‘ten’: in Nubian, Nera—*túmmum*, in Nyangi, IK—*tómin/tomin*, Surmic, Murle—*tomon*.

<i>hírkón</i>	‘twenty’	Lit. <man+one> ‘man one’
<i>zùwò</i> <i>ràmàn</i>	‘forty’	Lit. <people two> ‘two people’
<i>ḡítí dǒnég</i> <i>ḡìḡà dǒnég</i>	‘thousand’	<i>ḡìḡà</i> is loan word from Amharic <i>ḡí</i> ‘Thousand’ - <i>ti</i> is a non-restrictive marker while - <i>ḡà</i> is plural suffix

As mentioned earlier, a noun modified by a number word cannot be marked with restrictive modification. This is due to the fact that the dependency relation between that of head nouns and number word modifiers is always free.

- (3.124) [*zùwò háánán*]_{NP} *sòḡ*
 people five only
 ‘only five people’

This relation of the two in NPs will be changed when there is an intermediate modifier intervening between the head noun and the number word modifier (3.125).

- (3.125) [[*bì-á ḡìḡàḡ-à*]_{NP} *háánán*]_{NP}
 cow-RSTR brown.STV-RSTR five
 ‘Five brown cows’

Number agreement between a head noun in singular and a number word ‘one’ is indicated by a non-restrictive marker *-i/-ti*.

- (3.126) a. [*érmì-tí dǒnég*]_{NP} *áíw-ó*
 child-NTSTR one come.PERV.SG-MT.3sg.SU.PERV
 ‘one child came.’
 b. [*ḡí-tí dǒnég*]
 thousand-NRSTR one
 ‘(One) thousand’

Number words can function as copula complements like any other modifiers of head nouns within an NP. For a question asked in (3.127a), one could answer a clause containing number word as a copula complement (3.127b). The one in (3.127c) can also be another possible candidate.

- (3.127) a. *támá-rí-ḡà-í* *éì-é* *á*
 student-PL-NRSTR exist.IMPERV.PL-3pl.SU.IMPERV COP.3.IMPERV
ísòḡ?
 how.many
 ‘How many students are present?’

among a few word-class crossing words. For example, *mèrì* ‘many’ and *múćúgí*

‘little, a little’ belong to the subclass of adjectives, i.e. derived adjectives. Both take the general adjectivizer suffix *-i*.

Table 3.13 Quantifiers

QUANTIFIERS	MEANING
<i>mèrì</i>	‘many, abundant’
<i>múćúgí</i>	‘little, a few, half’
<i>bòtííni</i>	‘a little (bit)’
<i>díníó</i>	‘full’
<i>dǒnénén</i>	‘only’
<i>dákákán</i>	‘all, total’
<i>dààì</i>	‘all’
<i>bókón</i>	‘some’
<i>sòḡ</i>	‘only’

Syntactically, some quantifiers function in the same way as number words — that is, NP heads may take a non-restrictive suffix when modified by quantifiers. Below are examples which demonstrate the syntactic function of quantifiers —modifiers within a noun phrase (3.130-3.132) and copula complements (3.133).

(3.130) [zùg-tí bù mèrì]_{NP}
 people-NRSTR big many
 ‘very many people’

(3.131) [úḡ-ní múćúg-í]_{NP} wùréó
 night.PL-NRSTR few.STV-NRSTR after
 ‘after few (some) days’

(3.132) [àhà dààì]_{NP} gèḡ-ónó nèàj
 thing.PL all create.IMPERV-MT:3sg.SU.IMPERV 3sg.PVS
 ‘All come into being through him.’
 (Lit. ‘He created every things through him.’)

(3.133) ḡà=bá=á tó-jé [àh-á gàf-ùḡ]_{NP}
 DEM=place=NEAR in-OBL thing-PL forest-GEN
 á mèrì háj
 COP.3.IMPERV many INTENS
 ‘There are many animals in this country.’

Quantifiers which belong to the class of adjectives function adjectivally as well as take the restrictive morphology, as in (3.134).

(3.134) kídǒ tó-jé [ùrgùs-á díní-ò]_{NP}
 river.SG in-OBL fish-PL.RSTR full-RSTR.MOD
 ‘The river abounds with fishes.’ (Lit. ‘The river, inside is full of fishes.’)
 Modification marker seems to be dropped when another grammatical element is attached to the quantifier word, as in the example shown below.

(3.135) [àpè wà kí-ǰìg-í] [jòg sèn-é]
 1sg REC.PAST 1SU-hear-1sg.SU.IMPERV 3pl say-3pl.SU.IMPERV
 [b=ùnù gòl [mà díní=jè]_{NP}]_{SUBORD:CL}
 place=FAR river water full=SUBORD
 ‘I have heard (them say) that the river is full of water.’

The quantifier *dààì* ‘all’ may function as an adjective (3.132; 3.136a.) or as an adverb

(3.136b).

(3.136) a. [hùlli [bá-á zùwò-ɲ]_{NP} dààì á
 if place-RSTR people-GEN all COP.3.IMPERV
 çàll-ì=jè]_{SUBORD:CL} kó [àpè]_{CS} á
 good.STV-ADJ=SUBORD PNC/PREP 1sg COP.3.IMPERV
 [çàll-ì]_{CC} húɲ
 good.STV-ADJ simply/just
 ‘It is all right with me if it is all right with everybody else.’

b. kó ìggè lògò ɲàni ɲà=dùl-úɲ=nó dààì?
 PNC 2pl word NEG.PERV NEG=feel-2pl.OBJ=NEG all
 ‘Have you (pl.) understood all these things?’

The quantifier *bòtííni* ‘a little bit’ functions only as an adverb, as in the following examples.

(3.137) kàl-á rónó wùréó áw-ó
 day/time-RSTR in.the.future after come.PERV.IMP-MT
 bòtííni ǰàù!
 a.little.bit fast
 ‘Next time come a little earlier!’

(3.138) a[ɲ] àggè k-àw-ò ór-ó
 HORT:PART 1pl 1.HORT-go.PERV-1pl.INC.SU.PERV settlement-OBL
 nà k-àùs-ò bòtííni
 CCN 1.HORT-rest.PERV-1pl.INC.SU a.little.bit
 ‘Let us (inc.) go home and rest a little!’

3.3.6 Connectors and discourse particles

From the morphological point of view, there is only one notable difference found between connectors and discourse particles. That is, the two discourse particles can occur as free particles or as morphemes being attached to their hosts. Connectors are always free particles forming a full-fledged phonological word and a grammatical word.

3.3.6.1 Connectors

Mursi has a limited set of connectives which are mainly used to connect two nouns or clauses.

Table 3.14 Connectors

CONNECTORS	MEANING	FUNCTION & SOURCE
<i>ké</i>	‘and/with’	phrasal conjunction (§14.3.1.1)
<i>kó</i>	‘and/with’	phrasal conjunction (§14.3.1.1)
<i>nà</i>	‘and, then, so’	clausal connector, coordinative conjunction simultaneous and successive marker, narration or temporal progression marker and so on (§14.2.2.2; §14.2.2.5)
<i>hùlli</i>	‘if, when’	clausal; conditional marker (§14.2.1; §14.2.2)
<i>kó hùlli</i>	‘even though’	~ Lit. ‘and if’; concessive marker (§14.2.2.2)
<i>nà hùlli</i>	‘then’	~ Lit. ‘and when’ (§14.3.1.1)
<i>bá</i>	‘in place of, because’	~ Lit. ‘place’; cause, reason, complementizer, mark (in comparative construction), substitutive clause marker (§14.2.2.6)
<i>óó</i>	‘or’	Disjunctive coordination (§14.3.1.3)
<i>kóó</i>	‘or’	Disjunctive coordination (§14.3.1.3)
<i>ḡàḡì</i>	‘not yet’	
<i>ḡàḡìjè</i>	‘however’	contrastive coordination (§14.3.1.2)
<i>kó bòi</i>	‘until’	future time clause (§14.2.2.7)

The connectives *kó/ké* ‘and, with’ are identical syntactically as well as semantically.

Both function as coordinative conjunction particle or even as prepositions. Any two nouns or NPs can be conjoined by these two phrasal conjunctions. However, there are two major differences between the two:

- i. the connector *ké* cannot be used as conjunction in number words that are higher than ten (as in (3.139), and
- ii. the connector *ké* cannot be used (to conjoin the comparees or the participants) in comparative constructions, as shown in (3.140).

(3.139) *bérgú tòmòn kó dǔnéj*
 year ten PNC one
 ‘Hamle (November) (Lit. year ten with one)’

(3.140) PARTICIPANTS PARAMETER COMPAREE
 [múwáj kó hírí], [bú] hírí-ó
 woman PCN man big man-NOM
 ‘The man is bigger than the woman.’
 (Lit. ‘from the woman and the man, the man is the big one.’)

Other than the two exceptions noted above, *kó* and *ké* function in one and the same way.

Both can interchangeably be used when they function as prepositional or comitative markers.

(3.141) *té kó/ké čáll-i*
 COP.PER:IMP with good.STV-ADJ
 ‘Good bye!’ (Lit. ‘be (stay) with peace!’)

The stative-inchoative reading in (3.141) originated from the perfective imperative copula verb form *té*. There seems to be no limit as to how many phrasal conjunctions can be used when one conjoins with a series of nouns.

(3.142) *bàrtùj kó ñàtùj kó ñàdórá ám-é*
 bartuy PNC Ngatuy PNC Ngadora eat-3pl.SU.IMPERV
 músí-ńá kàrì
 banana-PL together
 ‘Bartuy and Ngatuy and Ngadora are eating a banana each.’

The clausal connector *ńà* ‘and’ has a number of function at the clausal level and beyond.

It primarily conjoins two clauses referring to events linked to one another in a temporally simultaneous and successive ways.

(3.143) *ńà ménéńí dǔt-ú jesusi ńà*
 CCN:NARR devil leave-3sg.SU.PERV Jesus CCN
 ók-ú *ńà* [lúsà-á túmó-ɲ]NP hóđ-á
 go-3sg.SU.PERV CCN son.PL-RSTR God-GEN come.PERV.PL-3pl.SU
ńà ílál-á jesusi
 CCN confort-3pl.SU.PERV Jesus

‘Then the devil left him (Jesus) and he went (the devil), and angels (Lit. ‘Sons of God,) came and attended him (Jesus).’

When *nà* occurs at the beginning (clause-initial position) of a story/narration, it functions as a narration or temporal progression marker, or logical continuity marker. Thus, in other words, *nà* may be considered a chronological sequencer of the events taking place in the narration. See the following examples:

(3.144) *nà* k-íw-áná rò
 CCN:NARR 1SU-take.IMPERV-MT.1pl.inc.SU.IMPERV cloth
 [kèj-á bú dǒldǒl-á]_{NP} kó [[sáj bú-sísí
 thing-RSTR big hard.STV-RSTR PNC leather_dress big-AUG
 dǒrós-á]_{NP} múgá-ŋ]_{NP}
 hard/dry.STV-RSTR woman-GEN
 ‘Thus, we take a kind of cloth that is a very solid, very dry leather dress of women.’ (KW 1:59:4)

(3.145) *nà* áíw-ó *nà* téhén-ú
 CCN:NARR come.PERV.SG-MT.3sg.SU.PERV CCN want.PERV-3sg.SU.PERV
 [b[6]ásá-í bág-ò]_{COMPL:CL}
 monitor.lizard-NOM eat-3sg.IRR
 ‘So he came and decided to eat the monitor lizard.’

Clausal connectives have been elaborated extensively in Chapter 14.

3.3.6.2 Discourse particles

Discourse particles form a smaller closed word class in the language. The meaning being conveyed by these discourse particles may cover a wide range of functional areas from polite marker to quotative (in speech report). Except for the quotative marker particle *ké* (see also §14.2.3.1) which always precedes speech verbs (but it may precede or follow a speech report), they have no fixed functional slots in clauses.

Table 3.14 Discourse particles

DISCOURSE PARTICLES	MEANING	FUNCTION
<i>so</i> (=so)	‘behold, please’	emphatic particle, polite marker
<i>-ni</i>	‘then, thus, so then’	marker of a resolution of a dilemma or goal or termination of a complicated action/event/conflict
<i>čii</i> (=čii)	‘so!, Hmm’	astonishment plus irony;
<i>ké</i>	‘that’	quotative, complement marker (§14.2.3)
<i>dā</i>	‘really, was it, oh!’	epistemic, mirativity ~‘surprisingly’ discourse marker (see §12.3)
<i>čírr</i>	‘really (?)’	epistemic, confirmation, to elicit acquiescence from the addressee’ (cf. Aikhenvald 2015: 199) (see §12.3)
<i>tób</i>	‘clearly, openly’	can be an adverb but best fits to the smallish class of discourse particles

Three members of this class are manifested in two morphological forms— *so* and *čii* (also as floating enclitics =*so* and =*čii*), and *-ni* as just a suffix. Many of these particles are optional because they merely add a piece of extra information to the existing meaning of a clause or a story line. For example, the floating emphatic enclitic =*so* can occur on nouns, verbs and adverbs — often attaches to the last elements of a clause or narrative texts.

- (3.146) a. $\eta\grave{a}$ =hír=nù tá á nèŋ gín-ò=sò
 DEM=man=FAR UNCERT COP.3.IMPERV what ask-3sg.IRR=EMPH
 ‘Ask the man whom he is talking about!’
- b. $\eta\grave{a}$ nìjè ìjè tá wà án-í
 but 2sg UNCERT REC.PAST COP.IMPERV-2sg.SU.IMPERV
 kómóru-ni=sò
 king/leader-RES=EMPH
 ‘So you are a king?!’
- c. [hír-á màd-ì] bág tílá=só
 man-RSTR teach-NOMZ eat.PERV.IMP food=EMPH
 ‘Master, eat.’ (Lit. ‘Teacher, please eat (sg.) food!’)

As it is depicted in (3.146a-b), the emphatic enclitic =*so* attaches to hosts that are being emphasized. Thus, a constituent emphasized by this floating enclitic can be a topic or focused element.

- (3.147) a. àggè kò-lòm-Ø làsén háánán kó
 1pl 1SU-have-1sg.inc.SU.IMPERV bread five PNC
 ùrgùs-á ràman sòj só
 fish-RSTR two only EMPH
 ‘We have here but five loaves and two fishes.’
- b. me kóbkób só sáti kój-Ø
 do.PERV.IMP quickly EMPH time 3.SBJV.go-3.IRR
 nà gár-á=sò
 CCN finish-3sg.SU.PERV=EMPH
 ‘Hurry, else you will be late.’ (Lit. ‘Please do quickly! The time will go and finished!;)’

The suffix *-ni* is a discourse resolution marker but it does not function as an independent particle. This discourse resolution marker suffix is also found in the Tirmaga language and has two functions (Bryant 1993: 41). The two functions of *-ni* in a narration are: (i) it indicates the resolution of a dilemma or goal, and (ii) it shows the state of equilibrium has been reached at the conclusion of an episode. In Mursi, *-ni* indicates a result or a solution which has taken place after a series of complicated actions or events.

In narration, it indicates a settlement or an end of a situation with a positive outcome after a long standing conflict or situation. Examine the following examples.

- (3.148) [hùlli nè k-ij²⁴-ò=jè]_{SUBORD:CL}
 if 3sg 3.SBJV-touch.1pl.OBJ-3sg.IRR=SUBORD
 té kílí-ni té gèrs-i
 COP.3.PERV Kili-RS COP.3.PERV bad.STV-ADJ
 ‘If he (Teri (sg.)) touch us, it becomes “Kili”. It gets bad.’ (KW 1:17:8)

- (3.149) çùànéŋ ñà=lòg=tù hàli ájt-ε
 again DEM=issue=FAR later take.PL.PERV-APPL.3
 tètò-ú-ni té [lòg-tí g=èj]_{NP}
 Teri.PL-NOM-RS COP.3.PERV issue-NRSTR PL.PSD=3PL.PSR
 ‘Then later the Teru take up this issue (Kili) and thus it becomes their issue.’
 (KW 1:28:8)

In both (3.148) and (3.149), the resolutions are outcomes or answers to the question “so what finally happened?”. The story behind these two examples is that in

²⁴ The verb ‘to touch’ is *ijana*, and has a root form <ij>. In (xxx), there was the first person plural object suffix *-i* but has been already assimilated into the root.

Mursiland, following the harvest season which takes place twice in a year (December-January and June-July), the *dɔŋà* (middle aged boys) go in large groups into the cultivation areas and collect the decapitated sorgham stalks (*ól/ó*). The age grade of the boys who collect the sorghum stalks is found in Text I (Appendix I). When the collection of the sorghum stalks is over, the *dɔŋà*, who collected the stalks, kneel in a compact group at the tree, facing the *rórà* (senior), who accuse them, of failing to carry out the duties of their age grade. This can be very serious if they attack girls while collecting sorghum stalks because this is not showing sufficient respect to their ‘fathers’, the *rórà*. Therefore this offence becomes ‘Kili’ (as in (3.148)) or it becomes the issue of the *tèró* (age grade for young men) who attacked the girls (as in (3.149)).

The particle *čii* is usually used in ironic expressions which indicate astonishment about something very small. It may be used as a diminutive marker particle and can appear between the head noun and the modifier within an NP.

- (3.150) a. [[ŋà=àlèj=á]_{NP} *čii* tíí=ŋà]_{NP} (~ *tííŋa* < [tíín=ŋà])
 DEM=chair=NEAR so small=DEF
 ‘This so small chair!’
- b. ŋà=ɓá=á *čii* tííní goḁe áḁɟ-áŋ-à
 DEM=place=NEAR so small DEMU give.IMPERV-1sg.OBJ-2sg.IRR
 mèsí-Ø sòŋ ènèŋ?
 do-3sg.SU.IMPERV only how
 ‘To what avail (Lit.what will it do for me) did you give me so little?’

In (3.50a), the discourse particle *čii* may function as modifier of the adjective *tííní* or as a default intensifier.

The discourse particles *dǎ* and *čírr* have literally the same meaning (‘really?’) and almost a comparable function. Both may be used in information questions that require verification (see more in §12.3). Some examples were presented as follows.

- (3.151) a. nòŋ *dǎ* bàri gírŋàj gár-ú
 3sg really yesterday nose disappear-3sg.SU.PERV
 ‘He threw off a cold.’

As it can be seen in the table above, interjections may contain forms that are quite different from the regular internal phonological structure of words. As we recall, both consonant and vowel length do not exist in Mursi. Phonetic based consonant and vowel length may, however, exist word-medially. Examples depicting the use of interjection are provided below.

(3.154) “hee hee *woinanoje* bóǰǰè” sén-é
 INTERJ INTERJ *woynanoye* boshoye say.IMPERV-3pl.SU.IMPERV
 ɲàɲà
 like.this
 “‘hee! hee! *woynanoye* boshoye’, they say like this.’(MH 1:10:7)

(3.155) híh! nà ɲè kíɲɲ húɲ báak-ú kè òɲ
 INTERJ! CCN 2sg crocodile simply eat-3sg.SU.PERV why?
 “‘Hih!’ (and) why did you (sg.) eat crocodile?’ (MH 4:30:6)

The negative interjection *mm* ‘no’ may also be used for answering a ‘yes/no’ questions (see §13.7).

3.3.8 Ideophones

Mursi ideophones form a separate class of onomatopoeic words. They primarily denote meanings of actions usually being expressed by action verbs. Aikhenvald (2015: 200) pointed out that ideophones are ‘sound-symbolic: their phonological form resembles the sound or impression associated with the action or with the referent’. All Mursi ideophones, at least the ones listed in Table 3.16 below, consist of mono- and disyllabic morphemes. Some may occur in inherently reduplicated patterns. *jágjágjág* seems to be exceptional in that it has a triplicated pattern.

Table 3.16 Ideophones

IDEOHPHONES	MEANING/FUNCTION
<i>ḡóm</i>	to refer to an action related to the breaking of something completely; breaking/shattering objects into pieces
<i>dóm</i>	to refer to an action related to the breaking of something completely
<i>túl</i>	Very redish!
<i>páf</i>	to appear suddenly; sudden popping up
<i>kóḡ</i>	to refer to an act of dying
<i>réb</i>	to lie down suddenly
<i>sébséb</i>	walking very quietly and sneakily (being out of someone's sight)
<i>kémkém</i>	breaking something wooden or a breakable thing completely (intensity)
<i>kélkél</i>	to refer to a leg broken badly
<i>dēmдем</i>	to refer to a misbehaviour
<i>dósdós</i>	to pound something strongly and repeatedly; to beat (hit) someone badly
<i>dúsús</i>	a feeling one has when touched by insects or some other things frequently
<i>kámčú kámčú</i>	a food or something being eaten completely
<i>jágjágjág</i>	to fall down to the ground very badly (to humans)
<i>bóbóbóbó</i>	to fall from a tree very badly (for a snake)
<i>bórčóčó</i>	sound created by water when something steps into water suddenly, asplash
<i>kàkóf kàkóf</i>	move about restlessly; wonder about aimlessly; stagger
<i>tíḡtíḡ tíḡtíḡ</i>	sound for stamping
<i>čúúčúúčúú</i>	splash sounds of water

The meanings of Mursi ideophones are diverse and are hard to pinpoint easily as they are not derived from other word classes. Unlike other word classes, ideophones do not seem to have an independent meaning. As can be seen from the above meanings assigned to them Table 3.16, a good attempt has been made to define them contextually rather than through their direct denotational meanings.

- (3.156) hírí bík-ú [dǒḡà-á lúsi-ḡ]NP *kémkém*
 man break-3sg.su.perv rod-RSTR boy-GEN IDEO
 ‘The man broke *kémkém* the boy’s stick.’

but they have fixed syntactic slots within a clause, i.e. always appear at clause-final positions. Like ideophones, expressions do not have their own inherent meanings.

Table 3.17 Expressives

EXPRESSIVES	MEANING
<i>béʃ</i>	‘something suddenly happening’
<i>lúʃ</i>	‘describes the way of dying’
<i>háʃ</i>	‘a sound of something breaking’
<i>ráʃ</i>	‘describes the sound of falling’
<i>móʃ</i>	‘as an intensifier for being tired’

(3.160) *ɖʒààrí* *bíç-á* *òò* *háʃ*
 leg break-3sg.SU.PERV completely EXPRESSIVE
 ‘The leg broke completely *háʃ*.’

(3.161) *érmì* *ɖǎk-ú* *bá* *lúʃ* *nà*
 boy.sg fall-3sg.SU.PERV ground EXPRESSIVE CCN
èr-á *òò*
 die.PERV-3sg.SU.PERV completely
 ‘The boy fell down (eg. from a tree) *lúʃ* and died.’

When expressives occur in repeated forms, they denote iterative actions. Not only do they depict iterative actions but they also may sometimes describe reciprocal actions. As is shown in the example given below, the fact that the comitative marker attached to the verb may yield reciprocity. But the real reciprocal marker suffix does not simply abandon the verb in such specific case for the sake of a comitative marker whose semantic function is secondary.

(3.162) *zùwò* *ɖǎkt-è* *háʃháʃ*
 people hit.PERV.PL-RECIP.3 EXPRESSIVE
 ‘The people beat each other very badly.’

At the same time, as we can see in (3.161) and (3.162), expressives would indeed function as adverbs. In fact, both expressives and ideophones require further research for us to be able to understand what their role is in the grammar of the language.

3.3.10 A summary of closed word classes

In Table 3.18 below, a short summary of Mursi closed word classes has been provided.

Thus this summary is aimed at showing major syntactic functions of the closed word classes, and shows which are among these closed classes could take certain morphological categories such as case and number. Besides, syntactic functional categories such as modifiers and intensifiers could refer to those categories of the closed word classes whose main function are nominal or verbal modification/intensification.

Table 3.18 Summary: closed word classes

WORD CLASS	SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS					MORPHOLOGY (CASE/NUMBER)	
	HEAD OF NP	MODIF IER	INTEN SIFIER	S/A, O, E	CS/ CC	CASE	NUMB.
Personal pronouns	X	X	X	√	CS	√	X
Specific pronouns	√	X	X	X	CS	X	X
Demonstrative pronouns	X	√	X	S	CS	X	X
Possessive pronouns	X	√	X	X	CC	X	X
Indefinite pronouns	SOME	√	X	SOME	?	X	SOME
Relative pronouns	X	X	X	SOME	?	X	X
Adverbs	X	√	SOME	X	X	X	X
Adpositions	X	X	X	E	X	√	X
Question words	X	???	X	SOME	CC	SOME	X
Number words	X ²⁵	√	???	X	CC	X	X
Quantifiers	X	√	SOME	X	CC	X	X
Ideophones	X	SOME	SOME	X	X	X	X
Expressives	X	SOME	??	X	X	X	X

²⁵ The borrowed number word (from Amharic) *fi* ‘thousand’ is an exceptional case because it can function as a head within an NP. Interestingly, its modifier is also a number word *dñéj* ‘one’ (see §3.3.5.1).

Chapter 4 Noun phrase structure

4.1 Introduction

A Noun Phrase (NP) is a nominal structure that fills a core or a peripheral argument slot in a clause. Major constituents of a Mursi noun phrase include: simple nouns, pronouns, adjectives, stative verbs, de-verbal nouns, demonstratives, and determiners (numerals and quantifiers). Mursi noun phrases can be headed by personal pronouns, nouns, demonstrative pronouns, proper names, and de-verbal nouns, as in (4.1-4.3).

(4.1) [àpè]_{NP:A} ká-tál-á-ni [čój kó [bárbárí gáwá-jè]_{NP:O}
1sg 1SU-buy-1sg.SU.PERV-RS salt PNC pepper market-OBL
'I bought salt and pepper from the market.'

(4.2) [hìrì]_{NP:A} bòró-t-Ø-ò
man jump-3sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
'The man jumps.'

(4.3) [bállógì]_{NP:S} nó-sèn bá
leaf go.down.PERV-MA ground
'The leaf fell towards the ground.'

Mursi is a head initial language. It marks both the head and the dependent. The head noun normally utilizes two head-marking systems: modification markers (also known as Construct Forms (CF)) which marks a noun for being modified, and pertainives which mark the noun possessed in a possessive noun phrase. In Mursi, the noun phrase can occur in two major construction types: one involving non-clausal modification (§4.2), and one involving clausal modification (§4.3).

4.2 Non-clausal modifiers of NP

The non-clausal modifiers of an NP include: demonstrative determiners (§4.2.1), adjectives (§4.2.2), genitives (§4.2.3), possessive pronouns (§4.2.4) (number words (§4.2.5), and specific indefinite pronouns (§4.2.6).

4.2.1 Demonstratives

The demonstrative modifiers are of two types: those that occur with nouns (Type I, §4.2.1.1) and those with pronouns (Type II, §4.2.1.2). See more on the morphosyntactic nature of demonstrative in §3.3.1.3.

4.2.1.1 Nominal demonstrative pronouns (Type I)

Type I nominal demonstrative pronouns are deictic expressions which indicate the relative distance from the speaker. They can function as a full NP. They are bound forms comprised of circumclitics and can be marked on the noun they modify simultaneously. The proclitic *ɲà=* <DEM> which denotes the demonstrative function is constant while the two enclitics *=á* <NEAR> and *=ùnú* <FAR> denote the relative spatial location (proximal and distal) of their referents (cf. Dixon 2012: 234). The templates below illustrate a full NP made from a noun and a modifying bound deictic circumclitic.

- i. DEM=NOUN.ROOT-(NUM)=NEAR/FAR
 - ii. DEM=VERB.ROOT-NOMZ-(NUM)=NEAR/FAR
- (4.4) [ɲà=hír=á]_{NP}

DEM=man=NEAR

‘this man’

- (4.5) [ɲà=ḃég-á-ɲá-ìnú]_{NP}

DEM=watch-NOMZ-PL=FAR

‘those (field) watchings’

In a bound nominal demonstrative construction, number can be marked on the noun itself.

- (4.6) [ɲà=àh-à=à]_{NP}

DEM=thing-PL=NEAR

‘these things’

Nouns modified by these nominal demonstrative circumclitics cannot take case affixes.

However, their local adverbial demonstrative form can take a locative case suffix.

Exceptional case have been found where the word *bá* ‘place’ is marked with a locative case, as in (4.7).

- (4.7) *nà* *tél-í* [*ɲà=bà-i=nù*]_{NP} *tí* *kó* *òdì*
 CCN exist.PERV-3.IRR DEM=place-LOC=FAR DUR PNC COMPLET
hàlì *rès-è* *herediwosi-j*
 later die.IMPERV-NOMZ Herod-GEN
 ‘And he was there until the death of Herod.’

They can also occur in subject function (copula subject) and modify other nouns in

Noun Modification construction.

- (4.8) [*čòr-á* [*ɲà=mòr=á*]_{NP}]_{NP} *á* *làlin-i*
 hair-RSTR DEM=calf=NEAR cop.3.IMPERV cold.STV-ADJ
 ‘The hair of this calf is cold.’

Although (4.8) is a type noun modification construction which requires further marking both on the head and the modifier, only the head is marked with a construct-form suffix.

The bound deictic circumclitics have restricted the noun from inflecting for further grammatical roles. In (4.8), the modifier *ɲamòra* is in its canonical place, and has a role seemingly modifying the noun in construct-form/relator suffix, but, its role is just to refer to a specific item or what body part of the calf is being referred to.

A head noun inflected for deictic elements can only be modified by a possessive pronoun or by a possessive NP. See the following two examples.

- (4.9) *àpè* [*ké* *ḃá*]²⁶ *kómórú* [[[*ɲà=éró=á*]_{NP} *g=àpù*]_{NP}
 1sg CRD place Lord DEM=children=NEAR PL.PSD=1SG.PRS
kó *ràmàn=ɲà*]_{NP} *ké* *kóná* *àj* *siò*
 CRD.PART two=DEF PNC one.INDEF JUSS.PART hand
sitàn *kóná* *àj* *siò* *kàṅitèn*
 right one.INDEF JUSS.PART hand left
 ‘Grant that these, my two sons may sit, the one on your right hand, and the other on the left.’

In (4.9), the demonstrative construction *ɲàéróá* ‘these children’ does not take the construct-form suffix *-a*, and it has no restrictive role over the modifiers as head nouns

²⁶ The *ké ḃá* is used in a subordinate clause to refer to a subsequent time margin — paralleled by the English ‘until’ or ‘until x in place’

do in that particular canonical order. On the other hand, the role of the possessive pronoun *gàjù* is to draw attention to the fact that the children belong to the woman and to provide further information that she has just two sons.

- (4.10) [ŋà=ḅég-á-ŋá=inù]_{NP} [ḅá-á mùn-ùŋ]_{NP}_{NP}
 DEM=watch-NOMZ-PL=FAR place-RSTR Mursi-GEN
 ‘those field-watchings place of the Mursi’

Adjectives, numerals or other sorts of non-clausal modifiers cannot directly modify a head noun inflected for bound deictic elements. For adjectives to modify a head noun with bound demonstratives, they must occur in a copula complement position.

- (4.11) [ŋà=hír=ùnù]_{NP:CS} á [čàll-i]_{CC}
 DEM=man=FAR COP.3.IMPERV good.STV-ADJ
 ‘that good man’ (Lit. that man is good)

In contrast, adjectives can directly modify head nouns that occur with no bound deictic inflections, as in (4.12a-b).

- (4.12) a. [hírí čàll-á]_{NP}
 man good.STV-RSTR
 ‘a good man’
 b. [rúm-á hòl-á]_{NP}
 cloth-RSTR white.RSTR
 ‘the white dress’

In (4.12a) we see a non-restrictive relationship between the head noun and the modifier. In (4.12b), the relationship between the head noun and the modifier is restrictive in which both elements are marked with the construct-form/relator suffix. Only proper nouns and nouns with deictic demonstratives can have an NP construction with unmarked head (as in (4.8, 4.9, 4.12a)). A restrictive and non-restrictive relationship of head nouns and their modifiers is discussed in §4.3.1.1.

In addition, numerals must follow the partitive conjunction particle *kó*²⁷ so as to modify a head noun that inflects for bound deictic elements.

²⁷ In his survey ‘moveable-k’, Greenberg (1981) noted that the *ki* is assumed to have a demonstrative function. In addition Dimmendaal (forthcoming) argued that the element **ki* is an extremely stable

(4.13) [[$\eta\grave{a}$ =lòg=tá]_{NP} kó ràmàn= $\eta\grave{a}$]_{NP}
 DEM=word=NEAR CRD:PART two=DEF
 ‘these two commandments’ (Lit. ‘two of the commandments’)

(4.14) [[$\eta\grave{a}$ =zùg=tá]_{NP} kó tòmòn kó ràmàn-ne]_{NP}
 DEM=people=NEAR CRD:PART ten CONJ two-ORD
 ‘these (the) twelfth’ (Lit. ‘these (the) twelfth people’)

It is important to note that the bound deictic clitics always function as noun-modifying spatial demonstratives and can make up a full NP with the nouns they modify. When such an NP is modified by another nominal or adjective or even by a proper name, no relator is required but just the definite marker = $\eta\grave{a}$ on the modifiers. Illustrations are given below:

(4.15) [[$\eta\grave{a}$ =hír=á]_{NP} íláá-á= $\eta\grave{a}$]_{NP} hín-Ø bòi wà
 DEM=man=NEAR sick-NOMZ=DEF want-3sg.SU.IMPERV all REC.PAST
 sán hádái-jè
 stay.INF màt-OBL
 ‘The sick man had to stay in bed.’ (Lit. The sick man is wanted to stay in the bed.)

(4.16) [[$\eta\grave{a}$ =zùg=tá]_{NP} bíbí= $\eta\grave{a}$]_{NP}
 DEM=people=NEAR big.PL=DEF
 ‘The elders/rulers’ (Lit. the big (pl) people)

(4.17) [[$\eta\grave{a}$ =hòì=tá]_{NP} samaria= $\eta\grave{a}$]_{NP}
 DEM=woman=NEAR Samaria=DEF
 ‘The woman of Samaria’

4.2.1.2 Nominal demonstrative pronouns (Type II)

Type II nominal demonstrative pronouns occur with the third person special pronouns — *$\eta\grave{a}$ inà* ‘this’, *$\eta\grave{a}$ inùnù* ‘that’, *$\eta\grave{a}$ ìggèà* ‘these’ and *$\eta\grave{a}$ ìggènù* ‘those’. These forms cannot be marked for number or any other inflection. Morphologically, the only distinction between Type I and Type II is that the latter can also occur as bound

preposition in many Nilo-Saharan languages including Turkana. Its function is to introduce attributive phrases in noun phrases.

demonstrative pronouns. Except for the two specific pronouns *in* <3sg.PN.SP> and *iggè* <3pl PN.SP>, they are morphologically alike with Type I.

However, in Type I any simple noun or a de-verbal noun can be modified by noun-modifying spatial demonstratives circumclitics whereas in Type II only the two specific pronouns can occur in between the circumclitics.

- (4.18) [ɲà=in=nù]_{NP/CS} á [gótó-á zùw-á]_{NP/CC}
 DEM=3SG.PN.SP=FAR COP.3.IMPERV rule-RSTR people-RSTR
 ‘that is the custom/culture of (the) people...’ (KW 2:57:6)

Unlike Type I (see example 4.8), Type II nominal demonstrative pronouns can modify a head noun which is unmarked for construct-form/relator suffix, as in (4.19).

- (4.19) [lúsi ɲàinà]_{NP} [lúsi ɲàinùnù]_{NP}
 boy this boy that
 ‘this boy’ ‘that boy’

They may also function as local adverbials, as in (4.20).

- (4.20) ɲàinà ɲà=kí-hín-í
 this NEG=1SU-want.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV
 ‘I don't want the one here’

4.2.2 Adjective modifiers

Mursi has two underived adjectives — *tííní* ‘small’ and *búí* ‘big’, and more than one hundred derived adjectives from stative verb roots which often take an adjectiviser suffix *-i*. Both types (underived and derived) can function as modifiers of head nouns.

- (4.21) [hír-á éǵ-ò-á] éǵ-ú [ɲàtùn
 man-RSTR kill.IMPERV-IRR-NOMZ:RSTR kill.PERV-3sg.SU.PERV lion
 búí]_{NP}
 big.SG
 ‘The hunter killed the big lion.’

- (4.22) [ɲà=in=nù érmì=tùnù] tííní gòǵé]_{NP}]_{NP}
 DEM=3sg.PN.SP=FAR child=FAR small.SG INTENS:DEMUNI
 ‘that small child. (Lit. ‘that very little girl’)

(4.33) $\eta\grave{a}$ =bá=á [àh-à-á gàf-ùŋ]_{NP} é1-é?
 DEM=place=NEAR thing-PL-RTSR forest-GEN exist.IMPERV.PL-3.SU
 ‘Are there any wild animals about?’ (Lit. There things of the forest
 exist/present?)

(4.34) òlítóá á [érmí-á ñàkútúl-ì]_{NP}
 Òlítóá COP.3.IMPERV child-RSTR Ngakútúl-GEN
 ‘Olitula is Ngakútúl’s child.’

As Mursi is a head and a dependent marking language, it is a must for modifiers to indicate that they are in relation with the head nouns they modify by an overt morphological inflection, for example the genitive case, as in (4.32-4.34). However, not all dependents are modifiers. In (4.32), *ólǒ* is a dependent non-modifier because it doesn't have a direct relation with the head noun. That means *ólǒ* should have been marked for a restrictive modification marker *-a*. In (4.32) and (4.33) we see that genitive case marked common and proper nouns directly modifying their heads.

Oblique-marked relator nouns can modify the head noun in genitive NP constructions. The modifier nouns are often grammaticalized body part nouns which function as relator nouns. They specify the spatial relation and specific location of an object. In the example below, we see double case marking where the genitive case is added to an oblique-marked relator noun.

(4.35) [mà-à mùm-ò-ŋ]_{NP}
 water-RTSR face-OBL-GEN
 ‘water on the front (side)’

(4.36) [dóri-á bò-ì-ŋ]_{NP}
 house-RSTR out-OBL-GEN
 ‘house on the top’ (Lit. house of the upper place)

(4.37) jòg á sú á [sú-á tán-ò-j]_{NP}
 3pl COP.3.IMPERV Aari COP.3.IMPERV Aari-RSTR side-OBL-GEN
 ‘They are the Aari’ of that side of the river.’ (MH 4:6:8)

In addition, in genitive NP construction, a nominalized verb can function as head noun.

(4.38) $\eta\grave{a}$ =tàn=ùnù á [gún-á-à zùwò-ŋ]_{NP}
 DEM=side.of.river=FAR COP.3.IMPERV watch-NOMZ-RSTR people-GEN
 ‘On the other side of the river are people’s fields.’

4.2.4 Possessive modifiers

Possessive modifiers are of two types — independent (free) possessive pronouns and pertensive modifiers. Possessive pronouns are obligatory constituents for all types of NPs that have free possessive pronoun modifiers, except in one type, i.e. pertensive-marked kinship terms.

4.2.4.1 Independent possessive pronoun

Mursi possessive pronouns are independent pronouns that agree with modified head noun for person and number. They specify person of the possessor, number of the possessor and number of the possessed object. Thus, number agreement between the head noun and the possessive pronoun modifiers is obligatory.

(4.39) ([HEAD.N-(NUMB)-RSTR Possessum POSS.PRO_{Possessor}])
 [[írsásí-á n=ènè]_{NP} goloŋ-á]_{NP}
 pencil-RSTR SG.PSD=3SG.PRS red.STV-RSTR
 ‘His red pencil’ (Lit. his pencil red)

(4.40) [[gòdóná-á n=ànù]_{NP} bó]_{NP}
 Brother.PERT.SG.1.PSR-RSTR SG.PSD=1SG.PSR big
 í-Ø bá-á ítijóbíjá-ì
 exist.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV place-RSTR Ethiopia-GEN
 ‘My elder brother is in Ethiopia.’

In (4.39), the head noun *írsásí* can only be modified by free possessive pronouns. In (4.40), the possessive pronoun is optional because the bound pertensive suffix (in bold) can modify the head noun (see §4.2.4.2). The head noun *gòdónà* ‘my brother’ can stand alone without the need for modifier possessive pronoun.

Free possessive pronouns can modify common nouns, kinship nouns, proper nouns, nouns modified by bound demonstratives, and compound nouns.

4.2.9 Relative (general) pronouns³²

Mursi has two relative (general) pronouns that function as the head of a modified NP. They can also occur in place of modifiers in clauses that have comparative-like constructions. They can be marked with the construct-form suffixes like head nouns and nominal and adjectival modifiers. Their role as general pronouns is restricted — only allowed in non-clausal modification constructions. However, they can also function as relative pronouns in clausal modification constructions. In clausal modification construction, they often serve as relative modifiers of the head noun. The =*n*= ‘SG’ and =*g*= ‘PL’ are bound number clitics denoting only number of antecedents: *in-a* ‘that, the one who’ <3SG.G.PN-RSTR>, *in=i* ‘that, which’ <3SG.PN-NRSTR>, *iggá* ‘those; those who’ <3PL.PN-RSTR>, and *iggí* ‘those, those who’ <3PL.PN-NRSTR> (see §3.3.1.6).

- (4.64) [hárté-á d’óólé-ŋ]_{NP} kó ín-á [ín-á
 donkey-RSTR female-GEN PNC 3sg.PN-RSTR 3sg.PN.SP-RSTR
 màg-á húŋ-á]_{NP} á dǎdǎl-í
 male-RSTR INTENS-RSTR COP.3.IMPERV strong.STV-ADJ
 ‘Is a female donkey stronger than a male donkey?’
 (Lit. female donkey is really stronger than that that of male?)
- (4.65) [bá-á³³ mèdeŋní-á kó ràrà̀n]_{NP} bér-á
 place-RSTR sheep-RSTR PNC two choose-3sg.SU.PERV
 [ín-á tíín-ó] nà kédf-á
 3sg.PN.SP-RSTR small-RSTR.MOD] CCN slaughter-3sg.SU.PERV
 bòì
 COMPLETIVE
 ‘He selected the smaller of his two sheep and slaughtered (it).’
- (4.66) à̀nè_A [igg-í mè̀rì]_{NP:O} nà=kí-hín-í=ó
 1sg 3pl.PN.SP-NRSTR many NEG=1SU-want-1sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 à̀nè kí-hín-í [ín-í d’ónéj
 1sg 1SU-want.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV 3sg.PN.SP-NRSTR one
 sòŋ írsásí]_{NP}
 only pencil
 ‘I don’t want many, I want only that one pencil.’

³² Since general pronouns have a wide range of functional domain and distribution, I have labelled them by different terms. Thus, it is necessary to note that the following three terms have identical morphological realization: general pronouns, specific pronouns and relative pronouns.

³³ In a comparative construction, *bá* ‘place, place of’ is used as standard marker.

(Lit. I don't want those many, I want only that one pencil.)
As illustrated in the examples above, relative pronouns can plausibly fulfil the noun modification construction requirements. As any other nominal head, they can be marked with the head-modifier dependency marker suffixes of both types: restrictive (RSTR), as in (4.64 and 4.65) and non-restrictive (NRSTR), as in (4.66). Moreover, general pronouns have wide distribution when they function as relative pronouns within clausal NP modifiers (see §4.2.9).

4.3 Clausal modifiers

A head noun in construct form can be modified by clausal modifiers, namely by a relative clause and by a nominalized clause. In relative clause modifier construction, the relative clause is often headed by relative pronouns (§4.3.2). On the other hand, a nominalized clause modifier may be headed by a fully inflected verb (§4.3.3). The heads of both relative and nominalized clause modifiers can be marked with construct form suffixes of both type — restrictive and non-restrictive. However, when the restrictive marker suffix *-a* is added to the head of a nominalized clause modifier, it can only be analysed as underlying form. Both of these clausal modifier constructions utilize the gap strategy (§4.3.3).

Therefore, before I start a discussion on the two clausal modifier types of nouns, a short introduction of the Mursi construct form is provided in (§4.3.1).

4.3.1 Introduction to head and dependent modification system

Cross-linguistically, it is not common to see languages that mark both the head and the dependent with a special morphological marking. It is a rare phenomenon to find languages that have obligatory head-modifier dependency relationship markers. However, Mursi is among the few languages in the world that have an overt morphological marking for head nouns and for the dependents. The term 'dependent'

here directly refers to any ‘modifier’. However, in order to convey the notion to be discussed in this section, I find the term ‘dependent’ more appropriate. Thus, this dependency phenomenon of head nouns and dependents is known as Construct-Form (CF). In Semitic languages this phenomenon is known by a different term — construct state.

For years, a number of Semitic linguists have dealt with this topic. Some have also proposed various terms for it. For instance, ‘status constructus’ (Turker and Bryan 1966), ‘antigenitive’ (Anderson 1988), ‘modified noun form’ (Reh 1996), and ‘construct form’ (Criessels 2006).

The terms given above by various linguists are purely morphological. They are case-oriented terms particularly focusing on the genitive case. In other words, terms such as *genitive* and *antigenitive* are mostly morphological properties of dependents in NPs. For example, in Mursi, case is entirely a property of dependents whereas construct form is a property of head nouns. In Mursi, the construct form (a ‘modification marker’ from now on) suffix is a kind of relator that indicates the dependency relationship between the head and the dependent. Therefore, the modification marker on head nouns is a syntactic property which provides information about the internal structure of NPs.

In Mursi, construct form is a particular instance of a head marking and a dependent marking system. But there are also a few instances where we can get the modification suffixes on modifiers. For example, when the modifier itself is a noun, or when two or more heads/modifiers co-occur as relative clause modifier, in nominalized clause modifiers, and embedded noun modification constructions. In this case, we get a series of modification forms with embedded modifiers.

First, one has to understand whether the construct form phenomenon is an internal structure of NPs or is controlled by other NP external related syntactic information. It

is possible to see what the head-modifier dependency relationship looks like. One finds that there are two head-modifier dependency relationships: restrictive and non-restrictive. As in some Western Nilotic languages which show this form of dependency relationships in their NP internal structure, the choice between the two (restrictive/non-restrictive) depends on the type of modifiers. Both restrictive and non-restrictive markers attached to the head of a relative clause can also entail that the relative clause modifier should appear right-adjoined to the NP.

4.3.1.1 Restrictive modification marker -a

The construct form suffix /-a/ operates as a restrictive marker in noun modification construction. When it appears on head nouns or on relative pronouns, it restricts the reference of the common argument to occur in particular sets. In Mursi, even if a relative pronoun is obligatory in a relative clause modifying a noun, the relative pronoun itself must be marked with a restrictive form suffix. Aikhenvald (2015: 354) points out that a restrictive relative clause provides information about the common argument by specifying, narrowing or restricting its reference.

4.3.1.2 Non-restrictive modification marker -i [-ti/-ni]

A non-restrictive relationship between the noun and the modifying relative clause is shown by attaching the non-restrictive marker /-i/ to both heads (noun and relative pronoun). In non-restrictive relationship, it provides additional information about the reference of the common argument.

4.3.2 Relative clause modifiers

Mursi employs a post nominal relative clause strategy. The same head-modifier pattern of the non-clausal modifiers applies in relative clause constructions. Based on the nature of restrictive (§4.3.1.1) and non-restrictive (§4.3.1.2) dependency relationships

between the head and the relative clause modifier, I further divide the relative clause modifiers into two classes: restrictive relative clause modifier (§4.3.3.1) and non-restrictive relative clause modifier (§4.3.3.2).

4.3.3.1 Restrictive relative clause modifier

A restrictive relative clause modifier of the head noun can be headed by relative pronouns and by bound pronominals on verbs. The CA in the RC can be in S or A function. In few instances, the CA in the RC can function as an object or oblique argument. The following template illustrates the structure of Mursi restrictive relative clause modifier.

- i. Internally headed RC — [Head-*a* (S/A) V (O) (OBL)]_{RELATIVE CLAUSE}
- ii. Topical/Focal — NP [Head-*a* (S/A) V (O) (OBL)]_{RELATIVE CLAUSE}

(4.67) [ín-á jẹ́b-ạ́n-ì ạ̀nè]_{RC:A} hụ́n
 3sg.PN.SP-RSTR believe-1sg.OBJ-3.IRR 1sg thirst
 ɲà=dạ̌g-Ø-Ø=ó dọ̌g
 NEG=hit.IMPERV-3sg.OBJ-3sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG forever
 ‘He that (whoever) believes in me shall never thirst.’ (Lit. He who believes in me, thirst will not hit him forever.)

(4.68) nọ̀η [ín-á kọ́w-án-ạ́n-ì wụ̀rẹ́ó]_{RC}
 3sg 3SG.PN.SP-RSTR 1SU.follow-MT-1sg.OBJ-3sg.IRR after
 nà bá sé ạ̀nè
 CCN place say.3sg.AUX 1sg
 ‘He who follows after me, he wants me.’

In (4.67), ($A_{RC} = O_{MC}$) the CA and the head of the RC is the 3sg relative pronoun, thus this construction has an internally headed RC. However, given that Mursi relative clauses are strictly postnominal, the relative clause in (4.67) can be an externally headed one. The same pattern is shown in (4.68) except for the 3sg independent pronoun, which is a topicalized and fronted NP before the relative clause ($A_{RC} = S_{MC}$). In both constructions, the CA argument in the RC is in A function. In (4.69), the CA argument in the RC is in A function, while in the MC is in S function.

- (4.69) jòg íggé-à [Ø ɓág-ε-á áćúg nà
 3pl 3pl.PN.SP-RSTR [Ø eat-3pl.SU.IMPERV-RSTR flesh CCN
 màt-é-á nàwà]RC jòg ɗákákán él
 drink-3pl.SU.IMPERV-RSTR blood 3pl all exist.IMPERV.PL
 bás-é-ó tí
 live.IMPERV-NOMZ-NOM DUR
 ‘They, those who eat (my) flesh and drink (my) blood, they all have eternal life.’

In the restrictive relative clause construction, when the RC consists of more than one verb, each verb within the RC is marked with the restrictive suffix *-a*, as in (4.69).

Without the NP, this construction appears to be very similar to which is called corelative (left-adjoined) relative clause.

The relativization strategy other than the possessive pronoun in the examples above is a ‘gap strategy’. Mursi utilizes the ‘gap strategy’ in the absence of a relative pronoun headed CA in the RC, the restrictive suffix *-a* is attached to the restrictively modified noun and to the following verb, which is the CA in the RC.

- (4.70) zùw-á [Ø jéb-é-á [sára-á
 people-RSTR [Ø believe-3pl.SU.IMPERV-RSTR name.PL-RSTR
 g=èjè]NP]RC
 PL.PSD=3SG.PSR]
 ‘The people who believe in his name.’

When the restrictive marker suffix *-a* occurs on the verb, in which case it functions both as a restrictive relative clause head or CA marker and at the same time as a nominalizer. Not all CAs in the RC will occur with the restrictive marker suffix, as in (4.71).

- (4.71) án-í hòj-á [Ø bàrì
 COP.IMPERV-2sg.SU.IMPERV female-RSTR [Ø yesterday
 kún-í bàrì]RC
 come-2sg.SU.IMPERV yesterday:
 ‘The one who came yesterday is you (woman).’

There is no mention of the role of the NP within the RC. The only head-modifier relationship between the head and the RC is possessed-possessor where the possessive pronoun *gàw* in the RC serves as a modifier.

- (4.72) a. zùw-á [Ø bè g=àw
 people-RSTR [Ø DIST.PAST PL.SPD=1PL.EXC.PSR
 kó-dǔt-ó tán-ò]RC ñàméá k-èlì
 1SU-leave- 1pl.EXC.SU.PERV river.side-OBL] now PASS-call.PERV
 ké bófú
 QUOT Boshu
 ‘The people who were ours (exc.) and abandoned (them) on the other side
 are now called Boshu.’ (MH 0:56:0)

In cases like (4.72), which is a good example of discontinuous NP, it is worth to note the syntactic structure of the language, i.e. AVO. Even if the CA is not overtly stated in the RC, it is in indirect object function. But, the CA in the MC is in direct object function. In the gap strategy, relative pronouns can be placed outside the RC and may function as an NP. When relative pronouns are stated as an NP, they often carry a very specific and narrow identity of the referent, which is to be specified either in the RC or in the MC. Thus, they can be called specific pronouns, as in (4.72b).

- b. íggé-à [Ø bè kó-hón-ó
 3pl.PN.SP-RSTR [Ø DIST.PAST 1SU-come.IMPERV.PL-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV
 ñà=táná=á]RC:S ñàméá k-èlè kó mún
 DEM=river.side=NEAR] now PASS-call.PERV PREP Mursi.PL
 ‘Those who we (exc.) (have) come from this side of the river are now
 called (with/by the name of) Mursi.’ (MH 1:03:0)

Yet there is no information provided about the CA in the MC. As shown in (4.72b), the verb in RC is a fully inflected verb in S function but this time it didn’t carry none of the CA information. The CA is not in the passive verb *kele* ‘called’ neither. As Mursi is a bound pronominal language which marks core arguments, one may expect that the CA of (4.72b) would occur in the RC. Rather, the CA in (4.72b) is explicitly stated in peripheral function by instrumental/preposition particle *kó* ‘with (by).

The CA can be stated in the RC by gap strategy and by copula complement in the MC, which makes the NP modified in copula subject position.

(4.73) lúsà-á [Ø bàrì ká-dǎg-í]_{RC} á
 boy.PL:RSTR [Ø yesterday 1SU-hit-1sg.SU.IMPERV COP.3.IMPERV
 [gòdón=gà-ćó-á g=àjù]_{NP:CC}
 brother=PERT.PL.1.PSR-PL-RSTR PL.PSD=1SG.PSR
 ‘The boys who I flogged (Lit. who I flogged them) yesterday are my brothers.’

(4.74) hír-á [Ø bàrì kún-ó]_{RC} á
 person-RSTR [Ø yesterday come-3sg.SU.PERV] COP.3.IMPERV
 [támártí ĉáll-ì háj]_{CC}
 student.SG good.STV-ADJ INTENS
 ‘The good student who came yesterday’ (Lit. ‘The person who came yesterday is a good student.’)

In a restrictive relative clause construction, the CA can be stated in various syntactic slots within RC. The CA can be in core syntactic functions — for example as S, A in (4.75a-b) and as O in (4.75c).

(4.75) a. zíní-já [Ø wà k-ilààg-à kó nòj]_{RC}
 thief-PL [Ø REC.PAST PASS-hung.PERV-PAS.3SU PNC 3sg]
 ‘The thieves who were crucified with him.’

b. zùwò-á [Ø lòm-é-á bìò]_{RC}
 people-RSTR [Ø have-3pl.SU.IMPERV-RSTR cow.PL]
 hód-á
 come.PERV.PL-3pl.SU.PERV
 ‘Those people who have cows, come!’

c. hòj-á [Ø bàrì kún-ú wà
 female-RSTR [Ø yesterday come-3sg.SU.PERV REC.PAST
 í-Ø táná]_{RC} áí-ćá
 to.be- 3sg.SU.IMPERV side of riverbed] take-APPL.3pl.SU.PERV
 kátámá-jè
 town-OBL
 ‘They took the young girl that came yesterday to town.’

It is also possible to get two CAs in two RCs —where one RC is embedded within another, as in (4.76).

(4.76) gá hód-á gój-ó hírí
 ATTU:PL come.PERV.PL-IMP.PL see.PERV-IMP.PL man
 [[Ø jóg-ój-Ø [lòg-a tá kè-mèsí
 [[Ø tell-1sg.OBJ-3sg.IRR issue-RSTR ATTU:SG 1SU-do+1sg.SU.IMPERV
 dǎkákán=jà]_{RC}]_{RC}
 all=DEF]]
 ‘Come, see a man who told me all things that ever I did.’

The CA can also occur in oblique, copula subject and copula complement syntactic slots, as in the examples below.

- (4.77) a. $\eta\grave{a}=\grave{\imath}gg\grave{e}=\acute{a}$ $[\emptyset \quad \acute{e}\grave{\imath}$ $\acute{o}r$ $t\acute{o}-j\acute{e}]_{RC}$
 DEM=3pl.PN.SP=NEAR $[\emptyset$ exist.IMPERV.PL settlement in-OBL]
 \acute{a} $[bi\grave{o}-a$ $\acute{o}l\acute{\imath}t\acute{u}l\grave{a}-i]_{NP}$
 COP.3.IMPERV COW.PL-RSTR $\acute{O}l\acute{\imath}t\acute{u}l\grave{a}$ -GEN
 ‘Those that are in the settlement are Olitula’s cows.’
- b. $[[\acute{\imath}n-\acute{a}$ $k\acute{\imath}-h\acute{\imath}n-i]_{RC}]_{CS}$ \acute{a} $[na$
 3sg.PN.SP-RSTR 1SU-want-1sg.SU.IMPERV COP.3.IMPERV SG.RSTR
 $h\grave{o}l-a]_{CC}$
 white.STV-RSTR
 ‘The kind which I want is white.’ (Lit. ‘The one which I want is white.’)
- c. $m\acute{u}w\acute{a}i-t\acute{a}$ $[\emptyset \quad w\grave{a}$ $d\acute{a}f\acute{\imath}-\emptyset$ $w\acute{o}t\acute{\imath}]_{RC}$
 woman.SG-RSTR $[\emptyset$ REC.PAST work-3sg.SU.IMPERV stew
 $[\eta\grave{a}-\acute{a}]_{CS}$ \acute{a} $[n=\grave{a}n\grave{u}]_{CC}$
 wife-RSTR COP.3.IMPERV SG.PSD=1SG.PSR
 ‘The woman who is preparing the stew is my wife.’

In terms of function, restrictive relative clause modifiers focus on the identity of the referent of the CA. Head noun often supplies a class to which referents must belong and narrow the size of the set to which referents belong. Above all, the head marked with the restrictive suffix may show that referents may further be restricted by the restrictive relative clause.

4.3.3.2 Non-restrictive relative clause modifier

In terms of clausal structure and pattern, non-restrictive relative clause modifiers are almost like those of restrictive ones. In non-restrictive relative clause construction, relative pronouns that indicate the CA are marked with the non-restrictive suffix *-i*. In addition, both the head noun and the verb in the relative clause can be marked with the non-restrictive suffix. The non-restrictive marker suffix has an allomorph [-ti], and it is phonologically conditioned.

- (4.78) ηà=hòì=tá [ín-í dǔm-Ø-í
 DEM=female=NEAR 3sg.PN.SP-NRSTR collect-3sg.SU.IMPERV-NRSTR
 kènò=ηà]RC
 wood=DEF
 ‘The woman who is collecting the wood.’

In (4.78), apart from the non-restrictive nature of the relative clause, the noun itself is restricted by the deictic inflection. No further restricting element or specific descriptor can come between the NP and the relative pronoun, but it is possible to add new information after the relative clause. Therefore the modifier that comes after the restrictive clause may serve to add new information or draw attention (=who is the woman?; then what about her?).

- (4.79) nòη [ín-í bè ór-Ø tùmù]RC
 3sg 3SG.PN.SP-NRSTR DIST.PAST see.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV God
 níηè
 not.present
 ‘He who has seen God is not present.’

As illustrated in (4.79), the NP which is indicated by the 3sg subject refers to anyone who has never seen God in whatsoever. The relative pronoun marked with the non-restrictive suffix doesn’t help the relative clause restrict the referent’s identity, but it rather indicates that the referent is not specific. For easier distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses, compare the following examples — restrictive in (4.80) and non-restrictive (4.81).

- (4.80) ηà=ór=ùnù érmì-á [Ø ógór-ó rúm-íná]RC
 DEM=village=FAR boy-RSTR [Ø steal-3sg.SU.PERV cloth-PL
 íjé
 is.present.IMPERV.SG
 ‘The boy who stole the clothes is in the village.’
- (4.81) ηà=ór=ùnù érmì-tí [Ø ógór-ó rúm-íná]RC
 DEM=village=FAR boy-NRSTR [Ø steal-3sg.SU.PERV cloth-PL
 íjé
 is.present.IMPERV.SG
 ‘In that village there is a boy who stole clothes.’

As can be seen from the examples above, the major difference between the two depends on the semantic types that they convey. In other words, the semantic

difference between the two comes from the relative markers that operate on NPs and on verbs in the RC. In (4.80), the head noun is marked by a restrictive relative suffix *-a* while the head noun in (4.81) is marked by a non-restrictive relative suffix *-ti*. In (4.80), the referent (*érmìa* ‘the boy’) and his whereabouts is known. So the information provided about the referent is not new. Anybody who heard the background information about the stolen clothes now can understand that this boy lives in the village. In contrast, in (4.81) the referent is a certain boy (*érmìtì* ‘a boy’), and adds new information to an already-known background information (it could be an existing suspicion).

4.4 Nominalizers

Mursi has eight major nominalizer suffixes that are used to derive nouns from other word classes mainly from verbs. Of the eight, the following three: */-a/* and */-i/*, and */-nèj/* can be attached to nouns that functions as heads of NPs. The first two nominalizer suffixes can also be attached to head nouns and their dependents, and can function as restrictive and non-restrictive markers at non-clausal as well as clausal level NPs, as discussed throughout this chapter. Further morphosyntactic properties and functions of each nominalizer is discussed in §3.2.1.3.8 . Given that both */-a/* and */-i/* can hold even more elaborate morphosyntactic functions, the function of the nominalizer */-nèj/* is discussed here in brief here.

Unlike nouns derived by the two nominalizers, nouns derived by the nominalizer */-nèj/* are deficient in taking morphological inflections. Syntactically, they occur often at NP and clause final positions. Their best salient syntactic feature is a copula clause, where they can fill CS and CC slots, as in (4.82a-b).

- (4.82) a. hír-á [Ø kún-í [sára-á kómór-ùŋ]_{NP}]_{RC}
 man-RSTR [Ø come-2/3.IRR name-RSTR Lord-GEN
 [ɪnè]_{CS} án-í [túhú-nèj]_{CC}
 2sg COP.IMPERV-2/3sg bless-NOMZ
 ‘Blessed is he that comes in the name of the Lord.’
- b. íggé-á [Ø ɲà=bá=a číb-ìnèn-á]
 3pl.PN.SP-RSTR [Ø DEM=place=NEAR tie-AP-3pl.SU.PERV
 [tùmù tún-ò]_{CS} á [číb-ínéj]_{CC}
 sky top-OBL COP.3.IMPERV tie-NOMZ
 ‘Whoever is tied on earth is tied in heaven.’

Or in the same copular complement slot, we can get *ɔginɛj* ‘loosened’:

[tùmù tún-ò] á òg-ìnèj_{CC}
 sky top-OBL COP.3.IMPERV release-NOMZ
 ‘(they) are loosed in heaven’

In (4.83) below, the derived noun *gočonej* can function as modifier of the head *kèá* ‘thing (of)’. The head has a generic instrumental reading and it is not marked for instrumental case, thus it can be substituted by another ‘water drawer’.

- (4.83) a. ɪnè kè-á [Ø góč-ó-nèj]_{RC} mà
 2sg thing-RSTR [Ø draw-EPENT-NOMZ water
 níɲè-ní-ɲ-ò
 have.not-2sg.SU-SG-VFS
 ‘You don’t have the thing for drawing water.’
- b. jòg [Ø ɲà=zùg=tùnù húč-a-nèj] wà
 3pl [Ø DEM=people=FAR pay-EPENT-NOMZ] REC.PAST
 dʒóč-á ɲàbùnù
 acquire.PERV:PL-3sg.SU.PERV there
 ‘They, those people got their reward/payment right there.’
- c. nà ɲàbùnù lò hírí [Ø sìò úwás-ínéj]_{RC}
 CCN there have man [Ø hand corrupt-NOMZ]
 ‘And there was a man who had a withered hand.’
- d. [ɲà=zùg=tá=ɲà=jè] [hínísí-á g=èj]_{NP}
 DEM=people=NEAR=DEF=SUBORD heart-RSTR PL.SPD=3PL.PSR
 ànùj-ù-nèj]_{NP}
 doum.palm-EPENT-NOMZ
 ‘For this people’s heart is waxed.’ (Lit. ‘For these people’s heart waxed’)

4.5 Complex modification

Complex noun modification construction in Mursi may consist of a head modified by more than one modifier. In a complex NP, one or more than one intermediate modifier can occur between the head and the main modifier. Intermediate modifiers can form independent NPs on their own. Except, every other modifier, often the last one in complex modification is invariably assigned the construct form (restrictive) suffix. Depending on their head-modifier configuration, complex NPs can have ambiguous meanings, as in the following examples.

- (4.84) *nòŋ á hír-á [Ø lòm-Ø-á*
 3sg COP.3.IMPERV man-RSTR [Ø have-3sg.SU.IMPERV-RSTR
[gùrgùr-tín-á álí-ŋ]_{NP}RC
 knowledge-N.S-RSTR speaking-GEN
 ‘S/he is an able speaker.’ (Lit. ‘He is a man of possessing the knowledge of speaking; or having knowledge of speaking.’)

From example (4.84), three distinct NP types or configurations can be extracted: (i) an NP headed by *hír-á* ‘man (of)’ modified a noun in genitive case *álin* ‘(of) speaking’ ~ *hír-á álin* ‘man of speaking’, (ii) an NP headed by *gùrgùrtín-á* ‘knowledge (of)’ is directly modified by *álin* ~ *gùrgùrtín-á álin* ‘knowledge of speaking’, and (iii) the NP *hír-á* modified by the relative clause, as in (4.85).

- (4.85) *nòŋ á hír-á [Ø lòm-Ø-á*
 3sg COP.3.IMPERV man-RSTR [Ø have-3sg.SU.IMPERV-RSTR
[gùrgùr-tín-á álí-ŋ]_{NP}RC
[knowledge-N.S-RSTR speaking-GEN]]
 ‘He is a person who has knowledge of speaking.’

Another similar complex NP modification construction is illustrated below.

- (4.86) *lúsi bág-Ø [bá-á [[mùm-á*
 boy.SG show.off-3sg.SU.IMPERV place-RSTR face-RSTR
[ŋòné-à n=ènè]_{NP}NP
 sister.PERT:3SG.PSR-RSTR SG.PSD=3SG.PSR
 ‘The boy was showing off in front of his sister.’
 (Lit. The boy was showing off in the face of his sister.)

The difference between (4.85) and (4.86) is that the NP in the latter cannot be modified by a relative clause. The NP in (4.86) is the object of the clause, but composed of three

distinct NPs and each can stand on their own as full NP. The first NP is *mùmá ḡḡnè* ‘face of his sister’ and the restrictive (construct form) suffix is not marked on the modifier *ḡḡnè*. If the modifier *ḡḡnè* is marked with a restrictive suffix *-a* (*ḡḡnè-a*), it cannot be a modifier but it can be an NP head. Thus, when it is marked with the restrictive suffix, it could indicate that its next specific relation is with the constituent placed at the final modifier position, i.e. *nènè*. Thus, *ḡḡnèà nènè* ‘his sister’ is the second NP. The last NP is the whole NP structure other than the spatial connector word *ba*, i.e. *mùmá ḡḡnèà nènè* ‘(the) face of his sister’. In addition, the kinship noun *ḡḡnè* ‘his sister’ is being marked with a pertensive suffix, thus it can be considered as the forth NP. Attempting to modify the head noun *mùmá* directly by the last modifier *nènè* could bring about an ambiguous meaning. This is due to the fact that Mursi has no grammatical gender thus *mùmá nènè* could mean ‘face of the body’ or ‘face of her sister’.

Unlike the head-relative clause modifier relation illustrated in (§4.3.3), the head-intermediate modifier relations are not only dedicated only to the expression of specific relation but also to the expression of possession. In (4.85) and (4.86), the complex modification construction is used to indicate linguistic possession.

- (4.87) [zùw-á bîò-ḡ]_{NP} ḡḡg ḡáj-é [[bî-á
 people-RSTR cow.PL-GEN 3pl know-3pl.SU.IMPERV cow-RSTR
 ḡ=èj]_{NP} míḡíró-á él ḡàwà-jè]_{NP}
 PL.PSD=3PL.PSR earmark-RSTR exist.IMPERV:PL ear-OBL
 ‘The owners recognize their cattle by means of earmarks.’
 (Lit. ‘The owners of the cows know their cattle by the marks existing on their ear.’)

In (4.87), the oblique-marked³⁴ noun *nàwàjè* ‘on ear’ with the existential verb *él* ‘exist/present’ forms instrumental NP. Thus, the two can be combined together as one argument *él nàwàjè* ‘on (the) ear’. Although it is used to encode a locative source of the *mífiró* ‘earmark’, it hasn’t lost its primary function as oblique NP.

(4.88) *jòg jóg-é [[lòg-á hírí n=èj bòi]*
 3pl speak-3pl.SU.IMPERV word-RSTR man SG.PSD=3PL.PSR all
[hùll-à góg-òŋ]_{NP}NP
 when-RSTR noise-GEN
 ‘They echoed every word of their leader.’

(Lit. ‘They spoke every word of their man while making a noise.’)

Even if the primary function of *bòi* ‘all’ is adverbial (‘completely’), it can also function as quantifier ‘every’³⁵, as in (4.88). Therefore, the whole structure after the verb is just one complex NP containing two distinct uncoordinated NPs. The head of the entire NP is *lògá* ‘word (of)’. In the first NP, the possessive pronoun and the quantifier are modifier of *lògá* while in the second NP the noun in genitive case *gógòŋ* ‘noise (of)’ modifies the temporal word *hùllá* ‘at a time, while’. As one would expect, *híri* seems the head of this complex NP. But in noun modification construction systems, the head has to fulfil one major syntactic requirement, i.e. the head itself must occur in a construct form to indicate that it is ready to be modified. From the construct form requirement point of view, *híri* is not in construct form, thus it doesn’t qualify to be modified.

In addition to serving as expression of possession, the Mursi complex NP construction allows new modifier words from other grammatical categories — such as the spatial term *hùllá* from temporal/conditional marker *húllí* ‘when/if’ in (4.88).

³⁴ Recall oblique case in Mursi marks both locative and instrumental functions. The locative function of oblique case can include locative arguments and locative adjuncts.

³⁵ There is another word comparable with *bòi*, i.e. *dààì* ‘all’. It has similar function to *bòi*, but *dààì* has a different syntactic distribution within an NP and has a distributive quantifier meaning (see also §4.2.7).

4.6 Summary of head-modifier dependency relation

Under this section, the head-modifier dependency relation of all NP types is summarized. For each NP type, the morphosyntactic properties of the head and their modifiers have been summarized.

i. Non-clausal and non-noun modification constructions

Table 4.1 below summarises the non-clausal and non-noun modification construction form, which is expressed by bound nominal demonstrative pronouns, as discussed in (§4.2.1.1) —Nominal demonstrative pronouns Type I and Type II.

Table 4.1 Bound nominal demonstrative constructions

	TYPE I	TYPE II
can modify nouns	yes	yes
can modify verbs	yes (nominalized verbs)	no
can function as full NP	yes	no
can head NP	yes	yes
can function as adverb	rare (with locative case)	local adverbials
can be modified by other modifier	by a numeral (with a coordinative partitive <i>kó</i> between the two); when occurring in CC position	
can occur as S, O	yes	no
can occur as CS, CC	yes	as CS

ii. Non-clausal modifiers in noun modification constructions

At non-clausal dependency level, the head-modifier relation dependency is often expressed in a way that the syntactically dependent constituents (intermediate modifiers) are introduced by construct-form suffixes (restrictive and non-restrictive).

Table 4.2 Non-clausal head modifiers (restrictive modifiers)

HEAD	RESTRICTIVE SUFFIX	MODIFIER	SUFFIX
Noun	-a [-ta]	Adjective (derived)	/-a/ (restrictive attributive)
	-a [-ta]	Adjective (derived)	/-i/ (adjectivizer)
	-a [-ta]	Nouns	/-n/ and /-i/ (genitive case)
	-a [-ta]	Possessive pronouns	no
	-a [-ta]	Numerals	no
	-a [-ta]	Indefinites	/-a/ (restrictive)
	-a [-ta]	Quantifiers	/-a/ and /-i/ ³⁶

³⁶ A few derived adjectives exist that function as quantifiers.

Table 4.3 Non-clausal head-modifiers (non-restrictive modifiers)

HEAD	RESTRICTIVE SUFFIX	MODIFIER	SUFFIX
Noun	-i [-ti]	Adjective (derived)	/-a/ (restrictive attributive)
	-i [-ti]	Adjective (derived)	/-i/ (adjectivizer)
	-i [-ti]	Nouns	/-ɲ/ and /-i/ (genitive case)
	-i [-ti]	Possessive pronouns	no
	-i [-ti]	Numerals	no
	-i [-ti]	Quantifiers	/-i/ (adjectivizer non-restrictive)

Note that in [Head-*a*(-i) modifier-*a*] dependency relation — if the modifier is a noun, then it denotes a quality but with a possible distributional property of an adjective.

iii. Clausal modifiers

A clausal modifier of the NP is mainly the relative clause which involves finite verbs. The verb in a relative clause modifier usually consists of full verbal inflections, and a construct form suffix for a restrictive and sometimes for a nominalizing function. Given that the canonical constituent order of Mursi is AVO, nominal subjects are always in its preverbal position, preceding the relative clause. Table 4.4 below is a summary of the structure of relative clauses modifying the NP.

Table 4.4 Clausal modifiers

HEAD/NP	HEAD SUFFIX (RSTR/NRSTR)	RELATIVE CLAUSE	CA OF THE RELATIVE CLAUSE
Noun	-a/-i	[Ø v-a (O) (OBL)]	Gap strategy
Nouns	-a/-i	[Ø NON-V v-a (O) (OBL)]	Gap strategy
Noun	Ø	[Ø v-a (O) (OBL)]	Gap strategy
Dem.pron	Ø	[Ø v-a (O) (OBL)]	Gap strategy
Personal pronoun	Ø	[REL.PRO-a/-i v (O) (OBL)]	Relative pronoun
Relative pronoun	Ø	[REL.PRO-a/-i v (O) (OBL)]	Internally headed/CA
Relative pronoun	Ø	[REL.PRO-a/-i v]	Internally headed/CA

Chapter 5 Possession

5.1 Introduction

Mursi has a fairly rich syntactic system for the expression of possession or ownership. One plausible reason for acquiring such a rich expression of syntactic construction of possession is that it has both head and dependent marking system. As a head-dependent marking language, both the head and the dependent are marked by appropriate dependency relation marking morphological elements. As we recall from Chapter 4, the head can be marked with two different morphologies — modification markers (restrictive/non-restrictive) and pensive. When it is converted into possessive construction, the head is always the possessed noun (D) and the dependent/modifier is the possessor (R). In other words, taking the two distinct morphological markings to be used on possessed nouns, and the various possessor types into account, it would be logical to expect very diverse possessive construction types in the language. The various syntactic constructions and possibilities of indicating possession/ownership should follow the syntactic frame of ‘NP-internal possessive construction’.

Possession within an NP can be viewed as one of the realizations of a broader concept of association or relationship between two nouns (Aikhenvald 2013:2). Accordingly, five NP-internal possessive construction types have been identified in Mursi: one structure where R and D are simply juxtaposed within an NP, and four other distinct structures where D is followed by R.

The five NP-internal possessive construction types are:

- i. Juxtaposed (possessor-possessum) (§5.2)
[NOUN_{Possessor} NOUN_{Possessed}]
- ii. Possessum-possessor (§5.3)
 - A. [HEAD.N-MOD/RELATOR_{Possessed} POSSESSOR-GEN_{Possessor}]
 - B. [HEAD.N-MOD/RELATOR_{Possessed} PROPER.NAME-GEN_{Possessor}]
- iii. Possessum-possessor (where the possessor is a possessive pronoun) (§5.4)
[[HEAD.N-MOD/RELATOR_{Possessed} POSS. PRO_{Possessor}]
- iv. Pertensive (§5.5)
 - A1. [HEAD.N_{Possessed}-PERT_{Possessor}] (synthetic structure)
 - A2. [HEAD.N_{Possessed}-PERT_{Possessor} (POSS. PRO_{Possessor})] (analytic structure)
- v. Noun Modification Constructions (§5.6)
[HEAD.N-RSTR/RELATOR_{Possessed} POSSESSOR-RSTR/RELATOR_{possessor}]

These possessive constructions (i-v) can be subdivided into core and non-core possessive relations. However, both types almost always can cover the following possessive relationships: ownership, whole-part relationship, kinship relationship, attribution of a person/animal/thing, statement of orientation or location, association, and a nominalization (cf. Dixon 2010a: 262-63). There is one more possessive relationship construction which can be expressed without the need for an NP-internal possessive construction — known as predicative possessive construction (Dixon 2010: 265). In Mursi, there are three verbs which could be used to show possessive relationships through predicative construction: the verb *lòm* ‘have’, the existential verb *ih* ‘exist/present’, and the copula verb *a* <COP.3SG/PL.IMPERV’ ‘be’. This possessive relationship type is discussed in §5.7.

Regarding the semantic nature of possessed nouns (D’s), I would prefer to make one strong generalization, that is, almost all Mursi simple nouns can be possessed as long as they take the two modification markers. However, only a few kinship nouns and just one non-kinship noun *rɛ* ‘body’ can be possessed inalienably or obligatorily.

Inalienably possessed nouns can be easily distinguished from alienably possessed ones by their ability to take a possessive morphology. With regard to the semantic nature of the possessors (R's), four categories have been identified — simple nouns (A), proper names (B), possessive pronouns (C), and modified-modifiers (D). Each of these categories has been elaborated in detail in their respective possessive relation types.

Regardless of their semantic nature, all possessors take the phonologically conditioned genitive case markers that usually occur in different forms. The genitive suffix *-n* is used in an instance when an oblique case (even a nominative case) is attached to the possessor noun and follows a vowel-final nouns. The genitive suffix *-ùn* is used following nasal/liquid-final nouns. The genitive suffix *-òn* (when an oblique case marker (also a nominative case) can be suffixed to the possessor noun in a way that looks inseparable. With a dorso-velar consonant, *-ùn*, is used often following vowel-final plural nouns, but it has unpredictable distribution in the majority of cases. Other forms of the same case maker suffix include: *-j* following vowel-final proper names, *-ì* (following consonant-final proper names/proper nouns), and *-∅* following nouns ending with the palatal nasal /ɲ/.

5.2 Juxtaposed system

A possessive relationship that can be expressed by a juxtaposed possessor and possessed is very different from all other possessive relationship construction types. Morphologically, both possessor and possessed nouns do not take any marker. Syntactically, the possessor noun (R) always precedes the possessed noun (D). Semantically, the possessive relationships through the juxtaposed system (R-D) are confined to ownership and whole-part relationships. The ownership relationship is used to refer to the young of animals only. The noun *hòjnè* ~ 'the young' is only used to refer to the offspring of animals, as in (5.1a-b).

- (5.1) a. [bì_R hòjnè_D]
 cow kid
 ‘offspring of (the) cow’ (Lit. ‘Calf of (the) cow’)
- b. [tòḡò_R hòjnè_D]
 goat kid
 ‘kid of the goat’

If necessary, one way to prove that the possessive relationship constructions in (5.1a-b) are intended to refer to ownership and are not intended for simple noun formations is that there are terms of reference for both of them, *mòr* ‘calf’ for (5.1a) and *mèèn* ‘(goat) kid’ for (5.1b). These are also quite different from compound nouns (compare with §3.2.1.3.3).

On the other hand, the whole-part relationship covers body parts of human and animals, plants, and objects.

- (5.2) [érmì_R ɖʒààrè_D]_{NP} lò-Ø ḡòdòrì
 child.SG leg.SG has-3sg.SU.IMPERV sore
 ‘The child’s leg has a sore.’
- (5.3) [hírì_R kààrì_D]
 man.SG eye.SG
 ‘The man’s eye’
- (5.4) [bùḡáj_R kààrì_D]
 bull.SG eye.SG
 ‘Eye of a bull’
- (5.5) [nèbì_R kàjód_D]
 buffalo.SG tongue.SG
 ‘The buffalo’s tongue’
- (5.6) [bì_R màdì_D]
 cow.SG breast.SG
 ‘The cow’s breast’
- (5.7) [kìò_R ḡàbì_D]
 tree.SG ear.SG
 ‘The tree’s branch’ (Lit. ‘The tree’s ear’)
- (5.8) [dórí_R tútúg_D]
 house.SG door.SG
 ‘The house’s door’

In juxtaposed possessive construction system, the absence of number agreement between the possessor and possessed does not affect the meaning of the construction at

all. In my corpus, an example of a juxtaposed construction referring to an association possessive relationship type has been found:

- (5.9) [hírí_R sárà_D]
man.SG name.PL
'The man's name'

As it is shown in (5.9), the noun *sárá* 'name' is an inherently plural noun in Mursi and has no singular counterpart, but the meaning hasn't been affected and still has a singular interpretation.

A single most effective method of distinguishing between an inalienably possessed referent and that of an alienably possessed referent depends on the natural relationship that exists between the possessed item and the possessor. In many languages, whole-part and kinship relations are usually grouped among a few possessive relations being possessed inalienably. This is due to the fact that whole-part and kinship relations could involve a closer link between referents than ownership does (Aikhenvald 2013: 8). In the light of this, I would be inclined to suggest that the whole-part relations which we saw in the examples above could possibly be interpreted as reflecting inalienable possession.

5.3 Possessive construction with A and B possessors

The second type of possessive construction within an NP involves simple noun possessors (in the A type NP-internal possessive construction) or proper name possessors (in the B type NP-internal possessive construction). Possessive constructions involving these two possessors will have almost identical constructions. In this possessive construction, both the possessed and the possessor take nominal morphology. The possessed item is always marked with a relator suffix *-a* whereas the possessor is marked with the genitive case. Therefore, the possessed (D) is linked to the possessor (R) by this relator suffix and the D precedes the R (D-R).

(5.10) A-type possessors

- a. [érmì-a hírí-ŋ]
child-RSTR man-GEN
'Child (son) of man'
- b. [úr-á bì-ŋ]
Milk-RSTR cow-GEN
'Milk of the cow'
- c. [zíwá-á mùn-ùŋ]
medicine-RSTR mursi.PL-GEN
'Medicine of the Mursi'
- d. [mà kútúl-òŋ]
water+RSTR mountain-OBL.GEN
'Mountain water (water of a mountain)'
- e. [zùw-á mìs-òŋ]
People-RTSR grassland-OBL.GEN
'People of the grassland'
- f. [lòg-á áú-ŋá-ùŋ]
word/issue-RSTR eldest.child-PL-GEN
'Thing/issue of the eldest children'
- g. [bùná-á kútúl-i]
coffee-RSTR mountain-GEN
'Mountain coffee'

The examples in (5.10a-c) express ownership while the example in (5.10d) expresses source and location. Thus (5.10d) requires an oblique case marker. As it can be shown, its form is changed from the typical oblique case suffix *-ɔ* to *-o* due to the effect of vowel-height harmony. The same marking applies to (5.10e) but the meaning expressed is an 'association' type. Both (5.10d) and (5.10e) are instances of a double case marking system. In (5.10f), the genitive case marker *-uŋ* always occurs following plural possessors. (5.10g) is almost an identical construction with (5.10d), except for the absence the oblique case marker in (g). Due to this, (5.10g) seems to illustrate a simple noun modification construction rather than a possessive construction. Nouns ending in liquid take the *-i* genitive suffix.

However, when possessors are proper names, the genitive case markers may apply based on the phonological conditions or even sometimes apply outside the phonological rules/motivations. For example (5.11a-b) are in line with the phonologically-conditioning where the palatal nasal of the /ɲ/-final proper names and the genitive morpheme *-ɲ* simply merge, whereas the genitive suffix *-i* follows liquid-final proper names.

(5.11) B-type possessors

- a. [čòr-á bárihúɲ]
Hair-rstr Barihuny.GEN
'Hair of Barihuny'
- b. [érmì-á ɲàkútúl-i]
child-RSTR Ngakútúl-GEN
'Ngakutu's child'
- c. [bì-ò-á tókó-i]
cow-PL-RSTR toko-GEN
'Toko's cows'

In (5.11c), the genitive suffix *-i* is used simply because the possessor is a proper name.

In other words, it is a morphologically-motivated/conditioned one. Possessive constructions with A-type possessor may also be used to form simple non-compound nouns, as in (5.12a-b).

- (5.12) a. [čòr-à čàmún-úɲ]
hair-RSTR chin-GEN
'Hair of chin ('beard')
- b. [àlì-a gùfúr-ùɲ]
stool-RSTR hyena-GEN
'Hyena's stool ('mushroom')

A possessive construction with an A-type possessor also encompasses core relationships such as kinship, ownership, association, orientation/location (5.13), and source or material (5.15)

- (5.13) *sábò kósi kó sààni tóɲ*
 first traditional.cup PNC plate wash.PERV.IMP
 [tána-á kèŋ-ùŋ] ɲàniɲè [tána-á bó-ŋ]
 side-RSTR belly/center-GEN but side-RSTR outside-GEN
 ... hàli kóɔj-Ø ké hòl-è[i]=jè
 ... later 3.SBJV.go-3.IRR COMPL white.STV-ADJ=SUBORD
 ‘Wash first the inside of the cup and dish... that their outside may also be clean.’
 (Lit. ‘First wash (sg.) the inside (center) of the cup and dish...but (their) outside
 later become white.’)

It is possible to indicate a statement of location or source by a body part noun in possessed function, as in (5.14-15).

- (5.14) *érmì í-Ø [bùgùj-á ɲákàr-ùŋ]*
 child.SG to.be-3sg.su.imperv back-RSTR nyakarin-GEN
 ‘The child is behind (the) Nyakarin’s back.’

- (5.15) [ɲòdòr-èn-á sígí-ó-ùŋ]
 wound-PL-RSTR iron-PL-GEN
 ‘Wounds of irons’

5.4 Possessive construction with C-type (possessive pronouns)

Type-C are possessive pronouns that naturally occur carrying three grammatical information details: person of the possessor, number of the possessor and number of the possessed item (see §3.3.1.4). Number of a possessed item is shown by a proclitic *n*= singular and *g*= plural. It is the number of the possessed items being shown by segmentable proclitics. Morphological information of person and number of the possessor is difficult to segment into small morphemes even though the boundary between them usually can be detectable (see §2.3.8; §2.5.1.3). Nevertheless, markers of the person of the possessors can easily be identified as they have segmental realizations — /-a/ first person /-u/ second person and /-ɛ/ third person. Morphological analysis of the possessive pronouns is presented below for some selected forms.

- (5.16) Number of D=person+number of R
nànù ~ [n=à+nù] ‘Mine, singular possessed’
gànù ~ [g=à+ɲù] ‘Mine, plural possessed’
nùnù ~ [n=ù+nù] ‘Yours, singular possessed’

nènè	~ [n=è+nè]	‘His/hers, singular possessed’
nàw	~ [n=àw]	‘Our (exc.) singular possessed’
gàw	~ [g=àw]	‘Our (exc.) plural possessed’
gàj	~ [g=àj]	‘Our (inc.) plural possessed’

- (5.17) a. [zíwá-á n=ànù]
 medicine-RSTR SG.PSD=1SG.PSR
 ‘My medicine’
- b. [čòr-à g=àjù]
 hair-RTSR PL.PSD=1SG.PSR
 ‘My hair’

In order to distinguish whether a specific noun is inherently singular or not; or is mass noun, collective noun, and so on, the best way is to combine them with possessive pronouns. For example, imagine that nothing is known about the number of the noun *čórá* ‘hair’ as it is shown in (5.17b); but the possessive pronoun indirectly tells us about the number of the nouns it modifies. This is the only way that we can know that the noun *sára* ‘name’ is inherently plural (5.18).

- (5.18) [sára-a g=àjù]
 name-RSTR PL.PSD=1SG.PSR
 ‘My name’

In addition, the first person plural possessive pronouns do distinguish between inclusive and exclusive possessors —(5.19a-b).

- (5.19) a. η à=éró=à á [támáří- η á-á
 DEM=children=NEAR COP.3.IMPERV student-PL-RSTR
 g=àw]
 PL.PSD=1PL.EXC.PSR
 ‘These children are our (exc.) students.’
- b. η à=éró=ìnù á [éró-á g=àj]
 DEM=children=FAR COP.3.IMPERV children-RSTR PL.PSD=1PL.INC.PSR
 ‘These children are ours (inc.)’

In practice, if possessive pronouns are the possessors, almost any noun in Mursi can optionally be possessed. Examples demonstrating this are given as follows:

- (5.20) a. [éséd-á-á n=ànù]
 think-NOMZ-RSTR SG.PSD=1SG.PSR
 ‘My idea’

The pertensive marker enclitics on singular possessed kinship nouns often merge with the noun roots therefore they cannot easily be segmentable.

Interestingly, in relation to kinship possession, Mursi employs synthetic (direct) and analytic (indirect) possession types. Only kinship relationship by blood (consanguineal) as listed in Table 5.2 can be possessed inalienably or directly. These kinship terms always are possessed inalienably and occur in synthetic constructions. Outside from those listed in Table 5.2, all other kinship relationships of blood and marriage (affinal) can be possessed alienably (indirectly), thus they occur in analytic constructions. As Aikhenvald (2019: 11-12) noted, one reason for the analytic structure/possessive construction originates from the fact that components have to be individuated and made specific rather than genetic. In other words, if there is less proximity between components when they are labeled to be part of the analytic structure.

Table 5.2 Pertensive taking kinship terms

SINGULAR	PLURAL	MEANING
<i>dàdà</i>	<i>dàdàčó</i>	‘father’
<i>màmà</i>	<i>màmàčó</i>	‘mother’
<i>fúúné</i>	<i>fúúgé</i>	‘father’
<i>ǵǵòné</i>	<i>ǵǵògé</i>	‘mother’
<i>gòdóná</i>	<i>gòdóngá</i>	‘brother’
<i>ǵǵà</i>	<i>ǵǵàǵè</i>	‘sister’
<i>kògóná</i>	–	‘grandfather’
<i>óóná</i>	–	‘uncle’

The first two kinship nouns (*dàdà* and *màmà*) can only be possessed by first persons.

- (5.21) a. [dàdà]
 father.PERT.SG.1.PSR
 ‘My father’
- b. [dàdà-ǵó]
 father.PERT.1.PSR-PL
 ‘Our father’
- c. [dàdà-čó]
 father.PERT.1.PSR-PL
 ‘Our fathers’

5.6 Noun Modification Constructions

The noun modification construction (NMC) is normally the same as simple NP construction. Yet it stands apart from the previous four possessive construction types because it may involve a series of intermediate possessors/modifiers. The template below could illustrate NMC well.

[HEAD.N-RSTR/REL_{Possessum} MODIFIER-RSTR/REL_{possessorX}] MODIFIER-RSTR/REL_{possessorY}]]...MODIFIER-GEN_{possessorZ}]]]

From NP construction point of view, the head noun may be counted as real or first head whereas the second and third nouns as intermediate modifiers. But from the possessive construction point of view, the head noun would be D whereas the second and third nouns are intermediate possessors (R's). The last modifier within an NP construction becomes the real R in possessive construction. Therefore the D and the intermediate R's are marked by restrictive/relator marker *-a* whereas the real possessor is marked by the genitive case marker. Therefore the D and the intermediate R's are marked by restrictive/relator marker *-a* while the erstwhile possessor will be marked by the genitive case marker.

The restrictive/relator marker *-a* on the possessed/head noun and on the intermediate possessors/modifiers is called by different names but mainly by Construct Form (CF)³⁸ (cf. Chapter 4). Welmers (1973) used the term 'associative construction' in reference to nouns which express a wide range of semantic relationships with other nouns and occur as modifiers within the same NP. Different semantic aspects can be covered with this construction such as material, content, place of origin, place of use, time of use, function, and quality (Èjèbá 2016:134).

³⁸ Different terms have been employed for Construct Form: Welmers (1973) 'Associative Construction', Van de Velde (2013) 'Connective Construction', Gregersen (1961) 'Status Construction', Tucker and Bryan (1966) 'Antigenitive', and Andersen (2016) 'Construct-State'.

(5.30) á [gúná-à [zùw-à mìs-òŋ]_{NP}]_{NP}
 COP.3.IMPERV field.pl-RSTR people-RSTR grassland-OBL.GEN
 ‘These are the fields of the grassland people’ (Mütze 2014)

(5.31) [[zùw-á nàgàs-á]_{NP} ór-ùŋ]_{NP} mèzì-d-ó
 people-RSTR old.STV-RSTR village-GEN discuss-PERV.PL-3pl.IRR
 ‘The village’s elders held a council.’

In both cases, for example one could say *gúnà mìsòŋ* ‘fields of the grassland’ without the intermediate possessor *zùwà* ‘people of’ (as in (5.30) and *zùwá òrùŋ* ‘people of the village’ without the intermediate possessor or the attributive *nàgàsá* ‘old (of)’. As long as one specific possessive construction makes sense, there is no limit on how many intermediate possessors/modifiers may be used within an NP. Besides, the last possessor of a noun modification construction can be a possessive pronoun (as in (5.32), repeated from §3.3.3), or just a simple noun marked by oblique case (5.33-5.34), or an adjective (5.34).

(5.32) lúsi bág-Ø [bá-á [mùm-á
 boy.SG show.off-3sg.SU.IMPERV place-RSTR face-RSTR
 [ŋòní-á n=ènè]_{NP}]_{NP}
 sister-RSTR SG.PSD=3SG.PSR
 ‘The boy was showing off in front of his sister.’

(5.33) [bá-á [tán-á [ŋóč-á sús-ó]_{NP}]_{NP}
 place-RSTR side-RSTR nape.of.neck-RSTR sun-OBL
 ká-gáj-í j́éé háŋ
 1SU-know.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV well very
 ‘I know the eastern part pretty well.’
 (Lit. ‘I know the place on the other side of sunrise very well.’)

(5.34) [kátámá-á [tán-á ŋóč-a sús-ò]_{NP}]_{NP}
 town-RSTR side-RSTR nape.of.neck-RSTR sun-OBL
 bák-ú bá-á j́íŋ-ò
 eat-3sg.SU.PERV cause/place-RSTR earthquake-OBL/INSTR
 ‘The east side of the city was destroyed by the earthquake.’

(5.35) á [lòg-á [bi-á gòlòŋ-á]_{NP}]_{NP}
 COP.3.IMPERV issue/matter-RSTR cow-RSTR red.STV-RSTR
 ‘This (it) is the matter of the red cow.’

In a noun modification construction, rarely, the possessor/head can also occur on the left-side. Therefore it doesn't take a genitive case marking. Genitive case is the feature of possessors/modifiers occurring at the right-edge within NPs, as in (5.35).

- (5.36) *nəŋ á* [[*hír-á gùrgùr-tín-a*]_{NP} *dǎǎl-á*]_{NP}
 3sg COP.3.IMPERV man-RSTR skill-N.S-RSTR hard.STV-RSTR
háŋ
 INTENS
 ‘S/he is a man of great abilities.’
 (Lit. ‘S/he is a man of very strong skills/knowledges.’)

Whenever the final element at the right-edge of an NP is a simple noun, the genitive case marker attaches to this simple noun —expressing the R, as in (5.37 repeated from §3.2.1.3.8).

- (5.37) *nəŋ á* [[*hír-á lóm-à* [*gùrgùr-tín-á*
 3sg COP.3.IMPERV man-RSTR have-NOMZ skilled.STV-NOMZ-RSTR
áí-n]_{NP}
 voice/talk-GEN
 ‘S/he is an able speaker.’ (Lit. ‘S/he is a person having knowledge of speaking.)’

The possessive meanings to be conveyed by these noun modification constructions cover ownership (5.30), association (5.31;5.35), orientation/location (5.32-5.34), and attributes of a person (5.36-5.37).

5.7 Predicative possessive construction

A possessive relationship can be established within a clause, in the form of predicative possession (Aikhenvald 2013: 27). Predicative possessive construction in Mursi can be expressed by the verb *lòm* ‘have/hold/grab’ (§5.7.1), existential verb *ih* ‘exist’ (§5.7.2), and an invariable copula verb *á* <COP.3.IMPERV> (for both singular/plural) (§5.7.3).

5.7.1 With the verb *lòm* ‘have’

The verb *lòm* ‘have’ is a transitive verb, has no perfective form and can never be used in command and passive constructions. A possessive construction produced with the help of this verb may be translated as in English — R_A have/hold/grasp D_O (cf. Dixon

2010: 299) (where subject of the transitive verb *lòm* (A) is the same as the possessor (R); and the object (O) is the same as the possessed (D)). The possessed noun can be any simple or derived noun or any possessable object in O slot.

(5.38) [abɛbɛ]_{R:A} lòm-∅ [gòdín=gè sízzì]_{D:O}
 Abebe has-3sg.SU.IMPERV brother=PERT.PL.3.PSR three
 ‘Abebe has three brothers.’

(5.39) [ɲà=múwáí=tùnù]_{R:A/NP} lòm-∅ [dóri ɕáll-ì háŋ]_{D:O/NP}
 DEM=woman.SG=FAR has-3sg.SU.IMPERV house good.STV-ADJ
 INTENS
 ‘That woman has a nice house.’

(5.40) [érmì dʒààrè]_{R:A/NP} lò-∅ [ɲòdòrì]_{D:O}
 child leg has-3sg.SU.IMPERV sore
 ‘The child’s leg has a sore.’

When the verb *lòm* is nominalized, it can occur in a relative clause that modifies a head noun by gap strategy.

(5.41) zùwó-á [∅ lòm-è-á bì-ò]_{RC}
 people-RSTR [∅ have-3pl.SU.IMPERV-NOMZ cow-PL]
 hòd-á
 come.PERV.PL-3pl.SU.PERV
 ‘Those people who have cows came!’ (Lit. ‘people having cows’)

This verb may still function as an intransitive verb ‘exist’ (as in (5.42-5.44) or it may co-occur with the existential verb itself in a single predicative possessive construction (as in (5.42).

(5.42) sárí tó-jé lòm-ò [mèdèrni mèrì háŋ]
 fence in-OBL have-3.IRR sheep.PL many INTENS
 ‘There are many sheep in the enclosure.’ (Lit. ‘Inside the enclosure very many sheep exist.’)

(5.43) dóri-á [∅ tó-jé lòm-à tòŋò]_{RC}
 house-RSTR [∅ in-OBL have-3sg.SU.PERV goat]
 ‘There is a goat in the house.’ (Lit. ‘The house that has a goat in it.’)

(5.44) hír-á [∅ lòm-á ɕáll-ìn]_{RC}
 man-rstr [∅ has-3sg.SU.PERV good.STV-N.S]
 lòm-∅ [kòmòr-á dǒnén-á]_{NP} sóŋ
 have-3sg.SU.IMPERV God-RSTR one/alone-RSTR only
 ‘There is none good but one, that is God.’
 (Lit. ‘A person who has good, there exists God alone only.’)

- (5.45) [ɲàɲùrè]_{R:A/NP} lòm-Ø [ɲàj]_{D:O} él
 cat have-3sg.SU.IMPERV ear.PL exist.3pl.SU.IMPERV
 òb
 straight

‘A cat has pointed ears.’ (Lit. ‘A cat has ears exist straight.’)

In (5.44), the adjective *čàlli* ‘good’ (whose origin is a stative verb) is nominalized by nouns of state marker suffix *-in*; thus it is a noun.

5.7.2 With the existential verb *ih* ‘exist/present’

The verb of existence has four different roots, each of which comes carrying a grammatical information such as person and aspect. What makes the existential verb different from the verb ‘have’ is that the verb ‘exist’ is an intransitive verb used with D in S function, and then the R becomes a peripheral NP often marked by the preposition/comitative particle *kó* ‘with’ or oblique case marker *-ɔ/-je* attached to D. A positive existential possessive predication will have the following schema: D exists with R or D exists for R, as in (5.46-5.49).

- (5.46) [dóri]_D í-Ø gòr-ò sò sítèn
 house exist.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV path-OBL hand.SG right
 ‘His house is on the right.’

- (5.47) [ɲà=àhà=á]_D él úkúra-jè
 DEM=thing.PL=NEAR exist.3sg.SU.IMPERV pocket-OBL
 áín-áj-ò
 give.PERV.SG-1sg.OBJ-VFS
 ‘Give (sg.) me what is in your pocket.’

- (5.48) kó ɲà=fòwá=á wòj-è ɲójó
 pnc DEM=bird.PL=NEAR move/walk-3pl.SU.IMPERV wind
 tò-jè=ɲà góto ífè
 in-OBL=DEF order exist.3.SU
 ‘...and the birds of the air have nests.’
 (Lit. ‘...and the birds moving in the air there are nests.’)

- (5.49) ànè tílá k-ám-í nà iggè
 1sg food 1SU-eat.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV CCN 2pl
 Ímágo ífè
 don’t.know.2pl.SU.IMPERV exist.3.SU
 ‘I have food to eat that you (pl.) do not know.’

Note that the existential verb in Mursi has also some irregular variants such *ife* (uninflected form) (as in (5.48-5.49) or (as in (5.50)). The existential possessive predication construction can also be shown by a schema where the R precedes the D.

- (5.50) [nòŋ]_R [ŋònè]_D íhé
 3sg sister.PERT.SG.3.PSR exist.IMPERV.SG
 ‘He has a sister’ (Lit. ‘he-his sister there is.’)

These existential possessive predication constructions shown above can be expressed by the negative counterpart *níŋè* ‘there is not; not present/exist’. The negative existential possessive construction is used to express the absence of the D. In Mursi, all negated verbs including the negative existential verb always occur at clause-final positions. This generates another existential predicative possessive schema: R-D

NEGATIVE.EXISTANCIAL. Some examples are provided as follows:

- (5.51) [ànè]_R [làsàj]_D níŋè-n-àn-ó
 1sg bread not.present/exist-SG-1sg.OBJ-VFS
 ‘I don’t have bread.’ (Lit. ‘I don’t have bread to me.’)
- (5.52) [ànè]_R [làsàj]_D níŋè
 1sg bread not.present/exist.3.SU
 ‘I don’t have bread.’
- (5.53) nà dǒóléj jàg-á nà sé-á
 CCN:NARR girl.SG answer-3sg.SU.PERV CCN say-3sg.SU.PERV
 ké “[ànè]_R [hírí]_D níŋè-n-àn-ò”
 QUOT 1sg man not.present/exist-SG-1sg.OBJ-VFS
 ‘The woman answered and said, “I have no husband”.’

5.7.3 Using a copula verb

Possessive relationships can be expressed with a copular construction (Dixon 2010: 302; Aikhenvald 2013: 29). The copula verb in Mursi inflects for person and number, and alters its root form for aspect. However, a possessive relationship through a copula construction can only be shown by one specific copula verb form, i.e. the third person imperfective form *á* <COP.3SG/PL.IMPERV>. Accordingly, a possessive relationship construction using this copula verb may yield the schema: D (copula subject) COPULA VERB R (copula complement).

(5.54) D copula R

- a. [ín-á gólón-n-á]_{D:CS} á [ɲàrúgó]_{R:CC}
 3sg.PN.SP-RSTR red.STV-SG-RSTR COP.3.IMPERV Ngarugo
 ‘The red one is Ngarugo’s.’
- b. [ín-á gólón-á]_{D:CS} án-á [ɲàtèrì]_{R:CC}
 3sg.PN.SP-RSTR red.STV-RSTR COP.IMPERV-ANA Ngateri
 ‘The red one is Ngateri’s.’

As we can see from the examples illustrated in (5.54a-b), the copular clauses utilize a noun modification construction-based NP as their D (CS) whose real D is in fact the specific pronoun *in*. Note that these two copular constructions referring to a possessive relationship differ from other types which may look alike. For example, copular constructions whose Rs (CCs) are full-fledged possessive constructions on their own — can contain pertensive form (5.55a) or pertensive plus genitive form (5.55b).

- (5.55) a. [ɲàìnà]_{D:CS} á [ɲònà]_{D.R:CC}
 DEM=3sg.PN.SP=NEAR COP.3.IMPERV sister.PERT.SG.1.PSR
 ‘This is my sister.’
- b. [nòɲ]_{D:CS} án-á [ɲònà-j]_{D.R:CC}
 3sg COP.IMPERV-ANA sister.PERT.SG.1.PSR-GEN
 ‘It is my sister’s.’

However, if the R (CC) is a noun modification construction (simple NP), the possessive relationship is that of the copular construction-driven one, as in (5.56).

- (5.56) [nòɲ]_{D:CS} án-á [hír-á óól-nèn-á]_{R:CC}
 3sg COP.IMPERV-ANA man-RSTR beg-NOMZ-RSTR
 ‘It is the beggar’s.’

One instance has been found in my corpus where D (CS) functions as a topic (5.57).

The fact that D (CC) is a possessive pronoun which must be linked to D.

- (5.57) [[sátíní]_D [nòɲ]_D]_{CS} á [n=ànù]_{R:CC}
 box 3sg COP.3.IMPERV SG.PSD=1SG.PSR
 ‘The box is mine.’ (Lit. ‘the box- it is mine’)

5.8 Summary

Table 5.3 below is a summary of the possessive construction types, and highlights the morphological, syntactic and semantic nature of the possessive relationships of the NP-internal-driven possessive constructions.

Table 5.3 NP-internal possessive construction

POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTION TYPE	THE MORPHOSYNTACTIC AND SEMANTIC NATURE OF THE POSSESSIVE RELATIONSHIP					
	THE NATURE OF D	THE NATURE OF R	MARKING ON D	MARKING ON R	SEMANTICS	ALIENABLY/INALIENABLY POSSESSED
Juxtaposed (R-D)	animates, body parts, objects, name	human, animates, plants, objects	NONE	NONE	ownership whole-part association	both ??
Possessum-possessor (D-R) A TYPE	human, animates, any simple noun	human, animates, kinship, any simple noun	<i>-a</i>	genitive <i>-ŋ</i> [-ùŋ]/[-uŋ], Ø genitive+oblique <i>-oŋ</i>	kinship, ownership association orientation/location source or material	alienably possessed
	B TYPE human, animates, body part, any simple noun	proper names	<i>-a</i>	genitive <i>-i</i> [-j], Ø	ownership	alienably possessed
Possessum-possessor (D-R)	any noun	possessive pronouns	<i>-a</i>	NONE	kinship, ownership whole-part, attribute association	alienably possessed
Pertensive (D=PERT.R) A TYPE	close kinship nouns (8), <i>re</i>	pertensive markers referring human possessors	pertensive enclitics	none or rarely a plural marker <i>-čo</i>	kinship ownership	inalienably possessed

B TYPE	'body (of human)'			following the pertensive		
	close kinship nouns (8), <i>rε</i> 'body (of human)'	possessive pronouns (optional)	pertensive enclitics	none or rarely a plural marker <i>-čo</i> following the pertensive	kinship ownership	inalienably ³⁹ possessed
Noun Modification Constructions (D- (R ₁) (R ₂) R)	human, animates, body part, kinship, simple nouns	human, animates, any simple noun, possessive pronoun	<i>-a</i> (on D and on intermediate Rs)	on the last R: genitive <i>-ŋ</i> [-ùŋ]/[-uŋ], Ø genitive+oblique <i>-oŋ</i> , oblique <i>-o</i>	ownership association orientation/location attribute	alienably possessed
	human, simple nouns	human, animates,	<i>-a</i> (on all Ds)	<i>-a</i>	ownership association orientation/location attribute	

³⁹ Possessive pronouns are entirely optional Rs for pertensive B type possessive constructions. Following the pertensive structures, the existence of possessive pronouns (as optional Rs) does not mean the Ds are 'inalienable possessed'.

Chapter 6 Number

6.1 Introduction

Like many other Nilo-Saharan languages, Mursi has a complex number marking system. Mursi nouns can be divided into four sets based on how they mark number: 'replacive', 'marked plural', 'singulative' and 'suppletive'. However, with respect to overtly marking of number on nouns, a 'tripartite' number system could be a convenient label which best specifies grammatical number of referents. The overt tripartite number coding system on nouns includes: replacive marking (both singular and plural are morphologically marked), plural (plural marked, singular unmarked) and singulative (singular marked, plural unmarked). Including morphemes and allomorphs, about 70 different portmanteau suffixes have been discovered within the tripartite system. The suppletive system of coding of number has many unpredictable morphological manifestations and forms. Therefore it stands apart from the three number codings that constituted the tripartite system.

These four number marking systems can only be used to specify the grammatical number of referents or nominals. In other words, outside the noun class, they can never be used to specify number of other word classes. Rarely do a few derived adjectives take a specific type of plural marker suffix like nouns.

From a point of view of meaning, all functions behave in the same way, that is, denote references number. The meaning of number, as Aikhenvald (2015: 111) wrote, 'distinguishes reference to one individual from reference to more than one'. Accordingly, Mursi number marking suffixes distinguish two type of nominal reference:

- i. singular ~ referring to one
- ii. plural ~ referring to more than one

The singular system itself is of two types: singular and singulative. Semantically, both are one and the same number marking systems referring to one referent. Broadly speaking, singulative and replacive are the two number marking systems in the language in which singular morphological number marking suffixes can overtly convey singular meanings. This semantic distinction can be extended to the plural system where one may find a distinction between plural and pluralia tantúm. The term ‘pluralia tantúm’ refers to those nouns that are inherently plural, and mainly those associated with mass nouns or liquids, as in (6.1a-d)

- (6.1)
- a. mòdǎ ‘saliva’
 - b. ɲáwà ‘blood’
 - c. mà ‘water’
 - d. sára ‘name’

The only difference between plural and pluralia tantúm is that nouns which inherently occur as the pluralia tantúm do not take any morphological number marking. Besides, they may easily be distinguished by showing complete number agreement with their possessive pronouns modifiers within NPs. This is evident in a possessive relationship construction as shown in the example below.

- (6.2)
- a. [sára-à g=ànù]_{NP}
 name-RTSR PL.PSD=1SG.PSR
 ‘My name’ (Lit. ‘My name (pl.)’)
 - b. *[sára-a n=ànù]
 name-RSTR SG.PSD=1SG.PSR (ungrammatical)

Table 6.1 below is a summary showing meanings of number being referred to by the morphological number markings.

Table 6.1 The meanings of number and markedness

NUMBER MARKING SYSTEM	SINGULAR	PLURAL
replacive	marked	marked
marked plural	unmarked	marked
singulative	marked	unmarked
suppletive	unmarked	unmarked

Not all, but oftentimes some nouns belonging to one specific number marking system tend to show some degree of semantic similarities. For example, a tripartite system alone has more than fifty well established and elaborated sets in which individual members/nouns are being coded by a variety of number marking suffixes. From a corpus size of approximately 600 nouns, 20 suffixes of replacive system that fall in 9 categories, 17 suffixes with marked plural systems that form 11 categories, and one singulative suffixes have been identified. For collective/mass nouns, singulative is the single most common and frequent strategy. For some, if not noun classes, at least noun categories can be established based on their semantic groupings and phonological endings. Establishing semantic/phonological-based noun categories is not always easy and plain. There are nouns which do not simply fall into one specific noun category. This is due to the fact that there are a few nouns that belong to more than one number marking systems. Therefore I have represented the tripartite system by three categorical symbols A, B and C (where A stands for singular, B for singulative and C for plural).

- (6.3) SINGULAR (A) SINGULATIVE (B) PLURAL (C) MEANING
 a. kídǒ kídǒi (one river) kídě̀n ‘river’
 b. zèl zèllí (one short stick) zèllíjána ‘short stick’

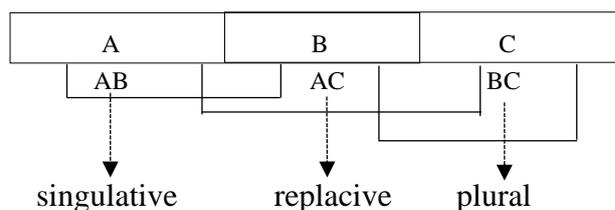


Diagram 6.1 Tripartite system (6.3a)

Here, an important point to be taken into consideration is that we must check number of a referent not only in relation to one of its counterparts but also in relation to other possible counterparts. For example, in (6.3a), A in relation to B forms the singulative system. Similarly, $A \leftrightarrow C$ and $B \leftrightarrow C$ can form replacive and plural making systems respectively. In (6.3b), as it is also shown in Diagram 6.2 below, $A \leftrightarrow B$ forms the singulative system, $A \leftrightarrow C$ forms the marked plural system, and $B \leftrightarrow C$ forms the replacive system.

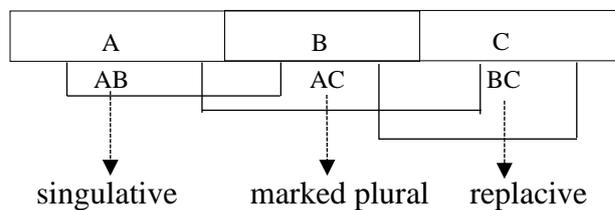


Diagram 6.2 Tripartite system (6.3b)

In fact, there may be a few semantic motivations for some nouns having identical forms and meanings but taking different number marking systems. The semantic motivation is one which defines the internal properties of members of a given category (see §xxx). For instance, the singulative forms *kídòì* ‘river’ and *zèllí* ‘short stick’ can only be used within an NP and if their modifier is the number word *dǔnéj* ‘one’. In this case, the suffix *-i* can be used as a singulative marker as well as a non-restrictive marker (6.4a-b)

- (6.4) a. [kídò-ì dǔnéj]_{NP}
 river-NRSTR one
 ‘One river’
- b. [zèll-í dǔnéj]_{NP}
 short.stick-NRSTR one
 ‘One short stick’

In certain discourse contexts, speakers were being observed using these two nouns without mentioning the modifier *dǔnéj*. Two more nouns have been found in my corpus which belong to more than one number marking systems: one replacive — *ʃǔgàj* (singular)/*ʃǔgàčín* (plural) ~ *ʃǔgàpà* (plural) ‘kind of stone being used for sharpening’

and the other marked plural — *érésí* (singular)/*érésió* (marked plural) ~ *érésíná* (marked plural) ‘silver bracelet’.

6.2 The realization of number

In Mursi, number reference can be coded by three major ways: morphological process (affixation), lexical number words and quantifiers. Number can also be indicated on nouns and on a few verbs by internal change (partially suppletive system). Mursi has both overt and covert grammatical number marking systems. Grammatical number can be shown on nouns, pronouns, derived adjectives, and verbs overtly. Number can be shown on verbs covertly where the marking of number of the core arguments (S/A and O) co-occur with the sets of suppletive forms of existential and motion verbs. Tone is one way which can rarely be used to indicate grammatical number on nouns. See Table 6.2 for the realization of number system and where number is shown.

Table 6.2 The realization of number

REALIZATION	MORPHOLOGICAL SYSTEM	WHERE NUMBER IS MARKED/SHOWN	REMARK
Suffixation	portmanteau morphemes/suffixes	nouns	singulative, marked plural and replacive (see §6.3)
Suppletion	none	nouns and verbs	it could be complete/partial(see §6.4)
Tone	tone	nouns and verbs	(see §6.5)
<i>n/g</i> alternation	clitics and bound form	Nominals	(see §6.6)
Clitization	<i>n=/g=; =n/=g</i>	nouns, possessive pronouns	(see §6.6.1)
Fused/bound form	<i>n/g</i>	pronouns (personal, demonstrative, interrogative and relative, indefinite)	(see §6.6.2)
The bound number/aspect marking forms	<i>-t/-d'</i>	verbs	number and/or aspect (see §6.7, p281)
Additional suffixes	<i>-V, -i, -o, -a [-ta, -na]</i>	verbs and adjectives	(see §6.8)

Number-determined suppletive forms	none	verbs	(see §6.9)
Reduplication	---	adjectives and number words	(see §6.10)
Number words	number word	within NPs or CC	(see §6.11)

6.3 Suffixation

Suffixation is the most productive number-marking morphological process in which the grammatical number of many Mursi nouns can be shown. All the three number marking systems that form the 'tripartite' utilize suffixation. For collective/mass nouns, singulative (unmarked plural) is a common strategy.

A number of explanations can be adopted for the variety of number marking possibilities in Mursi. Nevertheless, the notion of prototype is the best explanation that I found at this stage to understand why speakers prefer one specific number marker for a particular category. A category could have a 'prototype word' (always a noun) containing the semantics or the concept that function as a center to other members in the category. A prototypical noun, therefore, can be regarded as one holding a general meaning that could be 'central' or 'ideal' to members within a category. Each category usually has its own unique prototype that is central to all its members.

Arensen (1998: 186) has adopted a similar approach called 'prototype theory' to sort out plural markers of Murle into structured categories. He lived among the cattle-raising Murle people (a Nilotic ethnic group) of the Sudan-side in the southeastern Sudan. Their language is part of the Surmic group of the Nilo-Saharan family. While he attempting to categorize Murle nouns, he realized that 'the prototype-approach' is the best approach to understand Murle pluralization. In his argument about a prototype approach, he wrote,

‘There is also chaining within a category. One object is connected to another and that to another until the original connection may not be obvious...an item belongs to a category not because it shares certain common features, but because there are connections to the central prototype (pp. 186).’

It is necessary to take into account that each category differs in terms of semantics as well as membership distribution. For instance one category may contain more animate referents than others, while another category may be composed of nouns associated only with farming or body parts. In addition, there are number marking suffixes of one specific category that can also provide the same function to two or more categories. Therefore, for some nouns within a tripartite system, a number of categories have been established based on a prototype-based categorization approach.

6.3.1 Replacive

Replacive number marking system differs from the other two systems (marked plural and singulative) in that it is rich, complex and has many unpredictable number marking suffix shapes. It consists about 20 different number marking portmanteau suffixes. The distribution and phonetic variation of some suffixes is phonologically conditioned. For example there may be insertion of an epenthetic vowel [-i] following a consonant-final noun; or there may be a vowel height harmony depending on the phonetic nature of the vowel in the root.

A. CATEGORY I: *-i* [-j] (singular) versus {-*a*/*ε*/*o* [-ɔ]/-*ɲá* [-íɲá]} (plural)

CATEGORY I is established on the basis of nouns that take the singular marker suffix *-i* (following consonant-final nouns; [-j] following vowel-final nouns) on one hand and nouns that take all the plural marker suffixes on the other hand.

(6.5)	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
	a. lús-ì	lús-à	‘boy’
	b. bár-í	bár-á	‘man, senior, age set (group)’
	c. àh-ì	àh-à	‘thing, object’

d. čérédén-ì	čérédén-à	‘porcupine’
e. gúsús-ì	gúsús-à	‘big back ant’
f. kútúsén-ì	kútúsén-à	‘kidney’
g. ɲàb-ì	ɲàw-à	‘ear’
h. lètán-ì	lètán-à	‘earlobe’

(6.6) SINGULAR PLURAL

a. dʒààr-ì	dʒààr-è	‘leg’
b. kààr-ì	kààr-è	‘eye’

Both nouns shown in example (6.6) have undergone an intervocalic consonant deletion

[g] that, however, some other Surmic group languages retained.

(6.7) SINGULAR PLURAL

a. èrí	èr-o	‘leather (animal skin)’
b. úlf-ì	úlf-ó	‘sorghum stalk’
c. tèt-ì	tèt-ó	‘young man, age set (group)’
d. bírín-í	bírín-ó	‘thorn’

(6.8) SINGULAR PLURAL

a. mòdʒòlà-j	mòdʒòlà-ɲá	‘sandflea’
b. gùnàtè-j	gùnàtè-ɲá	‘thunder’

CATEGORY I consists of four sets of nouns that can be shown by one singular suffix and five plural suffixes. Many of these nouns are associated with men’s age set, animal and plant covers. There is also an interesting semantic correlation between the singular forms and their counterparts —for example some of them have to do with pain or objects which inflict pain. They may also refer to a part of a human body that is injured because of participating in various activities such as stick fighting. There is no doubt that at the time of land clearing, men’s legs are a body part often exposed to an injury caused by a thorn or sorghum stalks, or bitten by insects that cause pain. It can also be considered as a prototypical category for some human body part nouns (as in (6.5f-h; 6.6)).

B. CATEGORY II: {-i, -ɔ, [-o] -u, -a} (singular) versus -ena (plural)

Except for ‘lung’ and ‘priest’, this category is composed of nouns that are harmful and those with the ability to bite and cause pain. The closest category to the CATEGORY II is CATEGORY III.

- | | | | |
|--------|-------------|------------|------------------|
| (6.10) | SINGULAR | PLURAL | |
| | a. màrǰār-ì | màrǰār-èná | ‘termite’ |
| | b. ɲòdòr-ì | ɲòdòr-èná | ‘sore’ |
| (6.11) | SINGULAR | PLURAL | |
| | a. sìir-ò | sìir-èná | ‘mule’ |
| | b. gùǰúr-ó | gùǰúr-èná | ‘hyena’ |
| | c. ɲòr-ò | ɲòr-èná | ‘elephant’ |
| (6.12) | SINGULAR | PLURAL | |
| | a. hòh-ú | hòh-èná | ‘lung’ |
| | b. kómór-ú | kómór-èná | ‘priest, leader’ |

C. CATEGORY III: {-a, -aj [-ai], -i, -o [-ɔ], -ɛ} (singular) versus -en (plural)

This category is composed of two sets. The first set consists of member nouns that take the suffixes -a, -aj [-ai], and -i as singular marker (6.13-6.15). Members of this set are associated with habitation, things that are basic for dwelling/habitation and some labor-based domains of men and women. The word ‘dwelling pole’ symbolizes family under one roof or one center point for family gathering; the roof needs a structure that supports it, i.e. the dwelling pole. Food, water and house are the basics for life. Cattle are the most valuable assets to the Mursi —both economically as well as culturally. Labor division may apply—preparation of food, fetching water from waterhole/river, carrying children at home are done by women. Men usually help with some heavy works such as protecting sorghum in the field and herding cattle. The Mursi life usually develops around the social and cultural values that originate as a result of the activities related to members of this set.

- | | | | |
|--------|--------------|----------|---------------------|
| (6.13) | SINGULAR | PLURAL | |
| | a. tíl-á | tìl-én | ‘food’ |
| | b. dǒɲ-à | dǒɲ-èn | ‘dwelling pole’ |
| | c. él-à | él-én | ‘waterhole’ ~ [-én] |
| | d. múd-à | mùd-én | ‘big metal needle’ |
| | e. àçùg-à | àçùg-èná | ‘meat’ |
| | f. bóç-à | bóç-en | ‘thin (N./ADJ.)’ |
| | g. gás-à | gás-en | ‘work party’ |
| (6.14) | SINGULAR | PLURAL | |
| | a. búɲ-áj[i] | bùɲ-én | ‘castrated bull/ox’ |

- | | | | | | |
|--------|----|----------|--------|-------------------------|--|
| | b. | móǰ-àj | mòǰ-én | ‘mouse’ | |
| | c. | àms-àj | àms-én | ‘bird-scaring platform’ | |
| (6.15) | | SINGULAR | PLURAL | | |
| | a. | dór-í | dòr-èn | ‘house’ | |
| | b. | bír-é | bír-én | ‘walking stick; smoke’ | |
| | c. | túr-é | túr-én | ‘gun’ | |

As can be shown below in (6.15), the suffix *-en* will be attached to nouns containing consonant-final roots whereas the suffix *-n* may be attached to nouns having *-e* [-ε] final roots/singular forms.

The second set has members that take the singular suffix *-o* [-ɔ] and the plural counterpart *-en*. As can be shown in the examples given below, this set doesn't contain members which have a consistent semantic content and correspondence with one another. But members correspond to mainly two nominal types: animal and natural beings.

- | | | | | | |
|--------|----|----------|---------|----------------|---------|
| (6.16) | | SINGULAR | PLURAL | | |
| | a. | árr-ó | árr-èn | ‘hippopotamus’ | |
| | b. | àbb-ò | àbb-èn | ‘antelope’ | |
| | c. | kíǰ-ó | kíǰ-én | ‘river’ | |
| | d. | íǰ-ó | íǰ-én | ‘mist’ | ~ [-én] |
| | e. | kítt-ó | kítt-èn | ‘scorpion’ | ~ [-ó] |

- | | | | | | |
|--------|--|----------|----------|---------|---------|
| (6.17) | | SINGULAR | PLURAL | | |
| | | mèdèr-è | mèdèr-ní | ‘sheep’ | ~ [-ní] |

In terms of number marking suffix form, the noun *mèdèrè* stands apart from the rest of the members in (6.16). Yet this is the closest set for it to be a member of.

D. CATEGORY IV: {-oj, [-oi], -ui, -u, -ej, i, -o} (singular) versus {-ai, -a, -o, -ɔ} (plural)

Despite a number of different number marking portmanteau suffixes, they do not fetch a single semantic based-set for their members. Nevertheless, on the basis of the natural class of some members of this category, I have established three possible semantic sets. Set A — the two birds mentioned in (6.18c) and (6.21a) share one natural shape with the object mentioned in (6.20b), i.e. both birds have a sickle-shaped beak that resembles

the shape of a ‘bill-hook’. There is one more possibility to make a semantic extension further than this; the noun ‘bone’ in (6.22a) can be associated with the mouth of the two birds (via ‘strength’ or ‘the items make-up’). Set B may be regarded as a set which consist of ‘spider web’, ‘white mushroom’, ‘pumpkin’, ‘intestine’, and ‘snake’ in that each is linked to one another via a ‘circular shape’. Furthermore, camels’ fatty deposit called the ‘hump’ has this circular shape thus may be included to this set.

- | | | | |
|--------|------------|-----------|---------------------|
| (6.18) | SINGULAR | PLURAL | |
| a. | máǀ-ój | máǀ-ía | ‘spider web’ |
| b. | gàǀǀ-òj | gàǀǀ-á | ‘camel’ |
| c. | kíǀǀ-òì | kíǀǀ-á | ‘black kite’ |
| d. | bùkk-òì | bòkk-á | ‘white mushroom’ |
| e. | gúǀǀkàǀ-ùì | gúǀǀkàǀ-á | ‘pumpkin’ ~ [-ui] |
| f. | ǀòǀǀ-òj | ǀòǀǀ-á | ‘intestine’ |
| (6.19) | SINGULAR | PLURAL | |
| | kòn-ù | kòn-á | ‘snake’ |
| (6.20) | SINGULAR | PLURAL | |
| a. | gàǀǀ-ù | gàǀǀ-ó | ‘basket’ |
| b. | wèǀ-ù | wèǀ-ó | ‘bill-hook’ |
| c. | kòǀ-ù | kòǀ-ó | ‘charcoal’ |
| d. | ǀàǀ-ù | ǀàǀ-ó | ‘soft porridge’ |
| (6.21) | SINGULAR | PLURAL | |
| a. | kòǀǀ-èj | kòǀǀ-ó | ‘buzzard’ |
| b. | dúǀǀúm-èj | dúǀǀúm-ó | ‘tree stump’ |
| c. | gíǀǀ-è | gíǀǀ-ó | ‘grave’ |
| (6.22) | SINGULAR | PLURAL | |
| a. | gìǀǀ-èj | gìǀǀ-à | ‘bone’ |
| b. | dòǀǀ-è | dòǀǀ-jà | ‘small cooking pot’ |

Set C is another way of associating a few members of this category that are related to cooking utensils such as ‘small cooking pot’ and ‘basket’ (‘flour container’) that have to do with the preparation of ‘porridge’. This may also include anything having to do with the ‘means of preparation’ itself such as ‘tree stump’ and ‘charcoal’. An exceptional example though is the following, which semantically fits in this category and resembles it (6.18c) in terms of the singular number marking suffix it take.

(6.23) *dũŋ-wì* *dõŋ-á* ‘vulture’

The suffix /-wi/ could be a phonetically motivated one and it can be interpreted as [-ui] ~ [-i].

E. CATEGORY V: *-j* [-i] (singular) versus *-čín* (plural)

Despite also having its members belonging to the marked singular system, semantically, this category is identical to that of CATEGORY IV of the marked plural system. Many of the members (from both 'replacive' and 'marked plural' systems) are associated with tools commonly used in cultivation and hunting. Generally, its members are often associated with hunting materials and the animals being hunted (see CATEGORY VIII § 6.3.2).

(6.24)	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
a.	<i>ŋòmà-j</i>	<i>ŋòmà-čín</i>	‘razor’
b.	<i>čòbà-i</i>	<i>čòbà-čín</i>	‘pig’
c.	<i>dór-í</i>	<i>dór-čín</i>	‘nest’

F. CATEGORY VI: {*-tej* [-tei], *-toj* [-toi], *-j* [-i], *-te*} (singular) versus *-ča* (plural)

This category contains a list of wild animals. None of these animals are considered domestic animals by the Mursi. The Mursi do not even clearly distinguish between donkey and mule (rarely between mule and horse). For example, the same term *hárté* may be used to refer to 'donkey' and 'horse'. Sometimes they use a different term for 'mule', i.e. *sìrčə*⁴⁰.

(6.25)	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
a.	<i>dòlè-tèj</i>	<i>dòlè-čá</i>	‘tortoise’
b.	<i>gára-tèj</i>	<i>gára-čá</i>	‘monkey’

(6.26)	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
a.	<i>mùná-tòj</i>	<i>mùná-čá</i>	‘Genet’

(6.27)	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
--------	----------	--------	--

⁴⁰ ‘Mule, Donkey, and Horse’ are the three most common domestic animals in many societies in Ethiopia, but they are not be domesticated by the Mursi society. Thus these animals may have been brought to the Mursi area by the highlanders (usually the Amhara).

- | | | | | |
|--------|----|-------------|-----------|---------------|
| | a. | bólóǵó-ì | bólóǵó-ǵá | ‘corn cob’ |
| (6.28) | | SINGULAR | PLURAL | |
| | a. | átálá-t(t)é | átálá-ǵá | ‘guinea fowl’ |
| | b. | hár-té | hár-ǵá | ‘mule’ |

Some of these animals are in fact crop (‘corn cob’) damaging ones.

G. CATEGORY VII: {-a, -ǵ[-o]} (singular) versus -i (plural)

With the exception of two (‘tail’, ‘dog’ and ‘road’), this is a dedicated category VII for human body part nouns.

- | | | | | |
|--------|----|----------|--------|------------------|
| (6.29) | | SINGULAR | PLURAL | |
| | a. | sáb-á | sáb-í | ‘head’ |
| (6.30) | | SINGULAR | PLURAL | |
| | a. | kèŋ-ò | kèŋ-ì | ‘belly’ |
| | b. | tùg-ò | tùg-ì | ‘mouth’ |
| | c. | mùm-ò | mùm-ì | ‘face, forehead’ |
| | d. | kàj-ó | kàj-ì | ‘tongue’ |
| | e. | jìr-ò | jìr-ì | ‘biceps’ |
| | f. | kùr-ó | kùr-í | ‘tail’ |
| | g. | gòr-ò | gòr-í | ‘road, path’ |
| | h. | ròs-ò | ròs-í | ‘dog’ |

CATEGORY VII can be viewed from another angle in the way it incorporates most of these body part nouns, that is, as relator nouns. When they function as relator nouns, they can take oblique case and singular number marking suffixes (see §10.4).

H. CATEGORY VIII: -e [-ε] (singular) versus {-a, -i} (plural)

This category is composed of a small number of human as well as animal body part nouns that have unique or unusual appearances or characteristics. See the following examples.

- | | | | | |
|--------|----|----------|---------|-----------|
| (6.31) | | SINGULAR | PLURAL | |
| | a. | kàlúg-é | kàlúg-á | ‘arm pit’ |
| | b. | kùdùh-é | kùdùh-á | ‘navel’ |
| | c. | dǵ-è | dǵ-ì | ‘hump’ |

CATEGORY IX is composed of nouns which take various portmanteau or miscellaneous suffixes: {-i, oi, -e, -ǵ, -nèj} (singular) versus {-na, -ná [-íná], -ia} (plural).

(6.32)	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
a.	tíhá-i	tíhá-nà	‘light rain shower’
b.	kéré-j	kéré-nà	‘horn’
c.	ʃír-òì	ʃír-íṅá	‘weed’
d.	hùl-è	hùl-íṅá	‘flower’
e.	lòg-ó	lòg-íṅá	‘issue’
f.	áʃá-i	áʃá-ʃá	‘grandchildren’
g.	ṅòr-nèj	ṅòr-íá	‘butter’

An important point that we should take into consideration is that these nouns do not have one uniform number marker suffix that can put them together to form one semantic category. However, one may find a semantic association even between some of these nouns, if needed. For example, in some African societies, nouns such as ‘weed’ and ‘flower’ may form a semantic opposition, but they normally are categorized in the same taxonomy (see Dimmendaal 2000 and Storch 2005 for a similar approach and similar opaque system).

6.3.2 Marked plural

A marked plural number marking system in general consist of phonologically unpredictable plural suffixes. Some plural marking suffixes of this system are also markers of plural referents in the replacive system.

A. CATEGORY I: -ṅá [-íṅá]

The plural marker suffix *-ṅá* is the most productive number marking suffix that serves in two separate number marking systems. Members of this category lack a proper defining semantic feature or a prototypical manifestation. However, the fact is that the Mursi pay a great deal of emphasis to the social and cultural values related to their cattle. This may be expressed through social groupings at different age sets/levels and the social roles being carried out by the respective age levels such as preparing snares installed in holes, cattle closures and so on. For example, keeping cattle is the responsibility of young children in a family.

There was a widespread practice of extracting the upper teeth from children whose upper milk teeth develop before their lower teeth. If the upper teeth sprout first, therefore it is regarded as 'bad luck' or 'evil'; and the children are believed to cause various problems and damages, bring evil spirits and misfortune in the society. It is common in the Hamar and Kara societies (close neighbours to the Mursi). Therefore, the upper teeth of the firstborn child is extracted —see example (6.33c) and (6.33g).

(6.33)	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
a.	kàbì	kàbì-ǵá	‘clan’
b.	čár	čár-íǵá	‘leopard’
c.	sìl	sìl-íǵá	‘a single gap in the upper teeth’,
d.	tùì	tùì-ǵá	‘cattle enclosure’
e.	tólóǵé	tólóǵé-ǵá	‘lizard’
f.	bóǵú	bóǵú-ǵá	‘youngest child’
g.	áú	áú-ǵá	‘eldest, first-born child’
h.	lóg	lóg-íǵá	‘hole’
i.	òlí	òlí-ǵá	‘bull’

CATEGORY I is also a default category for Mursi borrowed nouns (from Amahric). Thus borrowed nouns are being marked by the suffix /-ǵá/ in the same way as other nouns are. With the exception of a few, almost all Mursi borrowed nouns fall into this category. Table 6.3 presents the default plural number marker suffix *-ǵá* attached to some borrowed nouns.

Table 6.3 The plural marker *-ǵá* on borrowed nouns

AMHARIC	MURSI	PLURAL	MEANING
<i>nəgaddē</i>	<i>ǵáǵadí</i>	<i>ǵagadi-ǵá</i>	‘merchant’
<i>astāmari</i>	<i>àstàmàri</i>	<i>àstàmàri-ǵà</i>	‘teacher’
<i>ərsas</i>	<i>írsás</i>	<i>irsas-íǵá</i>	‘pencil’
<i>dänb</i>	<i>dàmì</i>	<i>dàmi-ǵá</i>	‘custom/law’
<i>barti</i>	<i>bátíri</i>	<i>bátíri-ǵá</i>	‘flash light, torch’
<i>ǵi</i>	<i>ǵí</i>	<i>ǵi-ǵá</i>	‘thousand’
<i>dəha</i>	<i>dáhá</i>	<i>dáhá-ǵá</i>	‘poor’
<i>balagara</i>	<i>bàlágáráj</i>	<i>bàlágárá-ǵá</i>	‘enemy’

Of course *ǵi* a number word that functions the same way as nouns when modified by number words. Like nouns, it takes a non-restrictive modification marker *-ti* when

modified by the number word *dǝnéj* ‘one’. When it is modified by a number word higher than one, it takes the plural marker suffix *-já*, as in (6.34).

- (6.34) [híri dǝnéj]_{NP} áin-é bíró [ʃí-já háánán]_{NP}
 man one give.PERV.SG-BEN.3 money thousand-PL five
 kóná áin-é bíró [ʃí-já ràmàn]_{NP}
 another give.PERV.SG-BEN.3 money thousand-PL two
 kóná áin-é bíró [ʃí-tì dǝnéj]_{NP}
 another give.PERV.SG-BEN.3 money thousand-NRSTR one
 nà nòŋ ók-ú bákónó
 CCN 3sg went.PERV-3sg.SBJ.PERV place.one:INDEF
 ‘...to one man he gave five thousand, to another two thousand, and to another one thousand; and he went to another place.’

These borrowed nouns may be of a particular interest to future investigators because borrowed nouns in Mursi display a great deal of difference in regard to the morphology of loan words. There could be some unspecified motivations which need to be investigated as to why only this particular number marking suffix be used.

B. CATEGORY II: *-ja* [-ia]

This suffix also occurs with nouns from CATEGORY IV and CATEGORY IX within the replacive number marking system, i.e. *mád-ój* (sg.)/*mád-ía* (pl.) ‘spider web’ and *ŋɔr-nèj* (sg.)/*ŋɔr-ia* (pl.) ‘butter’. This time, however, it occurs on nouns denoting dangerous wild animals that have strong teeth.

- (6.35) SINGULAR PLURAL
 a. jói jói-já ‘wild dog’,
 b. kǝnáj kǝnáj-já ‘crocodile’

C. CATEGORY III: *-a* and *-o*

Nouns belonging to this category typically share a common feature — ‘shape’. Nouns that take the plural suffix *-a/* may refer to items with circular or curved forms. In addition, items belonging to this group may also refer to round objects worn by women such as women's adornments (6.36a-d).

(6.36)	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
a.	mòr	mòr-à	‘calf’
b.	bèr	bèr-á	‘spear’
c.	làlàŋ	làlàŋ-à	‘bracelet’
d.	dùmàŋ	dùmàŋ-à	‘earring’
e.	kédém	kédém-á	‘calabash’
f.	bóhùn	bóhùn-à	‘cliff’
g.	tírtír	tírtír-à	‘fingernail’

Except for ‘spear’ and ‘cliff’, and ‘fingernail’, the rest of the nouns can qualify for the notion of central or prototypical membership of this group. These three noun exceptions may be associated with objects that have ‘sharp’ or ‘pointy’ parts, thus they can be associated with the next set of nouns (-o taking nouns). One may also associate ‘spear’ with ‘calabash’ because Mursi men usually carry a water or milk container made from a calabash when going on a hunt.

Nouns which take the plural suffix /-o/ are associated with ‘long or sharp’ objects (6.37a-e) and with animals that have long necks and legs (6.38a-c). A few body part nouns, particularly those that carry the prototypical property are also members of this category (6.39a-c).

(6.37)	<i>OBJECTS</i>		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
a.	érésí	érésí-o	‘silver bracelet’
b.	kállí	kállí-o	‘little stick, switch’
c.	gúsí	gúsí-ó	‘gourd’
d.	ƙèbèl	ƙèbèl-ò	‘sheath’
e.	túrúŋ	túrúŋ-ó	‘bow and arrow’

(6.38)	<i>ANIMALS</i>		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
a.	kírín	kírín-ó	‘giraffe’
b.	dòwùn	dòwùn-ó	‘zebra’
c.	ƙígín	ƙígín-ó	‘hartebeest’
d.	bì	bì-ò	‘cow’

(6.39)	<i>BODY PARTS</i>		
a.	màdì	màdì-ó	‘breast’ ⁴¹
b.	gàwùl	gàwùl-ó	‘shoulder; shoulder blade’

⁴¹ Free variation: *màddì/màddió* versu *wàdì/wàdió* ‘breast’.

- | | | | |
|----|------|--------|----------------------------------|
| c. | tórí | tórí-ó | ‘penis’ |
| d. | sái | sái-ò | ‘animal skin (women’s clothing)’ |

D. CATEGORY IV: -i [-j]

From a morphological form point of view, CATEGORY IV can be a counterpart of the singulative number marking system in which many Mursi collective nouns will be marked with the singulative suffix *-i* [-j]. This category may include objects that are linked to human body part nouns through a metaphoric transfer or by semantic extension. For example, the term *tùgò* ‘mouth’ in (6.40e) is extended to a part of a house *tútúg* ‘door’, which is a clear instance of semantic extension.

(6.40)	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
a.	lùdùm	lùdùm-ì	‘chest’
b.	gìròṅ	gìróṅ-í	‘nose’
c.	čàmùn	čàmun-í	‘chin’
d.	kóróṅ	kóróṅ-í	‘throat’
e.	tútúg	tùtùg-ì	‘door’

E. CATEGORY V: {-na [-ena,-ena,-jena]⁴², -n [-en] and -ea [-ea]}

Plural marking suffix forms of this category are less predictable, yet seem to be ruled by phonological motivations: *-na* following vowel-final CV shape nouns, *-ena* [-ena] following consonant-final CVC shape nouns, *-jena* following vowel-final mono-or disyllabic nouns, and *-ea* [-ea] following consonant-final disyllabic nouns. CATEGORY V can be closely associated with CATEGORY II and III of the replacive number marking system.

(6.41)	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
a.	bè	bè-ná	‘stone’
b.	ròm	ròm-èná	‘ostrich’
c.	mìs	mìs-èná	‘grazing land’
d.	óhí	óh-<j>èná	‘riverside forest with no undergrowth’
e.	hój	hóh-èná	‘warthog’
		<-jena>	

⁴² Rarely, some suffixes still show a remnants of an earlier stage of cross-height vowel harmony system.

(6.42)	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
a.	dǔkè	dǔké-n	‘leather dress’,
b.	túré	tùré-n	‘gun’
c.	sú[s]	sùs-èn	‘sun’
(6.43)	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
a.	lófán	lòfán-èá	‘slingshot’
b.	bàṅár	bàṅàr-èá	‘platform to dry grain’
c.	kárám	kárám-èá	‘colobus monkey’
d.	ǔzóróg	ǔzóróg-èá	‘oryx’
e.	ṅàtùṅ	ṅàtùṅ-εα	‘lion’

The category contains a few animals that may cause harm to humans or have the ability to bite and cause pain. It also lists a few places where these respective animals usually live. The two places mentioned are places where the Mursi practice cattle herding and hoe-cultivation. The latter process takes place at the Omo and Mago rivers after the flood has receded and the banks (*ohijena*) have been cleared of vegetation. River-bank land is the area of the main crop cultivation of the Mursi. The Mursi herd their cattle in the wooded grasslands which rise towards the Omo-Mago watershed. They call the area used for this purpose *mìsèná* ‘grazing lands’. CATEGORY V also include nouns referring to objects used by the Mursi to protect themselves from some dangerous animals as well as to prevent their crops from wild animals that can cause damage. There is a part that may refer to a series of crop cultivation steps which incorporates some processes starting from planting, protecting the crop from wild animals, drying the crop by exposing it to the sun, to beating the stalks with a stone to free the grain seeds, and so on.

F. CATEGORY VI: -*nógá*

CATEGORY VI is associated with local division of the population *búráṅógà* ‘local groups’, to have priests who attend to the well-being of the local groups and act as a means of communication between them and *tùmù* ‘God’ who live in *tùmùtùn* ‘heaven’.

The priest delivers news/issues to their God when the people are threatened by disasters such as flood, disease, and drought and so on.

(6.44)	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
a.	táán	tààn-ṅògá	‘flood’
b.	mùttán	mùttán-ṅògá	‘disease’
c.	tùmùtùn	tùmùtùn-ṅògá	‘heaven’
d.	sààn	sààn-ṅògá	‘news’
e.	ḃúrán	ḃúrá-ṅógà	‘local group’

G. CATEGORY VII: -čá

Even though the nouns which occur in this category are small in size, its members are directly associated with CATEGORY X of the replacive number marking system. Animals listed in (6.45a-b) are associated with those that damage the Mursi’s crop.

(6.45)	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
a.	sìrò	sìrò-čá	‘eland, Nyala’
b.	làràṅè	làràṅè-čá	‘badger’
c.	kòrmì	kòrmì-čá	‘fish hook’

CATEGORY VII also aligns with CATEGORY VIII, but mainly by its members shown in (6.45c). Before ending this category it is necessary to mention an important secondary source of subsistence, namely fishing.

H. CATEGORY VIII: -čín

Membership of this category can be defined as a one-time full preparation for a series of agricultural activities within one season such as weeding, protection and harvesting. Therefore, nouns referring to tools, utilities and food that are commonly used for cultivation, hunting, cooking, shelter, sleeping and so on are included within this category.

(6.46)	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
a.	gàhà	gàhà-čín	‘shelter in cultivation area’
b.	gò	gò-čín	‘fire’
c.	ṅò	ṅò-čín	‘neck’
d.	wàrà	wàrà-čín	‘knife’
e.	kòlá	kòlá-čín	‘ram’

- | | | | |
|----|-------|-----------|------------------------|
| f. | súrá | súrá-čín | ‘duiker’ |
| g. | lòjà | lòjà-čín | ‘jackal’ |
| h. | gàisà | gàisà-čín | ‘hoe’ |
| i. | bàŋkà | bàŋkà-čín | ‘machete, bush knife’, |
| j. | hádǎ | hádǎ-čín | ‘sleeping mat’ |

I. CATEGORY IX: -čo

This is the only category that contains nouns from one and the same 'natural', 'prototypical' class, i.e. close kinship nouns. The plural marker suffix *-čo* can be shown on close kinship nouns in two ways — either by attaching it directly to the noun roots (as in (6.47a-e) or following the pertensive marker within NP-internal possessive constructions (as in (6.48)).

- | | | | |
|--------|----------|---------|-------------------|
| (6.47) | SINGULAR | PLURAL | |
| a. | kàkà | kàkà-čo | ‘grandparent’ |
| b. | dàdá | dàdá-čo | ‘father’ |
| c. | màmà | màmà-čo | ‘mother’ |
| d. | kàbì | kàbì-čo | ‘clan’ |
| e. | mèrè | mèrè-čo | ‘daughter-in-law’ |

- (6.48) [gòdón=gà-čo]
 brother=PERT.PL.1.PSR-PL
 ‘My brothers’

In NP-internal possessive constructions, it indicates number of the possessed kinship noun. The noun ‘clan’ *kàbì* appears distantly related to the rest of the members of the category, but in fact it is not. A ‘clan’ in Mursi is a congregation of people who are believed to be descended in the male line from different co-wives with the same man (Turton 1973: 111). In addition, Jørgensen (2011: 43) wrote, ‘the Mursi, like many other societies where social organization is based more or less on kinship, have complex clan systems’. Therefore, clanship can be a prototype or central to this category. When the Mursi want to refer to any other clans other than their own, they use *kàbì-ŋá* ‘clans’. This makes me wonder if the Mursi indeed have such distinct forms because these are typical forms/words being used for inclusion and exclusion of a certain group of people.

J. CATEGORY X: *-hi, -hijna*

CATEGORY X has two members: one refers to a human ‘body’ and the other refers to a ‘compound’ (an area enclosed by a fence). The two are connected to one another by a semantic knowledge of body known as body schema, a dynamic online representation of the relative location of body parts in space (Majid & van Staden 2015: 572).

(6.49)	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
a.	rè	rè-hì	‘body’
b.	dè	dè-híjána	‘compound’

By the same analogy, body part nouns will be assigned secondary meanings on the basis of some other factors such as cultural and religious practices, for example, the Mursi do not have a word for ‘map’. Instead they use an internal body part noun *ělləj* ‘intestine, stomach lining’ to represent their understanding of the notion of map.

K. CATEGORY XI: *-so* and *-sí*

This category contains three members that form their plural with the unproductive plural suffixes *-so* and *-sí*. Only two entries have been found with *-so* which are both animals associated with unique physical appearances or colour.

(6.50)	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
a.	nèbì	nèbì-só	‘buffalo’
b.	hólí	hólí-só	‘waterbuck’
c.	híní	híní-sí	‘heart’

An interesting point here is that the noun *nèbì* can take both plural suffixes — *nèbì-sì* ‘buffalos’. According to my Mursi consultants, the only difference between the two is that one can use the form in (6.50a) if s/he is watching the animal itself in person. At this stage, I can't be sure whether this has to do with evidentiality or not.

6.3.3 Singulative

The singulative number marking system functions in reverse from the marked plural number marking system which attaches plural suffixes to nouns. However, the semantics which is usually portrayed by the singulative system is not only confined to

referring to singular referents but also to notions such as singleton, individuating, mass opposition, collectiveness and so on. The singulative number marking mainly includes nouns that normally occur in large numbers, mass nouns, uncountable nouns, collective, and so on. Nouns in the singulative system cannot be inflected for plural form but with corresponding inflected singular forms marked by singulative markers *-i* (usually following consonant-final nouns and [-j] following vowel-final nouns).

(6.51)	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
a.	bùrá-j	bùrá	‘egg, fruit’
b.	dúgú-j	dugu	‘seed’
c.	dùrùmò-j	dùrùmò	‘tree stump’
d.	ɓàlóg-ì	ɓàlóg	‘leaf’
e.	liwá-j	liwá	‘sorghum’
f.	hògò-ì	hògo	‘bean’
g.	tèwá-ì	tèwá	‘wing’
h.	ʃòà-ì	ʃowá	‘bird’
i.	kírónjò-ì	kírónjò	‘fly’
j.	sísá-j	sísá	‘bee’
k.	úpó-j	úpó	‘flea’
l.	bílbíló-j	bílbíló	‘moth’
m.	kùrúdó-j	kùrúdó	‘worm’
n.	čòllò-j	čòllà	‘intestine’
o.	múrdǎ-j	múrdǎ	‘wrinkle’
p.	čòdǔgá-j	čòdǔgá	‘piece of dried meat’
q.	kísínjò-j	kísínjò	‘cooking stone’

Among nouns which fit into the singulative category include plant parts/products (6.51a-d), grains consumed by humans (6.51e-f), animals and insects which live in large number (those that function as a unit collectively or in congregate) (6.51g-m) uncountable (6.52n-o), and a portion from an item that exists in a large quantity (or as generic ~ *àčùgà* ‘meat’) (6.51p). As in many societies, the Mursi also cook their food by using a widely known type of cooking method, that is, by arranging three stones to make a stand for a cooking pot. Unless these three stones exist as one collective entity, each stone as a single unit cannot function on its own. In his study of the social organization of the Mursi people, Turton (1973: 223) noted that the Mursi give special

emphasis for the number 'three'. They have a saying about the completeness of the number 'three' in which 'cooking stone' is mentioned (p.223), 'Indeed, the Mursi recognise that there is a certain completeness about the number three, which they express by means of the aphorism "it takes only three stones to boil a pot"'.

(6.52)	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
a.	bènèn-ì	bènèn	'relative'
b.	lùkùrì	lùkùr	'age mate/friend'
c.	mùgái	mùgà	'married woman'
d.	mùn-ì	mùn	'Mursi person'

One could connect the nouns in (6.52a-d) together through a more general understanding of parts the social system and societal structure of the Mursi people. The Mursi usually count members of their own clan as their relatives. They sometimes go beyond the ethnic boundary and may also accept new members into their local or ethnic membership. This happen oftentimes by marriage, and Mursi men are the ones who usually marry someone outside from their clan/ethnic group.

There are a few nouns which only occur in the singulative forms but lack plural forms, as in (6.53a-c).

(6.53)	a. làpòj	'grass'
	b. mađoj	'spider'
	c. giwoj	'butterfly'

These nouns are typical members of singulatives and refer to plant and insect types that cannot be made up into numerous smaller distinct units. There are still a few generic nouns which could take the plural marker *-ná* to indicate variants or different species of the same seed, as in (6.54a-c).

(6.54)	PLURAL	PLURAL	
a.	liwá	liwá-ná	'sorghum'
b.	dùgú	dùgú-ná	'seed'
c.	kónò	kónó-ná	'corn'

6.4 Suppletion

The fourth number marking system is suppletion. Suppletions are of two types: partial (weak) and full. Both types, however, involve internal changes and do not pertain to any semantic relationship with one another. A list of nouns having partial and full forms are given below.

(6.55)	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
a.	kìò	kènò	‘tree’
b.	sìò	sènò	‘hand’
c.	tòṅò	tènò	‘goat’
d.	mèèn	mìò	‘goat kid’
e.	érmì	éro	‘child’

In the partial suppletion, singular noun forms share at least their initial segment or a syllable with their plural counterparts. In contrast, in full suppletion, the change is a complete one, therefore there will be no form similarity between the singular and plural forms. There are a few nouns which undergo such suppletion as can be shown below.

(6.56)	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
a.	hírí	zùgò	‘man’
b.	kèj	gál	‘thing’

6.5 Number marking by Tone

Cross-linguistically, Mursi can be categorized among a few languages in the world that utilize tone to make a distinction between singular and plural numbers. A few nouns utilize tone to indicate grammatical number, as shown in (6.57a-c). A low tone on nouns usually indicates singular number while a high tone bears plural number.

(6.57)	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
a.	bùgùj	búgúj	‘back (of human)’
b.	hùnnàj	húnnáj	‘small stream of water’
c.	gìrṅàj	gìrṅáj	‘nose’
d.	kìlòì	kìlój	‘heron’
e.	čèrítà	čérítá	‘sore caused by wearing beads on the neck’

In addition, grammatical tone may also be used on verbs to distinguish between third person singular and third person plural subjects in the imperfective aspect, as shown in the following examples.

- (6.58) a. sé <say.3SG.AUX> ‘He says’ H
 b. sè <say.3SG.AUX> ‘They say’ L

6.6 *n/g* alternation

The *n/g* alternation (where **n* for singular and **g* for plural) is one of the most widely spread number marking alternations in the Nilo Saharan family. This singular/plural alternation is found in many languages of the family such as Tama, Kadu, Fur, and in several Kordofanian groups. It was Bryan and Tucker who discovered the existence of this number-based alternation (Tucker and Bryan 1966: 22 cited in Bender 2000: 58). With regard to this alternation, they noted that the singular/plural *n/k* and/or *t/k* patterns occur in various morphological categories as a substrata/areal feature.

In Mursi, the *n/g* singular/plural alternation occur in two forms: in clitics and in fused/bound forms. As clitic, they occur on possessive pronouns and on kinship nouns (pertensive forms) which both refer to one specific type of grammatical construction, i.e. possession (§6.6.1). As bound forms, they occur only in pronouns (personal, demonstrative, interrogative and relative, indefinite) (§6.6.2). The *n/g* alternations do not occur in simple nouns.

6.6.1 The clitics =*n*= (singular) and =*g*= (plural)

The *n/g* alternation, as a clitic, can occur in proclitic (*n/=g=*) and in enclitic forms (*=n/=g*). The proclitic forms of the *n/g* alternation only occur in the possessive pronouns.

(6.59) POSSESSIVE PRONOUN FORMS

- a. **n=ànù**
SG.PSD=1SG.PSR
'Mine, (singular possessed)'
- b. **n=àj**
SG.PSD=1PL.INC.PSR
'Our (inc.), singular possessed'
- c. **g=àṅù**
PL.PSD=1SG.PSR
'Mine, (plural possessed)'
- d. **g=àj**
PL.PSD=1PL.INC.PSR
'Our (inc.), (plural possessed)'

Therefore, as is illustrated in the possessive pronouns, both *n* and *g* have proclitic form realizations, and primarily marks number of the possessed items (see also §3.3.1.4; §5.4). An interesting detail concerning the examples above is that the bound/fused singular form *n* in the singular possessive pronouns could also refer to the singular possessor.

As enclitics, the *n/g* function as pertensive markers on close kinship nouns. As in their proclitic function, they indicate only the number of these inalienably possessed nouns. See the following examples:

- (6.60)
- a. [dʒɔ̀ɔ̀=**né**]
mother=**PERT.SG.3.PSR**
'His/her mother'
 - b. [dʒɔ̀ɔ̀=**gé**]
mother=**PERT.PL.3.PSR**
'His/her mothers'
 - c. [gòdó=**ná**]
brother=**PERT.SG.1.PSR**
'My brother'
 - d. [gòdón=**gá**]
brother=**PERT.PL.1.PSR**
'My brothers'

6.6.2 Fused/bound *n/g* singular/plural alternation

Whether it is a diachronic or synchronic, at various grammatical levels of individual languages, change could happen and change is an inevitability. Therefore, over time, languages may develop bound morphemes from other morphemes possibly from the unbound ones having the same function. At this stage, this is what I came across as the best explanation for the scenario that took place in the Mursi fused/bound *n/g* singular/plural forms. Both of the fused/bound *n/g* forms may display phonological-conditioned variants: *n* ~ *ɲ* and *g* ~ *k*.

In Mursi the *n/g*⁴³ alternation occurs only in pronominals thus it may be considered as a pronominal category. Some examples are given below for each pronominal types.

(6.61) *Personal pronouns*

- a. àɲè ‘1sg’ vs. àggè ‘1pl (inc/exc)’
 b. nòŋ ‘3sg’ vs. jòk ‘3pl’

In the intervocalic environment, the bound singular form *n* can be realized by a palatal variant [ɲ]. Except in the 3rd person pronouns which could display minor phonological-based changes both in form and position, the *n/k* alternation usually have regular and predictable forms in all other personal pronouns.

Demonstrative pronouns in Mursi occur in the 3rd person singular/plural relative pronouns *in* <3SG.PN.SP> and *iggè* <3PL.PN.SP> and bound demonstrative clitics. Therefore the relative/specific pronouns distinguish between singular and plural number by the *n/g* alternation.

(6.62)	DEMONSTRATIVE	RELATIVE	
	PRONOUNS	PRONOUNS	
	ɲàɲà	‘This’	<i>ini</i> ‘who/that/which (sg.)’ non-specific (-restrictive)
	ɲàɲùnù	‘That’	<i>iná</i> ‘the one who (sg.)’ specific (restrictive)

⁴³ From the *n/g* alternation, the occurrence of singular marker form *n* in personal pronouns of the Surmic group languages is consistent (both in SES and SWS). For example, from the SES languages: Koegu *aan* <1SG> (Hieda 1998: 348) and Me’en *áni* <1SG> (Will 1998: 450). From the SWS languages: Tennet *anét* <1SG> (Randal 1998: 234 and Baale *anda* <1SG> (Yigezu and Dimmendaal 1998: 299)

<i>ηàiggèà</i>	‘These’	<i>ìggi</i>	‘who/which (pl.)’	non-specific (-restrictive)
<i>ηàiggèinù</i>	‘Those’	<i>ìggèá</i>	‘those who’	specific (restrictive)

The *n/g* pattern described for the personal pronouns is seen clearly in the singular and plural demonstrative and specific pronouns illustrated above.

The interrogative word ‘who?’ can be manifested in modification and pronoun forms. Thus, the bound *n/g* alternation that occurs with four different forms of this interrogative pronoun indicates singular and plural possession (6.63).

(6.63) INTERROGATIVES

- | | | | | |
|----|--------------|--------------|----------|--|
| a. | <i>nì</i> | <who.GEN.SG> | ‘whose?’ | modification form, singular possession |
| b. | <i>gì</i> | <who.GEN.PL> | ‘whose?’ | modification form, plural possession |
| c. | <i>nì+nì</i> | <who.PRO.SG> | ‘whose?’ | pronoun form, singular possession |
| d. | <i>gì+gì</i> | <who.PRO.PL> | ‘whose?’ | pronoun form, plural possession |

The interrogatives in modification forms reduplicate their forms in order to yield full pronoun forms.

6.7 The bound number/aspect marking forms *-t/-d*

Mursi has two aspects: imperfective and perfective. Aspect is primarily indicated by root changes (about one-third of verbs of the language) and by bound pronominal S/A argument marking suffixes. The bound pronominal suffixes are also used to mark person and number of the S/A arguments on verbs. For example, the verb *óól* ‘beg’ has identical forms for both aspects, as shown in the example below.

(6.64)	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	
1SG	k-óól-í	k-óól-à	‘I beg/begged’
2SG	óól-í	óól-ú	‘You (sg.) beg/begged’
3SG	óól-Ø	óól-à	‘S/he begs/begged’
1pl.INC	k-óól-Ø	k-óól-ò	‘We (inc.) beg/begged’
1pl.EXC	k-óól-ó	k-óól-à	‘We (exc.) beg/begged’
2PL	óól-ó	óól-ò	‘You (pl.) beg/begged’
3PL	óól-é	óól-á	‘They beg/begged’

In this case, the bound pronominal marking suffixes are required to indicate person and number of the S/A arguments. On verb forms such in (6.64), the tone would be the last option to distinguish the difference between imperfective and perfective aspects. As it

is illustrated in (6.64), the difference between second person plural imperfective and perfective forms has been indicated by the tone on the bound pronominal S argument marker suffix *-o* (high tone ~ imperfective and low tone ~ perfective).

However, there are instances where the verb roots tend to have identical forms for both imperfective and perfective aspects. In such instances, a number of the S/A arguments can also be shown by bound forms *t/d'* attached to the verbs, as in (6.65-6.68).

(6.65)	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	
1SG	ká-bák-í-ò	ká-bák-à	‘I eat/ate (it)’
2SG	bák-í-ò	bák-ú	‘You (sg.) eat/ate (it)’
3SG	bák- t -ò	bák-à	‘S/he eats/ate (it)’
1pl.INC	ká-bák- t -Ø-ò	ká-bák- t -à	‘We (inc.) eat/ate (it)’
1pl.EXC	ká-bák- t -ó-ò	ká-bák- t -ò	‘We (exc.) eat/ate (it)’
2PL	bág-ó-ò	bák- t -ò	‘You (sg.) eat/ate (it)’
3PL	bág-é-ò	bák- t -á	‘They eat/ate (it)’

(6.66)	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	
1sg	kà-dàsí-í-ó	ká-dásí-à	‘I forget/forgot’
2sg	dàsí-í-ó	dásí-ú	‘You (sg.) forget/forgot’
3sg	dàsí-Ø-ó	dásí-à	‘S/he forgets/forgot’
1pl.INC	ká-dásí-Ø-ó	ká-dásí- d' -à	‘We (inc.) forget/forgot’
1pl.EXC	ká-dásí-o-ó	ká-dásí- d' -ò	‘We (exc.) forget/forgot’
2pl	dásí-o-ò	dásí- d' -ù	‘You (pl.) forget/forgot’
3pl	dásí-è-ò	dásí- d' -á	‘They forget/forgot’

The bound forms *t* (following a consonant-final verb root) (6.65) and *d'* (following a vowel-final verb root) (6.66) are used as markers of plural persons. Mütze (2014) has noted existence of the */t/* form on verbs in the perfective aspect. She also described it as a form which often precedes the subject suffix in the plural. However, she also mentioned that it can also occasionally occur in the singular. I would agree with one of her analyses that emphasizes that the bound plural number marker form *t* occasionally occurs in the singular forms. This can be shown in the third person singular imperfective form in (6.65) and in (6.67) in the example shown below.

(6.67)	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	
1sg	k-óg-í-ò	k-ák-à	‘I cook/cooked (it)’
2sg	óg-í-ò	ák-ú	‘You (sg.) cook/cooked (it)’
3sg	óg-t-Ø-ò	ák-à	‘S/he cooks/cooked (it)’
1pl.INC	k-ók-t-Ø-ò	k-ák-t-à	‘We (inc.) cook/cooked (it)’
1pl.EXC	k-ók-t-ó-ò	k-ák-t-ò	‘We (exc.) cook/cooked (it)’
2pl	óg-ó-ò	ák-t-ù	‘You (pl.) cook/cooked (it)’
3pl	óg-é-ò	ák-t-á	‘They cook/cooked (it)’

Nevertheless, the *t* in the singular forms is not like the bound form that occur in the plural forms. The *t* in the singular forms (6.55, 6.67) has a function of disambiguating potentially identical forms. For example, in the second person plural form of the imperfective aspect, the second person plural bound pronominal suffix *-o* and the verb final suffix *-ò* may coalesce. Thus without *t*, second person plural form (*óg-ó-ò*) will have an almost identical form with the third person singular form (*óg-t-Ø-ò*).

Mütze (2014) has mentioned *t* as a segment to be inserted between perfective verb roots and plural subject suffixes. But she didn't mention its variant *d*. The fact is that the bound form *t/d* may occur with verbs in the imperfective aspect. Thus, both bound plural marking forms *t/d* can occur with a plural subject requiring verb roots/forms in both imperfective and perfective aspects. See the example below.

(6.68)	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	
1sg	k-íw-án-o	k-íw-á-o	‘I take/took (it)’
2sg	íw-án-o	íw-á-ú	‘You (sg.) take/took (it)’
3sg	íw-áná	íw-á-à	‘S/he takes/took (it)’
1pl.INC	k-íw-áná	k-íb-t-á-à	‘We (inc.) take/took (it).’
2pl	íb-t-á-ó	íb-t-á-ù	‘You (pl.) take/took (it).’
3pl	íb-t-á-ε	íb-t-á-á	‘They take/took (it.)’

The bound plural *t/d* forms may be blocked when other grammatical marking suffixes are attached to the verb root. As can be shown in (6.68), the full form of ‘motion towards’ (ventive) marker suffix (*-áná*) will be attached to verb roots of third person singular and first person plural forms.

6.8 Additional suffixes

Grammatical number can be shown by various suffixes on verbs and adjectives. In the imperative construction, only plural number is shown on perfective verb roots. Person/subject cannot be marked on the imperative forms. Number of addressee can be marked on the verb by a vowel suffix *-V* (vowel-copying) which is usually identical with the vowel of the verb root.

- (6.69) a. ʃíg-í-è
listen.PERV:IMP-PL-VFS
'Listen (pl.)!'
- b. ʃíg-í-è
break.PERV:IMP-PL-VFS
'Break (pl.) (it)!'
- c. ʃág-á-è
eat.PERV:IMP-PL-VFS
'Eat (pl.)!'

However, there is a difference between positive and negative imperative constructions. In the negative imperative construction, singular addressee can also be marked on the verb root but in the imperfective aspect. Unlike in the positive imperatives, vowel copying is not applicable in the negative imperative constructions. The suffix *-i* marks singular addressee whereas *-o* marks plural addressee, as in (6.70a-d).

- (6.70) a. ɲà=édʒ-í
NEG.IMPERV=shoot.IMPERV-SG.IMP
'Don't (sg.) shoot/kill!'
- b. ɲà=zámí-í
NEG.IMPERV=swim.IMPERV-SG.IMP
'Don't (sg.) swim!'
- c. ɲà=édʒ-ó
NEG.IMPERV=shoot.IMPERV-PL.IMP
'Don't (pl.) shoot (kill)!'
- d. ɲà=màt-ó
NEG.IMPERV=drink.IMPERV-PL.IMP
'Don't (2PL) drink!'

A few derived adjectives can be marked for number in the same way as nouns, but by slightly different number-marking suffixes. Two derived adjectives of dimension and two adjectives of colour take an overt plural number marking. These four adjectives take the plural suffix *-a*. This is a plural suffix usually marked on nouns that belong to CATEGORY III in the marked plural system. What is unusual about this plural suffix is that it has allomorphs [-ta] and [-na].

(6.71)	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
a.	gólójní	gólójn-á	‘red’
b.	ràmàì	ràm<a>ì-tá	‘long’
c.	kòrròì	kòrròì-tà	‘black’
d.	mòkòjì	mòkòì-ná	‘short’

In addition, there is one adjective that utilizes a replacive number marking system — *bóč-á* (sg.) and *bóč-èn* (pl.) ‘thin’.

6.9 Number-determined suppletive verb forms

Including Africa, number-determined suppletive forms of verbs are found in a wide range of languages (Dixon 2012: 63). Baale (a Southwest Surmic language) has similar verb root alternation system to indicate number on verbs (Yigezu and Dimmendaal, 1998: 302). In Mursi, a few verb roots can undergo suppletions three to four times.

Number-determined suppletive verb forms usually operate in accordance with the aspectual system of the language. Five verbs with number-determined suppletive forms have been found — four intransitive verbs (one verb of existence, one verb of posture and two verbs of motion) and a ditransitive verb ‘give’.

(6.72)	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	ARGUMENT	MEANING
	SINGULAR/PLURAL	SINGULAR/PLURAL	INVOLVED	
a.	<i>í<h>/él</i>	<i>té/tél</i>	S	‘exist, present’
b.	<i>ésé/él</i>	<i>té/tél</i>	S	‘sit’
c.	<i>ók<g>/héj</i>	<i>ók/ái<t></i>	S	‘go’
d.	<i>kún/hój</i>	<i>áíw/hód</i>	S	‘come’
e.	<i>ádž</i>	<i>áín/ád</i>	O	‘give’

Verb roots in (6.72a, b, and d) can undergo up to four term suppletions while the verb roots ‘go’ and ‘give’ could display three term suppletions. The verb ‘go’ and ‘give’ show an invariable root form in one of the two aspect categories.

6.10 Reduplication

Reduplication is not a productive morphological way to indicate grammatical number in Mursi. However, reduplication may be a semi-productive way to indicate plural number on the two underived adjectives. As it can be shown in the examples below, plural forms of the two underived adjectives of Mursi is shown by reduplication.

(6.73) *búí* ‘big (sg.)’ *bíbí* ‘big (pl.)’
tííní ‘small (sg.)’ *tíítí* ‘big (pl.)’

(6.74) [[*ɲà=zùg=tà*]_{NP} *bíbí=ɲà*]_{NP:S} *gáj-é*
DEM=people=NEAR big.PL=DEF know.IMPERV-3pl.SU.IMPERV
‘The rulers know.’ (Lit. ‘The big (pl.) people know.’)

6.11 Number words

The Mursi have a fully inflected verb *toj* ‘count’ which they often use to count heads of cattle. This is related to decisions usually made by informants pertaining to the distribution of bridewealth of counting at least 37 head of cattle. This will be undertaken with a tally counting —usually using small stones or pebbles.

Mursi has a ten-based number system, also known as ‘decimal system’. See §3.3.1.1 for a full list of Mursi number words. Unlike some Surmic languages, number words one to ten are non-loan ones. In addition, unlike some Surmic languages, Mursi does not form number words six to nine by combining the lower numerals and the quinary form (five as the base). For number words higher than ten, a combining *tómón* ‘ten’, *hírkón* ‘twenty’, etc and number words one to nine are used together (see §3.3.1.1 Table 3.12). The particle *kó* ‘and’ functions as a conjunction particle to connect two number words and form a number word that is higher than them. The number word for ‘twenty’

hírkón is a compound word derived from two words: the noun *hírí* ‘man’ and the indefinite number word *kón* ‘one’ (Lit. ‘One man/person’; referring to ten fingers and ten toes of one man). Therefore, the number word ‘twenty’ and the multiples of ‘twenty’ do not require the conjunction particle *kó* (see Table 6.4 below). The number word for ‘hundred’ has two forms —the Mursi form *zùwò háánán* (Lit. ‘five people’) and the Amharic form *matto* <mäto>.

Table 6.4 Mursi number words

NUMBER WORDS	MEANING	REMARK
<i>hírkón</i>	‘twenty’	Lit. <man+one> ‘man one’
<i>hírkón kó tòmón</i>	‘thirty’	Lit. <one man and ten>
<i>zùwò ràrà</i>	‘forty’	Lit. <people two> ‘two people’
<i>zùwò ràrà kó tòmón</i>	‘fifty’	Lit. <two people and ten>
<i>zùwò sízzí</i>	‘sixty’	Lit. <three people>
<i>zùwò sízzí kó tòmón</i>	‘seventy’	Lit. <three people and ten>
<i>zùwò wùf</i>	‘eighty’	Lit. <four people>
<i>zùwò wùf kó tòmón</i>	‘nighty’	Lit. <four people and ten>
<i>zùwò háánán</i>	‘hundred’	Lit. <people five> or <i>matto</i> ‘from Amharic)

6.11.1 The number word *dǎnéj* ‘one’ and the indefinite *kón* ‘one’

There is a clear difference between the number word *dǎnéj* and *kón* —not only in the way they are combined with other number words but also in the way they modify nouns within NPs. As we recall from Chapter 4, when nouns are modified by number words higher than two, they do not take modification or dependency markers (restrictive and/or non-restrictive), as in the following examples.

- (6.75) a. [úńó sízzì]
 night.PL three
 ‘Three days’ (Lit. ‘three nights’)
- b. [gàrčó tòmòn kó ràrà]
 basket.PL ten and two
 ‘Twelve baskets’

- c. [[dǎ̀bì-ná gòlò̀n-à]NP ràmàn]NP bàrì ká-tál-à
 lip.plate-PL red.stv-PL two yesterday 1SU-buy-1sg.SU.PERV
 ‘Yesterday I bought two red lip-plates.’

However, the number word *dǎ̀nèj* ‘one’ stands apart from the rest of number words because it triggers the head to be marked with a non-restrictive modification marker.

In an NP where *dǎ̀nèj* is the modifier, regardless of the head's word class status, the non-restrictive modification marker *-i/-ti* must be attached to the singular head (6.76a-c).

- (6.76) a. [érmì-ti dǎ̀nèj]NP áíw-ó
 child-NTSTR one come.PERV-MT.3sg.SU.PERV
 ‘One child came.’
- b. [jì-tí dǎ̀nèj]
 thousand-NRSTR one
 ‘(One) thousand’
- c. [(jò̀g) ɲò̀nè-à n=èj] tál-á
 3pl sister.PERT.SG.3.PSR-RTSR SG.PSD=3PL.PSR sell-3sg.SU.PERV
 ɖ̀zù [bírój-tí dǎ̀nèj]
 clay.pot birr-RSTR one
 ‘Their sister sold her water pot for one dollar.’

Besides the instances shown above, the only place where the non-restrictive modification marker *-i/-ti* may be attached to the head and be modified by a number word higher than one is in coordinative partitive constructions.

- (6.77) zùg-tí kó ràmàn [kà̀ari+č̀agí]
 people-NRTSR CRD.PART two eye+blind/green
 ‘Two blind men (two of the blind men)’

From the example in (6.77), one can easily understand that there were some other men, at least more than two.

On the other hand, the indefinite marker/word *kón* ‘one’ can function alone or be combined with other nouns. When combined with nominals, it usually yields indefinite pronouns (see §3.3.1.5, Table 3.7). Both *dǎ̀nèj* and *kón* may function as a modifier within an NP. Interestingly, the head modified by *kón* does not take any modification marking, however, *kón* itself as a modifier can take another modification marker (*-a* or *-o*).

Table 6.5 below illustrates indefinite pronouns which are derived from both words.

Table 6.5 Indefinite pronouns from *kón* and *dǒnéj*

INDEFINITE	MEANING	TYPE	POSSIBLE SOURCE
<i>kón/kóná</i>	‘one, another, other, certain’	alone	<i>kón</i> ‘one’ + <i>-a</i> (restrictive modification)
<i>hírkóná</i>	‘anybody, someone’	compound	<i>hírí</i> ‘man’ + <i>kón</i> ‘one’ + <i>-a</i> (restrictive modification)
<i>tánkónó</i>	‘anyone’	word+ compound	<side-side-one>
<i>bókónó</i>	‘somewhere; anywhere’	compound	<i>bó</i> < <i>ba</i> ‘place’ + <i>kón</i> ‘one’ + <i>-a</i> (restrictive modification)
<i>àhìtì dǒnéj</i>	‘nobody’	NP	<i>àhì</i> ‘thing.SG’ + <i>-tì</i> (non-restrictive modification) + <i>dǒnéj</i> ‘one’

In addition, a few morphological differences were observed between *dǒnéj* and *kón*.

For example, *dǒnéj* may occur in a reduplicated form and be used with the plural form of ‘belly’ *kèṅi* in order to create a distributive meaning. In contrast, *kón* cannot be reduplicated but can take other morphology for example the restrictive modification marker. In simple clauses, *kón* can function as S argument while *dǒnéj* cannot. Nevertheless, *dǒnéj* has at least one role in clauses, a copula complement. In Table 6.6 below, a brief comparison between the number word *dǒnéj* and the indefinite word *kón* is presented as follows.

Table 6.6 Comparison: *dǒnéj* versus *kón*

	<i>dǒnéj</i>	<i>kón</i>
word class/morphological status	number word	indefinite pronoun/marker
can stand alone	yes	yes
has an equivalent plural counterpart form	no	yes; <i>gén(a)</i> ‘some, other’
can be reduplicated	yes (distributive)	no ⁴⁴
take modification marker	no	<i>-a</i> and <i>-o</i>
can form indefinite pronoun	not productive	yes
modifier within NP	yes	yes
can be core argument	no	S
can be a copula subject	no	??
can be a copula complement	yes	no

⁴⁴ Maybe there is one. I suspect, the verb *kónkóna* ‘to turn someone against another person’ may have been derived from the indefinite *kón* by reduplication. It literally mean (<one-one>).

The following example is a piece of evidence which best describes the syntactic difference between the two (repeated from example 3.78).

- (6.78) *màmà kónó kó ɖʒò̀nè*
 mother.PERT.SG.1.PSR one.INDEF PNC mother.PERT.SG.3.PSR
á ɖɔ̀néj
 COP.3.IMPERV one
 ‘My mother and his mothers are one (the same).’ (KW 2:34:4)

6.11.2 Deriving ordinal number words

With regard to the development of ordinal numbers, Dixon (2012: 74) stated that in many cases they are derived from their cardinal congeners. Mursi has three ordinal numbers. Of these, two of them are derived from lower cardinal *ràmàn* ‘two’ and *sízzí* ‘three’. Thus, the ordinal number ‘second’ and ‘third’ are formed by attaching the morphological marker suffix *-nè* to them — *ràmàn-nè* <two-ORD> and *sízzì-nè* <three-ORD>. Examples were given in §3.3.5.1. Additional examples are presented as follows.

- (6.79) a. *nà [únjó sízzì-nè] ká-báns-á*
 CCN nigh.PL three-ORD 3.SBJV-get.up-3sg.SU.PERV
 ‘And on the third day he shall rise.’

In order to create an innovative form of ordinal number higher than ten, one should attach the ordinal number marker suffix *-ne* to the smaller cardinal number on the right edge (cf. p179). However, at this stage, it only applies to one ordinal number form higher than ten, i.e. ‘twelfth’, as in the following examples.

- (6.80) a. *ìggè tòmòn kó ràmàn-nè*
 2pl ten PNC two-ORD
 ‘You (PL), the twelfth’
 b. *ɲà=zùg=tà kó tòmòn kó ràmàn-nè*
 DEM=people= NEAR CRD.PART ten PNC twelve-ORD
 ‘These (the) twelfth people’

In a construction that has partitive reading, the ordinal number marker *-ne* may be omitted. Instead, a genitive case marker will be attached to the cardinal number which shows the partitioning, as in (6.81).

- (6.81) *tòmòn kó ràmàn dǒnéi<j>-ŋ hír-á ké joda*
 ten PNC twelve one-GEN man-RSTR QUOT Judas
áiw-ó
 come.PERV.SG-MT.3sg.SU.PERV
 ‘Judas, one of the twelve, came.’

In relation to the ordinal number ‘two’, there is one more way in which comparable semantics could be conveyed —using the cardinal number ‘two’ and the body part noun *kèŋi* ‘bellies’.

- (6.82) *kèŋi ràmàn-o [zùw-á ór] [dǒnéen-a]_{RC}*
 belly.PL two-MOD people-RSTR village [be_one-RSTR]
téjél hùll-á [rè-á n=ùnù]_{REFL}
 like/love.PERV.IMP when-NOMZ body-RSTR SG.PSD=2SG.PSR
 ‘The second, which is one, “Love your neighbour as yourself.”’
 (Lit. ‘second time...’)

This is similar to a multiplicative construction (see §6.11.3). With the same ordinal number marker *-ne*, the meaning ‘twin’ can be expressed (6.83).

- (6.83) *ŋà=ìggè=à kó ràmàn-nè*
 DEM=3pl.PN.SP=NEAR PNC two-ORD
 ‘These, the twins’

It is not clear but when the second syllable of *ràmàn* is repeated, it may yield interpretations such as ‘pair’ and ‘couple’, as in (6.84).

- (6.84) a. *[ràmàmàn] óó [čáll-ì kàri]*
 two or good.STV-ADJ together
 ‘Either (one) is correct; Either one or both are good.’
 (Lit. ‘both are correct/good.’)
- b. *nòŋ kón-Ø-nè [sènò ràmàmàn]_{NP} nà*
 3sg write-3sg.SU.IMPERV-APPL hand.PL two CCN
ówán-á
 manage-3sg.SU.PERV
 ‘He can write with either hand.’

The ordinal number ‘first’ in Mursi is a product of grammaticalization (see §3.3.51).

Like ordinal numbers ‘second’ and ‘third’ which take the derivational marker *-ne*, the ordinal number ‘first’ also takes this marker. However, the word class from which the ordinal number ‘first’ derived is a noun rather than a number word (body part noun *saba* ‘head’). See the following examples (6.85a repeated from 3.128).

- (6.85) a. *nà ín-á sábu-nè gám-àná*
 CCN 3sg.PN.SP-RSTR head-ORD marry-MT:3sg.SU.IMPER
mùgàj
 woman
 ‘...and the first (one) married a wife’
- b. {[*ójó-á sábu-nè*]_{NP} (*nòŋ*) *gùjò dǎg-Ø*
 rainy.season-RSTR head-RSTR 3sg rain hit-3sg.SU.IMPERV
wánj} {*méá ñà=ʔójó=a nòŋ dǎk-ú*
 much now DEM=rainy.season=NEAR 3sg hit-3sg.SU.PERV
ké tíín-í sòŋ}
 COMPL small-ADJ only
 ‘Last year it rained much but this year it has only rained a little.’
 (Lit. ‘first year’)

6.11.3 Deriving forms with a multiplicative meaning

Cardinal numbers can be combined with the plural form of a grammaticalized body part noun *kɛŋ-i* ‘<belly-PL’ in order to produce a multiplicative reading.

- (6.86) a. [*húllí gòdónà dǔm-án-ò=jè*]_{SUBORD:CL}
 [if bother.PERT.SG.1.PSR insult-1sg.OBJ-3sg.IRR=SUBORD]
aj kà-gàj ké-sé-sè
 HORT-JUSS.PART 1.HORT-know 1SU-say-BEN.3
kɛŋì ísòŋ? ké-sé-sè kɛŋì issàbàj?
 belly.PL how.may? 1SU-say-BEN.3 belly.PL seven
 ‘‘If my brother commits an offense against me, how many times shall I forgive him? Seven times?’’
- b. *ǰúúné dǎk-ú lúsi kɛŋì sízzì*
 father hit-3sg.SU.PERV boy.SG belly.PL three
 ‘The father beat the son three times’
- c. *k-ígóm-èsè kɛŋì mátó*
 3.SBJV-allow.PERV-BEN.3 belly.PL hundred
 ‘...he shall receive hundredfold.’

The multiplicative form may also mean ‘many times’, as it is shown in (6.86c).

6.11.4 Deriving forms with a distributive meaning

In addition to the multiplicative construction, one can convey the notion of distributive number by reduplication of the cardinal number *dǒnéj* ‘one’. To produce a distributive reading, the singular form of the body part noun *kèŋj* ‘belly.sg’ will be used together with the reduplicated form *dǒnédǒné* <one.one>.

- (6.87) a. àstàmàrì-ŋà áli-é kèŋj dǒnédǒné
 teacher-PL talk-3pl.SU.IMPERV belly.SG one:REDUP
 ‘The teachers are talking one after the other.’

The fact is that sentences containing distributive meanings can be ambiguous. For example, the above sentence could also mean ‘The teachers are talking one by one (taking turn talking)’.

- b. nà ñà=zùg=tùnù kò [zùw-á ñàgàs-á]
 CCN DEM=people=FAR PNC people-RSTR old.STV-RST
 bán-á dǒnédǒné
 get.up-3pl.SU.PERV one:REDUP
 ‘...and those (who) were with the elders got up one by one.’

In fast speech, the palatal approximant /j/ is dropped — /dǒnéjdǒnéj/ ~ [dǒnédǒné].

However, in order to indicate something separated from the group, collection or unit, the plural form *kèŋi* may be used.

- (6.88) a. bè [jìrìsì tùg-ò] kèŋi dǒnédǒné
 DIST.PAST sea mouth-OBL belly.PL one:REDUP
 lòm-á [dòrèn-á zùw-á]
 have-3sg.SU.PERV house.PL-RSTR people-RSTR
 [dǎg-è-à ùrgùs-à]RC
 Strike/hit-3pl.SU.IMPERV-NOMZ fish-PL
 ‘There were a few stray fishermen’s huts along the beach.’
 (Lit. ‘The beach had one-one (a few stray) houses of the people who strike fish.’)

6.12 Number and agreement

Within NPs, number agreement between heads and modifiers is obligatory. Modifiers within NPs take an obligatory number agreement marker. In addition, obligatory number agreement within NPs depends on the modifier of the head. If the head is

modified by bound demonstratives, the number is already an inherent part of the head noun itself, as in (6.89a).

- (6.89) a. [ɲà=gàfà-ɲá=à]
 DEM=shield-PL=NEAR
 ‘These shields’

If the modifier is an independent demonstrative pronoun, the head receives appropriate number marking that make it agree with its modifier (6.89b).

- b. [lúsi ɲà=ìn=à]
 boy.SG DEM=3sg.PN.SP=NEAR
 ‘This boy’

In noun modification construction, demonstrative constructions that are already in modification forms/functions, can function as modifiers of other head nouns, which are in the singular forms, as in (6.90).

- (6.90) [čòr-á ɲà=mòr=à]
 hair-RSTR DEM=calf=NEAR
 ‘The hair (fur) (sg.) of this calf’

However, if the head noun in (6.90) is modified by cardinal number *dǒnéj* ‘one’, it takes the appropriate number marking suffix and the non-restrictive modification marker *-i* [-ti].

- (6.91) [čòrtò-tí dǒnéj]
 lock.of.hair-SG-NRSTR one
 ‘A lock of hair’ (lit. one lock of hair)

This applies to all countable or potentially countable nouns if they are to be modified by the cardinal number word ‘one’.

- (6.92) [rúm-ní dǒnéj]
 cloth-NRSTR one
 ‘One cloth’

The underived adjectives *tíni* ‘small’ and *búi* ‘big’ agree in number with the head nouns they modify. They are the only modifiers that show number agreement with their heads by reduplication.

- (6.93) a. [hír-á bó]
 man-RSTR big.SG
 ‘Big man’

- b. [zùw-á bíbí-ó]
 people-RSTR big:redup-RSTR.MOD
 ‘Elders’ (Lit. ‘big (PL) people’)

The noun *bì* ‘cow’ is used to refer to cattle in general of both genders. Thus it displays two type of agreement. Within NPs, it does not necessarily require a plural number marker to agree with plural modifiers. This fact is evident if a person's intention is to not refer to a specific/particular cow.

- (6.94) a. [[bì-á gídāp-à]_{NP} háánán]_{NP}
 cow-RSTR brown.STV-RSTR.PL five
 ‘Five brown cows’
- b. [[bì-á gídāp-à]_{NP} mèrì]_{NP}
 cow-RSTR brown.STV-RSRT.PL many
 ‘Many brown cows’

Nevertheless, in copular clauses, when functioning as a copula subject, it must take a plural number marker suffix and agree in number with the copula complement.

- (6.95) [bì-ò]_{CS} á [mèrì]_{CC}
 cow-PL COP.3.IMPERV many
 ‘The cows are many’

In a few instances, number agreement between the copula subject and copula complement may appear optional, as in the following copular clause.

- (6.96) [ɲà=gòr=à]_{CS} á [bèná]_{CC}
 DEM=road=NEAR COP.3SG.IMPERV stone.PL
 ‘This road is rocky’

But, the plural number marker attached to the copula complement in (6.96) denotes an adjectival meaning rather than a plural referent. Therefore both (CS and CC) have singular number.

Chapter 7 The verb and predicate structure

7.1 Introduction

The verb is the second largest open word class in Mursi. The verb is a primary word which functions as head of a predicate. Adjectives that function as heads of intransitive predicates are those that are derived from stative verbs. This chapter offers an overview of the phonological properties of the verb roots, and component grammatical elements associated with the inflectional categories of the verb such as subject and object agreement, aspect, and mood. Verbs and their component grammatical elements constitute one of the most complex parts of Mursi morphology. Some verb roots can undergo up to four time morphological alternations to indicate aspect. Others undergo up to two or more than two-term verb root alternations in order to indicate grammatical number and aspect.

Moreover, a number of most salient phonological and morphological properties of verbs are discussed in this chapter. Based on the phonological properties they display, verb roots have been classified into three major types, and a number of sub-types may exist within each type (§7.2). The subsequent section (§7.3) will illustrate some of the verbal inflections — participant reference (§7.3.1.1), aspect (§7.3.1.2), mood (§7.3.1.3), tense (§7.3.1.4) followed by the multiverbal constructions (§7.3.1.5). Also, in two sub-sections, copula verbs in (§7.3.1.2.9) and auxiliary in (§7.3.1.2.10) are discussed in detail respectively.

7.2 Phonological properties of verb roots

The segmental structure of roots is one of the most salient phonological features of the verbs. Roughly 90 percent of Mursi verb roots start and end in consonants.

Of these, about one-third have monosyllabic CVC shapes, thus they form Type I category (§7.2.1). Although very few in number, disyllabic and trisyllabic consonant-final verb roots are also discussed in this category. Type II are vowel-initial verb roots; they differ from those in Type I by having V onsets (§7.2.2). Some members of Type II verb roots co-exist with remnants of old and fossilized causative prefixes. Type III are vowel-final verb roots (§7.2.3). Unlike Type I and II, Type III verbs take a special aspect/number marker suffix *-d*. For major segmental structures of verb roots, see the summary given in Table A below.

Table A. A summary of major segmental structures of verb roots

	INITIAL	FINAL	SHAPES
Type I	C	C	CVC, CVVC, and CVCVC
Type II	V	C/V	VC, VCVC, VCVVC, VVC, VCV(V)C, and VCV
Type III	C	V	CV(V) and CVCV

7.2.1 Type I verb roots

All Type I verb roots have closed syllables. They mainly include monomorphemic CVC, CVVC, and CVCVC shapes. Unlike the other two types (Type II and III), Type I verb roots have inherent tone melodies — usually H tone. Semantically, a great majority of its members denote action.

7.2.1.1 CVC verb roots

The CVC verb roots are action verbs. They usually undergo a partial or full root suppletion processes to indicate aspect distinctions. Table 7.1 below depicts Mursi H-toned CVC verb roots.

Table 7.1 CVC verb roots with H tone

ROOT	GLOSS	TONE
bág	‘bite, eat’	H
bíg	‘break’	H
dǎg	‘hit’	H
ʃíg	‘hear, listen’	H
ɲér	‘divide’	H
čúr	‘wash’	H
čód	‘load’	H
bég	‘watch, protect’	H
bág	‘show off’	H
čáč	‘exchange’	H
húč	‘avenge, pay’	H
jéb	‘believe’	H
jél	‘like, love’	H
jóg	‘tell, explain’	H

Some members of Type I verb roots display a seemingly phonosemantic correspondence. For example, the first three verb roots in Table 7.1 have *bg/dg* consonants that have to do with ‘applying or exerting of force’. Likewise, the three verb roots above the last three are verb roots that contain palatal plosive codas (CVč), and they exhibit the semantics of ‘take and give’. Only these two verbs of Mursi have /č/ final roots. The last three in Table 7.1 and the following three verb roots *čól* ‘sing’ *dól* ‘warn’ and *dól* ‘announce’ can be grouped into one semantic type — ‘communication’. Verb roots such as *lòm* [lɔn] ‘have’, *mág* ‘grab, hold, catch’, *múg* ‘gather, collect’, and *mès* ‘serve, do’ may best fit into the semantic category — ‘possess or pull together’. The tonal counterparts for verbs in Table 7.1 will be L-toned CVC verb roots as shown in Table 7.2 below.

Table 7.2 CVC verb roots with L tone

ROOT	GLOSS	TONE
džim	‘lead’	L
dir	‘sweep’	L
nìs	‘kill, slaughter’	L
gùɲ	‘see’	L
jàg	‘return (intr.)’	L
màt	‘drink’	L

Monomorphemic CVC verbs in Table 7.2 and a dozen others have inherently L-toned roots.

k-initial verb roots differ from all other verb root types in two ways. First, except for *k*-initial verb roots, all verb roots take either a *kV*- or *k*- prefix, where the prefix *k*- encodes first person subject, third person irrealis, passive voice, and hortative and jussive moods. The choice between the *kV*- and *k*- prefixes depends on the onset of the verb roots: *kV*- for consonant-initial for roots and *k*- for vowel-initial verb roots. Second, *k*-initial verb roots undergo a recurrent compensatory lengthening or haplology processes where this sometimes leads to a confusion in identifying the morphological boundary between the roots of *k*-initial verbs and component grammatical elements (carrying subject, aspect, voice and mood). Example (7.1) illustrates the compensatory lengthening phenomenon that happens upon on the loss of a whole syllable before a phonetically identical syllable:

- (7.1) /kú-kún-í/ → [Ø-kún-í] → [kúúní] 'I came'
 /ká-káď-áná/ → [Ø-káď-áná] → [kááďáná] 'I remember'

Table 7.3 *k*-initial verb roots

ROOT	GLOSS	TONE
kún	'come'	H
káď	'remember'	H
kóď	'begin'	H
kóh	'clear land'	H
kóď	'kill'	H
kéď	'subtract'	H
kéŋ	'protect'	H
kób	'follow'	H
kúl	'drive, paddle'	H
kúm	'feel, touch'	H
kúr	'dig'	H

However, not all *k*-initial verb roots necessarily acquire a *VV* sequence. In other words, they do not undergo a compensatory lengthening process. The fact is that even

if they are few, k-initial roots receive the kV- prefix like any other verb — as can be seen in (7.2).

- (7.2) a. kú-kúm-nèn-ó
 1SU-feel-AP-VFS
 ‘I am feeling (touching).’
 b. ké-kéŋ-í-ò
 1SU-protect-1sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘I am protecting.’

7.2.1.2 CVVC verb roots

In terms of a segmental structure, verbs having a CVVC root are different from those created by a compensatory lengthening process. Moreover, segmentally, CVVC verb roots differ from the other verb root types in that the VV sequence is the result of intervocalic consonant deletion. The disyllabic realization of these roots is attested in the genetically closely related language of Chai (a Southeastern Surmic group). For example, the verb *liin* ‘squat, intercede’ has a disyllabic realization in Chai — as *ligin*.

Table 7.4 CVVC verb roots

ROOT	GLOSS	TONE
líin	‘squat, intercede’	H/HH
gáán	‘know’	H/HH
tóóɗ	‘build, construct’	H/HH

Similar deletions of an intervocalic consonants between two identical vowels are widely attested in vowel-initial trisyllabic verb roots (see Table 7.12). Most importantly, nominal roots incorporate almost one-third of the newly emerging VV sequences of the language.

7.2.1.3 CVCVC verb roots

Verbs which occur in CVCVC shapes are of two types: those that have disyllabic roots where their σ_1 and σ_2 acquire one and the same vowel ($V_1=V_2$) and those that have disyllabic roots with different vowels in their σ_1 and σ_2 ($V_1\neq V_2$).

Table 7.5 CVCVC verb roots

ROOT	GLOSS	TONE
márág	‘go around, wander’	HH
dǔrók	‘dry’	HH
čóbós	‘suck, kiss’	HH
čólós	‘wish’	HH
dǔgúm	‘curve’	HH
lótóg	‘wet’	HH
múnúd	‘itch’	HH
téjér	‘frighten’	HH
tórók	‘pass gas, fart’	HH
túkúr	‘stir’	HH
kútúr	‘drag’	HH
kúrúd<t>	‘snore’	HH
bòròd<t>	‘jump, climb’	LL

As can be shown in Table 7.5, there is syntactic as well as semantic information which can be extracted out of these monomorphemic verb roots, i.e. most of them belong to an intransitive stative verb category.

Table 7.6 CVCVC verb roots lacking a $V_1=V_2$ symmetry

ROOT	GLOSS	TONE
wésú?	‘damage’	HH
kárúh	‘scratch’	HH
tówúl	‘creep’	HH
tógíw	‘float’	HH
tìrǎn	‘play’	LH

The verb roots in Table 7.6 differ from those in Table 7.5 only by lacking syllables carrying a $V_1=V_2$ symmetry in their syllables, otherwise, they also form an intransitive stative verb category.

In general, all the verb roots discussed so far under §7.1.1 primarily mark aspect by subject suffixes, $t(V-)$ prefix, vowel, and consonant change. In the absence of these aspect marking options, the suffix $-t$ and $-d$ shall mark the perfective aspect. The choice between the two suffixes depends on the verb root-final segments. Accordingly, the majority of the consonant-final verb roots take the suffix $-t$ while the vowel-final verb roots take the suffix $-d$. We shall see the grammatical role of these two suffixes in § 7.3.1.2.1.

7.2.2 Type II verb roots

Vowel-initial verb roots differ from consonant-initial verb roots mainly by two phonologically motivated morphological features. They do take the prefix *k-* (of the first person subject, irrealis, passive voice, hortative and jussive mood marker) and the *t-* perfective aspect marker.

7.2.2.1 VC verb roots

Monosyllabic VC shape verb roots carry a H-tone melody and most of them are action verbs. Table 7.7 below depicts Mursi CVC verb roots carrying H and L tones.

Table 7.7 VC verb roots

ROOT	GLOSS	TONE
ádʒ	‘give’	H
áŋ	‘pass’	H
òg	‘shout, yell’	L
óg	‘untie’	H
ók	‘go’	H
édʒ	‘shoot, sting’	H
és	‘sit’	H
ós	‘roast (on fire)’	H
ódʒ	‘put’	H
àg	‘cook’	L
ór	‘see’	H
ér	‘pour’	H
íw	‘take, receive’	H

In addition, VC verb roots mostly consist of labile verbs (both, S=O and A=S).

However, labile verbs can be misleading when they appear in imperfective and perfective aspect. They appear in different verb root forms in the imperfective and perfective aspect. Nevertheless, a great majority of labile verb roots do not alter their roots for aspect. For instance, let us examine some of the labile verb roots from the examples in Table 7.7 — *édʒ* ‘shoot, sting’ and *íw* ‘take, receive’. These two verb roots have identical base forms. What makes them different from each other is a

morpheme boundary phenomenon. Consider the following three remarks:

- (i) <1pl.INC > and <3sg> subjects are morphologically unmarked or they may be marked by the motion towards suffix (ventive) in the imperfective aspect.
- (ii) Motion toward (ventive) markers: *-ána* for <1pl.INC.IMPERV> and 3sg subjects, *-án* for all other persons in the imperfective aspect, <2sg.SU> is omitted in the imperfective aspect, and *-a* for all persons in perfective aspect.
- (iii) Palatal affricates weaken to a palatal approximant [j] word-finally — /ɟʒ, ʧ/ → [j]/__# and intervocalically, the voiced bilabial plosive /b/ lenites to bilabial approximant [w].

Table 7.8 labile verb root *édʒ* ‘shoot’

IMPERFECTIVE		PERFECTIVE		
1sg	kédʒíò	‘I shoot (it)’	kéčá	‘I shot (it).
2sg	édʒíò	‘You shoot (it)’	éčú	‘You shot (it).
3sg	éjtò	‘S/he shoot (it)’	éčá	‘S/he shot (it).
1pl.INC	kéjtò	‘We shoot (it)’	kéjtá	‘We shot (it).
2pl	édʒóò	‘You shoot (it)’	éjtó	‘You shot (it)’
3pl	édʒéò	‘They shoot (it)’	éjtá	‘They shot (it).

Accordingly, in the imperfective aspect, the third person singular form of the root will contain the verb root *édʒ* and \emptyset (zero morpheme). Thus, the palatal affricate /ɟʒ/ becomes palatal approximant word-finally which results in [éjtò]. The suffix *-ò* is just a verb-final suffix in the imperfective aspect. In the perfective aspect, /t/ always precedes the subject suffix if the verb has a consonant-final root.

Table 7.9 labile verb root *iw* ‘take’

IMPERFECTIVE		PERFECTIVE		
1sg	kíwánò	‘I take (it)’	kíwáo	‘I took (it).
2sg	íwánò	‘You take (it)’	íwáu	‘You took (it).
3sg	íwána	‘S/he take (it)’	íwá	‘S/he took (it).
1pl.INC	kíwána	‘We take (it)’	kíbtá	‘We took (it).
2pl	íbtáò	‘You take (it)’	íbtáu	‘You took (it)’
3pl	íbtá	‘They take (it)’	íbtáá	‘They took (it).

The full ventive suffix form */-ána/* is attached to the verb roots in the 3sg. and 1pl.INC. forms because subject suffixes for these two are not marked morphologically. The roots

in 2sg. and 3sg. forms behave differently, thus they are exceptional. Like those in the perfective aspect, they take the ventive suffix *-a* instead of *-án*. They also add the suffix *-t* before plural subject suffixes. Both are exceptional because they have also dropped their subject suffixes. As can be seen in Table 7.9, the rest of verbs contain a verb-final approximant /w/. Further relevant points are discussed in (§7.9).

7.2.2.2 VCVC verb roots

Like the consonant-initial verb roots in §7.2.1.3, the verbs in Table 7.10 are disyllabic containing phonologically identical vowels ($V_1=V_2$) in their σ_1 and σ_2 . Vowel fronting and round harmony are major manifestations of the VCVC verb roots.

Table 7.10 VCVC ($V_1=V_2$) verb roots

ROOT	GLOSS	TONE
óhón	‘smell (intr.)’	HH
óhóh	‘lose (tr.)’	HH
úhús	‘sleep’	HH
ógór	‘steal’	HH
ógór	‘roast’	HH
éséd	‘think, calculate’	HH
úgún	‘push, animate’	HH
úgúm	‘contempt’	HH
ébég	‘blow, expose, reveal’	HH
úhún	‘blow (intr.)’	HH
éhér	‘afraid’	HH
érés	‘cross’	HH
úllút/urrút	‘dash, spill’	HH
účúr	‘mix, combine’	HH
írít	‘give birth, bear’	HH
ítím	‘ignite’	HH

While comparing the verb roots of Table 7.10 with those in Table 7.11, two phonologically interesting facts have emerged. First, in Table 7.10 there are no *i*-initial verb roots — except the last two on the list. Second, some of the verbs in Table 7.10 have transitive roots, and are verbs usually associated with experiential meanings. Table 7.11 below contains a few list of Mursi VCVC ($V_1 \neq V_2$) and VCVVC verb roots, whereas Table 7.12 contains VVC and VCV(V)C verb roots

Table 7.11 VCVV (V₁≠V₂) and VCVVC verb roots

ROOT	GLOSS	TONE
ígóm	‘admit, obey, consent’	HH
ílál	‘console, encourage’	HH
ídǒg	‘feed/raise, enlarge’	HH
ítáb	‘deceive’	HH
ílób	‘try, attempt’	HH
ítón	‘send’	HH
ídǎn	‘lead, direct’	HH
áhúj	‘to suck’	HH
áɲíd<t>	‘bite’	HH
ípán	‘touch’	LL
ítíján	‘meet’	HHH
íbónsí	‘make (someone) leave, contribute, cost’	HHH
íbáísí	‘to cure, recover’	HHH
ídílsí	‘make smooth’	HHH

Table 7.12 VVC, VCV(V)C verb roots

ROOT	GLOSS	TONE
áús	‘rest, alight’	HH
óól	‘beg, pray, beseech’	HH
íláás	‘(be) sick’	HHH

From *i*-initial verb roots in Table 7.11 and Table 7.12, we can deduce two historical changes, one vanishing morphological feature and the other one an emerging phonological feature. In a number of descriptive works on the Eastern Sudanic languages of the Nilo-Saharan family, the prefix *i-* is widely attested, and used to have had a causative function. It has now vanished in some languages or almost is at the stage of vanishing. Yet, including Mursi, remnants of this prefix is still attested in a few Surmic languages. It can occur as a prefix or as circumfix in double causative *i-...-síl[-ísí]*). For example, *íbónsí* <CAUS-*bon*-CAUS> ‘make someone leave’ and *íbáísí* <CAUS-*ba*-CAUS> ‘cure, make someone recover’ are morphologically analyzable while *ídílsí* ‘make something smooth’ is morphologically unsegmentable or unanalyzable.

Apparently, even within the last four decades, a number of slow changes are taking place in the language, for example some verbs containing the prefix *i-* are now getting

lexicalized with *i*- bearing a seemingly transitivizer function (see further the causatives section in Chapter 9).

The other emerging feature, which is also more frequent in nouns than verbs, is the intervocalic deletion of consonants. This is recognizable only by comparing the verb roots contain long vowels with some of the trisyllabic verb roots of Chai (a Southeast Surmic language, also known as Suri). In Table 7.12 above, we have two roots containing long vowels: *iláás* and *óól* (Mursi) — whereas in Chai these two roots are realized as *ilágás* and *ógól*. The consonant-initial *tóód* ‘kill’ ~ *tóyódá* is another example.

The VCV types in Table 7.13 are transitional between Type I and Type III verb roots. They accept the features of both types. For example, the prefix *k-* is the feature of Type I verb roots whereas the suffix *-d* is the feature of Type III verb roots (see §7.1.3). Both these two affixes are reflected on VCV verb roots — for example, the verb root *ido* ‘add, combine, mix’, as in Table 7.14.

Table 7.13 VCV verb roots

ROOT	GLOSS	TONE
ídǒ	‘add, combine, mix’	HH
íwó	‘breed, guard’	HH
ísá	‘greet’	HH
ító	‘carry (on head)’	HH
íbá	‘warn’	HH
áli	‘talk, speak’	HH
éli	‘call someone’	HH
éré	‘drop’	HH

Table 7.14 The suffix *-d* in a VCV verb root

	PERFECTIVE	MEANING
1sg	kídǒá	‘I combined (it)’
2sg	ídǒú	‘You combined (it)’
3sg	ídǒá	‘S/he combined (it)’
1pl.INC	kídídǎ	‘We combined (it)’
1pl.EXC	kídǒdǒ	‘We combined (it)’
2pl	ídǒdǒ	‘You combined (it)’
3pl	ídǒdǎ	‘They combined (it)’

7.2.3 Type III verb roots

Type III verbs contain vowel-final roots. They are fewer in number compared from the previous two types. Type III verb roots are mainly of two types: CV(V) (Table 7.15) and CVCV (Table 7.16). The CVCV roots mostly end with the high front vowel, as in Table 7.16.

Table 7.15 CV(V) verb roots

ROOT	GLOSS	TONE
rè	‘wait for’	H
sé	‘say’	H*
dí	‘fill’	H
rúí	‘cry’	HH
díá	‘go with someone’	HH

Table 7.16 CVCV verb roots

ROOT	GLOSS	TONE
zámí	‘swim’	HH
dězí	‘burp’	HH
mèzì	‘discuss’	LL
kúlí	‘drive, paddle’	HH
lámí	‘want, desire, find’	HH
besi	‘hatch’	HH
čúrí	‘gag’	HH
mósí	‘wish’	HH
dásí	‘forget’	HH
dúrí	‘dance’	HH
mújí	‘pout’	HH
ǰúmó	‘flap’	HH

As can be shown on the list in Table 7.16, most of the CVCV verb roots belong to the intransitive class. As vowel-final type, CVCV verb roots can only be conjugated with the bicategorical function suffix [number+aspect] *-d*.

7.2.4 Trisyllabic verb roots

Mursi verbs are predominantly composed of mono and disyllabic roots. Despite this, a small number of trisyllabic verb roots also exist. Some share certain segmental properties with the monosyllabic and trisyllabic verb roots such as: carrying

phonetically identical vowels (V₁=V₂) in their first and second syllables, carrying inherently reduplicated syllables, and lexicalized causative roots. Yet others appear in compounds and even loan verbs.

Table 7.17 Trisyllabic verb roots

ROOT	GLOSS	REMARK
dárdáří	‘steep downhill’	> maybe from <i>dari</i> ‘move sneakily’
úbúbúl	‘roll’	> <i>ububulanu</i> (tr.) <i>ubublanε</i> (intr.)
úlúgún	‘hide’	> maybe from <i>ulub</i> ‘cover’ and <i>gun</i> ‘see’
úsúrsí	‘burn (tr.)’	> a lexicalized causative from <i>sur</i> ‘burn (intr.)’
dáhóló?	‘dance’	> maybe a compound verb > <i>hóló?</i> ‘song’
ǰámáří	‘begin’	> a loan verb (Amharic <i>ǰämärä</i> ‘begin’)

There are also a few polysyllabic verbs whose origin appears to be related to ideophones yet have syllable and morpheme like inherently reduplicated shapes, as in Table 7.18.

Table 7.18 Polysyllabic roots

ROOT	GLOSS	REMARK
bíǰíǰí	‘to get goose bumps’	CV:REDUP+
ǰábáří	‘tremble’	CV:REDUP+
ǰédǰédǰé	‘flash (lightening)’	+CV:REDUP
mílmílmíl	‘glitter’	CVC:REDUP
kédǰékédǰé	‘whisper (sense-speech)’	CVCV:REDUP
hóhóhóhó	‘whisper (object)’	CVCV:REDUP
kúǰúkúǰú	‘silence, saying nothing’	CVCV:REDUP
hélǰǰhélǰǰ	‘become loose’	CVCVC:REDUP
bíríkbírick	‘shine brightly (also glitter)’	CVCVC:REDUP

These polysyllabic verbs stand apart from other verbs in that they are deficient in terms of certain grammatical categories. They do not take any verbal morphology, and thus they usually occur with the auxiliary verb *se* ‘say’.

7.3 Morphological properties

The morphological properties generally cover all aspects of Mursi verbs. Mursi verb roots in general can be marked for verbal inflectional categories such as, valence, negation, motion, and for syntactic canonicity (verb-final suffix). These can be subdivided into two major morphological categories: inflection (§7.3.1) and derivation

(§7.3.2). Except for tense and reflexive action that are expressed by separate grammatical words, all the rest of non-spatial and spatial settings in Mursi are expressed in the inflectional system. The derivational morphology normally covers three grammatical categories: causative, nominalization, relativization.

Mursi is an agglutinating language with some degree of fusion; it is highly synthetic (up to seven morphemes per verb root). It also is predominantly a suffixing language and has a few slots for prefixes. Verbal roots have three prefix slots. Given the agglutinating nature of Mursi morphology, there is a correlation between the shape of verb roots and the number of inflectional elements they may take. Monosyllabic verb roots usually take as many inflectional categories as they can. Disyllabic verb roots take just a few inflections and trisyllabic roots take fewer. Verb-like ideophone verb roots may take just one, or may not take an inflection at all. As an exception, there are few monosyllabic and disyllabic verb roots which take a prefix and just one or two suffixes at a maximum. The eroded verb root *éli* ‘call’, an auxiliary *sé* ‘say’, an existential verb *ih* ‘exist, present’, the verb *lòm* ‘have’ and polysyllabic ideophone-like verbs are among those that take few inflectional and derivational categories.

SCHEME II. The structure of a Mursi verb and suffix-clitic ordering

SLOT	FUNCTION	MORPHEME	MORPHOLOGICAL FORMATION	
SLOT 1	Negation (imperfective)	<i>ŋà=</i>	inflection	~ proclitic (§13.2.1; §2.8)
	- Negation perfective	<i>k(V)-</i>	inflection	~ prefix (§13.2.2)
SLOT 2	First person (S, A)	<i>k(V)-</i>	inflection	~ prefix (§7.3.1.1)
	- Passive	<i>k(V)-</i>	inflection	~ prefix (§9.2.1)
	- Hortar./Juss./Subjun.	<i>k(V)-</i>	inflection	~ prefix (§7.3.1.3.2- §7.3.1.3.4)
SLOT 3	Aspect (perfective)	<i>t(V)-</i>	inflection	~ prefix (§7.3.1.2.4)
SLOT 4	Causative	<i>í-</i>	derivation	~ prefix (§9.3.3)
SLOT 5	ROOT	ROOT	ROOT	ROOT (§7.2-§7.2.3)
SLOT 6	Causative	<i>-ísí(-sí)</i>	derivation	~ suffix (§9.3.3)
SLOT 7	Number/Aspect (S, A)	<i>-t/-d</i>	inflection	~ suffix (§6.7)
	- Direction/motion (ventive)	<i>-áná/-ónó</i>	inflection	~ suffix (§9.3.4)
	- Direction/motion (itive)	<i>-a/-o</i>		
	- Imperative (plural)	<i>-V</i>	inflection	~ suffix (§7.3.1.3.1)
	- Hortative/Jussive	<i>-V</i>	inflection	~ suffix (§7.3.1.3.2; §7.3.1.3.3)
	- Benefactive-applicative	<i>-èsèn(-sèn)</i>	inflection	~ suffix (§9.3.1)
	- Reciprocal/antipassive	<i>-nèn/-nè</i>	inflection	~ suffix (§9.2.3; §9.2.2)
	- Applicative/committative	<i>-ε</i>	inflection	~ suffix (§9.3.2)
		<i>-čo/-čV</i>		
		<i>-čij</i>		(e.g. 7.113b)
	- Agentive	<i>-jógi(-a)</i>	derivation	~ suffix (e.g. 2.4; 8.9)
SLOT 8	Participant reference O		inflection	~ suffix (§7.3.1.1)
SLOT 9	Participant reference S/A		inflection	~ suffix (§7.3.1.1)
SLOT 10	Negation	<i>=ó</i>	inflection	~ enclitic (§13.2.1; 13.2.2)
SLOT 11	Relativizer	<i>-a</i>	inflection	~ suffix (§4.3.3)
SLOT 12	Resolution marker	<i>-ni</i>	inflection	~ suffix (§3.3.6.2; §14.2.2.2)
SLOT 13	Subordinate marker	<i>=jè(=è)</i>	inflection	~ enclitic (§14.2.1)
SLOT 14	Verb-final suffix	<i>-a/-ε/-o/-ɔ</i>	inflection	~ suffix (§10.5)

Note that not all these verbal categories can be added to verb roots at a time, and not all verb roots have the same capacity in taking of these categories. Some grammatical categories may occupy the same slot, and they may also be adjacent categories in overlapping situations.

For example, the majority of *t(V)*- prefixing verb roots are intransitive stative verbs and they never co-occur with the causatives in Mursi. In Mursi, there are four double markings: negation, causative, aspect and hortative/jussive. Tense is primarily marked by separate time words.

The following two examples in (7.3) and (7.4) illustrate the verbal complex — where (7.3a-b) are clause final predicates, thus marked for verb-final suffix while (7.4) is in a non-clause final predicate position and unmarked for verb-final suffix.

- (7.3) a. *húllí=ηà ìggè [tòmòn kó ràràn-nè] bè ápój*
 TEMP/COND 2PL ten PNC two-ORD DIST.PAST 1sg-PVS
ηà=kí-bír-ón-ún=ó-ò?
 NEG.IMPERV=1SU-choose-MT-2pl.OBJ=NEG-VFS
 ‘Have I not chosen you twelfth?’

The complex predicate in (7.3a) contains six verbal component slots: 1, 2, root, 7, 8, 10, and 14 while (7.4b) contains all the verbal slots of (7.3a) and one additional slot, i.e. slot 9.

- b. *ηà=kó-jóg-ón-ón-Ø=ó-ò*
 NEG.IMPERV=1SU-tell-MT-2pl:OBJ-1pl:INC:SU:IMPERV=NEG-VFS
 ‘We (inc.) will not tell (it) to you (pl).’
- (7.4) *àpè ηà=lóg=tá ìggè kàri ké dónéj*
 1sg DEM=word/issue=NEAR 2pl all D.SP one
ηà=kó-jóg-ó-ún=nó zùw-á [Ø bè
 NEG.IMPERV=1SU-tell-MT-2pl:OBJ=NEG people-RSTR [Ø DIST.PAST
kí-bír-ón-ún-ó]RC àpè ká-gá-ún-nó
 1SU-choose-MT-2sg.OBJ-RSTR] 1sg 1SU-know-2pl.OBJ-VFS
 ‘I speak not of you all; I know whom I have chosen.’

As shown in both (7.3) and (7.4), tense is not marked on the verb but indicated by a separate time word *bè* <DISTANT PAST>.

7.3.1 Verbal inflection

Mursi verbs are mainly inflected for bound pronominal S/A and O arguments (participant reference), aspect and mood (AM), motion/direction, valence, and negation. Valence and negation are discussed in chapter 9 and chapter 12 respectively.

7.3.1.1 Participant reference

Participant referents are cross-referenced on the verb. In SCHEME II and throughout this grammar, the term ‘participant reference (markers)’ and ‘bound pronominal (markers)’ have been used interchangeably. Thus, all the bound pronominals: S (subject of an intransitive verb), A (subject of a transitive verb), and O argument markers are cross-referenced on the verb. The bound pronominal markers of the S/A arguments are different for imperfective and perfective aspect. Even within the perfective aspect, they display distinct suffixes on the basis of realis and irrealis moods.

Table 7.19 Bound pronominal S/A suffixes in the imperfective aspect

IMPERFECTIVE		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	k(V)-ROOT-i	INC. k(V)-ROOT-Ø EXC. k(V)-ROOT-o
2	ROOT-i	ROOT-o
3	ROOT-Ø	ROOT-ε

Mursi has inclusive-exclusive distinction in the first person plural. In the imperfective aspect, third person singular is morphologically unmarked. The prefix *k(V)-* marks all first person singular and plural S/A arguments in the imperfective aspect and third person S/A of the irrealis in the perfective.

Table 7.20 Bound pronominal S/A suffixes in the perfective aspect - realis

TEMPORAL PERFECTIVE			SIMPLE PERFECTIVE	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	k(V)-ROOT-a	INC. k(V)-ROOT-a EXC. k(V)-ROOT-o	k(V)-ROOT-a	INC. k(V)-ROOT-Vε EXC. k(V)-ROOT-o
2	ROOT-u	ROOT-o	ROOT-u	ROOT-o
3	ROOT-a	ROOT-a	ROOT-a[V]	ROOT-Vε

As illustrated in Table 7.20, the temporal perfective and simple perfective can be viewed within one grammatical reality of an event ‘realis’ and both are marked by distinct bound pronominal S/A argument suffixes. As Dixon (2012: 22) points out, ‘realis refers to something which has happened or is happening’. Thus, within the framework of Dixon’s ‘realis’ as a reality bounded by time of an event, it is possible to link the grammatical meaning of Mursi realis mood into: temporal perfective (as an event happened), and simple perfective (in general has no reference to temporality). Bryant (2013:60) has made similar S/A distinctions for Chai (Suri) language for what he called the temporal perfective (usage in non-narrative) and simple perfective (usage in narrative).

Table 7.21 S/A suffixes in temporal perfective — *bik* ‘break’

	S/A SUFFIX	GLOSS
1sg	kí-bík-á	‘I had broken’
2sg	bík-ú	‘You (SG) had broken’
3sg	bík-á	‘S/he it has broken’
1pl.inc.	kí-bík-t-á	‘We have broken’
1pl.exc.	kí-bík-t-ó	‘We have broken’
2pl	bík-t-ó	‘You had broken’
3pl	bík-t-á	‘They had broken’

The verb in the temporal perfective form may include a tense marker lexical word *wa* ‘recent past’ and the verb-final consonant may geminate if the verb-root’s final consonant is nasal, as shown in Table 7.22 below.

Table 7.22 S/A suffixes in temporal perfective — *èlèhèn* ‘measure’

	TENSE	S/A SUFFIX	GLOSS
1sg	wà	k-èlèhèn-á	‘I have measured’
2sg	wà	èlèhèn-ú	‘You have measured’
3sg	wà	èlèhèn-á	‘S/he have measured’
1pl.inc.	wà	k-èlèhèn-ná	‘We have measured’
1pl.exc.	wà	k-èlèhèn-nó	‘We have measured’
2pl	wà	èlèhèn-nó	‘You have measured’
3pl	wà	èlèhèn-ná	‘They have measured’

Moreover, as can be shown in Table 7.21 and 7.22 above, the major difference between the temporal and simple perfective come from the first person plural inclusive and the third person plural subject bound pronominal S/A argument suffixes. With regard to simple perfective in Chai (Suri) language, Bryant (2013:61) noted that the first person plural inclusive and the third person plural subject suffixes copy the vowel of the preceding verb root. Vowel copying is not the case in Mursi, even if there is some sort of segmental resemblance between the simple perfective subject suffixes and the vowel of the verb roots. The subject suffix –Vε <1pl.INC., 3pl.> that occur only on the simple perfective forms of verb seems to have phonologically motivated variants, as shown in Table 7.23 and 7.24 below.

Table 7.23 S/A suffixes in simple perfective — *bik* ‘break’

	S/A SUFFIX	GLOSS
1sg	kí-bík-à	‘I broke’
2sg	bík-ù	‘You broke’
3sg	bíg-è	‘S/he broke’
1pl.INC.	kí-bíg-è	‘We broke’
1pl.EXC.	kí-bíg-ò	‘We broke’
2pl	bíg-t-ò	‘You broke’
3pl	bíg-èè	‘They broke’

There is an exceptional instance where the third person singular form is marked by the same subject suffix as the first and third person plural forms. In Table 7.23 above, the subject suffix of the third person simple perfective form is -ε, which is not regular.

Table 7.24 S/A suffixes in simple perfective — *èlèhèn* ‘measure’

	S/A SUFFIX	GLOSS
1sg	k-èlèhèn-á	‘I measured’
2sg	èlèhèn-ú	‘You measured’
3sg	èlèhèn-ú	‘S/he measured’
1pl.inc.	k-èlèhèn-ε	‘We measured’
1pl.exc.	k-èlèhèn-ó	‘We measured’
2pl	èlèhèn-ó	‘You measured’
3pl	èlèhèn-é	‘They measured’

In Mursi, the irrealis system includes hortative, jussive and subjunctive moods and utilizes distinct bound pronominal S/A argument suffixes. Dixon (2012: 22) points out that irrealis denotes two situations: ‘something which has not (yet) happened’ and ‘something which did not happen in the past, but might have’. See further discussion in §7.3.1.3.4.

The fact is that both realis and irrealis operate within the aspect system of the languages, which is independent of a tense system. The main reason I distinctly treated the term subjunctive within the irrealis mood is that it has a separate lexical word in addition to the subject markers that indicate a subjunctive construction.

Table 7.25 Bound pronominal S/A suffixes in the perfective aspect - irrealis
HORTATIVE/JUSSIVE/SUBJUNCTIVE

SINGULAR		PLURAL
1	k(V)-ROOT-Ø	INC. k(V)-ROOT-V EXC. k(V)-ROOT-tò
3	k(V)-ROOT-Ø	k(V)-ROOT- \acute{V}

The first and the third person in the perfective aspect display syncretism where the first person of the perfective-realism and the third person of the perfective-irrealis are syncretic.

Table 7.26 First/Third person syncretism

PERFECTIVE-REALIS			PERFECTIVE-IRREALIS	
SINGULAR	PLURAL		SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	k(V)-ROOT-a	k(V)-ROOT-a k(V)-ROOT-o	k(V)-ROOT-Ø	k(V)-ROOT-V k(V)-ROOT-tò
3	ROOT-a	ROOT-a	k(V)-ROOT-Ø	k(V)-ROOT- \acute{V}

Mursi has six bound pronominal O argument markers, as can be seen in Table 7.27 below. The two variants of the first person singular object suffix are the result of vowel height harmony. In addition, the third person object suffix *-ùŋ* has an allomorph [-oŋ]. The third person object argument is morphologically unmarked.

Table 7.27 Object pronominal suffixes

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	-áj/-ój	-i
2	-íj	-ùj [-oj]
3	Ø	Ø

When bound pronominal S/A and O argument markers co-occur on verbs, the O argument always precedes the S/A argument. In rare instances, the co-occurrence order of the S/A and O argument marking may be inconsistent, i.e. the marking of object suffixes appears to result in the omission of some subject suffixes from a suffix position. It should be noted that the omission of subject suffixes is sometimes related to the transitivity of verbs and mood. The following conditions must be fulfilled that would govern the entire co-occurrence relation between S/A and O suffixes:

- i. The second and third person subject suffixes can be omitted if they co-occur with the first person object suffix.
- ii. The first and third person subject suffixes can be omitted if they co-occur with the second person object suffix (as in (7.5)).

(7.5) k-ór-íj dóri tó-jé
 1SU-see.IMPERV-2SG.OBJ house in-OBL
 ‘I see you (sg.) in the house.’

- iii. If a first person subject is stated and is not in a suffix position, it must be stated at least in the prefix position (see example 7.5).
- iv. As it is a highly participant reference marking language, the information carried by the omitted subject marking suffixes must be retrievable from adjacent independent arguments or be recoverable from the context. However, due to some unusual narration types in different genres of stories, exceptional cases may exist, as exemplified below in 7.6.

- (7.6) híh! ná ìnè kǐnán húŋ ɓák-ú kè òŋ
 INTERJ CCN 2sg crocodile simply eat-3sg.SU.PERV why?
 kó ɓásáj ɓák-ú kè òŋ ɗág-án-Ø
 PNC monitor.lizard eat-3sg.SU.PERV why? hit-1sg.OBJ-3sg.SU
 hózò-j aj!?
 hanger-NOM INTERJ
 ‘‘‘Hih!’’ why did you (sg.) eat a crocodile? Also you (sg.) ate a monitor lizard
 why? Don’t say, ‘Hunger hit me?! Aj!’ (MH 4:30:6)

Note that the first person object suffix (*ɗág-án* <hit-1sg.OBJ>) in (7.6) is subject-switching. It is switching from where the narrator is describing a situation between his people and the other neighboring people with whom they used to fight a long time ago over cattle looting and grazing land. So, then he suddenly became emotional and started telling the story with an irony by involving himself as first speaker.

Unlike bound pronominal S/A suffixes, bound pronominal object suffixes may undergo a vowel height harmony process, as shown in (7.7a-c; 7.8).

- (7.7) a. rè án-án mà
 body COP.IMPERV-1sg.OBJ water
 ‘I get wet’ (Lit. ‘body to me is water’)
- b. rèhì án-í mà
 body.PL COP.IMPERV-1pl.OBJ water
 ‘We get wet’ (Lit. ‘bodies to us are water’)
- c. nìŋ-n-án-ò
 exist.NEG-EPENT-1sg.OBJ-VSF
 ‘I am not present’ (Lit. ‘Me not exist/present’)
- (7.8) ìnè wà jóg-é-í-ú[o] àggè
 2sg REC.PAST tell-MA-1pl.OBJ-2sg.SU.PERV 1pl
 ‘You (sg.) have told us.’

The use of intransitive verb *irid* ‘(be) born’ as transitive ‘give birth’ requires the passive form prefix *k-*, the ventive suffix as dative (an extension to the core argument E), and just object suffixes.

- (7.9) a. k-irid-òn-ón-nò
 PASS-born-DAT-1sg.OBJ-VFS
 ‘I gave birth’ (Lit. ‘It born to me’)

- b. k-ìrìd-òn-Ø-ò
 PASS-born-DAT-3sg.OBJ-VFS
 ‘He gave birth’ (Lit. ‘It born to him’)
- c. k-ìrìd-òn-í-t-ò
 PASS-born-DAT-1pl.OBJ-PERV:PL-VFS
 ‘We gave birth’ (Lit. ‘It born to us’)

7.3.1.2 Aspect

Mursi utilizes a complex system of aspect marking that can be subsumed within two broad categories: imperfective and perfective. Regarding these two notions, a straightforward definition is as follows. Perfective indicates ‘the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation; while the imperfective pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation’ (Comrie 1976:16).

In light of the above holistic definition of imperfective and perfective, Mursi sets certain mood and voice categories into one of the two aspectual categories. For instance, an imperfective verb root is used for negative imperative mood while the perfective verb root is used for positive imperative, hortative/jussive and subjunctive moods. The passive voice also utilize the perfective verb root. All categories of mood are discussed in §7.3.1.2.

Aspect in Mursi is mostly associated with full verb root. Aspect is shown on verbs in the following ways — (i) by bound pronominal subject marking suffixes (§7.3.1.2.1) and (ii) a number of different verb root alternations and morphological phenomena (§7.3.1.2.2- §7.3.1.2.7). Each of these aspect marking categories clearly indicate the imperfective and perfective aspectual distinctions.

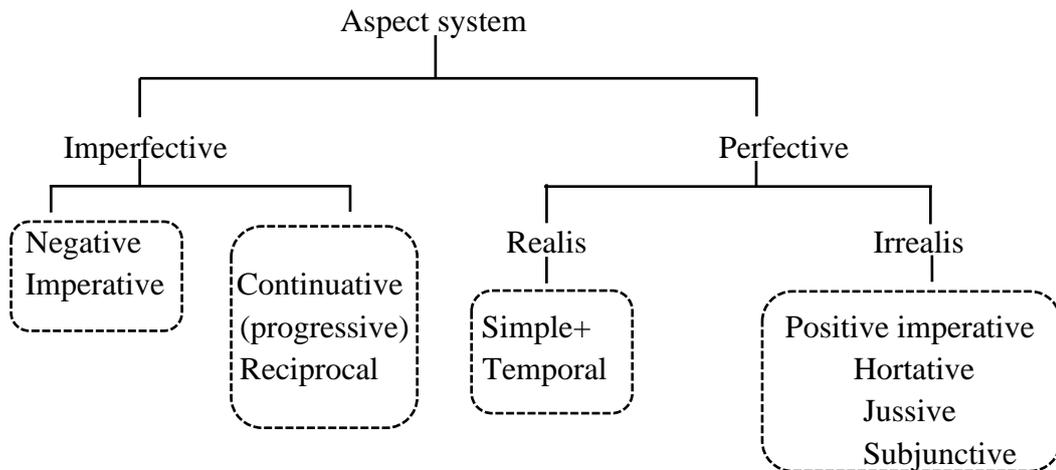


Diagram 7.1 Mursi aspect system vis-à-vis bound pronominal S/A marking

Note that there are no irrealis distinctions in the imperfective aspect.

7.3.1.2.1 Subject pronominal suffixes

The bound pronominal subject suffixes are used as the only aspect marking elements on verbs when verb roots have invariable forms for both imperfective and perfective aspect. Thus, each invariable verb root is assigned a subject suffix of its own which enables it to distinguish the two aspectual distinctions overtly. Imperfective and perfective aspect distinction by subject suffixes are illustrated in (7.10) (and (7.11)). For the purpose of number of the S/A distinction in the perfective aspect, two verbs, having distinct root shapes were selected: *bág* ‘eat’ (consonant-final root) and *lámí* ‘search, find’ (vowel-final root).

(7.10)	IMPERFECTIVE	GLOSS	PERFECTIVE	GLOSS
1sg.	ká-bág-í	‘I eat’	ká-bág-á	‘I ate’
2sg.	bág-í	‘You eat’	bág-ú	‘You ate’
3sg.	bág-Ø	‘S/he eats’	bág-á	‘S/he ate’
1pl.INC.	ká-bág-Ø	‘We eat’	ká-bág-t-á	‘We ate’
1pl.EXC.	ká-bág-ó	‘We eat’	ká-bág-t-ó	‘We ate’
2pl.	bág-ó	‘You eat’	bág-t-ó	‘You ate’
3pl.	bág-é	‘They eat’	bág-t-á	‘They ate’

(7.11)	IMPERFECTIVE	GLOSS	PERFECTIVE	GLOSS
1sg.	ká-lámí-í	‘I search’	ká-lámí-á	‘I searched’
2sg.	lámí-í	‘You search’	lámí-ú	‘You searched’
3sg.	lámí-Ø	‘S/he searches’	lámí-a	‘S/he searched’
1pl.INC.	ká-lámí-Ø	‘We search’	ká-lámí-d-á	‘We searched’
1pl.EXC.	ká-lámí-ó	‘We search’	ká-lámí-d-ó	‘We searched’
2pl.	lámí-ó	‘You search’	lámí-d-ó	‘You searched’
3pl.	lámí-é	‘They search’	lámí-d-á	‘They searched’

It appears that Mursi is a highly strategic language in the way it keeps backups for the various deficiencies that might happen in certain grammatical categories. For instance, in both (7.10) and (7.11), the imperfective form of the 1pl.EXC. and 2pl. are identical to those in the perfective aspect. In fact, without the bicategorical markers *-t* and *-d*, it would be impossible to distinguish between imperfective and perfective forms. Here the term bicategorical is used to indicate the function of *-t* and *-d* in two grammatical categories — as number and as aspect markers. I tentatively prefer to label these two suffixes as 'completive markers'.

The suffix *-t* has been noted as a plural suffix for Suri (Chai) (Bryant 2013:62). However, Mütze (2014) pointed out that this suffix occasionally precedes the subject suffix in the plural in perfective aspect. In both works, no mention has been made of the suffix *-d*. Nevertheless, Mütze was right in pointing out the suffix *-t* also occurs in the singular. The suffix *-t* has different functions when it occur before singular subjects in the imperfective aspect and when it occur before plural subjects in the perfective aspect. On the other hand, it has bicategorical morphological functions when it occurs preceding plural subjects in the perfective aspect. In the imperfective aspect, the suffix *-t* appears only with the third person singular and first person plural inclusive subjects. Morphologically, both subjects are apparently marked by zero suffix. Compare the forms in the examples below.

(7.12) a. *dǎg* ‘hit’

	IMPERFECTIVE	GLOSS	PERFECTIVE	GLOSS
3sg.	dǎg-t-Ø-ò	‘S/he hits’	dǎk-á	‘S/he hit’
3pl.	dǎg-ε-ò	‘They hit’	dǎk-t-á	‘They hit’
1pl.INC.	ká-dǎk-t-Ø-ò	‘We (inc.) hit’	ká-dǎk-t-á	‘We (inc.) hit’

b. *dug* ‘plant’

	IMPERFECTIVE	GLOSS	PERFECTIVE	GLOSS
3sg.	dúg-t-Ø-ò	‘S/he plants’	dúk-á	‘S/he planted’
3pl.	dúg-ε-ò	‘They plant’	dúk-t-á	‘They planted’
1pl.INC.	kú-dúk-t-Ø-ò	‘We (inc.) plant’	kú-dúk-t-á	‘We (inc.) planted’

As can be seen from the form of the third person singular and first person plural in the imperfective aspect, the verb-final suffix -ò is the only element next to the roots. This means that the root’s final segment (velar plosive) /g/ lenites to the glottal stop [ʔ] word-finally, because in both cases the roots are clause-final words. In other words, we would have **dǎʔ* and **duʔ* verb root forms, a form that never exist in the language. The glottal stop /ʔ/ is epenthesised often between clitics that end in a vowel and phonological or grammatical words that begin in a vowel. In addition, the verb-final suffix -ò is a morphologically marked syntactic element and it never had a morphological role. It appears that the suffix -t is occasionally inserted before the verb-final suffix -ò perhaps to indicate some sort of distinction between the morphological inflection and syntactic inflection.

7.3.1.2.2 Full suppletion

A full suppletive forms of verb roots are used to distinguish between the two aspectual meanings, and they in no way have similarities with even a single segment. They are mostly monosyllabic verb roots and belong to different transitivity classes. Some examples are illustrated in (7.13) and (7.14).

(7.13)	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	GLOSS
1sg.	kà-màt-í	k-ìr-á	‘I drink/drank’
2sg.	màt-í	ìr-ú	‘You drink/drank’
3sg.	màt-Ø	ìr-á	‘S/he drinks/drank’
1pl.INC.	kà-màt-Ø	k-ìr-t-á	‘We drink/drank’

1pl.EXC.	kà-màt-ó	k-ìr-t-ó	‘We drink/drank’
2pl.	màt-ó	ìr-t-ó	‘You drink/drank’
3pl.	màt-é	ìr-t-á	‘They drink/drank’

(7.14)	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	GLOSS
1sg.	ká-gáj-í	ká-ták-á	‘I know/knew’
2sg.	gáj-í	ták-ú	‘You know/knew’
3sg.	gáj-Ø	ták-á	‘S/he knows/knew’
1pl.INC.	ká-gáj-Ø	ká-ták-t-á	‘We know/knew’
1pl.EXC.	ká-gáj-ó	ká-ták-t-ó	‘We know/knew’
2pl.	gáj-ó	ták-t-ó	‘You know/knew’
3pl.	gáj-é	ták-t-á	‘They know/knew’

7.3.1.2.3 Partial root suppletion

Verb roots may distinguish aspect by a partial root suppletion. A partial verb root suppletion applies to both consonant and vowel initial roots. Verbs such as *ḡór* ‘carry’, *ór* ‘see’ and *og* ‘cook’ undergo a partial root suppletion process.

(7.15)	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	GLOSS
3sg.	ḡór-Ø-ḡ	ḡár-á	‘S/he carries/carried’
3pl.	ḡór-ε-ḡ	ḡár-t-á	‘They carry/carried’
3sg.	ór-Ø-ḡ	ár-á	‘S/he sees/saw’
3pl.	ór-ε-ḡ	ár-t-a	‘They see/saw’
3sg.	òg-t-ḡ	àk<g>-á	‘S/he cooks/cooked’
3pl.	òg-ε-ḡ	àk-t-á	‘They cook/cooked’

7.3.1.2.4 Prefixing *t(V)*-

Verb roots which distinguish aspect by a *t(V)*- prefix are regularly associated with one syntactic value, i.e. intransitive. Semantically, *t(V)*- prefixing roots are state experiential and benefactive verbs denoting affection, desire, sensation, and so on. Like other prefixes (except the causative), this prefix copies the first vowel of the verb root. Thus, the prefix *t-* is attached to a verb root that begins with a vowel while the prefix *tV-* is attached to a verb root that begins with a consonant.

(7.16)	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	GLOSS
	lòm	tò-lòm	‘have’
	már	tá-már	‘dislike, refuse’
	hár	tá-hár	‘vomit’
	óp	t-óp	‘wash’

The roots in (7.16) do not undergo further root alternation process. On the other hand, the verb roots in (7.17) below undergo a two-step change despite the fact that they are *t(V)*- prefixing type.

(7.17)	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	GLOSS
a.	hín	tè-hén	‘want desire’
b.	éηérs	t-éηér	‘afraid’
c.	rú[rúj]	tú-r<rr>	‘cry’

As it is shown in (7.17), two-step changes have been displayed, namely, internal vowel change and *tV*- prefixing (7.17a), final consonant reduction followed *t*- prefixing (7.17b), and vowel reduction (7.17c). There is one more verb that can take the *tV*- prefix in the imperfective as well as in the perfective aspects — *jél* ‘like, love’. For a perfective aspect, it can be manifested either with its initial consonant altered form or in its regular *tV*- prefixed form.

(7.18)	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	GLOSS
1sg	ké-jél-í	ké-té-jél-à	‘I like/liked’
1pl.INC.	ké-jél-Ø	ké-té-jél-á	‘We like/liked’
3sg.	jél-Ø	té-jél-á	‘S/he likes/liked’
3pl.	jél-é	té-jél-á	‘They like/liked’

(7.19)	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	GLOSS
1sg	ké-jél-í	ké-tél-à	‘I like/liked’
1pl.INC.	ké-jél-Ø	ké-tél-á	‘We like/liked’
3sg.	jél-Ø	tél-à	‘S/he likes/liked’
3pl.	jél-é	tél-á	‘They like/liked’

In (7.18), a *tV*- prefixed form of the root in the perfective aspect distinguishes aspect.

The other variety of the same verb root is in a morphologically unsegmentable form where the perfective aspect prefix and the root are fused together as one, as show in (7.19). When this is seen from outside, it appears that the change is root-internal which is being manifested in the form of initial-consonant suppletion. Besides, *t(V)*- prefixing verb roots can be further divided into two — those that take the suffix *-t* (for example *mar*, *éηérs*, *ru* [rúj]) and those that do not. The roots that do not take the suffix *-t* tend to have similar forms in their first person singular/plural and third person singular/plural

forms in the perfective aspect. Thus they can be distinguished only by the tone marked on their subject suffixes. Interestingly, in (7.18) one may see an instance of double vowel copying process (cf. §2.5.6.5).

7.3.1.2.5 Final consonant reduction/deletion

Some of verbs that undergo a root-final consonant deletion (reduction/subtraction) include stative and auxiliary verbs. Alveolars /s/ and /n/ which often occur at the root final position of these verbs are the ones that are most exposed to deletion.

(7.20) a. *bans* ‘fly, stand up’

	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	GLOSS
1sg.	ká-báns-í-ò	ká-bán-á	‘I fly/flew’
2sg.	báns-í-ò	bán-ú	‘You fly/flew’
3sg.	bánás-Ø-ò	bán-á	‘S/he flies/flew’

b. *mòdòs* ‘be tired’

	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	GLOSS
1sg.	kò-mòdòs-í-ò	kò-mòd-á	‘I get tired/got tired’
2sg.	mòdòs-í-ò	mòd-ú	‘You get tired/got tired’
3sg.	mòdòs-Ø-ò	mòd-á	‘S/he gets tired/got tired’

c. *múnús* ‘be angry’

	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	GLOSS
1sg.	kú-múnús-í-ò	kú-múní-á	‘I get angry/got angry’
2sg.	múnús-í-ò	múní-ú	‘You get angry/got angry’
3sg.	múnús-Ø-ò	múní-á	‘S/he gets angry/got angry’
1pl.EXC	kú-múnús-ó	kú-múní-d-ó	‘We get angry/got angry’

In (7.20c), it is not only final consonant deletion that has taken place but also a vowel fronting where the high back vowel is being replaced by the high front vowel. Thus, like a vowel-final verb root, it also takes the suffix *-d* (of a perfective-plural marker).

The auxiliary verb *sén* ‘to say’ has an eroded-like root, undergoes a similar final consonant reduction process and takes the suffix *-d* like <1pl.EXC.> in (7.21).

(7.21)

	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	GLOSS
1sg.	ké-sén-í	ké-sé-á	‘I say/said’
2pl.	sén-ó	sé-d-ó	‘You (pl.) say/said’
3pl.	sén-é	sé-d-á	‘They say/said’

It can occur with a direct speech particle *ké* in the third person singular imperfective that makes it unique among verbs — *sé ké* <say.IMPERV QUOT> ‘say that’ (cf.

§7.3.1.2.10). We must note that alveolars are in general deleted in the syllable-final position but they are deleted only when they occur as the last segments of a word. In the above cases, at least, the alveolars /s/ and /n/ are preceded by the subject suffixes, thus they are certainly not the last segments. In short, the deletion is morphologically-driven, it is not phonological.

7.3.1.2.6 Final syllable reduction

Despite the fact that they are a few, Mursi verbs can indicate aspectual distinctions by reducing their root final syllables, as in (7.22).

(7.22)	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	GLOSS
	óηón-Ø-ò	t-óη-á	‘S/he smells (stinks)/smelt’
	óηón-Ø-ò	t-óη-á	‘S/he throws/threw (lanch (of a boat))’
	úηús-Ø-ò	t-úη-á	‘S/he sleeps/slept’

These verbs not only reduce their syllables but also take the prefix *t(V)-*. They may also be also regarded as a sub-type of verbs that indicate aspectual distinctions by prefixing *t(V)-*.

7.3.1.2.7 Multiple alternations

Aspect can be shown by multiple root alternations which may take place one at a time. Multiple root alternations occur in two ways — the first involves a combination of *t(V)-* prefixing and deletion while the second involves a three or four term root suppletion. Typical examples are *géh* ‘create, repair, fix’ and *gúrt* ‘pull’.

(7.23)		IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	GLOSS
a.	3sg.	géh-Ø-t-ò	téh-á	‘S/he creates/created’
	3pl.	géh-é-ò	téh-n-á	‘They create/created’

The verb *gurt* ‘pull’ has a /t/ final root, thus it displays a geminate [tt] in the third person singular and first person plural inclusive forms in the imperfective aspect. Thus a vowel

which is identical with the vowel of the root is inserted between the root and the suffix *-t* in a way that doesn't violate the consonant co-occurrence restrictions — /gurt-Ø-t-ð/ → [gurut-Ø-t-ð].

		IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	GLOSS
b.	3sg.	gúrút-Ø-t-ð	túr-á	'S/he pulls/pulled'
	3pl.	gúrt-é-ð	túr-t-á	'They pull/pulled'
	1pl.INC.	kúrút-Ø-t-ð	kútúr-t-á	'We pull/pulled'

Note that the base form is *gurt* not *gúrút*. What is taking place here is that this verb needs one or more morphological reshaping processes to happen at a time — mainly deletion and a *t(V)*- prefixing. Both changes take place in the perfective aspect, i.e. first a perfective aspect marker prefix *t(V)*- will be added to the imperfective root, thus results an underlying form /tugurut/. Then, the most frequently occurring morphonological rule of the language comes next which is the deletion of a consonant between two identical vowels. As always a velar plosive /g/ is deleted — /tugurut/ ~ [turut]. After the two root reshaping processes, root-final syllable deletion may optionally apply to the third person singular perfective root [turut] ~ [túr].

Many Nilo-Saharan linguists (especially those who work on Eastern Sudanic languages) argue that verbs such as *gurt* 'pull' could indicate aspect by metathesis of — /gurt/ > [gurut] > [turug] > [túr]. However, the correct analysis is a *t(V)*- prefixing rule (morphological rule) that applies on the basis of phonotactic constrain rule (phonological rule) which follows: *t(V)*- prefixing /gurt/ > [t-gurt] >; deletion of /g/ (consonant clusters are not allowed at word initial positions) > [turt], and finally we get a CVC shape > [tur]. However, that is not the case. In order to make such a claim, first one has to properly understand the phonological rules of the language under investigation. In this regard, verb roots with a *t-final* consonant can be tricky.

The second type of verbs that distinguish aspect by multiple root alternations are number-determined suppletive verbs — *ádɟ* ‘give’, *kún* ‘come, bring’, *ók* ‘go’, *ih* ‘exist/present’, *ésé* ‘sit’ . Each of these verbs undergo three to four root alternations. The verb *ádɟ* ‘give’ has the same root form for all persons in the imperfective aspect while in the perfective aspect it shows two forms — *áín* with singular subject and *ad* with plural subjects.

(7.24)	IMPERFECTIVE		PERFECTIVE
	k-ádɟ-í-ò	1/2/3(SG/PL) ‘give’	k- áín-ε-á
	ádɟ-í-ò		áín-ε-ú
	ádɟ-Ø-ò		áín-ε-á
	k-ádɟ-Ø-ò		
	k-ádɟ-ó-ò		k-áɗ-á
	ádɟ-ó-ò		k-áɗ-ó
	ádɟ-ε-ò		áɗ-ó
			áɗ-á
			1/2/3 (SG) ‘gave’
			1/2/3 (PL) ‘gave’

The verb *kun* ‘come’ shows a four-term root suppletion: two terms in the imperfective aspect and two terms in the perfective aspect and each is directly associated with number.

(7.25)		IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	GLOSS
	1sg.	kúún-í	k- áíw-ó	‘I come/came’
	2sg.	kún-í	áíw-ó	‘You (sg.) come/came’
	3sg.	kún-Ø	áíw-ò	‘S/he comes/came’
	1pl.INC.	kó-hójn-Ø	kó-hóɗ-á-á	‘We come/came’
	1pl.EXC.	kó-hójn-nó	kó-hóɗ-á-ó	‘We come/came’
	2pl.	hójn-ó	hóɗ-á-ó	‘You (pl.) come/came’
	3pl.	hójn-nò	hóɗ-á-à	‘They come/came’

The long vowel in the first person singular is the result of compensatory lengthening that comes when the first person subject marker prefix *ku-* is fused with the root — *ku-kún* ~ <kúún>. The intransitive verb *kún* ‘come’ can be transitivized and bears the meaning ‘bring’ when the comitative-applicative suffix *-ε* is added to it. First person plural inclusive and second person plural take an allomorph of *-ε*, i.e. *-čó*.

(7.26)	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	GLOSS
1sg.	kúún-ε-í	kúúj-á-ε-ó	‘I bring/brought’
2sg.	kún-ε-í	kúj-á-ε-ó	‘You (sg.) bring/brought’
3sg.	kún-ε-Ø	kúč-á-á	‘S/he brings/brought’
1pl.INC.	kó-hójn-čo-Ø	kó-hóč-á-á	‘We bring/brought’
1pl.EXC.	kó-hójn-ε-ó	kó-hóč-á-ó	‘We bring/brought’
2pl.	hójn-čo-ó	hóč-á-ó	‘You (pl.) bring/brought’
3pl.	hójn-ε-é	hóč-á-á	‘They bring/brought’

As can be shown in (7.44), all the forms of the intransitive verb ‘come’ are marked with the comitative-applicative suffix. The allomorph *-čo* also marks person (1st INC, 2nd) and number (plural) of the applicative argument.

The third person plural subject suffix *-ε* in the imperfective aspect and the comitative-applicative suffix *-ε* attract germination /hójnε/ ~ [hójnε]. On the other hand, all the perfective verb forms are marked with an invariable ventive (motion toward) suffix *-a* in addition to the comitative-applicative derivation suffix. In Mursi, both comitative-applicative and ventive are valency increasing derivational devices (see valency changing derivation Chapter 9).

7.3.1.2.8 The suffix *-nèn*

In Mursi, the reciprocal suffix *-nèn* is used to express reciprocity, antipassive, progressive, and habitual actions. While it is used as progressive/habitual suffix, it can help to distinguish imperfective aspect from the perfective. The suffix *-nèn* is also the second most productive multi-functional affix next to the prefix *k(V)-*. From a morphological point of view, the suffix *-nèn* can be treated as both inflectional as well as a derivation marker. It can also function as a nominalizer and may be used to derive nouns from verbs. Like most verbal suffixes, the suffix *-nèn* is also a portmanteau suffix which varies according to aspect of the verb and person and number of the subject. In the imperfective aspect, first and second person take *-nèn* while the third person takes -

nèn, whereas all verb roots and persons in perfective aspect take the suffix *-ε*. The high front vowel /i/ is often epenthesised between consonant clusters.

(7.27)	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	GLOSS
1sg.	kò-lòtòg-ìnèn-ò	kò-lòtòg-ε-á	‘I get/got wet’
2sg.	lòtòg-ìnèn-ò	lòtòg-ε-ú	‘You get/got wet’
3sg.	lòtòg-íné-ò	lòtòg-ε-á	‘S/he get/got wet.’

Inherently reciprocal verbs such as *fīg* ‘agree’ and the verb *ʃɔla* ‘suffer’ (where the S argument is the sufferer/experiencer and the underlying O argument is the illness) express joint actions or situations and they take the suffix *-nèn*. Moreover, the suffix *-nèn* is often used with intransitive verb roots.

The suffix *-nèn* is a progressive/continuative aspect marker used to refer to an ongoing or dynamic process. This suffix is different from other aspect markers in that it is a polysemous suffix, which is also used as a valency changing marker in antipassive and reciprocal constructions. It can also be used as an action verb nominalizer. The fact is that the progressive marker *-nèn* can be attached to most of Mursi verbs independent of their semantic category, but is often attached to verbs that do not make any distinction between imperfective and perfective aspect.

(7.27-a) ìjè hàlì tàmá-rí-nèn-ò
 2sg later learn-1/2.PROG-VFS
 ‘You will learn later.’

(7.27-b) [ɲòná-à n=ànù]_{NP} ók-ú gáwá-jè
 sister-RTSR SG.PSD=1SG.PSR go-3sg.SU.PERV market-OBL
 ná ɲàni àjè kó-dǔt-ìnèn dórí-jè-j
 CCN but 1sg 1SU-leave-1/2.PROG house-OBL-NOM
 ‘My sister went to the market, but I stayed at home.’
 (Lit. ‘My sister went to the marker and but I am staying at the home.’)

As far as the relation between the progressive aspect and antipassive derivation construction is concerned, both have a single aspectual category in common, i.e. in that both utilize imperfective aspect verb roots. See the example given below.

- (7.27-c) ìggè màt-ìnèn-ó-ò
 2pl drink.IMPERV-AP-2pl.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘You (pl.) are drinking.’

In few instances, the three (progressive, antipassive and reciprocal) may be shown at a time without causing any syntactic or semantic disambiguation. In the example below, the verb *bír* ‘collect’ has the same verb root form in both imperfective and perfective aspects, and at the same time indicates a continuous, antipassive and reciprocal actions.

- (7.27-d) ñàñèjè kí-bír-nèn-á hùllí
 but 1SU-collect-RECIP/PROG-1pl.inc.SU.PERV when
 hóǎ-á nà hóǎ-á íbt-á
 come.PERV.PL-3SU CCN come.PERV.PL-3SU take-3pl.SU.PERV
 óǎ-ó gál-á [g=í
 stalk-PL thing.PL-RSTR [PL.GPN=NRESTR
 n=àj-o=jè]RC
 SG.PSD=1PL.INC.PSR-??=SUBORD]
 ‘But, while we are collecting, and if they come and take the stalk things
 that are ours...’ (KW 0:48:2)

7.3.1.2.9 Copula verbs

Copula verbs in Mursi share a number of morphosyntactic properties with regular verbs and occupy the verbal position like any other verb in the canonical constituent order CS COP CC. However, when copula verbs function as predicates in a copular clause, they bear a number of special semantics associated to their syntactic position. The morphological property of copula verbs is discussed below. Copular clause is discussed in Chapter 14. Except for third person, copula verbs are also inflected for person and number like regular verbs.

Table 7.28 Copula verbs

	IMPERFECTIVE		PERFECTIVE	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	k-án-í	k-án-Ø (INC.) k-án-ó (EXC.)	ké-te(w)-a	ké-téd-ó-Ø (INC.) ké-téd-ó-u (EXC.)
2	án-í	án-ó	té-ú	téd-ó
3	á	á	té	té

However, only the imperfective forms can fully function as auxiliary verbs. In such cases, they are often marked for person and number of the subject while the main verb that follows can be fully marked for the necessary agreement inflections. The semantics associated with auxiliary verbs include the expression of desire, intent, perception, uncertainty and so on.

- (7.30)

màmà	bá	sé	ké-té
mother.PERT.SG.1.PSR	place/CAUSE	say.3sg.AUX	1SU-COP.PERV
hír-á	kóh-inèn-a	hín-Ø-ò	
man-RSTR	farm/clear-NOMZ-RSTR	want-3sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS	

‘My mother wants me to become a farmer.’
(Lit. ‘My mother in place want I be farmer, she wants.’)

(7.31)

[àhì-tí	hín-í	sé	óg-é=jè]SUBORD:CL
thing.SG-RSTR	want-2sg.SU.IMPERV	say.SG.AUX	go-APPL=SUBORD
kón-á	á	òŋ?	
one.INDEF-RSTR	COP.3.IMPERV	what?	

‘What else do you want to take along?’
(Lit. ‘The thing that you (sg.) want to take, another is what?’)

(7.32)

bá-á	nà=lògt=á	kámán-ùŋ=nà	ìjè
place-RSTR	DEM=issue=NEAR	war-GEN=DEF	2sg
sén-í	èèŋ?		
say-2sg.SU.IMPERV	how		

‘What is your attitude toward war?’

(7.33)

ká	sé	á	fól	bíí
maybe	say.3sg.AUX	COP.3.IMPERV	sharpened.wood	AUT.REFL
bè	á	òŋ	á	kì-tí
DISTANT.PAST	COP.3.IMPERV	what	COP.3.IMPERV	wood-NRSTR
[Ø nòŋ dǎldǎ-í	hékó	bè]RC		
[Ø 3sg	hard.STV-ADJ	same	stone]	

‘...or maybe was it was sharp wood by itself or what was it?’ It is wood, which is strong like stone.’ (MH: 2:03:0-2:12:09)

As it shown in the examples above — desire/intent (7.30 and 7.31), perception (7.32), and uncertainty (7.33).

7.3.1.3 Mood

The mood category of Mursi includes imperative (7.3.1.3.1), hortative (7.3.1.3.2), jussive (7.3.1.3.3), reality status (7.3.1.3.4), and subjunctive (7.3.1.3). All are expressed by inflectional markings on the verbs. Only the hortative-jussive mood can be marked by an optional free morphological particle *aj/ajɲ*. All utilize affixes with the exception of the negative imperative that utilizes the negative proclitic. All mood constructions utilize the perfective aspect verb roots.

7.3.1.3.1 Imperative

As Aikhenvald (2010: 2) puts it, ‘imperative mood is the commonest way of expressing commands in the languages of the world’. In Mursi, the imperative mood refers to a command given to an addressee (the second person). The verb utilized in the positive imperative construction must always occur in the perfective aspect. The negative imperative construction utilizes a verb in the imperfective aspect. However, in both constructions number can be marked on the verb. The plural suffix *-V* is marked on the verb to denote plural addressee while the bare perfective verb root on its own indicates singular addressee. Person of the subject is unmarked (always second person). Verb-final suffixes *-a* (for singular), *-ε* (for plural) and variants of both *-o* can be added to a clause-finally occurring verbs of the imperative constructions.

In an instance when there is difficulty in making a distinction between imperfective and perfective aspects of the verb roots, one form of the root may be taken and can be glossed as perfective.

Table 7.30 below presents the template of imperative on mood in Mursi and the verb forms and inflections utilized in the positive and negative imperative constructions.

Table 7.30 Imperative construction template

	POSITIVE IMPERATIVE		NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
V-final	ROOT.PERV-a/-o	ROOT.PERV-V-ε	ηà=ROOT.IMPERV-i	ηà=ROOT.IMPERV-o
Non-final	ROOT.PERV	ROOT.PERV-V		

- (7.34) a. *ǰíg-à*
listen.PERV:IMP-VFS
'Listen (2sg.)!'
- b. *túnúg-ò*
enter.PERV:IMP-VFS
'Enter (2sg.)!'

However, there are few a verbs of the imperative form that do not take the verb-final suffixes *-a* or *-o*, for example, *áín* 'give' and *ré* 'wait', in (7.34c-d) below.

- c. *áín-ε*⁴⁵
give.PERV:IMP-TR
'Give (2sg.)!'
- d. *ré*
wait.PERV:IMP
'Wait (sg.)!'

The plural suffix form *-V* normally comes from the verb root where *-V* represents any 'V' value of the verb root. The plural suffix *-V* is a copy of the vowel of the verb root.

- (7.35) a. *ǰíg-í-è*
listen.PERV:IMP-PL-VFS
'Listen (pl.)!'
- b. *ǰíg-í-è*
break.PERV:IMP-PL-VFS
'Break (pl.)!'
- c. *ǰág-á-è*
eat.PERV:IMP-PL-VFS
'Eat (pl.)!'
- d. *ǰón-ó-è*
arrive.PERV:IMP-PL-VFS
'Arrive (pl.)!'
- e. *túnúg-ú-è*
enter.PERV:IMP-PL-VFS
'Enter (pl.)!'

⁴⁵ In Mursi, it is obligatory for ditransitive verbs to indicate their transitivity by a morphological marker attached to their roots despite their transitivity being semantically known.

Note that in the imperative as well as in all other constructions, verbs cannot be marked with the verb-final suffix unless they occur clause-finally. However, a few motion verbs occur with the ventive (motion toward) suffix *-a* or *-o*. In such cases, the ventive suffix more likely tends to fuse with the verb-final suffix, as in (7.36a-b).

- (7.36) a. áíw-ó-ò [aiwo] < [o] < /o+o/
 come.PERV.SG:IMP-MT.PERV-VFS
 ‘Come (sg.)!’
- b. áíw-ó kì-dí-i kàrì
 come.PERV.SG-MT.PERV 1.HORT-go.with-1pl.INC together
 [bá-á hùlè-č-ùŋ]!
 place-RSTR flower-INSTR-GEN
 ‘Come (sg.) with me to the flower show!’
- c. hód-á-á [hóda] < [a] < /a+a/
 come.PERV.PL:IMP-MT.PERV-VFS
 ‘Come (pl.)!’

In (7.36c), if the verb hadn't been a number-determined suppletive, there would be a chance to see a sequence of three vowels — one for number, one for ventive and one for verb-final. The verb itself has reduced unnecessary suffix redundancies. As it is shown above, the verb ‘come’ shows a bit of deviation when it is used in plural imperative form; in that it takes the verb-final suffix of the singular forms. Regarding number marking on the verb of the imperative form, the following exceptions have to be taken into account:

- i. For closed CVC and CVCVC ($V_1=V_2$) verb roots, number is marked by copying the vowel of these verbs roots; for vowel-final CVCV ($V_1=V_2$) verb roots, number is morphologically unmarked (=marked by the absence of the vowel of the same value with $V_1=V_2$). See the following examples:

- (7.37) a. té-jél-é
 PERV-love/like.IMP-PL
 ‘Love/like (pl.)!’
- b. séré-è
 inherit.PERV.IMP-VFS
 ‘Inherit (pl.)!’

- ii. Number-determined suppletive verb roots do not take plural marking — for example, *ád-è* (give.PERV:PL-VFS) ‘Give (pl.)!’ and *hódǎ* ‘Come (pl.)!’ (7.36c).
- iii. For vowel-final CVCV ($V_1 \neq V_2$) verb roots, number is left unmarked — for example, *dáǎí-è* (do.PERV:IMP-VFS) ‘Do (pl.)!’, *sání-è* (stay.PERV:IMP-VFS) ‘Stay (pl.)!’.
- iv. For verbs with a sequence of V_1V_1 and V_1V_2 vowels, number may be marked depending on the vowel height harmony of the vowels in the roots — *óól-í-è* (beg.PERV:IMP-PL-VFS) ‘Beg (pl.)!’, *áíb-é-è* (go.PERV:IMP-PL-VFS) ‘Go (pl.)!’. There may be exceptional/irregular cases that may apply to some verbs and thus number can be expressed on their roots by means of vowel height harmony neutralization — *tóón-á-è* (kill.PERV:IMP-PL-VFS) ‘Kill (pl.)!’. But for non-vowel sequence carrying verb roots, both vowel height harmony and vowel height harmony neutralization may apply — *ɲéd-ò-è* (run.PERV:IMP-PL-VFS) ‘Run (pl.)!’, *ɲóg-é-è* (close.PERV:IMP-PL-VFS) ‘close (pl.)!’ and *tál-í-è* (buy/sell.PERV:IMP-PL-VFS) ‘Buy/sell (pl.)!’.

Person cannot be indicated or marked on the verb in the imperative form whatsoever, even when two coordinated imperative forms occur in one construction. Some examples are illustrated below.

- (7.38) a. *óg-ó* *nà* *gójɲ* *bì-ò*
 go.PERV:IMP-MT CCN see.PERV:IMP cow-PL
 ‘Go see the cattle!’ or ‘Go (sg.) and see (sg.) the cattle!’
- b. *áíb-é* *nà* *gójɲ-á* *bì-ò*
 go.PERV:IMP-PL CCN look.PERV:IMP-PL cow-PL
 ‘Go (pl.) see the cattle!’

The most interesting point in (7.38b) is that it is not clear why the singular form of root *aib* [w] ‘go/come’ is used instead of *hód* ‘come (pl.)’.

Pronominal object suffixes can be cross-referenced on the imperative verb form but is depending on the transitivity nature of the verb. If the verb in the imperative form is transitive, an object pronominal can be marked on the verb directly. If the verb is

ditransitive, there is no marking on the verb but just a free personal pronoun follows the imperative verb form.

- (7.39) a. *éɖʒ-ò*
 kill.PERV:IMP-VFS
 ‘Kill (sg.) him!’
- b. *éɖʒ-óŋ-ò*
 kill.PERV:IMP-1sg.OBJ-VFS
 ‘Kill (sg.) me!’
- c. *éj⁴⁶ ɲà=hírí=nù*
 kill.PERV:IMP DEM=man=NEAR
 ‘Kill (sg.) the man!’

Third person object marker is not marked on the imperative form of the verb, as can be seen in (7.39a). No mention of third person as direct or indirect object not even by a free pronoun, as shown below.

- (7.40) a. *áín-é⁴⁷ ànè*
 give.PERV:IMP-TR 1sg
 ‘Give (sg) it to me!’
- b. *áín-é*
 give.PERV:IMP-TR
 ‘Give (sg.) him!’ or ‘Give (sg.) it to him!’

Second person possessive pronoun is avoided since it gives a reflexive meaning to the imperative form, as in (7.40c). In fact, (7.40c) would have a different form for a reflexive or declarative sentence (7.58d).

- c. *áín-é sìò*
 give.PERV:IMP-TR hand
 ‘Surrender (sg.)!’ (Lit. ‘Give (sg.) hand!’)
- d. *ádʒ-í sìò-á n=ùnù*
 give.IMPERV-2sg.SU.IMPER hand-RSTR SG.PSD=2SG.PSR
 ‘Give your hand’

In order to make a command to an addressee that also involves a reflexive pronoun, an intransitive verb is preferred over a transitive. The intransitive process verb *ér* ‘die’ will be used instead of the transitive action-process verb *éɖʒ* ‘kill, shoot’.

⁴⁶ The palatal affricate weakens to a palatal approximant [j] word-finally, /ɖʒ/ →[j]/__# (see Chapter 2).

⁴⁷ The plural number marker suffix on the imperative form -*ɛ* and the transitivizer suffix -*ɛ* are similar.

- (7.41) ér [rè-á n=ùnù]
 die.PERV:IMP body-RSTR SG.PSD=2SG.PSR
 ‘Kill yourself!’ (Lit. ‘Die yourself!’)

A non-canonical imperative form can also be used for persons other than the addressee (Aikhenvald 2010: 47). Mursi utilizes a non-canonical imperative constructions by a morphological marking on the verb. The hortative prefix $k(V)$ - (where \acute{V} carries a High tone) for first person and the jussive prefix $k(V)$ - (where \grave{V} carries a Low tone) for third person are used to carry out commands other than to the addressee. However, the real non-command forms of the hortative and jussive constructions make use of the free form particle *aj/ajɪ* in addition to the $k(V)$ - form prefixes.

- (7.42) a. kò-jòg-ò
 1.HORT-say.PERV-VFS
 ‘Let me say!’
- b. kò-jòg-t-ò
 1.HORT-say.PERV-PL-1pl.EXC.SU
 ‘Let us (exc.) say!’
- c. k-éléhén-é
 3.JUSS-measure.PERV-VFS
 ‘Let him measure!’
- d. k-éléhén-é-é
 3.JUSS-measure.PERV-PL-VFS
 ‘Let them measure!’

Moreover, hortative/jussive moods associated with the non-command meanings may have optional free subject pronouns that occur preceding the whole structure of both mood forms. This is however not possible in command forms — maybe in a very rare case for first person singular, where the first person pronoun may follow the imperative-hortative structure, as in (7.43a).

- (7.43) a. k-èlèhèn ànè
 1.HORT-measure.PERV 1sg
 ‘Let me measure!’

Or as in (7.43b), the hortative prefix of first person and the jussive of third person may overlap with the second person subjunctive prefix, which is as a mild command or polite marker.

- b. *dórí-a búrtò⁴⁸ bú čáll-á kà-tàl-á-è*
 house-RSTR ANA:REF big good.STV-RTSR 1/2HORT-buy.PERV-MT-VFS
 ‘Buy that good house (polite)!’

In fact, in Mursi, the second person singular imperative form shows a similarity in prefix with the first person plural inclusive hortative form⁴⁹. The motion suffix *-a* indicates the direction of the action of the addressee whether buying or selling, in the otherwise unidentifiable verb *tal* ‘buy, sell’. This motion suffix can only be used in the perfective aspect.

Like the various number and verb-final marking suffixes which are only used in the imperatives, the benefactive suffix *-εsε* also functions only for positive imperative.

Declarative and other types of sentences utilize the other variety of this suffix, i.e. *-èšèn*.

- (7.44) *ódz-èsè mèdèrè tùì tó-jé*
 put.PERV-BEN:IMP sheep enclosure in-OBL
 ‘Keep the ram in the enclosure!’

The interaction of imperative and aspect resides in the distinction between positive and negative imperatives. This is due to the nature of negative imperatives which require an action to be acted upon immediately at the time the speaker commands, what to do right at that moment. The reality status which the positive imperative (realis) and the negative imperative (irrealis) is also related to the speaker’s intention and rationality, — whether a command is to be carried out, will be performed immediately, or shall be delayed seems to be a key point to be taken into account. Thus from a reality mood

⁴⁸ *burtò* ‘many days ago, more than 2-3 days ago’ is a time word which also functions as demonstrative manner adverb, i.e. <past mentioned; referential demonstrative>.

⁴⁹ Furthermore, first and second person singular subjunctive forms tend to be identical, for example, *kajno* ‘I may giving’ *kajno* ‘You (sg.) may giving’.

point of view, negative imperative expresses the speaker's intention that the action not be carried out immediately.

Unlike the positive imperative, the negative imperative utilizes an imperfective verb root and different number suffixes — despite both being commands used to deliver a speaker's intent that a certain course of action must be carried out within a specified period of time. The negative imperative utilizes the imperfective negative proclitic *ɲà=*, imperfective verb root, and two invariable number suffixes *-i* (for singular addressee) and *-o* (for plural addressee). See the examples below — singular addressee (7.45a-c) and plural addressee (7.46a-c).

- (7.45) a. *ɲà=édɟ-í*
 NEG.IMPERV=shoot.IMPERV-SG
 ‘Don’t (sg.) shoot/kill!’
- b. *ɲà=óg-í*
 NEG.IMPERV=shout.IMPERV-SG
 ‘Don’t (sg.) shout!’
- c. *ɲà=zámí-í*
 NEG.IMPERV=swim.IMPERV-SG
 ‘Don’t (sg.) swim!’
- (7.46) a. *ɲà=édɟ-ó*
 NEG.IMPERV=drink.IMPERV-PL
 ‘Don’t (pl.) shoot/kill!’
- b. *ɲà=čóll-ó*
 NEG.IMPERV-sing.IMPERV-PL
 ‘Don’t (pl.) sing!’
- c. *ɲà=zámí-ó*
 NEG.IMPERV-swim.IMPERV-PL
 ‘Don’t (pl.) swim!’

Unlike in declarative sentences in which both subjects of intransitive and transitive verbs are obligatory marked on the verb, imperative sentences always drop markers of both subjects. In addition, in Mursi, both subject and the object of a transitive verb are cross-referenced on the verb. Semantically, object of a transitive verb and the recipient/beneficiary of a ditransitive verb are regarded as primary object, thus, they are cross-referenced on the verb. In the positive as well as negative imperatives, subject of any

transitivity class is not required, only object arguments are obligatorily marked on the verb.

- (7.47) a. $\eta\grave{a}=\acute{e}d\zeta\text{-}\acute{o}\eta\text{-}\acute{i}$
 NEG.IMPERV=drink.IMPERV-1sg.OBJ-SG-SG
 ‘Don’t (sg.) kill me!’
- b. $\eta\grave{a}=\acute{e}d\zeta\text{-}\acute{i}\text{-}\acute{e}$
 NEG.IMPERV=drink.IMPERV-1pl.OBJ-SG
 ‘Don’t (sg.) kill us!’
- c. $\eta\grave{a}=\acute{a}d\zeta\text{-}\acute{a}\eta\text{-}\acute{i}$
 NEG.IMPERV=give.IMPERV-1sg.OBJ-SG
 ‘Don’t give (it to) me!’
- d. $\eta\grave{a}=\acute{a}d\zeta\text{-}\acute{i}$
 NEG.IMPERV=give.IMPERV-1pl.OBJ
 ‘Don’t (sg.) give (it to) us!’

There is also an interesting interaction between imperatives and adverbial words (time and locative). Time words (adverbs) often occur at the beginning of a declarative sentence.

- (7.48) a. $\eta\grave{a}m\acute{e}r\acute{e}$ $d\acute{a}f\acute{i}$
 now do.PERV:IMP
 ‘Do (sg.) now!’
- b. $\eta\grave{a}m\acute{e}r\acute{e}$ $d\acute{a}f\acute{i}=\eta\grave{a}$
 now do.PERV:IMP=DEF
 ‘Do now!’ or ‘Do it (sg.) right now!’

Locative adverbs are demonstrative constructions referring to distance. Distance referring locative adverbs often constitute the last position of a sentence.

- c1. $d\acute{a}f\acute{i}$ $\eta\grave{a}b\acute{a}$ ⁵⁰
 do.PERV:IMP here
 ‘Do (sg.) here!’
- c2. $d\acute{a}f\acute{i}=\eta\grave{a}$ $\eta\grave{a}b\acute{a}$
 do.PERV:IMP=DEF here
 ‘Do (sg.) here!’ or ‘Do it (sg.) right here!’

⁵⁰ / $\eta\grave{a}b\acute{a}$ / is the contraction form of [$\eta\grave{a}=\acute{b}\acute{a}=a$] <DEM=place=NEAR> ‘this place’.

The above forms indicate some degree of urgency that the actions have to happen in bounded time and space ‘now and here’. Number and verb-final suffixes are not marked on the verb for reasons not clear at this stage.

- d. o dǎfǐ ηàbùnù⁵¹
 POL do.PERV:IMP there
 ‘Do (sg.) there!’
- e1. o dǎfǐ hàlì wùréó
 POL do.PERV:IMP later last
 ‘Do later!’
- e2. hàlì hàlì dǎfǐ
 later later do.PERV:IMP
 ‘Do (sg.) later!’ ‘Do (sg.) slowly!’

The example shown in (7.48d-e2) indicate delayed imperatives accompanied by a polite marker particle *o*.

Imperatives referring to high degree of urgency may be shorter in form (7.49a) and can contain time and locative words that tend to substitute one another. Some examples are illustrated below.

- (7.49) a. túη-ó bá
 PERV.sleep:IMP-MT place
 ‘Sleep (sg.)!’ (here and now)
- b. áíw-ó ηáà
 come.PERV:IMP-MT here
 ‘Come (sg.) here!’ (here and now)

The locative adverb *ηaa* can also refer to time contextually as it is not a genuine local adverbial word rather it is a composition of the demonstrative proclitic *ηà=* and the proximal enclitic *=á*. The proclitic *ηà=* can also operate as a floating clitic, thus it can also be attached to an imperative verb as a definite marker, for example, *fìlηà* (stand:PERV.IMP=DEF) ‘Stand (sg.) here!’. Some imperative forms may contain two verbs, one of which is only used with distal imperative. It is also used to indicate that

⁵¹ /ηàbùnù/ is the contraction form of [ηà=bá=unu] <DEM=place=FAR> ‘that place’.

In (7.52b), the auto-reflexive particle *bíí* shows that the speaker has no control⁵² over the activity that he/she commanded to be performed/executed. Rather the command that is given by the speaker will be performed by the will of the addressee. Non-canonical imperative forms of the third and first person plural are even more interesting.

- (7.53) a. *áj í<i+i> kàrì*
 JUSS.PART exist.3pl.IRR together
 ‘Let them not scatter!’ (Lit. ‘Let them exist together!’)
- b. *ɲà=kè-hèj bííbíí*
 NEG=1.HORT-go.IMPERV:PL different
 ‘Let us not disperse!’ (Lit. ‘Let us go not different/separate!’)

Mursi has an attenuative particle that to some extent weakens the strong sense of the imperative. The particle *gá* ‘let’ in (7.54a-b) below is an attenuative marker which softens the harshness of the request.

- (7.54) a. [*gá tón ɲà=bómbí=tá ná*
 ATTU throw.PERV:IMP DEM=ball=NEAR CCN
 [k-ar-í-to táá
 1.HORT-see.PERV-1PL.OBJ-1pl.EXC.SU ATTU:UNCERT
 óhón-í] ná k-ój kó òrì?
 throw.IMPERV-2sg.SU.IMPERV CCN SBJV-put PNC where
 ‘Let’s see how far you can throw the ball!’
 (Lit ‘Throw (sg.) the ball and let us see where you may throw it and will put it to!’)
- b. *gá ítón-ón bómbí*
 ATTU send.PERV:IMP-1SG.OBJ ball
 ‘Throw the ball over to me!’

Another attenuative particle is *bòtííní* ‘a little bit’ which appears to have an idiosyncratic form but basically can be morphologically segmentable into *bòì* ‘high’ and *tini* > *tííní* ‘little’.

- (7.55) *kàl-á [Ø rònó wùréó]_{RC} áw-ó*
 day-RSTR [Ø in.the.future after] come.PERV:IMP-2/3.IRR
bòtííní jàù
 a.little.bit fast
 ‘Next time come a little earlier!’ (Lit. ‘The day that is in future.’)

⁵² In addition, the polite particle *o* can also indicate a command that the speaker lacks control over the action, for example, *o rodo*⁵² (POL spill.PERV:IMP-VFS) ‘please, be spilled!’.

But if a hortative/jussive mood is used to give a command and request at the same time, that requires a hortative/jussive answer, a copula comes at the beginning of a sentence. Just for the purpose of Mursi grammar, I labeled the function of this copula as ‘anticipatory request-reply’ marker, as in (7.56).

- (7.56) á àggè k-ai-o ór-ó ná
 COP.3.IMPERV 1pl 1.HORT-go.PERV-1pl.INC.SU home-OBL CCN
 k-àùs-ò `tííní
 1.HORT-rest.PERV-1pl.INC.SU. a.little/few
 ‘Let us (inc.) go home and rest a little!’

Finally, there are still a few verbs that do not distinguish between singular and plural imperative forms. They neither take verbal inflections nor any other sort of markers that indicate number.

- (7.57) a. čólló hòlò?⁵³ ‘Sing (sg.)!’ > (sing song)
 čólló hóló? ‘Sing (pl.)!’
 b. dáhòlò? ‘Dance (sg.)!’ >
 dáhóló? ‘Dance (pl.)!’

Commands can be directed at first person (‘me’, ‘us’) and third person (‘him’, ‘her’, ‘them’) (Aikhenvald 2010: 47). Commands directed at first person are known as hortative §7.3.1.3.2, while those that are directed at third person are known as jussive §7.3.1.3.3. In Mursi, both constitute the irrealis mood.

7.3.1.3.2 Hortative

The hortative in Mursi is a non-canonical imperative mood directed towards first person and can be used to denote a mild command. As seen on Table 7.31, hortative is part of the irrealis mood and only utilizes a perfective verb root. This is due to the fact that the irrealis in general signals some degree of completeness while on the other hand the basic assumption of the imperfective aspect signals incompleteness. The hortative form takes a low-toned prefix *k(V̇)*- and is optionally preceded by a free form high-toned

⁵³ *hóló?* ‘music’ refers to song and dance (cultural form of singing and dancing) and it is a noun, while *čólló* ‘sing’ only refers the action of singing and dancing (it is a verb).

hortative particle *aj* [aɲ]. As in many verbal inflectional prefixes of Mursi, the vowel of the prefix *k(V̇)*- is copied from a consonant-initial perfective verb root's vowel. The hortative template is illustrated below.

Table 7.31 Hortative construction — positive

SINGULAR	PLURAL
(aj/aɲ) k(V̇)-RÒÒT.PERV	(INC.) (aj/aɲ) k(V̇)-RÒÒT.PERV-V
	(EXC.) (aj/aɲ) k(V̇)-RÒÒT.PERV-t-ò

- (7.58) a. *kà-màg*
 1.HORT-catch.PERV
 ‘Let me catch!’
- b. *kà-màg-à-è*
 1.HORT-catch.PERV-1pl.INC-VFS
 ‘Let us (inc.) catch!’
- c. *kò-jòg-t-ò*
 1.HORT-say.PERV-PL-1.EXC
 ‘Let us (exc.) say!’

As can be shown in (7.58b), the *-V* of the first person plural inclusive is copied from the verb root, whereas the first person plural exclusive is marked by *-o* and also epenthesised *-t*. Verb-final suffixes *-a*, *-o* and *-ε* can be suffixed to a perfective verb root (for first person) and after inclusive/exclusive markers (for both first person plural).

The verb-final suffix *-ε* is often suffixed to plural forms.

- (7.59) a. *kì-ḃìk-á*
 1.HORT-catch.PERV-VFS
 ‘Let me break (it)!’
- b. *kà-làmì-ó*
 1.HORT-seeK.PERV-VFS
 ‘Let me seek!’
- c. *kè-rè-ó*
 1.HORT-wait.PERV-VFS
 ‘Let me keep!’
- d. *kì-ḃìg-ì-é*
 1.HORT-break.PERV-1pl.INC-VFS
 ‘Let us (inc.) break (it)!’

- e. k-ìr-ì-é
 1.HORT-drink.PERV-1pl.INC-VFS
 ‘Let us (inc.) drink!’

Negation on hortative is marked in the same way as on the canonical imperative forms.

The difference is that the verb turns into imperfective aspect when negated, as can be shown by the negative hortative template below.

Table 7.32 Hortative construction— negative

SINGULAR	PLURAL
ɲà=k(V)-ROOT.IMPERV-i	(INC.) ɲà=k(V)-ROOT.IMPERV-Ø
	(EXC.) ɲà=k(V)-ROOT.IMPERV-(t/n)o

- (7.60) a. ɲà=k-èj-t-ò
 NEG=1.HORT-shoot.IMPERV-PL-1pl.EXC
 ‘Let us (exc.) not kill!’
- b. ɲà=kùùn-ì
 NEG=1.HORT-come.IMPERV-SG
 ‘Let me not come!’
- c. ɲà=kò-hòŋ-Ø
 NEG=1.HORT-come.IMPERV:PL-1pl.INC
 ‘Let us (inc.) not come!’

As it is illustrated in (7.60a-c) above, the particle *aj/aj* has no function in the negative hortative construction. Thus, it is excluded from all types of non-canonical negative imperative constructions. The distinction between the two hortative particles *aj* and *aj* is not clear at this stage (also occurring with jussive forms) but both forms seem to be associated with the idiolect and stylistic preference of speakers.

- (7.61) a. áj k-ìdǒ-ó
 HORT.PART 1.HORT-mix.PERV-VFS
 ‘Let me mix/combine.’
- b. áŋ kì-dìr-ó
 HORT.PART 1.HORT-swipe/wipe.PERV-VFS
 ‘Let me swipe/wipe.’

However, there is viable evidence that both hortative and jussive forms which take *aj/aj* particles tend to be used for polite requests other than orders or commands. Besides, in a rare instances, a verb tends to be uninflected for person in a hortative form but can be

inflected for person when it is in a jussive form. When such instances occur, the person can be shown by a personal pronoun function as in O function or an associative word *kàrì* ‘together, with’ may be used. Compare the following hortative forms (7.62a-b) and jussive forms in (7.62c-d).

- (7.62) a. *kè-sèrè* *ápój*
 1.HORT-inherit.PERV 1sg-PVS
 ‘Let me inherit.’
- b. *kè-sèrè* *kàrì*
 1.HORT-inherit.PERV together
 ‘Let us inherit.’
- c. *ké-séré-ò*
 3.JUSS-inherit.PERV-VFS
 ‘Let him inherit.’
- d. *ké-séré-t-ò*
 3.JUSS-inherit.PERV-PL-VFS
 ‘Let them inherit.’

The first person plural hortative form in (7.62b) does not distinguish between inclusive and exclusive. As we have seen in (7.51), imperative use of a morphologically deficient verb or of a verb whose semantic origin is a non-verbal, tend to behave differently when used in imperatives. The reduplicated *kòbkòb* ‘quick’ is a derived adverb from the verb root *kòb* ‘to follow’, has a secondary function as a verb ‘hurry’. It doesn’t take any verbal inflection in its reduplicated form. Neither indicates aspect or number. As shown below in (7.63b-c), the first person singular and plural hortative forms are indistinguishable.

- (7.63) a. *kò-kòbkòb*
 1.HORT-hurry
 ‘Let me hurry!’ or (Lit. Let me be quick!’)
- b. *k-àj* *kòbkòb*
 1.HORT-JUSS/HORT.PART hurry
 ‘Let me hurry!’
- OR c. *k-áj* *kòbkòb*
 1.HORT-JUSS/HORT.PART hurry
 ‘Let us hurry!’

- b. àj kó-ɲóg-ó-é
 JUSS.PART 3.JUSS-close.PERV-PL-VFS (=mild)
 ‘Let them close (it)!’
- c. àj kó-jóg-t-ò
 JUSS.PART 3.jUSS-tell-PERV-PL
 ‘Let them say!’

Rarely both singular and plural forms of the jussive can only be distinguished by the verb-final suffix of the plural form, as in (7.67a-b).

- (7.67) a. àj ká-dáfí
 JUSS.PART 3.JUSS-work.PERV
 ‘Let him work!’
- b. àj ká-dáfí-è
 JUSS.PART 3.JUSS-work.PERV-VFS
 ‘Let them work!’

Negative forms utilize imperfective verb roots and at the same time do not take the jussive marker prefix. Therefore, the singular form of a jussive mood may never marked as are any other imperfective aspect verbs of a declarative mood. See the examples below.

- (7.68) a. ɲà=báns-án-ó
 NEG=get.up-MT-SG
 ‘Let him not wake up!’
- b. ɲà=èlèhèn-í
 NEG=measure-SG
 ‘Let him not make (something) similar!’
- c. ɲà=báns-é-è
 NEG=get.up-PL-VFS
 ‘Let them not wake up (stand up)!’
- d. ɲà=tímírtí-é
 NEG=teach-PL
 ‘Let them not teach!’

Number agreement in negative jussive mood other than number suffixes can be shown on suppletive verb root itself or by other non-number marking inflectional suffixes.

- (7.69) a. jòg tó-jé ɲà=hón-í
 3pl in-OBL NEG=come.IMPERV:PL-PL
 ‘Let them not come in!’
- b. nòɲ ɲà=dǒɲ-áná
 3sg NEG=pick.up-IMPERV.3.MT
 ‘Let him (her) not pick up!’

In (7.69a), the suppletive verb root indicates plural while the motion suffix *-áná* in (7.69b) occurs only as the third person singular and first person plural inclusive indicator. Negated verbs always take the sentence-final position, thus the postposition word is now preceding the predicate, as can be seen in (7.69b).

To sum up, the second person singular form of the canonical imperative is one of the shortest formally marked forms in the language — *rɛ* (wait.PERV:IMP) ‘wait (sg.)!’ and the second person plural form of the canonical imperative is the shortest of all morphologically marked forms. The perfective verb root alone can denote an abrupt command directed to second person addressee. All inflectional morphology of the canonical and non-canonical (hortative/jussive) imperative can be exhaustively marked on the positive as well as on the negative imperative verb from slot 1, 2, 7, and 14.

Moreover, both canonical and non-canonical imperatives can be negated in the same way as declaratives but indeed imperatives differ in one way, that is, imperatives can be negated just by the proclitic marker *ɲà=*. Regarding the marking of negation on imperatives and declaratives, a comparative summary is given in Table 7.34 below.

Table 7.34 Imperatives and declaratives vis-à-vis negation

MOOD	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE
Imperative (canonical)	<i>ɲà=</i> ROOT.IMPERV:IMP	not attested
Imperative (non-canonical)	<i>ɲà=k(V)-</i> ROOT.IMPERV (HORTATIVE) <i>ɲà=</i> ROOT.IMPERV (JUSSIVE)	not attested
Declarative	<i>ɲà=</i> ROOT.IMPERV= <i>ó</i>	<i>ɲàni k-ROOT.PERV=ó</i>

7.3.1.3.4 Subjunctive

Subjunctive is one of the three moods in Mursi which are expressed by the irrealis morphological marker within the perfective aspect. Subjunctive, like the other two irrealis moods (hortative and jussive), utilizes a prefix *k(V)-* and a perfective verb root.

However in Mursi, it should be noted that the relation of the subjunctive mood with the perfective aspect can be viewed within the following conditions:

- i. Subjunctive irrealis operates within the context of completeness of a situation but not within the reality of an event or a situation, thus a complete action/situation is indicated by perfective aspect.
- ii. Mursi lacks a morphological tense system and tense is expressed by separate time word, thus the irrealis subjunctive functions independently of the tense system.
- iii. Subjunctive irrealis is used to express desire, wish, perception, prediction, uncertainty/certainty, possibility, obligation, and ability/potential.
- iv. Subjunctive irrealis utilizes the prefix *k(V)-* for first and third persons — rarely for second person.
- v. Subjunctive irrealis often occurs in complement and subordinate clauses.
- vi. The time frame of the subjunctive irrealis mood in the complement or subordinate clause may differ from the time frame of the main clause.

A complement clause containing a subjunctive mood can be introduced by a grammaticalized verb *sé* ‘to say’, an invariable complementizer form whose origin is an auxiliary. *sé* also functions as direct and indirect speech marker along with another direct speech marker particle *ké* ‘this/thing’. In reason and purpose-type clauses, *sé* often preceded by the multi-function word *bá* ‘place’ ~ <CAUSE, REASON, PURPOSE>.

Subjunctive mood template:

...(bá) (sé) k(V)-ROOT.PERV-(object/motion/valency, etc.)...

(7.70) *DESIRE*

- | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------|------------|
| a. | nòŋ | ɲà=hín-Ø=ó | [bá | sé |
| | 3sg | NEG=want-3sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG | place/CAUSE | say.COMPZR |
| | k-áíw-é=jè] | SUBORD:CL | òrì | húj] |
| | 3.SBJV-come.PERV-RES=SUBORD] | | where | simply |
| | ‘S/he did not want to come anyway.’ | | | |

- b. $\eta\grave{a}=\acute{d}\acute{a}i\acute{n}-\grave{a}$ [6á sé
 DEM=late.afternoon=NEAR place/CAUSE say.COMPZR
 k-óg=jè]SUBORD:CL 6ókónó]
 1.SBJV-go.PERV-SUBORD anywhere
 $\eta\grave{a}=k\acute{i}-h\acute{i}n-i=\acute{o}$
 NEG=1SU-want- 1sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘I don’t want to go anywhere tonight.’
- c. $n\grave{o}\eta$ *hin-Ø* sé k-éj-à
 3sg want.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV say.COMPL 3.SBJV-help.PERV-IRR
 támá-rí- $\eta\acute{a}$
 student-PL
 ‘S/he wants to help the student.’

(7.71) WISH

- a. *ténè η* *hùllì* lómí $\eta\acute{a}$ k-ígí hú η ?
 why if lemons.PL 3.SBJV-ripe.PERV simply
 ‘I wish the lemons were ripe.’ (Lit. ‘were the lemons ripe!’)
- b. $\grave{a}\eta\grave{e}$ 6á sé ké-té=jè hínè $\grave{n}\acute{o}$
 1sg place/cause say.COMPL 1.SBJV-cop.PERV=SUBORD alive
hin 6òì k-ér hú η
 want.IMPERV completely:DEO 1.SBJV-die.PERV simply
 á 6áll-ì
 COM.3.IMPERV good.STV-ADJ
 ‘Being dead is better for me than being alive.’
 (Lit. ‘I instead of being alive, it is better I should die.’)

Note that a sequence of *hin* and *6òì* is a typical deontic marking configuration other than the rare lexical deontic markers in the language.

(7.72) UNCERTAINTY+REQUEST

- a. $\eta\grave{a}=h\acute{o}i=t\acute{a}$ 6á $\eta\grave{a}=z\grave{u}g=t\acute{a}$ sé
 DEM=woman=NEAR place/CAUSE DEM=people=NEAR say.COMPL
 ká-tál- ϵ dórí $\eta\grave{a}n\grave{i}$ $\eta\acute{i}k=\acute{o}$
 3.SBJV-buy.PERV-APPL house not.yet hear=NEG
 ‘Woman, have you (sg.) not heard that they are going to buy that house?’

In a few instances, only person marker may be shown on the subjunctive mood forms.

Number agreement may not be shown on the subjunctive mood forms, rather it can be indicated by independent referential means — *$\eta\acute{a}z\grave{u}g\acute{t}a$* , as in (7.72a)

- b. ànè bá sé k-ídíǀ-ó
 1sg place/CAUSE say.COMPL 1.SBJV-go.with.PERV-MT
 kó ɲà=zùg=tùnù ɲàni k-ését=ó
 PNC DEM=people=FAR NEG.PERV 1.SBJV-think.PERV=NEG
 ‘I did not think of going with them.’
- c. k-é-r-é-íj-ò
 1.SBJV-wait.PERV-2SG.OBJ-VFS
 ‘May I wait for you?’

The clause in (7.72c) is independent clause and denotes request.

- (7.73) POSSIBILITY (ACTION NEARLY AVERTED) (cf. Kuteva 1998)
 bá ɲà=lòg=tá sé k-ár-á
 place/CAUSE DEM=issue=NEAR say.COMPL 3.SBJV-see.PERV-MT
 kón k-éj ǀírr
 one 3.SBJV-spoil.PERV realy
 ‘He nearly lost his sight in the accident.’

- (7.74) OBLIGATION — (*hin* *ò* *k(V)*-ROOT.PERV)
- a. *hín* *ò* ká-lámí ókónó
 want.IMPERV completely:DEO 1.SBJV-find.PERV somewhere
 ‘We will have to look around elsewhere.’
- b. *hín* *ò* [[zùw-á g=àj]_{NP}
 want.IMPERV completely:DEO people-RSTR PL.PSD=1 PL.INC.PSR
 ɲàgàs-a]_{NP} kó-dòj-nò
 old.STV-RSTR 1.SBJV-respect.PERV-VFS
 ‘We (inc.) must respect our elders.’

The verb in the subjunctive mood could also occur outside the complement or subordinate clause (7.74a-b) but it may occur following the negative temporal subordinate marker *ɲàni*⁵⁵ ‘not yet, still’, as in (7.75a)

- (7.75) a. bè ɲà=hùl=ùnù nòj ɲàni
 DIST.PAST DEM=time=FAR 3sg not.yet
 k-íríǀá=ó
 3.SBJV-born.PERV=NEG
 ‘At the time, he was not yet born.’
- b. wà k-ítóón-ó ór-ó
 RECENT.PAST 3.SBJV-send.PERV-MT home-OBL
 ‘S/he showed him/her home.’ (Lit. ‘S/he sent (it) to the home.’)

Strictly speaking, the occurrence of the subjunctive mood form we have seen in the examples above is more evident in the complement and subordinate clauses. Moreover,

⁵⁵ This particle also used as a persistent marker.

regarding the subjunctive mood form and the function and distribution of *sé*, as a complementizer, as an auxiliary verb, as a direct speech marker (along with *ké*) and as a fully inflected verb root ‘say’, the example below would to some extent illustrate the point briefly. Below is a text from an old oral story of the Mursi titled ‘There was no death in Mursi’.

(7.76) *nà gin-ón-Ø-ì* *nà sé-Ø* *ké*
 CCN ask-MT-3sg.OBJ-3sg.IRR CCN say-3sg.SU.IMPERV QUOT
 hee!! *sén-í* *k-ér* *nój*
 hee!!! say-2sg.SU.IMPERV 3.SBJV-die.PERV who.NOM?
 ‘He asked him, saying: “Who are you saying will die?”’

b[6]ásá-ì
 monitor.lizard-SG
 ‘The monitor lizard’
 (Implied: And the monitor lizard was afraid of being eaten and said this)

téjér-á *bág-á-è* *nà*
 afraid.PERV-3sg.SU.PERV eat.PERV-3sg.SU.PERV-APPL:RES CCN
sén-á *ké* *ah, ah, ah*
 say-3sg.SBJ.PERV QUOT no no no
 ‘Was afraid of being eaten and said this, “No! No! No!”.’ (ND 3.6)

k-ér *mùni-o,* *k-ér* *mùni-ó*
 3.SBJV-die.PERV Mursi-NOM 3.SBJV-die.PERV Mursi-NOM
 ‘The Mursi will die, the Mursi will die.’ (ND 3.6-3.7)

The second person may rarely takes the subjunctive mood marker prefix, and when it takes it aligns with the first person subjunctive form

(7.77)

	SUBJUNCTIVE FORM	MEANING
1sg.	<i>k-àìŋ-o</i>	‘I may be giving’
2sg.	<i>k-áíŋ-o</i>	‘You (sg.) may giving’
3sg.	<i>k-áín-ε</i>	‘S/he may giving’

The suffix *-o* of the first and second person subjunctive forms is a verb-final suffix while the suffix *-ε* is a applicative marker (see Chapter 9). The verb in the subjunctive mood may not be often marked for number or subject suffixes but may be marked with other grammatical categories such as motion and valency changing devices. For

example, in (7.78), the verb in the subjunctive irrealis is suffixed with motion and applicative markers.

- (7.78) a. *kì-ḃìg-án-čó*
1.SBJV-break.PERV-MT-APPL
'I may/might break'
- b. *kí-ḃíg-án-čó*
3.SBJV-break.PERV-MT-APPL
'S/he may/might break'

As can be seen in (7.78a-b), person can only be distinguished by grammatical tone where first person is marked by low tone while third person is marked by high tone. Plural number can be indicated by various internal morphological mechanisms or by suffixation of the *-t/-d* (aspect-number) alternations. Further discussion on the subjunctive mood vis-à-vis complement and subordinate clauses and negation is addressed in the chapters dealing each of the topics.

7.3.1.4 Tense

Mursi has no inflectional system that marks tense on the verb, thus tense is marked by separate lexical time words. The tense system of Mursi are of two types: primary tense markers (particles *be* 'distant past' and *wa* 'recent past') and secondary tense markers (mainly lexical time adverbs). These two lexical tense marking types fall into five sub-types/classes as noted by Dixon (2012: 20): durative (§7.3.1.4.1-§7.3.1.4.2), frequency (§7.3.1.4.3), specific time spans (§7.3.1.4.4), temporal shifters (§7.3.1.4.5), and expectation related time words (§7.3.1.4.6). Therefore, both primary and secondary tense markers are dealt with together in accordance with the five sub-types, which strictly speaking as is the easiest and ideal way to deal with them.

7.3.1.4.1 Durative: Past tense

The primary tense markers *bè* and *wà* often occur at the beginning of a clause. Also, the verb that follows these two tense particles must be in the perfective aspect form.

Table 7.35 Durative past tense markers

DURATIVE: PAST TENSE		
PARTICLES	MEANING	REMARK
<i>bè</i>	‘distant past’	primary tense marker
<i>wà</i>	‘recent past’	primary tense marker
<i>bòrtò</i>	‘mid distant’	‘many days ago, before yesterday’
<i>bè kíńjín</i>	‘a very long time ago’	<kíńjín> ‘ancient, antique, long ago’
<i>bè sáábò</i>	‘long time ago in the beginning’	<sáábò> ‘head, first, beginning’
<i>dírr</i>	‘for a long time’	indefinite time marker

/be/ ‘distant past’

The distant past time particle *be* always occurs at the beginning of declarative and interrogative sentences and may function as a past perfect tense marker.

- (7.79) a. *bè* ðík-á
DIST.PAST break-3sg.SU.PERV
‘He had broken (it).’
- b. *bè* kí-ðík-á
DIST.PAST 1SU-break-1sg.SU.PERV
‘I had broken (it).’
- c. *bè* túrúmél ðólá-j ðóns-èsèn mìnán?
DIST.PAST car suffer-NOMZ arrive-BEN when
‘When did the car accident happen?’
(Lit. ‘The car suffering arrived for when?’)

Aspect in general operates independently of the tense system of the language. For instance, *kíðika* ‘I broken’ is in perfective aspect and it doesn’t indicate that the action has taken place in the past. It could also indicate the action has happened in recent past or at the present moment. However, once the event is configured in time the whole narration may be viewed in temporal perspective. The following two examples (7.80) and (7.81) are taken from a story titled ‘How the Mursi crossed the Omo River’.

(7.80) [mà díné-ó-ni ɲà=mà=á [Ø bɛ
 water full-3..IRR-RS DEM=water=NEAR [Ø DIST.PAST
 kó-hòp-čó tùnò=ɲà]SUBORD:CL [jòg
 1SU-come.IMPERV:pl-APPL.1pl.INC.SU up.hill/on.top=DEF 3pl
 héj-Ø čúg-Ø kárané]
 go.IMPERV.PL-3.IRR chase/run-3.IRR down.stream
 ‘The river is full. The river that we (inc.) were coming along with, they go to
 the top and then run to downward.’ (MH 0:23:5)

(7.81) hírí bɛ k-èli ké káwúlókòrò á
 person DIST.PAST PASS.call.PERV QUOT Kawulokoro COP.3.IMPERV
 hírí bárári [Ø kén wárr]RC
 person powerful+NRSTR [Ø 3.SBJV.break.PERV Omo.river]
 ‘There was a man called Kuwulokro, Kawulokoro was a powerful man who
 can make the Omo River stop.’ (MH 0:38:2)

As can be shown in (7.80), all verbs are in the imperfective aspect. Once the appropriate lexical time particle is set before all verbal arguments and put into temporal perspective, no time word will be stated again in any part of the narration until the time word is required in the next narration/text. The particle *be* indicates the remote past time in which the events of the whole story is narrated. On the other hand, the verbs in (7.81) are in the perfective aspect — one in passive and the other in the relative clause.

The interaction of tense and aspect may be shown either on the verb itself or by the bound subject pronominal suffixes. Most importantly, the interaction of past tense-perfective aspect on the one hand and future tense-imperfective aspect on the other hand can be clearly seen in the declarative mood.

(7.82) a. àggè bɛ k-élíḍ-íṅ-ó ìṅè
 1pl DIST.PAST 1SU-call.PERV-1sg.OBJ-1pl.SU.EXC.PERV 2sg
 ‘We (exc.) had called you (sg.).’
 b. àṅè wà kó-dǒj gòr-ò
 1sg REC.PAST 1.SBJV-tread.on.PERV road-OBL
 ‘I was walking down the street.’

Both (7.82a) and (7.82b) are simple declarative sentences and as long as past tense markers exist, the requirement that the verbs in these sentences occur in the perfective

aspect is obligatory. Interestingly, any verbal word that inflects for aspect or tense and precede the two primary tense markers must occur in the past tense form. *ána* [án-á] <is.IMPERV-ANA/past> is equivalent to the English ‘was/were’, but it refers to an event at a specific point in time. It is also used as anaphoric reference marker *ana* <ANA:REF>.

- (7.83) a. [ɪnè án-á⁵⁶ bè dól-éɲ-ó [dóri-á
 2sg is.IMPERV-PST DIST.PAST show-1sg.OBJ-MT house-RSTR
 n=ùnù]_{NP}] [nà ànè wà dɪɲákáɲó bá
 SG.PSD=2SG.PSR CCN 1sg REC.PAST forgot place
 íf-á òrì nòɲ?]
 present.PERV-3sg.SU.PERV where 3sg
 ‘You (sg.) had shown me your house, but I have forgotten where it is?’
- b. án-á wà k-ók-á
 is.IMPERV-PST REC.PAST 1SU-go.PERV-1sg.SU.PERV
 ‘Behold, I’m just about to go.’

In both narrative and non-narrative text, the primary tense markers can be specified more than one time within texts containing coordinated clauses.

- (7.84) í-Ø bè àggè *be* [ɲà=lòg=tùnù=ɲà]_{NP}
 to.be-3sg.SU.IMPERV DIST.PAST 1pl DIST.PAST DEM=issue=FAR=DEF
 ká jòg bè mès-ó [dádá-ú]_{NP} bè
 maybe 3pl DIST.PAST do-3.IRR father.PERT.SG.1.PSR-NOM DIST.PAST
 kíɲɲ
 long.time.ago
 ‘It is (said) to be the case that maybe our fathers used to do it in ancient time.’
- ...nà [hùll ì bè kóná=ɲà]_{SUBORD:CL} [jòg
 CCN when DIST.PAST grandfather.PERT.1.PSR=DEF 3pl
 [kone n=èj]_{NP} bì-o
 grandfather.PERT.SG.3.PSR SG.PSD=3PL.PSR cow-PL
 ‘...and when our grandfather, their grandfather, cows,...’
- ...zùw-à [Ø ké hámár]_{RC} [dǎg-Ø hózò-j
 people-RSTR [Ø QUOT Hamar] hit-3sg.SU.IMPERV hunger-NOM
 hój íw-án-é [bì-ò-á mùn-ùɲ]_{NP}
 come.IMPERV.PL take-MT-3pl.SU.IMPERV cow-PL-RSTR Mursi-GEN
 [nà [héj-ε húɲ]
 CCN go.IMPERV.PL-APPL simply
 ‘...the people called ‘Hamar hit by Hunger’ came, they took the cows of the Mursi and went (away).’ (MH 5:50:9)

⁵⁶ This particle is composed of the first/second person copula verb root form in the imperfective aspect (equivalent to the third person eroded copula verb root form) in the imperfective aspect *an* <COP.IMPERV> and the third person singular subject of the perfective aspect *-a*.

may refer a time ‘more than two to three days ago’, ‘in early days’, ‘many days ago’ or even ‘years ago’.

- (7.87) a. *ɲàɲìjè* *íggé-à* [Ø] *bòrtò* *mès-é-á*
 CONTR 3PL.PN.SP-RSTR [Ø] days.ago do-3pl.SU.IMPERV-RSTR
gèrès-in]RC *hàli* *bás-án-é* *nà*
 bad-NOMZ] later live-MT-3pl.SU.IMPERV CCN
kí-ʃíl-ε-ò
 3.SBJV-accuse-RES-VFS
 ‘...and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation.’
 (Lit. ‘However, those that were doing bad earlier, then later they live to be
 accused.’)
- b. [*ɲà=sààn=á* *ɲàni* *čàg=ɲà*]NP *ídó-nè* *kó*
 DEM=news=NEAR still new=DEF add-APPL.3 PNC
íggé-à [Ø] *bòrtò* *sábú-né* *nà* *hàli*
 3pl.PN.SP-RSTR [Ø] days.ago first-ORD CCN later
kí-ʃíl-é *nòŋ*
 1SU-accuse-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV-APPL 3sg
 ‘Together with the evidence we already have, will be enough to convict
 him.’
 (Lit. ‘The evidence added together with those of the earliest the first, then
 we will accuse him/her.’)
- c. *dóri-á* *bòrtò* *bù* *čáll-à* *ká-tál-á-è*
 house-RSTR days.ago big good.STV-ADJ 3.JUSS-buy-PL-VFS
 ‘Buy that good house (polite)!’

In (7.87c), *bòrtò* functions as a distal demonstrative marker in a construction where the third person plural jussive mood expresses a polite command.

- d. *àɲè* *bòrtò* *k-ár-á* *ɲàɲìjè* [*ɓá-á*
 1sg days.ago 1SU-see.PERV-1sg.SU.PERV but place-RSTR
éńé-á [*érmì-á* *tùmù-ɲ*]NP]NP
 appearance-RSTR child-RSTR God-GEN
kó-jóg-ésè-ò
 1SU-tell-BEN-VFS
 ‘And I saw, and bare record that this is the Son of God.’

The time word *bòrtò* has an allomorph *bòrò*, as in (7.88a) and can also occur as an anaphoric referential demonstrative, as in (7.88b).

- (7.88) a. [*hùll-á* *bòrò* *ká-tál-čó* *dórá=jè*]
 when-NOMZ ANA:REF 1SU-buy-APPL.1pl.EXC.SU house=SUBORD
ɲàni *ʃígt-è-ò?*
 not.yet hear.PERV-IRR-VFS
 ‘Did you not hear that we have bought a house?’
 (Lit. ‘When we (exc.) then buy a house, you (sg.) haven’t yet heard?’)

- b. rúm-á bòrògà gólójn-á hín-í-ò?
 cloth-RSTR REF:DEM red-RTSR:ATTR want.IMPERV-2sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ijn kí-hín-í-ò
 INTERJ 1SU-want.IMPERV-2sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘Do you want that red shirt?’ ‘Yes, I do.’ (Lit. ‘the earlier shirt (we know)’)

/bè kíjín/ ‘a very long time ago’

The distant past marker *be kíjín* is made of two words *be* ‘distant past’ and *kíjín* ‘long time ago, ancient’. The latter functions as an intensifier of the former.

- (7.89) a. *bè* *kíjín* *túrúmél* *níjè*
 DIST.PAST long.time.ago car not.present
 ‘In olden times, cars were unknown.’

- b. àjè *bè* *kíjín* *táá*
 1sg DIST.PAST long.time.ago ATTU/UNCERT
 kó-tóǀ-í kútúl
 1SU-climb-1sg.SU.IMPERV mountain
 ‘I used to go mountain climbing at one time.’

táá is equivalent to the English adverb ‘already’ and has various functions when used side by side with the tense system of the language. It can function as an instantenous, momentaneous/punctual marker referring to the happening of an event at a specific point in time, it may refer to just a specific time part of an event in the past or present.

- (7.90) nà búná nòj á gálá kó [zíbúná
 CCN coffee 3sg COP.3.IMPERV thing.PL CRD medicine.PL
kíjíní háj bè kíjín mùn-ùj]NP1
 long.time.ago INTENS DIST.PAST long.time.ago Mursi.PL-GEN
 mes-o-nè [zùw-á sáǀò-ne]NP2
 do-MT-AP.3 people-RTSR first-ORD
 ‘...and coffee, it is something like a medicine of the Mursi in ancient time; the first people have long been doing this...’

As it is shown in (7.90), the two separate temporal words are within the first NP in a way by intervening between the head *zíbúná* and the dependent *mùnùj*.

/bè sáǀò/ ‘at the beginning, a long time ago’

be sáǀò is almost similar in function to *bè kíjín* except the former is in part derived from a body part noun *sábá* ‘head’ extended to refer to a space notion ‘in front’ and

then a temporal notion ‘beginning’. It can also function as an adverb ‘first’. Like *bè* *kínjín*,

- (7.91) àggè *bè* *sábò* *kínjín* *mùni*
 1pl DIST.PAST first long.ago Mursi.SG
 kú-súd-íné-ò, *nà* *rés-è* *nínè*
 1SU-shed-AP-1pl.EXC.SU.PERV CNN die.IMPERV-NOMZ not.present
 ‘A long time ago we (inc.) Mursi shed our skins, and there was no death.’
 (ND 3.1)

The example below is taken from a story which narrates how the Mursi men and women are punished when they violated the norms and values of the community in which they lived in. This corporal punishment is known as *kòmà kóda* ‘kneeling’.

- (7.92) *ɪɪɪ* *čùànéɪ* *ɲàméá* *lòg-ɪɲà* [Ø] *kòm-à*
 INTERJ again now issue-PL [Ø] knee-PL
*kóɗ-áɲ*_{RC} *á* *mèrì*
 1SU-stab.IMPERV-1sg.OBJ] COM.3.IMPERV many
 ‘(Recalling) again now, the issues that we kneel for are many.’

lòg-ɪɲà *bè* *kínjín=è* *bè*
 issue-PL DIST.PAST long.time.ago=SUBORD DIST.PAST
él-á *sábò* *bè* *kóɗ-é-á*
 exist:PL-3pl.SU.PERV first DIST.PAST 3.SBJV.kneel-RES-3pl.SU.PERV
zùg-ú
 people-NOM
 ‘The issues that were there long time ago, in the beginning, for which people kneeled for (the issues)...’

bè *sábò* *kó-jóg-ó-ε* *ɲà=zùg=tá*
 DIST.PAST first 3.SBJV-tell.PERV-MT-IRR DEM=people=NEAR
 ‘At the beginning, they will tell to these people.’ (KM 2:26:8)

As can be seen in (7.92), the phrasal form *be sábò* can be used in reverse order without changing its meaning, i.e. indicating the time location of the situation in the distant past.

/dírr/ ‘for a long time’

The durative *dírr* ‘for a long time’ (abbreviated below as DUR) has two functions. First, it just indicates an indefinite time of the durative situation in the past.

7.3.1.4.2 Durative: Future

Durative future indicates a future time of an event from now. Dixon (2012: 7) pointed out that future time is perceived only by looking forward from now. In fact, some lexical time adverbs can occur in two or more categories — for example, Mursi has a few of them that either can function as future time reference or as temporal shifters. Future lexical time adverbs often occur with imperfective aspect.

Table 7.36 Durative future time words

DURATIVE: FUTURE TENSE	
PARTICLES	MEANING
<i>rònó</i> ⁵⁷	‘in the future, tomorrow’
<i>tíí</i>	‘always, all the time’
<i>hàlì</i>	‘later’
<i>dóg</i>	‘forever’ <for all future time>

However, lexical time adverbs may occur with perfective aspect if the verb is in subjunctive mood, as shown in (7.95a).

- (7.95) a. *nà* *ṅà=zùg=tá* [húllí sé ké-té
 CCN DEM=people=NEAR COND/TEMP say.COMPL 3.SBJV-be.PERV
rònó *bíbí=jè*]SUBORD:CL *bára*
 in.the.future big:REDUP.PL-SUBORD *bára*
 ‘...and when these people become seniors (Bara) in the future.’
 (KM 2:26:8)

/rònó/ ‘in the future, tomorrow’

The lexical time adverb *rònó* is one of the few time words in the language which is able to indicate future time reference often implying some degree of remoteness of future tense and temporal shifter. The one we saw in (7.95a) clearly shows a non-modal form depicting degree of remoteness in the future. The non-specific future time use of *rònó* does not require other specific time words to be combined with it, as can be shown in (7.95b).

- b. *ṅà=máç-á=á* *támárijná* [Ø *rònó*
 DEM=teach-NOMZ=NEAR student.PL [Ø tomorrow
hóp-é-á]RC *k-áçç-ε-a*
 come.IMPERV.PL-3pl.SU.IMPERV-RSTR 1SU-give.IMPERV-APPL-RSTR?
 ‘I shall give the book to the students who are coming tomorrow.’

⁵⁷ Turton (1973:186) noted that *rònó* can mean anything from a day to twenty years later.

- b. $\eta\grave{a}=\acute{h}ir=\acute{a}$ $\eta\grave{a}s=\eta\grave{a}$ *tíí* $k\grave{e}\eta i^{58}-\acute{t}i$
 DEM=person=NEAR female=DEF all.the.time belly.PL-NRSTR
mèrì $\acute{b}\acute{e}g-\acute{a}\eta$ $\acute{a}\eta\grave{e}$
 many watch-1sg.OBJ 1sg
 ‘I waited for a long time for the woman.’

The continuative *tíí* may also denote a durative future tense as can be shown in the the following example.

- c. $\acute{a}\eta\grave{e}$ *tíí* $k\acute{i}-\acute{f}i$ $k-\acute{o}g$
 1sg always 1.SBJV-hear.PERV 1.SBJV-go.PERV
 ‘I am ready at any time.’ (Lit. ‘I am always to listen to go.’)

The continuative *tíí* ‘until’ also introduces a temporal participant, as shown below.

- d. $\acute{a}gg\grave{e}$ $k\acute{e}-r\acute{e}-n\grave{e}n-\acute{o}$ *tíí* $d\grave{a}\grave{i}\eta$
 1pl 1SU-wait.IMPERV-RECIP-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV CONT/DUR evening
 ‘We waited until evening.’

When *tíí* occurs clause-finally, it denotes a situation that may happen for an indefinite or non-specific length of time — particularly, it acquires a sense of an ‘everlasting’, as in (7.98a-b).

- (7.98) a. $n\grave{o}\eta$ $[\acute{i}n-\acute{a}$ $\acute{b}\acute{a}g-\emptyset-\acute{a}$ $\eta\grave{a}=\acute{t}i\acute{a}=\acute{a}]_{RC}$
 3sg [3sg.PN.SP-RSTR eat-3sg.SU.IMPERV-RSTR DEM=food=NEAR]
 $n\grave{o}\eta$ $\acute{h}\acute{a}\eta=\grave{e}$ $\acute{i}-\emptyset$ $\acute{b}\acute{a}s-\acute{e}-\grave{o}$
 3sg INTENS=SUBORD exist-3sg.SU.IMPERV live-NOMZ-OBL
tíí
 CONT/DUR

‘He that eats of this bread shall live forever.’ (Lit. ‘exist in life forever’)

- b. $\eta\grave{a}n\grave{i}je$ $\eta\grave{a}=\acute{i}gg\grave{e}=\acute{a}$ $\acute{h}\acute{e}j$
 GEN:ADVRS DEM=3pl.PN.SP=NEAR go.IMPERV.PL
 $\acute{c}\acute{i}b-\acute{i}n-\acute{a}$ $k\acute{o}$ *tíí* $\eta\grave{a}n\grave{i}j\grave{e}$ $\acute{i}gg\acute{e}-\acute{a}$
 tie.IMPERV-N.S-NOMZ PNC CONT/DUR but 3pl.PN.SP-RSTR
 $[\emptyset$ $\acute{h}\grave{o}l-\acute{a}]_{RC}$ $\acute{h}\acute{e}j$ $\acute{b}\acute{a}s-\acute{e}-\acute{a}]$
 $[\emptyset$ white.STV-RSTR go.IMPERV.PL live-NOMZ-RSTR
 $\acute{i}f-\acute{o}$ *tíí*
 exist.PERV.PL-3pl.IRR CONT/DUR
 ‘And these shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal.’ (Lit. ‘but the righteous go for life to exist continuously.’)

Note that the continuous marker both in (7.98a and b) tend to acquire a further vowel length when it occur clause-finally. So the form of *tíí* seems to be dependent on the

⁵⁸ *keji* ‘belly (pl.)’ is a grammaticalized body part term used to derive a multiplicative number marking forms ‘times’. As can be seen in (7.115b), it has a sense of ‘many times’ and it takes a non-restrictive suffix since its modifier *mèrì* ‘many’ is a quantifier.

phonetic environment in which it occurs and may alter its shape in various environments.

/hàli/ ‘later’

Despite the fact that the temporal *hàli* could indicate a relative-degree of remoteness of a future time, it also refers to a definite future time when combined with relator time word *wùréó* ‘after, behind, last’. Some examples are illustrated below.

(7.99) a. *čùànéŋ* *ŋà=lòg=tù* *hàli* *áj-t-é*
 again DEM=issue=FAR later take-PERV.PL-APPL
tèrò-ú-ni *té* [*lòg-tí* *g=èj*]_{NP} *nà*
 Teri.PL-NOM-RS COP.3.PERV issue-NRSTR PL.PSD=3PL.PSR CCN
hàli *nès-é* *bì*
 later kill-3pl.SU.IMPERV cow
 ‘Then later the Teru take up this issue (Kili) and thus it becomes their issue. After that they will slaughter a cow.’ (KW 1:28:8)

b. *àpè* *hàli* *kó-jóg-ón* *nòŋ* *čùànéŋ*
 1sg later 1SU-tell-MT.1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV 3sg again
 ‘I will tell him again.’ (Lit. ‘I will tell to him later again.’)

c. *àpè* *hàli* *k-óg-ó-í* *bòì*
 1sg later 1SU-go.IMPERV-MT-1sg.SU.IMPERV all
hín-í *íŋój=è* *hún*
 want.IMPERV-2sg.SU.IMPERV 2sg.NOM=SUBORD simply
 ‘I will go anywhere you like.’

d. *nòŋ* *hàli* *kóój-Ø* *gáwá-ŋá* *ràmàno* *wùréó*
 3sg later 3.SBJV.go-3.IRR market-PL two.MOD after
 ‘He will go after two weeks.’

As it is shown in (7.99a-d), the temporal marker *hàli* renders a future time reference rather than a modal meaning.

7.3.1.4.3 Frequency-habitual

Mursi has three durative adverbial time words to refer to frequency or habitual aspectual meanings — *rib* ‘all day’, *títiti* ‘often, always’, and *kàli kàli* ‘everyday’ (Lit. ‘day day’).

/títíí/ ‘often, always’

It is the continuous marker particle *tíí* which gives rise to a frequency-habitual marker *títíí*. It is the fact that *títíí* is a reduplicated form of the continuative form *tíí*. However, in some cases, it happens as a repeated form of *tíí* rather than as a reduplication. The difference between the two morphological manifestations of *títíí* lies in whether it is uttered in slow speech or in fast speech.

- (7.100) a. *nòŋ títíí í-Ø bàì*
 3sg CONT/DUR:REDUP exist.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV sit
 ‘S/he always sits.’

The verb *bàì* may have been derived from the noun *bá* ‘place’ and from the locative marker *-i* <place-LOC> ‘place-at’. The real verb that should have represented the semantics of ‘sit’ is the perfective copula *té* ‘be.PERV’ which can also function as an existential verb ‘exist, present’.

- b. *àggè zùw-á [Ø kà-bàg-ó kàrì]_{RC}*
 1pl people-RSTR [Ø 1SU-live-1pl.EXC.SU together]
títíí éjá-nè [ŋà=múwáí=tùnù nàgà=ŋà]_{NP}
 CONT/DUR:REDUP help-3.RECIP DEM=woman=FAR old=DEF
 ‘Our neighbours were always helping that old woman.’

Reduplication could be a justifiable morphological nature of particles such as *tíí* to reduplicate their partial or full form when functioning as frequency/habitual temporal markers. See the example given below.

- c. *ŋà=hír=á nàgá [Ø óól-Ø*
 DEM=man=NEAR old:RSTR [Ø beg-3sg.SU.IMPERV
bíró=ŋà]_{RC1} [úŋ-á k-óól-čá tùmù]_{NP}
 money=DEF] [day-RSTR 3.SBJV-beg-APPL god
tíí tíí kún-Ø-ò
 CONT CONT come-3sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘That old man who is begging for money comes every Sunday.’

- (7.101) *jesusi sé-á ké dada tíí tíí*
 jesus say-3sg.SU.PERV D.SP father.PERT.1SG.PSR CONT CONT
mès-íné-ò kó ànè kè-mèsí-nèn-ò jàg-èsè
 work-AP.3-VFS PNC 1sg 1SU-work-AP.1-VFS answer-3.BEN
ŋàŋà
 like.this
 ‘Jesus answered them, “My Father works hitherto, and I work”.’

(Lit. ‘Jesus said this, “my father always works and I work”, answered like this.’)

In (7.101), the continuative marker has both clauses as its scope. It refers a continued habitual past action that also covers the present and future habitual actions.

/rib/ ‘all the day’

The particle *rib* may be used as frequency as well as habitual marker. It always occurs clause-finally — either often preceded by the specific time span word *kàli* ‘day’ (7.102a-c) or rarely followed by a temporal shifter *bàri* ‘yesterday’ (7.102d).

(7.102) a. *hàli sán-í kátamá-í-jè? imm imm!*
 later stay-2sg.SU.IMPERV town-LOC-OBL no no
àpè hàli k-ó-í ór-ó rib
 1sg later 1SU-go.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV home-OBL all.the.day
 ‘Will you (m) spend the day at the market? No, I shall stay all day at home.’

As it is shown in (7.102a), frequency/habitual marker *rib* always occurs in a typical adverbial position in AVO order. In contrast, future time marker *hàli* always occurs clause-initially if the clause in which it occurs is subordinate, otherwise often occurs immediately after the subject AVO order (as it is illustrated in (7.102a-d; 7.102a).

b. *ìggè bàri rúm-íná ćúr-ó kàli rib*
 2pl yesterday cloth-PL wash-2pl.SU.IMPERV day all.the.day
 ‘Were you (pl.) washing clothes all day?’

c. *nòŋ kón-nèn-á kàli rib*
 3sg write-AP-3sg.SU.PERV day all.the.day
 ‘He was writing (letters) all day.’

The fact is that antipassive and progressive are marked in the same way by the derivational suffix *-nèn*. But as it shown in (7.102c) above, it is a typical antipassive construction where the object of the clause is demoted. But, a progressive meaning can be rendered by adding a temporal shifter word clause-finally.

d. *àpè ká-támá-ri-nèn-í kàli rib bàri*
 1sg 1SU-learn-AP-1SG.SU.IMPERV day all.the.day yesterday
 ‘I was studying the whole day.’

So, the temporal shifter *bàri* refers to the fact that the entire event has happened from yesterday onwards. In fact, no definite time reference is made about the stopping time of the event.

7.3.1.4.4 Specific time spans

All specific time span references in Mursi have a span of a single day or twenty four hours or a single day-night cycle. For example, let us start with the first particle in Table 7.37 below. The generic time word *úhó* ‘night’ may also refer to ‘a day’. The specific time span sense is derived from (<a night; one sleep>) a cycle of a single time span. All particles operate within a single cyclic time span of *úhó*.

Table 7.37. Specific time span words of Mursi

SPECIAL TIME SPAN		
PARTICLES	MEANING	REMARK
<i>úhó</i>	‘night’	‘sleep (n.), a single day’
<i>bàró</i>	‘at night’	
<i>bàrkèhò</i>	‘mid-night’	<night-center.OBL> compound
<i>bèlè</i>	‘night around 4 am’	
<i>bèlèfàù</i> ⁵⁹	‘dawn (before sunrise)’	<early early> bele
<i>bùrèfàù</i>	‘dawn (before sunrise)’	<morning early>
<i>bùrè</i>	‘morning’	
<i>kàlikèhò</i>	‘noon’	<day-center.OBL> compound
<i>mírè</i>	‘afternoon’	
<i>kàli</i>	‘day’	<kàli kàli> ‘everyday’
<i>dàìh<n></i>	‘evening’	(a time before eight o’clock in the evening; late afternoon)
<i>gáwá<j></i>	‘week’	Lit. <market>
<i>tágís</i>	‘month’	Lit. <moon>
<i>bérgú</i>	‘month’	Lit. <moon-month period; lunation>
<i>ójó</i>	‘year’	Lit. <rainy season>

Despite the fact that *úhó* is a dedicated time word in referring to a twenty-four hour time span, *kàli* may also be used as a generic term with this meaning. As a generic term,

⁵⁹ *bele* ‘bald spot’ and *bele fau* can literally be translated as ‘bald early’~ is a metaphorical expression of time.

when *kàli* is used for a specific time reference, a definite marker should be specified by grammatical means appropriate to this generic term, as in (7.103).

- (7.103) *ɲà=kàli=tá* *àhì-tí* *ká-dáƒ-í* *nínjè*
 DEM=day=NEAR thing.SG-CS 1SU-do-1sg.SU.IMPERV not.present
 ‘I have nothing else to do today.’

In fact, in the absence of additional definite time reference markers, both *dàìŋ(n)* and *kàli* may refer to different time span stages of the night time and of the day time, respectively. The examples given below illustrate the use of *úŋó* and *kàli* as indefinite time spans.

- (7.104) a. *aggè* *ká-már-ó* *bá* *kàli-ò* *kó*
 1pl 1SU-travel-1pl.EXC.SU.PERV place day-OBL PNC
dàìn-ò *kàrì*
 night-OBL together
 ‘We travelled day and night.’
- b. *tílá* *kàli-nè* *bón-á-Ø*
 food day-OBL arrive.PERV-MT-3sg.SBJV
 ‘Lunch is about ready.’ (Lit. ‘Food from day is to arrive.’)
- c. *séíŋó=jè* *íláág-á* *nà* *úŋó* *ràmàn-nò*
 monday=SUBORD sick-3sg.SU.PERV CCN sleep two-MOD
wùréó *ér-Ø=è*
 after die.PERV-3.IRR=SUBRD
 ‘He fell sick on Monday, and died two days after.’
- d. *nòŋ* *kó-í* *ór-ó* *sátí* *sàkkàl-ò*
 3sg go.IMPERV-3.IRR home-OBL time nine-MOD
mírè *mírè*
 afternoon afternoon
 ‘He goes home every afternoon at nine o’clock.’

Except for the last four particles on Table 7.37, all particles denote different stages of a single full cycle time references of one day.

7.3.1.4.5 Temporal shifters

Despite the fact that most of Mursi temporal shifters specify the precise time point in the present moment *méá* ‘now’, some others are even more specific when referring to a time today. Due to this, some appear to have phrasal-like forms, as illustrated in Table 7.38 below.

Table 7.38 Mursi temporal shifters

TEMPORAL SHIFTERS		
PARTICLES	MEANING	REMARK
<i>méá</i>	‘now’	<present moment> (Lit. right here-and-now’)
<i>ḡàméárè</i>	‘now’	<ḡà=méáɛ> (DEM=immediately)
<i>ḡàméá</i>	‘today, now’	<ḡà=méá=a> (DEM=now=NEAR)
<i>ḡakàlikena</i>	‘at that time/moment (same day)’	<ḡà=kàlì-ken=a> (DEM=day-center=NEAR)
<i>ḡàhùllùnù</i>	‘time, at the time’	<ḡà=hùll=ùnù> (DEM=TEMP/COND=FAR)
<i>bàrì</i>	‘yesterday’	
<i>kàlikón</i>	‘the same day’	<kàlì-kón> (Lit. ‘day-one’)
<i>rònó bèlè</i>	‘tomorrow’	<future-OBL early morning> (Lit. ‘in the future early morning’)
<i>hàlì bèlè</i>	‘tomorrow’	<later early morning> (Lit. ‘later in early morning’)
<i>rònó bùrètùnù</i>	‘day after tomorrow’	<rònó bùrètùnù> (future-OBL morning=FAR) (Lit. ‘in the future morning’)

The temporal function of *méá* would make sense and be clear if a time reference is seen from the viewpoint of the present and momentary situation (right here-and-now). For instance, let us examine the examples given below.

- (7.105) *ín-á* [Ø *bè* *á* *méá*]_{RC}
 3sg.PN.SP-RSTR [Ø DIST.PAST COP.3.IMPERV now]
 ‘at this time’ (Lit. ‘It is that it was at this time’)

Example (7.105) shows a past time reference and refers to a situation that already took place exactly on the same day, today. In fact it is the tense marker *be* that made it possible for us to understand that the whole expression is about something that happened at some point in the past but has now become a reference to the present moment. Thus, as shown in (7.105), the past time reference has a distant past temporal marker *bè* as its main meaning, and the present time marker *méá* indicates that the temporal situation of past is seen in relation to the present moment.

- (7.106) a. *ójó-á* *sábú-né* (nòḡ) *gùjò* *ďǎg* *wáj*
 year-RSTR first-ORD (3sg) rain hit INTENS
 méá ḡà=?ójó=á nòḡ *ďǎk-ú* *ké*
 now DEM=year=NEAR 3sg hit-3sg.SU.PERV 3.SBJV.be.PERV
 tííní *sòḡ*
 small only
 ‘Last year it rained much. But this year it has only rained a little.’

b. *méá* kó-hóp-Ø nà k-èlè
 now 1SU-come.IMPERV.PL-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV CCN PASS-call.PERV
 ké mùn dǒg=ηà
 QUOT mursi.PL forever=DEF
 ‘So now we (inc.) came and were able to be called Mursi (pl.)’ forever
 (permanently).’ (MH 2:37:6)

c. *méá* ηàméá ηà=bérgú=á=ηà [nòη bíméj]TOP nòη
 now (today) DEM=m=NEAR=DEF 3sg Bime.SG 3sg
 [Ø [hír-á táníj-té]NP]RC té bíméj sòη
 [Ø man-RSTR difficult.ADJ-NRSTR COP.3.PERV Bime.SG only
 ‘Nowaday more than ever, he the Bime is a person who became difficult
 only Bime.’ (MH 6:27:8)

Even if the meaning and the function of *méá* is mostly a momentary temporal deictic center, its meaning sometimes can be fluid and depends on other relative time contexts. On the other hand, *méá* can be changed into an absolute tense marker in order to express the time of utterance referring only to today. This is possible by attaching the deictic clitics to *méá*, resulting in two other temporal markers that would help in locating events that occurred on the same day as the speech events: *ηàméárè* and *ηàméá*.

(7.107) a. [húllí ìggè dáǰída-o [ǰéé=jè]SUBORD:CL
 when/if 2pl work.PERV:PL-2pl.SU.PERV well-SUBORD
 àggè hàli dǰj-án-ó dáǰí ηàméárè
 2pl later finish.IMPERV-MT-2pl.SU.IMPERV work now
 ‘If you (pl.) do well, you (pl.) will finish your job today.’

Note that in conditional clauses, time words often occupy the final slot of the main clause.

b. *ηàméárè* nòη hàli íw-ána [dàmùsí-á
 now 3sg later receive-MT.3sg.SU.IMPERV salary-RSTR
 n=ènè]NP
 SG.PSD=3SG.PSR
 ‘Today he will receive his salary.’

c. *ηàméárè* ηà=ká-dáǰí-è
 now NEG=1.HORT-do.PERV-VFS
 ‘Let me not do (it) now.’

d. *ηàméá* ηójò úhán-Ø [tán-á
 today wind blow-3sg.SU.IMPERV other.side-RSTR
 ηó-čá súš-ǒ]NP
 descend-APPL/INSTR.RSTR sun-OBL
 ‘An easterly wind is blowing today.’
 (Lit. ‘other side where the sun descend’)

- e. [tútú-á [dóri-á ákímí-ɲ]_{NP}]_{NP} hàli ój-é ɲàméá
 gate-RSTR house-RSTR doctor-GEN later open-APPL now
 ‘The gate of the hospital will be opened now.’

Except for reported speech, one cannot use these two temporal words when speaking of a past and future time. The two are used as reference or deictic points of a present moment ‘now’ and ‘today’. Attempting to establish a distinction between *ɲàméárè* and *ɲàméá* can be complex and irrelevant because there is no clear boundary where the two precisely denote location in time within ‘today’. Imagine how nonsensical it would be to try to understand the meaning of the example below in a way other than ‘now/today’.

- (7.108) ɲàni nòŋ ih-inèn-Ø-ò⁶⁰ kó ɲàméá?
 still 3sg exist.IMPERV-PROG/RECIP-3sg.SU.IMPERV COM.PREP now
 ‘Is he still alive?’ (Lit. ‘Is he still existing with today?’)

Like the above two temporal shifters, *ɲàkàlikènnà* and *ɲàhùllùnù* are temporal constructs from other time words and the deictic elements.

- (7.109) a. nà mà díné-ó ɲà=kàlkèn=ná⁶¹
 CCN water full-3.IRR DEM=day.center=NEAR
 kóǎ-ó-é òrì
 1SU.take.out-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV-APPL:RES where?
 ‘And at that time the river is full, we (exc.) take out to where?’
 (Lit. ‘Where side of the river?’) (MH 0:23:5)

ɲàkàlkènnà can be substituted by similar temporal marker *ɲàhùllùnù* but with little change in meaning.

- b. jóg-ón àpè ɲàhùllùnù
 tell-1SG.OBJ 1sg at.the.time
 ‘Tell (sg.) me at once!’ (Lit. ‘Tell (sg.) me at a time (at the same time)!’)

The addressee is second person thus it is not marked for person in Mursi. If the addressee is plural, then a plural number marker is added to the verb after the object marker. The verb ‘to tell’ is a ditransitive verb so it requires two object arguments.

⁶⁰ *ih* is an transitive verb in singular form and requires a conjunction particle *kó* in order to show reciprocal/joint action.

- c. *ηàhùllùnù* ηà=ḅ=ùnù zùwò hírkón kó tòmòn
 at.the.time DEM=place=FAR people twenty PNC ten
 él-é
 exist.IMPERV:PL-3pl.SU.IMPERV
 ‘There were about thirty people present’. (Lit. ‘At the time thirty people were present.’)

- d. bè *ηàhùllùnù* nòη ηàni k-irì-čà=ó
 DIST.PAST at.the.time 3sg not.yet PASS-born-PASS.3SU=NEG
 ‘At the time, he was not yet born.’

As illustrated on above examples (7.109a-d) *ηakàlikena* and *ηàhùllùnù* have a comparable temporal functions in that both locate a situation with the same/exact moment of the situation.

All these temporal words operate based on the notion of time and deixis vis-à-vis an established present moment as a reference point. The deictic circumclitics in Mursi can be viewed in terms of temporal operators in addition to their function in denoting degree of distance of the speaker in reference to the hearer. They may also serve either to refer to a speech situation as the reference point as discussed in examples above (present location and time of speaking), or to refer to a reference point other than the location and time of speaking. The demonstrative proclitic *ηà=* provides a definite sense to the reference point while the two enclitics (*=á* ‘near’) and (*=ùnù* ‘far’) serve to denote the degree of remoteness from the present moment. Some examples are give below.

- (7.110) *hàli* [kàl-á ηà=kàli]_{NP} [dóri-á tímírtí-η]_{NP}
 later day-RSTR DEM=day house-RSTR education-GEN
 ηà=k-el-án-í=ó
 NEG=1SU-present.imperv-MT-1sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘I shall not spend the day at school.’ (Lit. ‘Later the day of today I will not present at school.’)
- (7.111) *bá* *bàri* *jóg-ó-Ø* *hàli* *ηà=kàli=tá*
 place yesterday tell-MT-3.IRR later DEM=day=NEAR
 tímírtí níηè
 education not.present
 ‘As (I) said yesterday, there is no school today’

Being able to speak about ‘today’ as yesterday is quite an interesting temporality notion. As shown in (7.111), it is possible to talk about ‘today’ while being ‘in yesterday’. A reported speech construction may not be even necessary.

The interaction of aspect and tense is necessary within the main clause where both are expressed in a way appropriate to the temporal condition of the main clause. This is the case below in (7.112), where the aspect on the verb of the main clause is imperfective, but the entire temporal situation of the clause expresses something that happened in the distant past.

- (7.112) *bè kàlikón jesusi bóns-áná*
 DIST.PAST day.one jesus leave/exit.IMPERV-MT.3sg.SU.IMPERV
dóri tó-jé
 house in-OBL
 ‘The same day Jesus went out of the house.’

In fact, temporal words of any sort can occur with clauses predicated by imperfective and perfective verbs as long as they are not in the main clause.

The time word ‘tomorrow’ has a number of lexical forms: *rónó* (7.113), *rónó bèle* and *rónó búrètùnù* (7.114), and *hàli bèle* (7.115).

- (7.113) [*hùlli rónó ká án-á bèle*
 when/if tomorrow UNCERT COP.IMPERV-PST early.morning
áíw-ò=jè]_{SUBORD:CL} *damosi hàli*
 come.PERV-MT.3sg.IRR=SUBORD salari later
k-ádɔ-Ø-í-ò
 1SU-give.IMPERV-3sg.OBJ-1sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘In case he comes tomorrow, I shall give him his salary.’

- (7.114) a. *nà hàli [rónó bèle [hùlli*
 CCN later in.future morning when/if
ká-báns-áná=jè]_{SUBORD:CL} *dãà bàrì*
 1SU-get.up-MT.1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV=SUBORD truly/MIRR yestarday
ísíkán-Ø-é kárané ñà=6=ùnù
 approach-MT-3sg.SU.IMPERV-APPL down DEM=place=FAR
 ‘...and the morning, when we (inc.) wake up, I has submerged down
 down there already! (from its position yesterday).’ (MH 2:21:3)

- b. [rònó bùrè=tá kó kón=e]SUBORD:CL [húllí
 future morning=NEAR PNC one=SUBORD when
 ká-báns-áná dǎà wà té-ì
 2/3.SBJV-get.up-MT SURPRISE REC.PAST COP.PERV-3sg.IRR
 tùnò=ηà]SUBORD:CL nà nòη í-Ø ηà=á=á
 on.top=DEF CCN 3sg exist-3sg.SU.IMPERV DEM=place=NEAR
 dóg
 forever
 ‘the next morning there is one, when we (inc.) wake, (that piece of wood)
 which was on the top, it is still down there!’

In relative clauses, time words always occur at the beginning of the clause following the gapping relative clause construction which is always indicated by zero marking. When the the relative clause and main clause share the same common argument, which often precedes both clauses, time words may also appear at the beginning of the main clause. An example of such instance is given below.

- (7.115) hòj-á-ú [Ø bàrì mád-á ηàni
 girl-RSTR-NOM [Ø yesterday learn-NOMZ not.yet
 kú-húč-á=ó]RC rònó bèle
 3.SBJV-pay-3sg.SU.PERV=NEG] future early.morning
 húít-ò
 pay.PER-3sg.IRR
 ‘The girl who did not pay for the book yesterday will pay tomorrow.’

7.3.1.4.6 Expectation temporals

Mursi utilizes a few time particles with respect to expectation — negative perfective form *ηàni* ‘not yet, still’, *húη* ‘already, just’, *taa* ‘already’, and *húllí* ‘when’.

ηàni ‘not yet, still’

The form (*ηàni*) often occurs in negative declarative mood preceding the perfective verb root (see Chapter 13). In the subjunctive mood which expresses the action that has not yet taken place but that could happen in the future, it occurs before the subjunctive verb form.

- (7.116) háránčí-nèn (ámíbí) gáj-Ø-ò?
 white.person- (read) know.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘Is he able to read English?’ (Lit. ‘He (read) knows English?’)

- c. tílá ɲàni ká-bák=ó nà túŋ-ú]
 food not.yet 3.SBJV-eat.PERV=NEG CCN PERV.sleep-3sg.SU.PERV
húŋ
 simply/just
 ‘He went to bed without eating his supper.’
 (Lit. ‘He didn’t yet eat food and he just slept.’)

Note that the combination of *ténèŋ+húllí* <why+if> in (7.119b) is a subordinate clause form which is used to denote ‘wish’. In (7.119b), *húŋ* follows the predicate, thus it functions adverbially.

***táá* ‘already’**

The polysemous particle *táá* has two functions. It can be used as an expectation temporal word ‘already’, and can also function as an uncertainty marker ‘maybe’. The examples given below are those that deal only in its temporal function.

- (7.120) a. [kè-á kà-bàì+čà⁶² írsásí-ɲá]_{NP} *táá*
 thing-RSTR PASS-sharpen+APPL pencil-RSTR already
 b̄i-ča b̄òì
 break-APPL.3 COMPLETELY
 ‘The pencil sharpener is broken.’
- b. [érmì-á íláás-á]_{NP} ɲàméá *táá* té čàlli
 child-RSTR sick.STV-RSTR:ATTR today already COP.3.PERV good
 ‘The sick child is better today.’
 (Lit. ‘The sick child today (now) already became good.’)
- c. kènò *táá* bàrì d̄ák-ú ʃíró
 tree.PL already yesterday hit-3sg.SU.PERV weed
 ‘The whole garden is full of weeds.’

7.3.1.5 The completive particle *b̄òì*

Completive aspect expresses the completion of an event (Payne 1997: 240). In Mursi, completive aspect can be indicated by the multifunctional particle *b̄òì* ‘all, at all, completely’ which usually occurs at the end of the clause following the predicate. In

⁶² Although *-ča* still functions as an instrumental marker suffix, in some cases, it still occurs with some lexicalized verbal words. Thus, it appears that *-ča* is on the way of losing its morphological productivity leaving some verbal words in unsegmentable forms.

7.3.1.6 Complex predicate constructions

In this section, I shall deal with two separate multiverbal constructions: subsecutive and coverb plus main verb which appear to be the result of language contact phenomenon. Given the existing diverse languages and language contact situations in the region⁶³ where Mursi is spoken, it would be difficult to provide a detailed analysis about these two morphosyntactic phenomena. At this stage, there is no information to point out whether they are common features of the Surmic languages or specific feature that exist only in Mursi. However, each are separately discussed below based on the limited data available.

Subsecutive is a multiverbal construction where one or more than one verb come together to express a subsequent event that might happen simultaneously. In Mursi, subsecutive construction is attested in imperative, hortative-jussive, and subjunctive moods. In his detailed description of Turkana (a Nilotic language spoken in Kenya), Dimmendaal (1983: 174) noted that subsecutive construction is a widespread feature of Nilotic languages. In addition to Turkana, it is attested in some Nilotic languages such as Nyang’i and Kilimanjaro. However, unlike in these languages, in Mursi, subsecutive construction is formed by marking a sequentializer suffix *-óna* (*-na*) on roots of the first and second verbs.

Table 7.39 Subsecutive construction types

TYPES	SUBSECUITIVE FORM	SEMANTICS
TYPE I	(V ₁ .PERV-SEQ + V ₂ .PERV-SEQ + V ₃ .PERV:IMP-VFS)	imperative
	(V ₁ .PERV-SEQ (NEG.PERV) V ₂ .PERV-SEQ + V ₃ .PERV-VFS)	hortative/ jussive
TYPE II	(V ₁ .PERV-SEQ V ₂ .PERV:IMP ‘X’)	Imperative

⁶³ Lower Omo Valley, the Southwest of Ethiopia is an area where the languages of the three major families were spoken side by side, Nilo-Saharan, Omotic and Cushitic.

The fact is that the occurrence and function of the sequence marker *-óna* is limited. It is confined to only imperative and hortative/jussive constructions which normally utilize perfective aspect within the general irrealis mood.

(7.124) Type I — sequence of three verbs

a. óg-óna éđz-óná ér-è
 go.PERV-SEQ kill.PERV-SEQ die.PERV:IMP-VFS
 ‘Kill or die!’

b. k-òw-ònà ñàni k-àìw-óna
 1.HORT-go.PERV-SEQ NEG.PERV 1.HORT-come.PERV-SEQ
 k-àgt-ò
 1.HORT-cook.PERV-VFS
 ‘Let me back and cook!’

(7.125) Type II — sequence of two verbs

a. óy-óná gójn bì-ò
 go.PERV-SEQ/MT? watch.PERV:IMP cow-PL
 ‘Go, see the cattle!’ Go and see the cattle!’

b. áíw-è-na gójn-á bì-ò
 come.PERV.SG-MA-SEQ watch.PERV:IMP-PL cow-PL
 ‘Go (pl.), see the cattle!’

By looking at these examples, Nilotists may argue that the suffix *-óna* is the same suffix which is used for marking motion towards (ventive). A plausible answer for this is that Mursi utilizes different morphs on imperfective and perfective verb roots to mark motion towards the deictic center: long or short forms (*-áná/-ónó*; *-án/-ón*) on imperfective verb roots and just *-a/-o* on perfective verb roots. In contrast, all verb roots in (7.124a-b) and (7.125a-b) are in perfective aspect. So *-óna* cannot be a marker of motion. In (7.125b), the suffix *-è* is a valency increasing/applicative suffix regularly occurring with imperfective verbs such as ‘come’ and ‘go’ — *kiún-é* <1SU.come.IMPERV-> (‘I bring’) or *kó-kó-é* <1SU-go.IMPERV-VT/TR> (‘I take’). The other interesting observation from the above subsecutive constructions is that the last verb can never be marked with *-óna* as it is the morphosyntactic canonicity designator of the imperative and hortative/jussive moods.

Moreover, the morphosyntactic canonicity of the imperative construction is expressed by the fact that imperatives take a different verb-final suffix (*-ε/-o*), as illustrated above in (7.124a-b). Quite a few coverb plus main verb predications are attested in Mursi. Verbs such as *hín* ‘want’, *mési* ‘do’, *úfá* ‘finish’ are found to be coverbs. Although coverbs, occurring before the main verb, often function as a single predicate in multiverbal constructions, it is hard to predict to what extent multiverbal constructions will be productive in filling the position of coverbs.

- (7.126) a. *hín* *ɲà=kéd-í*
 want.IMPERV NEG=cut.IMPERV-SG
 ‘Don’t get discouraged!’
- b. *ǰǰnéj* *kó-tó-è=ó* *ɲà=hín=nó*
 one 1.SBJV-lose.PERV-IRR=NEG NEG=want.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘I should lose nothing.’ (Lit. I don’t want to lose one.)
- c. *àpè* *wà* [*úfá* *ká-bák-á*]_{PRED}
 1sg REC.PAST finish 1SU-eat-1sg.SU.PERV
 ‘I have already eaten.’
- d. *iggè* *ǰǰkákán* *dáǰí* [*mési-na* *ǰǰǰ-á*]_{PRED}
 2pl all work do-SEQ fulfill.PERV:IMP-PL
 ‘Finish your (pl.) work, all of you!’

In (7.126b), the coverb *hín* has moved to a clause-final slot. It is in a typical canonical order of negated verbs in negated clause constructions. Note that the morphosyntactic productivity of multiverbal sequences in Eastern Sudanic languages has not been investigated in detail yet. It is obvious that more research is needed to supplement and verify the data reported here.

Chapter 8 Adjectives

8.1 Introduction

Adjectives are one of the three open word classes of Mursi. Adjectives are an open class by derivation. They share a number of grammatical properties with nouns and verbs. Moreover, adjectives can be formed from compounds. Elements of a compound adjective can be both adjectives or from other word classes. There are also two loan adjectives from Amharic (an Ethio-Semitic language) often used by Mursi speakers in informal conversations (or code-switching and spontaneous translation): *áddísí*⁶⁴ ~ [ádisí] ‘new’ and *kánísí*⁶⁵ ‘small’. Adjectives always bear the general adjectiviser suffix *-i*, regardless of the adjective's morphological property. Specifically, adjectives and verbs share one phonological property, i.e. like verb roots, most adjective roots end in consonants (for further discussion, see §8.2.2). Based on the morphological properties they display, Mursi adjectives can be divided into two major categories: underived (*tííní* ‘small’ and *búú* ‘big’) and derived (Type I— mainly from stative verbs; Type II — derived from stative verbs and from other word classes through productive and unproductive morphological derivations). Syntactically, adjectives can modify the head of an NP, fill the head of an intransitive predicate slot, fill copula complement slots, and denote degree of the compared quality in comparative constructions. The adjective class of Mursi covers all semantic types that can be conveyed by adjectives.

⁶⁴ The geminated alveolar stop /dd/ that triggers the implosive [d] often occurs in loan words from Amharic (an Ethio-Semitic language of Ethiopia). Place names such as *addis ababa* (= *addis* ‘new’, *ababa* ‘flower’) and *Sudan* are sometimes pronounced as *adisawa* and *sudan* respectively.

⁶⁵ *kanisi* is a loan adjective from the Amharic second person singular imperative form of the verb *k’ānis* ‘You (sg.) subtract!’, and whose non-imperative form is *kānäsä* ‘He subtracted’.

8.2 Phonological properties of adjectives

Undersived adjectives as one category (§8.2.1) and both Type I and II derived adjectives as a separate category (§8.2.2 and §8.2.3) display distinct phonological properties.

8.2.1 Undersived adjectives

Undersived adjectives differ phonologically from the derived ones in two ways. Firstly, the undersived adjectives *tííní* ‘small’ ~ *tíín-í* <small-ADJ> and *búú* ‘big’ ~ *bú-í* <big-ADJ> have monosyllabic roots. The final segment (-*i*) attached to both roots is a general adjectivizer and occurs with adjectival roots of all type. Secondly, undersived adjectives display sound iconicity. This phenomenon is an association between sound and meaning. Dixon (2010:69) pointed out that a high front vowel *i* is often naturally associated with a little/small object and a high back vowel *u* with a big/large one. The high-front vowel /i/ in *tííní* and the high-back vowel /u/ in *búú* appear to have strong correlation with the semantics of the two words — particularly in conveying the sense of smallness and largeness. The morpheme *-o* is a portmanteau suffix, and it can only be attached to singular and plural (reduplicated) forms of undersived adjectives.

- (8.1) a. [hòj-á tíín-ó]_{NP} ók-ú ór-ó
girl-RSTR small-MOD.RSTR go-3sg.SU.PERV village-OBL
‘The little girl went home.’
- b. nòŋ eč-ú zíní [túré-á tíín-ó]_{NP}
3sg shoot.PERV-3sg.SU.PERV thief gun-RSTR small-MOD.RSTR
‘He shot the robber with a pistol.’

In (8.1a-b), the morpheme *-o* now carries two pieces of information — it is an adjectiviser and a restrictive suffix. The second coalescence of vowels appear to be between the vowel of the *búú* ‘big’ and again the construct suffix *-a*, thus the two coalesce into *bó* < *bú+a*, as in (8.2).

(8.3) a.	ADJECTIVE	MEANING
	/lílíbi/ ⁶⁶	[lil.li.bi] ‘sweet’
	/lúlúmí/	[lul.lu.mi] ‘dark brown’
	/réréhi/	[rer.re.hi] ‘thin’
	/bárári/ ⁶⁷	[bar.ra.ri] ‘powerful, hot (of food)’

As can be seen in (8a), the re-syllabification has been made based on the occurrence of the alveolar lateral approximant /l/ and alveolar liquid /r/ at word-medial position. Thus in all adjectives of (8a), both /l/ and /r/ occur at the onset of cross-syllable consonant clusters. The lateral alveolar approximant /l/ can never be preceded by other consonants except by /l/ itself and by the liquid /r/. Similarly, /r/ often occurs as cluster (or sequence) at syllable onset position in words that have reduplicated syllables.

b.	ADJECTIVE	MEANING
	dǔrósí	‘hard, dry, strong’
	múćúgí	‘half, few’
	mòkòṅì	‘short’
	múrúrújí	‘cruel’
	mòdǔsì	‘be tired, soft (human physical)’
	ràmàgì	‘long’
	ṅàgàsì	‘old’
	gólóṅí	‘red’
	lótógì	‘wet’
	ròṅòdì	‘crooked, curved’

Unlike those in (8.3a), adjectives of (8.3b) can be transformed into nouns of states either by stative marker suffix *-tin* (*lótógì* ~ *lotok-tin* ‘liquid’) or by a copula verb *té* (*tewa* [té-a] *dǔrósí* <be.PERV-3sg.SU.PERV hard.STV-ADJ> ‘hardness’). Above all, between (8.3a) and (8.3b) two differences have been recorded. First, the adjectives in (8.3a) have non-stative verb origin and they may have originated from nouns. For example, *míníṅí*

⁶⁶ /lilibi/ ~ [liliwi], i.e. intervocalically, the voiced bilabial plosive /b/ lenites to bilabial approximant [w].

⁶⁷ The adjective *bárári* can be used in very broad contexts. The common usage of this adjective is in relation to taste such as for spicy foods, coffee (Mursi coffee is often prepared from coffee leaf, pepper, ginger and salt), when referring to the strength of the taste of sour milk, and so on. It has even a deeper meaning than these, i.e. with respect to the attribution of hidden and dangerous situations, for example, certain plants, amulets, and dew are *bárári*.

‘cruel’ is highly likely derived from *múnyúgí* ‘monster, one who eats a lot of meat’. Second, a slight difference between those in (8.3a) and (8.3b) is that root medial consonants in (8.3a) display a non-contrastive phonetic geminate intervocalically. However, when the adjectival roots of (8.3a) re-syllabified, they apparently acquire syllable shapes which resemble those of (§8.2.2.2). For example, /lilib/ will be [lil-lib] and so will /lul-lum/ ~ [lul-lum]. These are non-stative verb origin adjectives that contain a resemblance between σ_1 and σ_2 inherently reduplicating shapes. Thus to some extent they resemble those adjectives in (§8.2.2.2), that appear to have a unique symmetry of $\sigma_1 = \sigma_2$.

8.2.2.2 Disyllabic monomorphemic roots ($C_1V_1C_1 = C_2V_2C_2$)

Many of the derived adjectives within this phonological set have inherently reduplicated $C_1V_1C_1$ syllable shapes, a rare segmental property neither shown on regular verbs nor on nouns. Almost all are members of two semantic classes of adjectives —physical property and human propensity.

(8.4)	ADJECTIVE	MEANING
	gùrgùrì	‘clever, wise, knowledgeable’
	gìlgìlì	‘soft, smooth, slippery’
	dǎldǎlì ⁶⁸	‘difficult, expensive’
	dĩndĩnì	‘heavy’
	kárkárì	‘rough, lazy’
	dũrdũrì	‘thick’
	hólhólì	‘light (of weight)’
	džàmdžàmì	‘mistaken’
	bónbónì	‘blistered’
	mùrmùrì	‘straight’

Note that reduplication is not productive in Mursi. It is totally nonexistent in nouns and only a handful of examples are present for verbs. Despite the adjectives in (8.4) having fully reduplicated disyllables in a $\sigma_1 = \sigma_2$ symmetry, they are analyzed as monomorphemic roots. Even if the adjective in (8.4) have fully reduplicated syllables

⁶⁸ /dǎldǎlì/ can be pronounced as [dǎdǎlì] in fast speech.

compared to those in (8.3a), they are analyzed as monomorphemic forms. Even if they are few, verb forms that have fully reduplicating $\sigma_1=\sigma_2$ can be morphologically segmentable into simpler and analyzable morpheme forms.

8.2.2.3 Monomorphemic but different syllable shapes

Derived adjectives of this category have monomorphemic roots and they can be distinguished from other word classes but mainly from verbs in having roots consisting of several syllables and vowel-initial and final roots, as in (8.5). The first two appear to have inherently reduplicated final syllables before the adjectiviser suffix.

(8.5)	ADJECTIVE	MEANING
	déléléì	‘rich’
	hólólói<j>	‘free, empty, naked’
	kètèṅèsì	‘shallow’
	ápákónàì	‘lame’
	ídíbèní	‘fat’

There are also a few members whose root medial positions is composed of C_1C_2 clusters (where C_1 is liquid), which is common in the root-internal structure of nouns, but not in verbs.

(8.6)	ADJECTIVE	MEANING
	sìrwàì	‘blackish with cream undercoat; dark brown colour’
	gèrsì	‘bad’
	tòlgòṅì ⁶⁹	‘lazy’
	čàrgì	‘wet’
	túrgúli	‘bent, deformed (of stick/tree)’

⁶⁹ A consonant cluster /lg/ does not occur in Mursi, thus *tolgoṅi* must be either a loan word or dimorphemic form of some kind. In fact, three nouns that contain /lg/ clusters have been identified in the language. All of them have inherently reduplicated-like syllables: *galgali* ‘a person or animal with large ears’, *gelgeṅai* ‘bat’, and *gelgan* ‘veranda’. Besides, one loan word *alga* ‘bed’ (a loan word (Amharic)) and one adjective *gilgili* ‘smooth’ have been identified in the language.

8.2.3 Derived adjectives Type II

The majority of Type II derived adjectives are monosyllabic. However, there are a few disyllabic and multisyllabic adjectival roots that are derived from other classes mainly from adjectives and verbs by a number of morphological derivations. They can occur without the general adjectiviser suffix or with a nominalizer-attributive marker.

(8.7) Monosyllabic shapes

ADJECTIVE	MEANING
ʃòì	‘delicious’
ríí	‘shady’
gái<j>	‘intelligent’
lùì	‘spotted, multi-colour’
làì<j>	‘silent’

(8.8) Disyllabic shapes

ADJECTIVE	MEANING
bútógí ⁷⁰	‘lying’
léságí	‘greedy’
mìrò	‘colourful, multi-colour (pattern)’
ḃòčá	‘thin’
ḃǎrá	‘shortsighted’

As can be seen in (8.7) and (8.8), except for the two colour patterns, which are often the result of similes of different names of animals or objects, the rest of the adjectives may be examined metaphorically based on semantics. As in (8.7), the Mursi attribute word *ríí* ‘shade’ as *lálíní* ‘cool’ which is also the term used to express a stable or settled quality of a person. Despite the fact that *lálíní* doesn't seem to be in direct semantic opposition with the adjective *bárárí* ‘powerful’, it can yet denote a meaning

⁷⁰ In 1896 an Italian Geographical Society expedition led by Vittorio Bottego travelled southwards through Mursi territory, following the left bank of the Omo River as far as Lake Rudolf. According to Turton (1973: 416), Bottego might be the first explorer who reached Mursi country. The adjectival word *bútógí* ‘lying’ is named after Captain Bottego who crossed the Omo River sometime between 1895 and 1897. It was during my second trip to the Mursi village, that I was able to identify this word for the first time. Thus I asked a number of elders in the village; from multiple sources, finally I confirmed that the word ‘lying’ in Mursi is derived from the name of this Italian Captain.

of 'hot' through a non-linguistic sense that can be extended to a 'hot and spicy drink/food' Metaphorically. *bárárí* does not denote the word delicious, but *lálíní* does. In the same way, the semantic extension of *gái* and *lai* match the adjective *lálíní*. All of them were derived from various word classes — *ríí* from the noun *ríí* 'shade', *gái* from the verb 'know', and *lài* can modify a verb into a manner modifying adjective or into an adverb. On the other hand, the adjectives listed in (8.8) may infer abnormalities, and their word class source is not yet confirmed.

Mursi has also a dozen multisyllabic adjectives, which may be partly composed of lexicalized compounds plus metathesis or just simple compounds, as in (8.9).

(8.9) Multisyllabic shapes

ADJECTIVE	MEANING
<i>lùmìróì</i>	'cheating'
<i>éńérsíńógí</i>	'cowardly'
<i>lògójǐéé</i>	'true'
<i>rèzáhí</i>	'thin' (or <i>resalizahi</i>) ⁷¹
<i>kédánító</i>	'interesting, attractive'

As shown in (8.9), *lùmùróì* and *kédánító* are multisyllabic whereas *éńérsíńógí* is a derived adjective from the stative verb marked with an agentivizer suffix *-ńóg* <be afraid-AGTV-ADJ>, and *lògójǐéé* from a noun-adverb compound from [lògójǐéé] <word-correct/right>.

Multisyllabic adjectives composed of bimorphemic roots by compounding undergo recurrent segment reduction.

- (8.10) a. /čàkòròì/ [čàgì-kòròì] 'dark-green'
 b. /čàhólí/ [čàgì-hólí] 'blue'
 c. /džààrhólí/ [džààrè-hólí] 'white-legged'

⁷¹ *resalizahi* seems to be a multiword adjective in some kind of metathesis form —[re-ali-zahi] <body-stool-?> or *[rehi-sai-zal] <body.PL-skin-stick> or *[rega-zali(zel)] <spine-stick>.

In the examples shown in (8.10a-b), the voice velar consonant /g/ is reduced from the first element of the compounds as is always the case for *g*-final roots. The adjectiviser suffix /-i/ cannot be marked twice thus it is omitted from the first element of the compound adjectival word. Mursi does not have an exact colour term dedicated to green or blue, instead the word *čàgi* ‘green, unripe, raw’ is used to represent both colours. Whenever the distinction between the two is necessary, then the compounds in (8.10) shall be referred to where (8.10a) [čàgi-kòròì] <green-black> denotes ‘green, deep green’ while (8.10b) [čàgi-hólí] <green-white> denotes ‘blue, white/light blue’. Both are adjective-adjective compounds with the same word class and semantic output. On the other hand, the last example (8.10c) is a noun-adjective compound that denotes a colour pattern on cattle.

With respect to phonological additional property of adjectives, tonal melody of adjectives should be taken into account in the attempt to distinguish adjectives from the other two open word classes. For example, like nouns, adjectives do not have inherent tone. In contrast, verbs have inherent tone and stable tonal melodies.

8.3 Morphological properties of adjectives

8.3.1 Inflection

Underived adjective can be inflected for number and case. Number on underived adjective is shown by reduplication, as in (8.11) below.

- (8.11) a. *búí* ‘big (sg.)’ *bíbí* ‘big (pl.)’
 b. *tíní* ‘small (sg.)’ *títí* ‘big (pl.)’

There is an exceptional suffix which only occurs with *búí*, i.e. the degree of magnitude marker *-sís* (or augmentative).

- (8.12) *óg-ú* *òg-tí* *bú-sís-í-j*
 cry-3sg.SU.PERV voice.NOMZ-NRSTR big-AUG-ADJ-OBL
 ‘He cried with a loud voice.’

- (8.16) a. [zùg-tí bú mèrì]_{NP}
 people-NRSTR big many
 ‘Very many people’
- b. mes-ú [lòg-ìṅà-i bu mèrì
 do-3sg.SU.PERV issue/thing-PL-NRSTR big many
 čàll-ì]_{NP} háṅ
 good.STV-ADJ INTENS
 ‘He did very many wonderful things.’ (Lit. ‘He did big many good things.’)

In (8.16b), semantically both *bú* and *háṅ* are intensifiers but syntactically they have distinct functions — *bú* modifies or intensifies the quantifier *mèrì* (quantity) while *háṅ* intensifies the adjective *čàllì* (quality). The adjective *tííní* may be used as a specifier of the degree of an activity *ḃòitííní* [ḃòì-tííní] <all-small/little> ‘a little bit’, as in (8.16c).

- c. á àggè k-àì-ò ór-ó nà
 COP.3.IMPERV 1pl 1.HORT-go.PERV:PL-1pl.INC home-OBL CCN
 k-àùs-ò ḃòitííní
 1.HORT-rest.PERV.PL-1pl.INC little.bit
 ‘Let us go home and rest a little bit!’

Derived adjectives also inflect for nominal categories in the same way as nouns, namely number, case, bound demonstrative circumclitics, and definiteness. Note that only the following four dimension and colour adjectives bear an overt plural number marking.

(8.17)	ADJECTIVE	SINGULAR	ADJECTIVE	PLURAL
	ràmàgì	‘long (sg.)’	ràmàì-tá	‘long (pl.)’
	mòkòṅì	‘short (sg.)’	mòkòṅ-ná	‘short (pl.)’
	kòròì	‘black (sg.)’	kòrò-tá	‘black (pl.)’
	gólóṅí	‘red (sg.)’	gólóṅ-á	‘red (pl.)’

Despite the adjectivizer suffix *-i* of the singular forms, the adjectives in (8.17) utilize the ‘suppletive’ number marking system of nouns (where singular nouns are marked by *-i* and plural nouns by *-a*). As far as number marking on adjectives is concerned, there are two main reasons that could justify why the number marking system of the above plural forms wouldn’t be treated as ‘marked plural’. First, we have no plausible evidence whether the singular suffix *-i* and the adjectivizer suffix *-i* have coalesced into one or the function of singular number is covered by the adjectivizer. Second, all the adjectives in (8.17) were derived from stative verbs and they are exceptions. Besides, one

Table 8.1 Categories adjectives share with nouns

INFLECTIONAL CATEGORIES	SEMANTICS ASSOCIATED	MARKER	ADJECTIVE TYPE
Number	dimension and colour	<i>-ta</i> (vowel-final roots) <i>-a</i> (consonant-final roots) <i>-na</i> (nasal-final roots)	derived from stative verbs
Case	dimension and value	nominative (<i>-u</i>)	both underived (see §8.4.1, Ex. 38) and derived (see §8.4.1, Ex. 39)
	dimension, value and colour	genitive <i>-n</i> (vowel-final) <i>-ùn</i> (consonant-final)	derived (see §8.3.1, Ex.15a-b; §8.4.4, Ex.52)
	dimension	oblique <i>-j</i> (following vowel)	both underived and derived (see §8.3.1, Ex.12)
Demonstratives	value	<i>ηà=...=á/=ùnù</i>	derived (see §8.3.1, Ex.16)
Definite	dimension and value	<i>=ηà</i>	derived (see §8.3.1, Ex.15a; §8.4.1, Ex. 39 & 41)

In Mursi, number on nouns refers to the quantity of objects, while on adjectives it is an agreement feature. In addition, adjectives derived from stative verbs can inflect for some verbal categories such as for S and O arguments. They can also be negated and can take verb-final suffix when they function as intransitive predicate (see §8.4).

Table 8.2 Categories adjectives share with stative verbs

VERBAL CATEGORIES	SYNTACTIC FUNCTION	SEMANTICS ASSOCIATED	ADJECTIVE TYPE
S	intransitive predicate	state, inchoative, causative	underived and derived adjectives from stative verbs
passive-nominalizer	intransitive predicate	state	derived adjectives from stative verbs
benefactive-applicative	transitive predicate comparative marker	state	derived adjectives from stative verbs
Negation	intransitive predicate	opposite state/quality	derived adjectives from stative verbs
verb-final suffix	intransitive ⁷² predicate		derived adjectives from stative verbs

⁷² The verb-final suffix indicates that adjectives have indeed a well-established syntactic function as an intransitive predicates.

8.3.2 Derivation

8.3.2.1 The adjectiviser *-i*

About one-third of Mursi adjectives are derived from stative verb roots. The primary derivational marker in Mursi is the suffix *-i*. Thus, derived adjectives can be formed by attaching the general adjectivizer suffix *-i* to roots of stative verbs.

(8.20)	STATIVE VERB		DERIVED ADJECTIVE	
	íláágá	‘(be) sick’	íláágái	‘(be) sick’
	mòdḡsà	‘(be) tired’	mòdḡsi	‘(be) tired, soft’
	ḡon	‘(to) be sweet’	ḡoi	‘(be) sweet’

The derived adjective *ḡḡersinogi* can only occur with the agentive singular

nominalizer suffix *-nogi*. Even if the adjectiviser suffix *-i* is attached to the root of the stative verb, it doesn’t function on its own without the agentive suffix, as shown in (8.21a).

(8.21) a. ḡḡérs ‘be afraid’ < ḡḡérsi-nogi ‘coward (adjective/noun)’

As far as adjectives are concerned, *ḡḡérsinogi* is an exception. In Mursi, one cannot derive adjectives from other word classes with an agentive nominalizer. It can also occur without the agentive suffix but in an opposite meaning. In addition, a nominalizer and restrictive markers are suffixed when the form functions as relative clause modifier.

b. hír-á [Ø ḡà=ḡḡérs-ínén-á=ó]_{RC}
man-RSTR [Ø NEG.IMPERV=afraid-NOMZ-RSTR=NEG]
‘One who is not afraid’

The function of the restrictive suffix *-a* in the relative clause is to indicate dependency relation between the head and its modifier.

8.3.2.2 The stativising *-tin*

Despite the fact that both adjectives and nouns show significant similarities when they inflect for number, in terms of derivational suffixes they utilize, there is a remarkable difference between the two. Nouns of state can be formed by suffixing the stativising

marker *-mò* to nouns, as in (8.22). On the other hand, nouns that denote state can be derived from adjectives by stative marker *-tìn*, as in (8.23).

(8.22)	NOUNS		NOUNS OF STATE
	kómórú	‘priest, leader’	kómórú-mò ‘priesthood’
	hírí	‘person, man’	hírí-mò ‘manhood’
	zíní	‘thief’	zíní-mò ‘stealing, theft’
(8.23)	ADJECTIVE		NOUNS OF STATE (ABSTRACT)
	ràmàgì	‘tall, long’	ràmàj ⁷³ -tìn ‘tallness’
	gùrgùrì	‘wise, skilled’	gùrgùr-tìn ‘wisdom, knowledge’
	lòtògì	‘(be) wet’	lòtòk-tìn ‘liquid’
	múćúgì	‘few’	múćúk-tín ‘fewness’
	dǎldǎlí	‘hard’	dǎldǎ-ín ‘hardness’
	díŋdíŋí	‘heavy’	díŋdíŋ-ín ‘weight’
	bàséní	‘easy, cheap’	bàsén-ín ‘easiness, cheapness’
	kòrròŋ	‘(be) dark’	kòrrò-ín ‘darkness’
	kòròì	‘black’	kòròj-tìn ‘blackness’
	hòlì	‘white’	hòl-ín ‘righteous’
	gèrsí	‘bad’	gèrès-ín ‘sin’
	babí	‘fool’	bábí-tín ‘foolishness’
	sìò dǔrósí	‘greediness’	sìò dǔsós-ín ‘state of being stingy’
	dǔrórsí	‘dry’	dǔsós-ín ‘drought’

Adjectives can also be derived from nouns. Adjectives derived from nouns retain some aspect of the semantics of the nouns from which they have been derived.

(8.24)	ADJECTIVE	NOUNS	NOUN OF STATE
	déléléì	‘rich’	déléléímá ‘treasure’
	bú(í)ógí	‘lying’	bú(í)tómó ‘false, lie’
			déléléímó ‘treasure, richness’
			bú(í)tógá ‘state/condition of being a liar; a liar’

As shown in (8.24) there is a tendency for adjectives derived from nouns to still denote the semantic state or character of nouns. We shall examine their syntactic distributions and functions in §8.3.

⁷³ /g/ becomes [ɣ] intervocalically or even finally sometimes deleted.

Table 8.3 Different derivation markers to derive nouns of state

DERIVATION TYPE	SEMANTICS ASSOCIATED	MARKER	REMARK
nouns of state from nouns	state	<i>-mò</i>	state of being/condition
nouns of state from adjectives	state	<i>-tin</i>	noun/adjective (see e.g. 22)
nouns of state ↔ nouns	state/noun	<i>-o/-a</i>	suppletive-like
nouns of state ↔ adjectives	state/ adjective	<i>-a/-i</i>	suppletive-like

- (8.25) *nà* [bá-á] [Ø] *ηà=zùg=tá*
 CCN:SEQ place-RSTR/CAUSE [Ø] DEM=people=NEAR
*hòl-in-a*_{RC} [sára-á] *g=èj=e*_{NP} SUBORD:CL
 white.STV-N.S-RSTR] name.PL-RSTR PL.PSD=3PL.PSR=SUBORD
 [hòl-in [sára-á] *g=èj=e*_{NP} SUBORD:CL
 [white.STV-N.S [name.PL-RSTR PL.PSD=3PL.PSR=SUBORD
 [hòl-in-ŋ] *ɖʒo-án-ε-ɔ*⁷⁴]_{MAIN:CL}
 white.STV-N.S-GEN get-MT-3pl.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘...and he that receives a righteous man in the name of a righteous man shall receive a righteous man’s reward.’

The meaning for *hòlin* ‘righteous’ is a semantic extension, from *hòli* ‘white’.

8.3.2.3 Compound adjectives

Compound adjectives are common in Mursi, and adjectival derivation by compounding is perhaps the second most productive derivational strategy after the adjectiviser *-i*. There are two real compound adjectives combinations: adjective-adjective (where both elements denote concurrent properties) and noun-adjective.

- (8.26) ADJECTIVE-ADJECTIVE MEANING
 a. /čàkòròì/ [čàgì-kòròì⁷⁵] green-black ‘dark green’
 b. /čàhólí/ [čàgì-hólí] green-white ‘blue’
- (8.27) NOUN-ADJECTIVE MEANING
 a. /kààrèčàgì/ [kààrè-čàgì] eye-new(green) ‘blind’
 b. /sìòdǒrósí/ [sìò-dǒrósí] hand-dry ‘greedy, stingy’
 c. /ɖʒààrhólí/ [ɖʒààr-hólí] leg-white ‘white-legged (colour pattern)’

⁷⁴ Note that the suffix *-nen* has various morphological and syntactic functions (i) can be used as a nominalizer

⁷⁵ *kòròì* as the second element may also be used to mark intensity of the quality expressed by the first, i.e. *čagi*.

two elements of the compound adjectives —reduction of the adjectiviser suffix *-i* and deletion of a segment from the first element. The second is the adverb-adverb compound adjective /ʃééʃéé/ [ʃéé-ʃéé] <correct-correct> ‘true, real’ which doesn’t take the adjectiviser suffix.

8.3.2.4 Phrasal adjectives

Phrasal adjectives have similar syntactic construction as noun phrases. They are often composed of a noun (in head position) which is followed by an adjective or a verb (in modifier position). Morphologically, elements of a phrasal adjective may be marked like an NP for the dependency relation they bear. Phrasal adjectives function predicatively and somehow require relative clause construction in order to modify nouns as one single element.

- (8.30) a. [lòg-á čàg-á]_{NP}
 issue-RSTR new.STV-RSTR:MOD
 ‘Modern’(see also example 8.26c)
- b. [bá-á ùtùrèì]_{NP}
 place/earth-RSTR end
 ‘Earthly’
- c. [mèsí nàni-ò]_{NP}
 work expert.SG-RSTR:MOD
 ‘Useful’

However, phrasal adjectives that have dynamic verbs in the modifier slot may occur with certain verbal derivational elements which puts the verbal modifier in a relative clause function, as in (8.31a-b).

- (8.31) a. [hír-á kà-gà]
 man-RSTR PASS-know.PERV:RSTR
 ‘Famous’ (Lit. ‘man known’)
- OR hír-á [Ø ká-gá]_{RC}
 man-RSTR [Ø 3.SBJV-know.PERV]
 ‘a man that is known’
- b. hír-á kí-hín-ò
 man-RSTR 3.SBJV-want-SG.IRR
 ‘Important, necessary’

OR hír-á [Ø kí-hín-ò]_{RC}
 man-RSTR [Ø 3.SBJV-want-3.IRR]
 'that a man needs' (Lit. 'man that lets need')

8.3.2.5 Clausal adjectives

Mursi has some clausal-like adjectives. Clausal adjectives may occur as full copular or relative clauses but all the elements within their clause are used to denote a single adjectival meaning. Certainly, they can never function as intransitive predicates or as copula complements.

- (8.32) a. dʒààrí á čàlli
 leg COP.3.IMPERV good
 'Lucky' (Lit. 'leg (it) is good')
- b. è á čàlli
 appearance/beauty COP.3.IMPERV good
 'Beautiful/handsome' (Lit 'appearance (it) is good')
- c. kèŋò á bùrtàì
 belly COP.3.IMPERV hot
 'Corpulent, one who eats a lot'
- d. lòg-á [Ø ɲàni čàg-à]_{RC}
 word/issue-RTSR [Ø yet new.STV-RSTR:ATTR]
 'Modern' (Lit. 'word (issue) that is still/yet new')
- e. rè [Ø ɲà=hín-Ø-nè]_{RC}
 body [Ø NEG=want-3sg.SU.IMPERV-AP]
 'Boring' (Lit. 'body that doesn't want (something)')
- f. éŋéré kààri
 afraid.APPL.3 eye
 'Shy'
- g. áɗ-èsèn rè dùj-ì
 constrain-3.BEN/DAT body plant-ADJ
 'Stubborn' (Lit. 'one that body-planted')

Example (8.32h) is an exceptional case where the adjectivizer suffix *-i* can also be suffixed to a dynamic verb to produce a kind of relative clause (clausal adjective) that modify a noun.

8.3.2.5 Inchoative derivation by copula verb

The perfective copula *tè* 'became (COP.3.PERV)' can be used along with derived adjectives to form intransitive stative-inchoative readings. The fact is that the majority

of derived adjectives of Mursi are stative verbs. The syntactic subject may be overtly stated in one way or another by the copula verb; whereas the agent is neither overtly stated nor implied.

- (8.33) tè kòròì ‘became dark’
 tè kòròì kòròì ‘get (became) gradually darker’
 tè kòròì ba ‘past the evening’
 tè ràrààì ‘became tall (long)’
 tè hólí ‘became light’
 tè rónódí ‘became crooked’

By repeating the adjective, it is possible to express the process that is denoted by stative-inchoative verbs (adjectives) as happening gradually. All the stative-inchoative readings in (8.33) are obtained by derivation as copula verbs and copula complements. However, stative-inchoative can also be obtained with S or O but without a semantic agent and the perfective copula *té* (see §8.4).

Another inchoative reading of adjectives can be derived by substituting the copula *té* with the subjunctive copula form *ké*. Analyzing *ké* as a subjunctive form of the perfective copula *té* seems to require further investigation. The fact that some verbs of Mursi undergo either partial or full root suppletion to indicate aspect, in which case the desiderative *hín* ‘want, desire’ is a typical example. Thus the imperfective root *hín* should undergo a partial root suppletion before it is being marked by the perfective aspect marker prefix *t(V)-*, which is a dedicated perfective aspect marker prefix for desiderative, affection, stative and a few other verb types. *hén* is the perfective suppletive form of *hín*, so [t-*hén*] <PERV-want> is the perfective form. Similarly, *á* <COP.3.IMPERV> is the imperfective copula form while *té* <COP.3.PERV> is the perfective copula form. This means, *te* can be reanalyzed as [t-e] <PERV-COP.3> instead of a morphologically unsegmentable particle. When the subjunctive mood prefix *k(V)-*

is added to the third person perfective copula form *e*, it results in *ké*, as can be shown in (8.34a-b) below.

- (8.34) a. *sú kóój-Ø ké kòrò-ì*
 sun 3.SBJV.go-3.IRR 3.SBJV.COP.PERV dark.STV-ADJ
 ‘The sun be darkened.’
- b. *kòròη ké búí kóój-Ø ènèη?*
 dark 3.SBJV.be.PERV big 3.SBJV.go-3.IRR how
 ‘How great is that darkness!?’

The *ké* often follows the verb in the subjunctive *kóój* ‘go’ but it always precedes the adjective. The adjective in (8.34a) in a typical canonical position of adjectives when they function as copula complements.

The other polysemous-like particle but with a different syntactic of its own is the preposition *ké*⁷⁶. The polysemous *ké* whose origin is a preposition, has an elaborative and extended functions: as coordinative conjunction (with its variant *kó*), as an instrumental marker prefix in instrumental-comitative construction (where comitative is shown by a suffix *-ε* [-čö][čä]), purposive (means), and reason (along with other particles). As is shown in (8.34c) below, the adjective *čällì* appears in a prepositional phrase.

- c. *téj ké/kó čäll-ì*
 be.PERV:IMP with good.STV-ADJ
 ‘Good bye!’ (Lit. ‘Stay with peace!’)

However, in the context of the scope of irrealis which covers imperative,

hortative/jussive, and subjunctive, (8.34c) can be viewed and interpreted as (8.34d).

- d. *kén ké tíítí*
 cut.PERV.IMP 3.SBJV.COP.PERV small.PL
 ‘Cut (it) into pieces!’ (Lit. ‘Cut into being smalls! Make it become pieces!’)

⁷⁶ The particle *ke* has various functions in Mursi: preposition, purposive (subsequent reason marker along the cause marker particle *ba*), and coordinative conjunction (*ko* between nouns or numbers). The development of *ke* as a polysemous multifunctional particle has been discussed at different stages of this grammar.

8.4 Syntactic properties

Except for underived adjectives, all derived adjectives of Mursi occupy various syntactic slots within NPs and clauses depending on the syntactic and semantic properties of word classes from which they have been derived. Due to their morphological make up, some derived adjectives cannot modify a noun in an NP directly, for example compound adjectives of colour. Thus a number of sub-adjectival categories may exist in each semantic classes of adjectives since not all function equally as modifiers of nouns or hold possible adjectival slots reserved for them.

8.4.1 Modifier of an NP head

Both underived and derived adjectives can modify nouns in a NP. When underived adjectives modify head nouns, they take the modification suffixes of both types (restrictive and non-restrictive). Underived adjectives agree in number with the head nouns they modify by reduplicating their roots partially or fully.

- (8.35) a. [hòj-á tíín-ò]_{NP} ók-ú ór-ó
girl-RSTR small-RSTR go-3sg.SU.PERV village-OBL
'The little girl went home.'
- b. k-ár-á [hòì-tí tííní-í]_{NP}
1SU-see.PERV-1sg.SU.PERV girl-NRSTR small-NRSTR
'I saw the little girl.'
- c. [ùrgùsá-í tíítí-j]_{NP}
fish.PL-NRSTR small.REDUP:PL-NRTSR
'small/little (pl.) fishes'
- d. [[zùw-á bíbí-ò]_{NP} bá-ŋ-ŋ]_{NP}
people-RSTR big.PL-RSTR local-GEN-GEN
'Village elders' (Lit. 'big (pl.) people of the local area')

Reduplication is the main and the only way of marking number on underived adjectives.

Only the underived adjective can take degree of magnitude markers: free form *gòdē* (gèdē) (diminutive 'very small') and the suffix *-sís* (augmentative 'very big').

- (8.36) a [íggé-á [Ø jéw-inèn-á bá-á
 3pl.PN.SP-RSTR [Ø believe-NOMZ-RSTR place-RSTR
 n=ànù]_{RC} tíítí-ò gòdǽ]_{NP}
 SG.PSD=1SG.PSR small.PL-RSTR DIM
 ‘These little ones which believe in me’
- b. júné á búí háŋ kóó [júné-á
 harvest COP.3.IMPERV big INTENS DIS.CRD harvest-RSTR
 zùw-á mèsí-nèn-à]_{NP} á tííní gòdǽ sòŋ
 people-RSTR work-NOMZ-RSTR] COP.3.IMPERV small DIM only
 ‘The harvest truly is plentiful, but the labourers are few.’ (Lit. ‘the harvest working people’)

In (8.36a), the embedded relative clause modifier is within the NP. As a secondary modifier, a relative clause intervenes between the head noun (in the 3rd person specific pronoun form) and the direct modifier *tíítí*. In (8.36b), *búí* is modified by the general intensifier *háŋ* ‘very’, and *tííní* by the diminutive *gòdǽ* which also bears a quantity reading ‘very few’.

- (8.37) nà [ŋó-tí bú-sís-í]_{NP} bán-á jírisí tó-jé
 CCN wind-NSTR big-AUG-ADJ raise-3sg.SU.PERV sea in-OBL
 ‘Then (there) arose a great tempest in the sea.’

- (8.38) ñà=ñòrò [àhì-á bú-sís-í-ó gàf-ùŋ]_{NP}⁷⁷
 DEM=elephant thing.SG-RSTR big-AUG-ADJ-RSTR forest-GEN
 ‘An elephant is a big animal.’ (Lit. ‘An elephant is a huge thing of the forest.’)

- (8.39) hírí ìr-ú gèsò bòi bú-sís (nà)
 man drink.PERV-3sg.SU.PERV beer COMPLT big-AUG (CCN)
 se-a ké ʃàj ñà=hín-Ø=ó
 say-3sg.SU.PERV QUOT tea NEG=want.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘The man drank much beer. “I don’t want tea”, he said.’

With the augmentative marker *-sís*, the adjective *búí* sometimes denotes quantification as in (8.39). Similarly, the adjective *tííní* can also be used as a quantifier of ‘a little’ — (8.40).

⁷⁷ *ahia gafun* is ‘Wild animal’ (lit. ‘thing of the forest’).

- (8.40) ójó-á sàbù-nè (nòḡ) gùjò dǎg-Ø wáj méá
 year-RSTR first-ORD (3sg) rain hit-3sg.SU.IMPERV INTENS now
 ḡà=ʔójó=á nòḡ dǎk-ú ké tííní sòḡ
 DEM=year=NEAR 3sg hit-3sg.SU.PERV 3.SBJV.be.PERV small only
 ‘Last year it rained much. But this year it has only rained a little.’

Before further description of the syntactic properties of derived adjectives, two major difference have been noted between underived and derived adjectives. The first difference is that underived adjectives take a separate modification marker suffix *-o* (as illustrated in §8.2.1) whereas the derived adjectives take the regular construct suffixes *-a* [-ta] (restrictive) and *-i* [-ti] (non-restrictive). The second difference is that only underived adjectives can be marked with a nominative case, as in (8.41 a-b)

- (8.41) a. [[zùw-á kàhèn⁷⁸-á]_{NP} bíbí-ú]_{NP} kó [bára dákákán]_{NP}
 people-RSTR priest-RSTR big.PL-NOM PNC adult.PL all
 ‘All the chief priests and elders’ (Lit. ‘All the big(pl.) priests and adults.’)
- b. [[zùw-á kàhèn-á-j] bíbí-ú]_{NP} kó [[zùw-á
 people-RSTR priest-RSTR-GEN big.PL-NOM PNC people-rstr
 ór-ùḡ]_{NP} bíbí-ú]_{NP}
 village-GEN big.PL-NOM
 ‘the chief priests and elders’

In fact, both underived and derived adjectives may be marked with the genitive case if they occur as direct modifiers of the head within NPs. When the head is modified by bound deictic demonstrative circumclitics or is in bound demonstrative pronouns form, the modifier adjective may take the definite marker enclitic =ḡà. This means, adjectives agree with the head in definiteness but it doesn't mean they agree always. Some examples are below.

- (8.42) a. [ḡà=támá-rí-ḡá=á àggè-a čàll-ú=ḡà]
 DEM=student-PL=NEAR 3pl.PN.SP-RSTR good.STV-NOM=DEF
 ‘These the good students’
- b. [[ḡà=ìggè=á]_{NP} čàll-ì=ḡà]_{NP}
 DEM=3pl.PN.SP=NEAR good.STV-ADJ=DEF
 ‘These the good.’

⁷⁸ *kahen* is a loan word from Amharic *kahin* ‘priest’.

As noted above, not all derived adjective can modify head nouns within NPs. For example, basic colour terms including the compound ones can modify heads nouns directly whereas colour pattern terms cannot modify the head directly rather they can be copula complements.

- (8.43) a. *rúm-ná kòr-á čàll-i ñà=ʔán⁷⁹=ó*
 cloth-RSTR black.STV-RSTR GOOD.STV-ADJ NEG=COP.3.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘The black dress is not nice.’
- b. *rúm-á čakòr-á čàll-i ñà=ʔán=ó*
 cloth-RSTR black.STV-RSTR good.STV-ADJ NEG=COP.3.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘The blue dress is not nice.’ (Lit. ‘The blue dress good-it is not.’)

There is an exceptional case where both the head noun and an adjectival modifier is left unmarked for the dependency relation they show within an NP.

- (8.44) *óg gòrò bó bùnù ñùcùg=ñà*
 go.PERV.IMP road out(side) there narrow=DEF
 ‘Go on the narrow road.’

The NP in (8.44) has the locative postposition *bó* and local adverbial demonstrative *bùnù*, thus there is no dependency marking between the head noun and the modifier adjective.

8.4.2 Intransitive predicate

Derived adjectives from stative verbs can function as head of an intransitive predicate.

As can be shown in (8.45a), adjectives that function as intransitive predicates can be negated, thus bound negation clitics can negate intransitive predicative adjectives in the same way as other regular verbs.

- (8.45) a. *[nòŋ]_s [ñà=ídíbèn-Ø=nó]_{INTR.PRED}*
 3sg NEG.IMPERV=fat-3SG.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘He is not fat.’
- b. *[àŋè]_s kù-čùmùn-è-í]_{INTR.PRED} [bá nòŋ]*
 1sg 1SU-happy-APPL-1sg.SU.IMPERV COMPL/CAUSE 3sg
kún-Ø-é=jè]_{SUBORD:CL}
 come-3sg.SU.IMPERV-RES:APP=SUBORD
 ‘I was glad that he came.’ (Lit. ‘I rejoiced at his coming.’)

⁷⁹ The copula verb has a consonant final root [an] realisation underlyingly.

- c. [k-íláás-í-ò]S:INTR.PRED
 1SU-sick-1sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘I am sick.’
- d. wà [kó-gólóŋ-á]S:INTR.PRED háŋ
 REC.PAST 1SU-black-1sg.SU.PERV INTENS
 ‘I just became very black!’
- e. ìŋè múŋ-èsè òŋ?
 2sg sad-BEN/DAT what
 ‘What are you angry about?’

(8.46) [ŋà=òdàìŋà=á]NP [róŋód-ùŋ=nè]NP:INTR.PRED ìggè
 DEM=generation=NEAR bent-2pl.OBJ=SUBORD 2pl
 ‘You (pl.) the crooked generation.’

In (8.46), the second person pronoun is optional because the second person object pronominal suffix is attached to the adjective which can stand as elliptical NP on its own. In non-elliptical construction, the second person pronoun is its canonical order, as shown below in (8.47).

(8.47) [ìggè]S [mòdɔ̃s-á]INTR.PRED dákákán hóɔ́-á
 2pl be.tired.STV-RSTR all come.PERV:PL.IMP-MT
 ‘All you (pl.) tired, come!’

Interestingly, when S and O pronominal arguments attach to adjectival roots, their main meaning of the inflected adjectival root is causative and inchoative. In fact, inchoative readings come in two ways: by bound pronominal in S function (8.48) and by the perfective copula *te* (8.49).

(8.48) [kò-kòrò-í-ò]S:INTR.PRED
 1SU-black-1sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘I become black.’ (Lit. I am blackening.)

(8.49) nòŋ té ʃèmèli bá nòŋ úró
 3sg COP.3.PERV very.thin CAUSE 3sg milk
 ŋà=màt-Ø-è=ó=jè
 NEG=drink-3sg.SU.IMPERV-APPL:RES=NEG=SUBORD
 ‘S/he became thin by her/him not drinking milk.’

In (8.48), the head noun which denotes a state of quality is a derived noun from the adjective *kòrò*. It is an NP on its own (in S function) followed by an intransitive predicate with an optional oblique argument. The multi-function particle *bá* ‘place, in

Besides, adjectives derived from stative verbs can be nominalized, and can not occupy the predicate slot, as in (8.51).

- (8.51) [kòrò-ì-tín]_S [kún-Ø]_{INTR.PRED} mìrò-jè
 black-ADJ-N.S come-3sg.SU.IMPERV earmark.PL-OBL
 ‘The blackness comes from the earmarks.’

Whereas underived adjectives cannot be nominalized.

8.4.3 Copula complement

Adjectives can also function as a copula complement in a copular clause. With no syntactic restriction, all the adjective classes of Mursi can be copula complements.

Below are examples that illustrate the function of adjectives as copula complement (8.52).

- (8.52) a. [àpè]_{CS} [k-án-í]_{C.PRED} [kòrò-ì]_{CC}
 1sg 1SU-COP.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV black.STV-ADJ
 ‘I am black.’
- b. ójó tó-jé wóčč-in á dǎldǎl-í
 year in-OBL walk-NOMZ COP.3.IMPERV difficult.STV-ADJ
 ‘Travel in winter is difficult.’
- c. [jírísí ɲà=ɓá=á]_{CS:S} á dèɲì háɲ
 sea DEM=place=NEAR COP.3.IMPERV shallow INTENS
 ‘The lake is very shallow at this point.’
- d. írsásí tùg-ò á lèfì
 pencil mouth-OBL COP.3.IMPERV sharp
 ‘The pencil point is sharp.’
- e. [ɓá-á k-ílób-ó ɲà=hír=á]_{COMPL:CL} á
 place-RTSR/CAUSE 3.SBJV-try.PERV DEM=man=NEAR COP.3.IMPERV
 hólólój
 empty
 ‘It’s useless to try to convince him.’ (Lit. ‘As far as trying of the man is concerned, is empty.’)

The particle *ba* introduces reason or purpose in reason clauses. In (8. 52e), other than the copula verb and the copula complement ‘empty’, the whole construction is a complement clause particle, but not a copula subject.

8.4.4 Parameter of comparison

Mursi makes use of adjectives as a parameter of comparison in comparative constructions.

- (8.53)
- | | COMPAREE | | PARAMETER | STANDARD |
|----|---|---------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| a. | [írsásí-á n=ànù]
pencil-RSTR SG.PSD=1SG.PSR
n=ànù]
SG.SPD=2SG.PSR | | [ràràg-èsèn]
tall-BEN/DAT | [ín-á
3sg.PN.SP-RSTR |
| | ‘My pencil is longer than yours.’ (Lit. ‘My pencil taller from that of yours.’) | | | |
| b. | dáǐ
work | čáll-èsèn
good-BEN/DAT | tírą
play | |
| | ‘Work is better than play.’ | | | |

Two comparees can be conjoined by the coordinative conjunction particle *kó* ‘with’. Morphologically, the adjective (the parameter) following the two comparees is not marked for adjectivizer suffix *-i*. Besides, in such case, copular verb is not required, as shown in (8.51).

- (8.54) a. ɲòrò kó čár [tír]PARAMETER čár-ó
elephant CCN leopard fast leopard-NOM
‘The leopard is faster than the elephant.’ (Lit. of the elephant and the leopard, the leopard is the fast one.)

However, as shown in (8.54b), in the phrasal plus mono-clausal comparative construction (see §11.3), the same adjective can be marked by adjectivizer suffix *-i*, thus it can occur at CC syntactic slot.

- b. ɲòrò kó čár [čár]CS á [tír-ì]CC
elephant CCN leopard leopard COP.3.IMPERV fast-ADJ
‘The leopard is faster than the elephants.’
(Lit. ‘The elephants and the leopard, the leopard is fast.’)

It is also possible to use two semantically opposing adjectives in two different copular clauses (bi-clausal), as in (8.54c).

- c. dórí-á n=ànù á tííní
house-RSTR SG.SPD=1SG.PSR COP.3.IMPERV small
dórí-á n=ànù á búí
house-RSTR SG.SPD=2SG.PSR COP.3.IMPERV small
‘My house is small; your house is big’ (Lit. ‘My house is smaller than yours or Your house is bigger than mine.’)

As shown below in (8.54d), within a mono-clausal construction, adjectives can function as both parameter of comparison and the mark when the benefactive/dative suffix is added to their roots as a mark of the standard.

- d. *nòŋ m̀òk̀òŋ-ès̀èn t́ámá-rí-ŋá*
 3sg short-BEN/DAT student-PL
 ‘He is the shortest of the students.’
- e. *ŋà=in=ù án-á tíín-ès̀èn-á d́ónénén*
 DEM=3sg.PN.SP=FAR is.IMPERV-PERV:TEMP small-BEN-RSTR one:RECIP
 ‘That is the thinnest one.’

8.4.5 Adjectives functioning as manner modifiers

Adjectives and adverbs may have the same forms but they can only be distinguished by the syntactic slots they occupy in clauses. When adjectives function as modifiers, they often occur immediately after the verb they modify. When they occur in this position, they most likely are marked by the suffix *-o* [-no].

- (8.55) a. *àŋè k-ígóm-á ċùmùn-ò*
 1sg 1SU-accept-1SG.SU.PERV happy-ADV
 ‘I gladly (Lit. being glad) agreed.’
- b. *nòŋ bòrót-ú ċùmùn-ò*
 3sg jump-3sg.SU.PERV happy-ADV
 ‘He jumped cheerfully.’ (Lit. ‘happily’)
- c. *ŋà=támá-rí=nù áċ-áŋ-Ø àŋè ċùmùn háŋ*
 DEM=student.PL=FAR give.PERV-1sg.OBJ 1sg happy INTENS
 ‘That pupil gives me much joy.’
- d. *nòŋ jóg-ès̀è éró s̀ààn-á ċùmùn-ùŋ*
 3sg tell-3.BEN/DAT children story-RSTR happy-GEN
 ‘He told children a funny story.’ (Lit. ‘He told for (to) children a happy story.’)

As shown in (8.55), the adjective *ċùmùni* ‘happy’ is functioning as verbal modifier in (8.55a-b), as a noun in (8.55c), and as an adjective in (8.55d). Some examples are illustrated below.

- (8.56) a. *nòŋ ók-ú ċáll-i-nò*
 3sg go-3sg.SU.PERV good.STV-ADJ-ADV
 ‘He went well.’

- b. múgáj á čáll-ì
 woman.SG COP.3.IMPERV good.STV-ADJ
 ‘The woman is good.’

However, adjectives and verbal modifiers do not often necessarily coincide in form, rather the two have their own forms.

- (8.57) ADJECTIVE ADVERB
- | | | |
|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| tìrì | ǰàù | ‘fast/quick’ |
| dìŋìlì | hàlè hàlè | ‘slow’ |
| téí lététéb | làì | ‘silent’ |
| mùrmùrì | dìb | ‘straight’ |
- a. čár á tìr-ì
 leopard COP.3.IMPERV fast-ADJ
 ‘The leopard is fast.’
- b. ànè kú-čúg-í ǰàù
 1sg 1SU-chase-1sg.SU.IMPERV fast
 ‘I drive fast.’
- c. kó-hól-í ǰàù
 1SU-white-1sg.SU.IMPERV fast
 ‘I am becoming white fast.’ (Lit. ‘I am whitening fast.’)

8.4.6 Ordering of adjectives

Mursi is a free-constituent order language; the order among adjectives within NPs and in sentences is relatively free. As to the ordering of adjectives within NPs, as has been noted throughout this chapter, no more than two adjectival modifiers are available.

- (i) [N-ADJ₁(size)-ADJ₂(value)]_{NP}... (8.58a)
 (ii) [N-ADJ₁(size)-ADJ₂(colour)]_{NP}... (8.58b)

- (8.58) a. [[hòj-á ràmàg-á čáll-à]_{NP} másábì]_{NP}
 woman-RSTR tall-RTSR good-RSTR book
 ‘the book of the tall pretty woman.’
- b. [[hárté bú-sís-í]_{NP} kòr-à]_{NP}
 donkey big-AUG-ADJ black-RSTR:ATTR
 ‘The big black donkey.’

8.5 Semantic properties

The size of the set of adjectives in each semantic type may vary, but Mursi adjectives cover all semantic classes. All thirteen semantic classes of adjectives proposed by Dixon (2004:3) have been attested in Mursi.

A. DIMENSION — this set is comprised of about ten adjectives. It is a unique set where the two underived adjectives belong.

Table 8.4 Dimension

ADJECTIVE	LIST
DIMENSION	<i>búí</i> ‘big, large’, <i>tííní</i> ‘small’, <i>ḃòì</i> ‘wide’, <i>kètèḃḃèsì</i> ‘shallow’, <i>hòrí</i> ‘deep’, <i>ḡùčùḡí</i> ‘narrow’, <i>mòkòḡnì</i> ‘short’, <i>ràmàḡì</i> ‘tall’, <i>tákáḡná</i> ‘stumpy’, <i>kùmùlì</i> ‘round, circular’

B. VALUE — a dozen adjectives referring to values, animate and inanimate objects comprise this set.

Table 8.5 Value

ADJECTIVE	LIST
VALUE	<i>čàllì</i> ‘good, fine, nice’, <i>ḡèrsì</i> ‘bad’, <i>déléléì<j></i> ‘rich’, <i>ḡzàmḡzàmi</i> ‘mistaken’, <i>táḡíl</i> ‘(be) wrong’, <i>ḡéréḡ</i> ‘terrible’, <i>ḡólí ífá</i> ‘amazing’, <i>fòì</i> ‘delicious’, <i>lilibi</i> ‘sweet’, <i>fěéfěé</i> ‘real, true, genuine’, <i>fěéhái</i> ‘perfect’, <i>lòḡòfěé</i> ‘true’, <i>kédánító</i> ‘interesting, attractive’

C. AGE — only the following four adjectives referring to age have been attested in Mursi: *čàḡì* ‘new’⁸⁰, *ḡàḡàsi* ‘old’, *kíḡíḡnì* ‘ancient, antique’, and *tèrì* ‘young’.

D. COLOUR —The Mursi utilize a most complex colour and colour pattern systems. This is due to the complicated use of coat-colour of cattle for personal naming as well as for names of cattle herds (see Chapter 1 §1.8). Colour adjectives in Mursi occur in two different cognitive semantic categories: colours and patterns which can be used alone or in combinations of colours and patterns. As is shown in Table 3 below, those listed under colour category are basic colour terms in Mursi. The rest are patterns which denote non-basic colour terms. There are also two other colour categories that exist either in concrete terms or hetero-compound forms. The concrete terms are similes of animals, trees, objects, etc., thus they are hetero-compounds composed of colour terms and objects. The following examples illustrate how colours and patterns or colours and

⁸⁰ /addisi/ is a derived adjective from Amharic — *addis* ‘new, name a city’

‘the shade is cool’. Besides, some adjectives referring to abnormal properties of humans such as *bòčá* ‘thin’ and *dárá* ‘shortsighted’ do not take the adjectivizer suffix.

Table 8.7 Physical property

ADJECTIVE	MEANING	REMARK
<i>bòčá</i>	‘thin’	for appearance of humans and objects
<i>bùrèni</i>	‘hot’	also ‘warm’
<i>lálíni</i>	‘cold’	also ‘cool’
<i>ídìbèni</i>	‘fat’	
<i>kúmúli</i>	‘fat’	See dimension ‘round, roundish’
<i>dárá</i>	‘shortsighted’	abnormality
<i>dṣrṣí</i>	‘dry, strong’	place, cloth (of objects in general)
<i>lótógí</i>	‘wet’	<i>lótóktín</i> ‘liquid’
<i>čárgi</i>	‘wet’	cannot be stativized like <i>lótógí</i>
<i>bájsí</i>	‘partly dried out’	also ‘clever person’
<i>kómáì</i>	‘strong’	physical strength of human
<i>dúrdúri</i>	‘thick’	(of porridge, <i>gèsò</i> ‘traditional beer’)
<i>gódíri</i>	‘thick’	<i>gìrgíri</i> ‘slippery’
<i>gìlgìli</i>	‘soft, smooth’	Its verbal use requires <i>mèsí</i> ‘make’
<i>zírwaì</i>	‘rubbish’	generic term for something useless
<i>húgínèi <j></i>	‘clean’	
<i>kààrèčàgì</i>	‘blind’	(<i>kààridíkté</i>)
<i>fàbàli</i>	‘flat’	
<i>rṅṅḍí</i>	‘bent, curved’	can also refers to human character
<i>túrgúli</i>	‘bent, deformed’	of wood/tree
<i>ríi</i>	‘shady’	derived from noun <i>ríi</i> ‘shade’
<i>bèná</i>	‘rocky’	<i>bè</i> ‘stone’+ <i>-na</i> (pl.)
<i>rèsàlìzàli</i>	‘thin’	a compound word (not clear)
<i>rèrèhí</i>	‘thin’	of human/animal body
<i>fēmèli</i>	‘very thin’	maybe Amharic <i>fīmāl</i> ‘stick’
<i>ánákónái</i>	‘lame’	word class origin is not known
<i>mùrmùri</i>	‘straight’	has an adverbial form <i>dìb</i> ‘straight’
<i>káwàì</i>	‘ugly’	
<i>lèfi</i>	‘sharp’	tip of an object
<i>mùdžùsì</i>	‘rotten’	stink, smell (bad)
<i>bèlèi <?></i>	‘bald’	early morning before sunrise (dawn)
<i>bìtikápi</i>	‘(be) sour’	<i>libiso</i> ‘become sour (of milk)’
<i>mèčèkèri</i>	‘bitter’	appears to be a compound word
<i>ṅàhì</i>	‘female’	<hira ṅaha> ‘woman’
<i>màì [màgì]</i>	‘male’	<hira maga> ‘man’

F. CORPOREAL PROPERTIES — *íláágái* ‘be sick’, *màdḍsì* ‘be tired, soft (of human condition)’, and *rèsì <j>* ‘dead’.

G. HUMAN PROPENSITY — Adjectives referring to physical properties are not only related to denoting a particular attribute of an object but also of having sensory meanings. For example, the adjective *bárárí* ‘powerful’ would refer to taste of a hot food or spicy coffee; even a milk, after early stages of the souring process is called *lálíní* ‘cool; cold’ then after it transforms into a stage that causes a burning sensation in the mouth it becomes *bárárí*. Dew is *bárárí* because if there is no rain or it is *dǒrósí* ‘dry’. *bá dǒrósí* ‘dry place, drought’ is *bárárí* whereas *ri* ‘shade’ is *lálíní*. There are also plants that are considered *bárárí* because they can heal or kill humans when they are worn as amulets (cf. Turton 1973).

Table 8.8 Human propensity

ADJECTIVE	LIST
HUMAN PROPENSITY	<i>ádēsèn rẹ̀ dùjì</i> ‘stubborn’, <i>áńáné</i> ‘weak, frightened’, <i>bábí</i> ‘foolish’, <i>dáálnéì</i> ‘foolish’, <i>bárárí</i> ‘powerful, strong taste’, <i>bàsí</i> ‘kind’, <i>kòmàì</i> ‘kind’, <i>bírá</i> ‘(be) impotent’, <i>bú(í)tógí</i> ‘lying’, <i>bóńbóńí</i> ‘blistering’, <i>čùmùnì</i> ‘happy, joyful’, <i>dárí</i> ‘sneaky’, <i>dòńà</i> ‘honest’, <i>éńẹ́sínógí</i> ‘cowardly’, <i>gáí</i> ‘intelligent’, <i>gẹ̀rẹ̀sín</i> ‘sinful’, <i>gẹ̀rẹ̀sì/fóláì</i> ‘troubled’, <i>gòńàì</i> ‘mean’, <i>gùrgùrì</i> ‘clever, wise’, <i>írán</i> ‘proud’, <i>kárkárí</i> ‘rough’, <i>léságí</i> ‘greedy, stingy’, <i>lèsìnè</i> ‘jealous’, <i>lìjá</i> , ‘shy’, <i>lójá</i> ‘lazy, cowardly’, <i>lùmùróì</i> ‘cheating’, <i>múní</i> ‘sad’, <i>múnúní</i> ‘cruel’, <i>ńòlì</i> ‘lame’, <i>ódě́nẹ́í</i> <j> ‘brave’, <i>tòlgòńì</i> ‘lazy’

H. DIFFICULTY — this set is composed of few members — just five: *baseni* ‘easy, cheap’, *dáldáìlì* ‘difficult, hard, expensive’, *díńdńí* ‘heavy’, *hólhól* ‘light’, and *tání* ‘difficult’.

SPEED — this set is the smallest of all adjectival types — *díńilín* ‘slow’ and *tírì* ‘fast’.

Not only has it just two members but the functions of its members are also covered by adverbs.

SIMILARITY — *bííbíí* ‘different, separate’, *gèná* ‘other’, and *hétó* ‘similar, the same’.

bííbíí is a seemingly underived adjective but whose real word class source is unknown.

It doesn’t take any morphological inflection but it does function as NP modifier and

does occur as a copula complement. Tentatively, the status of *bííbíí* lies somewhere between underived and derived adjectives.

I. QUANTIFICATION — some members of the quantification set may function adverbially. *dǔnénín* is a derived adjective from the numeral *dǔnéj* ‘one’; can also be used as an adverb ‘alone’.

Table 8.9 Quantification

ADJECTIVE	LIST
QUANTIFICATION	<i>dǔní(o)/dǔ</i> ‘full (filled to capacity of a something)’, <i>dákákán</i> ‘all (whole)’, <i>bòì</i> ‘all’, <i>dààì</i> ‘all (whole)’, <i>tój</i> ‘full’, <i>hólólój</i> ‘empty, free’, <i>dǔnénín</i> ‘only’, <i>múčúgí</i> ‘few, half’, and <i>mèrì</i> ‘many, abundant’

J. POSITION — position adjectives are also directional markers — *dǔá* ‘near’, *úúrei* ‘(at the) end’, *rèni* ‘far’, *sìtèn* ‘right’, and *kèhìtèn* ‘left’.

K. CARDINAL NUMBERS — *sábò* ‘first’ and *wùréó* ‘second’ can function as cardinal numerals. Both can function adverbially. *sábò* is a derived adjective from the grammaticalized body part noun *saba* ‘head’ whereas *wùréó* is a time adverb ‘after, next’. In addition to these two, the numerals *ràmàn* ‘two’ and *sízzì* ‘three’ can function as cardinal numerals; when an adverbializer suffix *-o* is added to *ràmàn* <*ràmàn-o*> ‘second’, and when the ordinal number marker suffix *-ne* is added to *sízzì* <*sízzì-ne*> ‘third’.

8.6 Summary

Like nouns and verbs, adjectives constitute an open word class. Two underived and about one hundred fifty derived adjectives have been attested in Mursi. The source for the majority of derived adjectives are stative verbs. Some derived adjectives may belong to more than one word class. Adjectives differ from nouns and adjectives in a number of ways (an illustrative summary is given below in Table 8.10).

Table 8.10 A comparative summary of adjectives vs verbs/nouns

MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL PROPERTIES	ADJECTIVES	VERBS	NOUNS
Disyllabic monomorphemic roots (V ₁ =V ₂)	YES	SOME	SOME
Disyllabic monomorphemic roots (C ₁ V ₁ C ₁ = C ₂ V ₂ C ₂)	YES	SOME	SOME
inflect for number	YES (just one)	NO	YES (many patterns)
inflect for S,O arguments	SOME	YES	NO
inflect for case	YES	NO	YES
inflect for aspect	SOME ⁸³	YES	NO
Take <i>-èsèn</i> as comparative marker	YES	NO ⁸⁴	NO
take a definite marker	YES	YES	YES
take stativising marker <i>-tin</i>	YES	NO	YES
can form compounds	YES	SOME	SOME

Mursi adjectives can function as modifiers of head nouns in NPs and as heads of an intransitive predicate, can occupy copula complement slots, can serve as markers of parameter of comparison in comparative constructions, and can form adverbs. Below is a summary of the syntactic function of both underived and derived adjectives.

Table 8.11 A comparative syntactic summary of adjectives vs stative verbs/nouns

SYNTACTIC PROPERTIES	ADJECTIVES	VERBS	NOUNS
modifier to noun	YES	NO	YES
head of intransitive predicate	YES	YES	NO
copula complement	YES	NO	RESTRICTED GRAMMATICAL CONTEXTS
modifier to verb	SOME	NO	NO

Below is a summary of the syntactic function of both underived and derived adjectives.

⁸³ Aspect on adjectives is within the bound pronominal suffixes in S function.

⁸⁴ On adjectives, the suffix *-èsèn* may function as comparative marker suffix, and it is a polyfunctional extension marker covering various functions such as benefactive, dative, transitiviser and so on.

Table 8.12 A summary of the syntactic functions of adjectives

SYNTACTIC FUNCTION	UNDERIVED ADJECTIVES	DERIVED ADJECTIVES
Modifier within an NP	YES	YES
Modify NPs	YES	FEW
Head of NPs	NO	YES
Intransitive predicate	YES (only <i>tíni</i> 'small')	YES
Copula complement	YES	YES
Parameter of comparison	YES	YES
Form adverbs	NO	YES
Can modify as intensifier	YES (only <i>búi</i> 'big')	NO
Can be modified by intensifiers (general intensifiers <i>háŋ</i> and <i>wáŋ</i>)	YES	YES
Can be modified by specific intensifiers	YES <i>gòdè</i> (<i>gèdè</i>) 'very small' <i>gòrí</i> 'powerfully'	NO
Agree in number with head nouns by reduplication	YES	NO
Agree in number with head nouns by plural number inflection	NO	FEW??
Can be negated	NO	YES

Chapter 9 Valency changing operations

9.1 Introduction

Valency constitutes the basis for how verbs are divided into distinct semantic and grammatical classes on the basis of the number of arguments (valents) they take. The term valency, according to Crystal (2008: 503), refers to the number and type of bonds which syntactic elements may form with each other, determined by the valency attributed to the verb. Valency relates to the number of core arguments (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2000: 3). Valency of verbs can be adjusted by valency changing operations (derivations) that certainly affect predicate arguments.

Four valency decreasing and four valency increasing derivations have been found in Mursi. The valency decreasing derivations are passive (§9.2.1), antipassive (§9.2.2), reciprocal (§9.2.3), and reflexive (§9.2.4). Benefactive-applicative (§9.3.1), applicative/comitative (§9.3.2), causative (§9.3.3), and directional/motion (§9.3.4) increase the number of core arguments. Each valency changing derivations may employ more than one strategy/possibility. For example, the reciprocal derivation has four different possibilities while reflexive derivation has at least two possibilities.

In the subsequent sections we will see how the three main components (morphological, syntactic and semantic) interact with each other in the language. Except for the reflexive, all other derivations are expressed by attaching valency changing morphological devices to verbs. In Mursi, despite the fact that it is a language which predominantly utilizes suffixes in most of its valency derivation operations, prefixes are also used in passive and causative derivations. Table 9.1 below illustrates the derivational markers being used by each type of valency changing operations.

Table 9.1 Valency-changing derivational affixes in Mursi

DERIVATION TYPE	PREFIX	SUFFIX	PERSON/NUMBER/ASPECT
PASSIVE	<i>k(V)-</i>	<i>-V</i>	bound pronominal O argument marking suffixes for 3 rd person)
ANTIPASSIVE	none	<i>-nèn</i> <i>-nè</i>	1 st and 2 nd persons 1 st plural inclusive and 3 rd person
RECIPROCAL	none	<i>-nèn</i> <i>-nè</i>	1 st and 2 nd persons 1 st plural inclusive and 3 rd person
BENEFACTIVE-APPLICATIVE	none	<i>-èsèn</i> <i>-èsè</i>	for all persons 3 rd person, positive imperative, hortative, and jussive
APPLICATIVE/COMITATIVE	none	<i>-ε</i> <i>-čo</i> <i>-čV</i>	for all persons for 1 st person plural exclusive, 2 nd person plural { <i>-ča, -či</i> } rare and/or unpredictable
CAUSATIVE	<i>í-</i>	\emptyset <i>-ísí</i>	on verb with a root ending in a plosive on all other verb roots
DIRECTIONAL/MOTION	none	<i>-áná</i> [-án]/ <i>-ónó</i> [-ón]	motion towards (ventive), imperfective
		<i>-a/-o</i>	
	none	<i>-sèn</i>	motion away from (itive), imperfective
		<i>-ε/-sè</i>	motion away from (itive), perfective

9.2 Valency decreasing derivations

In the subsequent subsections, the four valency decreasing derivations are discussed in detail.

9.2.1 Passive

The passive derivation in Mursi is of two types: the prototypical passive and the agentless passive. The core argument reassignment for both types remains the same but there is a difference in the assignment of the underlying A argument (the peripheral argument). Thus a prototypical passive derivation shows the following major syntactic properties:

- i. Passive applies to an underlying transitive clause to derive an intransitive clause.
- ii. The underlying O becomes S argument.
- iii. The original A argument becomes a peripheral argument, being marked by the multi-functional grammaticalized nominal *bá* ‘place’ > ‘in place of’ > ‘instead’ ‘because (of)’ > ‘therefore’ (rarely) > ‘by’; or by a preposition/comitative marker *ké* ‘with’.
- iv. There is an explicit formal marking of the passive construction in Mursi, as it shown in Table 9.1, which has both a prefix *k(V)*- (as a general passivizer prefix) and the suffix *-V* —following consonant-initial verb roots; identical with the vowel of the verb root due to vowel copying and following non-consonant-initial verb roots.

The criteria/properties listed above satisfy nearly all criteria for a prototypical passive construction in Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000: 7). In addition to these criteria, in a passive clause construction, the verb must occur in perfective aspect, and must always have a low tone. Let us see how they interact and work in a clause:

- (9.1) a. [òlélù]_A àk<g>-ú [tílá]_O
 Olelu cook.PERV-3sg.SU.PERV food
 ‘Olelu cooked food.’
- b. [tílá]_S kà-àg-á [bá-á olelu-j]_{PERIPHERAL}
 food PASS-cook.PERV-3.SU.PASS place-RSTR Olelu-GEN
 ‘The food was cooked by Olelu.’
- (9.2) a. [múďáí]_A áŋít-ú [ròsò]_O
 rat bite-3sg.SU.PERV dog
 ‘The rat bit the dog.’
- b. [ròsò]_S k-àŋìd-í [ké múďáí]_{PERIPHERAL}
 dog PASS-bite.PERV-3.SU.PASS PREP rat
 ‘The dog was bitten by the rat.’

In both (9.1a) and (9.2a), the O arguments in the active clauses (*tílá* and *ròsò*) are S arguments in the passive clauses (as in (9.1b and 9.2b)). The original A arguments

become optional arguments thus they are pushed into a peripheral function — either by the grammaticalized nominal *ba* (as in (9.1b)) or by preposition/comitative particle *ke* (as in (9.2b)). When the grammaticalized nominal *ba* functions as preposition, it acts as head of an NP thus the original A argument following it, will be marked with genitive case, the same as regular head modifiers within an NP.

If the active clause contains A, O and peripheral arguments, the A argument may not be important at all. Therefore, in the passive version of such active clause will only contain the derived S (the original O) and the peripheral arguments, as in (9.3). The examples illustrated below were obtained by elicitation, and some questions were taken from Mütze (2014)

- (9.3) a. [nòŋ]_A ŋé-Ø [kiò]_O [bè-ò]PERIPHERAL
 3sg cut-3sg.SU.IMPERV tree.SG axe-OBL
 ‘He cut the tree with an axe.’
- b. [kiò]_S kè-tèŋéɖ-è [bè-ò]PERIPHERAL
 tree.SG pass-cut.PERV-3.SU.PASS axe-OBL
 ‘The tree was cut with an axe.’

In the passive clause shown in (9.3b), the agent (the original A) is downgraded but one knows that there was an agent involved to carry out the activity with the instrument shown by the peripheral argument. The peripheral argument in (9.2b) differs from (9.3b) in that the preposition/comitative particle *ke* in the former directly functions as agent (original A). On the other hand, the peripheral argument in (9.3b) only refers to the instrument used by the agent. When the peripheral argument is being made optional, verb-final suffix may be attached to the verb in passive form (9.3c).

- c. [kiò]_S kè-tèŋéɖ-é-è
 tree.SG PASS-cut.PERV-3.SU.PASS-VFS
 ‘The tree was cut.’

Note that the verb *ŋɛ<t>* ‘cut’ indicates perfective aspect by adding a prefix *t(V)-* to its root.

On the other hand, agentless passive, which is the second type of passive clause construction in the language, is identical to the prototypical passive type in many respects, except: (i) the original A argument is not stated in any way, (ii) the form utilizes bound object pronominal suffixes marking the new S argument, and (iii) the form takes verb-final suffix. Even though both the A and the O arguments are cross-referenced on the verb in active transitive clauses, only O arguments will be cross-referenced on the verb (derived S arguments). Among Surmic languages, Tirmaga (Bryan, 1999: 94), and Tenet (Randall 1998: 244), also have agentless passive constructions. Syntactically, it is clear that it is impossible to express the original A argument in this construction either overtly or covertly.

- (9.4) a. kù-tùs-áŋ-ò
 PASS-spit/bless.PERV-1SG.OBJ-VFS
 ‘I am blessed.’
- b. kù-tùs-i-ò
 PASS-spit/bless.PERV-1PL.OBJ-VFS
 ‘We are blessed.’
- c. kù-tùs-úŋ-ò
 PASS-spit/bless.PERV-2pl.OBJ-VFS
 ‘You (pl.) are blessed.’

As can be shown in (9.4a-c), the bound pronominal suffixes marking O arguments in active clauses are the same as those in passive clause constructions. The third person has zero suffix realization for bound pronominal marking of the O argument, instead it takes the suffix -V as O argument marker in agentless passive constructions.

- (9.5) a. kù-tùh-ó-è
 PASS-spit/bless.PERV-3.SU.PASS-VFS
 ‘He was blessed.’
- b. kù-tùs-á
 PASS-split/bless.PERV-3.SU.PASS
 ‘They got blessed.’

We can see from the examples illustrated in (9.4) and (9.5) that the first and second persons utilize the verb-final suffix -ò whereas the third person utilizes a different verb-

final suffix *-ε*. Rarely, the third person plural form of the agentless passive construction may not take a verb-final suffix at all (as in (9.5b)).

The agentless passive construction in Mursi and Chai (Southeast Surmic group language) is the same. Therefore, it is appropriate to cite here one major claim made by two linguists who studied the Chai language. The following quote is about the agentless passive construction type in Chai:

‘The logical object, which becomes the grammatical subject in passive constructions in other languages, remains the grammatical object in Chai, as the object agreement suffixes are similar to the object suffixes used in active forms. The verb agrees with the agent in number and person. The agent normally is not explicitly specified elsewhere in the sentence’ (Last and Lucassen 1998: 387).

In Mursi, what the verb-final suffixes could indirectly denote is that syntactic elements are not allowed to follow the agentless passive forms once the verb-final suffixes is attached to the verb. Even adverbs, which are not part of core or peripheral arguments, can follow the agentless passive verb form before the verb-final suffix is applied. See the example given below.

(9.6) [tílá]s kà-bàg-á ʃàù
 food PASS-eat.PERV-3.SU.PASS fast
 ‘The food is eaten fast.’

9.2.2 Patient-like antipassives

Antipassive is another valency-decreasing derivation in which a transitive clause is de-transitivized to an intransitive one by an antipassive derivation operation. Antipassive applies to an underlying transitive clause and forms a derived intransitive (Dixon and Aikhenvald, 2000:10). In particular in Mursi, a valency decreasing antipassive derivation is normally used to downplay the core argument of a transitive verb by omitting the underlying O argument. In this case, Mursi's antipassive construction

adheres to the prototypical patient-like antipassive criteria set by Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000: 9). The criteria are:

- i. Antipassive applies to an underlying transitive clause and forms a derived intransitive.
- ii. The underlying A becomes S of the antipassive.
- iii. The underlying O argument is omitted.
- iv. Antipassive construction is formally marked by two antipassive suffixes (see Table 9.2 below).

Table 9.2 Antipassive suffixes

PERSON	SUFFIX IMPERFECTIVE	SUFFIX PERFECTIVE
1 st and 2 nd persons	-nèn ⁸⁵	-ε
1 st pl.INC and 3 rd person	-nè	-ε

It is not possible to place the O argument into a peripheral argument function, —therefore it must be omitted, as in (9.7a-b).

- (9.7) a. [iggè]_A màt-ó [gèsò]_O
 2pl drink-2pl.SU.IMPERV beer
 ‘You (PL) are drinking beer.’
- b. [iggè]_S màt-ínèn-ó-ó
 2pl drink-1/2.AP-2pl.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘You (PL) are drinking.’

The Mursi antipassive derivation type displays a patientless antipassive; in most cases the O can be implied but in no way can it occur after the derived intransitive verb. Following the absence of the O argument that can be placed after the derived intransitive verbs, antipassive clause constructions usually take the verb-final suffix -ɔ.

- (9.8) a. [ànè]_A kóóh-í [gùj]_O
 1sg 1SU.clear.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV field
 ‘I clear a garden.’

⁸⁵ The epenthetic /i/ is inserted between consonant-final verb roots and antipassive/reciprocal suffixes.

- b. [àɲè]s kóóh-ínèn-ó
 1sg 1SU.clear.IMPERV-1/2.AP.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘I am clearing/weeding.’
- c. [ròsò]s áɲíd-íné-ò
 dog.SG bite-3.AP.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘The dog is biting.’ (Lit. ‘The dog will bite.’)

As far the aspectual status of the verb in the antipassive clause construction is concerned, at this stage, I would say imperfective is a default aspect of the verb being used by the antipassive clauses. In order to receive a verb-final suffix, the verb usually has to be an intransitive and an imperfective verb. In light of this, the antipassive verb form satisfies both requirements. The passive verb forms are being marked with the verb-final marker because they all have an intransitive value. Referring to the antipassive derivation, in particular the suffix *-nèn*, Mütze (2014) wrote, ‘it is impossible for intransitive verbs to occur with the *-nèn* suffix, unless for the function of joint action’. When she say ‘joint action’, she is referring to a reciprocal construction, which we see in the next section.

Semantically, the antipassive construction differs from the passive construction in that the former ‘focuses on the activity itself (that is, on the agents performing the activity)’ (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2000: 9).

9.2.3 Reciprocals

In Mursi, reciprocal actions are expressed by the same suffixes being used to derive antipassive constructions. The same antipassive suffixes are used to indicate reciprocal or joint actions. Hence the suffixes in Table 9.2 are being employed as verbal derivational suffixes to derive intransitive forms with reciprocal meaning. The S of this derived verb then indicates the set of participants involved in the reciprocal construction, in the case of Mursi, a plural form which shows plural S participants (cf. Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000: 11). Therefore, the most important point here that we

should take into account is that plural S suffixes are obligatory parts in the reciprocal construction—since reciprocity involves more than one participant.

(9.9) [àggè]_s kǐ-ǰǰg-ínèn-Ø-ó
 1pl 1SU-hear.IMPERV-RECIP-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘We (exc.) hear each other.’

(9.10) [tàmàri-nà]_s èkèkèp-à-nè-ó
 students-PL quarrel-EPEN-RECIP-VFS
 ‘The students are arguing with each other.’

Number agreement between the subject of the reciprocal clause and the intransitive predicate is obligatory, as in (9.9) and (9.10). As we can see in the examples shown above, number of subject is shown by a separate subject pronominal suffix — zero morpheme for first person plural exclusive subject (9.9), and a coalesced third person plural S marker -*ε* (9.10).

Transitive verbs are detransitivized, thus no O argument follows the reciprocal form. The newly derived intransitive verb always occurs in plural form and can convey reciprocal or joint action using the suffixes, as in (9.11) and (9.12).

(9.11) [lùkùr-á g=àpù]_{NP:S} dǎg-inè-ó
 friend.PL-RSTR PL.PSD=1SG.PSR beat.IMPERV-RECIP.3-VFS
 ‘My friends are beating each other.’

(9.12) [nòŋ]_s zámí-nèn-ò
 3sg swim.IMPERV-RECIP-VFS
 ‘He swims together (with someone).’

However, when the intransitive subject is singular, the preposition *kó* is used to indicate the other participant involved in the reciprocal construction. Some examples are presented as follows.

(9.13) [ànè]_s kǐ-čǐb-ínèn [kó lúsà]
 1sg 1SU-tie.IMPERV-1/2.RECIP with boy.PL
 ‘I am tying (it) together with the boys.’

(9.14) [bàrtùj kó ɲàtùj] gá-nè-ó
 Bartuy and Ngatuy know.IMPERV-RECIP-VFS
 ‘Bartuy and Ngatuy know each other.’

kó in (9.13) is a preposition whereas it is a conjunction in (9.14), in both cases its primary function is to conjoin singular participants.

What we have seen in the aforementioned examples is one out of the four reciprocal construction strategies in the language. There are three additional strategies for expressing reciprocity:

- i. A body part noun *kèḡḡ* ‘stomach/belly’ in a grammaticalized function ‘each other, among’.
- ii. The sociative marker *kàri* ‘together’ –it also expresses joint actions or Collectivity.
- iii. Reduplication.

As was attempted to demonstrate in the examples above, the verb derivation technique is a productive way to express reciprocal meanings in Mursi. One more common strategy in many languages but that Mursi lacks, is a reciprocal construction containing an inherently reciprocal verb.

The grammaticalized body part noun *kèḡḡ* ‘stomach/belly’ > ‘each other, among’ functions as a reciprocal marker grammatical word. Both transitive and intransitive verbs can occur with the reciprocal marker *kèḡḡ* within one reciprocal construction. In Chai, a closest relative to Mursi within the Southeast Surmic language group, *kèḡḡ* means ‘occurrences, times’. In a clause, *kèḡḡ* usually takes a clause final slot (occurs at the end of a clause).

(9.15) [éró]s tìràḡ-á *kèḡḡ*
 children play-3pl.SU.PERV RECIP
 ‘The children play with each other.’

(9.16) [jòḡ]s séd-á *kèḡḡ* ké
 3pl say.PERV:PL-3pl.SU.PERV RECIP QUOT
 ‘They said to each other.’

(9.17) [òlítùlà kó òlìkìwò]s dǎḡt-é *kèḡḡ*
 Òlítùlà PNC Òlìkìbo hit.PERV.PL-RECIP RECIP
 ‘Olitula and Olikibo hit each other.’

(9.18) zùwò dǎgt-é kèḡḡ
 people hit.PERV.PL-RECIP RECIP
 ‘The men hit each other.’

(9.19) [bàrtùj kó ḡàrùḡḡ]s čóbós-ó kèḡḡ
 Bartuy PNC Ngarugo kiss-3pl.IRR RECIP
 ‘Bartuy and Ngarugo kissed each other.’

In (9.17) and (9.18), the co-occurrence of the verbal derivation suffixes together with the reciprocal marker *kèḡḡ* requires further investigation, but at this stage, seems to be related to transitivity of the verb, i.e. specifically a transitive verb. The rest of the reciprocal constructions (9.15, 9.16 and 9.19) have verbs that are not marked for the reciprocal derivation marker suffix. An additional transitive verb example is presented below.

(9.20) [éró ràrà]s čúgt-è kèḡḡ ḡòr-ó
 children two chase.PERV.PL-RECIP RECIP road-OBL
 [ín-á tíín-ó dʒim-Ø sábo]
 3sg.PN.SP-RSTR small-RSTR.MOD lead-3sg.SU.IMPERV in.front
 ‘The two kids chased each other down the street, the younger one in front all the way.’

In (9.20), the structure in a closed bracket literally mean, ‘the small one leads in/from front’.

The sociative marker *kàri* ‘together’ can denote reciprocity in its own. It also expresses joint actions or participants being in a ‘collectivity’. Similar to a reciprocal construction that involves a transitive verb and the reciprocal marker *kèḡḡ*, it occurs together with a transitive verb marked for a reciprocal derivational suffix. See the examples illustrated below.

(9.21) [ḡàtùj kó bàrtùj]s óg-ìnè kàri
 Ngatuy and Bartuy cook.IMPERV-RECIP.3.IMPERV together
 ‘Ngatuy and Bartuy cook together for each other.’

(9.21) [kùčùbà-nèn kó habarawia]s tùj-í íw-íné
 amhara-NOMZ and Hebrew mouth-PL attach-RECIP.3.IMPERV
kàri kàri
 together together
 ‘The Amaharic and Hebrew languages are related to each other.’

- (9.22) hír-á [Ø wà nàj-nèn-á]_{RC} kó
 man-RSTR [Ø REC.PAST harverst-NOMZ-RSTR] PNC
 hír-á [Ø bè dúg-ìnèn-á]_{RC}
 man-RSTR [Ø DIST.PAST plant-NOMZ-RSTR]
 òmùn-è *kàri*
 be.happy.STV-RECIP.3.PERV together
 ‘He that sows and he that reapeth may rejoice together.’
 ‘The person who plants and the person who harvests can rejoice together.’

The apposed participants (subjects) within the reciprocal construction represented by relative clause modified NPs do not bring a change in the meaning

The last strategy that could properly deliver a reciprocal meaning is reduplication. Intransitive verbs may require a reduplicated adverb or number word. Thus, a reduplicated adverb may show whether the action is performed simultaneously but not sequentially (as in (9.23-9.24)). In contrast, a reduplicated number word *dǔnéj* ‘one’ > *dǔnédǔné* is an etymon for ‘one another’ (Lit. ‘one-one’), and has an additional meaning to the reciprocity of the action, i.e. the action is performed sequentially (for example, the sequentiality of the act of talking in (9.25)).

- (9.23) [éró]_s él *dǔáǔá* ɓò
 children exist.IMPERV.PL near:REDUP outside+OBL
 ‘The children sit next to each other on a bench.’

- (9.24) [éró]_s él ròná *dǔáǔá* [ɓá-á
 children exist.IMPERV.PL side near:REDUP place-RSTR
 lúg-ìnèn-à]
 hole.in.the.ground-NOMZ-RSTR
 ‘The children sit next to each other in a circle.’

- (9.25) [àstàmàri-nà]_s áli-é kèŋò *dǔnédǔné*
 teacher-PL talk-3pl.SU.IMPERV RECIP one:REDUP
 ‘The teachers are speaking one after the other.’

In fact, in (9.25) the grammaticalized reciprocal maker *kèŋò* appears to provide the real reciprocal meaning, but its real function is to provide a distributive meaning (see §6.11.4). Only one intransitive verb that I know of can be combined with reduplicated adverbial form — *tél-i dǔáǔá* <exist.PERV.PL-3pl.IRR near-near> ‘approach each other’ > *ké-tél-i dǔáǔá* <3.JUSS-exist.PERV.PL-3pl.IRR near-near> ‘cause to approach

each other’. A transitive counterpart *itínán-ú* <CAUSE.meet-3sg.SU.PERV ‘cause to approach each other’ has a lexicalized form merged with the unproductive causative prefix *i*-forming.

9.2.4 Reflexive

Semantically, as suggested by Dixon (2012: 146), a prototypical reflexive construction shows reflexive situations happen when two arguments of a single verb have identical reference. Syntactically, in Mursi, a reflexive construction has two reflective elements in O slot — (i) a reflexive pronoun (it is normally an NP containing the grammaticalized body part nouns *sábá* ‘head’ and ‘body’ *rè* as its head nouns) and possessive pronouns as modifiers, and (ii) an autoreflexive-like particle *bii* ‘self, own, alone’ (an invariant form for all persons and number of the A=O arguments). With regard to cross-linguistic reflexive and reciprocal constructions, Dixon (2012: 151-6) suggested eight generalizations. Accordingly, Mursi complies with GENERALIZATION D, where reflexive and reciprocal pronouns may both be invariant or informative. However, as he suggests, ‘if only one is informative, then this is reflexive’. This is the first truth. There is the second truth that perfectly reflects Mursi reflexive construction in general, ‘there are languages with informative reflexive pronouns and an invariant reciprocal pronoun (not the reverse)’ (p.154).

In Mursi, a reflexive meaning is conveyed in two ways:

- i. [*sábá* ‘head’/*rè* ‘body’+ POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS]REFLEXIVE.PRO:NP/O — ‘informative’
- ii. [*bii*] AUTOREFLEXIVE:NP/O — ‘invariant’

9.2.4.1 *sábá* ‘head’/*rè* ‘body’+ Possessive pronouns

A prototypical reflexive construction in Mursi can be formed from an A argument (also known as ‘controller’/‘antecedent’), a transitive verb, and from an O argument (the two

anaphoric reference in (9.30) is a simple possessive O NP. There is one possibility where the pertensive form of *rè* > *rèè* <body.PERT.SG.3.PSR> functions as O without the possessive pronoun. Outside some close kinship nouns, this is the only noun that can be possessed inalienably. But *rèè* can be placed in O argument slot if it has a 3rd person singular controller — with a meaning ‘his body’ (possessive NP) > ‘himself’ (reflexive), as in (9.31).

(9.31) *ók-ú* *nà* *íláák-ú* [*rèè*]_{NP/O}
 go-3sg.SU.PERV CCN hang-3sg.SU.PERV body+PERT.SG.3.PSR
 ‘S/he went and hanged herself/himself.’ (Lit. ‘his body’)

An extended transitive (ditransitive) verb (as in (9.30)) can be re-adjusted and made a transitive verb. This can easily be achieved by attaching the coreference of the E argument to the ditransitive verb root. Thus the benefactive marker suffix *-εεε* indicates the coreference of the E (*ηàbà(à)* ~ ‘this world’), not of the A. The coreference of the A argument (2nd person singular suffix) will be omitted. In this particular case, as also noted by Dixon (2012: 160), the O argument for the English verb ‘give’, is either ‘gift’ or ‘recipient’. So, in the English reflexive construction, the preferred structure is to treat the ‘Gift’ as O. As it is illustrated in (9.29) above, *rèá nùnù* is the O argument. However, the reflexive construction in (9.29) is an exception. There are certain syntactic constraints which could be regarded as exceptions of a Mursi reflexive construction, for example, attaching the benefactive marker suffix in (9.29) to the transitive verb of (9.27) is not allowed. If the benefactive marker suffix *-εεε* is attached to the verb root *mès*, the meaning would become that of a benefactive applicative or dative referring to ‘recipient’/‘gift’, as in (9.32).

(9.32) [*ɨnà*]_A *mès-ésèn* [*sábá-á* *n=ùnù*]_{NP/O}
 2sg do-1/2.BEN.IMPERV head-RSTR SG.PSD=2SG.PSR
 ‘You (sg.) do it for/to yourself.’

changes into emphatic reflexive meaning is due to different factors such as: a valency increasing derivation (benefactive marker *-èsè* in the first clause of 9.33) or when used with intransitive verbs (9.35a-c).

- (9.35) a. [érmì]s ñàméá wòj-Ø [bíí]_{AUTOREFLEXIVE}
 child.SG now move-3sg.su.imperv REFL
 ‘The child now walks by himself.’ (Mütze 2014)
- b. [bàg-ì]s [bíí]_{AUTOREFLEXIVE}
 live-3sg.IRR REFL
 ‘He lived by himself’
- c. [kà-bàg-ì]s [bíí]_{AUTOREFLEXIVE}
 1SU-live-1sg.SU.IMPERV REFL
 ‘I live by myself.’

A multi-functional grammaticalized word *bá* may be inserted between the S and the invariant reflexive form *bíí* (as in (9.35)). In this case, *bíí* will be pushed further to a peripheral slot.

- (9.36) [kà-bàg-ì]s bá [bíí]_{AUTOREFLEXIVE}
 1SU-live-1sg.SU.IMPERV place/by REFL
 ‘I’m living by myself’.

The subject of a reflexive construction could be an NP modified by a relative clause.

The meaning is not altered, i.e. genuine reflexive (9.37).

- (9.37) àggè kòm-á=ná ñà=kóóḍ-èsèn=ó]
 1pl knee-pl=DEF DEM=1SU.stab-1/2.BEN=NEG
 [zùw-á [Ø k-èlè ké ḍḍḥà]_{RC}]s bíí
 people-RSTR [Ø PASS-call.PERV QUOT Dhonga REFL
 ‘We (inc.) don’t bow to the people who call themselves ‘Dhonga’
 (Lit. ‘We don’t stab knees’)

9.3 Valency-increasing derivations

In the subsequent sections, valency increasing derivations are discussed in detail.

9.3.1 Benefactive-applicative

The benefactive-applicative (or one can call it ‘dative-applicative’) increases the valency of either an intransitive or a transitive verb. The benefactive-applicative

intransitive verb may result in the structural meaning of ‘they worshipped on their own, on the mountain’.

(9.41) [k-òg] ná [kóóɗ-èsé]_A kòmà
 1.HORT-go.PERV CCN 1.HORT.stab.PERV-BEN knee.PL
 ‘I may come and worship him.’

(9.42) [rìi-a rès-è-ɲ]_{NP} bón-èsè-Ø
 shade-RSTR die.IMPERV-NOMZ-GEN] get.up-BEN.3-3sg.IRR
 [hól-ín-ɔ]_A
 light-N.S-NOM
 ‘The shadow of death, a light arose upon them.’

Most frequently, independent personal pronouns are optional as subjects and are usually shown by the bound pronominal suffixes attached to the verb. In other words, subjects of the intransitive clauses can be recoverable from the person/subject markers expressed by bound pronominal suffixes on the verb. But when the A argument is an NP, it cannot be an optional constituent. But, when the A argument is an NP instead of a pronoun, it usually be specified fully.

(9.43) dǒólá kó ràmàn áw-ò-ni jàg-t-èsè
 girl.PL CRD:PART two come.PERV-3PL.IRR-RS return-PL-3.BEN
 zùw-á [Ø wágá ké bú
 people-RSTR [Ø ANA:REF QUOT be_big
 kí-bir-èsèn-a ólǒ]_{RC} ké bára-ni
 1SU-collect-1/2.BEN-1pl.INC.SU.PERV stalk.PL] QUOT Bara.PL-RS
 ‘two among the girls will come and go back to those the elders to whom we collect the sorghum stalks called Bara.’ (KW 1:38:5)

In (9.43), we see benefactive markers being applied on both intransitive (*jàg* ‘return’) and transitive (*bír* ‘collect’) verbs. Yet, as discussed below, we shall see how the benefaction derivation applies to transitive verbs.

A benefactive applicative derivation can also raise the number of arguments of a transitive verb by one more argument and can turn it into a ditransitive verb. In a ditransitive benefactive construction, the beneficiary or recipient is one for whom the action is being done. In other words, syntactically, in clauses containing benefactive-

driven ditransitive verb forms, a new O argument is will be introduced in addition to the existing original O argument (Mütze 2014).

- (9.44) a. [àpè]_A k-ér-á [mà]_O
 1sg 1SU-pour-1SG.SBJ.PERV water
 ‘I pour water.’
- b. [àpè]_A k-ér-ésén [hùlè]_{O1} [mà]_{O2}
 1sg 1SU-pour-1/2.BEN flower water
 ‘I am watering the flowers.’
 (lit. I pour water for the (benefit of) flower.)
- (9.45) a. [nòŋ]_A číb-Ø [búŋái]_O
 3sg tie.IMPERV-3SG.SBJ.IMPERV bull.SG
 ‘He ties the bull.’
- b. [nòŋ]_A číb-èsèn-Ø [lúsi]_{O1} [búŋái]_{O2}
 3sg tie.IMPERV-BEN-3sg.SU.IMPERV (boy) bull.SG
 ‘He ties the bull for the boy.’ (~ He ties the bull for someone else.)

As it can be shown in (9.44-9.45), like in a prototypical applicative derivation that applies to an underlying transitive clause (Mursi's version ‘comitative/applicative’), in Mursi the benefactive applicative derivation in a transitive clause seems to apply the same way because the underlying A argument stays as is (cf. Dixon and Aikhenvald 2000: 14). The underlying O argument will be moved out from its primacy slot and be placed in a secondary O (O₂) slot following the new O (O₁) argument. Thus, *hùlè* and *lúsi* can be called the new direct objects while *mà* and *búŋái* become the new indirect objects.

When the benefactive suffix is used in a dative function, the direct object remain as is, as in (9.47 and 9.48).

- (9.46) [nòŋ]_A kóč-á [wàrkáti]_O
 3sg write-3sg.SU.PERV paper
 ‘He wrote a letter.’
- (9.47) [nòŋ]_A kóč-èsèn [wàrkáti]_{DO} [nòŋ]_{IO}
 3sg write-BEN paper 3sg
 ‘He wrote a letter to him.’

- (9.48) [nòŋ]_A géŋ-èsèn [érfá]_{DO} [nòŋ]_{IO}
 3sg repair/create-BEN traditional.bed 3sg
 ‘He made a bed for him.’

Syntactically, in many instances, although it is not possible to increase the valency of the verb without showing the newly added argument, in Mursi, it is possible to increase valency in such a way as long as the benefactive marker suffix is attached to the verb. For example, from the clauses in (9.47-9.48), one can easily understand or imply that there are beneficiaries/recipients (the participants whom the actions are being done for) even if the indirect objects are absent.

9.3.2 Applicative/comitative

Applicative is the second productive valency increasing derivation in Mursi. Intransitive and Transitive Mursi verbs can enter into applicative derivation. Thus, a typical applicative derivation in Mursi applies to an underlying intransitive clause or transitive clause by attaching the applicative marking suffixes shown in Table 9.4 to verbs.

Table 9.4 Applicative/comitative suffixes

APPLICATIVE SUFFIX	PERSON	SEMANTIC ROLE/FUNCTION
-ε	for all persons	comitative, reason
-čo	for 1 st plural exclusive, 2 nd person plural	comitative, reason
-čV ([-ča],[-či])	rarely and unpredictably	comitative, reason

The -čV appears to be a phonologically conditioned morphological shape where the V is the vowel of the consonant-initial verb root.

When an applicative derivation is applied to an underlying intransitive clause, the argument in underlying S function goes into A function; whereas when it is applied to an underlying transitive clause, the argument in A function stays as is (cf. Dixon 2012: 13-14). In underlying intransitive clauses, the peripheral argument which occurs with

the oblique case remains as it is in its peripheral position. The peripheral argument will not be promoted to an AP-O argument, instead a new argument will be introduced as an AP-O argument in O function. In underlying intransitive clauses, peripheral arguments which always occur with oblique cases, remain in their position, and will not be promoted to an AP-O argument, as in (9.49-9.50).

- (9.49) a. [kúún-í]_S [mákkò-jé]_{PERIPHERAL}
 1SU.come.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV Mákkí-OBL
 ‘I came from Mákkí.’
- b. [kúún-é]_A [fíg-á]_O [mákkò-jé]
 1SU.come.IMPERV-APPL:COM hear-NOMZ Mákkí-OBL
 ‘I bring what I heard from Mákkí.’
 (Lit. ‘I come-with the hearing from Maki.’)
- (9.50) a. [àggè]_S kó-hój-ó [gàf-ò]_{PERIPHERAL}
 1pl 1SU-come.IMPERV-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV forest-OBL
 ‘We (EXCL) came from the forest.’
- b. [àggè]_A kó-hój-čò [kiò]_O
 1pl 1SU-come.1pl.IMPERV-APPL:COM.1pl.EXC.SU wood
 [gàf-ò]_{PERIPHERAL}
 forest-OBL
 ‘We (inc.) bring wood from the forest.’
 (Lit. ‘We came-with wood from the forest.’)

In (9.49b) and (9.50b), the nominal *fígá* ‘hearing’ and *kiò* ‘wood’ are the new AP-O ‘applicative arguments’ but they were not stated in the underlying intransitive clauses (9.49a and 9.50a).

In other types of constructions, the sociative marker *kàri* ‘together’ is a marker of accompaniment or joint action, as discussed in (§9.2.3). In (9.51) below, *kàri* expresses the same function, a ‘joint action’. The example below is given for clarification purpose to avoid a possible semantic ambiguity which may arise between the comitative applicative derivation and the sociative marker *kàri*.

- (9.55) [máďání-á n=àj]_{NP} kà-dàg-Ø-čà
 medicine-RSTR SG.PSD=1PL.INC.PSR PASS-hit-PASS.1pl.INC.OBJ-APPL.COM
 ηòďòri
 wound
 á lómáj hékó ηà=máďání=tá
 COP.3.IMPERV Loma.SG similar DEM=medicine=NEAR
 ηàméá áďɟ-á máŋísí-ó
 now give-3SG.SU.IMPERV government-NOM
 ‘Our (inc.) medicine. (When) we (inc.) are struck (with) a wound, it is Lomay;
 similar with the medicine that the Government is giving now.’ (MH 9:03:9)

As we can see in (9.55), the passive derivation decreases the valency of the verb *dàg* ‘hit’ from two to one whereas the applicative-comitative derivation increases from one to two. There is no agent involved in (9.55) because the construction is an agentless passive type in the first place. Thus, *ηòďòri* neither takes an instrumental marker (the verb is already marked with comitative), nor shows the multi-functional grammaticalized agentive marker nominal *há* ‘place’ > ‘by’ (it is an agentless construction). In other words, the valency of the verb remains as is, i.e. transitive.

9.3.3 Causative

Causative is another valency increasing derivation in Mursi. Causative derivation in Mursi as well as in other Surmic group languages is not productive, although it is not absent as Dimmendaal (1983: 302) claims. He claimed that the causative prefix **i/i* is found in Proto-Nilotic and in other Nilo-Saharan languages, but this seems to be absent in the closest relatives of the Nilotic group, i.e. the Surmic group. Contrary to this, Unseth (1997: 41) claimed that this causative prefix is still found in at least three languages (and probably more) Surmic languages namely: Me’en, Murle and Majang.

Here, I would add Mursi as the fourth Surmic group language that has not only a causative prefix but also a causative suffix. Thus, the causative derivation in Mursi can be shown by morphological markers circumfixed directly to the verb, i.e. *í-...isi*. Rarely can it be shown by the prefix *í-* alone.

Table 9.5 Causative suffixes

CAUSATIVE AFFIX(ES)	MORPHOPHONEMIC RULES
<i>í-...-ísí</i>	verb roots carrying <i>a</i> and <i>o</i> as their first vowels
<i>í-</i>	prefixed on any non-vowel-initial verb roots; the suffixed <i>-ísí</i> is absent following stop-final verb roots
<i>V-...-ísí</i>	complete vowel assimilation; following the first vowel of the verb root regardless of vowel-/consonant-initial status of the verb root — but only for verb roots carrying <i>ε</i> and <i>u</i> vowels.

In addition, the causative suffix *-ísí* has three allomorphs: *-ísí* following consonant-final verb roots; *-sí* following vowel-final, fricative/liquid/nasal-final verb roots, and *-s* for some verb classes to be identified.

Syntactic function of the causative application in Mursi is to derive a transitive clause by applying morphological causative derivational markers to an underlying intransitive clause. As Dixon (2012: 240) described it, the argument in underlying S argument goes into O function in the causative. A new argument (also known as the causer) is introduced in A function.

- (9.56) a. [bón-á]s
 leave/exit-3sg.SU.PERV
 ‘S/he/it left.’
- b. [nəŋ]_A í-bón-sí-ú [sátíní
 3sg CAUS-leave-CAUS-3sg.SU.PERV box
 bú-sísí-ó]_{NP:O} [tútúg-á tííní-ó]_{NP}
 big-AUG-RSTR:MOD door-RSTR small-RSTR:MOD
 ‘He eased the big box through the narrow door.’
 (Lit. ‘He caused the big box to leave through the narrow door.’)
- c. [hír-á tímírtí-j]_{NP:A} í-bón-sí-ú
 man-RSTR teacher-GEN CAUS-leave.PERV-CAUS-3sg.SU.PERV
 [éró-á sáb-í gèrs-à]_{NP:O}
 children-RSTR head-PL bad.STV-RSTR
 ‘The teacher weeded out the students of bad character.’ (Lit. ‘caused leave’)

- (9.57) a. [bán-á]_S
 get.up-3sg.SU.PERV
 ‘S/he/it get up/wake up.’
- b. [òg]_A í-bán-sí-ú [érmì]_O
 noise CAUS-wake.up-CAUS-3sg.SU.PERV child.SG
 ‘The noise woke up the child.’
- (9.58) a. [bás-Ø-ò]_S
 cure/heal-3sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘S/he/it is cured/healed.’
- b. [jesusi]_A í-bá-ísí-ú [hírí]_O
 Jesus CAUS-cure/heal-CAUS-3sg.SU.PERV man
 rẹ̀ẹ̀ sórálì
 body+PERT.SG.3.PSR reddish-brown_with_white_at_center
 ‘Jesus healed a man with leprosy.’
 (Lit. ‘Jesus healed a man, his body reddish-brown with white.’)

As it is shown in the examples above, arguments in the underlying S function are shown by bound pronominal arguments. They can only be known when they are being caused to go into O function in the causative constructions. Accordingly, the S of (9.56a) can be either *sátínì búsisíó* ‘big box’ (9.56b) or *éróá sábí gèrsà* ‘students of bad character’ (9.56c). The S of (9.57a) and (9.58a) are *érmì* and *hírí* consecutively. One important point that I noticed from the causative derivation examples illustrated above is that it seems to be the case that the third person bound pronominal marker *-a* usually marks the S of an intransitive clause whereas the *-u* marks the A of a transitive clause.

In addition, both the causer (A) and the causee (O) arguments in the clause can be cross-referenced on the verb, as in (9.59).

- (9.59) a. bàrì [bón-á]_S
 yesterday leave.PERV-3sg.SU.PERV
 ‘He left yesterday.’
- b. bàrì í-bón-sí-òṅ-Ø-ó
 yesterday CAUS-leave.PERV-CAUS-1sg.OBJ-3sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘He made me leave yesterday.’

- c. $\eta\grave{a}=k-i-\acute{b}\acute{o}n-s\acute{i}-\emptyset-i=\acute{o}$
 NEG.IMPERV=1SU-CAUS-leave-CAUS-3sg.OBJ-1sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 $\acute{d}\acute{o}g$
 never
 ‘I will in no wise cast him out.’
 (Lit. ‘I will never cause him leave/exit out.’)

In (9.59), following the absence of a morphological form for the third person object marker, the high front vowel of the causative suffix and the first person subject marker suffix *-i* have coalesced, which otherwise appear very similar to the structure $\langle \eta\grave{a}=k-i-\acute{b}\acute{o}n-s\acute{i}=\acute{o} \rangle$.

The O argument of the causative clause may be semantically implied or can be retrievable from the context. Above all, the verb *táb* ‘deceive/lie’ has a ‘labile’ (A-S) nature on its own.

- (9.60) a. $[\acute{t}\acute{a}b-\acute{a}]_s$
 deceive/lie-3sg.SU.PERV
 ‘He deceived/he told a lie.’
 b. $i-\acute{t}\acute{a}b-\emptyset$
 CAUS-deceive/lie-3sg.SU.IMPERV
 ‘He deceived (someone).’

In order to show both the causer and the causee, one has to move the causee to a peripheral argument slot, as in (9.60c).

- c. $[\acute{h}\acute{i}r\acute{i}] \quad i-\acute{t}\acute{a}b-\emptyset \quad [\acute{m}\acute{e}n\acute{e}\eta\acute{i}-\grave{o}]$
 man CAUS-deceive/lie-3sg.SU.IMPERV spirit-OBL
 ‘Man is tempted by Satan.’
 (Lit. ‘Devil deceived man.’)

As mentioned earlier (see morphophonemic rule(s) in Table 9.5), the complete vowel assimilation rule often applies to verb roots whose first syllable carry / ϵ / and /u/ vowels. In fact, the morphophonemic (the complete vowel assimilation) rule is similar to vowel height harmony. For example, the causative marker prefix *i-* assimilates to [ϵ] (9.60a) and to [u] (9.61b).

- (9.61) a. $\acute{e}\acute{d}\acute{e}m\acute{i}\acute{o}$ ‘learn’ $\acute{e}\acute{d}\acute{e}m\acute{e}s-s\acute{i}$ ‘teach; cause to learn’
 b. $s\acute{u}r$ ‘burn (intr.)’ $\acute{u}s\acute{u}r-s\acute{i}$ ‘cause to burn (tr.)’

Following this particular morphophonemic-driven assimilation process that happens due to the formal morphological technique for deriving a causative construction, it is plausible to imagine that such morphophonological process/rule (e.g. vowel height harmony) could have contributed to the obsolete old causative prefix **I-/i-*. Furthermore, as far as other Surmic group languages is concerned and my understanding of the language I worked on for some years (Mursi), such morphophonological process not only contributed to obsolescence or archaism of this prefix but also to the emergence of many verbs whose underlying intransitive forms (non-causative) later became V-initial verbs (with causative meanings).

9.3.4 Directional/motion markers

Mursi has two morphological directional/motion markers: ventive (motion towards the deictic center/source) and itive (motion away from the deictic center/source). Consequently, ventive and itive markers can be attached to intransitive verb roots (often motion verbs) to derive transitive clauses. In many instances, the itive that specifies motion directed away from the speaker adds a new argument in O function (semantically, it refers to ‘goal’). The ventive marker which offers the notion of movement towards the point of reference to the semantics of the verb occasionally also adds a new argument.

Note that the itive marker is the same as the benefactive marker. The suffix *-sèn* can be called a ‘multi-functional’ suffix which is more often used as benefactive marker (as in (§9.3.1), as index of comparison in comparative constructions (see Chapter 11; ‘comparative-benefactive’), and as dative marker (as secondary semantics of benefactive).

Table 9.6 Directional/motion suffixes

SUFFIX	PERSON/NUMBER	ASPECT	MOTION
-áná/-ónó	1 st person plural (inc.) and 3 rd person singular	imperfective	ventive (motion towards speaker)
-án/-ón	for all other persons other than 1 st person plural (inc.) and 3 rd person singular	imperfective	ventive (motion towards speaker)
-a/-o	for all persons	perfective	ventive (motion towards speaker)
-sèn	for all persons	imperfective	itive (motion away from speaker)
-sɛ	for all persons	perfective	itive (motion away from speaker)

Directional/motion suffixes often occur with intransitive motion verbs such as *gol*

‘crawl’, *ηῶω* ‘recede; go down; drop’, *jag* ‘return’, and so on.

- (9.62) [érmì]_A gól-èsén [kìḽ]_O
 child crawl-MA tree
 ‘The child crawled away towards the tree.’

In (9.62), the child crawled from here to down there (to the tree). Thus, the itive is a derivational marker used to introduce a new argument in O function. The tree is an O argument. In the absence of the itive marker, it could be a simple intransitive clause syntax and it could have the meaning of ‘The child crawled’. Compare example

(9.63a) with (9.63b-c):

- (9.63) a. [kó-ηῶω-án-ó]_S
 1SU-go.down.IMPERV-MT.1sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘I will fall.’
- b. kó-ηῶω-sèn [báhùn]
 1SU-go.down-MA.1sg.SU.IMPERV cliff
 ‘I will fall (down there) off the cliff.’ (someone standing on a cliff)
- c. [bàlógì] ηῶω-sèn [bá]
 leaf.SG go.down-MA.3sg.SU.IMPERV ground
 ‘The leaf fell away towards the ground.’

The ventive marker attached to the verb in (9.63a) does not change the valency of the verb, but when the itive marker is attached to the same intransitive verb (as in (9.63b-

c)), it derives a transitive clause. In (9.63a), the speaker is the deictic centre, where, the action referred to by the verb terminates. In (9.63b), the speaker is doing a motion which requires changing his/her deictic center (source) to another deictic center (goal). The instance in (9.63a) doesn't mean that the ventive marker never changes the valency of the verb. For example, in the example shown below (repeated from 9.39), the ventive marker attached to the underlying intransitive verb of the first clause has an argument in O function, i.e. *bà* 'ground'.

- (9.64) ànè k-ár-á [dòŋù]A báns-áná
 1sg 1SU-see.PERV-1sg.SU.PERV vulture.SG rise-MT.3sg.SU.IMPERV
 [bà-i]O nà bán-ésé-a⁸⁷ [dóri-á n=ènè]NP
 place-LOC CCN fly-MA-3sg.SU.PERV house-RTSR SG.PSD=3SG.PSR
 'I saw a vulture rise from the ground and fly to its nest.'

The same applies to the second clause. In second clause, the itive (motion away) marker *-se* (or *-ese* on consonant-final verb roots) adds a new argument in O function <*dória nènè*> and the intransitive clause is changed to a transitive one. Some examples are given below illustrating the use of ventive marker in the valency increasing derivation.

The examples in (9.65 and 9.67) were taken from Mütze (2014).

- (9.65) [lúsi]A óg-áná [bi]O [kiò]IO
 boy untie-MT.3sg.SU.IMPERV cow.SG tree.SG
 'The boy unties the cow from the tree.'
- (9.66) [nòŋ]A jàg-áná [ískíritó-á n=ànù]NP:O
 3sg return-MT.3sg.SU.IMPERV pen-RSTR SG.PSD=1SG.PSR
 'He returned my pen.'
- (9.67) [jàg-án]A [bè]^O
 return-MT.2sg.SU.IMPERV axe.SG
 'You (sg.) return the axe.'

As it is shown in these examples, the ventive, even if it is not a productive valency changing mechanism in the language, it still used on intransitive verbs to increase their valents from one to two. It is also important to take into account that these directional/motion suffixes do not always co-occur with motion verbs. For example,

⁸⁷ Note that in example 9.39, the itive suffix *-ese* is glossed as benefactive/dative marker.

motion verbs such as 'come' and 'go' are among those that rarely co-occur with directional/motion marking suffixes.

Chapter 10 Grammatical Relations

10.1 Introduction

Grammatical relations in Mursi are marked by constituent order and case. According to (König, 2006:657f.; Dixon 1994:63ff), Mursi is a multilayered language in that it utilizes a constituent order AVO/SV (neither the A nor the S arguments can be unmarked for nominative case) and the OVA/VS order in which post-verbal A and S arguments are for marked-nominative case. However, case-marking is often employed depending on the constituent order system of the language. Mursi is a nominative-accusative language. Although Mursi utilizes case-marking, it is also a head-marking language that has cross-referencing bound pronominal forms to indicate grammatical relations. As a head-marking language, it has participant reference markings on the verb which predominantly indicate grammatical relations. This operates by indexing bound pronominal A and O argument affixes on the verb. In clauses with ditransitive verbs, argument indexing on the verb often operates according to referential prominence scale hierarchy and verb-adjacency constraint principles.

There is no single rigid and imperative approach of analyzing the relations of constituents within individual languages from multiple but plausible morphological, syntactic and semantic approaches. This is often possible, however, if and only if the analysis make sense for a particular instance such as to indicate relation of constituents within a clause. And above all, if the analysis conforms to the basic grammatical properties of the language under description. While the treatment of case marking strategy in Mursi largely depends on syntax, the discourse prominence of arguments such as animacy and definiteness are indispensable tools that enable us to understand the way in which pronouns and nouns function in clauses.

this chapter of grammatical relations shall present various morphosyntactic topics which particularly deals with constituent order (§10.2), case marking (§10.3), postpositions (§10.4), and verb-final suffix (§10.5).

10.2 Constituent order

Mursi has three types of constituent order: canonical AVO/SV, non-canonical OVA/VS where the A/S is marked with morphological marked-nominative case suffixes, and non-canonical OAV (a somewhat a strict constituent order of negation). With respect to grammatical relations, each is dealt with in subsequent sub-sections below.

10.2.1 Canonical order (AVO/SV)

In a canonical constituent order AVO/SV, A precedes the verb and O follows it. AVO/SV is by far the most frequently found constituent order in Mursi clauses uttered in isolation. Thus, non-case involving grammatical relations of the A and the O in transitive clauses are marked by this constituent order. In canonical order, both nominative and accusative cases are not marked morphologically and formally. The subject position may be filled by any NP in citation form.

(10.2) SV— intransitive clause

- a. [nòŋ]s dǒt-Ø-ò
 3sg leave-3sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘S/he is about to leave.’ (Lit. ‘S/he is leaving.’)
- b. [nòŋ]s túŋ-ú
 3sg sleep.PERV-3sg.SU.PERV
 ‘S/he slept.’

Interestingly, as can be shown in (10.2a), the verb-final suffix -ò is the morphological marker that shows the canonicity of this constituent order and is often added to an intransitive verbs in the imperfective aspect. However, this suffix is absent when the verb is in the perfective aspect or when manner modifiers and oblique arguments follow the intransitive imperfective verb — compare the examples given below (10.2c-e).

- c. [lúsi]s b̀̀ró̀t-Ø-ò
 boy jump-3sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘The boy jumps.’
- d. [nòŋ]s b̀̀ró̀t-ú ò̀̀m̀̀n-ò
 3sg jump-PERV-3sg.SU.PERV happy.STV-MN
 ‘He jumped cheerfully.’
- e. [nòŋ]s b̀̀ró̀t-ú t̀̀m̀̀-ò
 3sg jump- PERV-3sg.SU.PERV sky-OBL
 ‘S/he jumps up.’ (Lit. ‘He jumps towards the sky.’)

Mursi marks both S and A in the same way on the verb. Like the S of an intransitive clause, any NP constituent can be in A position. The fact is that pronouns, proper nouns or common nouns in both A and O functions normally occur in citation form in the AVO constituent order. But, with regard to constituents that can fill the O position, there are at least certain distinctions between pronouns and proper/common nouns.

But before we go into these details, there are three crucial points that we should take into consideration when cross-referencing bound pronominal (A and O) arguments on verbs.

- (i) The first person plural inclusive and third person singular bound pronominal A argument markers have zero suffix realizations on verbs in the imperfective aspect.
- (ii) The third person singular and plural bound pronominal O argument markers have always zero suffix realizations on verbs in imperfective and perfective aspects,
- (iii) When the bound pronominal of the A arguments from (i) and bound pronominal of the O argument from (ii) co-occur on a verb, they are marked by no (two zero) suffixes.

By giving these clarifying notes of the bound pronominal (A, O) argument markers, we now shall see how arguments in the monotransitive clause of the AVO constituent order are marked.

- b. [àggè]_A bè k-élíd-ín-ño [ìjè]_O
 1pl DIST.PAST 1SU-call.PERV-2sg.OBJ-1pl.EXC.SU.PERV 2sg:ACC
 ‘We (exc.) had called *you* (sg).’
- c. [nòŋ]_A hín-ùŋ-Ø [ìggè]_O
 3sg want.IMPERV-2sg.OBJ-3sg.SU.IMPERV 2pl:ACC
 ‘S/he wanted *you* (pl).’

Compare the above examples (10.5a-c) with those given below in (10.6a-b), where we see the third person pronoun in O function having no bound pronominal suffix attached to the verb.

- (10.6) a. nòŋ wà dáǰí-á nòŋ
 3sg REC.PAST do-3sg.SU.PERV 3sg
 ‘S/he has done *it*.’
- b. nòŋ wà ñàni ká-dáǰí-á=ó nòŋ
 3sg REC.PAST NEG.PERV 3.SBJV-do-3sg.SU.PERV=NEG 3sg
 ‘He has not done *it*.’

In (10.6a), only the perfective bound pronominal suffix *-a* for the third person A argument is cross-referenced on the verb while no bound pronominal marking for the third person O argument is cross-referenced on the verb. Since there is no morphologically bound pronominal marking for the third arguments in O function, the constituent order we see in (10.6b) could be unusual with respect to O slots in negated clauses. Mursi has the non-canonical AOV/SV constituent order for negative clauses, as it is shown in (10.7).

- (10.7) [nòŋ]_A [sátí]_O ñà=hín-Ø=ó
 3sg watch NEG.IMPERV=want.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘He does not want the watch.’

But, due to the absence of a bound pronominal O argument marking morphological form on the verb, the negative clause in (10.6b) has no option but to behave the same way as a clause in the AVO constituent order.

Furthermore, the fact is that most interrogative words in Mursi are pronominal (10.8a) or pro-phrasal (10.8b). They often occur at clause final slot of the AVO canonical order— in O function.

- (10.8) a. [ɪnɛ]A hín-í [nɛŋ?]o
 2sg want.IMPERV-2sg.SU.IMPERV who.OBJ
 ‘Whom do you want?’ (Lit. ‘You (sg.) want who?’)
- b. [jòg]A éɖz-é [ŋàtùŋ]o [ónòŋó?]OBL
 3pl kill-3pl.SU.IMPERV lion what.OBL
 ‘With what did they kill the lion?’
 (Lit. ‘They killed the lion with what?’ (=instrument))

Note that interrogatives in Mursi take all types of case markers that nouns can take (see Chapter 12). However, rhetorical questions could trigger unusual constituent order in the language. An instance of such is unusual constituent order is found in the rhetorical question constructions in which the canonical AVO order become VAO. See the examples given below.

- (10.9) a. wà ár-ú [nòŋ]A [nòŋ?]o
 REC.PAST see.PERV-3sg.SU.PERV 3sg 3sg
 ‘Has he seen it?’

In (10.9a), the recent past time particle *wá* appears at clause-initial position only in rhetorical type questions that require a confirmatory answer ‘yes/no’. This is a similar question construction to one used to make a question from a declarative copula construction — just by moving the copula verb into a clause initial position. In the end, the copula subject and copula complement tend to occur side by side, as in (10.9b).

- b. á [lògó]cs [nòŋ]cc?
 COP.3.IMPERV word 3sg
 ‘Is it true?’ (Lit. ‘It this the word?’)

Except for specific functions stated above (10.9b), most copula constructions will have a canonical constituent order. Emphasied copula subjects may follow the copula complement, (10.9c).

- c. k-án-í [mùni]cc [ànɛ]cs
 1SU-COP.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV Mursi.sg 1sg
 ‘I am Mursi.’

With regard to indicating syntactic relation by bound pronominal cross referencing on the verb, there are a number of exceptions to the generalization. The exceptions include:

suffix *-ese* may be used as dative marker.

- (10.16) [jòg]_A hàlì jóg-ésé [jòg]_O [dìb]_{IO}
 3pl later tell-BEN.3 3pl [truth]
 ‘They will tell them the truth.’

In addition to what we saw in simple mono-transitive clauses illustrated above, the canonical constituent order AVO may have also various syntactic manifestations in double object or ditransitive clause constructions and in other types of clauses. In order to explain how syntactic relations of the direct and indirect object of a double object or ditransitive clause constructions be recognized, there are certain key points to be taken into account. For instance, in a double object construction, the indirect object or secondary object may be placed at the first post-verbal slot and will have a semantic role of recipient/beneficiary, or it can be moved to a clause-final position in the same semantic role. This can be shown in two ways— (i) when the benefactive applicative suffix *-èsèn* is attached to the verb in its primary function (benefactive), and (ii) when it is attached to the verb in its secondary function (dative).

The primacy of one object over another may be based upon person and non-person forms. For example, when the double object construction makes use of the benefactive suffix and if both the objects are non-person forms, the post-verbal adjacency priority is given to the beneficiary, or to the indirect object, as in (10.17).

- (10.17) a. [àpè]_A k-ér-èsèn [hùlèj]_{IO} [mà]_O
 1sg 1SU-pour-BEN.IMPERV flower water
 ‘I am watering the flowers.’ (Lit. ‘I pour water for the flowers.’)

When both person (human) and non-person object forms occur in a clause, the person form O will be left-adjacent to the verb but it can also be optional as long as semantically implied.

- b. [nòŋ]_A číb-èsèn (hírí)_{IO} [màr]_O
 3sg tie-BEN.IMPERV man calf
 ‘S/he ties the calf for the man.’

c. [nòŋ]_A dǒl-èsèn [lúsà]_{IO} [dóri]_O
 3sg show-BEN.IMPERV boy.PL house
 ‘S/he shows the boys the house.’

In example below (10.17c), *nòŋ* is an impersonal pronoun functioning as direct object. The benefactive function here looks more of a motion away (itive) marker than showing benefactive reading. The impersonal pronoun *nòŋ* will not be regarded as a person form object, thus semantically it does not make any difference whether or not it appear in its position.

c. àŋè hàlì k-ódz-èsèn nòŋ àlèj tùn
 1sg later 1SU-put-BEN/MA.IMPERV 3sg chair on
 ‘I shall put (it) on a chair.’

When one of the two objects is a free personal pronoun form, then the pronoun is treated as a human beneficiary/recipient and placed at the end of a clause as a secondary object.

(10.18) a. [nòŋ]_A géŋ-èsèn [érfá]_O [nòŋ]_{IO}
 3sg make/repair.IMPERV-BEN.IMPERV bed 3sg
 ‘S/he made a bed for her/him.’

Note that first and second person singular subject suffixes are omitted whenever the benefactive suffix is attached to the verb.

b. [nòŋ] kócf-èsèn wàrkátì nòŋ
 3sg write.imperv-BEN.IMPERV paper 3sg
 ‘S/he wrote a letter to her/him.’

However, the way syntactic Os can be coded in ditransitive clauses is different from the way two object arguments are coded in double-object clauses. The syntactic position of O arguments in ditransitive clauses may rely on the semantic roles and animacy status of the respective objects. Mütze (2014) noticed that the object of a monotransitive verb is marked like a [+human] argument of the ditransitive verb for which human arguments have semantic recipient roles. On the other hand, object and recipient (R) behave in the same way as primary objects while the theme (T) is a secondary object. Recall the object of monotransitive clauses given in the examples above and compare with the following ditransitive clauses below.

referencing bound pronominal suffixes on the verb, the third person singular of the A argument has zero realization in the imperfective aspect. Hence, as illustrated above in (10.20a-b), the third person singular of the A is being relatively unmarked in contrast to O. Not only unmarked with respect to the O, but also zero realization when cross-referenced on verbs that are in the imperfective aspect. Therefore, Mursi exhibits a split system, which is motivated by the referential prominence of gift and recipient.

The other interesting argument coding splits the one made depending on person of the A argument and person of O argument. As shown below in (10.21a-b), both arguments (A and O) are cross-referenced on the verb, where the first and second person pronouns appear to have the semantic role of gift and/or recipient.

- (10.21) a. [jòg] hàli jóg-ón-é [ànè] [dìb]
 3pl later tell-1sg.OBJ-3pl.SU.IMPERV [1sg] [truth]
 ‘They will tell me the truth.’
- b. [jòg] hàli jóg-ìṅ-é [ìṅè] [lògò]
 3pl later tell-2sg.OBJ-3pl.SU.IMPERV [2sg] [word]
 ‘They will tell you the truth.’

In contrast, in (10.21c-d), when both A and O have the same person-form status (3rd=3rd), they will never be coded by participant cross-referencing on the verb, instead the benefactive suffix *-èsèn/-εεε* would be attached to the verb.

- c. [jòg]_A hàli jóg-ésén-é [nòṅ]_O [dìb]
 3pl later tell-BEN.IMPERV-3pl.SU.IMPERV 3sg truth
 ‘They will tell him the truth later.’
- d. [jòg]_A hàli jóg-ésé [jòg]_O [dìb]
 3pl later tell-BEN.PERV 3pl truth
 ‘They will tell them the truth later.’

Both *nòṅ* and *jòg* are beneficiaries filling the syntactic function of object.

For unclear reason, although the ditransitive verb *ádǝ* is in the imperfective aspect, as it is shown in (10.22a-b), it is marked with a perfective-value motion towards (dative) suffix *-o*. The function of *-o* in both clause is dative.

(10.22) a. [nòŋ]_A áɖʒ-ó [hùlèj]_O [[nòŋ [ɖʒɔɔnɛ]_{NP}]_{IO}
 3sg give.IMPERV-3.IRR flower 3sg mother.PERT.SG.3.PRS
 ‘S/he gave the flower to her/his mother.’
 (Lit. ‘S/he gave the flower to (it) her/his mother.’)

b. [àpè]_A hàli k-áɖʒ-é-o [nòŋ]_O
 1sg later 1SU-give.IMPERV-APPL-IRR 3sg
 [màm-á n=ànù]_{NP:IO}
 mother-RTSR SG.PSD=1SG.PSR
 ‘I shall give it to my mother.’

Note that the semantics role of the post-verbal *nòŋ* in (10.20a and b) are different, where the free pronoun *nòŋ* in (10.22a) is due to speaker’s occasional use when referring to kinship nouns without optional modifying possessive pronouns. Or otherwise there may be similar constructions with (b) *ɖʒɔɔnɛ-á n=ènè* <mother-RSTR SG.PSD=3SG.PSR> ‘his mother’ or simply a pertensive form *ɖʒɔɔnɛ*. Such occurrence of free pronouns in the expression of possession with kinship nouns seems to be common in languages that have no grammatical gender. So *nòŋ* in (a) is part of the indirect object/dative construction, or it is within the role of the semantic recipient. On the other hand, *nòŋ* in (10.22b) is a direct object or it is a semantic theme.

The other interesting point seems to be regarding the coding of core arguments on ditransitive verbs, in which ditransitive verbs themselves divide into two types. Mursi ditransitive verbs are: *áɖʒ* ‘give’ *jóg* ‘tell’ and *dól* ‘show, announce’. Despite the fact that languages employ different strategies for these verbs (cf. Dixon 1994: 120), all of them have three core roles in Mursi. The ditransitive *áɖʒ* ‘give’. — (i) The bound object pronominal form of the recipient (if human recipient) is cross-referenced on the verb and the gift as peripheral argument without being coded by postposition or case markers (e.g. 10.19). (ii) The bound object pronominal form of the gift/theme (human patient/affected) is cross-referenced on the verb following differential object marking while the recipient is placed as peripheral argument coded by no overt postposition or case marker (e.g. 10.20a-b). (iii) Only the subject in A function (the agent role) is cross-

referenced on the verb while the gift is placed in O function and the recipient (if human) is placed as peripheral argument by suffixing a motion towards marker (dative) on the verb (e.g. 10.22a-b). The verb *ádẓ* does not take a benefactive suffix like the other two ditransitive verbs. Moreover, it undergoes a three term root suppletion for aspect while *jóg* and *dól* do not alter their roots for aspectual distinction. When two semantic roles of the O arguments follow this verb, free ordering is possible as long as the recipient is human, as in (10.23a-b).

- (10.23) a. àṅè k-ádẓ-é hírí mà
 1sg 1SU-give.IMPERV-APPL man water
 ‘I give the man water.’
- b. àṅè k-ádẓ-é mà hírí
 1sg 1SU-give.IMPERV-APPL water man
 ‘I give the man water.’

Both R and T can be cross-referenced on the verb when they are pronominal.

The same free ordering applies in the imperative construction, as in (10.23c).

- c. áín-é bíró ǰúúnú!
 give.PERV:IMP-APPL money father.PERT.SG.2.PRS
 ‘Give (sg.) the money to your father!’

On the other hand, the ditransitive verbs *jog* (with core roles ‘message’ and ‘addressee’) and *dol* (with core roles ‘thing-shown’ and ‘person-to-whom-it-is-shown’) take both motion towards and benefactive suffixes to encode either or both O arguments.

- (10.24) a. ìṅè jóg-óṅ-í àṅè-jè
 2sg tell-1sg.OBJ-2sg.SU.IMPERV 1sg-OBL
 ‘You (sg.) were telling me.’
- b. ìṅè bè jóg-ésé-ú nòṅ
 2sg DIST.PAST tell-BEN.PERV-2sg.SU.PERV 3sg
 ‘You (sg.) had told him.’
- c. wà kó-dól-ó-óṅ-ò sáḃò
 REC.PAST 1SU-show-MT-2pl.OBJ-IRR? before
 ‘I have showed you before.’

- d. $\eta\grave{a}n\grave{i}$ $k\acute{o}-d\acute{o}l-\acute{e}s\acute{e}=\acute{o}$ $n\grave{o}\eta$ [$\eta\grave{o}n\acute{a}-\grave{a}$
 NEG.PERV 1SU-show-BEN.PERV=NEG 3sg sister-RTSR
 $n=\grave{a}n\grave{u}$]NP
 SG.PSD=1SG.PSR
 ‘I did not show (it) to my sister.’

Whenever the addresses (R-role) is known, the message (T/P-role) may not be necessarily expressed overtly (especially if it is expressed in an earlier stage of the story/narration), as in (10.24e-f).

- e. $l\grave{o}g-\acute{a}$ [\emptyset $k\acute{o}-j\acute{o}g-\acute{o}-\acute{u}\eta-\grave{u}$]RC
 word-RSTR [\emptyset 1SU-tell-MT-2pl.OBJ-IRR]
 ‘The words that I tell to you (pl.)...’
- f. $\eta\grave{a}=k\acute{o}-j\acute{o}g-\acute{o}n-\acute{o}\eta-\emptyset=\acute{o}-\grave{d}$
 NEG.IMPERV=1SU-tell-MT-2pl:OBJ-1pl:INC:SU:IMPERV=NEG-VFS
 ‘We (inc.) will not tell (it) to you (pl.).’

With respect to the stability of mono-transitive and ditransitive clauses in the canonical constituent order AVO, both appear to have a rather clear boundary and remain stable when combined with other type of clauses such as subjunctive/purpose/adjunct, relative and subordinate clauses. Some examples are given below.

- (10.25) a. [$\grave{a}\eta\grave{n}\acute{e}$]A $k-\acute{a}i\grave{n}-\acute{e}-\grave{o}$ [$h\acute{i}r-\acute{a}$ $\acute{o}o\grave{l}-n\grave{e}n-\acute{a}$]NP:O
 1sg 1SU-give.PERV-MT-IRR man-RSTR beg-NOMZ-RSTR
 [$s\acute{a}nt\acute{i}m\acute{i}o$ $h\acute{a}a\grave{n}\acute{a}n$]NP:IO [$k\acute{a}-t\acute{a}l-\acute{a}$ [$t\acute{i}l\acute{a}$ $k\grave{a}l\acute{i}-n\grave{e}$]NP]ADJUNCT
 cent five 3.SBJV-buy-3sg.SU food day-OBL
 ‘I gave the beggar fifty cents to buy his dinner.’
- b. $k-\acute{a}i\grave{n}-\acute{e}-\grave{o}$ $\acute{e}r\grave{m}\acute{i}-\acute{a}$ [\emptyset $w\grave{a}$ $k-\acute{o}g-\acute{a}$]RC
 1SU-give.PERV-MT-IRR child-RSTR [\emptyset REC.PAST 3.SBJV-go-3sg.SU
 ‘I gave it to the boy who went (away).’

10.2.2 Non-canonical OVA/VS

The non-canonical constituent order OVA/VS is the sole order that brings an overt case marking scenario to the language, i.e. the marked-nominative. Cross-linguistically, marked-nominative is a rare case system mainly found in African languages. König (2008: 138) reported that marked-nominative case system are an almost unique African

argument in (10.26) is a noun or third person pronoun? This is due to the fact that when the object equals the subject in animacy and definiteness (as in (10.27), then the nominative case becomes the only way to distinguish the actual subject.

- (10.27) [lúsi]_O dǎg-Ø [hírí-ó]_A
 boy hit-3sg.SU.IMPERV man-NOM
 ‘The man beats the boy.’

Such types of cases and other similar issues are discussed in the subsequent sections (§10.2.2.1 and §10.2.2.2).

10.2.2.1 Nominative case marking on pronouns

Mursi personal pronouns exist in two forms: (i) in neutral forms when occurring as pre-verbal subject and post-verbal object, and (ii) in nominative forms when occurring as post-verbal subjects. In the non-canonical constituent order VS/OVA, the verb agrees in number with the post-verbal nominative form pronouns. The first person plural nominative form pronouns do not distinguish inclusive and exclusive subjects. Even though nominative form pronouns have similar positions within clauses with nouns in marked-nominative case, one basic difference can be noticed between the two. See the two examples given below.

- (10.28) a. kí-ǰíl-Ø jòkí=jè tùn-ò
 1SU-stand-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV 3pl.NOM=SUBORD on-OBL
 ‘We stood on them.’
 b. kóóǰ-í nèàj-è
 1SU.write.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV 3sg.NOM-OBL
 ‘I wrote with it.’

As shown in (10.28a-b), only the S argument is cross-referenced on the verb.

Table 10.1 Free and nominative pronoun forms of Mursi

PREVERBAL SUBJECT AND POST-VERBAL OBJECT PRONOUNS (AVO)	POSTVERBAL SUBJECT PRONOUNS (OVA)	REMARK ON FORMS OF MARKED NOMINATIVE PRONOUNS	
1sg	<i>àṅè</i>	<i>áńój</i>	<àṅ+oj>
2sg	<i>ìṅè</i>	<i>íńój</i>	<ìṅ+oj>
3sg	<i>nàṅ</i>	<i>nèáj</i>	<nɛ+áj>
1pl.inc	<i>àggè</i>	<i>ággéò</i>	<àggè-o> also <àggèù>
1pl.exc	<i>àggè</i>	<i>ággéò</i>	<àggè-o> also <àggèù>
2pl	<i>ìggè</i>	<i>íggéò</i>	<ìggè-o> also <ìggèù>
3pl	<i>jòg</i>	<i>jòkù/jòkíù</i>	<jòk-u> or <jòki-ù>

Form-based similarities of nominative suffixes and their attestations in different word categories:

- (i) Both *àṅ* and *ìṅ* forms of the first and second person post-verbal subjects are attested as first and second person bound pronominal object suffixes.
- (ii) The bound form <oj> in the first and second person post-verbal subjects is attested in the interrogative pronominal *ńój* <n+oj> ‘who.NOM’.
- (iii) The nominative marker suffix *-j* has unclear distribution but seems to occur mostly following nouns which end in a vowel.
- (iv) The nominative marker suffix *-o* is the primary nominative marker and often occurs following singular nouns.
- (v) The nominative marker suffix *-u* often occurs following plural nouns (see Table 10.1).

- (10.29). a. *kátámá kúún-í* [áńój]s [ádisábá]
city 1SU.come.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV 1sg.NOM adisaba
‘The city I come (from) is Addis Ababa.’
- b. [ìggè]o *kó-jóg-í* [áńój]A *jéb-ó*
2pl 1SU-tell-1sg.SU.IMPERV 1sg.NOM believe-2pl.SU.IMPERV
èṅèṅ?
how
‘How shall you (pl.) believe my words?’
(Lit. ‘I told you (pl.), you (pl.) shall believe how?’)

no way be expressed after the passive verb has been omitted. Since Mursi has zero realization of the third person O suffix, the third passive form attaches a vowel suffix -V (usually by copying the vowel of a consonant-initial verb root).

- (10.31) a. *nòŋ* *gáwái-jè* *k-èg-ò* *àggèù*
 3sg market-OBL PASS-send-PASS.3 1pl.NOM
 ‘S/he was sent to the market by us.’

Here, the canonical constituent order is SV-Obl (may reflect an underlying A) passive construction, even though it is impossible to add an A argument after the passive verb (unless as a peripheral argument with an oblique case), as is shown in (10.31a). Due to the post-verbal marked-nominative principle in non-canonical OVA, the nominative pronoun *àggèù* may reflect a semantic agent. As König (2008: 178) pointed out, nominative can have function encoding agents in a passive-like clause. König listed Maa and Dinka languages as having a system where agents are encoded by the nominative in passive construction. As the example (10.31a) clearly shows, Mursi has a similar encoding strategy where it uses post-verbal nominative pronoun forms as agents in passive-like constructions. A plausible explanation may be the one provided by König referring to Gerrit Dimmendaal's personal communication.

Accordingly, marked-nominative may have come into existence first as a marker of peripheral A/S arguments in passive-like constructions (König (2008: 179). Morphological devices such as instrumental and locative that are used to encode peripheral participants can also be used to encode agents of passive-like clauses in some languages. Although this is not the exact scenario for Mursi, there seems to be the case where the markers of the post-verbal nominative subjects and markers of the agent-like peripheral arguments that follow the passive verb are alike. Compare the nominative case suffix *-ɔ* of (10.26) with the oblique (instrumental) *-ɔ* on the peripheral argument of (10.28a). Compare the nominative marker suffix *-ɔ* [o] in (10.26) with the instrumental marker suffix *-ɔ* on the peripheral argument below in (10.31b).

- b. kiò kè-tèηècf-è b́é-ò
 tree PASS-.cut.PERV-PASS.3 axe-OBL
 ‘The tree was cut with/by an axe.’

Compare (10.31a-b) with the one below in (10.31c-d).

- c. nòη bè ηà=bá nà
 3sg DIST.PAST DEM=place+NEAR CCN
 [nòη bá]o bè gèη-ónó [nèàj]A
 3sg place DIST.PAST create.IMPERV-MT.3sg.SU 3sg.NOM
 ‘He was in the world, and the world was made by him.’
- d. áw-ó nà b́ég-é dàmi-tí
 go.PERV:IMP-PL CCN guard.PERV.IMP-PL custom-NRSTR
 b́ég-čó iggèù=jè
 guard-COM.2pl.SU 2pl.NOM=SUBORD
 ‘Go and guard it as the way you guarded it (tomb)!’
 (=You (pl.) go guard it in a way it is guarded by you!)

The comitative marker can also be used as reason applicative marker. In (10.31c), the O argument is not overtly stated but we know from the source text where it is adopted from (cf. the Bible, Matthew 27:65), i.e. ‘tomb’.

- (10.32) ηànijè d́ǎláváǎá [Ø kó bítóg-á]NP mès-é-á]RC
 thus prophet.PL [Ø PNC false-RSTR do-3pl.SU.IMPERV-RSTR
 jòkù gáj-ó-ò
 3pl.NOM know-2pl.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘Thus, you (pl.) will know the false prophets by what they do.’

- (10.33) ηànijè lòg-á [Ø mès-é-á]NP]RC/COMPL:CL jòkíù
 but word-RTSR [Ø do-3pl.SU.IMPERV-NOMZ:RSTR] 3PL.NOM
 ηà=mésí-ó
 NEG.IMPERV=do.IMPERV.IMP-PL
 ‘But don’t do what they do!’

As can be seen in (10.32 and 10.33), the distinction between the two third person plural nominative form pronouns is not clear.

We see a striking similarity between case markers of the post-verbal nominative pronouns/nouns and case markers of peripheral arguments in the language. Case suffixes may have one common origin but we do not know that origin at this stage.

Table 10.2 A list of Mursi case markers

CASE SUFFIXES	CASE TYPE	FUNCTION	CONDITIONS
-ɔ	oblique (instrumental, locative, allative and ablative)	non-core argument/ constituent	-ɔ (+consonant final nouns) -je (+vowel final nouns) -e/-ne (+alveolar nasal plural nouns) -i (+vowel final plural nouns)
-o [-ɔ]	nominative	core argument (S/A in VS/AVO order)	-o/-ɔ (+vowel final plural pronouns) -u (+third plural pronoun)
-o	nominative	core argument (S/A in VS/AVO order)	-o (+singular nouns) -u (+plural nouns) -j (unclear distribution)
∅	nominative	core argument (S/A in VS/AVO order)	final vowel reduction (unclear distribution)
-ɲ [-i/-j/ ip]...etc.	genitive	NP modifier	(see Chapter 4)

Another relevant deduction that can be made for sure from the discussions we saw in the aforementioned sections is that the syntactic position of independent pronouns in both AVO and OVA constituent orders can also be viewed from a pragmatically driven point of view. In most cases, as long as the bound pronominal S, A and O argument markers are cross-referenced on the verb, independent pronouns can be optional. However, pragmatically, S/A referring independent pronouns in the SV/AVO order are often topical constituents while in the VS/OVA order they can be seen as focused constituents. Indeed, this requires further investigation.

10.2.2.2 Nominative case marking on nouns

From the syntactic point of view, nouns that take various nominative case suffixes operate in the same way as nominative form pronouns (i.e. post-verbally). The semantic motivation behind nouns that take nominative case markers is more important than in personal pronouns. Almost all nouns that take post-verbal nominative case morphology are animate, definite, and culturally important items (see Mütze 2014).

Table 10.3 Nouns that take nominative case (a selection)

SINGULAR	NOMINATIVE SINGULAR	PLURAL PLURAL	NOMINATIVE PLURAL	MEANING
<i>lúsi</i>	<i>lúsió</i>	<i>éró</i>	<i>érou</i>	‘boy’
<i>híri</i>	<i>hírió <híréó></i>	<i>zùwò</i>	<i>zùwù</i>	‘man’
<i>kònù</i>	<i>kònò</i>	<i>kóná</i>	<i>kónáù</i>	‘snake’
<i>mèdèrè</i>	<i>kònùj</i> <i>mèdér</i> <i>mèdèréj</i> <i>mèdèrò</i>	<i>mèdèrní</i>	<i>mèdèrnù</i>	‘sheep’
<i>òlí</i>	<i>òléò <io></i> <i>òléj <ij></i>	<i>òlíná</i>	<i>òlínáù</i>	‘bull’
<i>ròsò</i>	<i>ròs</i> <i>ròsòj</i>	<i>ròsì</i>	<i>ròsiù</i>	‘dog’
<i>tòḡò</i>	<i>tòḡ</i>	<i>tèṅò</i>		‘goat’
<i>hárté</i>	<i>hártéj</i>	<i>hárcá</i>		‘horse/mule’
<i>gùfùrò</i>	<i>gùfùr</i>	<i>gùfùréná</i>		‘Hyena’
<i>bè</i>	<i>bèò</i> <i>béj</i>	<i>bèná</i>	<i>bènú</i>	‘stone’
<i>kìò</i>	<i>kí</i> <i>kij</i>	<i>kèṅò</i>	<i>kènú</i>	‘tree’
<i>děkè</i>	<i>děkéó</i> <i>děkej</i>	<i>děkén</i>	<i>děkènú</i>	‘leather dress’
<i>hózò</i>	<i>hózòj</i>			‘hunger’

Mursi nouns can be grouped into three types based on how they mark the nominative case. The three types stated below are based on the way singular nouns behave in relation to the nominative case. Nouns in the plural form take the invariable nominative *suffix -u*.

- (i) Type I — nouns that take the nominative case suffix *-o* (singular) and *-u* (plural),
- (ii) Type II — nouns that take the nominative suffix *-j* (singular) and *-u* (plural), and
- (iii) Type III — nouns that mark/indicate nominative case by final segment reduction. For instance, *mèdèrè/mèdér* ‘sheep/sheep.NOM’, *ròsò/ròs* ‘dog/dog.NOM’, *tòḡò/tòḡ* ‘goat/goat.NOM’, *gùfùrò/gùfùr* ‘hyena/hyena.NOM’ and so on. The segment which is often reduced from noun roots is the vowel *-ə*, in most cases from nouns that

end in this vowel. The case of *-ε* reduction from the animate noun *mèdèrè* may be taken as an exceptional case, if this is the only instance, but we can't be sure at this stage. See the examples given below:

- (10.34) a. [lúsi]_O dǎg-Ø [hírí-ó]_A
 boy hit-3sg.SU.IMPERV man-NOM
 ‘The man beats the boy.’
- b. [hírí]_O dǎg-Ø [lúsi-ó]_A
 man hit-3sg.SU.IMPERV boy-NOM
 ‘The boy beats the man.’

As we see in (10.34a-b), both nominative marked nouns are topical constituents in subject function. In addition, both are human agents, thus they are always marked by a non-zero nominative case forms.

- c. [ròsò]_A áḡít-ú [tòḡò]_O
 dog bite-3sg.SU.PERV goat
 ‘The dog bit the goat.’
- d. fǎù ḡè-Ø [rós-Ø]_S
 fast run-3sg.SU.IMPERV dog-NOM
 ‘The dog runs fast.’
- e. [múdǎí]_O áḡít-ú [ròs-Ø]_A
 rat bite-3sg.SU.PERV dog-NOM
 ‘The dog bit the rat.’
- f. [áčúgéná]_O bág-é [ròsí-u]_A
 meat.PL eat.IMPERV-3pl.SU.IMPERV dog.PL-NOM
 ‘The dogs eat all the meat.’

In (10.34c), *ròsò* is in A function in the canonical constituent order AVO so only the A argument is cross-referenced on the verb. Had it been the NP in O function as a pronoun, its argument would also be cross-referenced on the verb. In the non-canonical constituent order (VS/OVA), also an order which enables both intransitive and transitive subjects be topical/focal, constituents are marked by nominative case. However, unlike human subjects, non-human post-verbal subjects are subject to segment reduction, usually for nouns that end in *-ə*. Previous knowledge of the

language's constituent ordering system might help, otherwise it would be difficult to distinguish the subject from the object in clauses such as (10.35a).

- (10.35) a. [tòŋə]A bág-Ø [lúsi]O
 goat bite-3sg.SU.IMPERV boy
 ‘The goat bites the boy.’
- b. [lúsi]O bág-Ø [tòŋ-Ø]A
 boy bite-3sg.SU.IMPERV goat-NOM
 ‘The goat bites the boy.’

In (10.35a), it is the constituent word order that identifies the two arguments which otherwise are almost identical and both arguments can equally share the same bound pronominal suffix which is cross-referenced on the verb. In (10.35b), it is the nominative case that identifies both arguments that come with strict ordering of the post-verbal S/A argument.

Nouns that take nominative case morphology may also occur independent of the strict ordering of post-verbal S/A. In this case, they may occur in NPs that are topical as well as focal within a clause, as in (10.36).

- (10.36) ìggè [ŋà=é ró=á kóná-ù=ŋà]NP
 2pl DEM=children=NEAR snake.PL-NOM=DEF
 [číb-ín-á gó-ŋ]NP hàli dʒór-ó bónnój?
 punish-NOMZ-RTSR fire-GEN later run.IMPERV-2pl.SU.IMPERV where
 ‘You (pl.) *serpents*, you (pl.) *generation of vipers*, how can you (pl.) escape
 the damnation of hell?’
 (Lit. ‘You (pl.), *the children of serpents*, where will you (pl.) escape from the
 fire punishment?’)

Both pronouns and nouns can occur at one position as topical plus focused constituents.

- (10.37) àggè [kènà-á g=àw]NP ká-bág-ó
 1pl tree.PL-RSTR PL.PSD=1PL.EXC.PSR 1SU-eat-1pl.EXC.SU.PERV
 àggè-ù mún-ù
 1pl-NOM Mursi.PL-NOM
 ‘Our (exc.) trees that we (exc.) the Mursi eat...’

Even non-animate nouns can behave like subjects as long as they are taking the nominative case. As can be shown in (10.38), *hózò* ‘hunger’ is the agent while the first

subjects, i.e. *k(V)*-. The second persons are marked differently from first and third person subjects, so they do not make use of the *k(V)*- prefix (as in (10.41)).

- (10.41) *ìggè wà ɲàni dáʃí-d-ó=ó nòŋ*
 2pl REC.PAST NEG.PERV do-PERV.PL-2pl.SU=NEG 3sg
 ‘You (pl.) have not done it.’

Furthermore, the position the O argument in AOV ordered clauses may vary when it is a pronoun and when it is a simple or common noun. When the O argument is a pronoun, it has been observed that there is a tendency for the O argument to follow the verb regardless of the aspect and transitivity (transitive and ditransitive) value of the verb. Compare the above examples given (10.38) with the following examples.

- (10.42) a. *àɲè wà ɲàni k-ár-Ø-á=ó*
 1sg REC.PAST NEG.PERV 1SU-see.PERV-3pl.OBJ-1sg.SU.PERV=NEG
jòg
 3pl
 ‘I have not seen them.’
- b. *jòg hàli ɲà=kód-Ø-á=ó jòg*
 3pl later NEG.IMPERV=kill.IMPERV-3p.OBJ-3pl.SU.PERV=NEG 3pl
 ‘They will not kill them.’
- c1. *nòŋ ɲàni k-áin-áŋ-Ø=nó àɲè*
 3sg NEG.PERV 3.SBJV-give.PERV:SG-1sg.OBJ-3sg.IRR=NEG 1sg
- OR c2. *nòŋ ɲàni àɲè k-áin-áŋ-Ø=nó*
 3sg NEG.PERV 1SG 3.SBJV-give.PERV:SG-1sg.OBJ-3sg.IRR=NEG
 ‘He did not give me (something).’

As it is shown in (10.42a-c), all arguments in O function are pronouns, for which at first glance it appears to be the case that this applies when the O argument is a pronoun. But, the second option in (10.42c1) shows that the O argument can also be between the perfective negative particle *ɲàni* and the negated verb. In other word, the O argument now comes in its typical AOV order. From argument structuring point of view, the O arguments can be optional constituents as long as they are indexed as pronominal forms on the verb. Otherwise in clauses such as (10.42c2), they can be very ambiguous especially when the A equals O both in person and number.

In (10.43) below one assumes that the slots of A and O arguments in (10.42c2) are occupied by the A and O.

- (10.43) a. nòŋ wà ñàni ká-dáǰĩ-Ø-á=ó nòŋ
 3sg REC.PAST NEG.PERV 3.SBJV-do-3sg.OBJ-3sg.SU.PERV=NEG 3sg
 ‘He has not done it.’
 b. *[nòŋ]_{A/O} wa ñàni [nòŋ]_{A/O} ká-dáǰĩ-Ø-a=ó

(10.43b) is ungrammatical because we cannot identify the A or the O argument. It is customary for peripheral arguments to be placed in the last position of a clause. The adposition phrase in (10.44a) and possessive phrase in (10.44b) are peripheral arguments thus follow the negated verb.

- (10.44) a. àpè [àhì kóná]_{INDEF.PRO} húŋ
 1sg thing.SG one.INDEF just
 ñà=ká-dáǰĩ-í=ó [ñà=lɔg=tá tó-jé]_{ADPO:P}
 NEG=1SU-do-1sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG DEM=issue=NEAR in-OBL
 ‘I can’t do anything in this case.’
 b. àpè ñà=hín-í=ó èkèkèp-à
 1sg NEG.IMPERV=want.IMPERV-1sg.SU=NEG argue-NOMZ
 [bá-á n=ùnù]_{NP}
 place-RSTR SG.PSD=3SG.PSR
 ‘I don’t want any argument from you.’

10.3 Case markers

In addition to marked-nominative case, Mursi make use of two other case markings: oblique (§10.3.1) and genitive (§10.3.2) cases. Genitive case was also discussed extensively in chapter 4 and 5.

10.3.1 The oblique

The oblique case is used as a general case label for many specific oblique functions: instrumental, locative, allative, and ablative. So, in Mursi, oblique as a general label includes all ranges of versatile case marking suffixes by these four case types. The oblique which is invariably used throughout the chapters of this grammar, marks non-core constituents. Each of the four case types labeled as oblique cases will be elaborated on in the subsequent sections. We should also take into account that sometimes verbs

may become the sole providers of the basic meaning. This means, these case markers on their own may not necessarily provide a full fledged meaning even if they occur on nouns as well as on some noun modifying categories.

10.3.1.1 Instrumental meaning

The instrumental case is marked on non-core NPs occurring in the peripheral functions. It functions as marker of the instrument or agency by which an action has been carried out. Note that if a noun ends with the vowel -ɔ, it often merges with one of the allomorphs of the instrumental case markers, i.e. -ɔ. See the examples given below — instrument (10.45a-c) and means (‘by means of’) (10.45d).

- (10.45) a. [nòŋ]s kón-Ø [ísíkíríbitóí-jè]OBL
 3sg write-3sg.SU.IMPERV pen-INSTR
 ‘He wrote with a pen.’
- b. [gìgèj]o wà [kéd-á]A [wàrà-jè]OBL
 bone REC.PAST 1SU.cut.PERV-1sg.SU.PERV knife-OBL/INSTR
 ‘I cut bone with a knife.’
- c. [ŋà=hòì=tá]s bág-nèn-Ø [kólóf-ɔ]OBL
 DEM=female=NEAR eat.IMPERV-HAB-3sg.SU.IMPERV spoon-OBL/INSTR
 ‘She eats with a spoon.’
- d. [zùw-á bì-ò-ŋ]NP:S [jòg]S:TOP gáj-é
 people-RTSR COW-PL-GEN 3pl know-3pl.SU.IMPERV
 [bì-á g=èj]NP:O mífíró-a
 COW-RSTR PL.PSD=3PL.PSR mark-RSTR
 [él [nàwà-jè]OBL]RC
 exist.IMPERV:PL ear.PL-OBL/INSTR
 ‘The owners recognize their cattle by means of earmarks.’

The structure *mífíróá él nàwàje* in (10.45d) can be analyzed as a relative clause having a meaning ‘by mark) that exist (with/on) ears’. Instrumental applicative is discussed in Chapter 9.

10.3.1.2 Locative case

A locative case in Mursi is used to mark location or direction, but certainly does not have any connection with ventive and rarely itive markers that are found on verbs.

- (10.46) [íggé-á [àgg=ìnù dǔt-ìnè]RC kúrúm-ò=ηà]SUBORD:CL
 3pl.PN.SP-RSTR [3pl.PN.SP=FAR leave-AP.3 Kurum-LOC=DEF
 ‘Those others remained at the Kurum...’ (MH 4:00:6)

According to some Mursi elders, *Kurum* is a place at the South where their ancestors used to live in before they moved towards the Lower Omo Valley. Some examples are provided below.

- (10.47) a. nòŋ kún-Ø bà-i í-Ø rènà
 3sg come-3sg.SU.IMPERV place-LOC to.be-3sg.SU.IMPERV far
 ‘He came from a faraway country.’
 b. wà múgáj kó-i gáf-ò nà
 REC.PAST womean.SG go.IMPERV-3.IRR forest-LOC CCN
 bíg-ú kènò
 break-3sg.SU.PERV wood.PL
 ‘The woman goes to the forest and breaks wood.’

As illustrated in (10.47a-b), locative case marking suffixes are attached to nouns referring to both non-specified and specified/specific static places. The other rare as well as controversial locative marker is morpheme *-ni*. At this stage I was unable to make any assertion about its grammatical status —whether it is a locative case or some sort of locative suffix. Last and Lucassen (1998) have claimed that the suffix *-ni* in Chai (a dialect of Tirmaga, a Southeast Surmic group language) is a locative particle.

However, Bryant (2007: 42) rejected the claim made by Last and Lucassen. Bryant has noted that *-ni* is not a locative particle in Tirmaga rather it has a discourse function on its own. As evidence for this, he presented *-ni* which can occur where there is no anaphoric reference to a previously mentioned location. In addition to this, he also added that anaphoric references to a previously mentioned locations are found in Tirmaga without the locative suffix *-ni*.

Mursi and the two languages mentioned above together constitute a single dialect continuum, and these languages in fact display almost identical grammatical structure with Mursi. The evidence stated by Bryant about the suffix *-ni* as having a discourse function is plausible, but it cannot prevent the suffix *-ni* from being a locative marker.

However, what I have observed in my corpus is that the locative suffix *-ni* often occurs on postpositions but it does not occur on simple nouns. See the examples below:

- (10.48) a. kóisi á hír-á [Ø mág-èsèn-à
 koysi COP.3.IMPERV man-RSTR [Ø hold-BEN.3-NOMZ
 híri kéděm]_{RC} nòŋ lòm-Ø
 man calabash] 3sg have-3sg.SU.IMPERV
 ŋór-Ø bűj-ò-ni
 carry.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV back-OBL-LOC
 ‘Koysi, a man who is the supporter (of the priest) or man of calabash, he keeps it by carrying it (the goat) on his back.’
- ŋór-Ø bűj-ò=je máraǵ-é
 carry.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV back-OBL=SUBORD round-3pl.SU.IMPERV
 bi-ò
 cow-PL
 ‘Carrying it (the goat) on his back, they round up the cattle.’ (MR 6:01)
- b. àggè kó-hóǵ-á tó-jé-ni
 1pl 1SU-come.PERV:PL-1pl.INC.SU.PERV in-OBL-LOC
 kó-hóŋ-Ø tó-jé té úró
 1SU-come.IMPERV:PL-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV in-OBL COM.3.PERV milk
 ŋà=kà-màt-Ø=ó
 NEG.IMPERV=1SU-drink.IMPERV-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘We (inc.) come and enter inside (home). But when we (inc.) come inside (home), we should not drink milk. (MR 7:45:8)

10.3.1.3 Allative and ablative cases

Even though the same versatile case marking suffixes that also mark allative (motion towards) and ablative (motion away from) cases, it is the verb which renders part of the meaning.

- (10.49) a. àŋi kóó-í ór-ó
 1sg 1SU.go-1sg.SU.IMPERV homestead-ALL
 ‘I going toward the homestead.’
- b. àŋí kóó-í gǎǵ-ò
 1sg 1SU.go-1sg.SU.IMPERV forest-ALL
 ‘I am going toward the forest.’
- c. dóóléj ók-ú hólóg-ò
 girl go.PERV-3sg.SU.PERV dance-ALL
 ‘The girl went to the dance.’

- d. bàrì kúún-í mákó-jé
 yesterday 1SU.come.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV Mákkí-ABL
 ‘Yesterday I came from Mákkí.’
- e. àṅì kúún-í ór-ó
 1sg 1SU.come.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV homestead-ABL
 ‘I came from the homestead.’

10.3.2 Genitive case

The genitive case in Mursi is a case which is marked on nouns or on any other categories that modify heads of NPs. In particular, common nouns can be modified by other nouns with a genitive case form. All the modifying nouns must occur in genitive case form while the head noun must be marked with a modification form (see Chapter 4; §4.2.3). The morpheme *-ŋ* is a general genitive case marker suffix and has a number of other allomorphs.

- (10.50) a. [bá-á [ólǝ-ó bèrá-ŋ]_{NP}]_{NP}
 place-CF stalk-PL sorghum.type-GEN
 ‘place of the sorghum stalks.’
- b. [àlè-á gùǝúr-ùŋ]_{NP}
 stool-RSTR hyena-GEN
 ‘Hyena’s stool’ (i.e. ‘inedible mushroom’)
- c. òlítólà á [érmì-á ñàkútúl-ì]_{NP}
 Òlítólà COP.3.IMPERV child-RTSR Ngakutul-GEN
 ‘Olitula is Ngakutul’s child.’

The genitive case can follow the oblique case, for which both cases form an instance of double case marking scenario in the language. Both case suffixes often occur on modifier relator nouns. See the examples given below—where the relator noun in (10.51a) is a grammaticalized body part noun carrying two different morphological case forms.

- (10.51) a. [mà-à mùm-ò-ŋ]_{NP}
 water-CF face-OBL-GEN
 ‘Water at the front’ (Lit. ‘water-from the face of’)
- b. jòg á sú á [sú-á tán-ò-j]_{NP}
 3pl COP.3.IMPERV Aari COP.3.IMPERV Aari-RSTR side-OBL-GEN
 ‘They are the Aari of that side of the river.’ (MH 4: 10:7)

10.4 Adpositions

Mursi postpositions are monomorphemic particles suffixed with case markers. Phonologically, they can be made of two types: simple monomorphemic monosyllabic roots (as shown in Table 10.4 below; from *tóje* to *rɔɲɔ*) and monomorphemic roots in disyllabic CV₁CV₁C shapes. Note that the syllable shapes of both types were presented without their respective case suffixes. Some members of Mursi postpositions are relator nouns and often occur with an oblique case extensions. Postpositions normally occur in two forms —as particles and as particle plus suffixes.

Table 10.4 Adpositions

POSTPOSITION	MEANING	REMARK
<i>tóje</i>	‘in, inside, through’	tó-je <in-OBL>
<i>tùnɔ̀</i>	‘on, top, above’	tùn-ɔ̀ <on-OBL>
<i>bàì</i>	‘under’	bà-i <place/ground-OBL/LOC>
<i>bó</i>	‘top’	≈
<i>bó(ó)</i>	‘outside’	bó-ò <out-OBL>
<i>sábɔ̀</i>	‘front, first, in front of’	sáb-ɔ̀ <head-OBL>
<i>mùmɔ̀</i>	‘in front of’	mùn-ɔ̀ <forehead-OBL>
<i>kèŋɔ̀</i>	‘center, middle’	kèŋ-ɔ̀ <belly-OBL>
<i>rɔ̀ɲɔ̀</i>	‘beside, next to’	rɔ̀ɲ-ɔ̀ <rib-OBL>
<i>tùtùɔ̀</i>	‘top, tip’	tùtù-ɔ̀ <mouth-OBL> ≈ <tútú>
<i>bùgùjɔ̀</i>	‘behind, beyond’	bùgùj-ɔ̀ <back-OBL>
<i>sùgùmɔ̀</i>	‘bottom, foot’	sùgùm-ɔ̀ <rump-OBL>
<i>kàràné</i>	‘bottom, below, down’	‘down there, lower’
<i>máragɔ̀</i>	‘around’	≈ (from the verb <i>marag</i> ‘round’)
<i>kèrgènɔ̀</i>	‘middle, between’	also ‘through, among’
<i>wùréó</i>	‘behind, last, after’	preposition
<i>níŋè</i>	‘without’	negation of possession

Mursi, as it is dominantly a postpositional language (except *sábɔ̀* ‘front’ both postposition and preposition; *wùréó* ‘behind’ prepositions), it does not correlate with Greenberg’s Universal principle II. Both *sábɔ̀* and *wùréó* are multifunctional words such as postpositions (following nouns), as adverb or ordinal number (following some selected verbs), and as preposition (when used as time words). Thus, in relation to noun and verb modifier, they may occur in different syntactic positions in a clause. Greenberg’s universal principle II states that in languages with postpositions, the

genitive always precedes the governing noun (Greenberg 1966: 45). The fact is that Mursi is a typical postpositional language but the genitive always follows the noun. However, Greenberg's principle 27 highly correlates with Mursi, it says, 'if a language is exclusively suffixing, it is postpositional (p.57)'.

With regard to their morphological status, it is not easy to state whether these postpositions (other than the grammaticalized body part nouns in the form of relator nouns) were all once independent forms or bound to nouns as the genitive case markers on dependents.

- (10.52) a. mà tó-jé
 water in-OBL
 'Water on (the) inside'
- b. lúsi bòró-t-ú sárí tùn-ò nà
 boy jump-3sg.SU.PERV fence on-OBL CCN
 ḡè-ú ḡó-ó
 run-3sg.SU.PERV out-OBL
 'The boy jumped over the fence and ran away.'
- c. nòḡ ʃil-Ø [àlèḡ tùn-ò]
 3sg stand-3sg.SU.IMPERV chair on-OBL
 'S/he stood upon the chair.'
- d. bóto í-Ø [téréḡéízà tùn-ò]
 photo to.be-3sg.SU.IMPERV table on-OBL
 'The picture is above the table.'
- e. jòḡ ḡàḡ-é [kónáj tùn]
 3pl live-3pl.SU.IMPERV grain.store above
 'They live above the store.'
- f. mà hóḡ-á kòmà wà
 water come.PERV:PL-3pl.SU knee.PL REC.PAST
 ḡ=àḡ tùn
 PL.PSD=1PL.INC.PSR above/on.top
 'The water came above our knees.'

Furthermore, as shown in (10.52), postpositions may occur with oblique markers (as in (10.52a-d) or without them (as in (10.52e-f). The co-occurrence of postpositions and case markers is not always clear. In (10.53a) below, at first glance, the postpositional particle *bàì* looks like a verbal word. The fact is that it is not a verbal word, but it may

in (10.53c), *bàì* has a unique postposition function. See further elaborations of the postpositions given below.

- (10.54) a. [mà bà tò-nì]
 water place in-LOC
 ‘water from below the ground/place’
- b. [dóri-a 6ó-ì-n]
 house-RSTR top-LOC-GEN
 ‘house on the top’ (Lit. ‘house of the upper place’)
- c. [bá kárané]
 place down
 ‘the land below’
- d. [dóri 6ùgùj]
 house back
 ‘back of the house (the house’s back)’
- e. [mà kèrgèn]
 water middle
 ‘water in the middle’
- f. ʃíl téré6éízá ròŋ-ò
 stand.PERV table side-OBL
 ‘stand (sg.) beside the table!’

With regard to the different morphological forms and syntactic position possibilities of postpositions such that additional spatial relation specification and respective meaning variation of them appear to be of not much significance. In spite of this solid fact, minor semantic variations may exist when oblique case marking suffixes are directly attached to oblique arguments and when oblique case markers attach to normal postposition particles. For example,

- (10.55) a. [wàrkáti-á n=ànù] í-Ø sátíní tó-jé
 paper-RTSR SG.PSD=1SG.PSR to.be-3sg.SU.IMPERV box in-OBL
 ‘My book is inside the box.’
- b. ɲà=hòì=tá ʃúúnú í-Ø
 DEM=female=NEAR father.PERT.SG.3.PSR to.be-3sg.SU.IMPERV
 òrì? í-Ø dórí-jè
 where to.be-3sg.SU.IMPERV house-OBL
 ‘Where is your (f) father? He is at home.’
- c. ɖàìn-ò kú-dǔl-ó tó-jé
 night-OBL 1SU-enter-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV in-OBL
 ‘We (exc.) got in at night.’

In (10.55a), the independent postposition particle follows the oblique argument and both constitute a single unit, call it a postpositional phrase. An extra spatial relation meaning in (a) is, that it tells the specific place of the item. In (10.55b), the oblique case is attached to the noun and appears in its general function. In this case, the oblique case marker does not supply specific spatial relation information in relation to the exactness. (10.56) has no oblique argument so the postposition follows the predicate as complement. The postposition *tójé* can also mean ‘through/by’ (as in (10.56a-c)).

- (10.56) a. *zíní dǔl-Ø máskótí tó-jé*
 thief enter-3sg.SU.IMPERV window in-OBL
 ‘The thief entered through (by) the window.’
- b. *jòg gól-é làpòj tó-jé*
 3pl crawl-3pl.SU.IMPERV grass in-OBL
 ‘They crawl through the grass.’
- c. *gùjò dǎr-ò tárár tó-jé*
 rain leak-3.IRR roof in-OBL
 ‘The rain comes through the roof (=the roof leaks)’

The syntactic position of postpositions may change depending on the type of clauses in which they occur. The examples given below show some instances — negative imperative (10.57a), question (10.57b), and negation (10.57c).

- (10.57) a. *jòg tó-jé ñà=hón-í*
 3pl in-OBL NEG.IMPERV-come.IMPERV:PL-PL
 ‘Let them not come in!’
- b. *tó-jé jòg ñà=hón-í?*
 in-OBL 3pl NEG.IMPERV-come.IMPERV:PL-PL
 ‘Shall they not come in?’
- c. *lúsì dórí tó-jé níjè*
 boy house in-OBL not.present
 ‘The boy is not in the house.’

10.5 Verb-final suffix

In the attempt to understand how different grammatical constituents interact within sentences or clauses, we shouldn't forget that some minor but important morphological

forms such as verb-final suffixes that might contribute certain pragmatic and semantic roles in various types structures in which they occur. The verb-final suffix, an obligatory syntactic requirement for affirmative declarative, imperative, hortative/jussive, and negative clauses, is a morphological element that occurs often on clause-final intransitive verbs.

Table 10.5. Verb-final suffixes

VERB-FINAL SUFFIXE	CLAUSE TYPE	CONSTITUENT TYPE	REMARK
-ɔ	affirmative declarative	SV	on intransitive imperfective verb following bound pronominal S suffixes
-ɔ	negative intransitive clause	SV	can also occur following the negative enclitic =ó
-ɔ/-ε	passive	(S)V	-ɔ (1 st /2 nd persons), -ε (3 rd person)
-a/-ε/-o	hortative/jussive	(S)V	unpredictable
-a/-ε/-o	imperative	(S)V	-a (singular), -ε (plural), -o (unpredictable)

The verb-final suffixes do not occur on the verb if there is another constituent that follows the verb. They basically allow the verb to be a focalized constituent. The verb which contains verb-final suffixes may be the only clausal constituent. At least in relation to some other constituents in a clause, for obvious reasons, there will be no constituent other than the verb which is to be made a focal element.

- (10.58) a. kí-ḃíg-í-ḃò
 1SU-break.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘I will break.’
 b. ḃíg-í-ḃò
 hear.IMPERV-2sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘You (sg.) will hear.’
 c. úró mât-Ø-ḃò
 milk drink.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘S/he drinks milk.’

In (10.58c), the verb precedes the object — which also shows that sentential/clausal focus always occurs on the element that will take the last position of the clause. The

preverbal object in (10.58c) is an optional element for the topic under discussion, thus it is only the verb-final suffix (focus marker) which is always obligatory especially if the verb is the sole constituent in a clause.

- (10.59) a. $\eta\grave{a}=k\acute{a}-b\acute{a}ns-\emptyset=\acute{o}-\grave{\delta}$
 NEG.IMPERV=1SU-wake.up.IMPERV-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV=NEG-VFS
 ‘We (inc.) will not wake up.’
- b. $n\grave{o}\eta \eta\grave{a}ni \quad \acute{u}\eta\acute{u}s-\emptyset-\grave{\delta}$
 3sg NEG.PERV sleep.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘S/he is still sleeping.’
- c. $\eta\grave{a}=h\acute{i}r-\acute{a} \quad \eta\grave{a}t\grave{u}\eta \quad \eta\grave{a}=\acute{\epsilon}\eta\acute{\epsilon}r\acute{\epsilon}s-\emptyset=\acute{o}-\grave{\delta}$
 DEM=man=NEAR lion NEG=afraid.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG-VFS
 ‘This is a man who does not fear lions.’

In non-content/constituent question, as can be shown below in (10.59d), the verb-final suffix resides on the verb that substitutes the focused-constituent question positions.

- d. $m\grave{a} \quad \eta\grave{a}ni \quad k-\acute{u}d\acute{u}s-\grave{a}=\acute{o} \quad m\grave{a}t-\acute{o}-\grave{\delta}?$
 water NEG.PERV 3.SBJV-boil-3.IRR=NEG drink-2pl.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘Do you (pl) drink unboiled water?’

As shown below, the verb-final suffixes in the imperative clauses have predictable morphological manifestations, except the *-o* (as in (10.60b)). Even for the suffix *-o*, a tentative suggestion can be made, i.e. following verb roots that end in vowels.

- (10.60) a. $\check{c}\acute{u}r-\grave{a}$
 wash.PERV:IMP-VFS
 ‘Wash (sg.)!’
- b. $\acute{l}\acute{a}m\acute{i}-\grave{o}$
 find.PERV:IMP-VFS
 ‘Seek (sg.)!’
- c. $\check{c}\acute{u}r-\acute{u}-\grave{\epsilon}$
 wash.PERV:IMP-PL-VFS
 ‘Wash (pl.)!’

However, as illustrated in hortative-jussive constructions (as in (10.61a-c)), the verb-final suffixes are not predictable.

- (10.61) a. $k\acute{i}-\acute{b}\acute{i}k-\acute{a}$
 1.HORT-break.PERV-VFS
 ‘Let me break (it)’

b. kà-làmì-ó

1.HORT-find.PERV-VFS

‘Let me seek (it)’

c. kǐ-bíǵ-í-è

3.JUSS-break.PERV-PL-VFS

‘Let them break (it)’

Chapter 11 Comparative constructions

11.1 Introduction

Comparative construction is a grammatical means of showing two or more items in order to note similarities and differences between them (Dixon 2012: 343). In order to make a comparison between two items, there must be at least one quality (essence) which could be used as a parameter, and that the two items share in common. In other words, comparing of two or more items involves quality association, an indispensable approach which would help us to understand where the difference between the items lies or to what extent/degree the difference between the items in comparison is viable. One cannot compare two items unless there is at least a single difference in quality between them, thus the difference comes by means of associating the two items.

As suggested by Dixon (2012: 344), a prototypical comparative construction has three elements — the comparison of participants (COMPAREE and STANDARD OF COMPARISON), the property (PARAMETER of comparison), and the INDEX of comparison. Although Mursi does not adhere to all types of comparative constructions that different languages employ, it can indicate an elaborative and distinct comparative construction techniques by using various grammatical means. Of the three prototypical comparative construction elements mentioned above, Mursi explicitly indicate participants being compared and parameter of comparison (often adjectives). Index of comparison may be indicated by attaching a benefactive/dative marker suffix to the element of the parameter of comparison. Therefore, by combining these elements and other grammatical elements in distinct syntactic environments, Mursi presents five types of comparative constructions: mono-clausal (§11.2), phrasal plus mono-clausal (§11.3), bi-clausal Type I (§11.4), and bi-clausal Type II (§11.5), and a comparative construction which involves the connector *ba* (§11.6).

d. jenas bú-sèn [gòdinè-á n=ènè]NP
 yonas big-COMPAR brother.PERT.3sg.PSR-RSTR SG.PSD=3SG.PSR
 ‘Yonas is taller/bigger than his brother.’

A single instance where the mark of standard is indicated by the postpositional particle *bó* ‘upon, above, over’ has been found. This happens when the typical element that functions as parameter of comparison (adjective) is being replaced by the verb.

(11.2) INDEX COMPAREE MARK STANDARD
 nòŋ jél-èsèn dáǐ bó úŋó
 3sg like-COMPAR work above sleep
 ‘S/he likes work better than sleeping.’
 (Lit. ‘S/he likes work more above sleeping.’)

In (11.2), the index is added to the parameter *jel* ‘like, love’. Thus, syntactically speaking, the standard is in peripheral function marked by the postposition *bó*. The fact is that in Mursi both verbs and adjectives can function as predicate head. The scenario in (11.2) can be further justified by the fact that in comparative constructions, only adjectives can function as parameter of comparison. The other interesting comparative construction of a mono-clausal type comes when comparing two items that are almost equivalent in the parameter of comparison. In this case, two adjectives will be utilized, — one to be used as a parameter of comparison and the other as a modifier of the standard within an NP, as in (11.3).

(11.3) COMPAREE PARAMETER-INDEX
 [ŋà=dórí=á]NP í-Ø=ŋà ràràg-èsèn
 DEM=house=NEAR to.be-3sg.SU.IMPERV=DEF tall.STV-COMPAR
 STANDARD
 [[ŋà=ki=tá]NP bó]NP
 DEM=tree=NEAR high.RSTR
 ‘This house is about as high as that tree.’ (Lit. ‘This house is taller like that tall tree.’)

Thus in (11.3) *bó* is a modifier of the standard, which is an NP in its own.

The most interesting of all mono-clausal comparative constructions is the acquisition of a superlative reading when the standard is plural. Unlike other languages, for instance

English where the superlative adjective modifies the head noun within an NP plus the definite article *the*, Mursi never changes the syntax of comparative construction in order to form a superlative construction.

- (11.4) a. *nòŋ bú-sèn [gòdingè-á g=èŋè]NP*
 3sg big-COMPAR brother.PERT.3pl.PSR-RSTR PL.PSD=3SG.PSR
 ‘He is the eldest of his brothers.’
- b. *nòŋ mòkòŋ-èsèn támárí-ŋá*
 3sg short.STV-COMPAR student-PL
 ‘He is the shortest of the students.’
- c. *nòŋ čáll-èsèn dóólé*
 3sg good.STV-COMPAR girl.PL
 ‘She is the prettiest of the girls.’

Regarding superlative constructions, Dixon (2012: 364) noted that many languages express the superlative by using a comparative construction where the standard may be specified by quantifiers such as ‘all’. Mursi adheres to this according to Dixon’s statement, which means that syntactically both comparative and superlative constructions remain the same except for minor adjustments on the standard (as in (11.4a-c)). The sole difference between the two types of constructions is that the standard in the superlative is being made plural instead of other forms. In (11.4d) below it is a relative clause which consists of the parameter of comparison *busen* ‘bigger/est’ and the standard *ŋaiggea* ‘these’. It appears that the relative clause is a modifier of the comparee *ina*. The copula complement *jela* ‘love’ refers to the comparee *ina* ‘one, that’.

- d. *[ín-á]CS [bú-sèn-á ŋà=ìggè=à]RC*
 3sg.PN.SP-RSTR big-COMPAR-RSTR DEM=3pl.PN.SP=NEAR
 á [jél-à]CC
 COP.3.IMPERV love-NOMZ
 ‘The greatest of these is love.’ (Lit. ‘It that the greatest of these is love.’)
- e. *ŋà=ìn=ù án-á [tíín-èsèn-á*
 DEM=3sg.PN.SP=FAR COP.3.IMPERV-TEMP small-COMPAR-RTSR
 dónénén]
 one+NOMZ
 ‘That is the thinnest one.’

In (11.4e), the comparee is explicitly mentioned while the standard is not. But we know for sure that the comparee referred to in (11.4d) is one of its type from among many of the standards.

11.3 Phrasal plus mono-clausal construction

The main reason for the term ‘phrasal’ used here instead of just bi-clausal is that both the COMPAREE and the STANDARD OF COMPARISON can be conjoined by the phrasal coordinative conjunction particle *kó*, for they often form a phrase. Here, one important point that we must take into account is that the conjoined elements labeled as comparee and standard only refer to the participants, otherwise there is no means to distinguish between the two participants, at least at this stage, unless one of them is re-mentioned in the clause. There are two types of phrasal plus mono-clausal comparative construction strategies: (i) one that contains no copula verb and which looks like a single clause, and (ii) one that has a phrase and a copular clause. Both strategies do not make use of the benefactive suffix *-èsèn* as a comparative degree marker. Illustrations of both types are presented as follows (Mütze 2014):

- (11.5)
- | | | | | | |
|----|--|--|---------------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| | PARTICIPANTS | | PARAMETER | | COMPAREE |
| a. | [ŋòrò kó čár], | | [tìr] | | čár-ó |
| | elephant PCN leopard | | fast | | leopard-NOM/FOC |
| | ‘The leopard is faster than the elephant.’ | | | | |
| | (Lit. ‘of the elephant and the leopard, the leopard is the fast one.’) | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | PARTICIPANTS | | COMPAREE | | PARAMETER |
| b. | [ŋòrò kó čár] | | [čár] _{CS} | á | [tìr-i] _{CC} |
| | elephant PCN leopard | | leopard | COP.3.IMPERV | fast-ADJ |
| | ‘The leopard is faster than the elephant.’ | | | | |
| | (Lit. ‘from the elephant and the leopard, the leopard is fast.’) | | | | |

As seen in (11.5a), the comparee and the standard of comparison are conjoined by the phrasal conjunction *kó* ‘with’, and both are topicalized elements. The parameter that follows the phrase has lost its adjectivizer suffix *-i* because it is neither in a copula complement position nor is it a full-fledged parameter. Since almost all Mursi

adjectives are derived from stative verbs, it is not uncommon for adjectives to behave like verbs. Two proofs for this assertion are, (i) the deletion of its adjectiviser suffix, and (ii) the post-verbal marked-nominative case suffix on the comparee.

However, the suffix can also function as a focus marker. In (11.5a), the crucial point seems to be the way the comparee is distinguished from the object. The first and foremost answer to this will be a language-specific strategy. Individual languages may have their own information structuring strategies and one of which is the strategy they employ for comparative constructions. Besides, two genuine answers are presented, — one hypothetical but depending on the way the language tend to arrange constituents in a clause, and the other depending on the structure in (11.5b). With regard to the first, the participants are already mentioned first. Thus, due to this discourse context in place, repeating the standard seems irrelevant and therefore it has been omitted. In addition to this, had *ɣ̀r̀* been the comparee, it wouldn't be marked for nominative case. This is due to the fact that nouns that have *ɔ*-final roots can be marked for nominative case by reduction of the same vowel (/ɔ/). The second explanation is based on the principle of 'more adjacent' to the mono-clausal construction where the participants and other constituents are syntactically placed (as in (11.5b)). Accordingly, from the two conjoined participants in the NP, *čár* is adjacent to the copular clause, so it is the one being picked for copula subject position. Additional examples of the first type is given below (Mütze 2014):

- | | | | |
|--------|--|-----------|-------------|
| (11.6) | PARTICIPANTS | PARAMETER | COMPAREE |
| a. | [múwáj kó hírí], | [bú] | hí-ó |
| | woman PCN man | big | man-NOM/FOC |
| | 'The man is bigger than the woman.' | | |
| | (Lit. '(from) the woman and the man, the man is the big one.') | | |

This is a more similar comparative construction to (11.5b) but containing a different index *hétó* 'same as, similar'. This applies if both comparee and the standard are

equivalent in value. Indeed the example in (11.7) is one that shows comparison of equality.

(11.7)	PARTICIPANTS		PARAMETER		INDEX	
	nòṅ	kó	àṅè	ój-íṅá	á	hétó
	3sg	with	1sg	year.PL	COP.3.IMPERV	same

‘S/he is about my age.’ (Lit. ‘S/he and me, (our) years are the same.’)

As can be seen in (11.7), a statement of equivalence can be achieved in the same way as a comparative construction with phrasal plus copula clause technique, i.e. by conjoining comparee and standard participants as a single NP, and by incorporating the parameter and the index in a copula clause.

11.4 Bi-clausal construction Type I

Bi-clausal comparative construction Type I can be expressed by using two copular clauses for comparative constructions and three copular clauses for superlative constructions. The fact is that the parameter of comparison remains the same in all clauses but can be modified by one or more degree intensifiers. Type I bi-clausal comparative constructions have the following templates:

- (i) {[STANDARD₁]_{CS} [PARAMETER₁]_{CC}} CLAUSE₁
 {[COMPAREE₁]_{CS} [PARAMETER₁]_{CC} INDEX₁} CLAUSE₂...comparative construction
- (ii) {[STANDARD₁]_{CS} [PARAMETER₁]_{CC}} CLAUSE₁
 {[STANDARD₂]_{CS} [PARAMETER₁]_{CC} INDEX₁} CLAUSE₂
 {[COMPAREE₁]_{CS} [PARAMETER₁]_{CC} INDEX₁ INDEX₂} CLAUSE₃...superlative
 Construction

(11.8)	STANDARD		PARAMETER		
	[bàrihún] _{CS}	á	[tíín-í] _{CC}		
	barihuny	COP.3.IMPERV	small-ADJ		
	COMPAREE		PARAMETER	INDEX	
	òlélùì	á	tíín-í	háj	
	olelu	COP.3.IMPERV	small-ADJ	very	

‘Barihuny is small. Olelu is very small.’ (Lit. ‘Olelu is smaller than Barihuny.’)

(11.9)	STANDARD		PARAMETER		
	[bàríhún] _{CS}	á	[tíín-í] _{CC}		
	barihuny	COP.3.IMPERV	small-ADJ		
	STANDARD		PARAMETER	INDEX	
	[òlélùì] _{CS}	á	[tíín-í] _{CC}	háŋ	
	olelu	COP.3.IMPERV	small-ADJ	very	
	COMPAREE		PARAMETER	INDEX	INDEX
	[òlítùlà] _{CS}	á	[tíín-í] _{CC}	háŋ	háŋ
	Òlítùlà	COP.3.IMPERV	small-ADJ	very	very

‘Barihuny is small. Olelu is very small. Olitula is very very small.’
(Lit. ‘Olitula is the smallest one.’)

As it is shown in (11.7), the bi-copular clauses can indicate a comparative construction; where the first clause only contains the standard and the parameter while the second clause often contains the comparee, parameter and the index of comparison. The same syntactic construction applies to a superlative construction, as we saw in (11.8). Two major differences have been noted between the comparative in (11.7) and the superlative (11.8), — the superlative construction requires three copular clauses and two index markers.

There is also another form of comparative construction that involves two copula clauses but requires the use of two semantically opposing parameters (adjectives), as in (11.9).

(11.10)	STANDARD		PARAMETER	
	[dóri-á	n=ànù] _{NP:CS}	á	[tíín-í] _{CC}
	house-RSTR	SG.SPD=1SG.PSR	COP.3.IMPERV	small-ADJ
	[dóri-á	n=ùnù] _{NP:CS}	á	[bú-í] _{CC}
	house-RSTR	SG.SPD=2SG.PSR	COP.3.IMPERV	big-ADJ

‘My house is small; your house is big’
(Lit. ~ ‘My house is smaller than yours’ or ‘Your house is bigger than mine.’)

As Dixon (2012: 359) states, this type of comparative construction can be called a ‘comparative strategy. A language called Alamlak (a Sepik Hill family, Papua New Guinea) has similar comparative construction to the one illustrated in (11.9) (p. 359).

11.5 Bi-clausal construction Type II

Type II bi-clausal comparative construction is similar to Type I in a way it syntactically arranges its copular clause constituents. The difference lies in the use of a third clause which is a typical subordinate clause that contains all sorts of elements necessary for subordinate clause construction. Thus, Type II bi-clausal comparative construction can have the following four main syntactic constituents:

- (i) Two copular clauses having the same parameter of comparison.
- (ii) A subordinate clause that contains the verb *èlèhèn* ‘compare, measure, make same, mark’.
- (iii) A clausal coordinator *nà* ‘and’ which shows narrative progression. A clausal coordinator *nà* ‘and’ shows narrative progression. In this case, it shows the continuity of the first copular clause. When *nà* alone occurs at clause initial position, it denotes narrative/discourse progression but when *nà* is used together with the conditional/temporal marker particle *húllí* ‘if/when’ it can denote a disjunctive meaning (*nà húllí* ‘but when’ (lit. ~ ‘and if/when’)).
- (iv) The comparee must be mentioned in both subordinate clause as well as in the second copula clause.

(11.11)	STANDARD		PARAMETER	
	[òlígìdâpí]cs	á	[tíín-í]cc	
	Oligidhanyi	COP.3.IMPERV	small-ADJ	
	<i>nà</i>	[húllí	k-èlèhèn-Ø	COMPARÉE
	CCN	if/when	1SU-compare-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV	kó
	COMPARÉE		PARAMETER	márità=jè]SUBORD:CL
	[márità]cs	á	[tíín-í]cc	INDEX
	Marita	COP.3.IMPERV	small-ADJ	háj
				very
	‘Oligidhanyi is small. But when we (inc.) compare (STANDARD) with Marita, Marita is very small.’ (Mütze 2014).			
	(Lit. ‘Marita is smaller when compared with Oligidhanyi.’)			

The subordinate clause in (11.10), can fill the gap seen in comparative constructions that are expressed by simply juxtaposing two copula clauses, for instance (11.8).

11.6 *há* construction

Comparative constructions that make use of the multifunction word *há* are of two types:

(i) copula clause + *há*+ STANDARD, and (ii) *há* in various syntactic slots. The word *há* ‘place, ground’ may be used in the first type of construction the same way as in reason clauses and passive clauses (as agent marker). Thus, when *há* is linked to the standard of comparison by the restrictive modification marker *-a*, both forms an NP, whose semantics is more similar to a reason clause.

(11.12)	COMPAREE		PARAMETER	MARK	STANDARD
a.	[ɲòrò] _{CS} elephant	á COP.3.IMPERV	[bú-í] _{CC} big-ADJ	[há-á cause/place-RSTR	bì-ɲ] _{NP} cow-GEN
	‘The elephant is bigger than the cow.’ (Lit. ‘In place of the cow, the elephant is bigger.’)				
b.	[bì] _{CS} cow	á COP.3.IMPERV	[bú-í] _{CC} big-ADJ	[há-á cause/place-RSTR	ròs-ùɲ] _{NP} dog-GEN
	‘The cow is bigger than the dog.’ (Lit. ‘In place of the dog, the cow is bigger.’)				

The examples in (11.12a-b) were taken from Mütze (2014). Even though both are syntactically well formed comparative constructions, the literal meanings that were provided by Mütze do not fully reflect their structure. For instance, Mütze glossed the NP within a frame of reason clause (‘because of the cow’ (11.12a) and ‘because of the dog’ (11.12b)). Mütze's literal interpretation (reason clause) comes from the fact that she considered the genitive case marked nouns as the standards of the comparative constructions, which is true. Yet, as can be seen from the examples given above, *há* has little to do with reason clauses. The second function of *há* ‘in place of’ is as marker of standard. In fact, in examples above (11.12a-b) *há* seems to have the same function. However, unlike the above examples, the phrase that *há* forms with the standard does

not follow copula clauses, rather it follows simple intransitive or transitive clauses.

Some examples are given below:

(11.13) PARAMETER COMPAREE MARK

a.	nòŋ	jél-Ø	[nòŋ	[dʒòònnè] _{NP}] _{NP}	[bá-á
	3sg	like-3SG.SU.IMPERV	3sg	mother.PERT.3.PSR	place-RTSR
		STANDARD		INDEX	
	nòŋ	[fúúné] _{NP}] _{NP}	bó-ó		
	3sg	father.PERT.3.PSR	above/high-OBL		

‘He loves his mother more than his father.’

(Lit. ‘In place of his father, he likes his mother more.’)

Here, the mark and the standard will comprise a single NP. Independent personal pronouns can occasionally be used by speakers in what appears to be an idiolect scenario and optional NP elements.

b.	aggè	wà	kúrt-ó		bá
	1pl	REC.PAST	1SU.dig.PERV-1pl.EXC.SU.PERV		place
	INDEX	COMPAREE	MARK	STANDARD	
	bó	ŋàméá	[bá-á	bàrì	bàrì-ne] _{NP}
	above/high	today	place-RSTR	yesterday	yesterday-OBL/RS

‘We have dug more ground today than yesterday.’

(Lit. ‘In place of from yesterday, we (exc.) have dug more ground today.’)

c.		PARAMETER	INDEX	COMPAREE	
	[nòŋ] _s	ŋè-ú	wáy	[ŋàméá]	bó
	3sg	run-3SG.SU.PERV	very	now	above/high
	MARK	STANDARD			
	[bá-á	bàrì	bàrì-ne] _{NP}		
	place-RSTR	yesterday	yesterday-OBL		

‘It is running more today than yesterday.’

(Lit. ‘In yesterday's place, it is running very much (high) today.’)

The index *wáy* in (11.13c) is modifier of the intransitive predicate while *bó* is a modifier of *ŋàméá*. Furthermore, (11.14c) shows that in Mursi, actions can be compared (see also e.g. 11.14). Further illustrations were provided below.

(11.14) COMPAREE PARAMETER-INDEX STANDARD

a.	nòŋ	tírán-Ø	jél-èsèn	dáǰĩ
	3sg	play-3sg.SU.IMPERV	like-COMPAR	work
		MARK		
	bó			
	above/high			

‘He likes playing more than working.’

	COMPAREE		PARAMETER-INDEX
b.	[ḃá-á	ḃó-á] _{NP}	čàll-èsèn
	place-RTSR	wide-RSTR	good.STV-COMPAR
	MARK	STANDARD	
	[ḃá-á	ḡùčù-à] _{NP}	
	place-RTSR	narrow-RSTR	
	‘The wide one is better than the narrow one.’		
	(Lit. ‘In place of the narrow, the wider one is better.’)		

11.7 Other types of comparative constructions

In addition to the comparative constructions we saw in the aforementioned sections, Mursi employs two additional comparative strategies — one by employing a grammatical degree marker suffix *-sís* on the underived adjective *búí* ‘big’ and the other by employing a separative-like strategy. The degree marker suffix *-sís* only occurs on the adjective *búí* and can either be used to indicate degree of magnitude (see further in chapter 8) or augmentative.

(11.15)	COMPAREE		PARAMETER-INDEX
	ḡà=ḡòrò	[àhì-á	bú-sísí-ó ḡàf-ùḡ] _{NP}
	DEM=elephant	thing.SG-RTSR	big-AUG-RSTR forest-GEN
	‘An elephant is a big animal (beast).’		
	(Lit. ‘An elephant is the biggest thing of the forest.’)		

(11.15) is a verbless construction where both the parameter and index are in the NP.

Due to the absence of the copula verb, the PARAMETER-INDEX is intervened between the head and the modifier of the NP. Had it been a copula clause, *búsísíó* would be placed in copula complement position while NP (just *àhìá ḡàfùḡ*) would take the next position. The index is the augmentative suffix *-sísí* [*-sís*].

The other type of comparative construction is the one which employs a separative-like strategy (or subtractive ‘‘X’s Y is small(er), and subtracted/cut-from X’’). Cross-linguistically, the separative-like comparative construction is a very rare strategy. I have found one such example for which the verb *kéd* ‘subtract, cut’ denotes a separative-like reading.

(11.16)	COMPAREE			PARAMETER	INDEX
	[ɲòná-á	n=ànù] _{NP:CS}	á	[tíín-í] _{CC}	háɲ
	siste-RSTR	SG.PSD=1SG.PSR	COP.3.IMPERV	small-ADJ	very
			STANDARD		
	nà	kéd-áɲ	àɲè		
	CCN	subtract/cut-1sg.OBJ	1sg		
	‘My sister is much smaller than I am.’				
	(Lit. ‘My sister is very small, (and/then/when) subtract/cut from me.’)				

This being an absolutely rare type of comparative construction strategy, it thus needs

further research in the future.

1.8 Equality construction

Equality construction in Mursi can be shown by either *hékó...téb* ‘(the) same...as’

(*hékó* stands for ‘same, similar’) or by combining *hétó* ‘be same, look like’ with the

particle *téb* ‘as/just’.

(11.17)a.	COMPAREE		PARAMETER	INDEX	
	[túrúmél-á	ràmàg-à] _{NP}	tìr-tìn-ó	hékó	
	car-RSTR	long.STV-RTSR	fast-N.S-MOD	same/like	
	STANDARD	MARK			
	báwùrù	téb			
	plane	as/just!			
	‘A train is as fast as a plane’				
	(Lit. ‘The long car is fast, the same as the plane.’)				
b.	COMPAREE	INDEX	STANDARD	PARAMETER	INDEX
	čár	hét-éné	kó	ɲàtùɲ	bág-ò
	leopard.SG	be.same-AP.3	PNC	lion.SG	eat-3sg.IRR
	‘Leopard is as dangerous as lion.’				
	(Lit. ‘Leopard be (the) same with/as lion, as/just dangerous.’)				
c.	COMPAREE	PARAMETER	STANDARD	INDEX	MARK
	dóri	ràmà-tìn-ó	túrúmél	hékó	téb
	house.SG	long.STV-N.S-MOD	car.SG	same	as/just
	‘The house is as tall as the car.’				

In (11.17a,c), the parameters are nominalized stative verbs denoting ‘state’. Dixon

(2012: 363) noted that the majority of languages of the world have a grammatical

construction for ‘the same as’, a separate form from that for ‘more than’.

Chapter 12 Questions

12.1 Introduction

A question is one of the three speech act types whose grammatical mood value is expressed by interrogative (cf. Dixon 2012). The two best known question types are content questions and polar questions. Mursi has both types. Mursi employs content question words (mostly pronominals) which usually take clause-final argument slots. Mursi question words occur immediately following the verb at syntactic positions where grammatical objects naturally belong. Moreover, sentence-final positions, syntactic slots for core and non-core arguments may typically function as focus-bearing positions when filled by question words. By using Mursi content questions words, one can question the referents of clause final argument slots (NPs), location, time, quantity, and so on. On the other hand, a polar question in Mursi can be formed either by raising the intonation of the lexical constituents that occur at end of a clause or by placing non-interrogative particles at the end of a declarative statement.

Besides, Mursi does not adhere to Greenberg's Universal Hypothesis 12. Greenberg predicted that VSO languages always have interrogative words sentence-initially. In Mursi and in other Southeastern Surmic group languages (AVO), interrogative words always occur sentence-finally. Syntactically, as long as the O argument is sentence-final constituent, the difference between VSO [VAO] and AVO is not significant in interrogative constructions. Of all interrogative words, *ténèŋ* 'why' deviates from the sentence-final pattern. The interrogative word 'why' has two varieties, one of which, *ténèŋ*, can be placed at sentence-initial position when used in some rhetorical questions. In the light of the two straightforward question construction formation types and other less common strategies of interrogatives, this chapter presents a detailed discussion of

the structure of questions of the language. Thus, in the subsequent sections, content questions (§12.2), non-interrogative particles (§12.3), polar questions (§12.4), and other questioning strategies (§12.5) in the language are discussed in detail.

12.2 Content questions

Content question words normally fill both core and non-core argument slots. Since question words occur at clause-final argument slot within strict constituent order, the original constituents at the clause-final slot can be placed at clause-initial position. Moreover, content question words are ‘pro-phrasals’ therefore they may come with marked case and modification forms (cf. Mütze 2014). Content question words are of two types: question words and interrogative pronouns. This distinction is based on the properties that question words often display whenever they fill the non-question words’ syntactic slots, because both types of question words can fill whatever position is natural for the non-question words corresponding to the same slot.

Table 12.1 Question (interrogative) words

QUESTION WORDS	MEANING	CORE/NON-CORE FUNCTIONS	SECTION
<i>òη</i>	‘what?’	O (-human objects)	§12.2.1
<i>ónόη</i>	‘what?’	A/S (-human)	§12.2.1
<i>ónόηό</i>	‘with what?’	~ ‘by what means’ non-core (instrumental)	§12.2.1
<i>ènèη</i>	‘how?’	method	§12.2.2
<i>kè òη</i>	‘why?’	~ ‘for what’ reason, rhetorical, incredulity	§12.2.2
<i>ténèη</i>	‘why?’	reason, rhetorical	§12.2.2
<i>mìnάη</i>	‘when?’	temporal (point of time)	§12.2.3
<i>òrì</i>	‘where?’	location (place)	§12.2.4
<i>βόννόj</i>	‘where?’	~ ‘place/out.where’ definite, indefinite	§12.2.4
<i>ísòη</i>	‘how many?’	quantity (number)	§12.2.5
<i>nèη</i>	‘who?’	O (\pm human objects), CC, peripheral argument	§12.2.6
<i>nόj</i>	‘who?’	O (+human)	§12.2.6
<i>nì</i>	‘whose?’	modification form, singular possession	§12.2.7
<i>gì</i>	‘whose?’	modification form, plural possession	§12.2.7
<i>nì+nì</i>	‘whose?’	pronoun form, singular possession,	§12.2.8
<i>gì+gì</i>	‘whose?’	pronoun form, plural possession	§12.2.8

One basic observation that can be made from the forms of question words in Table 12.1 is the reoccurrence of /n/ and /g/ to distinguish between singular and plural numbers. Typologically, the *n/g(k)* singular versus plural alternation is one of the most common areal features, not only in Surmic languages but also in most languages of Eastern Sudanic. Besides, except the interrogative *ténèŋ* that can occur only sentence-initially, all the rest of the interrogative words always occur at sentence-final positions.

Regarding the morphological status of interrogatives, some appear to have originated from one common form *ɔŋ* even if it is not easy at this stage to trace back how they fused in such way. Especially, many of the question (interrogative) words appear to have the formative *ɔŋ* or *-ɔŋ*, may be at some point in early stages of the language. Yet it is possible to analyze some of them as separate forms or morphemes, for which each segmentable unit will carry its own independent grammatical meaning. For example, the interrogative word *ɔnɔŋɔ* ‘with what?’ is derived from the non-human A nominative form *ɔnɔŋ* ‘what?’ and the oblique case marker suffix *-ɔ*. The interrogative *ɔnɔŋ* itself appears to be a derived form possibly from *nɔŋ* ‘3sg’ (or third person impersonal pronoun) (see Table 12.1) and the nominative case marker *-ɔ* (as prefix). As the forms themselves hint, a number of such plausible explanations could be presented in order to trace back the origins of Mursi interrogative forms,—but they may not consist of more than three formative.

Last and Lucassen (1998: 415) noted that the form **/a-ŋa/* ‘what’ (with a copula) have been attested in Proto-Nilotic. They also suggested that this could be one of the oldest question word formation within the Eastern Sudanic language family. For instance, present-day languages such as Luo (*a-ŋɔ* ‘what’) and Pări (*a-ŋo* ‘what’, *a-ŋa* ‘who’) have maintained the proto-forms.

instrument/object used to perform a certain the action. Even if the object used is already stated in the question statement, the main function of *kàrì* plus *òḡ* is to denote an incredulous situation. Thus the whole copula structure may be moved to a sentence-initial position, as in (12.3).

- (12.3) [kàrì]_{CS} á [òḡ]_{CC} bíró-a wà
 together COP.3.IMPERV what.OBJ money-RSTR REC.PAST
 ìḡnè tá-l-a-nè nòḡ=ḡà
 2sg buy-MT-RECIP 3sg=DEF
 ‘With what money did you buy it with?’

It is used to question a non-human subject expressing doubt. The question word *ónóḡ* occurs in nominative form and it occasionally denotes ‘by who; by what means’, as in (12.4a-b).

- (12.4) a. kámá ám-Ø ónóḡ
 bag eat-3.IRR what.NOM
 ‘What ate the bag?’ (~How did it tear?)
 b. hírí báḡ-Ø ónóḡ
 man bite-3sg.SU.IMPERV what.NOM
 báḡ-Ø ḡùfúr-Ø
 bite-3sg.SU.IMPERV hyena-NOM
 ‘What bit the man? (It is) the hyena (that) bit.’

The occurrence of *ónóḡ* in my corpus is very rare hence it requires further in-depth research. On the other hand, *ónòḡ* ‘with.what’ as pointed out above is a question word that may be used to ask about an instrument used. The instrument function is indicated in two ways: (i) by an oblique case marker suffix *-ò*, which is added to the form *ónòḡ* and yields the instrumental form *ónóḡ-ò*, and (ii) by a multifunctional free from particle *kó* (has an instrumental or a comitative linker function in the examples below).

- (12.5) zùkt=ùnù k-èlì ké mùnì búná
 people=FAR PASS-call.PERV QUOT Mursi coffee
 mèsí kó òḡ dáfí ónòḡ-ò
 do.NOMZ PNC what.OBJ work what-OBL<with.what>
 ‘The Mursi coffee will be made from what and (by) *with what?*’
 (Lit. ‘The people called the Mursi, coffee will be made from what and (prepared) with what?’)

Since *ónòḡ* occurs with an oblique case marker, it fills the peripheral argument slot that immediately occurs following the direct object, as in (12.6).

OR c. wà túŋ-nò ènèŋ
 REC.PAST sleep.PERV-2.IRR how
 ‘How did you (sg.) spend the evening?’

Depending on the discourse context in which they occur, both expressions are appropriate even if (12.9c) is more appropriate than (12.9b), because it is expressed by a predicate rather than by deverbal noun/NP. (12.9b) explicitly shows person and number of human participant of the discourse who is being questioned. Thus, obviously the second person singular is the addressee questioned. One can also ask for the name of a person or location, as is shown below (as in (12.10a-b)).

(12.10)a. sára k-èli-íŋ ènèŋ
 name PASS-call.PERV-2sg.OBJ how
 ‘What is your (sg.) name? (Lit. ‘Your (sg.) name is called/said how?’)

b. sára ŋà=bà-i=nù k-èli ènèŋ
 name NEG=place-LOC=FAR PASS-call.PERV how
 ‘What is the name of the country?
 (Lit. ‘The name that place called how?’)

Another means to ask, the name of a person is by using a possessive pronoun as NP, a copula verb, and the human participant interrogative pronoun *nèŋ* (12.10a1).

a1. [sára-á g=ùŋù]_{NP:CS} á [nèŋ]_{CC}
 name-RSTR PL.PSD=2SG.PSR COP.3.IMPERV who.OBJ
 ‘What is your name?’ (Lit. ‘Your name is who?’)

Note that ‘name’ in Mursi is inherently plural, thus the plural number proclitic *g=* is used to indicate a plural possessed item. Despite there being a correct interrogative word for questioning number/quantity, *ènèŋ* may also be used under certain circumstances but whose distribution is not clear. The examples below in (12.11) and (12.12) will illustrate this assertion.

(12.11) [bì-ò kó tènè]_{NP} kàri bá-á án-á
 cow-PL PNC goat.PL together place-RSTR COP.IMPERV-TEMP
 [mèr-tìn-ó kèt-á]_{NP} él ènèŋ
 many-N.S-RSTR thing-RSTR exist.PL.IMPERV how
 ‘How many cattle and goats do you have?’
 (Lit. ‘Cows and goats together the whole thing in place exist how (many)?’)

(12.12) hín ídǔ-nèj á ènèŋ
 want.IMPERV add-NOMZ COP.3.IMPERV how
 ‘What is the amount?’ (Lit. ‘Amount you want is how?’)

Mursi speakers frequently use the interrogative word *kè òŋ* ‘why?’ to question the reason why a certain incredible situation happened. *kè òŋ* has stylistic dominance over *ténèŋ* ‘why?’, which is the only sentence-initial interrogative word. See example 12.13 below (repeated from 7.24).

- (12.13) híh! ná ìŋè kíńáŋ húŋ bák-ú kè òŋ
 INTERJ CCN 2sg crocodile simply eat-3sg.SU.PERV why
 kó básáj bák-ú kè òŋ dǎg-áj-Ø
 PNC monitor.lizard eat-3sg.SU.PERV why hit-1sg.OBJ-3sg.SU
 hózò-j aj!
 hanger-NOM INTERJ
 ‘‘‘Hih!’’ why did you (sg.) eat a crocodile? Also you (sg.) ate a monitor lizard, why? Don’t say, ‘Hunger hit me?! Aj!...’ (MH 4:30:6)

As the form points out, *kè òŋ* is composed of purpose-like preposition particle *kè* and the formative *òŋ* ‘what’, the combination of the two obviously did produce a meaning: ‘for what’. For instance in (12.14), the question sentence seeks an answer for the reason why the human participant stayed long. However, (12.14) can also be used to question by which method the participant being questioned used to stay.

- (12.14) ŋáà tíí kó ñàméá ŋáà té-ú kè òŋ
 here DUR CRD now here be.PERV-2sg.SU.PERV why
 ‘How did you (sg.) stay here until now?’
 (Lit. ‘Why did you (sg.) stay here until now?’)

An interesting scenario is found in (12.15) where *kè òŋ* is used with *ténèŋ* in the same interrogative sentence.

- (12.15) *ténèŋ* jíl-Ø-è-o kè òŋ
 why stand-3sg.IRR-COM-MT why
 ‘Why did he bring an accusation against him?’

The fact is that both occur in their designated syntactic slots. The enquiry here should be regarding the function of each reason interrogative words. *ténèŋ* always occurs before a verb sentence-initially and has a semantic scope over the entire sentence. So *ténèŋ* in (12.15) has the function of questioning the whole motive of the sentence in a single explanation. On the other hand, since *kè òŋ* is a bimorphemic form with one of its component being *òŋ* ‘what’, it makes sense for its meaning to express inquiry of the

purpose 'for what'. As Aikhenvald (2015: 278) states, 'interrogatives in many languages do not form one word class in terms of their morphological categories and syntactic functions'. Mursi adheres to this assertion, for the reason that membership of interrogative words to one particular word class seems always to be problematic as they are made up of more than one component. Besides, interrogative words such as *kè òŋ* and *ténèŋ* can belong separate syntactic categories despite sharing the same semantics. The fact is that this view does not include the interrogative pronouns of the language. Of the syntactic deviation of *ténèŋ* from the other question word members, not much is known at this stage. However, a piece of information has been stated from (Dixon 2012, Li and Thompson 1981) may indicate the syntactic nature of *ténèŋ* in relation to other languages. A good example is Mandarin Chinese where a single question word can mean 'how' and 'why'. In Mandarin, 'why' is a sentential adverbial requesting the respondent to provide a semantic frame for the entire sentence' (Dixon 2012: 414). In addition, it can be moved to the beginning of the sentence if the interpretation intended to be delivered is 'why'.

In light of this, *ténèŋ* in Mursi behaves the same way as in Mandarin. The real semantics of 'why' can only be delivered by *ténèŋ* and certainly not by *kè òŋ*. The verb, mostly, occurs in the irrealis mood. As can be shown in the following sentences, the interrogative word *ténèŋ* is fronted for emphasis, when it enquires about the reason why certain actions took place and expressing a strong rebuke.

- (12.16)a. *ténèŋ* *ìŋè* *kéŋá-Ø-ò* *jòg* *tìráŋ=ŋà*
 why 2sg deny-3pl.OBJ-2sg.IRR 3pl play=DEF
 'Why do you forbid them to play?'
- b. *ténèŋ* *ìŋè* *kéŋá-Ø-ú* *nòŋ* *čól=ŋà*
 why 2sg deny-3sg.OBJ-2sg.IRR 3sg sing=DEF
 'Why do you forbid him to sing?'

Unlike other interrogative words (not interrogative pronouns), the interrogative *mìnáŋ* can occur in subordinate clauses in direct or indirect speech, as in (12.19c).

- c. nòŋ ɖʒòòně sésé nòŋ ké
 3sg mother.PERT.3sg.PSR say.BEN.3.PERV 3sg QUOT
 ɪŋŋ [bóns-í ór-ó mìnáŋ=nè]SUBORD:CL
 INTERJ arrive.IMPERV-2sg.SU.IMPERV home-OBL when=SUBORD
 hàlì bág-è
 later eat-2sg.IRR
 ‘His mother said to him, “when you (sg.) get (reach) home, you (sg.) will eat”.’

In (12.19d), *mìnáŋ* occurs in a relative clause as the modifier the noun *uŋ[o]* ‘day’.

But the relative clause itself is embedded within the subordinate clause.

- d. àggè k-ímág-ó-ó [úŋ-ní
 1pl 1SU-not.know-1pl.SU.IMPERV=NEG day-NRSTR
 [Ø mìnáŋ=e]RC/SUBORD:CL
 [Ø when=SUBORD]
 kirtos hàlì mírčíńá-nè=jè=jè]SUBORD:CL
 christ later return-AP.3=SUBORD=EMPH
 ‘We (inc.) do not know the day when Christ will return.’

12.2.4 *òrì* ‘where’ and *bónnój* ‘where’

The interrogative words *òrì* ‘and *bónnój* have one meaning ‘where’. Both are used to ask questions eliciting answers which would fill the local adverbial slots of a clause. No locative or oblique case marker is possible to attach to these two location question forms. The choice of the local interrogative word may depend on the point of reference of a known location within the speaker’s view, or a location which is not known by the speaker. The examples given below illustrate this further: *òrì* (12.20a-c) and *bónnój* (12.21a-d).

- (12.20)a. dínjǐféní k-ój-Ø òrì
 potato 1SU-put-1sg.IRR where
 ‘Where shall I store the potatoes?’

- b. [hír-á kóh-inèn-á]NP ók-ú òrì
 man-RSTR farm-NOMZ-RSTR go-3sg.SU.PERV where
 ‘Where did the farmer go?’

For example, *bónnój* in (12.22) does not refer a particular place or location so it may mean also ‘what’. Compare the following examples : the answer to question (12.22) a question of its' answer could generate a particular location, and (12.23) may not necessarily have such interpretation.

(12.22) [ɲà=hòì=tá]_{NP:TOP} [júúnú]_{NP} í-Ø
 DEM=female=NEAR father.PERT.3sg.PSR to.be-3sg.SU.IMPERV
 òrì í-Ø dórí-jè
 where to.be-3sg.SU.IMPERV house-OBL
 ‘Where is your (f) father? He is at home.’
 (Lit. ‘Girl, where is your (sg) father?’)

(12.23) tíín-óɲ bónnój
 small-1sg.OBJ where
 ‘What made me small?’
 (Lit. ‘Where (from who) does my becoming small come from?’) (Mütze 2014)

12.2.5 *ísòṅ* ‘how many/much’

Any sentence containing the quantitative interrogative word *ísòṅ* ‘how many, how much’ is one that questions a quantifiable, countable/non-countable, number of referents.

(12.24) a. àlèj ɲè hín-í ísòṅ
 chair 2sg want.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV how.many
 ‘How many chairs do you want?’

When *ísòṅ* occurs following a copula verb, it functions by filling a copula complement slot. A Mursi copula complement slot mostly involves predicate nominal/lexical number words. In this case, *ísòṅ* can be interpreted as ‘what’, as in (12.24b).

b. írsásí gáwá á ísòṅ
 pencil market COP.3.IMPERV how.many
 ‘What is the price of a pencil?’

In fact, the noun *gáwá* ‘price’ (lit. ‘market ≈ week’) has contributed to the meaning of ‘what’. In the absence of *gáwá*, this sentence would be ‘how many pencil’ — just referring to the quantity instead of the price. The difference between these two meanings of the question word *ísòṅ* ‘how many’/‘how much’ requires further study. If the question is presented as in (12.24b), the possible replies would involve a lexical

number word either as copula complement or as modifier of a head noun within NP, as in:

- (12.25) a. *támáriná-i* *él-é* *á*
 student.PL-LOC exist.IMPERV:PL-3pl.SU.IMPERV COP.3.IMPERV
ísòṅ
 how.many
 ‘How many students are present/there?’
- a1. *támáriná-i* *él-é* *á*
 student.PL-LOC exist.IMPERV:PL-3pl.SU.IMPERV COP.3.IMPERV
háánán
 five
 ‘There are five students.’
- a2. *ṅà=ḅ=ùnù* *támáriná* *háánán*
 DEM=place=FAR student.PL five
él-é
 exist.IMPERV:PL-3pl.SU.IMPERV
 ‘Five students are present.’

During my long corpus collection in the Mursi community, one important point that I learned from Mursi speakers is that their preference for specific types of grammatical constructions out of many other types mostly depends on stylistic and ideolectal differences. For instance, (12.25a1) is more preferred than (12.25a2). In addition to ‘how many’, using *ísòṅ*, one can ask questions such as ‘how much’ and ‘how old’.

- (12.26) a. *ìṅè* [*gáwá-j* *dṵnéj*]_{NP} *tó-jé* *ór-í*
 2sg week-NRSTR one in-OBL see.IMPERV-2sg.SU.IMPERV
ísòṅ
 how.many
 ‘How much do you earn a week?’ (Lit. ‘How much do you see in one week?’)
- b. [*érmì-á* *n=ànù*]_{NP} *òṅná* *án-ín*
 child-RSTR SG.PSD=1SG.PSR year.pl COP.IMPERV-1sg.OBJ
ísòṅ
 how.may
 ‘How old are you, my child?’

12.2.6 *nèṅ* and *nój* ‘who’

The interrogative pronouns *nèṅ* and *nój* refer to the identity of human referents. The interrogative pronoun *nèṅ* can occur in O function either following a main verb or a copula verb. There are two main syntactic slots in which *nèṅ* occurs: direct object of a

- (12.30) *él-ú kó nèn*
 exist:PL-2sg.SU.PERV with who.OBJ
 ‘With who are you?’

On the other hand, the interrogative pronoun *nój* may occur at the same syntactic position of the *nèn*, but in a different function. *nój* mainly has a human reference when it occurs in nominative form.

- (12.31) a. *wà áíw-ó-Ø nój*
 REC.PAST come.PERV-MT-3sg.SU.PERV who.NOM
 ‘Who came?’
- b. *wà jów-ò í-Ø nój*
 REC.PAST speak-3pl.IRR to.be-3sg.SU.IMPERV who.NOM
 ‘Who they say to you?’ (Lit. ‘Who, did they tell you?’)
- c. *nà àlèj kó-é nój*
 CCN chair 3.SBJV.go-APPL who.NOM
 ‘Who took the chair away?’

Mursi does not have an interrogative word dedicated for ‘which’. However, *nój* may also be used to enquire ‘which’ type of questions. Dixon (2012: 411) noted that ‘who’ can only be used as head of an NP. It could replace ‘which’ as in ‘*which X*’ if ‘X’ is a noun with human reference (as in (12.32)).

- (12.32) a. *á í-Ø nój*
 COP.3.IMPERV to.be-3sg.SU.IMPERV who.NOM
 ‘Which one?’ (Lit. ‘It is be who?’)
- b. *á ígg-í nój*
 COP.3.IMPERV 3pl.PN.SP-NRSTR who.NOM
 ‘Which ones?’

As it is shown in (12.32a), the number of the referents has been indicated by the verb *to be* (also singular existential verb form). Besides, *nój* is not a modifier since there is no noun to be modified. However, in (12.32b), the plural specific/relative pronoun is in a modified form and the modifier could be any noun since the modification/relator marker attached to it is non-restrictive. Further study is needed to see whether *nój* is used to refer to non-human reference. The singular counterpart of (12.32b) is as follows.

- c. *ìnè hàlì kó-í ín-í nój*
 2sg later go-2sg.SU.IMPERV 3sg.PN.SP-NRSTR who.NOM
 ‘Which of you will go?’

One could ask about the place of origin of a person. It is not the place which is asked for but the identity of a person. See the example given below.

- (12.33) a. á nèŋ hírí bà-ì nój-é
 COP.3.IMPERV who.OBJ man place-LOC who-NOM
 ‘What country (or what district of the country) do you come from?’
 (Lit. ‘of which country a person are you?’)

Obviously, the example below can be rephrased as: ‘It is the house of whom, which one of your borthers?’

- b. dórí á nèŋ gòdónù nój-é
 house COP.3.IMPERV who.OBJ brother.PERT.SG.2.PSR who-NOM
 ‘to which one of your brothers does the house belong?’

Both interrogative pronouns with human referents were used in the above examples.

The function of the interrogative pronoun *nèŋ* in both constructions is simply part of the language's question construction strategy. Finally, *nój* may be used to ask about a non-human referent, as in the example given below.

- (12.34) wà tál-án túrmél nój-é
 REC.PAST but-MT.2sg.SU.IMPERV car who-NOM
 ‘Which car did you buy?’

The suffix *-e* attached to the interrogative pronoun is unusual and/or has unclear function. In most cases, second person singular subject suffix is omitted if a motion suffix is attached to the verb.

Note —I mentioned earlier that Mursi lacks an interrogative word for ‘which’.

Although my position is still the same, two unusual forms that appear to have a ‘which’ reading have been attested in my data. They are *inój* ‘which.SG’ and *gioj* ‘which.PL’. As shown in the examples given below, both interrogative forms can refer either to a human referent or a non-human referent.

- (12.35) a. ìggè hín-ó k-òg-á-ùŋ
 2pl want.IMPERV-2pl.SU.IMPERV 1SU-untie.SG-MT-2sg.OBJ
 inój
 which.SG
 ‘Which of the two (human) do you want me to release to you?’

- c. $\eta\grave{a}$ =dórí=á á [dórí-á nì]_{NP}
 DEM=house=NEAR COP.3.IMPERV house-RSTR who.GEN.SG
 ‘Whose house is this?’
 \acute{a} n-á $\eta\grave{a}$ =zùg=tùnù
 COP.IMPERV-TEMP DEM=people=FAR
 ‘It is theirs.’

In (12.35a-c), we can see that the possessors are human referents so the modifiers may come in various forms such as proper nouns, possessive pronouns, and so on.

- (12.37) a. $\eta\grave{a}$ =ìggè=à á [gáwát-íjǎ-á gì]_{NP}
 DEM=3pl.PN.SP=NEAR COP.3.IMPERV plate-PL-RSTR who.GEN.PL
 ‘Whose plates are these?’

12.2.8 *nì* and *gì* ‘whose’

The possessive interrogative pronouns *nì* ‘who.PRO.SG’ and *gì* ‘who.PRO.PL’ appear to have CV duplicates of the genitive forms — *nì* and *gì*. The major difference the genitive forms is that both *nì* and *gì* can occur in full pronoun forms. This means they may occur as modifiers of NP heads, but in order to stand on their own as predicate nominals or as copula complements, they do not necessarily require to occur in genitive form or in any other forms.

- (12.38) a. [$\eta\grave{a}$ =dórí=á] á *nì*+*nì*
 DEM=house=NEAR COP.3.IMPERV who+PRO.SG
 ‘Whose house is this?’
 b. *sírà* á *nì*
 skirt COP.3.IMPERV who.PRO.SG
 ‘Whose skirt is this?’
sírà \acute{a} n-á hòjà ké gúnákèjì
 skirt COP.IMPERV-TEMP girl QUOT Gunyakengi
 ‘It is the skirt of a girl known as Gunyakengi.’
 c. $\eta\grave{a}$ =ín=à á [ísíkíríbitó-á *nì*+*nì*-j]_{NP}
 DEM=3sg.PN.SP=NEAR COP.3.IMPERV pen-RTSR who+PRO.SG-GEN
 \acute{a} n-á n=ànù
 COP.IMPERV-TEMP SG.PSD=1SG.PSR
 ‘Whose pen is this? It is mine.’
 d. $\eta\grave{a}$ =ìggè=à á àggè-á *gì*+*gì*
 DEM=3pl.PN.SP=NEAR COP.3.IMPERV 3pl.PN.SP-RSTR who+PRO.PL
 ‘Whose are these?’

In the examples above, each possessive interrogative pronouns contain two bound number clitics (as proclitic as well as enclitic) — in which they indicate only the

- (12.40) a. *ká* *á* *kiritosi ká*
 perhaps COP.3.IMPERV Christ perhaps
- OR *ɲà=hír=á* *á* *kirstosi ká*
 dem=man=near COP.3.IMPERV Christ perhaps
 ‘Is not this the Christ?’
- b. *tá* *wà* *hírkón-a* *ádž-é* *tílá*
 maybe REC.PAST man-RSTR give.IMPERV-COM food
nà *ɓák-ú* *ká*
 CCN eat-3sg.SU.PERV perhaps
 ‘Has any man brought him something to eat?’
- c. *tá* *ɲà=hír=á* *sé* *kóón*
 maybe DEM=people=NEAR say/COMPL 3.SBJV.kill.PERV
rèè *ká*
 body.PERT.SG.3.PSR perhaps
 ‘Will he kill himself?’
 (Lit. ‘Maybe the man wants to kill himself perhaps?’)

As is shown above, the particle *ká* can occur simultaneously at the beginning of a sentence or at the end, or just at the end. Whereas the syntactic slot of *tá* appears to be confined to a sentence initial position. The mirativity marker particle *čírr* ‘really’ may express the doubtful sense of the speaker to information that has been circulated previously.

- (12.41) a. *ɲà=gòr=á* *á* *gòr-á* [Ø *ków-á*]_{RC}
 DEM=road=NEAR COP.3.IMPERV road-RSTR [Ø follow-RSTR]
nazreɛ-ɔ *čírr*
 Nazareth-OBL really
 ‘Is that the road which goes (takes) to Nazareth?’
- b. *lòg-á* *bàrì* *íj-ɔ* *ɲàɲà*
 issue-RSTR yesterday present.PERV-IRR like.this
gá-ó *čírr*
 know-2pl.SU.IMPERV really
 ‘Do you (pl.) know what happened the day before yesterday?’

12.4 Tag questions

Tag questions may carry the expectation of confirmation (cf. Dixon 2012: 396). Tag questions in Mursi are formed by initial declarative clause (the anchor) followed by adjoined interrogative clause (the tag). Tag questions are normally different from polar questions in that the tag clause is absent in polar questions. Moreover, the truth value

of the propositions that the answers of polar questions may contain can be fully stated.

It doesn't matter whether the answers are positive or negative.

- (12.42) a. $\dot{\text{ɪ}}\text{n}\dot{\text{e}}$ [fúúnú-á n=ùnú]_{NP} á
 2sg father.PERT.2sg.PSR-RSTR SG.PSD=2SG.PSR COP.3.IMPERV
 ákímí, $\eta\grave{\text{a}}=\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{a}}\text{n}=\acute{\text{o}}$
 doctor, NEG=COP.IMPERV=NEG
 'Your (sg.) father is a doctor, isn't he?'
- b. $\dot{\text{ɪ}}\text{g}\dot{\text{g}}\dot{\text{e}}$ án-ó [zùw-á kóh-ìnèn-ó]_{NP},
 2sg COP.IMPERV-2pl.SU.IMPERV people-RSTR farm-NOMZ-RTSR
 $\eta\grave{\text{a}}=\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{a}}\text{n}-\acute{\text{o}}=\acute{\text{o}}$
 NEG=COP.IMPERV=2pl.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 'You (pl.) are farmers, aren't you (pl.)?'
- c. $\grave{\text{a}}\eta\dot{\text{e}}$ k-án-í támárí,
 1sg 1SU-COP.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV student
 $\eta\grave{\text{a}}=\text{k}-\acute{\text{a}}\text{n}-\acute{\text{i}}=\acute{\text{o}}$
 NEG=1SU-COP.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 'Am I not a student?'

The operator verb in both declarative and in the tag clause is a copula verb in imperfective aspect. The bound negation system on the copula verb of the tag clause and the raised intonation onto the entire tag clause are main operators which help to achieve the question.

12.5 Polar questions

The term polar question is a more appropriate label than 'yes' and 'no' question (Dixon 2012: 377). As Dixon argues, some languages may lack words 'yes' and 'no' in their lexicon and Mursi is one of them. Instead Mursi utilizes default interjections, negative particle word/particle or copula verbs — see the examples given in (12.43a-c).

- (12.43) a. [kídǒ tó-jé]_{PP} ár-ú kíjáj
 river in-OBL see.PERV-2sg.SU.PERV crocodile
 imm! imm! $\grave{\text{a}}\eta\dot{\text{e}}$ $\eta\grave{\text{a}}\text{n}\dot{\text{i}}$ k-ár=ó
 no no 1sg NEG.PERV 1SU-see.PERV=NEG
 'Did you see any crocodiles in the river?' 'No I didn't.'

- b. *hàli sán-í kátámá-ì-jè*
 later stay-2sg.SU.IMPERV town-LOC-OBL
imm imm! àpè hàli k-ó-í
 no no 1sg later 1SU-go.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV
ór-ó ríb
 home-OBL all.the.day
 ‘Will you (m) spend the day at the town? No, I shall stay all day at home.’

Like in interrogative words, in polar questions, a constituent which is the focus takes sentence-final position. In other words, it is the constituent with a raised intonation that is expected to take the focus position and this could be by moving the constituent to the right most slot of the clause —for example *kínán* in (12.43a). In polar questions, if the sentence involves copula verb, obviously the copula complement will be a constituent upon which a high pitch rests, as in (12.43c).

- c. *ìpè án-í támáí*
 2sg COP.IMPERV-2sg.SU.IMPERV student
ìp! àpè k-án-í támáí
 yes! 1sg 1SU-COP.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV student
 ‘Are you (sg.) a student?’ ‘Yes, I am a student.’

In almost all cases, the syntactic order of constituents of declarative sentence and polar questions are exactly the same. The English equivalents to the Mursi interjections in above examples will be *imm* ‘no’ and *ìp* ‘yes’. It is quite common for interjections to have a different phonology. For instance, both of these interjections contain a short central vowel which is not part of the sound system of the language and may have a monosyllabic VCG shape (where G stands for geminates).

When a intransitive clause is set to indicate a polar questions, it is on the intransitive verb that the high pitch level can be shown, — otherwise the verb remains high-toned in most cases.

- (12.44) a. *[zíwúná dákákán]_{NP} kò-gòd-à*
 medicine.PL all PASS-swallow.PERV-PASS.3.SU
hàni, jòg hani dákákán
 NEG.PERV 3pl NEG.PERV all
 ‘Should all the medicine be swallowed? No, not all.’

- b. ηà=6á=á [àhà-á gàf-ùŋ]_{NP}
 DEM=place=NEAR thing.PL-RSTR forest-GEN
 é1-é
 exist.IMPERV:PL-3pl.SU.IMPERV
 ‘Are there any wild animals about?’
 (Lit. ‘things of the forest are present there?’)

Positive declarative sentences are not the only syntactic structures that have identical order of constituents with polar questions, negative declarative sentences have also identical order. Thus in negative polar interrogative and negative declarative sentences, the verb is placed in focus position at the end of the sentence, as in (12.45a-b).

- (12.45) a. ìggè hàli dìb ànè ηà=jóg-óŋ-ó=ó
 2pl later truth 1sg NEG=tell-1sg.OBJ-2pl.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘Will you (pl.) not tell me the truth?’
 b. ìggè hàli dìb nòŋ ηà=jóg-ésén-ó=ó
 2pl later truth 3sg NEG=tell-BEN.3-2pl.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘Will you (pl.) not tell him the truth?’

The fact that both positive and negative polar interrogatives are equivalent in a way they cause their propositions to generate answers. Both positive polar interrogatives (12.43-12.44) and negative polar interrogatives can have either *yes* or *no* answers.

12.6 Other question strategies

In addition to the major ways to ask questions elaborated on in the sections above, Mursi also employs two questioning strategies: disjunctive questions (§12.6.1) and a clause with lowered intonation on its entire structure (§12.6.2).

12.6.1 Disjunctive questions

Disjunctive questions in Mursi are formed with two copular clauses conjoined by the disjunctive particle *wo* [oo]. The first copular clause will have a full copular clause constituent: copula subject, copula verb and copula complement while the second consists only of the latter two constituents. Both clauses share a single subject, which is the subject of the first copula clause.

- (12.46) a. [mèdèrè]cs á [búí]cc óó á [tííní]cc
 sheep COP.3.IMPERV big.SG DISJ COP.3.IMPERV small.SG
 ‘Is the sheep big or small? (Lit. ‘The sheep is big or small?’)
- b. m̀̀r̀̀n á bíbí óó á
 courfull.bull.PL COP.3.IMPERV big.REDUP.PL DISJ COP.3.IMPERV
 tíítí
 small.PL
 ‘Are the bulls big or small?’

The interrogative statements above seek confirmation whether their references should be referred by one of the semantically opposing attributes or not. Therefore, the answers to the propositions in (12.46) can be selected from their copula complements — as *big/small* rather than as *yes/no*.

The disjunctive particle *óó* can be also used to show speculation or uncertainty. Especially, obviously used when someone is not sure of one's own choices. In this regard, the disjunctive interrogatives in (12.47a-b) are different from the copular clauses above. As shown below, the first clause is a subordinate followed by the main clause connected by the disjunctive *óó*.

- (12.47) a. [h̀̀llí té-í kó ór-ó á
 if exist-2sg.SU.IMPERV with home-OBL COP.3.IMPERV
 ǎ̀ll=è]SUBORD:CI óó kó-í tíràṅ-ᵛ
 good.STV=SUBORD DISJ go.IMPERV-2sg.SU.IMPERV play-OBL
 ‘Would you rather stay home or go to the game?’
 (Lit. ‘Would you (sg.) stay at home is better or go to the play?’)
- b. ké-héj-Ø dzààrí-ᵛ óó
 1SU-go.IMPERV:PL-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV foot-OBL DISJ
 ké-hé-Ø túrúmél-ᵛ
 1SU-go.IMPERV:PL-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV car-OBL
 ‘Shall we walk or take the bus?’
 (Lit. ‘Shall we go by (with) foot or go by (with) car?’)

Here, one can pick an answer from the two choices of staying or playing (12.47a).

For (12.47b) the answers will be one of the two choices — *walking by foot* or *taking the bus*.

12.6.2 A clause with lowered intonation

The interrogative clauses below are all marked by lowered intonation of all their constituents. They behave like those interrogative sentences with proper interrogative words. They are completely different from tag and polar interrogatives despite all three lacking independent interrogative words. For instance, the interrogative clauses below have a lowered pitch level — quite the opposite from what we saw in tag and polar interrogatives.

- (12.48) a. wà érmì=tùnù áíw-ó
 REC.PAST child=INDEF come.PERV:SG-MT.3sg.SU.PERV
 ‘Which child came?’
- b. wà lámí-ò
 REC.PAST find.2sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘What do you (sg.) want?’
- c. hírí bá á nòŋ
 man place/CAUSE COP.3.IMPERV 3sg
 rès-Ø-è
 die.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV-COM
 ‘Due to what (causes) did the man die?’
 (Lit. ‘The man because of what he died?’)

In (12.48a), number agreement on the verb is shown by the form of the verb root itself — *aiw* <perfective singular form>. Besides, person agreement is shown by the absence of any overt marker for the third person. However, if it is only in relation to the first and second person singular perfective forms — *kaiwo* <1st person> and *aiwou* <2nd person>. To see a possible interaction between intonation and narration or other discourse contexts, further study is required.

Chapter 13 Negation

13.1 Introduction

Typologically, negation constructions in Mursi show various striking features. In Mursi, a number of different negation strategies may be employed to negate verbal constituents. The strategies vary depending on grammatical systems or categories such as aspect, mood, and person-subject. For instance, a verb in the imperfective aspect can be negated by bound circumclitics while a verb in the perfective aspect is negated by independent perfective negative particle *ɣàni* <NEG.PERV> ‘not, not yet, still’ plus by the negative enclitic =ó attached to the perfective verb root. For instance, a verb in the imperfective aspect can be negated by bound circumclitics [*ɣà=...=ó*] ~ <*ɣà=ROOT.IMPERV=ó*>, while a perfective verb can be negated by independent perfective negative form particle *ɣàni* <NEG.PERV> ‘not, not yet’ and by the negative enclitic attached to the root ~ <*ɣàni k(V)-ROOT.PERV=ó*>. So, when the negative is a perfective verb, only the negator enclitic =ó will be utilized. A further interesting point here is that in a negative imperative, only the negator proclitic *ɣà=* will be used thus the enclitic =ó can be replaced by markers of other grammatical categories appropriate to that slot such as number and verb-final suffix.

The grammatical function of the *k(V)-* prefix when negating a perfective verb is to refer to first person subject. Besides, the subjunctive which often times applies to the third person irrealis mood can be indicated by the same prefix. This prefix cannot occur if the negated verb involves second person subject.

Furthermore, negative declarative clauses have an obligatory SV/AOV constituent order, in which negated verbs always occur clause-finally. This is confined to the negative clause constituent order, which is different from the affirmative canonical

constituent SV/AVO order. The negation system that operates in the imperfective aspect will have AO[Neg=V=Neg] while the perfective aspect have AO Neg.PART [V=Neg].

Therefore, this chapter provides a detailed account of negators which occur in bound as well as independent forms. Accordingly, bound negators are discussed in §13.2 followed by various independent negator words or particles in §13.3.

13.1 Bound negators

Bound negators in Mursi are circumclitics in which the imperfective verb root is nested within the $\eta\hat{a}$ =VERB.ROOT= \acute{o} circumclitic negation marker. They are realized as the proclitic $\eta\hat{a}$ = (on verbs in imperfective aspect) and as the enclitic = \acute{o} (on verbs in the imperfective and perfective aspect). Thus all bound negators are discussed in separate subsections below — circumclitics as negators of verbs of the imperfective aspect §13.2.1 and an enclitic negator of verbs in the perfective aspect §13.2.2.

13.2.1 Imperfective verb negators

Verbs in the imperfective aspect can be negated by using two negator clitics $\eta\hat{a}$ = and = \acute{o} . Due to the fact that they are applied to a single constituent simultaneously on the verb, they can be called double negation (markers). For the interpretation of the proclitic $\eta\hat{a}$ = two paths were followed depending on the aspect of the verb being utilized: (i) negative imperfective <NEG.IMPERV=> when procliticized to the host (an imperfective verb), and (ii) negative perfective or just negative when procliticized to a perfective imperative verb form host. The latter has been elaborated on in the section dealing with interaction of negation and imperative.

Table 13.1. Imperfective verb negators

PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	ηà=k(V)-ROOT.IMPERV-i=ó	(INC.) ηà=k(V)-ROOT.IMPERV-Ø=ó (EXC.) ηà=k(V)-ROOT.IMPERV-o=ó
2	ηà=ROOT.IMPERV-i=ó	ηà=ROOT.IMPERV-o=ó
3	ηà=ROOT.IMPERV-Ø=ó	ηà=ROOT.IMPERV-ε=ó

There is always a coalescence at the right edge of a negated constituent. That is, the first person plural exclusive and the second plural subject suffixes on one hand and the negator enclitic =ó on the other may coalesce as a single unit.

- (13.1) íggé-á [[ηà=gótó-ηá=ìnù]_{NP} g=àw=ηà]_{NP}
 3pl.PN.SP-RSTR DEM=culture-PL=FAR PL.PSD=1PL.EXC.PSR=DEF
 ηà=gárs-é=ó
 NEG.IMPERV=disappear.IMPERV-3pl.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘Those of our (exc.) cultures were not lost (disappeared).’ (MH 1:48:7)

- (13.2) nòη mà ηà=ám-Ø=ó-ni
 3SG water NEG.IMPERV=eat-3sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG-RS
 ‘...(the) water does not eat it!’ (MH 2:47:0)

As it is shown in (13.1 and 13.2), the negators (circumclitics) occur on both sides of the verbal predicate, which is a clause final constituent. The negative clitics in Mursi attach only to the verb, and certainly do not attach to other constituents other than the verb. For negated predicate, aspect can be shown in multiple ways — by the negator proclitic, by verb root, and by bound pronominal S/A argument suffixes.

- (13.3) a. ηà=kí-hín-í=ó
 NEG.IMPERV=1SU-want.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘I don’t want’
 b. ηà=hín-í=ó
 NEG.IMPERV=want.IMPERV-2sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘You (sg.) don’t want’
 c. ηà=hín-Ø=ó
 NEG.IMPERV=want.IMPERV-2sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘S/he doesn’t want’

As elaborated in (13.3-c), Mursi may arguably employ an obligatory double negation in the imperfective aspect, where two negator clitics simultaneously code predicate/clausal negation. If a bound pronominal for the S/A argument is marked by

zero morpheme, a few verb roots that end in the alveolar nasal [n] may undergo a compensatory lengthening process, as in (13.3c). In (13.3c), *ɲàhínó* may be realized as [ɲahinno] in surface form. When the S/A argument is first person plural inclusive, eventually there will be a tendency for a sequence of vowels to co-occur, as in (13.4). In this case, *t* is epenthesised to avoid sequence of vowels as well as to mark plural number.

- (13.4) a. *whòì* *ɲà=k-éj-Ø=tó*
 warhog NEG.IMPERV=1SU-kill/shoot-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘We (inc.) will not kill the pig.’

When the verb acquires identical root form in both imperfective and perfective aspect, the negator proclitic becomes the sole grammatical morpheme which shows aspect of the verb. The first person plural exclusive bound pronominal S/A suffix *-o* often fuses/coalesces with the negative enclitic *=ó* as in (13.4b).

- b. *ɲà=kó-jóg=ó*
 NEG.IMPERV=1SU-speak=1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV.NEG
 ‘We (exc.) will not speak; we (exc.) don’t speak.’

Underlyingly, (13.4b) will be realized as <*ɲà=kó-jóg-o=ó*>. Despite these rare and specific morphophonemic changes, in other forms of the negation of declarative clauses, the interaction of verbs and negator clitics show consistency regardless of the form of verb roots. Examples strengthening this fact are given below.

- (13.5) a. *ɲà=dáǰĩ-Ø=ó*
 NEG.IMPERV=work-3sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘S/he, it doesn’t work.’
- b. *ɲà=k-ítóón-í=ó*
 NEG.IMPERV=1SU-send-1sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘I don’t send.’
- c. *ɲà=k-ór-né=ó?*
 NEG.IMPERV=1SU-see.IMPERV-RECIP:1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘We (inc.) don’t meet.’ (Lit. ‘We (inc.) don’t not see each other.’)

Thus, all, vowel-final verb root (13.5a), vowel-initial verb root (13.5b), and derivational morphemw suffixed verb (13.5c) operate freely without morphophonemic processes.

The obligatory double negation system that is used for the imperfective aspect can be transformed into an optional triple negation system. The optional triple negation system can be achieved by combining the imperfective verb root with the preverbal perfective negation word *ɲàni*. Thus, the optional preverbal negative word *ɲàni* together with the negator circumclitics on imperfective verbs forms the triple negation system.

- (13.6) a. *nòŋ ɲàni ɲà=ór-Ø=ó*
 3sg NEG.PERV NEG.IMPERV=see.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘S/he still could not see.’
- b. *nòŋ té hírí ódǎnéí ɲà=ɓà=nù kó túmúra*
 3sg COP.3.PERV man strong.ADJ DEM=place=FAR PCN Tumura
ɲàni ɲà=gán-é=ó á ɲàjà
 NEG.PERV NEG=know-3pl.SU.IMPERV =NEG COP.3.IMPERV like.this
 ‘...on the other side of Sudan, and he is a strong man there.’ ‘They don’t agree with Tumura. It is like this.’ (MH 6:53:2)

Therefore, both examples, the optional preverbal perfective negative word *ɲàni* has a meaning of ‘still’. *ɲàni* also has a ‘persistive marker’ function in other grammatical constructions. The occurrence of the perfective negative *ɲàni* and the imperfective aspect verb in the same clause may indicate an ongoing process/state.

- (13.7) [*húllí nòŋ ɲàni gùjò ɲà=dǎk-Ø=ó*
 if 3sg NEG.PERV rain NEG.IMPERV=hit-3sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG
ɲàméá=jè]_{SUBORD:CL}
 today=SUBORD
 ‘If it does not rain today,...’

A combination of persistive and modal meaning can be rendered by the same negation structure, as in (13.8).

- (13.8) *múnús-é úlúgún-ú nà ɲàni*
 angry-NOMZ hide-3sg.SU.PERV CCN NEG.PERV
ɲà=ówána=ó
 NEG.IMPERV=manage.3sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘He couldn’t hide his emotion.’

Another occasion where the two co-occur in a clause is in the ‘consequence clause’ for which *ɲàni* becomes in the subordinate clause while the verb, which is negated by imperfective negative circumclitics itself becomes the main clause.

- (13.9) a. [hùlli ñà=zùwòñá=á ñàni ìr=ó=jè]_{SUBORD:CL}
 if DEM=medicine.PL=NEAR NEG.PERV drink.PERV=NEG=SUBORD
 [ñà=bás-e=ó]_{MAIN:CL}
 NEG.IMPERV=heal.IMPERV-2sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘Unless you (sg.) drink this medicine, you (sg.) will not get well.’
 (Lit. ‘If this medicine - you (sg.) haven’t yet drunk, you (sg.) don’t be
 healed.’)
- b. hùlli ñàni tóij=ó béténá
 if NEG.PERV read/count=NEG exam
 ñà=?álb-í=ó
 NEG.IMPERV=pass-2sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘You (sg.) will not pass the examination unless you study.’

In (13.9a), the second person singular bound pronoun suffix is *-i* and it undergoes a vowel height harmony change. So *i* has become *e* following the negator enclitic =*ó*. In negative conditional clauses, the verb of the subordinate clause cannot be negated, rather the perfective negative particle *ñàni* always occurs preceding it. As can be seen in the examples above, it makes sense for conditional clauses to operate depending on imperfective aspect because the propositions they contain are often hypothetical. It is also highly likely the case that the negation in imperfective aspect indicates a given action is not going to happen. Considering this we may assume that subordinate conditional clause verbs therefore, will obviously occur in the imperfective aspect.

However, this is not the case in Mursi. In Mursi, the subordinate conditional clause can contain the negative word *ñàni* followed by a verb in subjunctive form. Like in the imperative constructions, person cannot be marked on the subjunctive form when the subject is second person. Person on the subjunctive form may be shown by various forms of the verb root itself. Regarding this, Randal (1998: 248) pointed out that there may be a possibility that historically the negative marker was a verb. This is due to the fact that, when the main verb is negated it appears in the subjunctive form, which usually cannot mark the main verb of the subordinate clause. At this point, it is appropriate to mention that proclitics in Mursi can form a grammatical word while

The other interesting but unusual behavior of the bound imperfective negator is in the imperative clause. Imperative clause in Mursi is formed by attaching the negator proclitic *ɲà=* to an imperfective verb. The negator enclitic *=ó* cannot be used in the negative imperative clause construction. The template of a negative imperative construction is as follows:

$\eta\grave{a}$ =ROOT.IMPERV- <i>i</i>singular
$\eta\grave{a}$ =ROOT.IMPERV- <i>o</i>plural

- (13.12) a. $\eta\grave{a}$ =*ɓág-í*
 NEG.IMPERV=*eat*.IMPERV-SG
 ‘Don’t (sg.) eat!’
- b. $\eta\grave{a}$ =*čóll-i*
 NEG.IMPERV=*sing*.IMPERV-SG
 ‘Don’t (sg.) sing!’
- c. $\eta\grave{a}$ =*ɓág-ó*
 NEG.IMPERV=*eat*.IMPERV-PL
 ‘You (pl.) don’t eat!’
- d. $\eta\grave{a}$ =*čóll-ó*
 NEG.IMPERV=*sing*.IMPERV-PL
 ‘You (pl) don’t sing!’

On the other hand, positive imperative is formed by using a perfective verb root. Besides, singular cannot be on the verb, while plural is usually marked on the verb by copying the vowel of the verb root. This means that there are distinct number markers being utilized by negative and positive imperative clauses — negative imperative *-i* (singular) and *-o* (plural); positive imperative *unmarked* (singular) and *-V* (plural). Once again, vowel coalescence may happen between the first person plural bound pronominal O argument suffix *-i* and singular negative imperative *-i*, as in (13.13b-c).

- (13.13) a. $\eta\grave{a}$ =*édɟ-ón-í*
 NEG.IMPERV=*kill*.IMPERV-1sg.OBJ-SG
 ‘Don’t (sg.) kill me!’

- b. $\eta\grave{a}=\acute{e}d\zeta\text{-}\acute{i}\text{-}\acute{i}$
 NEG.IMPERV=kill.IMPERV-1pl.OBJ-SG ~ $i < i+i$
 ‘Don’t (sg.) kill us!’
- c. $\eta\grave{a}=\acute{a}d\zeta\text{-}\acute{i}\text{-}\acute{i}$
 NEG.IMPERV=give.IMPERV-1pl.OBJ-SG
 ‘Don’t give (to) us!’

In (13.13b-c), the vowels coalesce into a single high front vowel. There are other multiple morphophonological processes that take place while forming negative hortative clauses. The first person plural inclusive negative hortative has a template of $\eta\grave{a}=k(V)\text{-}ROOT\text{-}IMPERV\text{-}\emptyset$ while first person plural exclusive negative hortative has a template $\eta\grave{a}=k(V)\text{-}ROOT\text{-}IMPERV\text{-}(t/n)o$.

- (13.14) a. $\eta\grave{a}=k\text{-}\acute{e}j\text{-}t\grave{o}$
 NEG.IMPERV-1.HORT-kill-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV
 ‘Let us (exc.) not kill!’
- b. $\eta\grave{a}=k\grave{o}\text{-}h\grave{o}j\text{-}n\grave{o}$
 NEG.IMPERV-1.HORT-come.IMPERV:PL-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV
 ‘Let us (exc.) not come!’

The change arises with the formation of first person plural inclusive negative hortative form when being used as indirect negative imperative. In this case, the hortative form may convey a negative obligation meaning. The following examples demonstrate this fact:

- (13.15) a. $\eta\grave{a}=ki\text{-}f\grave{i}$
 NEG.IMPERV=1.HORT-listen+PL.INC
 ‘Let us (inc.) don’t listen!’ (Lit. ‘We (inc.) will not listen!’)
- b. $\eta\grave{a}=k\grave{e}\text{-}r\grave{e}\text{-}i$
 NEG.IMPERV=1.HORT-wait-PL.INC
 ‘Let us (inc.) not wait!’
- c. $\eta\grave{a}=k\grave{o}\text{-}h\grave{o}j$
 NEG.IMPERV=1.HORT-come.IMPERV:PL
 ‘Let us (inc.) not come!’

As can be shown in (13.15a-c), the hortative forms are not marked for plural number even if all are types of imperatives, i.e. non-canonical negative imperatives. (13.15a) has a consonant-final verb root — $f\acute{i}g$, then /g/ becomes [ʔ], and finally it will be deleted

as it gets less audible word-finally. It appears that the more harsh the imperative is, the shorter the forms tend to appear. Outside this, plural number marking on non-canonical negative mild imperatives is straightforward; (i) by copying the vowel of the verb root, or (ii) by inherently plural form of the verb. Some examples are given below:

- (13.16) a. àggè ηà=kì-fìl-i
 1pl NEG.IMPERV=1.HORT-stand-PL.INC
 ‘Let us (inc.) not stand!’
- b. ηà=kè-hèj-ò
 NEG.IMPERV=go.IMPERV:PL-VFS
 ‘Let us (sg.) not go!’

Singular forms are indicated by the suffix *-i*, which is identical to first person singular bound pronominal S/A argument marker.

- (13.17) a. ηà=k-èdʒ-i
 NEG.IMPERV=1.HORT-kill.IMPERV-SG
 ‘Let me not kill!’
- b. ηà=kùùn-i
 NEG.IMPERV=1.HORT.come.IMPERV-SG
 ‘Let me not come!’

Note that singular and plural number marker of suffixes may come to be identical; especially, whenever the verb root contains the high front vowel where plural number marker is derived.

13.2.2 Perfective verb negators

Verbs that have perfective aspect can be negated by the independent perfective negator particle *ηàni* ‘not yet’ and by the negator enclitic =*ó* attaching to a perfective verb root. Negated perfective verbs in first and third persons take a prefix *k(V)-*. This prefix is used as person marker for first person S/A argument while as subjunctive marker for third person. (13.18) below illustrates a ‘typical’ example of negation of the perfective aspect verb and literal meaning of the negator particle *ηàni*.

- (13.18) bè ηà=hùl=ùnù nòη ηàni k-íricá=ó
 DIST.PAST DEM=time=FAR 3sg not.yet 3.SBJV-born.PERV=NEG
 ‘At the time, he was not yet born.’

The structure of a clause in negative perfective aspect is shown in Table 13.2 below.

Table 13.2 Perfective verb negators

PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	<i>ɲàni</i> k(V)-ROOT.PERV=ó	<i>ɲàni</i> k(V)-ROOT.PERV=t/d/no
2	<i>ɲàni</i> ROOT.PERV=ó	<i>ɲàni</i> ROOT.PERV=t//d/no
3	<i>ɲàni</i> k(V)-ROOT.PERV=ó	<i>ɲàni</i> k(V)-ROOT.PERV=t/d/no

As can be shown in the examples given below, the *k(V)-* is prefixed to refer to first person subjects. Plural number can be indicated by inserting either [t/d] between the verb root and the bound pronominal S/A argument markers or by inherently plural verb roots.

- (13.19) a. *ɲè ɲàni kí-bíkt=ó*
 1sg NEG.PERV 1SU-break=NEG
 ‘I did not break (it).’
- b. *ɲè wà ɲàni kí-bík-á=ó*
 1sg REC.PAST NEG.PERV 1SU-break-1SG.SU.PERV=NEG
 ‘I have not broken (it).’
- c. *ɲè bè ɲàni kí-bík-á=ó*
 1sg DIST.PAST NEG.PERV 1SU-break-1SG.SU.PERV=NEG
 ‘I had not broken (it).’

However, some verb roots that have the same root shapes/forms both in imperfective and perfective aspects may also insert [t] (as in (13.19a), but not [d]). Nasal ending verb roots may epenthesize [n] in the same way as [t/d]. The negative particle *ɲàni* always precedes the perfective aspect verb root, and provides a full account of an action that has not yet happened/taken place but may happen at some point of time in the future.

- (13.20) a. [*ɲà=mé-á=á* *dóri*]_{NP} *ácúg ɲàni*
 DEM=do-NOMZ=NEAR douse meat NEG.PERV
k-ós=ó
 3.SBJV-roast=NEG
 ‘The worker did not fry meat.’
- b. *dóóléj lāsàj [hír-á óól-nèn-á]_{NP} ɲàni*
 girl bread man-RTSR beg-NOMZ-RSTR NEG.PERV
k-áín-é=ó
 3SBJV-give.PERV.SG-MA=NEG
 ‘The girl will not give the beggar bread.’

- c. $\dot{\text{i}}\text{n}\grave{\text{e}}$ $\eta\grave{\text{a}}\text{n}\grave{\text{i}}$ $\text{k}\grave{\text{e}}\text{-b}\grave{\text{e}}\text{t}\grave{\text{a}}\text{-}\dot{\text{i}}\eta\text{=n}\acute{\text{o}}$
 2sg NEG.PERV PASS-choose.PERV-2SG.OBJ=NEG
 ‘You (sg.) were not chosen.’
- d. $\dot{\text{i}}\text{g}\grave{\text{g}}\text{e}$ $\text{w}\grave{\text{a}}$ $\eta\grave{\text{a}}\text{n}\grave{\text{i}}$ $\text{d}\acute{\text{a}}\text{f}\dot{\text{i}}\text{c}\text{-}\acute{\text{o}}\text{=}\acute{\text{o}}$ (nòŋ)
 2pl REC.PAST NEG.PERV work.PERV-2pl.SU.PERV=NEG (3sg)
 ‘You (pl.) were not working.’
- e. $\text{l}\acute{\text{o}}\text{g}\text{-}\dot{\text{i}}\eta\acute{\text{a}}$ $\text{m}\grave{\text{e}}\text{s}\acute{\text{i}}\text{-n}\grave{\text{e}}\text{n}$ $\eta\grave{\text{a}}\text{n}\grave{\text{i}}$ $\acute{\text{o}}\text{d}\acute{\text{a}}\text{=}\acute{\text{o}}$
 issue-PL work-NOMZ NEG.PERV finish.PERV:PL=NEG
 ‘You (pl) did not finish your work.’
- f. [nòŋ $\text{h}\grave{\text{u}}\text{l}\text{l-}\acute{\text{a}}$ $\text{b}\grave{\text{e}}$ $\text{t}\acute{\text{a}}\text{l-}\acute{\text{a}}$
 3sg when-NOMZ DIST.PAST buy-3sg.SU.PERV
 $\text{t}\acute{\text{u}}\text{r}\acute{\text{u}}\text{m}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}]_{\text{COMPL:CL}}$ [$\dot{\text{i}}\eta\grave{\text{e}}$ $\eta\grave{\text{a}}\text{n}\grave{\text{i}}$ $\acute{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{=}\acute{\text{o}}\text{?}]_{\text{MAIN:CL}}$
 car 2sg NEG.PERV see.PERV=NEG
 ‘Didn't you (sg.) know that he has bought a car?’

As it is shown in (13.20a-b), negative perfective construction in the third person requires subjunctive mood, which is always indicated by attaching a $k(V)$ - prefix to the negated perfective verb root. In terms of taking a $k(V)$ -, the subjunctive of the negative perfective is almost identical with first person subjects, hortative-jussive, and passive constructions.

Negative perfective verbs in the second person do not require this subjunctive prefix, as illustrated in (13.20d-f). In addition, in (Turton et.al 2008: 81), *hula* was glossed as ‘when’, but not as a temporal interrogative word. It is identical with the temporal/conditional *húlli* ‘when/if’, and only differs in having a geminated lateral due to the high vowel. Above all, in (13.20f), the aspect of the main clause and the subordinate clause is identical, which is not always the case in conditional clauses where aspect of the main and the subordinate clauses differ sometimes. Note that complement strategies in Mursi do not always show clear indicators of complementizers. The absence of any such indicator (as in (13.20f) can be regarded as one type of complementization strategy.

However, since most of the time complement clauses utilize a perfective verb in the subjunctive mood plus an eroded verb from *sé* ‘say’. Reason and/or purpose clauses

may sometimes use purpose clause marker particle *ḃá* ‘place, cause’ which occurs following *sé*. Apart from this, in most cases both affirmative and negative complement clauses will have similar syntactic structures plus utilize identical subjunctive verb forms. See also the examples given below:

- (13.21) a. *nòṅ* *ṅàni* *ṅà=hín-Ø=ó*
 3sg NEG.PERV NEG.IMPERV=want.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG
ḃá *kú-húč-é* *bíró*
 COMPL/place 3.SBJV-pay.PERV-MA money
 ‘She did not want to pay the money.’
- b. *àṅè* *ṅàni* *ká-ták=ó* *ḃá*
 1sg NEG.PERV 1SU-know.PERV=NEG COMPL/place
 [*nòṅ* *wà* *kúč-á-á*]COMP:CL
 3sg REC.PAST come.PERV-MT-3sg.SU.PERV
 ‘I did not know that he has come.’ (Lit. ‘at his coming; reason for his coming’)

In (13.21a), both perfective negative particle and negated imperfective aspect are within the main clause which have a function of denoting that the situation will likely never happen. On the other hand, (13.21b) is a statement of fact although the verb in the complement clause hasn't been set in subjunctive form. In the imperfective aspect, a complement clause does not occur with the perfective aspect negator *ṅàni*, as in (13.22a-b).

- (13.22) a. *ṅà=ḃùrè=tá* *ḃá*
 DEM=morning=NEAR COMPL/place
 [*ṅà=hón-čá=ó* *ká-gáj-Ø-ò*]COMP:CL
 NEG.IMPERV=come.IMPERV.PL-APPL=NEG 1SU-know.IMPERV-
 1sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘I know that they will not come today.’
- b. *àṅè* *ká-gáj-ò* *ḃá* [*éró*
 1sg 1SU-know.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS COMPL/place children
ṅà=lòm-čá=ó]COMP:CL
 NEG.IMPERV=have.IMPERV-RES-MT=NEG
 ‘I know that he has no children.’

The approximant of the verb root-final and the bound pronominal first person subject prefix have been merged/fused — /*gáj*/ > [*gáj+i*].

- (13.23) [bá-á nòŋ ɲàni kó-ɲóg-í=ó
 place-RSTR/CAUSE 3sg NEG.PERV 3.SBJV-cloth.PERV-SG=NEG
 tútúg=tè]SUBORD:CL zìní dǫl-ú
 door=SUBORD thief emerge-3sg.SU.PERV
 ‘By his not shutting the door a thief entered.’

An exceptional negation construction is found in (13.24), in which a direct speech is being used in the subordinate clause.

- (13.24) bá ké ɲà=kúún-i [hùlli ɲàni
 CUASE QOUT NEG.IMPERV=come.IMPERV-SG when/if NEG.PERV
 tód-a=jè]SUBORD:CL maksəno⁸⁹ kúún-é[i]
 write.PERV-IRR=SUBORD tuesday 1SU.come.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV
 ‘I will come Tuesday unless you write (to me) not to come
 (Lit. ‘Unless you are writing saying “don’t come!”, I will come Tuesday.)’)

Now the negated verb is within a direct speech report and has been negated in the same way as a negative imperative, which is formed using imperfective verb root preceded by negative imperfective proclitic *ɲà=* followed by singular imperative suffix *-i*. The direct speech introduced by the quotative marker *ké* is a negative imperative given to second person singular addressee.

Negative relative clauses in Mursi follow the same syntactic pattern of affirmative relative clauses. It is very plausible to assume that almost all negative relative clauses come out of noun modification forms structured by a gapping strategy.

- (13.25) a. hír-á [Ø ɲàni kè-ɲè-à=ó]RC
 person-RSTR [Ø NEG.PERV 3.SBJV-run.PERV-NOMZ:RSTR=NEG]
 ‘He who did not run’
 b. hòj-á [Ø ɲàni kè-ɲè-à=ó]RC
 female-RSTR [Ø NEG.PERV 3.SBJV-run.PERV-NOMZ:RSTR=NEG]
 ‘She who did not run’
 c. ɲà=zùg=tùnù [Ø ɲàni kè-ɲèt=ó]RC
 DEM=people=FAR [Ø NEG.PERV 3.SBJV-run.PERV:PL=NEG]
 ‘They/those who did not run’

⁸⁹ A loan word from Amharic *maksäno*.

With regard to these negative relative clause formations and the semantics which can be associated with them, the following points need to be taken into account:

- (i) Since Mursi is a language that has no grammatical gender, gender related constructions can be substituted by appropriate nouns or natural gender displaying words. Thus *híri* ‘man’ in (13.25a) may refer to both genders but it usually refers to a masculine ~<3sg.M>. The noun *hòja* ‘female’ in (13.25b) displays feminine ~<3sg.F>. In fact, *híri* alone may be used to refer to a male referent.

It can refer to a female referent when some natural gender referring nouns are attached to it. The other justification may be the fact that personal pronouns cannot be modified (maybe only if they are in relative pronoun forms).

- (ii) In order to be modified, the head noun must occur in noun modification form by carrying appropriate restrictive marker which signals that the modifier should also have the same form. Thus, both the head and the modifier relative clause must carry a restrictive modification marker suffix *-a*. In a modifier relative clause, the restrictive marker suffix *-a* not only functions as restrictive modification marker but also functions as verbal nominalizer. As can be shown in the above examples, it always attaches to the right edge position of the verb root.
- (iii) The restrictive modification plus nominalizer marker *-a* will always changes the verb into participle form and the entire construction into nominal phrase.
- (iv) Subjunctive forms in Mursi always can come in the irrealis mood, therefore, the verbs always have a perfective aspect. Besides, first and third persons in

the subjunctive forms are shown by *k(V)*- prefix. As usual singular number is being shown on the verb itself, whereas plural number is marked by [t/d].

- (v) NP heads in demonstrative constructions can be modified but they do not take a noun modification marker suffix *-a*, they are already in modification form. Due to this, the restrictive modification/nominalizer cannot be attached to the perfective negative verb root (as in (13.25c)).

Note that when an imperfective aspect verb is used in negative relative clause, the subjunctive will not be marked, however subject suffix is marked (see example 13.26).

- (13.26) ηà=hír=á [Ø ηàtùŋ
 DEM=man=NEAR [Ø lion
 ηà=éηérés-Ø=ó]_{RC}
 NEG.IMPERV=afraid.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG]
 ‘This is a man who does not fear lions.’

13.3 Negating a copula clause

Mursi copula verbs can be negated in the same way as regular verbs. Thus copula clauses are also negated in the same way as verbal clauses. In copula clauses, the copula complement indicates either identity or attribution, as in (13.27a-c).

- (13.27) a. [nòŋ]_{CS} á [támáří]_{CC}
 3sg COP.3.IMPERV student
 ‘S/he is a student.’
 [nòŋ]_{CS} [ástámáří]_{CC} [ηà=ʔán=ó]
 3sg teacher NEG.IMPERV=COP.3.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘S/he is not a teacher.’
 b. [nòŋ]_{CS} [čáll-i]_{CC} ηà=ʔáj=ó
 3sg good.STV-ADJ NEG.IMPERV=COP.3.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘It is not good.’
 [nòŋ]_{CS} á [gèrs-i]_{CC}
 3sg COP.3.IMPERV bad.STV-ADJ
 ‘It is bad.’

Since all negated constituents in Mursi take clause final positions, copula complements in negative copula clauses will move to clause second position and thus take the

syntactic slots next to the copula subjects. The third person copula verb form has the invariable form *a*.

It has two negative varieties: (i) *ɲaano* ([ɲaʔano] ~ <ɲà=án=ó>) (13.27a) which indicates that it has been a consonant-final root at an early stage of the language, and (ii) *ɲajo* ([ɲajo] ~ <ɲà=á=ó>) which shows it is indeed an uninflected form of *a*.

Table 13.3 Negative imperfective copula forms

PERSON	FORM	UNDERLYING FORMS	MEANING
1sg.	/ɲàkáníó/	[ɲà=k-án-i=ó]	‘I am not’
2sg.	/ɲàánó/	[ɲà=án-i=ó]	‘You (sg.) are not’
3sg.	/ɲàánó/	[ɲà=án=ó]/[ɲajo]	‘S/he, it, is not’
1pl.INC	/ɲàkáníó/	[ɲà=k-án-Ø=ó]	‘We (inc.) are not’
1pl.EXC	/ɲákáníó/	[ɲà=k-án-o=ó]	‘We (exc.) are not’
2pl	/ɲàánó/	[ɲà=án-o=ó]	‘You (pl.) are not’
3pl	/ɲàánó/	[ɲà=án=ó]/[ɲajo]	‘They are not’

The second and third person singular and plural have identical forms even if the second person subject suffixes are overtly marked on the copula verb. But this match occurs when negated copula forms are being used in tag question constructions. In addition, the instance in which the tag forms occur with independent pronouns can be substantiated by the fact that the sentences (but not the tags) involve non-copula verbs.

- (13.28) a. jòg àggì=nù éɲér-é=ɲà,
 3pl 3pl.PN.SP=FAR afraid-3pl.SU.IMPERV=DEF
 jòg ɲà=ʔán=ó?
 3pl NEG.IMPERV=COP.3.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘They were afraid, weren’t they?’
- b. ɲè án-á kún-í
 2sg COP.IMPERV-TEMP come.IMPERV-2sg.SU.IMPERV
 wúr-ú=ɲà⁹⁰ ɲè
 return.back-2sg.SU.PERV=DEF 2sg
 ɲà=án-í=ó?
 NEG.IMPERV=COP.IMPERV-2sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘You (sg.) are coming back, aren’t you?’

⁹⁰ It is not clear but there seems to be a connection between the verbal form *wur* ‘return back’ and preposition/relator/adverbial form *wùré* ‘after, afterwards, later, behind, last, etc’.

The tags in (13.28a-b) repeat the subjects — pronouns. As opposed to (13.28c) where the tag is just negated copula verb.

- c. jòg á nágádíó, ηà=ʔán=ó?
 3pl COP.3.IMPERV merchant.PL NEG.IMPERV=COP.3.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘They are traders, aren't they?’

With regard to scope, it is worth mentioning the distinction between the negative clitics and negative copula forms in sentences. The negator clitics *ηà=* and *=ó* have scope over the predicate of a clause while the negative copula forms in Table 13.3 above have sentential/clausal scopes. The third person negative copula form *ηàánó* {*ηàʔánó* or *ηàjò* ~ [*ηà=á=ó*]} can negate almost any sentence/clause and therefore has a scope that extends beyond negating a single constituent of a sentence/clause. So *ηàánó/ηàjò* can be called sentential/clausal negator.

13.4 Negative existential verb *níηε* ‘not present’

The negative verbal lexeme *níηε* ‘not present, without’ is used to negate existential or locational clauses. *níηε* is an impersonal form that functions as a general negator of existential or locational clauses regardless of person or number of the subject.

- (13.29) a. nòη dórí tó-jé níηε
 3sg house in-OBL not.present/exist.3.IMPERV
 ‘S/he (it) is not in the house.’
- b. bè kíjín túrúmél níηε
 DIST.PAST long.time.ago car not.present/exist.3.IMPERV
 ‘In olden times, cars were unknown.’ (Lit. ‘cars were not present’)

The negative lexeme *níηε* has also a sense of ‘without/absence of X’, which normally infers the absence of an object or entity/property, as in (13.30).

- (13.30) àpè kí-hín-í búná júkárí
 1sg 1SU-want.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV coffee sugar
 níηε
 not.present/exist.3.IMPERV
 ‘I want coffee without sugar.’

Furthermore, the same negative lexeme *níhè* can also function as negated possessive predicate. In examples given below, *níhè* occurs in both forms: uninflected (13.31a) and inflected (13.31b).

- (13.31) a. àhè làsàj níhè
 1sg bread not.present
 ‘I don’t have bread.’
- b. àhè làsàj níh-n-áh-ò
 1sg bread not.present-EPH-1sg.OBJ-VFS
 ‘I don’t have any bread.’ (Lit. ‘There is no bread to me.’)

It can inflect for person of the S argument but in a rather unique way. Only bound pronominal O argument markers can be marked on it. The alveolar nasal *n* is inserted between the root-like form of the negative existential verb and participants that occur as direct objects.

Table 13.4 Negative existential verb — imperfective aspect

PERSON	FORM	MEANING
1sg	níh-n-áh-ò	‘I am not present’
2sg	níh-n-íh-ò	‘You (sg.) are not present’
3sg	níhè	‘S/he, it is not present, there is not’
1pl.INC/EXC	níh-n-í-ò	‘We (inc/exc.) are not present’
2pl	níh-n-ùh-ò	‘You (pl.) are not present’
3pl	níhè	‘They are not present, there are not’

Table 13.5 Negative existential verb — perfective aspect

PERSON	FORM	MEANING
1sg	níh-n-áh-i	‘I didn’t exist’
2sg	níh-n-íh-i	‘You (sg.) didn’t exist’
3sg	níh-n-Ø-a	‘S/he, it didn’t exist’
1pl.INC/EXC	níh-n-i	‘We (inc/exc.) didn’t exist’
2pl	níh-n-ùh-u	‘You (pl.) didn’t exist’
3pl	níh-n-Ø-a	‘They didn’t exist’

As illustrated in Table 13.4 and Table 13.5, negative existential verb form in the imperfective and the perfective aspects are almost identical in a number of ways. There are however two exceptional differences, — (i) the forms in the third person display

inflected and uninflected forms, and (ii) those in Table 13.4 take verb-final suffixes because they are intransitive verbs in the imperfective aspect whereas those in Table 13.5 take portmanteau suffixes. At a first glance, these portmanteau suffixes look like those that are copied from the vowel of the verb root, for instance, the suffix *-i*. But they are not applicable to all and do not show any consistency throughout the paradigm.

Therefore, regarding the nature of these portmanteau suffixes, further study is needed. Note that the negative existential verb *níŋè* has a positive counterpart which exhibits inherently singular and plural forms in its roots. Most importantly, this negative existential verb does occur anywhere in the clause where it is deemed necessary. Some examples are given below:

- (13.32) a. [ba ké ká-dáǎí=jè]_{SUBORD:CL} ké-jél-í
 CAUSE QUOT 1SU-do.1sg.SU.IMPERV=SUBORD 1SU-like-1sg.SU.IMPERV
 háŋ ñàñije sáí
 INTENS however time
 níŋ-n-áŋ-ò
 not.present-EPH-1sg.OBJ-VFS
 ‘I would like to do it (Lit. ‘If only I did, I would like); however, I have no time.’
- b. [hír-á [Ø lùkùr-á níŋ-n-Ø-á]_{RC}]_{CS}
 person-RSTR [Ø friend-RSTR not.present-EPH-3sg.OBJ- NOMZ:RSTR]
 á [dáhá⁹¹]_{CC}
 COP.3.IMPERV poor
 ‘A man who has no friend is poor.’

In (13.32a), *ñàñijè* itself may sometimes function as a contrastive negative marker and has been discussed in one of the subsequent sections. In (13.32b), the relative clause construction functions as a copula subject. Like any other regular verbs, the negative existential verb *níŋè* can also be restrictively nominalized when it occurs in relative clauses (as in (13.32b)).

⁹¹ A loan word from Amharic *däha* ‘poor’.

13.5 Inherently negative verb *ímág*

The inherently negative lexeme *ímág* ‘(I) don’t know, be ignorant of’ can function as negative predicate and occur with or without first person prefix. But it always takes bound pronominal subject suffixes.

- (13.33) a. *ba sé k-áít-ε*
 place/CAUSE say.COMPZR 3.SBJV-go.PERV.PL-MA
ímág-í-ò
 don’t know-SG.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘I did not know of their going.’
- b. *ba án-á [hír-á máđ-ínén-á]_{NP}*
 place/CAUSE COP.IMPERV-TEMP man-RSTR teach-NOMZ-RSTR
k-ímág-í-ò
 1SU-don’t.know-1sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘I did not know that he is a teacher.’
- c. *kó hàli kún-Ø kó mìnánj*
 PNC later come.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV CRD when
k-ímág-í-ò
 1SU-don’t.know-1sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘I don’t know when he will come.’
- d. *àpè [húllí k-íw-án máđ-á-pá]*
 1sg if/when 1SU-take-MT.1sg.SU.IMPERV teach-NOMZ-PL
sízzì=jè]_{SUBORD:CL} jòg ímág-é-ò
 three=SUBORD 3pl don’t know-3pl.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘They do not know that I took three books.’

A *k(V)*- prefix for first persons and independent personal pronouns for all other non-first persons may be employed in S function. Yet the morphology of this negative lexeme is very odd and does not have consistency; it even resembles verbs which have irregular inflectional nature. Despite its morphology, the inherently negative verb *imag* behaves the same way as negated verbs; it usually takes clause-final position. When it is being passivized, it will have a meaning ‘unknown, not known’, as in (13.34).

- (13.34) *híri [rè-á n=ènè]_{NP} k-ìmàgt-ò*
 man body-RSTR SG.PSD=2SG.PSR PASS-not.know.PERV-3.PASS
 ‘A person whose identity is unknown.’

It may also denote the meaning ‘be ignorant of, forgot’ when followed by the adverbial intensifier *bòì* ‘all, at all, completely’

In contrast, the indefinite pronoun *hírkóná* in (13.37b) can appear without the negative existential *níhè* whose meaning would mean ‘anybody’.

b. *hírkón-a* *ɲà=ɓá=á* *íjé?*
 one-INDEF DEM=place=NEAR present/exist.IMPERV
 ‘Is anybody else here?’

One without the negative existential word has been found — *hírí dǔnéj* ~ <person.SG INDEF one> ‘no one’ (Lit. a certain person). Literally, both *hírkóná* and *hírí dǔnéj* would mean ‘one/(a certain)person. However, there is one major distinction between the two, i.e. *hírkóná* is a compound word indefinite pronoun derived from the indefinite generic noun *hírí* ‘man’ and from indefinite pronoun *kóna* ‘another/certain’ (a grammaticalized number word *kón* ‘one’). Whereas *hírí dǔnéj* is derived from the same generic noun *hírí* plus a non-grammaticalized number word *dǔnéj* ‘one’ (cf. Jespersen 1917). Compare the indefinite pronoun *hírí dǔnéj* of the following examples with one *hírkóná* shown above in (13.38a):

(13.38) a. *jòg* *géná* *hín-é* *kí-ǰíl-ε*
 3pl others want.IMPERV-3pl.SU.IMPERV 3.SBJV-stand/accuse-IRR
nòɲ *ɲàɲìjè* *hírí* *dǔnéj* *táɗ-á*
 3sg but person one put.on-3sg.SU.PERV
nòɲ *sìò* *gár-ú*
 3sg hand.SG lost-3sg.SU.PERV
 ‘And some of them would have taken him; but no man laid hands on him.’
 (John 7: 44)

b. *ɲà=ɓ=ùnù* *kó* *hírí* *dǔnéj* *jàg-èsèn* *lògó*
 DEM=place=FAR CRD man one answer-BEN.3 word
 ‘(there) and no man was able to answer him a word.’ (Matthew 22: 46)

13.7 Interjection *imm imm* ‘no’

The negative interjection *imm imm* ‘no’ can be used for answering a yes/no question. But an important point that we may have to notice here is that the non-repeated form *imm* does not provide the intended negative meaning. Instead the *imm* form alone is

used to answering a yes/no question positively or it would mean ~ ‘yes’, as in (13.39c-d).

- (13.39) a. hàli sán-í kátámá-í-jè? imm! imm!
 later stay-2sg.SU.IMPERV town-LOC-OBL no no
 àṅè hàli k-ó-í ór-ó
 1sg later 1SU-go.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV home-OBL
 ríb
 all.the.day
 ‘Will you (m) spend the day at the market? No!, I shall stay all the day at home.’
- b. ɓèlè hàli mír-čí-ṅ-án-ò ìṅè?
 night later return-APPL-EPENT-MT-IRR 2sg
 ‘Will you return tomorrow?’
 imm! imm! ṅà=kí-mir-čí-ṅ-án=ó
 no no NEG.IMPERV=return-APPL-EPENT-MT=NEG
 ‘No!, I won’t return’
- c. ṅà=ṅòr=ùnù gúp-é-ò?
 DEM=elephant=FAR see.IMPERV-2sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘Do you (sg.) see that elephant?’
 imm! kú-gúp-é[í]-ò
 yes 1SU-see.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘Yes!, I saw.’
- d. ṅà=ója=á tímírtí tón-čá-ò?
 DEM=year=NEAR education begin.PERV-APPL-IRR
 ‘Did you start school this year?’
 imm! kóón-čá-ó
 yes 1SU.begin.PERV-APPL-1pl.INC.SU.PERV
 ‘Yes!, we (inc.) have begun’

As can be clearly shown in (13.39a-b), *imm imm* can be used to negate a full question sentence because oftentimes part of the question or at least the predicate will be repeated as part of the answer. It is common and natural to get such repeated forms from the class of interjection and being used as negators.

13.8 Tracing and linking negators

While different types of negators constitute the negation system of the language, it is yet possible to trace the origin of the form which recurs in some of the negative particles. Some of the negator forms are attested in a number of Surmic group languages while few forms were also attested outside the group. In view of Mursi negators, there

is relatively compelling evidence in the negator proclitic $\eta\grave{a}=\text{}$ which in one way or another is the origin for the rise of the following independent negative forms:

- (i) $/\eta\grave{a}\acute{a}n\acute{o}/ \sim [\eta\grave{a}=\eta\acute{a}n=\acute{o}]$ (see §13.9). The same morphological process, cliticization, should have applied to Chai verbs because Chai has almost identical morphological verbal negation process to Mursi. However, Last and Lucassen (1998) didn't adequately describing the exact morphological process that has to be employed in the negation system of the Southeasten Surmic languages. Due to this, in their grammatical sketch of Chai language, the negator enclitic $=\acute{o}$ has been presented as being a final suffix $-o$.
- (ii) $/\eta\grave{a}ni/$ may well be reconstructed from the negator proclitic $\eta\grave{a}=\text{}$ and the imperfective copula verb *an* <COP.IMPERV>. The morpheme *i* which occurs following the copula could possibly be a singular number marker — $\sim [\eta\grave{a}=\acute{a}n-i]$. The existence of *i* possibly as a sole singular number marker suggests that the particle has no self-standing form and cannot be inflected for further grammatical categories including for plural number.
- (iii) The negative existential-locative imperfective verb $/ni\eta\grave{e}/$ has the same forms for third person singular and plural. It perhaps developed from the locative suffix *ni* added to the negator proclitic $\eta\grave{a}=\text{}$ and the singular positive existential verb $/ih/$ <exist.SG.IMPERV> which always has [i] realization due to recurrent deletion of glottal fricative /h/ word-finally — $/h/ \sim \emptyset$.

Finally we will get a form $ni\eta\grave{a}i$ $[ni-\eta\grave{a}=i]$ <LOC-NEG=exist.IMPERV:SG> which I believe developed into a fully fledged verb form $ni\eta\grave{e}$ — ‘x’ at/in is not present/exist’ or ‘x’ not at/in ‘y’ or ‘x’ without ‘y’. But what we cannot be certain of is that it can inflect for person like any other regular verb. Contrary to the claim made above, this suggest that $ni\eta$ could be a root form rather than a derived

form from different grammatical categories. An in-depth study is required in order to identify its actual form. Last and Lucassen (1998: 420) claimed that *níjè* would perhaps be a negative copula. It is a hypothesis that makes sense until disproved by new evidence.

- (iv) The contrastive clause marker particle *ɲànjè* looks like a derived form because the form in itself gives a hint it may be from *ɲàni* and from the subordinate marker enclitic *=jè*. Also, in most cases, the element that follows this contrastive marker is the main clause.

Therefore, in all negator forms listed above, there is one constant form recurring, i.e. */ɲa/* ~ [**ɲa/*ɲà=/*ɲ/*]. In fact negators have not been given proper place and attention by some Surmic language investigators. Due to this, a number of inconsistent and incoherent negator markers have been reported in different literatures.

For instance, the Mursi main negators *ɲà=* and *=ó* undoubtedly have clitic status while in Chai (another Southeastern Surmic group language), *ɲa* has been reported as an independent particle (Last and Lucassen 1998: 418). Last and Lucassen also reported another independent negative particle *ɲásò*. However, such form has not been found in my corpus so far, despite it being an acceptable morphological form in Mursi. If any such form exist in Mursi, it is undoubtedly reconstructed from two clitics — the negator proclitic *ɲà=* and from floating emphatic enclitic *=so*.

Chapter 14 Clause types, clause combining and coordination

14.1 Introduction

Clause types can be classified by internal structure, transitive, distansive and extended intransitive. These were discussed in the previous sections. This chapter presents a selection of clause types not specifically discussed in the previous chapters (see the list in §14.2). Mursi deals in ways in which different clause types can be combined together to form complex clauses. Of the three major clause combining strategies, the relativization strategy was discussed in Chapter 4. Thus in this chapter, the focus is on the point of intersection between relativization and complementization clause combining strategies.

In Mursi, clauses can be combined or linked by the following four major clause combining techniques —subordination, complementization, relativization (rarely), and coordination. In a rather few instances and contexts, a given clause construction type may involve complementation as well as relativization strategies. Therefore, in general, this chapter explores various clause types of the language, and most importantly the strategies/ways in which they are being combined/linked.

14.2 Clause types

Mursi has the following clause types, each are discussed in subsequent sub-sections: conditional (§14.2.1), temporal (§14.2.2), speech report clause (§14.2.3), complement clause (§14.2.4), copular clause (§14.2.5), and obligation/deontic clause (§14.2.6). It is important to note that each clause type utilizes one or more varieties of clause combining/linking strategies.

14.2.1 Conditional clause

A conditional clause mainly presents hypothetical proposition which may or may not happen in the main clause (apodosis) depending on the condition in the subordinate clause (protasis). The subordinate clause of a Mursi conditional construction must contain the conditional particle *húlli* ‘if, when’, which almost always occurs at the beginning of the subordinate clause. The following template shows the actual syntactic structure of the subordinate clause of the conditional construction:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{húlli} \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{if} \text{ (CONDITIONAL)} \\ \textit{when} \text{ (TEMPORAL)} \end{array} \right] \dots\dots \textit{'X'} =j\grave{e}/= \grave{e} \end{array} \right] \text{SUBORD:CL}$$

Accordingly, ‘X’ represents any constituent that appears at the end of a dependent/subordinate clause. Therefore a constituent that occurs at the subordinate clause-final position is marked by the subordinate clause marker enclitic =*jè* (following vowel-final) and =*è* (following consonant-final constituent).

(14.1) [húllí nòŋ ɲàni gùjò ɲà=dǎk-Ø=ó
 if 3sg NEG.PERV rain NEG.IMPERV=hit-3sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ɲàméá=jè]SUBORD:CL
 today=SUBORD
 ‘If it does not rain today,...’

(14.2) [hùlli kó-gɔ-i adisawa=jè]SUBORD:CL
 if 1SU-go.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV addis.ababa=OBL+SUBORD
 [kó-tóí kùčùmbà-nèn]MAIN:CL
 1SU-count.1sg.SU.IMPERV amhara-NOMZ
 ‘If I go to Addis Ababa, I will study Amharic.’

Note that in Mursi, an allomorph of the oblique case marker suffix =*jè* and the subordinate marker enclitic =*jè* are identical, as is shown in (14.2). When the two co-occur at the same position as in (14.2), it is really difficult to know whether or not they undergo fusion. I would say it is highly likely that the fusion process is occurring. In most cases, both the subordinate and the main clauses will have the same aspect, as in (14.2). This does not mean necessarily that is always the case. The verb of the

subordinate clause may be in perfective aspect and an imperfective aspect verb may predicate the main clause, as in (14.3a).

- (14.3) a. [hùlli ók-ú=jè]_{SUBORD:CL} [àpè
 if go-3sg.SU.PERV=SUBORD 1sg
 k-í=ηà]_{MAIN:CL}
 1SU-exist.IMPERV:SG.1sg.SU=DEF
 ‘If s/he goes, I will stay here.’

In fact, the change in aspect of the verb in the subordinate clause will have an effect on the semantics, which is different from the formal semantics of a subordinate conditional clause. The subordinate clause in (14.3a) may be expressed in an equivalent but less formal way — ‘as long as’. So it may also mean ‘As long as he is gone, I shall stay here’. The subordinate verbs of conditional clauses usually utilize perfective aspect. Even the copula predicate has to occur in perfective aspect when used in the subordinate clause in the stative intransitive sense ‘be good’, as in (14.3b).

- b. [hùlli [rònó ɓèlè] ηójò té ɕàll=è]_{SUBORD:CL}
 if [in.future morning] wind COP.3.PERV good.STV=SUBORD
 [kó-gó-í kútúl-ò]_{MAIN:CL}
 1SU-go.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV mountain-OBL
 ‘If the weather is good tomorrow, I will go to the mountains.’

The subject of the subordinate clause can be left unspecified if the same subject has to be employed in both clauses on the basis of context and is recoverable from the main clause.

- (14.4) [hùlli bíró él-é=jè]_{SUBORD:CL}
 if money exist.IMPERV:PL-3pl.SU.IMPERV=SUBORD
 [k-ádɕ-ín húŋ]_{MAIN:CL}
 1SU-give.IMPERV-2sg.OBJ simply
 ‘If I have money, I will give you (some).’

In addition to declarative, the main clause could also be an imperative or an interrogative clause.

- (14.5) a. [hùlli hín-í=è]_{SUBORD:CL} [óg-ó]_{MAIN:CL}
 if want.IMPERV-2sg.SU.IMPERV=SUBORD go.PERV:IMP-VFS
 ‘If you (sg.) want, go (sg.)!’

- b. [hùlli gùjò dǎk-ò=jè]_{SUBORD:CL} [máskótí jóg-à]_{MAIN:CL}
 if rain hit-3.IRR=SUBORD window close.PERV:IMP-VFS
 ‘If it should rain, close (sg.) the window!’

As always, the verb has to be in the perfective aspect when being used in the imperative mood. The imperative verb form can also be accompanied by different verb-final suffix markers. Negative imperative in the main clause can be expressed in the same way as regular negative constructions, as in (14.5c).

- c. hùlli éñérs=è]⁹³_{SUBORD:CL} [érmì-á
 if afraid.IMPERV-2sg.SU.IMPERV.SUBORD child-RSTR
 ñà=ḅ=ùnù ñà=ítóón-í]_{MAIN:CL}
 DEM=place=FAR NEG.IMPERV=send.IMPERV-SG
 ‘If you are worried, you shouldn’t send your child to that place.’
 (Lit. ‘If you (sg.) afraid, don’t send your child there!’)

- (14.6) a. [hùlli ìnè ñà=kí-ǰǰ-í=jè]_{SUBORD:CL}
 if 2sg NEG.IMPERV=1SU-listen.IMPERV-SG=SUBORD
 [ǰǰ-án[n]-ε á nèŋ?]_{MAIN:CL}
 listen-1sg.OBJ-APPL COP.3.IMPERV who.OBJ
 ‘If you don’t listen to me, who is going to listen to me?’

- b. [hùllí ìnè jél-í jòg ñà=dàmi=tùnù
 if 2sg like-2sg.SU.IMPERV 3pl DEM=manner=FAR
 jél-čǰn-é ìnè=jè]_{SUBORD:CL}
 like-APPL-3pl.SU.IMPERV 2sg=SUBORD
 [ìnè hàli lòm-í ǰǰímatí]⁹⁴
 2sg later have-2sg.SU.IMPERV prize
 Í-Ø òŋ?]_{MAIN:CL}
 to.be-3sg.SU.IMPERV what
 ‘If you love them that love you, what wages will you have?’

In (14.6b), *dàmi* ‘custom, rule’ can be interpreted as ‘according to’ or ‘in (the same) manner’. This also aligns with some of Ethiopian languages which use accord phrases and clauses in accordance with the information presented earlier or agreement with rules, traditions, etc. (Kuteva et.al, 2019: 397-98).

⁹³ The second person subject suffix and the subordinator suffix might have been fused but I found it difficult to point out the complex phonological process involved. It should have been <i+je>. It is also not clear why the second person possessive pronoun is left unspecified (14.5c).

⁹⁴ A loan word from Amharic *ǰǰimat* ‘prize’.

14.2.2 Temporal clause

The second function of *hùllí* ‘when, while’ is coding temporal relation between two events. The temporal relation of clauses may be simultaneous or sequential. The two can be grouped under overlap and succession respectively (Longacre 2007: 379).

Like conditional clauses, a temporal coding element (temporal linker) *hùllí* always occurs at the beginning of a subordinate clause, in this case at the beginning of a temporal subordinate clause. However, in temporal clause constructions, clauses may be juxtaposed. In such instance, the temporal linker *hùllí* takes a modification marker suffix *-a*, possibility as a relativizer.

The examples given below depict the temporal relation of two events, that is, the event in the main clause is the durative result of the event that is initiated in the subordinate clause. So, the relation between the temporal subordinate clause and main clause may be characterized as a 'beginning-postspan' relation.

- (14.7) a. [hùlli kóɗ-á-nɛ-Ø
 when/if begin.IMPERV-HAB-EPENT.APPL-3sg.SU.IMPERV
 tímírtí=jè]_{SUBORD:CL} [tóíØ ká-gáj-ò]_{MAIN:CL}
 education=SUBORD count.NOMZ 3.SBJV-know.PERV-3.IRR
 ‘Since s/he started school, s/he knows how to read.’

The verb *kóɗ* ‘begin’ often comes with the habitual/progressive marker suffix *-nɛ* (third person), of the otherwise polysemous verb ‘write, kill/stab/spear, build’. The verb of the main clause is in subjunctive mood. With respect to the subjunctive mood, even if it expresses something not totally true, Mursi displays the characteristic of Semitic languages. This adheres to the statement made about Semitic languages (maybe the result of language contact), ‘the subjunctive indicates an act dependent upon the statement of the previous clause, and future to it in terms of time’ (Gray 1934, as cited in Dixon 2012: 8).

When the two clauses are apposed, *húllí* will have a meaning of ‘(ever) since, from the time (that)’, as in (14.7b).

b.	[nòŋ	wà	óól-á	tùmù]	MAIN:CL
	3sg	REC.PAST	pray-3sg.SU.PERV	god	
	[hùll-á	nòŋ	ǰíg-ε-Ø	wonǰilau-i=tè]	SUBORD:CL
	when-RSTR	3sg	hear-APPL-3sg.IRR	gospel-SG=SUBORD	
	‘S/he has prayed (ever) since s/he heard the Gospel.’				
	(Lit. ‘from the time s/he heard the Gospel’)				

The subordinate clause also contain a relative clause because *húllí* is marked by a restrictive marker *-a*. So the whole structure (*nòŋ ǰígε wonǰilauite*) may be a modifier of *hulla* <from the time that>. The noun *gospel* is a loan word from the Amharic *wängel*. Surprisingly, as it is shown in (14.7b), the definite marker of the source language was also adopted with the form, i.e. *wängel-u* <gospel-(3MASC.):DEF>.

14.2.2.1 Simultaneous clause

A simultaneous clause encodes temporally coterminous events/actions expressed by temporal subordinate clause and by the main clause. The temporal word *húllí* ‘when, while’ will be employed as temporal coordinator, but cannot entirely be considered a sole subordinator marker. In a simultaneous clause, the sole function of *húllí* is coordinating two temporally parallel clauses. This can easily be shown by the absence of the subordinator marker enclitic *=jè* from the subordinate clause margin. In simultaneous situations, two clauses can possibly be arranged according to the temporal continuity of the activities they indicate. This includes: punctiliar-continuous, continuous-punctiliar and punctiliar-punctiliar (Longacre 2007: 379-80).

i. Punctiliar-continuous

The punctiliar-continuous temporal relation indicates an activity that has already taken place and was completed but during which another activity is taking place

- b. [húllí ké kón dádáb=ηà]
 when say.1sg.AUX 1.SBJV.write.PERV letter=DEF
 [[kómón sízzi]_{NP} hóđ-á]
 guest.PL three come.PERV:PL-3pl.SU.PERV
 ‘While I was writing a letter, three visitors came.’

The auxiliary verb *se* ‘say’ in (14.8a-b) covers a range of meanings such as ‘intend, want, think, and have in mind’. It is also a modal marker commonly used to refer to future time. In (14.8-ab), the auxiliaries may express subject’s or speaker’s intention/attitude towards the predicate of the subordinate clause. Note that this auxiliary verb also has a grammaticalized form, a quotative marker (*ké* <QUOT>) which we see anywhere in speech clauses.

Apposing of clauses may lead the subordinate clause to behave like a relative clause, it even may change its meaning. Therefore, in simultaneous clauses whose subordinate clauses are made up of a temporal coordinator *húllí* clause, apposition is not possible as far as my corpus is concerned. Therefore, in the simultaneous clauses whose subordinator or temporal coordinator is *húllí*, apposing clauses are simply not possible. Besides, the continuity of activity in the subordinate clause has to be maintained until another activity in the main clause takes place.

- c. [húllí ηòn-à=ηà] [dǎk-ú bá]
 when step.down-MT.3sg.SU.PERV=DEF fall-3sg.su.perv ground
 ‘He fell while walking down the stairs.’
 d. *[dák-u baa] [húll-á ηon-a=ηà]

As can be shown in (14.9c), the temporal transition from continuous to punctiliar can be achieved by maintaining the sequential flow of the narration. In place of the subordinate marker enclitic =*jè*/=*è*, the definite marker enclitic =*ηà* is used. An interesting phenomenon to notice in (14.9c) is that this definite marker is attached to the verb. This is mainly due to the use of aspectual neutral verbs in narrative texts which are characterized by simultaneous bounded events. In this case, the function of the definite marker is to adjust the intended aspectual meaning, —the perfective reading

‘while he was stepped down’ may be closer to the intended reading of the text (‘while he stepping down’). The perfective aspect information was obtained from the short form motion suffix *-a* which would otherwise be the long form *-áná* on the third person imperfective aspect verb.

iii. Punctiliar-punctiliar

Two punctiliar activities/events that are taking place simultaneously may overlap. Nevertheless, the subordinate clause verb does not necessary have to be in a perfective aspect. But the verb of the main clause must be in perfective aspect unless the activity/event timed is in present tense (as in (14.11c)).

And in the following examples imperfective aspect verbs do almost always appear in the subordinate clause.

- (14.11) a. [àpè húllí k-ó-í tútú=ηà]_{SUBORD:CL}
 1sg when 1SU-open.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV door=DEF
 [ηàpùr ηè-ú gàf-ò háη]_{MAIN:CL}
 cat run-3sg.SU.PERV forest-OBL simply/just
 ‘As he opened the door, out went the cat.’
- b. [dʒòònè húllí kún-Ø=ηà]_{SUBORD:CL}
 mother.PERT:3.PRS when come.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV=DEF
 éró ηè-sé wáran-ò
 children run-BEN/MA.3.PERV gate-OBL
 ‘When their mother came, the children ran towards the gate.’
- c. [bì-ò húllí héj ʃaura-je]
 cow-PL when go.IMPERV:PL shaura-OBL
 [òlí-ηá héj wárr-ò]
 bull-PL go.IMPERV:PL Omo.river-OBL
 ‘When the cows went to drink at Shaura, the bulls went to the Omo.’

The definite marker on the imperfective aspect subordinate verb is the one which gives the punctiliar sense to the verb. In other words, it is highly likely that the definite marker =ηà may have developed as marker of simultaneous clause subordinator on imperfective verbs in the subordinate clause. In simultaneous clause types which normally deal with temporal overlapping, temporal progression marker words cannot

be used unless as coordinators or repeaters of two or more temporally equivalent clauses. For example, we don't see the temporal progression marker (coordinator) *nà* in the text below.

(14.12) *ké-héj-Ø* *kí-bír-Ø*
 1SU-go.IMPERV-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV 1SU-pick.up-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV
ólǝ-ó *dǎàì* *ɲàɲìjè* [*tó-jé* *ɲà=ɓ=ùnù*
 sorghum-PL all/COMPLET *however* in-OBL DEM=place=FAR
kí-bír-ó *ólǝ-ó=ɲà*]_{subord:cl}
 1SU-pick.up-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV sorghum-PL=DEF
 'We (exc.) go and pick up sorghum stalks.' However, while we (exc.) are
 collecting the sorghum stalks...

tó-jé *lò* *zùg-tí* [*gɛ*
 in-OBL have/exist people-NRSTR [PL.PN+NRSTR
k-éɲérs-ó]_{rc}
 1SU-fear.IMPERV-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV]
 ...there are those people out there whom we are afraid of.'
 (Lit. 'inside it (the sorghum stalks' place) has people of whom we (exc.) are
 afraid') (KW 0:32:0)

14.2.2.2 Succession clause

In narrative texts, two or more clauses can be arranged based on temporal succession of actions or events. Succession clause is identical with consequence clause in that the time or the cause in the subordinate clause almost always precedes the main clause. That is, the main clause is a temporal causality or successor of the subordinate clause. *nà* 'and', *nà húllí* 'and then', *wurea* 'after' are used as coordinators of clauses in temporal succession. Events/actions involved in temporal succession can be span-span, span-event, event-span, and event-event.

i. Span-span

Span-span is a temporal succession of two or more prolonged activities. The state/activity which will be reported in the subordinate clause is one span while the same or different state/activity in the following clause will indicate another span. The state/activity which will be described in the subordinate clause is one span while the

same state/activity that continues from the subordinate clause will indicate another span.

- (14.13) [hùll-á kón-čáp-a sátí-á [Ø wà
 when-RSTR begin-APPL-RSTR time-RSTR [Ø REC.PAST
 kò-dòm-čà=jè]RC]SUBORD:CL/SPAN
 PASS-trespass-APPL=SUBORD
 [tíi sàkkàl [bá-á dǎkákán]NP té kòrò-ì]SPAN
 DUR nine place-RTSR all COP.3.PERV dark.STV-ADJ
 ‘From the (sixth hour) there was darkness over all the land up to the ninth hour.’
 (Lit. ‘From the time that was being trespassed up to nine all the land became dark.’)

An embedded relative clause marked by gap strategy is embedded within the subordinate clause.

ii. Span-event

We may also find temporal succession indicating clauses containing a prolonged activity and an event, as can be shown below.

- (14.14) nà [k-ów-ónó nà nà=jà dírr]SUBORD:CL
 CCN 1SU-go-MT.1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV like.this=DEF long.time
 nà [hùlli té bá-á éré-í=nè]SUBORD:CL:SPAN
 CCN when COP.3.PERV place-RSTR cross-NOMZ=SUBORD
 [k-érés-ó bòi k-èli
 1SU-cross.IMPERV-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV COMPLET PASS-call.PERV
 ké dòi]MAIN:CL:EVENT
 QUOT Dòl
 ‘As we (inc.) keep going like this for a long time and when we are at the crossing-place, we (exc.) crossed at a place called Dòl.’ (MH 0:31:2)

The clausal coordinator *nà* that occurs clause-initially has a function of depicting the logical progression point of an argument. (14.14) is a piece of narration from a story titled ‘Mursi history’ — about how the Mursi occupied their present territory and then expanded it by crossing the Omo River. So, we can see that *nà* wouldn’t exist if the event-line does not show forward movement can be shown from the story's lines *nà* exists because there is temporal succession as well as progression. Otherwise, it wouldn't occur if the activity described by the event-line were not moving forward.

phrase *ba (lòm)* ‘by having’, that is, as long as *ηàhùllùnù* is in the causal clause along with the causal object *ηòjò* and occurring prior to the consequent clause. Then two clauses can optionally be coordinated by the clausal coordinative conjunction *nà*.

The other cause-consequent marker is *ηàniǵè*, as we remember from negation Chapter, is a derivation, — from the negative perfective *ηàni* (or one can call it contrastive marker particle ‘not yet’ or persistive ‘still’) and the subordinator enclitic *=jè*.

- (14.19) *ká-tál-è* *bà-i-nù* *kè-mési* *džù-ǵá*
 3.SBJV-buy/sell-COM place-LOC=FAR 3.SBJV-do clay.pot-SG
kó₁ *kúr-é* *kómón-nè*
 PNC bury-RES guest.PL-OBL
 ‘(they) bought with them the potter’s field, to bury strangers in.’
- ηàniǵè* *kó₂* *ηàméá* *tó-jé* *ηà=b=ùnù*
 therefore PNC today in-OBL DEM=place=FAR
k-èli *kó₃* *bá-á* *kó₄* *ǵàwà*
 PASS-call.PERV PNC place-RTSR PNC blood
 ‘Wherefore that field was called, the field of blood, unto this day.’

As it is clearly illustrated here, when *ηàniǵè* occurs between the two clauses, — the first one is the general causal clause while the second is the consequent clause. Mursi has a complex and unclear distribution of participant nominalization markers some of which appear to have an agent nominalizers (referring to the actor) and yet others have the causer agent nominalizers (see Chapter 3). The preposition *kó* has various functions, — the one in causal clause *kó₁* shows purpose, *kó₂* preposition, *kó₃* instrumental, and *kó₄* could refer to source.

The clause coordinative conjunction *nà* may also be used to expresses relation of causality as in (14.20a-b).

- (14.20) a. *ηà=gáwátí=tá* *á* *ǵàséní* *nìs-á*
 DEM=plate=NEAR COP.3.IMPERV easy crack-3sg.SU.PERV
nà *ǵnè* *hín* *íw-í* *ǵéé*
 CCN 2sg want.DEO look.after-2sg.SU.IMPERV well
 ‘This cup is easily (cracked) broken therefore you have to take care.’

14.2.2.4 Reason clause

Reason and purpose clauses are almost identical structurally, but the purpose clause may be indicated alone without needing a grammaticalized cause marker particle *ba* ~ *bá* ‘place’. As Heine and Kuteva (2002: 239-40) suggested, a nominal word for ‘place’ can be grammaticalized into cause marker in certain languages. The original locative meaning will be transformed into causal marker through a gradual process — which supposedly denotes the following meanings:

[‘place’ > ‘in place of’ > ‘instead’ > ‘because (of)’ > ‘therefore’ (rarely)]

The following five remarks can best manifest the characteristics of reason clauses as well as their syntactic template:

- i. *bá/bá* always occurs preceding the causer (sometimes tense marking particles may intervene between the two).
- ii. A purpose clause can have an optional (ii) template but requires the reason applicative/commitative marker suffix *-ε* for all persons except for first person plural exclusive and second person plural which are indicated by *čo*.
- iii. The subordinate clause which contains the reason clause may precede or follow the main clause.
- iv. The preposition particle *ké* may occur in a reason clause, where it precedes the causal *bá/bá* and shows purpose when reason and purpose are expressed in a single clause.
- v. A reason clause has an obligatory template:
[*bá/bá*...CAUSER...VERB-REASON(=SUBORD)], or along with purpose marker *ké*
[*ké bá/bá*...CAUSER...VERB-(REASON) (=SUBORD)].

- (14.24) [lúsi túrú]_{MAIN:CL} [bá [nòŋ gòdínè]_{NP}
 boy cry.3sg.SU.PERV CAUSE 3sg brother.PERT:3.PSR
 íw-án-è kowasi=jè]_{SUBORD:CL}
 take/receive-MT-APPL:RES ball=SUBORD
 ‘The boy cried because his brother took the ball.’

Since the causal marker *bá/bá* has a movable nature (no fixed position in a clause), it can appear anywhere in the subordinate clause along with the causer. As is illustrated in (14.24), *bá* preceding the possessive NP, shows the cause which is brought on by the causer specified in the subordinate clause ((*nòŋ*) *gòdínè*, (lit. ‘he his brother’)). The third person singular pronoun is optional since the bound pertensive suffix *-è* fully provides information about the possessor person and number. Note that the verb ‘cry’ shows aspect by adding a *t(V)*- prefix verb in which the imperfective form *rui* drops the final vowel and becomes *ru* which with a perfective aspect marker *t-* and by copying the vowel of the root ~ *turu*, ends in a consonant like most consonant-final verb roots *tur*. However, if it is decomposed into further pieces **tu-r-u* *_{<PERV-cry-3sg.SU>}, it does not make sense, so it is better to keep it as it is, i.e. *tu-ru*. See further examples below, where in the majority of subordinated clauses, the subordinate clause precedes the main clause.

- (14.25) a. [bá ká-tá-lí-čó dóri=jè]_{SUBORD:CL}
 CAUSE 1SU-buy-APPL:RES.1pl.EXC.SU house=SUBORD
 [kà-bà-y-ó ñà=b-á]
 1SU-live-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV DEM=place=NEAR
 ‘We live in this country because we (exc.) have bought a house.’
- b. [bá zíní íb-čap-án-ò [bíró-á
 CAUSE thief take-APPL-1sg.OBJ-3.IRR money-RTSR
 g=ànù]_{NP} dǎkákán=ne]_{SUBORD:CL}
 PL.PSD=1SG.PRS all=SUBORD
 [ànè kò-lòm-á dolar dǎnéj sòŋ]
 1sg 1SU-have-1sg.SU.PERV dollar one only
 ‘Because the thief has taken all my money, I have one dollar left.’

In all reason clauses shown above, in addition to the grammaticalized cause marker *bá/bá*, reason and mostly purpose indicating suffixes *-è*, *-čo*, and *-čap* have been attached to verbs, — either as RES/COM (reason/comitative) or APPL (applicative).

The subordinate clause has is consistent independent sentence embedded within it. Besides, there is no subordination or coordination markers shown but rather the *ké ba* is used as bridging construction. One has to remember that clauses of the above types may have full fledged internal structure of sentences.

In (14.27), the purpose-reason clause follows a rhetorical question which as is shown clearly seeks information.

- (14.27) [nà hàli nìs-é bì] [ɲà=zùgt=ùnù
 CCN later kill-3pl.SU.IMPERV cow DEM=people=FAR
 wà gíná ɲàà kè òŋ?] [ké bá
 REC.PAST ANA:REF here why PURP/RES CAUSE
 wà kén-čí-í-á]_{SUBORD:CL}
 REC.PAST 3.SBJV.touch-APPL-1pl.OBJ-3pl.SU.IMPERV
 lòg-á [Ø wágá gòr-ò]_{RC}
 issue-RSTR [Ø ANA:REF road-OBL]
 ‘After that they will slaughter a cow. Why are those people are here? For the reason they have touched us on the road.’ (KW 1:28:8)

This construction is ambiguous in that it can have two interpretations — (i) the one shown in the actual translation, and (ii) just a single clause (‘Because they touched us then on the road.’)

As mentioned earlier, the purpose clause can be expressed without the cause marker particle *bá/bá* just by attaching the comitative or reason applicative marker suffixes to verbs. Comitative and reason applicative markers in Mursi are identical. Thus the semantics of comitative, reason (reason-applicative), and purpose clauses may be shown by invariably identical morphological markers. Despite the fact that there is a considerable difference between Nilo Saharan and Bantu linguistics, at the semantic level, applicative derivation seems to cover a number of other functions in both families. It has been noted by Dixon and Aikhenvald (2011: 53) that the term ‘applicative’ has different sub-types such as comitative, dative, and instrumental.

Likewise, the Mursi applicative derivation is a fairly productive means in which purpose clauses are being expressed, as in the examples given below.

- (14.28) a. *nòŋ* [sábá-á n=ènè]_{NP} táli-Ø-ε bì
 3sg head-RSTR SG.PSD=3SG.PSR sell-3sg.SU.IMPERV-COM/APPL cow
 ‘S/he sold a cow to her(him)self.’
- b. *nòŋ* [bì-á n=ènè]_{NP2} [sábá-á n=ènè]_{NP2}
 3sg COW-RTSR SG.PSD=3SG.PSR head-RSTR SG.PSD=3SG.PSR
 táli-Ø-é
 sell-3sg.SU.IMPERV-APPL:RES
 ‘S/he sold his own cow (for her(him)self).’
- c. *ŋès-Ø-ε* d’óóléj
 run-3sg.SU.IMPERV-COM girl
 ‘He runs away with the girl.’

Purpose clauses which are introduced by commutative/applicative marking devices, may depend on other higher level discourse organization to clarify their meaning. Broadly speaking, the semantics of the above clauses may seem largely determined by the context in which they are being used. In addition to the above expressions, purpose clause can also be shown without any subordination or linking particle at all but by using the imperfective aspect form of the desiderative verb *hin* ‘want’. *hin* expresses desire or intent of speaker and often has identical aspect with the verb of the main clause (as in (14.29a)).

- (14.29) a. [kí-hín-í rúm-íjǎ čúr-áná]
 1SU-want.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV cloth-PL wash-MT
 kó-gó-í kú-čúr-í rúm-íjǎ
 1SU-go.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV 1SU-wash-1sg.SU.IMPERV cloth-PL
 ‘I went to the river in order to wash my clothes.’
 (Lit. ‘Wanting to wash clothes, I went to wash clothes; or I want to wash clothes so I went to wash clothes.’)

In the example shown above, the first clause is a positive purpose clause, which also functions as complement of the main clause even if the main clause itself has another complementizer, i.e. *kúčúri* (‘to wash’). The fact that *kúčúri* along with *rúmíjǎ* forms a nominalized possessive phrase O (‘my washing of clothes’). Note that ‘to wash cloth’ and ‘wash one’s own body’ are separate verbs in Mursi, the latter *oŋ* is more often used

in intransitive sense. The other complementizer is the motion towards (ventive) suffix *-áná* (a full form, i.e. the form attached to an imperfective verb in the third person singular root form). When used in non-main clauses, *hín* may often seem to have the nature of nonfinite verbs (an uninflected form). It, however, as seen above is a fully inflected verb containing person and number markers for the sake of showing same-subject clauses.

The auxiliary *sé* ‘say’ in (14.30) occurs in uninflected form and cannot be marked for person but just be used as a complementizer of the negative purpose clause (intention) ‘in order not to forget’.

- (14.30) *dádáb* *ḃá* *hàli* *sé* *kí-díṅák-áṅ-ò*
 letter CAUSE later COMPL 1SU-forget-1sg.OBJ-IRR
 [k-ódz-ésé-ò [úkúrá-j tó-jé]PP]MAIN:CL
 1SU-put-BEN-IRR pocket-GEN in-obl
 ‘I put the letter into my pocket so that I should not forget it.’

14.2.2.5 Concessive clauses

A concessive clause is a clause which makes a concession, against which the proposition in the main clause is contrasted (Thompson 2007: 262). Concessive clauses in Mursi can be shown by concessive clause subordinators: *ḡàṅjè* ‘however, but’, *ḡàṅi* ‘not (yet)’, and *kó húllí* ‘even though, even if (Lit. ‘and if’).

- (14.31) [*ḃá* *ké* *ká-dáḡí-ò*
 place/CAUSE COMPL/3.SBJV.be.PERV 1SU-do-IRR
ké-jél-á-ò] *ḡàṅjè* [*sati* *ràmà-í* *níḡè*]
 1SU-like-HAB-IRR however time long.STV-ADJ not.present
 ‘I would like to do it (Lit. ‘If I do it, I would like’); however, I have no time.’
 (Lit. ‘If it becomes the case that I do, I would like; however, there is no long time.’)

In most cases, the verb of the subordinate and the main clause occur in subjunctive mood. The verb *dáḡi* has an invariable verb root form in both aspects. But subjunctive mood normally applies only to verbs that are in the perfective aspects. Thus, as can be seen from the example above, the verbs in both clauses are in perfective aspect, in an

ideal state to attach subjunctive/irrealis markers. Semantically, (14.31) is also more of a conditional-like concessive clause.

- (14.32) a. [nòŋ gúp-ó [túrúmél-á ràmàn]_{NP}] [ɲàɲìjè
 3sg look-3sg.IRR car-RTSR two but/however
 dǔnéj ɲàni ká-tál=ó]
 one NEG.PERV 3.SBJV-buy.PERV=NEG
 ‘He looked at two cars, but did not buy either.’

As shown above, *ɲàɲìjè* may attract a contrastive coordinative reading particle (as in (14.32) when used along with a numeral word or a quantifier — or just concessive reading as can be seen with *dǔnéj* ‘he didn’t buy even one’.

- b. [ɲòná-à n=ànù] ók-ú gáwá=jè]
 sister-RTSR SG.PSD=1SG.PSR go-3sg.SU.PERV marker-OBL
 nà ɲàni [àpè kó-dǔt-inèn dórí-je-j]
 CCN yet 1sg 1SU-leave-AP house-OBL-LOC
 ‘My sister went to the market, but I stayed at home.’
 (Lit. ‘My sister went to the market (and) yet I am staying inside at home.’)

In previous sections, I have tried to show that it may never have been a genuine negative perfective particle. Both *ɲàni* (14.32b) and *ɲàɲìjè* (14.32a) are contrastive markers. The following changes may help us to understand how its present form *ɲàɲìjè* came to exist: concessive *ɲàɲìjè* (however, but) < *ɲàni=jè* <not.yet=SUBORD> , ‘still’, negative perfective < ‘not yet’ (<NEG.PERV>).

- (14.33) [nòŋ ʃíŋ-í-Ø àggè] nà [àggè nòŋ
 3sg hear-1pl.OBJ-3sg.SU.IMPERV 1pl CCN 1pl 3sg
 ɲàni kí-ʃígt-Ø-ó=ó]
 NEG.PERV 1SU-listen.PERV:PL-3sg.OBJ-1pl.EXC.SU.PERV=NEG
 ‘She heard us, but we did not hear her.’

The other concessive marker is *kó hùllí* that may show a plausible semi-grammaticalization scenario when a temporal preposition develops into concessive marker. *hulla* ‘at the time (that)’ may first develop into *hùllí* (temporal marker ‘when’) then adopted as conditional ‘if’ and then finally settle as marker of concessive.

Concessive *kó* + *hùllì*, < conditional/temporal *hùllì* ‘if/when’, < temporal *hulla* ‘at the time’ < **hàlì* (later/future tense/modal). In the concessive clauses given below, by following the preposition *kó* the concessive marker *hùllì* occupies its original subordinate clause position.

- (14.34) a. [*kó hùllì dáǰí ké-te bú háŋ*] [*bá kún-nèj*
 PNC if do 3.SBJV-be.PERV big INTENS CAUSE come-NOMZ
ŋà=dǔt-íné=ó
 NEG.IMPERV-absent-APPL=NEG
 ‘Even though he has a lot of work to do, he will certainly come.’
 (Lit. ‘It isn’t the case that he will absent from coming.’)
- b. [*kó hùllì kó-dǔm-áŋ-ò*]
 PNC if 1SU-insult-1sg.OBJ.1sg.IRR
[ŋà=ké-lésí=ó]
 NEG.IMPERV-3.SBJV-pout=NEG
 ‘Even if I insulted him, he wouldn’t be offended.’

14.2.2.6 Substitutive clauses

A substitutive clause is another means of clausal subordination in which the notion of ‘rather than, instead of’ being expressed by one of the most recurring particles in the language — *bá/bá* ‘place’ <in place of>.

- (14.35) *zùgò* [*ŋà=b=á tíí*] [*bért-á*
 people DEM=place=NEAR DUR choose.PERV:PL-3pl.SU.PERV
rès-è]
 die.IMPERV-NOMZ
 ‘The people chose death rather than (instead of) denying (betraying their faith).’
- (14.36) [*bá sé [sátí-tí búí]_{NP} té ɲàɲà húŋ*]
 place say.3.AUX time-NRSTR big COP.PERV like.this simply
[tój-í másábí]
 read-2sg.SU.IMPERV book
 ‘Read a book rather than (instead of) wasting your time.’
- (14.37) [*àɲè bá sé ké-té-é hínéno]*
 1sg place say.3.AUX 1.SBJV-cop.PERV-APPL alive
[hín b̀òì k-ér húŋ
 want.IMPERV completely:DEO 1.SBJV-die.PERV simply
á ɕàll-ì]
 COM.3.IMPERV good.STV-ADJ
 ‘Being dead is better for me than being alive.’
 (Lit. ‘I instead of being alive, it is better if I should rather die.’)

(Lit. ‘I rather than alive, it is better for me if should die.’)

In all the examples shown above, the substitutive marker *bá* usually occurs at subordinate clause initial position, — and if the subordinate clause contains subject NP, it may then immediately be preceded by this NP. The combination of the desiderative or intent verb *hín* ‘want’ and the completive marker particle *ḃòì* ‘completely, at all’ is used mainly to express deontic or optative mood.

The example shown below is an expression of wish — which in Mursi is typically expressed by a combination of the conditional marker *hùllí* and the interrogative words *ènèḡ* ‘how’/*ténèḡ* ‘why’ ~ ‘how if/why if’.

- (14.38) *bá* *bàrì* [rè-fa òlíkòrò-j]_{NP}
 place/CAUSE yesterday die-RSTR:IDEO Olikoro-GEN
hùllí *k-èr* [áḡój]_s í-Ø ènèḡ?
 if 1.SBJV-die.PERV 1sg.NOM to.be-3sg.SU.IMPERV how?
 ‘I wish I had died instead of Olikoro.’
 (Lit. ‘In place of the Olikoro death, if I died is who/how’)

The interrogative word used in (14.38) is *ènèḡ* ‘how’, which seems more of a rhetorical question in that the speaker is expressing his/her wish or intent; but at the same time it does look like he/she asking for an opinion ‘how would it be if...or what others might say if he/she is willing to die instead of (on behalf of) someone, and so on’. In fact, the notion of wish or a wish/intent clause in Mursi is mainly expressed by the rhetorical/reason interrogative word *ténèḡ* ‘why’ followed by the conditional marker *hùllí* ‘if’ > ~ *ténèḡ hùllí* ‘why if’. If, however, it is the case of a typical wish expressions, *ténèḡ hùllí* becomes a complement of the main clause, as in (14.39).

- (14.39) [ténèḡ hùllí]_{COMPL:CL} [lómíná k-ígí húḡ?]
 why if lemon.PL 3.SBJV-ripe.PERV simply/just
 ‘I wish the oranges were ripe.’

The main verb always is in a subjunctive mood thus it is a perfective aspect verb.

14.2.2.7 Future time clause

Future time clause is a subordinate clause which unlike other clause types follows the independent clause. Future time clauses are mainly shown by *kó bòi* ‘until’, which is derived from two particles: preposition/coordinative conjunction *kó* and completive marker adverbial particle *bòi* ~ ‘every, all’. These two particles come together to express a temporal concept, and is believed to be a more generalized grammaticalized forms. For example, *kó+bòi* seems to have originated from goal plus spatial source *kó* <at/with/to> and *bo+i* <outside+LOC> ~ (perhaps to unspecified goal). See the examples below.

- (14.40) [ɲà=lòg=tá ór-ón-ó kààrè=ɲà
 DEM=word=NEAR see.IMPERV-MT-2pl.SU.IMPERV eye=DEF
 ɲà=jóg=ó tíí]
 NEG.IMPERV=tell.IMPERV:IMP DUR/CONT
 [kó+bòi [érmi-á k-ùhùɖ-ò hír-íɲ]NP
 until child-RSTR PASS-clean.PERV-PASS.3 man-GEN
 húllí hàlì rèè hàlì báns-áná=jè]SUBORD:CL
 when later body+PERT.SG.3.PSR later raise.IMPERV-MT.3sg=SUBORD
 ‘Don’t (pl.) tell anyone what you have seen, until (after) the Son of Man has
 been raised from the dead.’
 (Lit. ‘Until the Son of Man when his body will raise up.)

The activity in the independent clause may or may not take place until the activity in the subordinate clause takes place. What is so special with this type of clause combination is that the future time clause is a subordinate controlling clause.

- (14.41) áín-é zùw-á [Ø íláág-ε-á
 give.PERV:SG-MA people-RTSR [Ø hang-3pl.SU.IMPERV-RTSR
 zùwò] nà sé-sé ké “tòlòm-Ø-ɔ
 people CCN say-BEN.PERV.3 QUOT have.PERV-3sg.OBJ-2pl.SU
 tíí” [kó+bòi hàlì húč-áj-Ø=nè]SUBORD:CL
 DUR/CONT until later pay-MT-3sg.SU.IMPERV=SUBORD
 ‘...delivered him to the tormentors, said, “keep him” until he should pay all
 that was due unto him.’

- (14.42) [íw-á érmì kó dʒòònè nà
 take-3sg.SU.PERV child PNC mother.PERT.SG.3.PSR CCN
 gibse-ɔ nà tél-í ɲà=bà-i-nù] tíí]
 egypt-OBL CCN exist.PERV-3pl.IRR DEM=place-LOC=FAR DUR/CONT
 [kó+bòì hàlì [rès-è herediwosi-j]NP]SUBORD:CL
 until later die.IMPERV-NOMZ Herod-GEN
 ‘He took the young child and his mother by night, and departed into Egypt
 and was there until the death of Herod.’

As it is shown above, the independent clauses often end with the durative/continuative marker *tíí*. The durative/continuative *tíí* provides temporal information about the continuity of the activity in the main clause until it is interrupted by another activity in the controlling clause.

If the activity in the main clause is a one-time activity, it becomes optional and does not appear in the independent clause, as shown in (14.44).

- (14.43) [[míróg-á bá-á [dʒààr-á g=ànù]NP]NP
 enemy-RTSR place-RSTR leg-RSTR PL.PSD=2SG.PSR
 bà-i bà-i-jè kó+bòì hàlì mès-ón=è]SUBORD:CL
 ground-LOC ground-LOC-OBL until later do-MT=SUBORD
 [ìɲè té-áɲ sìò sìtèn]
 2sg be.PERV-1sg.OBL hand right
 ‘‘Sit at my right hand, until I put your enemies under your feet.’’

Mursi future time clause has also another variety which I called ‘repetitive-terminative’.

A repetitive-terminative clause type normally refers to a sequence of repeated clauses (which refer to the continuation of identical states or activities) followed by a terminative clause which refer to the termination of activity. However, the way in which clauses are repeated is different from the way commonly known, i.e. repeating of two or more clauses. Instead, a single clause will be counted as a repeated clause, where the repeater may be either the durative marker *dírr* (14.44) or by lengthening the final segment of the verb of the independent clause (14.45). The durative marker particle *dírr* also has identical meaning with *tíí*, at least functionally.

- (14.44) [kób-ú dírr] [ín-á tòḡòkúrí]
follow-3sg.SU.PERV DUR 3sg.PN.SP-RTSR person.name
[bón-á-sé zùwò] [ír-ú mà-ì-ni]
arrive.PERV-MT-BEN.3 people drink.PERV-3sg.SU.PERV water-LOC-RS
‘He followed it and followed it until it came to a place (on the Omo River)
where there were people. That’s where it drank.’
- (14.45) [dāinò zùwò mèzìd-ò-ni] [mèzìεεε...]REPETION nà
evening people discuss.PERV-3pl.IRR-RS discuss-3pl.SU.IMPERV CCN
sén-é ké ‘hàli bèlè kè-tè-é
said-3PL.SU.IMPERV QUOT later morning 1.HORT-COP.PERV-1pl.INC.SU
zigi-ni’
move-RS
‘In the evening the people debated. They debated and debated until
eventually they say “Let’s leave tomorrow morning’ they said.”’

The verb in the speech report appears in non-finite verb form, — it has no information about person-number information about the subject. Unless, for the sake of the terminology, the above cases are straightforward subordination of sequential clauses with temporal subordinate morphemes introducing temporal sequential clauses.

On a very occasions, the future time clause marker *kó bòi* may appear with an allomorph of the preposition *kó*, i.e. *ké*, as in (14.46).

- (14.46) [rê] [ké+bòi wà ké-děd-á-o
wait.PERV:IMP until REC.PAST 1SU-finish.PERV-1pl.INC.SU-IRR
àggè dáfĩ]
1pl work
‘Wait (sg.), until we (inc.) have finished our work!’

14.2.3 Speech report clauses

A speech report clause in Mursi is introduced by the quotative marker *ké* ‘that’, which seems to have developed out of the generic noun *ké* ‘thing’. It always precedes the speech verbs such as *éli* ‘call’ and *sé* ‘say’; but it may precede or follow the speech report. Subject of the addressees may intervene between the speech verb and the quotative marker. *ké* also functions as complementizer, so the term ‘quotative-complementizer’ would best explain it. The other justification for this term is that even though it introduces both direct and indirect speech reports, it is primarily in charge of indirect

Interestingly, in (14.49), it is the reporter who chooses the verbatim quotative marker in order to put the original speech said by the author as it is. A verbatim quotative has the function of bringing extra effects such as imitation of the intonation, expression, and so on, of what had originally been said (Aikhenvald 2011: 291).

- (14.49) *ɲàméá* [číg-ín-á n=èj]_{NP} [hùlli
 now laugh-N.S-RSTR SG.PSD=3PL.PSR when/if
 číg-é=jè]_{SUBORD:CL} [jòg sén-é
 laugh.IMPERV-3pl.SU.IMPERV=SUBORD 3pl say-3pl.SU.IMPERV
ké hee! hee! [číg-ín jòg]_{NP:CS} á [dǒnéj]_{CC}
 QUOT INTERJ INTERJ laugh-N.S 3pl COP.3.IMPERV one
 ‘Now for their laugh, when they laugh, they say, ‘Hee! Hee!’’. (Their
 laugh is one (the same)’ (MH 5:19:0)

We may consider that the subordinate clause in (14.49) would be optional, but it has an important function as this speech report itself is different from speech report types. As Aikhenvald (2011: 291) points out, expressions such as *hùlli čígéjè* may add certain vocative effects to direct speech reports, be it ‘mimetic’ or ‘theatrical effect’. Nevertheless, the reporter will not use *hùlli čígéjè* alone, but rather he/she may also add other paralinguistic features such as facial expressions or gestures.

14.2.3.1 Speech verbs

In addition to the primary speech verb ‘say’, Mursi has also other speech verbs (reporting verbs), but many of them do not have a direct speech framing function as the primary speech verb. Table 14.1 below contains a list of both direct and indirect speech verbs.

Table 14.1 Speech (reporting) verbs

REPORTING VERB	MEANING	FUNCTION	REMARK
<i>sén</i>	‘say’	direct speech verb	often follows the quotative marker <i>ké</i>
<i>éli</i>	‘call’	indirect speech	very rarely may be used in direct speech report and always requires the quotative marker <i>ké</i>
<i>jàg</i>	‘answer; reply’	indirect speech	may also occur preceding the speech verb <i>sén</i> in direct speech report clause
<i>jóg</i>	‘tell’	indirect speech	may introduce direct speech report following a pause plus context and may not require the quotative marker <i>ké</i>
<i>gín</i>	‘ask’	indirect speech	does not take quotative marker <i>ké</i>

The template below shows the general internal structure of speech reports of both types:

{	[<i>sén</i> (PRONOUNS, NAMES...) <i>ké</i> ...]	DIRECT SPEECH REPORT	}
{	[Other speech verbs... <i>ké</i> ...]	INDIRECT SPEECH REPORT	}

In §14.2.3, we have seen that the speech verb *sén* ‘say’ is a primary speech verb with the function of introducing direct speech. Nevertheless, there are two conditions in which *sén* is being used to introduce direct speech without the quotative marker *ké*: (i) when *sén* is preceded by one of the above secondary speech verbs (as in (14.50)), and (ii) when the manner adverb *ɲàɲà* ‘like this; this way’ is being used as speech report introducer (14.50).

(14.50) [nòŋ [dʒòòŋè]_{NP}]_{NP} élé-ú sé-sé
 3sg mother.PERT.SG.3.PSR call-3sg.SU.PERV say-BEN.3.PERV
 [áíw-ó nà bág [tílá-á
 come.PERV.SG-IMP.MT CCN eat.PERV:IMP food-RTSR
 dāine n=ùnù]_{NP}
 evening SG.PSD=2SG.PSR]
 ‘His mother called saying, “come and eat your dinner”.’

Note that the third person perfective aspect and the positive imperative forms of the verb utilize identical benefactive suffix *-(ε)se*.

- (14.53) [k-èlì ké maṅu=ṅà]cs á [kómórú]cc
 PASS-call.PERV QUOT Mangu.PL=DEF COP.3.IMPERV kómórú
 á [kómórtéséní]cc á ṅà=hír=á-ni
 COP.3.IMPERV priestly.clan.PL COP.3.IMPERV DEM=man=NEAR-RS
 ṅàméá tó-jé ké-sé-Ø ké káwúlókòrò
 now in-OBL 1SU-say-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV QUOT Kawulokoro
 káwúlókòrò kén-Ø wárr
 Kawulokoro cut-3sg.SU.IMPERV omo.river
 ‘When called the Mangu, they are priests, they are priestly clans. It is this man
 today, we (inc.) are saying, “Kawulokoro, Kawulokoro cut Omo River”.’ (MH
 2:53:9-2:58:6)

When the speech verb *éllí* is being used as in indicative mood, things to be indicated or introduced by it are most likely personal names, place names or nominals from any other type. The first copular clause seems copula subject to the second copular clause, but it is just a type of disjunctive coordination strategy. In the presence of two copular clauses that share one and the same subject, notion of ‘or’ is indicated by dropping one of the copular subject. The case in the example (14.54) below, however, depicts that place or other types of names (concrete and abstract) can be introduced without the speech verb *éllí*. Features in discussion are underlined.

- (14.54) kóḍ-ónó [bà-ì ké dirka nà
 1SU.take.out-MT.1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV place-LOC QUOT Dirka CCN
 k-ów-ónó ṅàṅàṅà dírr nà
 1SU-go-MT.1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV like.this+like.this DUR CCN
 [hùllì té [bá-á éré-í=nè]NP]SUBORD:CL
 when COP.3.PERV place-RSTR cross-NOMZ=SUBORD
 k-érés-ó bòi k-èlì
 1SU-cross.IMPERV-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV COMPLET PASS.call.PERV
 ké dòl nà [hùllì k-érés-án-ó
 QUOT Dòl CCN when 1SU-cross.IMPERV-MT-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV
 bá ké dòl=ṅà]SUBORD:CL mà díné-ó-ni
 place QUOT dòl=DEF water full.STV-3.IRR-RS
 ‘At that time the place where we (inc.) were heading for was called Dirka.’
 As we (exc.) kept going like this for long time and when became at the
 crossing place, we (exc.) crossed a place called Dòl. When we (exc.) cross
 the place called the Dòl, the river was full.’(MH 0:31:2)

As it can be understood from the illustrated example above, there is a clear difference when the impersonal passive verb *éllí* is present in the second line and when it is absent in the first and third lines. In the first and third of underlined structures, *éllí* is replaced by the general place word *bá*. The occurrence of *bá* will give these two structures a second sense that would become more or less indirect speech complement (Lit. ‘(a) place that becomes’).

In fact, the primary speech verb *sén* itself may lose its direct speech introducer status when preceded by *bá* especially when being used to indicate one’s intention, thought, reason, and purpose, and so on. (Recall that in Mursi, clauses designed to express the listed aspects will often employ *bá/bá*.) The reason clause in particular is shown by the discontinuous morpheme [*bá* -*ε*]. Thus the cause marker *bá* takes the initial position of the subordinate clause while the reason marker suffix -*ε* will be shown on the main verb of the subordinate clause. See the example given below.

- (14.55) [*bá* *sé-á* *ké* *ká-báns-è-ò*
 CAUSE/INTENT say-3sg.SU.PERV QUOT 1SU-get.up.IMPERV-APPL-VFS
 dǎk-ú *bá*
 fall-3sg.SU.PERV ground
 ‘He tripped while he was trying to get up.’
 ((Lit. ‘“I will get up” – while he says, he tripped (Lit. ‘it tripped him’))

The *k(V)*- prefix may be used to mark either first persons or third person subjunctive forms. So when used in instances such as (14.55), it could be very ambiguous. We don’t know whether the prefix *k(V)*- is a personal deixis shifter or a complementizer. The verb which appears to be in the direct speech report changes its root form for aspect by segment reduction/subtraction, — imperfective *báns* ‘get up’ and perfective *bán*. Despite this verb having identical root form for all persons which belong in each of these two aspectual categories, very surprisingly, it shows distinct root shapes for first and third persons in the imperfective aspect.

Therefore in (14.55), the *báns* of first person imperfective form changes into third person form *bánás* within the same aspect. Unless otherwise indicated by the insertion of the vowel /a/ which overtly makes personal daxis shift from first person to third person subject, the speech report remains open for both type of interpretations.

All other secondary speech verbs can be used in the main clause or preceding the indirect speech complement clause. But they must be accompanied by the quotative marker *ké* in complement function. The following example is repeated from (13.36b).

- (14.56) *nòŋ jàg-á ké ɓòì àhìtí*
 3sg answer-3sg.SU.PERV QUOT/COMPL COMPLETELY thing.SG.INDEF
gáj-Ø nòŋ níŋè
 know.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV 3sg not.present.3.IMPERV
 ‘He answered that he knows nothing.’

For obvious reasons, speech verbs other than *sén* are unproductive in direct speech reports, but the speech verb *jàg* may be used as direct speech introducer when it is placed after the speech report. When it does so, it does not require the quotative marker *ké* — see below:

- (14.57) [*nòŋ àlèj ɲà=ʔán=ó] nòŋ*
 3sg table/chair NEG.IMPERV=COP.3.IMPERV=NEG 3sg
jàg-á
 answer-3sg.SU.PERV
 ‘‘It is not the table’’, S/he answered.’

An exceptional example is given below in which a direct speech was reported in a narration without the speech verb *sén*. The only way we would know the direct speech report from the narrative given below is by the secondary speech verb *jóg* ‘tell’ which comes after the speech report.

- (14.58) *nà hùllí dǒólá kó ràmàn áw-ò-ni*
 CCN when/if girl.PL CRD:PART two come-3pl.IRR-RS
jàg-t-èsè zùw-á [Ø wágá ké
 return-PL-BEN/DAT.3. [people-RTSR [Ø ANA:REF QUOT/COMPL
bú kí-bír-èsèn-á ól[ó]_{RC} ké
 big 1SU-collect-BEN.1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV-RSTR stalk.PL] QOUT/COMPL
bára-ni]_{COMPL:CL} bèlè hód-án-ì hàli
 Bara.PL-RS early.morning come.PERV.PL-MT-3pl.IRR later
k-ìtìp-an-èsè⁹⁶ nà=b=ùnù
 1.HORT-meet-MT.EPENT-BEN DEM=place=FAR
 ‘(and) then, two among the girls will come and go back to those elders to whom
 we collect the sorghum stalks called Bara.’ ‘They come (in the) early morning.
 “Let us meet later for our own (meeting) there”’.
- jógt-ó-i bār-ú bá bārì gá*
 tell.PERV.PL-MT-1sg.OBJ Bara-NOM place yesterday ANA/ATTU
k-áw-ò ór-ó
 3.SBJV-come.PERV-3pl.IRR village-OBL
 ‘It is the Baras who tell us this. “At that place and time”, they (the two girls)
 come back to the village.’ (KW 1:38:5 -1:54:4)

14.2.3.2 The syntactic role of direct and indirect speech verbs

It is always important to distinguish the syntactic role of the secondary speech verbs whenever they occur within direct speech reports. Speech verbs introducing both direct and indirect speech reports may occur in direct speech report clauses. In such a scenario, indirect speech report introducer verbs always become part of the clause that introduces the direct speech. Both direct and indirect speech reporting verbs coordinated by clausal coordinative conjunction *nà* and share the same current speaker.

See the following examples:

- (14.59) a. *nà jesusi jàg-èsè nà sé-sé*
 CCN jesus answer-BEN.3.PERV CCN say-BEN.3.PERV
ké [óg nà élí [hír-á
 QUOT go.PERV:IMP CCN call.PERV:IMP man-RSTR
n=ùnù]_{NP} nà hód-á
 SG.PSD=2SG.PSR CCN come.PERV.PL:IMP-VFS
 ‘Jesus answered (and) said to her, “Go (sg.)!, call (sg.) your husband and
 come (pl.) here!”.’

⁹⁶ The benefactive suffix *-esè* is used mostly on perfective verb roots as well as on positive imperative forms.

- b. *nà gín-Ø-ó-ni, nà sé-Ø ké*
 CCN ask-3sg.OBJ-3.IRR-RS CCN say-3sg.SU.IMPERV QUOT
heee!! sén-í k-ér nój
 Heee!! say-2SG.SU.IMPERV 3.SBJV-die.PERV who.NOM?
 ‘He asked him, saying: “Heee! who are you saying will die?”’ (ND: 3.6)

In (14.59a), following the outcome of the commands made in the first and second imperative clauses, there is a change in the number of addressees in the third imperative clause. Note that the coordinative conjunction which often appears at clause-initial position has a role of conjoining independents marking a logical, sequential, temporal progression in narration.

14.2.3.3 Indirect speech report markers

Indirect speech reports can be introduced in three major ways: (i) by the quotative *ké* (ii) by the subjunctive prefix *k(V)-*, and (iii) by the speech verb *sén* ‘say’ being used as auxiliary verb. This is regardless of optional secondary speech verbs for indirect speech reports that can be shown by the quotative (also complementizer) marker *ké* (see examples 14.53-14.56). On the other hand, subjunctive mood marker suffix *k(V)-* is a default complementizer which is always attached to a perfective aspect verbs, as in (14.60b).

- (14.60) a. [*dàdà-á n=ànù*]_{NP} *mácf-áñ-Ø ànè*
 father.RTSR SG.PSD=1SG.PSR teach-1sg.OBJ-3sg.SU.IMPERV 1sg
sén-áñ ké [dóŋ-á kèì=tùnù
 say.IMPERV-1sg.OBJ QUOT put.down.PERV:IMP thing=FAR/INDEF
*nà kò-hòcf-á kàri kó ànè]*_{DIR:SPEECH}
 CCN 1.HORT-come.PERV:PL.INC-MT.PERV together PNC 1sg
 ‘My father ordered me saying, “Leave (sg.) that thing and come with me!”.’

- b. [*dàdà-á n=ànù*]_{NP} *mácf-áñ-ño*
 father.RTSR SG.PSD=1SG.PSR teach/instruct-1sg.OBJ-3sg.SU.PERV
ànè kó-dǔ ñádàmitù nà
 1sg 1.SBJV-leave.PERV DEM=manner=FAR CCN
kó-hòcf-á-ù kó nòŋ
 1.SBJV-come.PERV:PL-MT-IRR PNC 3sg
 ‘My father ordered me to leave that and to come with him.’

The verb *dóhà* ‘put down’ of the direct speech has been adjusted to *dót* ‘leave’ in the indirect speech. Consequently as the deletion rule of the language it is only being applied to some word-final obstruents, the alveolar plosive /t/ is deleted. Note that the demonstrative *that* is not a complementizer (or complement clause) marker. The last indirect speech report marker is the speech verb ‘say’ in which it turns into an auxiliary verb for the purpose of secondary role as complementizer. Even if unproductive.

Example presented as follows:

- (14.61) a. *í-Ø* *òrì* [*kùrì-á n=ànù*]_{NP}
 exist.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV where hat-RTSR SG.PSD=1SG.PSR
nòŋ gín-ú
 3sg ask-3sg.SU.PERV
 ‘“Where is my hat?”, he asked.’
- b. *nòŋ gín-Ø* *bòì* *sé* [*kùrì-á*
 3sg ask-3sg.SU.IMPERV all/COMPLETELY say.3.AUX hat-RTSR
n=ènè]_{NP} *òrì*
 SG.PSD=1SG.PSR where
 ‘He asked where his hat was.’ (Lit. ‘He asked to know where his hat was.’)

The verb ‘say’ in the imperfective aspect can also be used to express intention, perception or curiosity but it may not fully express the state or activity of the clause as a whole. As can be seen in (14.61b), it can be combined with the adverbial particle *bòì* ‘all, at all, completely’, which is also a marker of completed actions in most cases. The indirect speech report shown by the auxiliary verb complementizer *se* is the same as direct speech complement clause. Therefore, the auxiliary verb in the indirect speech above was used by the reporter to show the perception or intention of the author (original speaker), (Lit. ‘want(ed) to know’).

14.2.4 Complement clauses

A complement clause is a type of clause which fills an argument slot in the structure of another clause (Dixon 2012: 370). A typical complement clause is one that functions

b. hír-á [Ø wà sé-Ø ké
 man-RSTR [Ø REC.PAST say-3sg.SU.IMPERV QUOT:COMPL
 [ká-bádár-ín bíró]_{RC} á nèŋ?
 3.SBJV-lend.PERV-2sg.OBJ money] COP.3.IMPERV who
 ‘The man that told you (that) he would lend you money is who?’

In (14.63a), the prefix *ká* which is attached to the verb *badar-* (a loan verb from Amharic) carries a high-tone because it is a subjunctive marker. Note that the subjunctive marker is a complementizer on its own even if it is not productive (14.2.3.3). Had it been a low-toned prefix, it would then indicate first person subject and it would result in another meaning (‘Who told you that I would lend you money?’). In the relative clause construction shown in (14.63b), all constituents other than the subject and interrogative word (copula complement) are within the relative clause that operated by the gapping-strategy. In the absence of the relative clause, the construction in (14.63b) would mean *hír-á á nèŋ?* (Lit. ‘The man is who?’). The complement clause embedded within the relative clause may still be accessible whenever it is needed for further purposes.

(14.64) hírí [bá sén-o ké á zíní]_{COMPL:CL}
 man CAUSE say.IMPERV-IRR QUOT COP.3.IMPERV thief
 nà ków-á kəsəsə⁹⁷-o [lòg-á g=ɛ̀nɛ́]_{NP}
 CCN follow-3sg.SU.PERV accuse-NOM issue-RSTR PL.PSD=3SG.PSR
 dǔt-é
 abandon-APPL:RES.3
 ‘The man denied the accusation that he was a thief.’
 (Lit. ‘ The man rejected to follow his accusation because he is said that he is a thief.’; OR ‘because the man said to be that he is a thief, he rejected to follow the case, which he is accused for.’)

As it is shown in (14.64), the predicate of the main clause comes last in the matrix clause. The above structure as a whole is two coordinated clauses linked by the clausal coordinative conjunction *nà*,— the reason clause containing the complement clause in one hand and the rest of the structure on the other hand. However, since *nà* not only

⁹⁷ A loan word from Amharic *kəssəsə* (v.) ~ *kəss* (n.) accusation

links syntactic structures but also links propositions, I say, the clausal coordinator *nà* is just a proposition linker that occurs in wider discourse context. However, the first clause that contained the reason plus the complement clause as a whole, can be called reason-complement clause, otherwise the entire structure may also be called reason-consequent clause (the reason marker suffix *-ε* also marks a consequence clause).

14.2.4.2 Cause/reason marker as complementizer

Introducing a complement clause by using cause/reason clause is in fact a complementization strategy. A causal/reason clause can also be used as the complement clause, which is a subordinate clause on its own. The main clause then follows the complement clause. There will be no overt complement marker when cause/reason clause is being used as complement clause. Besides, as in the previous complement clause type (§14.2.4.1), there will be no additional overt markers on verbs which would indicate when the subject of the complement clause is identical or different from the subject of the main or the matrix clause.

- (14.65) a. [bá ηàni bíró ηàni íw-á-í=ó]_{COMPL:CL}
 REASON NEG.PERV money NEG.PERV take-MT-3.IRR=NEG
 [ηà=k-ígóm-ésén=ó]_{MAIN:CL}
 NEG.IMPERV=1SU-accept-BEN=NEG
 ‘I don’t accept his denial that he took the money.’
 (Lit. ‘The reason (denial) [that he didn’t take the money], I don’t accept it.’)
 (Lit. ‘“the-money I didn’t take” he-saying his denial I don’t accept it.’)

It is clear that the subject of the complement clause in (14.65a) is different from that of the main clause. But the subject markers used appear to be the regular way of cross-referencing S/A like any other clauses rather than by different subject markers specific to complement clauses. The reason marker particle *bá* links the complement clause with that of the main clause. The complement clause only seems to be embedded within the subordinate clause.

- b. [bá k-óg-é[í] tí=ɲà]SUBORD:CL/COMPL:CL
 CAUSE/REASON 1SU-shout-1sg.SU.IMPERV DUR/CONT=DEF
 [k-éɲérs-í kòná]
 1SU-afraid.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV snake.PL
 ‘I am so afraid of snakes that I scream.’
 (Lit. ‘I shouted because I am afraid of snakes.’)

When *bá* is combined with the auxiliary *sé* (expresses intent/desire) it will have a meaning ‘instead of; in place of’.

- (14.66) ɪggè [bá sé lámíɗ-é]COMPL:CL
 2pl CAUSE/REASON say.3.AUX find.PERV:PL-APPL:RES
 [[fúúnú]NP nòɲ]NP gáj-Ø-ò]
 father.PERT.SG.2.PSR 3sg know.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS
 ‘Because your Father knows what (the things) you (pl.) need.’
 (Lit. ‘You, instead of what you need (ed), your father knows.’)

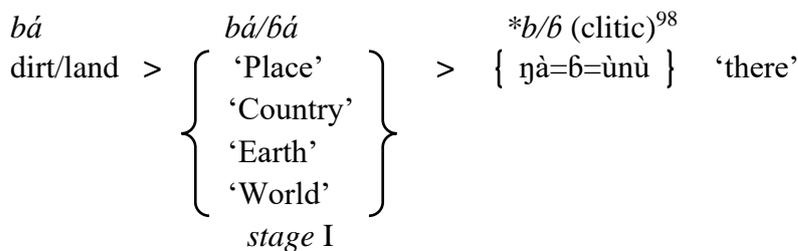
The second person plural pronoun *ɪggè* is ellipted, and provides subject information to the complement verb which lacks subject specification. Note that the pertensive marker on the kinship term above is the last vowel with *fúúnú* <u>, and provides grammatical information about the person or possessor. Thus the independent personal pronoun has been added to the pertensive form to provide specification about number of the possessed.

Unlike what we saw in the aforementioned complement clauses, *ba* may stand on its own as a true complementizer when the complement and the main clauses are apposed. Below are examples of a complement clause construction where the causal marker *ba* be interpreted either as a complementizer or a relativizer. The semantics contained in the example below are a statement of fact (14.67a).

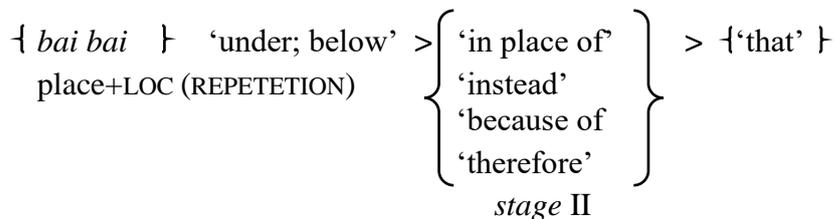
- (14.67) a. àɲè ɲàni ká-ták=ó [bá nòɲ
 1sg NEG.PERV 1SU-know.PERV=NEG COMPL/REASON 3sg
 wà kó-čá-á]COMPL:CL
 REC.PAST 3.SBJV-come.PERV-APPL-3sg.SU.PERV
 ‘I did not know that he has come.’ (Lit. ‘of his coming’)

- b. [àɲè kù-čùmùn-è-í]
 1sg 1SU-happy.STV-APPL:RES-1sg.SU.IMPERV
 [bá nòŋ kún-Ø-ε=jè]_{SUBORD/COMPL:CL}
 COMPL/REASON 3sg come-3sg.SU.IMPERV-APPL=SUBORD
 ‘I was glad that (because) he came.’
 (Lit. ‘I rejoiced at (by) his coming.’)

The change of *bá/bá* from referring a concrete object (‘dirt/land’) to a complementizer is not a sudden one but rather a gradual process, and it still accommodates both semantics. In other words, it neither completely lost its lexical source meaning nor it fully attained grammatical meaning. Below is a summary of the stages or grammaticalization processes that have taken place in the transition of *bá/bá* into a complement marker.



postposition > (VERB) *cause/reason/purpose* > *replacive/substitutive* > *relativizer* > *complementizer*



The fact is that there are no written sources exist to count on the early stages of the language thus it is almost impossible to provide a diachronic analysis at this stage. The grammaticalization stages illustrated above, however, are based on synchronically driven lexical and contextual evidences obtained from the current actual use of the language. Thus, this may be a helpful analysis at some point to understand early stages

⁹⁸ Note that a prototypical case of grammaticalization involves boundary loss and morphological/phonological fusion or “bonding” — mostly manifested by the loss of phonological segments or coalescence (cf. Brinton and Traugott 2005: 27).

of the language, and is believed to be significant by being an initial stage source for such further reconstructions.

14.2.4.3 Complementation by apposition

Complementization by apposition is an independent complementization strategy where two clauses are simply apposed. There will be no overt marking that intervenes between them or that may provide a complement sense.

- (14.68) (ɲà=dàmi=tá⁹⁹) [kó-ɲó-čó
 DEM=manner/way=NEAR 1SU-decline-APPL-1pl.EXC.SU
 gérés-in-á [Ø zùw-á mès-o-í-á]_{RC}
 trouble.STV-NOMZ:NST-RSTR [Ø people-RTSR do-MT-3pl.IRR-RSTR
 àggè]
 1pl
 [[gèrès-in-á n=áu]_{NP} tóɲ-á]
 sin.STV-N.S-RSTR SG.PSD=1PL.EXC.PSR] thow.away.PERV:IMP-VFS
 ‘and forgive us our sins, *as* we (exc.) have forgiven those who have sinned
 against us.’

ɲadàmíta which is translated as ‘so that, accordingly, in accordance, based on the manner’ and so on — it might point out that the two clauses are linked by cause-consequence (effect) relations. But, even in its absence, the meaning remains the same and the complementation lies in the fact that two independent clauses are apposed. The comitative/applicative suffix attached to the verb of the first clause has a semantic role of reason, — so it may have had triggered the counter-expectation sense, i.e. ‘as’. In (14.69) below, a similar example of a complementization construction is given. The only difference from that of the strategy in (14.69) is that the first clause is a subordinate clause. In addition, we see the coordinative conjunction particle *kó* whose function is not only conjoining nouns or noun phrases but also in this case to distinguish the two

⁹⁹ It is a logical as well as and cause-consequence sequencer of two independent events/activities. It has also an assertive role as a means of generalizing what is being made about an event that happened in previously tend to contribute to another event that will happen later.

nouns that unusually occur side by side. As can be seen below, the coordinated NPs occur at the two clause boundaries, but each noun belongs to its respective clause.

(14.69)	ɲà=dàmì=tá		[lòg-á	hín-í	
	DEM=manner/way=NEAR		word-RSTR	want.IMPERV-2sg.SU.IMPERV	
	ínój	mèsí-nè ¹⁰⁰	tùmù	tùn-ò=jè]SUBORD:CL	[kó]
	2sg.NOM	do-AP	god	on-OBL=SUBORD	PNC
	[bà-i	ɲáà	áj	ké-més-è]	
	place-LOC	here	JUSS.PART	3.JUSS-do.PERV-VFS	
	'May your will be done on earth <i>as</i> it is in heaven.'				

The subject of the first clause is second person singular while the subject of second clause is the third person singular in jussive mood (Lit. 'Let it be done on earth').

14.2.4.4 Complement-clause-taking verbs

A complement-taking verb is a verb which may have a complement clause as one of its arguments (Aikhenvald 2015: 467). Mursi has few complement-taking verbs. They are not different from other verbs except that they usually take a complement clause as its O argument. The complement-taking verbs can, however, be small in number, and only a few of them have been discussed in this section. Based on Dixon's (2006: 9) verb type division, the majority of Mursi complement-taking verbs are of Primary -B type. This includes: VERBS OF THINKING *gáj* 'know' (including the inherently negative verb *ímág* 'don't know'), *ését* 'think', VERB OF ATTENTION *gón* 'see, visit', VERB OF LIKING *jél* 'like', and VERB OF SPEAKING *éli* 'call'. Apart from primary-B type, two other verbs have been found, — one secondary -A type of beginning type *tód* 'begin' and the other secondary -B type (WANTING VERB) *hín* 'want (decide)'.

All the semantic based verb types listed above roughly carry one of the following manifestation:

- i. Take subjunctive marker *k(V)-* (the verb has to always be in perfective aspect)

¹⁰⁰ Second person singular subject and other two subject suffixes (1sg and 3pl) may be omitted when antipassive derivation is applied on a verb.

The second manifestation of the complement-taking verbs is that they may be preceded by a purpose/intention/perception indicating auxiliary verb *se* ‘say’. *se* always occurs between the complement-taking verb and the subjunctive form of the complement verb. The function of *se* is like the ‘intention marker’ modality suffix as in some languages, for example in Jarawara (a small Arawá family language spoken in the Amazon, Brazil) (cf. Dixon 2006: 12).

- (14.73) a. $n\grave{o}\eta$ $h\acute{i}n-\emptyset$ [sé $k-\acute{e}j\acute{a}$
 3sg want.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV say.3.AUX 3.SBJV-help-3pl.SU
 $t\acute{a}m\acute{a}r\acute{i}-\eta\acute{a}$]COMPL:CL
 student-PL
 ‘She wants to help the students.’
- b. $n\grave{o}\eta$ $h\acute{i}n-i-\emptyset$ $\grave{a}gg\grave{e}$ [sé
 3sg want.IMPERV-1pl.OBJ-3sg.SU.IMPERV 1pl say.3.AUX
 $k-\acute{e}d\acute{a}$ $t\acute{a}m\acute{a}r\acute{i}-\eta\acute{a}$]COMPL:CL
 3.SBJV-help.PERV:PL student-PL
 ‘She wants us to help the student.’

When the complement-taking verb is negated, the negated verb alone goes to sentence-final position. Following this, the auxiliary *se* aligns with the subjunctive form of the complement verb, and finally the two form a reason/purpose complement clause. The newly formed reason/purpose complement clause is almost identical with that of a purpose clause complementizer in §14.2.4.2, except it becomes a complement clause of the complement-taking verb, as illustrated in the following examples.

- (14.74) a. $\eta\grave{a}=h\grave{o}i=t\acute{a}$ [b\acute{a} sé
 DEM=girl=NEAR REASON/PURPOSE say.3.AUX
 $k-\acute{a}i\acute{w}-\grave{o}-\acute{e}$]COMPL:CL $\eta\grave{a}=h\acute{i}n-\emptyset=\acute{o}$
 3.SBJV-come.PERV.SG-3.IRR-APPL NEG=want.IMPERV-
 3sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘The girl does not want to come.’
- b. b\acute{a} sé $k-\acute{a}i\acute{t}-\epsilon$]COMPL:CL
 REASON/PURPOSE say.3.AUX 3.SBJV-go.PERV:PL-APPL:RES
 $\acute{i}m\acute{a}g\acute{e}-\grave{o}$
 don’t know-VFS
 ‘I did not know of their going.’

- c. ànè [bá sé kí-dí-d-ò
 1sg REASON/PURPOSE say.3.AUX 1.SBJV-go.with.PERV:PL-IRR
 kó [ɲà=zùg=tùnù]_{NP}COMPL:CL ɲàni k-ését=ó
 PNC DEM=people=FAR NEG.PERV 1SU-think=NEG
 ‘I did not think of going with them.’

When a negated main clause verb follows the complement clause that has no auxiliary *se*, the complement clause tends to resemble a relative clause. Yet it can have either interpretation, as in (14.75a-b).

- (14.75) a. [lòg-á wà kó-jóg-ì]_{COMPL:CL} ɲàni ʃík=ó
 word-RTSR REC.PAST 1SU-tell-1sg.SU.IMPERV NEG.PERV hear=neg
 ‘S/he did not hear what I said.’
 b. lòg-á [Ø wà kó-jóg-í]_{RC} ɲàni
 word-RTSR [Ø REC.PAST 1SU-tell-1sg.SU.IMPERV NEG.PERV
 ʃík=ó
 hear=3.IRR:NEG
 ‘S/he did not hear the word that I said.’
 (Lit. ‘The word that I tell (said), she did not hear.’)

The object slot of Mursi complement-taking verbs can also be filled by nominalized verbs. In the following examples, the nominalized verb *wóčín* functions as O argument of the complement-taking verb ‘want’.

- (14.76) a. lúsi téhén-ú [wóč-ín]_{COMPL:CL/O}
 boy want.PERV-3sg.SU.PERV walk.IMPERV-NOMZ
 ‘The boy wants to go.’
 b. kí-hín-ó [wóč-ín [ɔri-á
 1SU-want.IMPERV-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV walk.IMPERV-NOMZ home-RSTR
 g=àw]_{NP}COMPL:CL/O
 PL.PSD=1PL.EXC.PSR
 ‘We (exc.) want to go to our home.’

The subject of the nominalized verb must be identical with the subject of the main clause. Evidence for this is that the first person plural exclusive subject of the main clause (as in (14.76b)) is also shown in the possessive NP of the complement clause. For reasons not yet clear, in the examples given above, the nominalizer being used is the one that commonly is used in the language to nominalize stative verbs, and also with intransitive verb roots. Maybe the latter can be a sufficient reason. The original

verb ‘go’ is *óg*, and it cannot be nominalized, — instead the verb *wóč* ([*wój*] word-finally) ‘to walk’ is being used.

In addition to the major complementation types we saw under each section, there is one more complementation strategy in which two clauses can be coordinated, i.e. the main clause can be linked to the second clause by a clausal coordinator *nà* ‘and’. Clause coordination as complementation strategy is not productive, but it seems to be achieved under two particular conditions: when the matrix clause is a purposive type and when both the complement clause and matrix clause have the same subject. See example (14.77).

(14.77) *jesusi kún-Ø* [*nà k-éjá*
 jesus come.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV CCN 3.SBJV-help
k-í-bá-ísí [*zùwò ǎkákán*]_{NP}COMPL:CL
 3.SBJV-CAUS-heal/cure-CAUS people all
 ‘Jesus came to save all people.’

Here, it is important to note that the clausal coordinator *nà* does not indicate temporal progression or succession, or a logical marker. Such function of the coordinative conjunction is found widely in narrative structures, as in (14.78).

(14.78) *nà áíw-ó* *nà téhén-ú*
 CCN come.PERV:SG- MT.3sg.SU.PERV CCN want.PERV-3sg.SBJ.PERV
 [*básá-í ǎg-ò*]_{COMPL:CL}
 monitor.lizard- SG eat-3SG.IRR
 ‘So he came and decided to eat the monitor lizard.’ (ND: 3.5)

The *nà* at clause-initial position can be narration or temporal progression marker, or logical continuity marker while the second *nà* is a clausal coordination (sequential clause or even other types). An exceptional type of complementation strategy is presented below, where a very peculiar NP type coordinator is functioning as complementizer.

- (14.79) [nòŋ gáj-Ø (dǎkákán tíí)]
 3sg know.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV all CONT/DUR
 [bá-á áncáj-ná] [bító-mó dǒg]COMPL:CL
 place-RTSR beginning-NOMZ:STR lie.STV-N.S forever
 ‘He knew all along that it was a lie.’
 (Lit. He knew all the way from the beginning that it was a lie.)

In the main clause, *dǎkákán tíí* can be interpreted as ‘all the way’ and has an optional adverbial function. Remember that this time *bá* in *baa áncájna* ‘in the first place, from the beginning’ is not a complementizer but it is a kind of logical-temporal subordinate linker. Yet *báá áncájna* as a whole tends to act as a complementizer.

14.2.5 Copula clause

A copular clause in Mursi consists of a predicate (semi inflected copula verb), and two core arguments, — copula subject (CS) and copula complement (CC) (see Table 7.28 for a full list of copula verbs). Semi inflected means copula verbs do not inflect for all inflectional categories available for regular verbs. Dixon (2012: 159) identified five major semantic relations that can be shown in copula constructions: (i) identity, (ii) attribution, (iii) possession, (iv) benefaction, and (v) location. Of these, only the last one will be shown using an existential verb while the rest can be shown by copula verbs.

(i) IDENTITY

- (14.80) a. [àpè]_{CS} k-án-í [támáí]_{CC}
 1sg 1SU-COP.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV student
 ‘I am a student.’
- b. [àpè]_{CS} bè k-án-í [nígídí]_{CC}
 1sg DIST.PAST 1SU-COP.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV merchant
 ‘I was a merchant.’
- c. nà áná bè ké-téw-á [kòmòni]_{CC}
 CCN REF:DEM REC.PAST 1SU-COP.PERV-1sg.SU.PERV guest
 ‘I was a guest.’ (Lit. ‘(and) that I was a guest; (and) it was that I was a guest.’)

As it is shown in (14.80a-b), the notion of past time on copula verbs can be applied in two ways — by using the appropriate tense marker particle before the copula verb (as in (14.82b)) and by perfective form of the copula verb itself (as in (14.81c)). The distant

past marker particle *be* in (14.81c) can be optional, and it is the recent past referential demonstrative particle *ana* ('the one (that)') that triggers it.

(ii) *ATTRIBUTION*

(14.81) [múgáj]CS á [čáll-i]CC
 woman COP.3.IMPERV good.STV-ADJ
 'The woman is good.'

(iii) *POSSESSION*

(14.82) [ɲà=in=à]CS á [dàdá-á n=àw]NP:CC
 DEM=3sg.PN.SP=NEAR COP.3.IMPERV father-RSTR SG.PSD=1PL.EXC.PSR]
 'This is our father.'

(iv) *BENEFACTION*

(14.83) nà kóóɗ-à [dúká-čín sízzì]NP
 CCN 1SU.build.IMPERV-1/2sg.IRR umbrella-PL three
 [dǒnéj]CS ké-té [muse]CC
 one 3.SBJV-COP.3.PERV muse
 [dǒnej]CS ké-té [elijas]CC
 one 3.SBJV-COP.3.PERV Elijah
 [dǒnéj]CS ké-té [ɪɲè]CC
 one 3.SBJV-COP.3.PERV 2sg
 '...I will put up three shelters —one for Moses one for Elijah and one for you.'
 (Lit. 'one be for Muse, one be for Elijah, one for You (sg.)')

The subjunctive marker prefix *ké-* attached to the perfective form of the copula verb is a complementizer which has a meaning ~ 'that it should become.'

14.2.6 Obligation/deontic clauses

An obligation clause construction in Mursi can be shown by combining the desiderative verb *hín* 'want, need' and the completive adverbial-like particle *ɓòì* 'completely, at all'. The verb *hín* does not take any sort of inflection when used in what are also known as optative or deontic type clauses. Thus, *hín ɓòì* 'must, should, ought' may follow optional subject arguments but always precedes the subjunctive form main verb of the clause (see also Chapter 7, §7.3.1.3.4).

- (14.84) *nà nòŋ [hín bòi]_{DEO} bè*
 CCN 3sg [want.IMPERV completely] DIST.PAST
k-áǎ-ì samaria
 3.SBJV-pass.through-3.IRR Samaria
 ‘And he must need to go through Samaria.’
- (14.85) *áná [hín bòi]_{DEO} ké-té ǎǎláwá-á*
 REF:DEM [want.IMPERV completely] 3.SBJV-COP.3.PERV prophet-RTSR
[Ø bè ké-bég-á]_{RC} ná k-áíw-ó
[Ø DIST.PAST 3.SBJV-keep-RSTR] CCN 3.SBJV-come.PERV-MT.3sg.SU.PERV
ŋà=bá=á
 DEM=place=NEAR
 ‘This must be the Prophet who is to come into the world!’
- (14.86) *zùw-á [Ø wój-é-á gòr-ò]_{RC}*
 people-RSTR [Ø walk.IMPERV-3pl.SU.IMPERV-RSTR road-OBL]
[hín bòi]_{DEO} kó-ǎǎl-o [wàrkáti-á
 want.IMPERV completely 3.SBJV-show.PERV-3pl.IRR paper-RTSR
kóǎǎ-ò-ǎǎ
 3.SBJV.go-3PL.IRR-APPL
 ‘Travelers must show their paper at the border.’
 (Lit. ‘People who are going to road must show a paper for going.’)

Note that subjunctive irrealis mood in Mursi is usually used to express obligation, desire, wish, perception, uncertainty, possibility, and so on.

14.3 Clause coordination

Mursi utilizes various clause coordinating particles to link two independent clauses. Yet the commonest ones are: the coordinative conjunction particle *nà* ‘and’, the disjunctive particle *wó/óó* ‘or’, and the contrastive particle *ŋàŋjè* ‘but, however’. It is worth noting, however, that clause coordinating particles such as the coordinative conjunction *nà* ‘and’ functions differently when being used to combine/conjoin or coordinate two or more clauses in non-narrative texts and when being used for higher level discourse purpose in narrative texts.

operates at the level of narration while *nà* + *ɲàni(je)* ‘but if; and yet(however)’ operates both at clausal and narrative levels.

(14.90) [nà húllí] dǒólá kó ràmàn áw-ò-ni
 CCN when girl.PL CRD:PART two come.PERV-3PL.IRR-RS
 ‘(and) then, two among the girls will come and go...’ (KW 1:38:5)

However, if a conditional subordinate clause immediately follows *nà*, the meaning fades away because *húllí* itself is conditional clause introducer, as in (14.91).

(14.91) ...nà [húllí hód-á nà
 CCN when come.PERV:PL-MT.3pl.SU.PERV and
 íbt-á-ì [ólǃ-á g=àj=è]NP]SUBORD:CL
 take.PERV-MT-3pl.IRR stalk-RSTR PL.PSD=1pl.INC.PSR=SUBORD
 [ká-dǎg-íné-Ø háŋ háŋ]
 1SU-hit-RECIP-1pl.INC.SU INTENS INTENS
 ‘And when they come and take our (inc.) sorghums, we (inc.) fight each other very very much.’ (KW 0:55:6)

In narratives, the word *čùànéŋ* ‘again’ is used to indicate enumerations and some sort of recapitulative linkages of clauses. Below is a narration, which is a story taken from an age-grade ceremony called *koma kodha* ‘kneeling’. It is a ceremony in which members of a senior grade discharge their seniority duties by beating the juniors.

And in (14.92) below, *čùànéŋ* acts as an introducer of a clause being repeated in the narration.

(14.92) ...[jòg bír-ésén-é-a rórá]
 3pl collect-BEN-APPL-3pl.SU.IMPERV-DS Rora.PL
 [àggè kí-bír-ésén-ó bára]
 1pl 1SU-collect-BEN-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV Bara.PL
 [k-án-ó bííbíí]COP:CL
 1SU-COP.IMPERV-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV different
 ‘Because of that they collect for the Rora, we (exc.) collect for the Bara; thus we (exc.) are different.’ (KW: 1:02:8)

Even if *čùànéŋ* has a great deal of functions in narratives, it still can occur in clause medial position being a linker/coordinator, — but at clause level, its occurrence is very limited, as can be seen in the story lines below. The story below is a continuation of the above.

čùànéη gòrò čó *čùànéη* tèrì gòró ηàni
again road even *again* Teri road NEG.PERV
 k-íj-í=t=ó [húllí nè
 3.SBJV-touch-1pl.OBJ-PERV.PL=NEG when/if 3sg
 k-íj-ó=jè]SUBORD:CL té kili-ni
 3.SBJV-touch-1pl.obj-3.IRR=SUBORD COP.3.PERV ‘Kili-RS’
 té gèrs-ì
 COP.3.PERV bad.STV-ADJ
 ‘Again even (on) the road, again those Teri do not touch us. If he (Teri (sg.)) touch us, it becomes ‘‘Kili!’’. It gets bad.’ (KW: 1:17:8)

čùànéη ηà=lòg=tù hàlì áj-t-é
again DEM=issue=FAR later take-PERV.PL-APPL
 tèrò-ú-ni té [lòg-tí g=èj]NP
 teri.PL-NOM-RS COP.3.PERV issue-NRSTR PL.PSD=3PL.PSR
 ‘Again (~then later), the Teru takes up this issue (Kili) thus it becomes their issue. After that they will slaughter a cow.’ (KW: 1:28:8)

14.3.1.2 Contrastive coordination

In Mursi, clauses can be coordinated by the contrastive coordinative marker *ηànijà* ‘but, however’. The contrastive coordinator *ηànijà* always occurs at clause medial position, and its primary role will be introducing a contrastive proposition. The examples illustrated below are repeated from (14.32) and (14.12).

(14.93) [nòη gúp-ó [túrúmél-á ràman]NP] [*ηànijà* dǒnéj
 3sg look-3sg.IRR car-RSTR two *but/however* one
 ηàni ká-tál=ó]
 NEG.PERV 3.SBJV-buy.PERV=NEG
 ‘He looked at two cars, but did not buy either.’

(14.94) kè-héj-Ø kí-bír-Ø
 1SU-go.IMPERV-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV 1SU-pick.up-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV
 ólf-ó dǎàì *ηànijà* [tó-jé ηà=ǒ=ùnù
 sorghum-PL all/COMPLET *however* in-OBL DEM=place=FAR
 kí-bír-ó ólf-ó=ηà]SUBORD:CL
 1SU-pick.up-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV sorghum-PL=DEF
 ‘We (exc.) go and pick up sorghum stalks.’ However, while we (exc.) are collecting the sorghum stalks...

tó-jé lò zùg-tí [gè
 in-OBL have/exist people-NRSTR [PL.PN+NRSTR
 k-éηérs-ó]RC
 1SU-fear.IMPERV-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV]

...there are those people out there whom we are afraid of.’

(Lit. ‘inside it (the sorghum stalks’ place) has people whom we (exc.) are afraid of’) (KW 0:32:0)

As is shown in (14.93 – 14.94), the contrastive coordinator is a clause medial constituent, and usually introduces a counter-proposition or counter-presuppositional proposition that is contrary to the first clause. Since negative and contrastive clauses tend to often be similar in Mursi, whenever the first clause is negative, *ɲàɲijè* whose function is marker of a contrastive in the second clause may indicate a counter-expectation of the first clause, — or add a contrastive emphasis by focusing on the second clause.

- (14.95) [ɪggè]_{TOP/FOC} lógó [Ø bè kóɕ-a]_{RC}
 2pl word [Ø DIST.PAST 3.SBJV-write-3sg.SU.PERV]
 ɲàɲì jébt=ó ɲàɲijè [ɪggè]_{TOP/FOC}
 NEG.PERV believe.PERV:PL=NEG but 2pl
 kó-jóg-i ápój jéb-ó ènèŋ?
 1SU-tell-1sg.SU.IMPERV 1sg.NOM believe-2pl.SU.IMPERV how
 ‘But since you do not believe what he wrote, how are you going to believe what I say?’
 (Lit. ‘You (pl.), the word that he wrote - you (pl.) didn’t believe, but you (pl.), you (pl.) believe me what I say - how?’)

However, *ɲàɲijè* does not always convey a contrastive meaning, but rather it may be used as causal-result linker ‘therefore, thus’, as in (14.96).

- (14.96) lúsi ín-ú [ré-á [ɕʒòònè]_{NP}]_{NP}
 boy break-3sg.SU.PERV cooking.pan-RSTR mother.PERT.SG.3.PSR
 ɲàɲijè bák-ú líjá wáj
 but/however eat-3sg.SU.PERV shy INTENS
 ‘The boy broke his mother’s (injera)¹⁰¹ pan, he is therefore very much ashamed.’

Logically, it makes sense because it has been used in a counterexpectative contrast sense, — the boy is ashamed because he broke the pan. Note that *bákú líjá* ‘(he)

¹⁰¹ *Injera* [əŋǵära] is a sourdough risen flatbread with a slightly spongy texture, originating from Ethiopia-Eritrea. Traditionally made with teff flour (*Eragrostis teff*), and is the national dish of Ethiopia as well as Eritrea.

ashamed’ is an idiomatic verb — literally meaning ‘to eat (feel) shame/shy’. The above example is not the only instance where this contrastive coordinative marker semantically behaves like as cause-result (adversative) linker, but it often denotes the same semantics especially when it is placed at clause initial position.

- (14.97) *nà* *ɲàɲìjè* *nòŋ* *ɲàméá* *sé-Ø* *ké*
 CCN however 3sg now say-3sg.SU.IMPERV QUOT
kó-nów-án *tùm-ò* *ènèŋ?*
 1SU-come.down-MT sky/god-OBL how
 ‘How then (therefore/thus) he say, “I came down from heaven”?’

The fact that *nà ɲàɲìjè* literally means ‘and yet’, which is partly due to a grammaticalization process where it got its original adversative semantics from *ɲàni* ‘not yet, still’ and the subordinate enclitic =*jè*. Therefore, what can be said at this stage is that the contrastive coordinative marker *ɲàɲìjè* may no longer have an adversative function when being used at the left most periphery of a given discourse but rather functions as a coordinative particle (see the example given below).

- (14.98) *ɲàɲìjè* [*íggé-á* *hòl-á*]_{NP} *ʃíl-é*
 however 3pl.PN.SP-RSTR white.STV-RSTR:NOMZ stand-3pl.SU.IMPERV
sìtèn *ɲàɲìjè* [*íggé-á* *gèrs-à*]_{NP}
 right however 3pl.PN.SP-RSTR bad.STV-RSTR
ʃíl-é *kàŋitèn*
 stand-3pl.SU.IMPERV left
 ‘And those that are righteous stand at the right, but those that are bad stand at the left.’

The mirativity marker *čírr* ‘actually/really’ can occasionally be used for a contrastive purpose by creating a sudden or counter-expectational interpretation. It has no fixed position within clauses. As a result of this, the semantics of it is more contextual than structural. See the following example:

- (14.99) *nòŋ* *sé-sé* *ké* *ɲà=ʃól-ínèn=ó*
 3sg say-BEN.PERV.3 QUOT NEG.IMPERV=afraid-AP=2PL.SU:NEG
k-án-í *àpè* *čírr*
 1SU-COP.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV 1sg actually/really
 ‘But s/he said to them, ‘It is me, you (pl.) don’t be afraid.’

One exceptional contrastive clause coordination has been identified in my corpus which doesn't involve the contrastive coordinative *ɲàɲìjè* (see 14.100).

- (14.100) [nòŋ úgún-óŋ-ò àpè] nà [àpè nòŋ ɲàɲì
 3sg push-1sg.OBJ-3SG.IRR 1sg CCN 1sg 3sg NEG.PERV
 k-úgún=nó]
 1SBJV-push.PERV=NEG
 ‘He pushed me, but I did not push him.’

In (14.100), the relation between two clauses is that of counter-expectation type, thus may be achieved by negating the proposition in the second clause.

14.3.1.3 Disjunctive coordination

Disjunctive clauses can be indicated by various ways but primarily by disjunctive coordination (conjunction) markers *wó* [óó] ‘or’ and rarely by *kóó* ‘or’. Both disjunction markers can also be combined with other epistemic modality marking particles such as dubitative *ká* ‘perhaps/maybe’ and *kákó* ‘perhaps’.

Table 14.3 Disjunctive coordinative particles

DISJUNCTIVE PARTICLES	MEANING	REMARK
<i>wó</i> [óó]	‘or’	a primary disjunctive coordinator
<i>kóó</i>	‘or’	In Suri language, <i>kóó</i> is translated as ‘then, following’ (cf. Bryant 1998: 94)
<i>ká...óó</i>	‘either...or’	Lit. ‘perhaps/maybe...or’
<i>ka...kóó</i>	‘either...or’	Lit. ‘perhaps/maybe...or’
<i>kóó...kóó</i>	‘whether (it is) ...or’	Lit. ‘or...or’; the first coordinand or both of coordinands may be introduced by the conditional <i>húlli</i> ‘if’
<i>kóó...NEG</i>	‘whether its is ...or’	only the first coordinand can be introduced by the conditional <i>húlli</i> ‘if’
<i>NEG kóó NEG</i>	‘neither...nor’	<i>kóó</i> may be omitted
<i>kákó...kóó...kóó</i>	‘or’	Lit. ‘perhaps...or’
<i>kákó...kóó...kákó</i>		Lit. ‘perhaps...perhaps’

The disjunctive coordinators *óó* and *kóó* can be used in coordinated clauses each of which containing either question type or affirmative type component propositions, as in (14.101-14.104a).

- (14.101) [hùlli té-í ór-ó á čàll-i]
 if be.PERV-SG home-OBL COP.3.IMPERV good.STV-ADJ
 óó [kó-í tìráŋ-ò]
 or 1SU.go-1sg.SU.IMPERV play-OBL
 ‘Would I rather stay home or go to the game?’
- (14.102) [ràràrà] óó [čàll-i kàri]
 two.PART.INDEF or good.STV-ADJ together
 ‘Either (one) is correct; Either one or both are good.’
 (Lit. ‘both are correct/good.’)
- (14.103) hàli húll-á kún-Ø-é túrúmél-ò
 later when-NOMZ come-3sg.SU.IMPERV-APPL car-OBL
 kóó bábúr-ò
 or train-OBL
 ‘S/he will come by car or by train.’
- (14.104) a. [ŋà=ìggè=á]_{CS} á [čàll-i]_{CC}
 DEM=3pl.PN.SP=NEAR COP.3.IMPERV good.STV-ADJ
 kóó [gèrs-i]_{CC}
 or bad.STV-ADJ
 ‘Is that good or bad?’ ((Lit. ‘Is that good or is that bad?’))
- b. [ŋà=ìggè=á]_{CS} á [čàll-i]_{CC}
 DEM=3pl.PN.SP=NEAR COP.3.IMPERV good.STV-ADJ
 á [gèrs-i]_{CC}
 COP.3.IMPERV bad.STV-ADJ
 ‘Is that good or bad?’ (Lit. ‘Is that good — is that bad?’)

In (14.104a), the copula subject stands for both copula complements conjoined by the disjunctive marker. As can be seen in (14.105b), normally it is possible to convey the same meaning without the disjunctive marker, i.e. by adding a copula verb to second copular clause. It logically makes sense since the propositions in both do not normally hold true or false — as they are question types that seek confirmation and whose answer can be either a ‘yes-no’ type or repeat the whole clause, or just repeat the subjectless copular clause form (*á čàlli/á gèrsi*).

As listed in Table 14.3, the primary disjunctive marker *óó* and that of *kóó* can be combined with the dubitative marker *ka* to indicate clauses coordinated in alternative conjunction ways. The dubitative marker is always a peripheral constituent, — it may either occupy the position available before a clause or appear at the right edge of a

clause (see also Chapter 12, §12.3). Their combination enables us to form a none-question type alternative conjunction construction between two clauses and NPs, i.e. *either...or* type coordination. This type of coordination is often called correlative coordination. On the basis of the current observation, the following templates have been proposed:

- i. [ká CLAUSE1 óó CLAUSE2]
 ii. [(NP) ká ALTERNATE1 kóó ALTERNATE2 (CLAUSE)]

And structurally we might not see a significant difference between CLAUSE1 and CLAUSE 2, as the two can be identical in many respects, as in (14.105).

- (14.105) ká [hàli kún-Ø túrmél-ò]
 perhaps/maybe later come-3sg.SU.IMPERV car-OBL
 óó [hàli kún-Ø bábúr¹⁰²-ò]
 or later come-3sg.SU.IMPERV train-OBL
 ‘S/he will come (either) by car or by train.’

- (14.106) a. ká [fáj] kóó [búná] kí-hín-é
 perhaps/maybe tea or coffee 1SU-want.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV
 (hékó-ni)¹⁰³
 look.like-RS
 ‘I want either tea or coffee.’

- b. sáti ká ràmàn kóó sáti sízzì
 time perhaps/maybe two or time three
 áíw-ó
 come.PERV.IMP-MT.3sg.SU.PERV
 ‘Come (sg.) (either) at two or three o’clock!’

The other clause coordination is the one being established by *kóó...kóó*, literally meaning ‘or...or’, which is an equivalent to the typical English correlative type

¹⁰² *babur* [ba.bur/b^wur] ‘train’ is a loan word from Amharic.

¹⁰³ *hékó* ‘look like (this/that), same as (this/that)’ can be used in singular and has a plural counterpart that is only used with plural, i.e. *hétó* ‘similar, same as, resemble, look like.’ But in some instances both may be used interchangeably. The example given below illustrates the context in which *hékó* is being used:

[kù-gùj-ónó jírísí bó=ɲà hékó [kè-á téréj-ùj]_{NP}
 PASS-look-MT.3SU sea above=DEF look.like thing-RSTR mirror-gen
 ‘Seen from above, the lake looks like a mirror.’

construction ‘whether (it is)...or’. The only structural difference from the type mentioned above is that the coordinator *kóó* is repeated, — one appearing before first clause and the other in its usual position. Examples are presented below:

(14.107) a. *kóó* *hùlli* *kó-dʒt-ε* *kóó* *hùlli* *kóóg-ò*
or *if* *3.SBJV-leave.PERV-APPL* *or* *if* *3.SBJV.go-IRR*
bòi *(kóó) fóláj* *nínè*
at.all/completely *or* *problem* *not.present*
 ‘I don’t care whether he goes or stays here.’

b. *kóó* [*hùlli* *á* *títí* *kóó*
or *if* *COP.3.IMPERV* *small.PL:REDUP* *or*
èlèhèn=nè]_{SUBORD:CL} *dǒŋ-á* *nà* *íw-á*
compare=SUBORD *abide.PERV:IMP-VFS* *CCN* *take.PERV:IMP-VFS*
 ‘Small or big (Lit. whether it is little or much’) accept (sg.) with
 gratitude.’
 (Lit. ‘or if it is small(pl.) or comparable, abide (2sg.) and accept (sg.)!’)

As we can see in (14.107b), the coordinand to be referred to by the second coordinator is not mentioned, thus the second coordinand can either be recoverable from the context (small or ...?) or has been substituted with the expression — ‘small or *comparable*’.

A similar meaning may be expressed with the correlative type disjunctive coordination, by placing the disjunctive coordinator *kóó* before the first coordinand and by negating the second coordinand. I called this one a *kóó...NEG* type.

(14.108) a. *kóó* [*hùlli* *búi*] *ɲàni* [*ín-á* *tíin-ò*]_{NP}
or *if* *big* *NEG.PERV* *3sg.PN.SP-RSTR* *small-RSTR:MOD*
ɲà=ká-gá-í=ó
NEG.IMPERV=1SU-know.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘I didn’t know whether it is big or small.’
 (Lit. ‘or if big – not yet of a small one, I don’t know.’)

The perfective negator *ɲàni* may be omitted, and at the same time a copula verb in subjunctive mood may be added between the conditional *hùlli* ‘if’ (‘whether’) and the first coordinand (14.108b).

b. *kóó* [*hùlli* *ké-té* *búi*] [*ín-á* *tíin-ò*]_{NP}
or *if* *3.SBJV-be.PERV* *big* *3sg.PN.SP-RSTR* *small-RSTR:MOD*
ɲà=ká-gáj-Ø=ó
NEG.IMPERV=1SU-know.IMPERV-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘We (inc.) don’t know whether it is big or small.’

In addition to the correlative coordinator *'either...or'*, Mursi has a system to express *'neither...nor'*. This type of correlative coordinator is often used in contrastive negative coordination. In this type of coordination, two negated coordinands will be coordinated by *kóó* ([‘X’ NEG+verb or NEG+verb]).

- (14.109) a. *bàrkádě* [ɲàɲì kú-čùmùn=ó] *kóó*
Bàrkadhe NEG.PERV 3.SBJV-happy.STV=NEG or
 [ɲàɲì kú-mújí=ó]
 NEG.PERV 3.SBJV-sad.STV=NEG
 ‘Barkadě was neither happy, nor was he sad.’
 (Lit. Barkadhe didn’t be happy and/or didn’t be sad.)

Or without the disjunctive marker *kóó* ([‘X’ NEG+verb NEG+verb]), as in (14.109b).

- b. *bàrkádě* [ɲàɲì kú-čùmùn=ó]
Barkadhe NEG.PERV 3.SBJV-happy.STV=NEG
 [ɲàɲì kú-mújí=ó]
 NEG.PERV 3.SBJV-sad.STV=NEG
 ‘Barkadě was neither happy, nor (was he) sad.’

The last type of disjunctive coordination utilizes the disjunctive marker *kóó* and the epistemic modality marker *kákó* ‘perhaps’. Interestingly, it is very logical to assume that the reason/cause marker particle *bá* is triggered by the epistemic marker *kákó*.

- (14.110) a. [*kako* á bá *kóó* *dīb* *kóó*
 perhaps COP.3.IMPERV CAUSE/REASON or correct or
 ɲà=án=ó=jè]SUBORD:CL
 NEG.IMPERV=COP.3.IMPERV=NEG=SUBORD
 ‘Right or wrong...’ (Lit. ‘perhaps is the reason or correct or not’)

- b. [*kako* húllí á bá *kóó*
 perhaps if COP.3.IMPERV CAUSE/REASON or
dīb kákó ɲà=án=ó=jè]SUBORD:CL
 correct perhaps NEG.IMPERV=COP.3.IMPERV=NEG=SUBORD
 ‘Right or wrong...’ (Lit. ‘perhaps whether it is (the reason) or correct perhaps not.’)

Table 14.4 A summary of major clause types, clause combining and coordination strategies

CLAUSE TYPE	MARKERS	POSSIBLE TEMPLATE
conditional clause	<i>húllí</i> ‘if/when’ and subordinate marker enclitics (when the main clause follows the subordinate clause)	[<i>húllí</i> ... ‘X’ = <i>jè/=è/=tè</i>] _{SUBORD:CL}
temporal clause (simultaneous, succession,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. <i>húllí</i> ‘if/when’ and subordinate marker enclitics ii. <i>hulla</i> ‘since’ (when the subordinate clause follows the main clause) iii. <i>húllí</i> and the definite marker enclitic =<i>ɲà</i> iv. other markers such as <i>ɲàhùllùnù</i> ‘at the same time’, <i>nà</i> ‘and’, and <i>nà húllí</i> ‘and when’, <i>wùréó</i> ‘after’ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. [<i>húllí</i> ... ‘X’ = <i>jè/=è/=tè</i>]_{SUBORD:CL} ii. [<i>hulla</i> ... ‘X’ = <i>jè/=è/=tè</i>]_{SUBORD:CL} iii. [<i>húllí</i> ... ‘X’ = <i>ɲà</i>]_{SUBORD:CL}
causation clause	<i>ɲàhùllùnù</i> ‘(and) then, after that’, <i>ɲàɲìjè</i> ‘therefore, thus, because of this’, and <i>nà</i> ‘therefore’, <i>wùréó</i> ‘after, later’	no fixed template
reason clause	(<i>ké</i>) <i>ba</i> ‘because’	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. [<i>bá/bá</i> ... CAUSER ... VERB-REASON (=SUBORD)] ii. [<i>ké bá/bá</i> ... CAUSER ... VERB-(REASON) (=SUBORD)]
concessive clause	<i>ɲàɲìjè</i> ‘however, but’, <i>ɲàɲì</i> ‘not (yet)’, and <i>kó húllí</i> ‘even though, even if’ (Lit. ‘and if’).	no fixed template
substitutive clause	<i>bá/bá</i> ‘place’ <in place of>	no fixed template
Future clause	<i>kó bòi</i> ‘until’, durative/continuative markers <i>tíí</i> and the durative <i>dírr</i>	no fixed template
speech report clause	quotative marker <i>ké</i> , verbatim quotative marker <i>ɲàɲà</i> ‘like this’, the verb to ‘say’ <i>sé</i>	<p>[<i>sén</i> (PRONOUNS, NAMES...) <i>ké</i> ...] DIRECT SPEECH REPORT</p> <p>[Other speech verbs ... <i>ké</i> ...] INDIRECT SPEECH REPORT</p>
complement clause	complementizer <i>ké</i> , reason/purposive marker <i>ba</i>	no fixed template
coordinated clauses	clausal coordinative conjunction marker <i>nà</i> ‘and’, contrastive coordination marker <i>ɲàɲìjè</i> ‘but, however’ and <i>čírr</i> ‘actually/really’, primary disjunctive coordination markers <i>óó</i> and <i>kóó</i> ‘or’, and so on	For a detailed information, see Table 14.2 & 14.3 of this chapter

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Appendix: Transcribed Texts

Text I: *Koma Kóda* (age grade related cultural practices)

Description — In the Mursi society, in relation to age grade, there is a type of social identity construction that all Mursi men should abide by certain rights and obligations, for they are being 'seniors' or 'juniors'. This social identity construction comes with a cultural ceremony called *kòmà kóda* 'Kneeling' (Lit. *kódá* 'stub; piercing [the ground] with the *kòmà* 'knees'). In addition, Turton (1973: 153) describes it as 'the kneeling of the boys'. This ceremony refers to a process of the giving of gifts by the occupants of a junior to the occupants of a senior grade. In this ceremony, men who are at the *bára* age grade level are the 'fathers' of the *tèrù*; in the same way, men who are at the *róra* age grade level are the 'fathers' of the *dǒhà*.

The *kòmà kóda* ceremony takes place at least twice a year; the first is immediately following the harvest, in December-January, and the second takes place following the second harvest in June-July. Following these two harvest seasons, the *dǒhà* go in large groups into the cultivation areas and collect the decapitated sorghum stalks, which are called *ólfó*. Turton (1973: 156-57) wrote, 'Just as the *dǒhà* intake sorghum stalks to the *róra* following the harvest, so the unmarried girls take them to the *bára*, and are similarly harangued and beaten with withies'. The *bára* are also 'fathers' of unmarried girls. During the *ólfó* collection days, if unmarried girls bring accusations (especially if girls are beaten or touched by the *dǒhà*) against the *dǒhà*, later the *dǒhà* are made to kneel facing the *róra*, who accuse them for not showing them proper respect. On the other hand, the occupants of the *bára* age grade will therefore be charged with responsibility for the satisfactory behaviour of those members of the society, both male and female.

Narrator (informant): Ngarori Kashai (Age 19, Female)
Place of recording: South Omo Research Center, Jinka Town, Ethiopia
Year of recording: 28 July 2017
Length of the record: 2min.58sec.
Text code: KW (Women Koma Kodha)

(1.1) (KW 0:11:4-0:21:6)

kòm-à kóǰ-á sábò [dɛl-á tíítí-o]_{NP}
 knee-PL kneel-NOMZ first girl-RSTR small.REDUP.PL-RSTR.MOD
 múg-íné-ò
 gather-RECIP.3-VFS
 ‘Koma kóǰa, first, little girls gather together

nà kú-múg lálàn-à dǎàì nà
 CCN 3.SBJV-collect.PERV bracelet-PL all/COMPLETELY CCN
 [úʃɪŋ-áná=jè]_{SUBORD:CL}
 finish-MT.3sg.SU.IMPERV=SUBORD
 kú-múg-íné-Ø bòi dǎnéj
 1SU-gather-RECIP-1pl.inc.SU.IMPERV COMPLETIVE one
 ‘and collect bracelets. After it is finished, then we (inc.) gather as one

ké-héj-Ø [bá-á óʃ-ó bérá-ŋ]_{NP}
 1SU-go.IMPERV-pl.inc.SU.IMPERV place-RSTR stalk-PL sorghum.type-GEN
 and we (inc.) go to a place where sorghum stalks exist.’

(1.2) -(KW 0:32:0)

[húllí ké-héj-Ø [bá-á óʃ-ó
 when/if 1SU-go.IMPERV-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV place-RSTR stalk-PL
 bérá-ŋ=nè]_{NP}]_{SUBORD:CL}
 sorghum-GEN=SUBORD
 ‘When we (inc.) go up to the sorghum stalks’ place,

ké-héj-Ø kí-bír-Ø
 1SU-go.IMPERV-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV 1SU-cut.up-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV
 óʃ-ó dǎàì ɲàɲjè [tó-jé ɲà=b=ùnù
 sorghum-PL all/COMPLETELY however in-OBL DEM=place=FAR
 kí-bír-ó óʃ-ó=ɲà]_{SUBORD:CL}
 1SU-cut.up-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV sorghum-PL=DEF
 ‘we (exc.) go and pick up sorghum stalks.’ However, while we (exc.)
 are collecting the sorghum stalks,’

tó-jé lò [zùg-tí [ké
 in-OBL have/exist-3sg.su.imperv people-NRSTR [PL.PN+NRSTR
 k-éɲérs-ó]_{COMPL:CL}
 1SU-fear.IMPERV-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV
 ‘There are those people out there whom we are afraid of.’
 (Lit. ‘inside it (the sorghum stalks’ place) has people whom we
 (exc.) are afraid of’)

(1.3) (KW 0:41:9)

çùànéŋ zùg-tí [Ø ké “dɔŋà”]_{RC}
 again people-NRTSR [Ø QUOT Donga]
 kɔ́j-é=jè]_{SUBORD:CL} bír-ésén-é
 go-PERV-3pl.SU.IMPERV=SUBORD pick.up-BEN-3pl.SU.IMPERV
 zùw-á ké “rórá”
 people-RSTR QUOT Rora
 ‘and again, They who for people called “Donga”, they were are also
 collecting. They collect-up for people called the “Rora”.’

nà kí-bír-nè-Ø ñàni ñàà àggè
 CCN 1SU-collect-AP-pl.INC.SU.IMPERV yet here 1pl
 zùw-á [Ø k-èlè-ò ké “doolé”]_{RC}
 people-RSTR [Ø PASS-call.PERV-2/3.IRR QUOT girl.PL]
 kí-bír-ésén-ó bárá
 1SU-pick.up-BEN-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV Bara
 whereas we (inc.) here the people called “girls” collect for the Bara.’

(1.4) (KW 0:48:2-0:55:6)

jòŋ¹⁰⁴ dɔŋà bír-ésén-é zùw-á [Ø ké
 3pl Donga collect-BEN-3pl.SU.IMPERV people-RSTR [Ø QUOT
 rórá]_{RC} ñàni jè kí-bír-nén-á
 Rora but 1SU-collect-RECIP-1pl.INC.SU.PERV
 ‘They (the Donga) collect for the people called the Rora. But, when we (inc.)
 are collecting, and

[húllí hócf-á nà hócf-á
 when/if come.PERV.PL-3sg.SU.PERV CCN come.PERV.PL-3pl.SU.PERV
 íb-t-a ólf-ó gál-a gi
 take-PERV.PL-3pl.SU.PERV stalk-PL thing.PL-RSTR who.GEN.PL
 n=àj-ò=jè]_{SUBORD:CL}
 SG.PSD=1PL.INC.PSD-RSTR:MOD=SUBORD
 if they come, and come to take the stalks’ things whose are ours (inc.),

àggè bá k-él-Ø kók háŋ
 1pl place 1SU-exist.IMPERV-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV ready INTENS
 nà kò-lòm-Ø kállí nà
 CCN 1SU-have.IMPERV-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV stick(switch) CCN
 we (inc.) will be present here well prepared, and (we (inc.)) having a stick,

[húllí hócf-á nà íb-t-á-ì
 when/if come.PERV.PL-3pl.SU.PERV CCN take.PERV-PERV.PL-MT-3pl.IRR
 ólf-á g=àj=è]_{NP}]_{SUBORD:CL} ká-dǎg-íné-Ø
 stalk-RSTR PL.PSD=1P.INC.PSR=SUBORD 1SU-hit-RECIP-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV
 háŋ háŋ
 INTENS INTENS
 when they come and take our (inc.) sorghums, we (inc.) fight each other very
 very much.’

¹⁰⁴ See also *jòg* or *jok* (may be an ideolectal difference).

- (1.5) -(KW 1:02:8)
ké òrì [ké bá jòg
PRE which.part PREP place/CAUSE 3pl
bír-ésén-é-a rórá àggè
collect-BEN-3pl.SU.IMPERV-DS Rora] 1pl
kí-bír-ésén-ó bárá
1SU-collect-BEN-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV Bara
k-án-ó bííbíí
1SU-COP.IMPERV-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV different
‘At (on) what ground? Because for that they collect for the Rora, we (exc.)
collect for the Bara; thus we (exc.) are different.’

- (1.6) -(KW 1:07:6)
àggè kí-bír-ésén-ó bárá jòg
1pl 1SU-collect-BEN-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV Bara 3pl
bír-ésén-é rórá nà ṅàṅjè [húllí
collect-BEN-3pl.SU.IMPERV Rora CCN but when/if
hóf-á nà íb-t-á
come.PERV.PL-3pl.SU.PERV CCN take-PERV.PL-3pl.SU.PERV
[ólǎ-á g=áj=è]NP]SUBORD:CL àggè
stalk-RSTR PL.PSD=1PL.INC.PSR=SUBORD 1pl
ká-dǎg-íné-Ø háṅ-ne
1SU-hit-RECIP-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV INTENS-RS
‘We (inc.) women collect for the Bara. They collect for the Rora, but when
they come and take our (inc.) sorghums, we (inc.) then fight each other very
much.’

- (1.7) -(KW 1:17:8)
čùànéṅ gòrò čó čùànéṅ tèrì gòrò ṅàṅ
again road even again Teri road NEG.PERV
k-íj-í-t=ó [húllí nè
3.SBJV-touch-1pl.OBJ-PERV.PL=NEG when/if 3sg
k-íj-ó=jè]SUBORD:CL té kili-ni
3.SBJV-touch-1pl.OBJ-3pl.IRR=SUBORD COP.3.PERV Kili-RS’
té gèrs-ì
‘COP.3.PERV bad.STV-ADJ
‘Again even (on) the road, again those Teri do not touch us. If he (Teri (sg.))
touch us, it becomes “Kili!”. It gets bad.’

- (1.8) -(KW 1:28:8)
čùànéṅ ṅà=lòg=tù hàlì áj-t-ε tèrò-ú-ni
again DEM=issue=FAR later take-PERV.PL-APPL Teri.PL-NOM-RS
té [lòg-tí g=èj]NP nà hàlì
COP.3.PERV issue-NRSTR PL.PSD=3PL.PSR CCN later
nìs-é bì
kill-3pl.SU.IMPERV cow
‘Then later the Teru take up this issue (Kili) and thus it becomes their issue.
After that they will slaughter a cow.’

ηὰ=zùgt=ùnù wà gíná ηὰà kè òη
 DEM=people=FAR REC.PAST ANA:REF here why.RHET
 ké bá wà k-én-čí-é-á
 PRE place/CAUSE REC.PAST 3.SBJV-touch-APPL.1pl.OBJ-RES-RSTR
 lòg-á wágá gòr-ò
 issue-RSTR ANA:REF road-OBL
 ‘Why are those people are here? For the reason they have touched us on the road.’

(1.9) -(KW 1:38:5)

ké-té-ú fǐé nà
 1SU-COP.PERV-1pl.EXC.SU.PERV well CCN
 [kó-hóǎ-á húη=nè]SUBORD:CL
 1SU-come.PERV.PL-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV simply=SURBORD
 ‘It would be good if we (inc.) come simply,’

kó-hóǎ-á k-óí-tó
 1SU-come.PERV.PL-1pl.INC.SU.PERV 1SU-put.PERV-1pl.EXC.SU.PERV
 ólfó bà-i-ni ká-dǎg-á hóló-ni tíí
 stalk.PL place-LOC-RS 1SU-hit-1pl.INC.SU.PERV dance-RS DUR/CONT
 ‘...then we (inc.) come and we (exc.) put sorghum stalks on the ground. Then we (inc.) continue dancing.’

nà húllí dǒólá kó ràmàn áw-ò-ni
 CCN when girl.PL CRD:PART two come-3pl.IRR-RS
 jàg-t-èsè zùw-á [Ø] wágá [ké bú
 return-PL-BEN/DAT.3 people-RSTR [Ø] ANA.REF COMPL big
 kí-bír-ésén-Ø-á ólfó]COMPL:CL]RC ké
 1SU-collect-BEN-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV-RSTR stalk.PL QUOT
 bára-ni
 Bara.PL-RS
 ‘(and) then, two among the girls will come and go back to those elders to whom we collect the sorghum stalks called Bara.’

(1.10) -(KW 1:54:4)

6èlè hóǎ-án-i hàlì
 early.morning come.PERV.PL.PERV-MT-3pl.IRR later
 k-ítíjǎ-η-εεε ηὰ=β=ùnù
 1.HORT-meet-PL-BEN DEM=place=FAR/(there)
 jógt-ó-í bār-ú
 tell.PERV-MT-3pl.IRR+1sg.OBJ Bara-NOM
 ‘They come (in the) early morning. “Let us meet later for our own (meeting) there”. It is the Baras who tell us this.’

bá bàrì gá k-áw-ò ór-ó
 place yesterday ATTU 3.SBJV-come.PERV-3pl.IRR village-OBL
 ‘“At that place and time”, they (the two girls) come back to the village.’

(1.14) -(KW 2:17:0)

ɲàɲìjè tó-jé ɲà=ɓ=ùnù ɕùànéɲ ɓá [hír-á
 but in-OBL DEM=place=FAR again CAUSE man-RTSR
 hír-íɲ]_{NP} bás-áná nà ɗǎg-íj[ɲ]-Ø
 man-GEN get.up-MT.3sg.SU.IMPERV CCN hit-2sg.OBJ-3sg.SU.IMPERV
 ɲàɲà húɲ ɲà=ɗǎg-í-Ø=tó
 like.this simply NEG.IMPERV=hit-2sg-OBJ-3sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG
 ‘However, in there, again, a human man gets up beats you (sg.) just like this
 (for no reason), he doesn't beat you (sg.).’

(1.15) -(KW 2:26:4)

lò-Ø lò-Ø [gótó-á n=ènè]_{NP}
 has-3sg.SU.IMPERV has-3sg.SU.IMPERV rule-RSTR SG.PSD=3SG.PSR
 nè [zèré-á n=ènè]_{NP} ká-ɗǎg-éné-Ø
 3sg race-RSTR SG.PSD=3SG.PSR 1SU-hit-RECIP-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV
 zèrí-mò¹⁰⁵ zèrí-mò-j
 race-N.S race-N.S-GEN
 ‘It has its own rule (inside of it). In it, his race, we (inc.) beat each other, race
 by race, ...’

‘jànù=gè-mò jànù=gè-mò-j’
 cousin.sg=PERT.PL.3.PSR-N.S cousin=PERT.PL.3.PSR-N.S-GEN
 [jànù=gè-mò] á ɓá ké ké
 cousin=PERT.PL.3.PSR-N.S COP.3.IMPERV place/CAUSE PREP QUOT
 ‘‘by cousinhood by cousinhood’’, instead, cousinhood is what it is called.’

(1.16) -(KW 2:34:4)

[màmà kónó]_{NP} kó [ɗʒòònè]_{NP}
 mother.PERT.SG.1.PSR+RSTR one.INDEF PNC mother.PERT.SG.3.PSR
 á ɗǒnéj ɲòɲìgèn
 COP.3.IMPERV one sister.PL
 ‘My mother and his mother are one (the same), sisters (to each other).’

ɲàɲìjè ɲà=ìggi=nù k-án-Ø
 but DEM=3pl.PN.SP=FAR 1SU-COP.IMPERV-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV
 [zùw-á ɗǒnén-á]_{NP} ká-ɗǎg-nén-á
 people-RSTR one/same-RTSR 1SU-hit-RECIP-1pl.INC.SU.PERV
 kállí-ó-í-ni
 stick-PL-OBL-RS
 ‘However those people, we (inc.) are the same people who beat/fight each
 other by (with) sticks.’

¹⁰⁵ For example, *-hood* can acquire the meanings: ‘state’ (*boyhood*) and ‘time’ (*childhood*).

[ŋòsòni¹⁰⁶-á zùw-á]_{NP} kákó dǔnén-á
 Ngosoni-RSTR people-RSTR perhaps one/same-RSTR
 ŋà=dàmi=tá lòm-á ɓa kóɗ-á
 DEM=rule=NEAR have-3pl.SU.PERV place/CAUSE write-NOMZ
 ká-dǎg-t-é-ni dǎàì
 1SU-hit-PL.PERV-RECIP-RS COMPLETIVE
 ‘Perhaps, if the people of Ngosoni are the same people having this rule recorded, we are people who beat each other.’

(1.17) -(KW 2:48:0)

[húllí úfɿŋ-áná=jè]_{SUBORD:CL} áɗ-í-ì
 when/if finish-MT.3sg.SU.IMPERV=SUBORD give.PERV-1pl.OBJ+3pl.IRR
 lògò jóg-t-ó-í+i lòg-á
 word tell.PERV-MT-1pl.OBJ+3pl.IRR word-RTSR
 ‘‘màt-í-ò’’ dǎàì
 drink-2sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS all/COMPLETELY
 ‘When it is over, they give us a word, they tell us a word, ‘you (sg.) drink.’’

nà [húllí úfɿŋ-áná=jè]_{SUBORD:CL} àggè
 CCN when/if finish-MT.3sg.SU.IMPERV=SUBORD 1pl
 k-áw-ó hóló dǎg-a-ni
 1SU-go.IMPERV-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV dance hit-NOMZ-RS
 ‘and when it is finished, then we (exc.) go dance hitting.’

[húllí seɗ-a-i+i ŋaŋà=jè]_{SUBORD:CL}
 when/if say.PERV-MT-1pl.OBJ+3pl.IRR like.this=SUBORD
 àggè k-ai-to hóló-té tíí
 1pl 1SU-go.PERV-1pl.EXC.SU.PERV dance-OBL DUR/CONT
 ‘When they talk to us like that, we go to the dancing and continue’

(1.18) -(KW 2:52:4)

[jòg ɓá-á làlàn-ŋà]_{NP} kó jòg lò-Ø
 3pl place-RTSR bracelet-PL PNC 3pl have-3pl.IRR
 làlàn-ŋà ɓarí bú kú-múg-ó-Ø
 bracelet-PL Bari.SG big 1SU-collect.IMPERV-MT-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV
 k-áɗ-á-ni kó óɿ-ó-á [ga
 1SU-give.PERV-1pl.INC.SU.PERV-RS PNC stalk-PL-RSTR PL.PN.RSTR
 ufa-Ø
 finish-3sg.SU.IMPERV!
 ‘Those bracelets and the bracelets there that we (inc.) collected at the big Bara, we (inc.) give them (the Bara) with those sorghum stalks. Finished!’

¹⁰⁶ ZS, ZD, FZS, FZD, FBDS, FBDD (for kinship classification of the Mursi, see Chapter 1)

(1.19) -(KW 2:57:6)

[ɲà=ìn=nù]cs á [gótó-á zùw-á]NP:CC
DEM=3SG.PN.SP=FAR COP.3.IMPERV rule-RTSR people-RSTR
ké dǒólé kón-ča kón-ča kòmà
QUOT girl.PL kneel-APP.3pl.SU.PERV kneel-APP.3pl.SU.PERV knee.PL
'That is a custom/culture of people called, "girls" for which they kneel.'

Text II: Naming

Description: To get more on the Mursi's naming system, see §1.8. Aside from what is discussed in §1.8, there is some additional information that Text II below explains. One is that we will find an enumerated of peculiar Mursi female and male names. The other is that we see a discourse method in which Mursi speakers structure information by repetition.

Narrator (informant): Arsiregge Gomonyokawulo (40+, Male)

Place of recording: South Omo Research Center, Jinka Town, Ethiopia

Year of recording: 12 August 2017

Length of the record: 2min.31sec.

Text code: NM (Naming)

(2.1) (0:04:2-0:17:2)

érmì [húllí íríčīpan-áná á
child.SG when/if born.APPL-MT.3sg.SU.IMPERV COP.3.IMPERV
ɲàhì=jè]SUBORD:CL [sára-á g=ɛ̃ɲɛ̃]NP
female.ADJ=SUBORD name-RSTR PL.PSD=3SG.PSR
'Child, if it (s/he) is born and if it is female, her/his name,

[húllí kón-Ø dʒòòɲè íríd-ónó nà
when/if write.PERV-3sg.IRR mother born-MT.3sg.SU.IMPERV CCN
á ɲàhì=ɲà]SUBORD:CL nòɲ [sára-á g=ɛ̃ɲɛ̃]NP
COP.3.IMPERV female.ADJ=DEF 3sg name-RSTR PL.PSD=3SG.PSR
á ɲà...ɲà...ɲà sòɲ
COP.3.IMPERV nga...nga...nga only
when name is named (Literally means 'written'), and if the mother gives birth,
her name is Nga, Nga, Nga (also mean 'wife') only.'

(2.2) -(0:28:4)

kón-á [Ø k-èlì ké ɲàn-ó-j]RC á
one-RTSR [Ø PASS-call.PERV QUOT Ngan-OBL-GEN] COP.3.IMPERV
sára kòòd-èsèn-à múgái-ni
name PASS.write-BEN-PASS.3.SU woman.SG-RS
'One who is called by Ngan, then is named for woman.'
ɲàn-ò-j á [sára-á [hír-á

Ngan-OBL-GEN COP.3.IMPERV name-RSTR person-RTSR
 ɲàh-á-ni]_{NP}]_{NP} ɲàtùj
 female-RSTR-RS Ngatuy
 ‘Of by Ngan, a name of a woman (female person) Ngatun;

(2.3) -(0:35:6)

á [sára-á [hír-á ɲàh-á]_{NP}]_{NP} ɲàbiò
 COP.3.IMPERV name-RSTR person-RTSR female-RTSR Ngabiò
 a name of a woman Ngabio;

á [sára-á hír-á]_{NP} ɲàgèrì
 COP.3.IMPERV name-RSTR person-RTSR Ngageri
 á [sára-á [hír-á [ɲàh-á]_{NP}]_{NP} ɲaɲatuj
 COP.3.IMPERV name RSTR person-RTSR female-RTSR Ngangatuy
 a name of a person Ngageri; a name of a woman Ngangatuy;

án-á kó-jóg-á dǎàì ɲ!
 COP.3-PAST 1SU-tell-1sg.SU.PERV all yes/ok!
 I having spoken all. Yes/Okay!’

[sára-á [zùw-á ɲàh-á]_{NP}]_{NP} jòg k-óγ-ó-ì
 name-RSTR people-RSTR female-RSTR 3pl 3.SBJV-go-MT.PERV-3pl.IRR
 ɲà=á=á
 DEM=place=NEAR
 ‘Name of women, they go through this (way/system):’

ɲàméá [ɲà=in=á]cs á [ɲàbiò]cc
 now DEM=3sg.PN.SP=NEAR COP.3.IMPERV Ngabiò
 [ɲà=in=á]cs á [ɲàgèrì]cc [ɲà=in=á]cs
 DEM=3sg.PN.SP=NEAR COP.3.IMPERV Ngageri DEM=3sg.PN.SP=NEAR
 á [ɲàɲóì]cc
 COP.3.IMPERV Ngangoy
 ‘Now, this is Ngabio; this is Ngageri; this is Ngangoy

(2.4) -(0:47:8)

[ɲà=in=à]cs á [ɲàkáká]cc [ɲà-in=à]cs
 DEM=3sg.PN.SP=NEAR COP.3.IMPERV Ngakaka DEM=3sg.PN.SP=NEAR
 á [ɲàlúsi]cc [ɲa=in=á]cs á
 COP.3.IMPERV Ngalúsi DEM=3sg.PN.SP=NEAR COP.3.IMPERV
 [ɲàtúrí]cc
 Ngaturi
 [ɲà=in=à]cs á [ɲàrórí]cc ìssàbàj
 DEM=3sg.PN.SP=NEAR COP.3.IMPERV Ngarori seven
 this is Ngakaka; this is Ngalusi; this is Ngaturi; this is Ngarori, seven.’

(2.5) (-0:59:0)

[sára-á [zùw-á nàh-á]_{NP}NP íggé-á [Ø ké
 name-RSTR people-RSTR female-RSTR 3pl.PN.SP-RTSR [Ø QUOT
 ìssábàì=ηà]_{RC} á ηàηà=ηà sòη
 seven=DEF COP.3IMPERV like.this=DEF only
 ‘These are the seven names of women are just like this only.’

(2.6) -(1:40:9)

jòg [zùw-á nàh-á] [bá-á n=èj]_{NP}
 3pl people-RSTR female-RSTR place-RTSR SG.PSD=3PL.PSR
 [gótó-á n=èj]
 culture/custom-RSTR SG.PSD=3PL.PSR
 ‘They, women, their own (way) (Literally, ‘their place’); their (own) culture

[zúw-á nàh-á]_{NP} jòg á ηà, ηà, ηà sòη
 people-RSTR female-RSTR 3pl COP.3.IMPERV Nga, Nga, Nga only
 á [lòg-á nàh-á]_{NP}
 COP.3.IMPERV issue-RSTR female-RSTR
 the women’s, they are Nga, Nga, Nga only. They are of women.’

[zùw-á màg-á]_{NP}NP ηà=in=á
 people-RSTR male-RSTR DEM=3sg.PN.SP=NEAR
 k-èli ké òlíkòrò
 PASS-call.PERV QUOT òlíkoro
 ‘Of men: one that is called Òlíkoro;

ηà=in=á	k-èli	ké	òlítùlà
DEM=3sg.PN.SP=NEAR	PASS-call.PERV	QUOT	òlítùlà
ηà=in=á	k-èli	ké	òlíçàgìj
DEM=3sg.PN.SP=NEAR	PASS-call.PERV	QUOT	Olichagiy
ηà=in=á	k-èli	ké	òlígidàñi
DEM=3sg.PN.SP=NEAR	PASS-call.PERV	QUOT	Oligidhangì
ηà=in=á	k-èli	ké	òlíSORALI
DEM=3sg.PN.SP=NEAR	PASS-call.PERV	QUOT	Olisorali
ηà=in=á	k-èli	ké	òlíREGGE
DEM=3sg.PN.SP=NEAR	PASS-call.PERV	QUOT	Olirege
ηà=in=á	k-èli	ké	òlíKORI
DEM=3sg.PN.SP=NEAR	PASS-call.PERV	QUOT	Olikori

one that is called Òlítùlà; one that is called Olichagiy; one that is called Oligidhangì; one that is called Olisorali; one that is called Olirege; one that is called Olikori;

(2.7) -(1:55:2)

ηà=in=á	k-èli	ké	òlíðàrhòli	
DEM=3sg.PN.SP=NEAR	PASS-call.PERV	QUOT	Olijarholi	
ηà=in=á	k-èli	ké	òlíKIBO	
DEM=3sg.PN.SP=NEAR	PASS-call.PERV	QUOT	Olikibo	
ηà=in=á	k-èli	ké	òlíBISENI	tòmòn
DEM=3sg.PN.SP=NEAR	PASS-call.PERV	QUOT	Olibhiseni	ten

one that is called Olijarholi; one that is called Olikibo; one that is called Olibhiseni, ten.’

(2.8) -(2:02:4)

á [bá-á [zùw-á màg-á]_{NP}]_{NP}
 COP.3.IMPERV place-RSTR people-RSTR male-RSTR
 ké-sé-Ø ké òlé<í> òlé<í> sòṅ
 1SU-say-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV QUOT Oli Oli only
 ‘That of men’s we (inc.) call are “Oli” “Oli” only.’

tòmòn á [sára-á [zùw-á màg-á-ni]_{NP}]_{NP}
 ten COP.3.IMPERV name-RSTR people-RSTR MALE-RSTR-RS
 ‘These ten are names of men.’

héj [tán-á màg-á]_{NP} á ṅàṅà
 go.IMPERV.PL.3.SU side-RSTR male-RSTR COP.3.IMPERV like.this
 ‘They go on the men’s side like this.’

[tán-á [zùw-á ṅàhà]_{NP}]_{NP} [hír-á ṅàh-á]_{NP}
 side-RSTR people-RSTR female-RSTR person-RSTR female-RSTR
 ín-í [Ø k-èlì ké òlé
 3sg.PN.SP-NRSTR [Ø PASS-call.PERV QUOT Òlé
 ‘On the women’s side, a woman that is called “Oli”;

(2.9) -(2:18:0)

ín-í [Ø k-èlì ké òlíkòrò òlé
 3sg.PN.SP-NRSTR [Ø PASS-call.PERV QUOT Olikoro Ole
 that which is called “Olikoro”;

í-Ø=ṅà òlé í-Ø=ṅà òlé òlé
 to.be-3sg.SU.IMPERV=DEF òlé to.be-3sg.SU.IMPERV=DEF òlé òlé
 níṅè
 not.present
 ‘There is not this (Literally, ‘it is’) here Oli, this here Oli Oli;

òlé òlé héj [tán-á mà+á]_{NP} sòṅ
 Ole Ole go.IMPERV.PL.3.SU side-RSTR male.RSTR only
 Oli, Oli will go on the side of males only.’

ṅà...ṅà... ṅà... ín-í [Ø ké ṅàṅà nà
 Nga...Nga...Nga 3sg.PN.SP-NRSTR [Ø QUOT like.this CCN
 ké-sén-ì ín-á [Ø màg-á]_{NP} k-èlì
 1SBJV-say-PL.IRR 3sg.PN.SP-NRSTR [Ø male-RSTR PASS-call.PERV
 ké ṅà, ṅà]_{RC} níṅè
 QUOT Nga, Nga] not.present
 ‘Nga, Nga, Nga which is called like this, “Nga” and of a male that we call
 like this (this way) does not exist;

(2.10) (2:27:2-2:31:2)

ín-á [Ø ɲàh-á]_{RC} sòŋ
 3sg.PN.SP-NRSTR [Ø male-RSTR] only
 that is of a female only.'

á ɲàɲà ín-á [Ø màg-á]_{RC}
 COP.3.IMPERV like.this 3sg.PN.SP-NRSTR [Ø male-RSTR]
 á òlé tò mò n
 COP.3.IMPERV òlé ten
 'Just like this, that of a male are ten Oli.'

Text III: 'There was no death'

Brief description —In order to keep the high quality of texts included in this grammar from various text genres, the texts referring to oral stories, cultural and ritual practices have been recorded by anthropologists who researched the Mursi society for many years. Thus the text glossed and translated below is adopted from David Turton's (mursi.org), a web source run by Oxford University within the Oxford Department of International Development.

(3.1) àggè bè sá bò kíŋjɲ mù nì
 1pl DIST.PAST first long.ago Mursi.SG
 kú-súd-íné-ò, nà rès-ε níŋè
 1SU-shed-AP-1pl.EXC.SU.PERV and die.IMPERV-NOMZ not.present
 'A long time ago we (inc.) Mursi shed our skins, and there was no death.'

(3.2) nà rès-è àggè b[ɓ]ásá-j, nà ɲàméá
 CCN die.IMPERV-NOMZ 1pl monitor.lizard-SG CCN now
 àggè búh-à-j b[ɓ]ásá-Ø bòi
 1pl curse-NOMZ-GEN monitor.lizard-NOM COMPLETIVE
 'Death was brought to us by the monitor lizard, so now we have been cursed by the monitor lizard.'

(3.3) nà súd-é-á [Ø]_{RC} áín-Ø-é kònù
 CCN shed-NOMZ-RSTR [Ø] give.PERV.SG-3.IRR-APPL:RES snake.SG
 'And the shedding of skin (that was ours), he gave to the snake.'

ɲàméá súd-Ø-é kònù, nà àggè
 now shed-3sg.SU.IMPERV-APPL snake.SG CCN 1pl
 gér-í-á
 terrible.STV-ADJ-NOMZ
 'So now the snake sheds its skin, and we die!'

- (3.7) k-èr mùnì-ó, k-èr mùnì-o”
 3.SBJV-die.PERV Mursi-NOM 3.SBJV-die.PERV Mursi-NOM
 The Mursi will die, the Mursi will die.”
- “eeeh! čol-o-ni!” nà méá basa-j
 yes sing-2/3.IRR-RS CCN now monitor.lizard-SG
 čóll-ón-i sé-á ké
 sing-MT-2/3.IRR say-3sg.SU.PERV QUOT
 “Okay then, sing!” So then when the monitor lizard sang, he said this,
- “Mùnì èr-Ø-é kònù súd-Ø-é
 Mursi die.PERV-3sg.IRR -APPL:RES snake shed-3.IRR-APPL
 “Mùnì èr-Ø-é kònù súd-Ø-é
 Mursi die.PERV-3sg.IRR -APPL:RES snake shed-3.IRR-APPL
 “The Mursi dies, the snake sheds its skin. The Mursi dies, the snake sheds its skin.”
- (3.8) nà méá kònù súd-Ø-é, nà àggè mùnì
 CCN now snake shed-3.IRR-APPL:RES CCN 1pl Mursi
 k-èr-é-á
 1SU-die.PERV-MA-1pl.INC.SU.PERV
 ‘So now the snake sheds its skin, and we (inc.) Mursi die.’
- nà méá rès-é áíw-ò-sè
 CCN now die.IMPERV-NOMZ come.PERV.SG-2/3.IRR-BEN.3
 bá dóg!
 earth forever
 ‘And this is how death came to earth forever!’

Text IV: About the Mursi —how the Mursi crossed to Omo River

Brief description: As described in the introduction section of this grammar, there is not much known about their present day's territory, yet they still claim that their territory was vast and used to start from *Mákkí* (the Mursi's main village, until now) and stretches right across the Maji plateau in the west to the Bako range in the east (See Map 1). Likewise, the territorial claim of the Mursi is a historical narration of migration that comes from the Mursi's ancestors and apparently is a story to be told for generations to come, a story very similar to ‘Crossing the Red Sea’ or ‘the Exodus’, led by Moses. At the center of all their stories, there was a strong man called *Kuwulokoro*, who enabled them (the Mursi people) to cross the Omo River and settle at their present land. Therefore the story below is about this brave man. In addition, in this story, we will

find a complete list of Mursi number words plus names of some edible fruits that grow in Mursiland.

Narrator (informant): Arsiregge Gomonyokawulo (40+, Male)
Place of recording: South Omo Research Center, Jinka Town, Ethiopia
Year of recording: 12 August 2017
Length of the record: 9min.33sec.
Text code: MH (Mursi History)

(4.1) (MH 0:06:6-0:17:6)

àggè mùn 6á-á [Ø bè n=àw]_{RC} [hùlli
 1pl mursi.PL place [Ø DIST.PAST SG.PSD=1pl.EXC.PSR when/if
 kó-hójn-ó=jè]_{SUBORD:CL} kó-hójn-ó
 1SU-come.IMPERV-1pl.EXC.SU=SUBORD 1SU-come.IMPERV-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV
 mà tùnò nà k-án-ó zùg-tí [Ø
 water on.top.of CCN 1SU-COP.IMPERV-1pl.EXC.SU people-NRSTR [Ø
 k-èli ké bó]ú]_{RC}
 PASS-call.PERV QUOT Boshu]

‘We (exc.) the Mursi, (from the very beginning), when we (exc.) came from our place, we came on the upper part of a river and we are the people from the place called Boshu.’

nà k-ów[g]-ónó mà tán-ò
 CCN 1SU-go.IMPERV-MT.1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV water side-OBL
 tíí nà kó-hójn-Ø nà [hùlli
 DUR CCN 1SU-come.IMPERV-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV CCN when/if
 ké-hé-ó kó-dóg-Ø-é
 1SU-go.IMPERV-1pl.EXC.SU 1SU-tread.on.IMPERV-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV-COM
 bá ké dól=ηà]_{SUBORD:CL}
 place QUOT Dól=DEF

‘And we (inc.) kept going on the other side of the river and we (inc.) tread on (walked on) the land called the Dól. when we (inc.) come we will then arrive at a place called Dól.’

(4.2) (MH 0:23:5)

mà díné-ó-ni [ηà=mà=á [Ø bè
 water full-3.IRR-RS DEM=water=NEAR [Ø DIST.PAST
 kó-hójn-čó tùnò=ηà]_{RC}]_{SUBORD:CL} jòg
 1SU-come.IMPERV.pl-COM.1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV up.hill=DEF 3pl
 héj-Ø čúg-Ø kárané nà mà díné-ó
 go.IMPERV.PL-3.IRR chase-3.IRR down stream CCN water full-3.IRR
 ηà=kàlkèn=ná kóđ-ó-é òrì
 DEM=day.center=NEAR 1SU.take.out-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV-APPL:RES where?

‘The river is full. The river that we (inc.) were coming along with, they go to the top and then run to downward. And at that time the river is full, we (exc.) go to where?’

(4.3) (MH 0:31:2)

kócf-ónó [bà-ì ké dírká nà
 1SU.take.out-MT.1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV place-LOC QUOT Dirka CCN
 [k-ów-ónó ñàñà=ñà]SUBORD:CL dírr
 1SU-go-MT.1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV like.this=DEF DUR/long.time
 nà [hùlli té [bá-á éré-í=nè]NP]SUBORD:CL
 CCN when/if COP.3.PERV place-RSTR cross-NOMZ=SUBORD
 k-érés-ó bòi k-èli
 1SU-cross.IMPERV-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV COMPLET PASS-call.PERV
 ké dól
 QUOT Dól

‘At that time the place where we (inc.) were heading was for a place called Dirka. As we (exc.) kept going like this for a long time and when we (exc.) came to the crossing place, we (exc.) crossed a place called Dól.’

nà [hùlli k-érés-án-ó bá ké
 CCN when 1SU-cross.IMPERV-MT-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV place QUOT
 dól=ñà]SUBORD:CL mà díné-ó-ni
 dól=DEF water full-3.IRR-RS
 ‘When we (exc.) crossed the place called Dól, the river was full.’

(4.4) (MH 0:38:2)

hírí bè k-èli ké káwúlókòrò á
 person DIST.PAST PASS-call.PERV QUOT Kawulokoro COP.3.IMPERV
 hírí b́ararí kén-Ø wárr káwúlókòrò
 person powerful break.PERV-3sg.IRR Omo.river Kawulokoro
 káwúlókòrò kécf-ú wárr-ni
 Kawulokoro cut.3sg.SU.IMPERV Omo.river-LOC

ór-Ø bèr
 see/aim.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV spear

‘There was a man called Kuwulokro. Kawulokoro was a powerful man who can make the Omo River stop. Kawulokoro, Kawulokoro cut the Omo River, he threw a spear.’

(4.4) (MH 0:44:4)

nà [hùlli ór-Ø bèr ñàñà]SUBORD:CL mà
 CCN when/if throw-3sg.SU.IMPERV spear like.this/this.way water
 kén-né-Ø tásá! mà gè-á hój
 cut.PERV-RECIP-3sg.IRR apart water PL.PN-RSTR go.IMPERV.PL
 kárané ìggè-á [Ø héj tùnò]RC [bì-ò-á
 down.stream 3PL.PN.SP-RSTR [Ø go.IMPERV.PL on.top.of] cow-PL-RSTR
 g=àw]NP mùn-ùñ]NP
 PL.PSD=1PL.EXC.PSR Mursi.PL-GEN

And when he threw (Literally, ‘when he sees/aim’) the spear this way, the water (river) is cut apart, those go down and the others go on the top. The cattle of the Mursi,...

(4.5) (MH 0:50:5)

sára ké mùni kí-čít-ésé-ó mà-ni
 name PNC mursi.SG 1SU-overfill-BEN/DAT-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV water-LOC
 k-éred-á-ó kídò ñà=tána=á
 1SU-cross.perv-MT-1pl.EXC.SU.PERV river DEM=river.side=NEAR
 [hùlli k-érés-án-ó=ñà]SUBORD:CL kó tèn-è]
 when/if 1SU-cross.IMPERV-MT-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV=DEF CCN goat.PL-OBL
 kó bì-ò-i kó mèdèrni
 PNC cow-PL-OBL PNC sheep.PL

‘With the Mursi name, we (exc.) overfilled into the water and we (exc.) crossed to the other side of the river. We (exc.) cross with goats, cattle, and sheep.’

(4.6) (MH 0:56:0)

kó-hón-ó zùw-á [Ø bè
 1SU-come.IMPERV.PL-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV people-RSTR [Ø DIST.PAST
 g=àw kó-dót-ó
 PL.SP=1PL.EXC.PSR 1SU-leave-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV

tán-ò]RC ñàméá k-èli ké bófú
 river side-OBL] now PASS-call.PERV QUOT Boshu

‘We (exc.) came. ‘The people who were ours (exc.) and abandoned (them) on the other side are now called Boshu (‘eldest son’).’ (MH 0:56:0)

(4.7) (MH 1:03:0)

iggè-á [Ø bè kó-hón-ó
 3pl.PN.SP-RSTR [Ø DIST.PAST 1SU-come.IMPERV.PL-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV
 ñà=tána=á]RC ñàméá k-èli+i ké mùn-ni
 DEM=river.side=NEAR now PASS-call.PERV-1pl.OBJ PNC Mursi-RS
 [hùlli ñàméá [zùw-á g=àw]NP bófú
 [when/if now people-RSTR PL.PSD=1PL.EXC.PSR Boshu
 bùnù]SUBORD:CL [hùlli číg-é=jè]SUBORD:CL
 there when/if laugh.IMPERV-3pl.SU.IMPERV=SUBORD
 sèn-é ké ‘‘hee hee... woinanoje...bófójè’’
 say.IMPERV-3pl.SU.IMPERV QUOT hee! hee!... woynanoye...boshoye
 sèn-é ñàjà
 say.IMPERV-3pl.SU.IMPERV like.this

‘ Those who we (exc.) (have) come from this side of the river are now called (with/by the name of) Mursi. When now our (exc.) people, the Boshu there, when they laugh, they say ‘‘Hee hee! woynanoye boshoye’’, they say it like this.’

(4.8) (MH 1:10:7)

[zùw-á g=àw]_{NP} [Ø bè gén bè
 people-RSTR PL.PSD=1PL.EXC.PSR [Ø DIST.PAST other DIST.PAST
 kó-dǔt-ó mà tùnò ìggè-á
 1SU-leave-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV water on.top 3pl.PN.SP-RSTR
 [Ø bè kó-hój-ó
 [Ø DISTANT.PAST 1SU-come.IMPERV.PL-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV
 ò=táná=á kó-dǔ-Ø dól nà
 DEM=river.side=NEAR 1SU-leave-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV Dól CCN
 kó-hój-ó ò=táná=á]_{RC} òmèá
 1SU-come.IMPERV.PL-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV DEM=river.side=NEAR now
 k-èlè ké mún-ni
 PASS-call.PERV QUOT Mursi.PL-RS

‘Our (exc.) other people (who) we (exc.) left at the top of the water (river); those who we (inc.) crossed Dól and came to the other side of the river, we are now called “Mursi (pl.)!”.’

(4.9) (MH 1:18:0)

nà [hùlli k-èli ké mún=ò]_{SUBORD:CL} híri
 CCN when/if PASS-call.PERV QUOT mursi=DEF man
 n=àw bǎrǎri k-èlè ké káwúlókòrò
 SG.PSD=1PL.EXC.PSR powerful PASS-call.PERV QUOT Kawulokoro
 éf-é ín-á [Ø bè kén-Ø
 exist.PERV-3.IRR 3sg.PN.SP-RSTR [Ø DIST.PAST cut.PERV-3sg.IRR
 wǎr=ò] k-án-ó [zùg-tí
 River.omo=DEF 1SU-COP.IMPERV-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV people-NRSTR
 bǎrǎri]_{NP} àggè háŋ!
 powerful 1pl INTENS

‘And when we (exc.) are called the Mursi, there was our (exc.) man who can make the Omo river stop called Kawulokoro. We (exc.) are very powerful people.’

[hùlli híri ór-Ø bèr=nà]_{SUBORD:CL} kén-Ø
 when/if man spear-3SG.IRR spear=DEF cut.PERV-3sg.IRR
 mà héj-Ø tásá nà mà ìggè-á
 water go.IMPERV.PL-3.IRR apart CCN water 3pl.PN.SP-RSTR
 kárané ìggè-á héj-Ø tùnò á
 down 3pl.PN.SP-RSTR go.IMPERV.PL-3PL.IRR on.top COP.3.IMPERV
 [zùg-tí bǎrǎri]_{NP}
 people-NRSTR powerful+NRSTR

‘When the man threw the spear, he cut the water, and it separates. And some water goes down and some water goes to the upper part. They are powerful people.’

(4.10) (MH 1:23:2)

méá [ána bè kó-hój-ó
now ANA:REF DIST.PAST 1SU-come.IMPERV.PL-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV
nà ñáméá k-èlè ké mún nà méá
CCN now PASS-call.PERV QUOT Mursi.PL CCN now
k-él-ó bà-i=ña
1SU-exist.IMPERV.PL-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV place-LOC=DEF
'It was this way that we came and are now are able to be called the Mursi. And
now we (exc.) live at this place.'

(4.11) (MH 1:29:0)

[hùlli kó-hój-ó=ña]SUBORD:CL [gótó-ńá
when/if 1SU-come.IMPERV.PL-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV=DEF culture-PL
g=àw]NP kó-hó-čá-ó
PL.PSD=1PL.EXC.PSR 1SU-come-APPL-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV
ña=gótó=á-ni
DEM=culture=NEAR-RS
'When we (exc.) came, we (exc.) brought (came with) our cultures too.'

(4.12) (MH 1:41:5)

k-èlè ké čąńá čąń čąń úfúl-Ø
PASS-call.PERV QUOT Changa Chang Chany fart-3sg.SU.IMPERV
kè-sè-ńè čąńálá-j, đńà-j, tèri, róri,
PASS-say.PERV-PASS.3 Changalay-SG Dhonga-SG Teri-SG, Rori.SG
bàri, káru-j ñáméá té [gótó-ńá g=àw]NP
Bari.SG Karu-SG now COP.3.IMPERV culture-PL PL.PSD=1PL.EXC.PSR
bè kó-hój-ó
DIST.PAST 1SU-come.IMPERV.PL-APPL.1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV
'(there is one) called Changa (also "Rúmúnój"), Chang Chang he farts,,
'Changalay, Dhongay, Teriy, Rori, Bari, Karuy. Now these became our (exc.)
cultures after we (exc.) brought (them).'

(4.13) (MH 1:48:7)

čúg-Ø bá ké bófú nà k-éref-áj-o
chase-3.IRR place QUOT Boshu CCN 1SU-cross-MT-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV
kídó ñá=tána=á [gótó-ńá g=àw]NP
river DEM=river.side=NEAR culture-PL PL.PSD=1PL.EXC.PSR
'It is chased to a place known as Boshu, and we (exc.) crossed to the other side
of the river with our (exc.) cultures.'

(4.16) (MH 2:21:3)

ʃíl-Ø ɲáà dǒg nà nòŋ ʃíl-Ø=ɲà
 stand-3sg.SU.IMPERV here forever CCN 3sg stand-3sg.SU.IMPERV=DEF
 nà hàlì [rònó bɛ̀lɛ̀] [hùllì
 CCN later in.future morning when/if
 ká-báns-ána=jè]SUBORD:CL dǎà bàrì
 1SU-get.up-MT.1pl.INC.SU=SUBORD truly/MIRR yesterday
 ísíkán-Ø-é kárané ɲà=b=ùnù
 approach-3sg.SU.IMPERV-APPL down DEM=place=FAR

It stands here forever, and it stands and the next morning, when we (inc.) wake up, it has submerged down there already! (from its position yesterday).'

(4.17) (MH 2:26:3)

[hùllì káwúlókòrò ór-Ø bɛ̀r=ɲà]SUBORD:CL
 when/if Kawulokoro see.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV spear=SUBORD
 nòŋ ɲè-Ø-é kárané-ni
 3sg run-3sg.SU.IMPERV-APPL down-RS

'When Kawulok Oro throws the spear, so it is able to go down there.'

(4.18) (MH 2:31:2)

[hùllì ɲè-Ø kárané=ɲà]SUBORD:CL mà
 when/if run-3sg.SU.IMPERV down=DEF] water
 kén-Ø-é tásá ɲáà-jè jòg mà
 cut/separate-3sg.SU.IMPERV-APPL apart here-OBL 3pl water

ìggèà hój kárané mà àggèà
 3pl.PN.SP go.IMPERV.PL down water 3pl.PN.SP
 hój tùnò
 go.IMPERV.PL on.top

'When it goes down, the water separates here; this water goes down whereas the other water goes up.'

(4.19) (2:37:6)

méá kó-hój-Ø-ná k-èlè ké
 now 1SU-come.IMPERV.PL-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV-SEQ PASS-call.PERV QUOT
 mùn dǒg=ɲà [zùw-à g=àj]NP [Ø bɛ̀
 Mursi.PL forever=DEF people-RSTR PL.PSD=1PL.INC.PSR [Ø DIST.PAST
 dót-ínén-á]RC ɲàméá k-èlè ké bóʃú
 leave-AP-3pl.SU.PERV] now PASS-call.PERV QUOT Boshu
 àggi=nù él tùn-ò=ɲà
 3pl.PN.SP=FAR exist.IMPER.PL up.hill-OBL=DEF

'So now we (inc.) came and are able to be called 'Mursi (pl.)' forever. Our (inc.) people who remain now are called 'Boshu'. They live on the upper part.'

(4.20) MH 2:43:0)

á [zùg-tí b́aŕarí]_{NP} àggè ñaméá
 COP.3.IMPERV people-NRSTR powerful.STV.ADJ 1pl now
 m̀n=ñà k-án-Ø b́aŕarí ñà=ki=tà
 Mursi.PL=DEF 1SU-COP-1pl.INC.IMPERV powerful DEM=thing=NEAR
 bè nòñ hékó dùrùmèj ñàñà nòñ
 DIST.PAST 3sg similar stump like.this 3sg
 kój-Ø ké kìò=ñà
 go.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV PNC wood.SG=DEF
 ‘They are powerful (context: spiritually) people. We now are the Mursi. Since we are powerful (people), that wood just resembles a stump, and it goes to be ‘the wood’ (Lit. ‘it has spirit on it’).’

(4.21) (MH 2:47:7)

nòñ mà ñà=ám=ó-ni nòñ á
 3sg water NEG.IMPERV=eat-3sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG-RS 3sg COP.3.IMPERV
 bè nà nòñ á bè-tí [Ø] bè
 stone CCN 3sg COP.3.IMPERV stone-NRSTR [Ø] DIST.PAST
 ñó-sèn
 fall-MA.3sg.SU.IMPERV
 ‘Water does not eat it. It is stone. And it is a stone which couldn't fall away.’

(4.22) (MH 2:53:9)

[ñà=hír=ùnù ké káwúlókòrò=ñà á hírí
 DEM=man=FAR QUOT Kawulokoro=DEF COP.3.IMPERV man
 n=àj] á máñú-i-ni [á
 SG.PSD=1PL.INC.PSR COP.3.IMPERV Mangu-SG-RS COP.3.IMPERV
 máñú-i=ñà k-èli ke máñú=ñà]_{SUBORD:CL} á
 Mangu-SG=DEF PASS-call.PERV QUOT Mangu=DEF COP.3.IMPERV
 kómórú á kómórtéséní á ñà=hír=á-ni
 Komoru COP.3.IMPERV priestly.clan.PL COP.3.IMPERV DEM=man=NEAR-RS
 ñaméá tò-jè ké-sé-Ø ké
 now in-OBL 1SU-say-1pl.INC.IMPERV QUOT
 ‘The man called ‘the Kawulokoro’ is a man of ours’ is a Mangu! When called the Mangu, they are priests, they are priestly clans. It is this man today, we (inc.) are saying.’

(4.23) (MH 2:58:6)

Káwúlókòrò káwúlókòrò kén-Ø wárr kén-Ø
 Kawulokoro Kawulokoro cut.3sg.SU.IMPERV Omo.river cut.3sg.SU.IMPERV
 wárr kén-Ø wárr=ñà á
 omo.river separate-3sg.SU.PERV omo.river=DEF COP.3.IMPERV
 ñà=hír=á-ni ñaméá ká ñà=zùg=tà
 DEM=man=NEAR-RS now UNCERT DEM=people=NEAR
 k-án-Ø ñà=zug=tà ké m̀n=ñà
 1SU-COP-1pl.INC.IMPERV DEM=man=NEAR-RS QUOT mursi.PL=DEF
 ‘‘Kawulokoro, Kawulokoro cut Omo River; he cut the Omo River; he cut the Omo River’’. This man now is from these people. We (inc.) are the Mursi people.’

(4.24) (MH 3:07:6)

á hírí bárári bè ló[r]ná-ni-Ø
 COP.3.IMPERV man powerful DIST.PAST carry.on.shoulder-1pl.OBJ-3.IRR
 bóǵó-jè ɲà=tán=à méá bè á
 Boshó-OBL DEM=river.side=NEAR now DIST.PAST COP.3.IMPERV
 bè á kíò [hùlli ké-té kíò
 STONE COP.3.IMPERV wood.sg when/if 3.SBJV-be.PERV tree
 nòɲ gára=sò nòɲ ɲáméá
 3sg disappear.3sg.SU.PERV=EMPH 3sg now
 ɲà=ḅ=ùnù=ɲà]SUBORD:CL
 DEM=place=FAR=DEF

‘He was a powerful man; he carried us all (on his shoulders) from Boshó and made us cross now to this side of the river. It is a stone; it is a piece of wood. If it was wood, it would then disappear or it would have been down there now.’

(4.25) (MH 3:14:4)

ɲáméá ɲà=ḅ=ùnù=ɲà [hùlli
 now DEM=place=FAR=DEF when/if
 ké-hé-Ø=jè]SUBORD:CL kíńáɲ-á [Ø
 1SU-go.IMPERV.PL-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV=SUBORD crocodile-RSTR [Ø
 n=ènè]RC úńús-Ø-ó ɲà=ḅ=ùnù
 SG.PSD=3SG.PSR sleep-3sg.SU.IMPERV-VFS DEM=place=FAR
 k-èlè ké dòl dòl bè dǵnéj mún-ùɲà
 PASS-call.PERV QUOT Dòl Dòl DIST.PAST one Mursi.PL-GEN+DEF
 ‘Now when we (inc.) go to that place, a crocodile that sleeps (context: at the wood’s place). That place is called Dòl Dòl; it was the same as that of the Mursi (context: the same direction the Mursi once transited through it to occupy their current territory.)

(4.26) (MH 3:18:6)

kíńáɲí [hùlli ké-hé-Ø=jè]SUBORD:CL
 crocodile when/if 1SU-go.IMPERV.PL-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV=SUBORD
 nòɲ í-Ø ɲàɲà-ni nà àǵǵè [hùlli
 3sg exist.IMPERV-3sg.SU.imperv like.this-RS CCN 1pl when/if
 ké-héj-Ø nà kó-dǵg-Ø
 1SU-go.IMPERV.PL-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV CCN 1SU-tread.on-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV
 mà=ɲà]SUBORD:CL nòɲ í-Ø bì-ò
 water=DEF 3sg exist.IMPERV-3sg.SU.IMPERV cow-PL
 ɲà=ám-Ø=ó
 NEG.IMPERV=eat-3sg.SU.IMPERV=NEG

‘The crocodile, when we (inc.) go, he lives (there) that way! And when we (inc.) go and tread on the water, it is there. It does not eat cows.’

(4.27) (MH 3:24:1)

mùni ñà=ḃág-Ø=tó ñà=kínáñ=nùnù=ñà
 Mursi.SG NEG.IMPERV=eat-3sg.SU=NEG DEM=crocodile=FAR=DEF
 ñà=bè=tùnù [bè gíná] kúúj
 DEM=stone=FAR DIST.PAST ANA:REF PASS.bring.PERV.PASS.3.SU
 k-ójk=è] SUBORD:CL dùrùmè=ñà bè
 PASS-open.PERV.PASS.3.SU=SUBORD stump=DEF DIST.PAST
 ḃóḃ-ó ké kínáñá
 turn.into-3.IRR 3.SBJV.be.PERV crocodile

‘It does not eat Mursi. The crocodile, when that stone issue is brought and opened, the stump (that stood in the middle of the river) turned into a crocodile.’

(4.28) (MH 3:30:3)

ñàméá í-Ø ñà=ḃ=ùnù ké dól=ñà dǒg
 now exist-3sg.SU.IMPERV DEM=place=FAR PNC Dól=DE forever
 ná [hùlli zùwò ké-hé-Ø=jè] SUBORD:CL
 CCN whe/if people 1SU-go.IMPERV.PL-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV=SUBORD
 ñàméá [hùlli sé k-áú-t=è] SUBORD:CL
 now when/if say.3.AUX 1.SBJV-rest.PERV-PL=SUBORD
 zùw-á [Ø kó kómórté] RC
 people-RSTR [Ø PNC Komorte

‘Now it lives at that place called the Dól, forever. And when the people we (inc.) go, now if we (inc.) want to rest —people who were from the Komorte (clan),

(4.29) (MH 3:37:6)

kòḃḃ-à kómórté bè kòḃḃ-à májú
 PASS.write-PASS.3.SU Komorte DIST.PAST PASS.write-PASS.3.SU Mangu
 [hùlli ké-hé-Ø=jè]
 when/if 1SU-go.IMPERV.PL-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV=SUBORD

‘(or) named as Komorte, were named the Mangu. When we (inc.) come,’

k-íní-Ø bì kú-čúr-ó
 1SU-kill-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV cow 1SU-wash-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV
 k-íní-Ø bì k-íní-Ø mèdèrè
 1SU-kill-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV cow 1SU-kill-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV sheep
 ‘we (inc.) slaughter cows, we (inc.) wash, we (inc.) slaughter sheep,

ké-mé-Ø ñàñà á [bá-á
 1SU-do-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV like.this COP.3.IMPERV place-RSTR
 n=áj-ni nà àggè ḃòì
 SG.PSD=1PL.INC.PSR-RS CCN 1pl simply/COMPLETIVE
 kó-hój-Ø=è] SUBORD:CL ḃókónó níjè
 1SU-COME.IMPERV.PL-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV=SUBORD somewhere not.present
 ‘We (inc.) do like this. It is our (inc.) place/country. We (exc.) all came not from somewhere (else).’

kómórú á gérbálá kómórú á nèŋ
 leader COP.3.IMPERV Garbhala leader COP.3.IMPERV who?
 kómórú á gúnálémú=ŋà jòg á sú
 leader COM.3.IMPERV Gunulemu=DEF 3pl COP.3.IMPERV Aari
 á [sú-á tán-ò-j]_{NP}
 COP.3.IMPERV Aari-RSTR side-OBL-GEN
 ‘The leader is Gerbhala. Another leader is who? The leader is Gunulemu. They are the Aari’ of that side of the river.’

(4.33) (MH 4: 10:7)

nà [hùlli àggè mùn ké-héj-Ø
 CCN when/if 1pl Mursi.PL 1SU-go.IMPERV.PL-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV
 ŋàŋà ná ŋàméá ké-héj-Ø
 like.this CCN now 1SU-go.IMPERV.PL-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV
 ná k-ódz-ónó ŋàŋà ŋà=hír=á
 CCN 1SU-put-MT.1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV like.this DEM=person=NEAR
 ké bímé-j=ŋà
 QUOT Bime-GEN=DEF
 ‘and when we (inc.)the Mursi (pl.) travelled like this, and now we (inc.) travelled and we (inc.) put out toward this way. The man called the Bime (Nyangatom)’

(4.34) (MH 4:15:4)

kó ŋà=hírí=nù k-èlè ké túmúrí=ŋà
 PNC DEM=person=FAR PASS.call.PERV QUOT Tumuri=DEF
 á dǔnáj [bè bòi n=èj=è]_{SUBORD:CL}
 COP.3.IMPERV one DIST.PAST all SG.PSD=3PL.PSR=SUBORD
 sé á sú-ò-j
 say.3.AUX COP.3.IMPERV hand-OBL-GEN
 ‘and that man called the Tumuri are one. In old times, they are from of the Aari.’

(4.35) (MH 4:24:5)

nà [hùlli kén-é=ŋà]_{SUBORD:CL} [hùlli hóŋ-ná
 CCN when/if break-3pl.SU.IMPERV=DEF when come.IMPERV.PL-SEQ
 dóg-é bá wárr-ò=ŋà]_{SUBORD:CL} nòŋ hír-á
 tread.on-3pl.SU.IMPERV place Omo.River-OBL=DEF 3sg person-RSTR
 [Ø k-èlì ké bímé-ì=ŋà]_{RC} nòŋ bák-ú
 [Ø PASS-call.PERV QUOT Bime-SG=DEF] 3sg eat-3sg.SU.PERV
 kíŋáj húŋ-ni
 crocodile simply-RS
 ‘and when they crossed (context: crossing the Omo River), when they came and tread on a place at the Omo River, he, the man who is called the Bime ate a crocodile!’

(4.36) (MH 4:30:6)

hìh! nà ìnè kínáj húj bák-ú kè òj kó
 INTERJ! CCN 2sg crocodile simply eat-3sg.SU.PERV why? PNC
 básáj bák-ú kè òj dǎg-áj-Ø
 monitor.lizard eat-3sg.SU.PERV why? hit-1sg.OBJ-3sg.SU.IMPERV
 hózò-j aj! ìnè óg ñà=tán=ùn-ì
 hanger-NOM INTERJ/oh.no 2sg go.PERV.IMP DEM=side=FAR-LOC
 “‘Hih!’ why did you (sg.) eat a crocodile? Also you (sg.) ate a monitor lizard
 why? Don’t say, ‘Hunger hit me?! Aj! you (sg.) go to the other side!’”

nà ìnè kóh wárr=nà ìnè bág
 CCN 2sg farm.PERV.IMP Omo.River=DEF 2sg eat.PERV.IMP
 ñà=gál=ùnù gèrèj-à
 DEM=thing.PL=FAR bad-NOMZ
 and farm at the Omo River! Eat (sg.) those bad things!’

ín-á [Ø kó túmúrí=ñà nòj áíw-ón-á
 3sg.PN.SP-RSTR [Ø PNC Tumuri=DEF 3sg come-MT-3sg.SU.PERV
 kób-ú mára
 follow-3sg.SU.PERV Mara (river.name)
 ‘He who is with the Tumuri, he came and and settled ar Mara.’

(4.37) (MH 4:36:8)

ók-ú tún-ó-ni á súí-á
 go-3sg.SU.PERV river.bed-OBL-RS COP.3.IMPERV Aari.SG-RSTR
 ólkúí-ní ñàméá sé ké k-án-í
 Olku.SG-LOC now say.3.AUX QUOT 1SU-COP.IMPERV-1sg.SU.IMPERV
 [hír-á gínbír=i=ñà]_{NP}
 person-RSTR Gimbir-GEN=DEF
 ‘He (the Bime) went to the top of the riverbed; he is Aari of the Olku, now
 when he says, “I am the Gimbir person”.’

(4.38) (MH 4:47:4)

gínbír k-èli álí-Ø nòj áná kún-Ø
 Genbir PASS.called.PERV say-3sg.IRR 3sg ANA:REF come-3sg.SU.IMPERV
 nà kójj-Ø ké túmúrí=ñà
 CCN 3.SBJV.go-3.IRR 3.SBJV.BE.PERV Tumuri=DEF
 ‘When it is said Gimbir, he says (“Gimbir”), he (the same) came and went to
 become the Tumuri.’

nòŋ [hùlli kój-Ø ké tùmúrí=ŋà]SUBORD:CL àhì-á
 3sg when/if 3.SBJV.go-3.IRR QUOT Tumuri=DEF thing.SG-RSTR
 [Ø wà dóm-à láléŋ ké gèrs-á
 [Ø REC.PAST insult-NOMZ emotion COMPL bad.STV-RSTR
 bák-é-á] nòŋ wóó mà tò-jè k-èli-ò ké
 eat-3.IRR-RSTR] 3sg or river in-OBL PASS.call.PERV-PL? QUOT
 kíńáŋ kó básáj kó [àhà-í tíítí]NP
 crocodile PNC monior.lizard PNC thing.PL-NRSTR small:REDUP.PL
 ‘He, whon it is said be Turmuri, the thing who slammed him saying he (Bime)
 ate bad things from the river, called a crocodile, monitor lizard, and
 small things.’

(4.39) (MH 4:53:7)

nòŋ [ín-á hùll-á kún-o nà
 3sg 3sg.PN.SP-RSTR when-NOMZ come.IMPERV-VSF CCN
 ków-á táná tún=è=ŋà]RC nòŋ
 follow-3sg.SU.PERV river.side on.top=SUBORD=DEF 3sg
 bák-ú hírí húŋ
 eat-3sg.SU.PERV man simply
 ‘He, the one who while at that time came following the upper part of the river,
 he also ate a man!’

ìŋè hír-á [Ø [bòrtò gíná] dóm-áŋ-í
 2sg person-RTSR [Ø days.ago ANA:REF insult-1sg.OBJ-2sg.SU.PERV
 ké gèrs-ì]RC ìŋè bák-ú hírí [hùlli
 COMPL/QUOT bad.STV-ADJ] 2sg eat-2/3sg.SU.PERV man when
 rès-è]SUBORD:CL ìŋè bák-ú áćúg kè òŋ
 die-NOMZ+SUBORD 2sg eat-2/3sg.SU.PERV flesh why?
 ŋókt-é-Ø-ni
 fight.PERV-RECIP-3.IRR-RS
 ‘You (sg.) are the person who in the past used to insult me saying, ‘bad’; you
 (sg.) ate dead humans; you (sg.) ate flesh; why? Then they fought each other.’

(4.40) (MH 5:03:0)

aj! ìŋè bák-ú hírí áćúg=ŋà ìŋè
 INTERJ 2sg eat-2/3sg.SU.PERV man flesh=DEF 2sg
 tésé=ŋà dǒg-ni ìnú kó bímé=ŋà
 separate.PERV.IMP=DEF forever-RS 3sg.PN.SP PNC Bime=DEF
 nòŋ tésé-Ø
 3sg separate-3sg.SU.IMPERV
 ‘Since you (sg.) ate human flesh, you (sg.) will be separate forever! He and
 the Bime, he separated.’

ηὰ=β=ùnù dóg ηὰμέά βά-ά [Ø kó-tón-á
 DEM=place=FAR never now place-RTSR [Ø 1SU-sleep.PERV-1sg.SU.PERV
 bè gàj]RC ηὰμέά bíméj βág-Ø kíηán=ηὰ
 dist.past bush now Bime eat-3sg.SU.IMPERV crocodile=DEF
 ‘‘Never ever (came) to the place (there) that I used to sleep in the bush’’. Now
 Bime eats crocodile;’

(4.41) (MH 5:10:0)

eej kánáj bát-ò eej gùfèni ám-nò
 INTERJ monkey eat-3.IRR INTERJ Guereza eat-3sg.IRR
 básáj ám-nò kén-Ø-ni ηért-é
 monitor.lizard eat-3.IRR cut.down-3.IRR-RS separate.PERV.PL-APPL:RES
 ‘Oh he eats monkey, Oh Guereza, he eats monitor lizard; due to this they
 Broke up.’

(4.42) (MH 5:19:0)

[hùll-á ηέρn-íné-á=ηὰ]SUBORD:CL zùw-á [Ø
 when-RSTR separate-RECIP-3pl.SU.PERV=DEF people-RSTR [Ø
 bè dónén-á]RC
 DIST.PAST one-RSTR]
 jòg tón-nè húj té míró kón
 3pl break.up.PERV-RECIP.3 simply COP.3.PERV enemy one.INDEF
 té bàlágára-já
 COP.3.PERV enemy/foe-PL
 ‘While they were they were separate, they were one people. They separated
 from one another, and became enemies of their own (people); they became
 foes.’

ηὰμέά [číg-ín-á n=èj]NP [hùlli
 now laugh-N.S-RTSR SG.PSD=3PL.PSR when/if
 číg-é=jè]SUBORD:CL jòg sén-é ké
 laugh.IMPERV-3pl.SU.IMPERV=SUBORD 3pl say-3pl.SU.IMPERV QUOT
 hee hee číg-ín jòg á dónéj
 INTERJ INTERJ laugh-N.S 3pl COP.3.IMPERV one
 ‘Now for their laugh, when they laugh, they say, ‘‘Hee! Hee! (laugh)’’. (Their)
 laugh is one.’

(4.43) (MH 5:32:4)

ηὰμέά [kómóru-á bímé-j]NP té [kómóru-á túmúr-uj]NP
 now leader-RSTR Bime-GEN COP.3.PERV leader-RSTR Tumur-GEN
 [hùlli bè hóp bòi-ne=jè] á
 when/if DIST.PAST come.IMPERV.PL all-??=SUBORD COP.3.IMPERV
 dónéj í-Ø ηàηà
 one to.be-3sg.SU.IMPERV like.that
 ‘Now there is a leader of Bime, and there is a leader of Tumuri. While they
 came, they were one. It is like this.’

(4.44) (MH 5:50:9)

í-Ø bè àggè bè ñà=lòg=tùnù=ñà
 to.be-3sg.SU.IMPERV DIST.PAST 1pl DIST.PAST DEM=issue=FAR=DEF
 ká jòg bè mès-ò dàdà-ù bè
 maybe 3pl DIST.PAST do-3pl.IRR father.PERT.1.PSR-NOM DIST.PAST
 kíjɲ bè
 long.ago DIST.PAST

‘It is (said) to be the case that maybe our fathers used to do it in ancient times.’

nà hùlli kóná=ñà [jòg [kònè
 CCN when/if grandfather.PERT.1.PSR=DEF 3pl grandfather.PERT.SG.3.PSR
 n=èj]NP bì-ò zùw-á [Ø ké hámár]RC dǎg-Ø
 SG.PSD=3PL.PSR cow-PL people-RSTR [Ø QUOT Hamar] hit-3pl.IRR
 hózo-j hój íw-án-é [bì-ò-á
 hunger-NOM come.IMPERV.PL take-MT-3pl.SU.IMPERV cow-PL-RSTR
 mùn-ùj]NP nà héj-é húj
 Mursi-GEN CCN go.IMPERV.PL-3pl.SU.IMPERV simply

‘And when our grandfather, their grandfather, cows, the people called ‘Hamar were hit by hunger’ came, they took the cows of the Mursi and went (away).’

(4.45) (MH 6:00:2)

[hùlli íw-áná [bì-ò-á g=ànù]NP
 when/if take-MT.3sg.SU.IMPERV cow-PL-RSTR PL.PSD=1SG.PSR
 hámá-rí-ó kóó-é=ñà]SUBORD:CL ànè [é-ró-á
 Hamar.SG-NOM 3.SBJV.go-APPL=DEF 1sg children-RSTR
 g=ànù]NP ám-é òj áná-ni nòj [túré
 PL.PSD=1PL.PSR eat-3pl.SU.IMPERV what? ANA:REF-RS 3sg rifle
 rók-ú húj] [túré rók-ú húj] [túré
 fire-3sg.SU.PERV simply rifle fire-3sg.SU.PERV simply rifle
 rók-ú húj]
 make.noise-3sg.SU.PERV simply

‘If he takes my cattle, if Hamar takes then, what will my children eat? Due to this he started firing a gun...he fired and fired...’

(4.46) (MH 6:09:5)

hí-r-á [Ø ké ké bímé-j nòj dǎà bá
 man-RSTR [Ø 3.SBJV.be.PERV QUOT Bime-NOM 3sg truly/MIRR
 húj-ni nòj áiw-ó nà íw-á [bì-ò-á
 simply-RS 3sg come.PERV.SG-MT CCN take-3sg.SU.PERV cow-PL-RSTR
 mùn-ùj]NP húj
 Mursi-GEN simply

‘A man that became Bime in his place, came and just took the cattle of Mursi.’

nòŋ bímé-j kó tùmúrí jòg á dǒnéj háŋ
 3sg Bime-SG PNC Tumuri 3pl COP.3.IMPERV one INTENS
 ‘He who is Bime and Tumuri, they are one.’

(4.47) (MH 6:14:9)

[nòŋ kén-Ø-é=jè]_{SUBORD:CL} tùmúrí dǎà bá húŋ
 3sg stub-3sg.SU.IMPERV-APPL=SUBORD Tumuri truly/MIRR place simply
 fùànéŋ íw-á bì-ò àg-á bág-á
 again take-3sg.SU.PERV cow-PL cook-3sg.SU.PERV eat-3sg.SU.PERV
 bòi juuu!
 all INTERJ
 ‘He stubbed the Tumuri in turn! Again he just took cattle, cooked and ate them all. Juuu!’

(4.48) (MH 6:22:2)

ŋà=zùg=tà á dǒnéj=è á hózò-ni
 DEM=people=NEAR COP.3.IMPERV one=EMPH COP.3.IMPERV hunger-RS
 [hùlli méá hój-ná íw-án-é
 when/if now come.IMPERV.PL-SEQ take-MT-3pl.SU.IMPERV
 [àh-á zùw-òŋ]_{NP} mát-áná àhà-ná
 thing-RSTR people-GEN drink-MT.3sg.SU.PERV thing.PL-RSTR
 g=àj]_{NP} zùw-á [Ø bè ká-tál-á]_{RC}
 PL.PSD=1PL.INC.PSR people-RSTR [Ø DIST.PAST 3.SBJV-buy-3pl.SU.PERV]
 ‘They are one people in the first place. It is (because of) hunger when they now come and take away the things of our (inc.) people; drink our (inc.) things; the things people had bought...’

(4.49) (MH 6:27:8)

[méá ñàméá ñà=bérgú=à=ñà] [nòŋ bíméj] nòŋ
 now (today) DEM=year=NEAR=DEF 3sg Bime.SG 3sg
 hír-á [Ø táníj-té]_{RC} té bíméj sòŋ
 man-RSTR [Ø difficult.STV.ADJ-NRSTR] COP.3.PERV Bime.SG only
 nòŋ tùmúrí ñàméá nòŋ tésé [bá-á n=ènè]_{NP}
 3sg Tururi now 3sg sit.PERV.APPL place-rSTR SG.PSD=3SG.PSR
 lài húŋ
 silent simply
 ‘Nowaday more than ever, he the Bime is a person who became difficult (is) only Bime. Tumuri has now sat down in his place, just silently.’

(4.50) (MH 6:38:1)

bíméj kó tùmúrí jòg ʃìg-ìnè tùg-í
 Bime PNC Tumuri 3pl listen-RECIP.3 mouth-PL
 ʒànjè áná ʃìgt-é-á tùg-í-ná
 however ANA:REF listen.PERV-RECIP-3pl.SU.PERV mouth-PL-
 ké-té [zùw-á dǒnén-á]_{NP} nà jòg
 3.SBJV-COP.3.PERV people-RSTR one-RSTR CCN 3pl
 ká-ták-t-é
 3.SBJV-know-PL.PERV-APPL:RES

‘Bime and Tumuri, they understand one another’s language. However, since they understand each other’s language they became one people and know each other.’

(4.51) (MH 6:53:2)

ʒànjè nòŋ bímé ók-ú ké tóŋ-Ø-é
 however 3sg Bime go-3sg.SU.PERV COMPL/PNC stab.PERV-3.IRR-APPL
 bà-ì-ni mùni tód-ú húŋ] [tùmúrí
 place-LOC-RS Mursi.SG stab.PERV-3sg.SU.PERV simply tumuri
 tód-ú húŋ] [hámárí bá tód-ú
 stab.PERV-3sg.SU.PERV simply Hamar place stab.PERV-3sg.SU.PERV
 húŋ] [kéràj tód-ú húŋ] [ŋídíní
 simply Keray stab.PERV-3sg.SU.PERV simply Ngidi
 tód-ú húŋ]
 stab.PERV-3sg.SU.PERV simply

‘However, he, Bime was stabbing the Mursi; he stabs the Tumuri; he stabs the Hamar; he stabs Keray; he stabs Ngidi.’

bíméj nòŋ ók-ú ké toŋkaj¹⁰⁸ méá nòŋ ók-ú
 Bime 3sg go-3sg.SU.PERV COMPL sorcerer now 3sg go-3sg.SU.PERV
 ké hírí ódénéí-ni nòŋ té-í [bá-á [tán-á
 COMPL man strong.ADJ-RS 3sg COP.3.PERV-SG place-RSTR side-RSTR
 sú'dán-ùŋ]_{NP} ná nòŋ té hírí ódénéí ʒà=bà=nù
 Sudan-GEN CCN 3sg COP.3.PERV man strong.ADJ DEM=place=FAR
 ‘Bime went to become a sorcerer. Now, he went to be a strong man, and on the other side of Sudan, he is a strong man there.’

(4.52) (MH 6:55:9)

kó tùmúrá ʒàni ʒà=gán-é=ó á
 pnc Tumura PERG.PERV NEG=know-3pl.SU.IMPERV=NEG COP.3.IMPERV
 ʒàŋà
 like.this

‘They don’t agree with Tumura. It is like this.’

¹⁰⁸ A loan word from Amharic, *tənk* ^way.

(4.53) (MH 7:09:9)

àggè [kèn-á g=àw] ká-bág-ó
 1pl tree.PL-RSTR PL.PSD=1PL.EXC.PSR 1SU-eat-1pl.EXC.SU.PERV
 àggè-ù mùn-ù [bá-á n=àw]_{NP} mùn-ù]_{NP}
 1pl-NOM Mursi-NOM place-RSTR SG.PSD=1PL.EXC.PSR Mursi-GEN
 [kì-á n=àw]_{NP} ká-bág-ó kì-á
 tree.SG-RTSR SG.PSD=1PL.EXC.PSR 1SU-eat-1pl.EXC.SU.PERV tree-RSTR
 [Ø k-èlè ké gúmúnój]_{RC} [ké lúru=jè]¹⁰⁹
 [Ø PASS-call.PERV QUOT Gumunyoy] [PNC/PREP second.harvest-OBL
 ígís-ò bùrá á gòlòṅ-ì
 ripe-3.IRR fruit.PL COP.3.IMPERV red.STV-ADJ
 ‘Our (exc.) trees that we (exc.) the Mursi eat in our (exc.) country of Mursi.
 Our (exc.) tree which we (exc.) eat is a tree called the Gumunyoy. At second
 harvest time, it ripens/gives red fruits.’

(4.54) (MH 7:17:2)

nà [hùlli gúmúnój sé ká-gár-Ø=ṅà]_{SUBORD:CL}
 CCN when/if Gumunyoy say.3.AUX 3.SBJV-disappear.PERV-3.IRR=DEF
 móizój ígís-ò bùrá á gòlòṅ-ì çùànéṅ
 Moyzoy ripe-3.IRR fruit.PL COP.3.IMPERV red.STV-ADJ again
 té bóṅ-à ràman kì-tí [Ø ké gàwi]_{RC}
 COP.3.PERV reach-NOMZ two tree-NRSTR [Ø QUOT Gawi]
 íhé-ni
 exist.IMPERV.SG-RS
 ‘And when Gumunyoy is about to dissappear, Moyzo starts ripening red fruits.
 Again, it became ripe a second time. There is a tree which is called Gawi.’

(4.55) (MH 7:28:2)

ígís-ò k-ám-nó bóṅ-à á
 ripe-3.IRR 1SU-eat.IMPERV-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV reach-NOMZ COP.3.IMPERV
 sízzí kì-tí [Ø k-èlè ké àṅùj]_{RC}
 three tree-NRSTR [Ø PASS-call.PERV QUOT Anyuy
 110 íhé-ni ígís-ò k-ám-nó
 exist.IMPERV.SG-RS ripe-3.IRR 1SU-eat.IMPERV-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV
 bóṅ-á á wùf kì-tí [Ø k-èlè ké
 reach-NOMZ COP.3.IMPERV four tree-NRSTR [Ø PASS-call.PERV QUOT
 dómógí]_{RC} íhé
 Domogi exist.IMPERV.SG
 ‘It ripens; we (exc.) eat. It is a third reaching. There is a tree which is called
 Anyuy. It ripens; we (exc.) eat. It is a fourth reaching/time. There is a tree which
 is called Domogi.’

¹⁰⁹ Period of the second sorghum harvest (it is *luguru* in Chai).

¹¹⁰ *Doum palm* (*Hyphaene thebaica*).

(4.56) (MH 7:35:6)

égís-ò ká-bát-ó bón-à á
 háánán
 ripe-3.IRR 1SU-eat-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV reach-NOMZ COP.3.IMPERV five
 kì-tí [Ø k-èlì ké ràgàj]_{NP}¹¹¹ íhé
 tree-NRSTR [Ø PASS-call.PERV QUOT Ragay] exist.IMPERV.SG
 égís-ò ká-bát-ó bón-à á íllé
 ripe-3.IRR 1SU-eat-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV reach-NOMZ COP.3.IMPERV six
 ‘It ripens; we (exc.) eat. It is a fifth time. There is a tree which is called Ragay.
 It ripens; we (exc.) eat. It is a sixth time.’

(4.57) (MH 7:44:7)

kèn-á [Ø ká-bág-á mún-ù háŋ
 tree.PL-RSTR [Ø 1SU-eat-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV Mursi.PL-NOM INTENS
 bímé-j bát-ò, túmúrí bát-ò, káfáj
 Bime-SG eat-3sg.IRR Tumuri.SG eat-3sg.IRR Kasha.SG
 bát-ò, mùnì bát-ò jòg ñà=kèn=ùnù ñàméá
 eat-3sg.IRR Mursi.sg eat-3sg.IRR 3pl DEM=tree.PL=FAR now
 kó íllé=ñà
 PNC six=DEF
 ‘All the trees that the Mursi (pl.) eat; Bime eats, Tumuri eats, Kashay eats,
 Mursi eats; these are the six trees I mentioned earlier.’

(4.58) (MH 7:50:0)

jòg [zùwò bág-é dákákán kó ìggè=jè]_{SUBORD:CL}
 3pl [people eat-3pl.su.IMPERV all PNC 3pl.PN.SP=SUBORD
 kùčùmbà¹¹² [hùllì ár-í=jè]_{SUBORD:CL} ám-ò-ò
 Amhara.PL if see.PERV-3pl.IRR=SUBORD eat-3.IRR-VFS
 á kèn-í çáll-ì bòi
 COP.3.IMPERV tree.PL-NRSTR good.STV-ADJ all
 ‘They, all people eat including those, the Amhara. If they see (them), they eat.
 These are very sweet trees.’

(4.59) (MH 7:59:8)

á kèn-í [Ø ñàméá ká-bág-Ø]
 COP.3.IMPERV tree.PL-RTSR [Ø now 1SU-eat-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV
 àggè-ù=jè]_{SUBORD:CL/RC} á ñàá íllé kèn-á [Ø
 1pl-NOM=SUBORD COP.3.IMPERV here six tree.PL-RSTR [Ø
 k-ám-á háŋ]_{RC} á íllé
 1SU-eat-1pl.INC.SU.PERV INTENS] COP.3.IMPERV six
 ‘These are trees that we (inc.) now eat. There are six here. The trees that we
 (inc.) all eat. There are six.’

¹¹¹ Tamarindus indica L. It is used to treat stomachaches, a concentrated preparation of fruit of the *ragaj* fruit mixed with water and drunk.

¹¹² The term may also be used to refer to people who are believed to be from highland areas of the country.

ñànjè kÌ-tí [Ø k-èlè ké gègíj]_{RC}
 however tree-NRSTR [Ø PASS-call.PERV QUOT Gegiy]
 íhé-ni [hùlli égís-Ø=è]_{SUBORD:CL} òùrà
 exist.IMPERV.SG-RS whe/if be.ripe-3sg.SU.IMPERV=SUBORD fruit.PL
 á régéj ká-bág-Ø jó
 COP.3.IMPERV pink.STV.ADJ 1SU-eat-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV sweet
 wáñ kú-čú nà ká-mát-o
 INTENS 3.SBJV-suck.PERV CCN 3.SBJV-drink-3.IRR
 ‘There is also a tree, which is called Gegiy. When its ripens fruits, it is pink. We (inc.) eat; it is very sweet. It can be juiced and drank.’

(4.60) (MH 8:07:9)

á issàbàj kèn-á [Ø ká-bág-á
 COP.3.IMPERV seven tree.PL-RSTR [Ø 1SU-eat-1pl.INC.SU.PERV
 mùn-ù]_{RC} kÌ-tí [Ø k-èli ké ðèrèj]
 Mursi.PL-NOM] tree-NRSTR [Ø PASS-call.PERV QUOT Dherey]
 íhé
 exist.IMPERV.SG
 ‘These are seven trees that we (inc.) the Mursi eat. There is a tree called Dhegey.’

(4.61) (MH 8:16:2)

[hùlli k-ídó-Ø=jè]_{SUBORD:CL} á ísòñ
 when/if 1SU-add-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV=SUBORD COP.3.IMPERV how.many
 íssé kèn-á [Ø ká-bág-á mùn-ù
 eight tree.PL-RSTR [Ø 1SU-eat-1pl.INC.SU.PERV Mursi.PL-NOM
 àggì=nù kÌ-tí [Ø ké górsàj]_{RC} íhé
 3p.PN.SP=FAR tree-NRSTR [Ø QUOT Gorsay] exist.IMPERV.SG
 òùrà á òilèi [ígís-Ø=e]_{SUBORD:CL}
 fruit.PL COP.3.IMPERV yellow be.ripe-3sg.SU.IMPERV=SUBORD
 ‘When we (inc.) add, how many? Eight. Those are trees that we (inc.) the Mursi eat’ There is a tree which is called Gorsay. Its fruit is yellow when it ripens.’

(4.62) (MH 8:24:6)

hùll-à ñàméá ñà=kì=tà kó mángói=ñà]_{SUBORD:CL}
 when-NOMZ now DEM=tree=NEAR PNC Mango=DEF
 k-ám ñàñà-ni
 PASS-eat.PERV like.this-RS
 ‘There is now a Mango-like tree. It is eaten like this.’

(4.63) (MH 8:34:4)

kènò á isòṅ? sàkkàl kèn-á [Ø]
 tree.PL COP.3.IMPERV how.many nine tree.pl-RSTR [Ø]
 ká-ḃág-á mùn-ù]RC á sàkkàl
 1SU-eat-1pl.INC.SU.PERV Mursi.PL-NOM] COP.3.IMPERV nine
 kóná kÌ-tí [Ø k-èlè ké kébúrkóì]RC
 another tree.SG-NRSTR [Ø PASS-call.PERV QUOT Keburkoy]
 ‘How many trees? Nine. Trees that we (inc.) the Mursi eat are nine. Another
 One is a tree which is called Keburkoy.’

[hùllì égìs-Ø=jè]SUBORD:CL òrà á
 when/if be.ripe-3sg.SU.IMPERV=SUBORD fruit.PL COP.3.IMPERV
 gídāṅ-ì kà-ḃàt-ò-ni
 brown.STV-ADJ PASS-eat-PASS.3SU-RS
 ‘When it ripens, it has a brown colour. It is eaten.’

(4.64) (MH 8:39:6)

ká-ḃá-Ø dā̀ài [kó dà̀dà=jè]SUBORD:CL
 1SU-eat-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV all PNC father.PERT.SG.1.PSR=SUBORD
 [kó mà̀mà=jè]SUBORD:CL [kó é̀ro=jè]SUBORD:CL jòg
 PNC mother.PERT.SG.1.PSR=SUBORD PNC children=SUBORD 3pl
 ká-ḃá-Ø dǎ̀kákán hí̀rí má̀rí nèṅ
 3.SBJV-eat-3.IRR all person refuse-3sg.SU.IMPERV who?
 [hùllì k-ídó-Ø=jè]SUBORD:CL kènó á
 when/if 1SU-add-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV=SUBORD tree.PL COP.3.IMPERV
 isòṅ?
 how.many?
 ‘We (inc.) all eat it, my father, my mother, the children, they all eat it. What
 man could refuse it? When we (inc.), add them (up), how many trees are there?’

(4.65) (MH 8:49:9)

tómón kóná á kÌ-tí [Ø ké lòmáj]RC¹¹³
 ten another COP.3.IMPERV tree.SG-NRSTR [Ø QUOT Lomay
 ká-ḃág-áná ò̀ì kò-ḃò̀bò̀s-áná
 1SU-eat-MT.1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV COMPLETIVE PASS-suck-MT.PASS.3.SU
 nòṅ kánáj bát-ò à̀ggè mù̀nì k-ám-nó
 3sg monkey eat-3.IRR 1pl Mursi.SG 1SU-eat-1pl.EXC.SU.IMPERV
 hí̀rí má̀rí-Ø níṅè ká-ḃá-Ø
 person refuse-3sg.SU.IMPERV not.present 1SU-eat-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV
 dǎ̀kákán
 all
 ‘Ten. Another one is a tree, which is called Lomay. We (inc.) eat it or it is
 sucked. Monkeys eat it. We Mursi (exc.) eat it. There is no person who refuses
 it. We (inc.) all eat it.’

¹¹³ *Ximenia americana* --The small, yellow-orange succulent fruits are edible. The oil from the fruit kernel is applied to flesh wounds to prevent infections, and it is also used by girls who have their ears or lips pierced, for preparing cattle and goatskins for clothing, and in women’s medicine (as a contraceptive).

[hùllì k-ídǒ-Ø=jè]_{SUBORD:CL} té ísòṅ
 when/if 1SU-add-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV=SUBORD COP.3.PERV how.many?
 tòmòn.. kó tòmòn kó dǒnéj?
 ten.. PNC ten PNC one?
 ‘When we (inc.) added (them up), it became how many? Ten or eleven?’

(4.70) (MH 9:32:8)

bóri nòṅ kì-tí [Ø bórí]_{RC} nòṅ á kì-á
 Bori 3sg tree.SG-NRSTR [Ø Bori] 3sg COP.3.IMPERV tree-RSTR
 [Ø k-àm-à ṣṣṣ [hùllì k-ídǒ-Ø=jè]_{SUBORD:CL}
 [Ø PASS-eat.PASS.3.SU INTERJ when/if 1SU-add-1pl.INC.SU.IMPERV=SUBORD
 á tòmòn kó ràmàn
 COP.3.IMPERV ten PNC two
 ‘Bori, it is a tree known as Bori. It is a tree, which is eaten/edible. Okay! When
 we (inc.) add them, there are twelve.’

kóná á bórí tòmòn kó ràmàn kóná
 another COP.3.IMPERV Bori ten PNC two another
 sèrtój tòmòn kó sízzí
 Sertoy ten PNC three
 ‘Another is Bori. Twelve. Another is Sertoy. Thirteen.’