



*Research article*

## The pragmatic marker *'áda* in Kambaata (Cushitic)

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### ABSTRACT

This study investigates the morphological makeup, syntactic features and pragmatic functions of *'áda*, a pragmatic marker (PM) in Kambaata (Cushitic). The data were drawn from a corpus of two hours of recorded, transcribed and annotated spontaneous speech. The pragmatic marker is a freestanding word. As a particle, it does not take any affixes except another pragmatically determined suffix *-be*, which is used for negating one's own or an interlocutor's intention. The PM appears before or after a simple sentence and a complement clause. It may also come after the matrix clause, which follows the complement clause. An interrogative sentence preceded by the PM changes into a rhetorical one. With a cleft sentence, the PM occurs either preceding or following the first focused (copula) clause. In all cases, it is separated with a pause from the rest of the words and phrases in the syntactic structure. Thus, it is an unintegrated extra-sentential unit. The historical origin and the potential source from which the particle was grammaticalized could not be determined. Its functions include signaling repair, surprise, apology, noticing and turn yielding. In some contexts, more than one of the preceding functions can overlap.

**KEY WORDS:** apology, cleft, Kambaata, noticing, repair, surprise, turn yielding



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## 1. Introduction

Kambaata, a Highland East Cushitic language of Ethiopia, has several particles that are used for organizing what one says or writes. TREIS (2008a: 220-229; 2023: 202) identifies several pragmatic markers that are yet to be explored. The markers come in two forms: as freestanding particles and pragmatically determined suffixes. Among the freestanding particles are 'áda 'I just realized', 'áchche 'I feel sad and...' and 'éman 'Congratulations for...' The pragmatically determined suffixes are -n 'it is up to...', -'nnu 'I confirm' and -be 'I disagree'. Formally, they are hosted by syntactic elements, but functionally, they are extra-sentential. Each of the freestanding and pragmatically determined suffixal markers has several meanings, depending on context.

Freestanding pragmatic particles cannot be subsumed under any word class of the language. Firstly, they are non-inflecting (unlike, for instance, (pro)nouns, verbs and adjectives) and, secondly, they do not share any characteristics of such morphologically invariant elements like ideophones and interjections.

Pragmatically determined suffixes are different from derivational affixes and syntactically relevant inflectional affixes. Adding or omitting them does not distort the grammatical acceptability of a sentence.

Of the freestanding particles, which serve as pragmatic markers, this article focuses on 'áda 'I just realized'. It describes the morphological characteristics, possible occurrence positions, and functions of the particle. Syntactically and pragmatically, the particle resembles what are known as "parentheticals" in cross-linguistic studies. Although they add information to some extent, parentheticals are disjunct elements and, as such, syntactically, semantically and prosodically separated from the environment of the clause they are in (GRENOBLE 2004: 1954; KALTENBÖCK et al. 2011: 851). The term pragmatic marker is utilized here in reference to linguistic elements that signal a change in cognitive state, perform discourse management tasks, and express speaker feelings.

Apart from the introduction, the article comprises six sections. Sections two and three outline the methodology employed in the article and a review of previous studies about the pragmatic marker, 'áda, respectively. Section four describes the morphological characteristics of the PM and those related to it. Section five deals with the occurrence of the PM in utterances. The functions of the PM are discussed in section six. Finally, section seven draws conclusions.

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### **1. Methodology**

Investigation of the PM 'áda is based on a corpus of two hours of recorded spontaneous speech. The corpus consists of 22 Kambaata interactions among family members, friends, and relatives. It also comprises sociolinguistic interviews focusing on work experience, traditional food preparation and ethnographic information collected between 2018 and 2020. Altogether, examples were extracted from dialogues involving 52 individuals. The texts were transcribed, morphologically segmented and glossed. The attested tokens of 'áda were examined in a check-test by omitting the particle. The method was employed to validate whether or not the word in question is of the kind that has a syntactic role. The examples in the analyses (sections 5 and 6) are provided with contexts that help to derive pragmatically proper senses.

The data presented in this article are written in the official Kambaata orthography<sup>1</sup> with modification, insertion of pitch-accent and the glottal stop. The orthographic convention of the language, that is, representation of the glottal stop with a geminated nasal ('mm; 'nn) or liquid ('ll; 'rr), as a cluster of three consonants (e.g. 'mm), has been retained.

### **3. Previous studies on 'áda**

The particle 'áda was first identified by TREIS (2008a: 87). Later on, ALEMU (2016), a trilingual dictionary, came up with 'áda itself and two additional related words: 'adáa'na and 'adaa'nnichcháare. Further investigation in relation to the present study has resulted in three more which are related to the first three. They are: 'adaa'nníchcho, 'adaa'nnáare and 'adaa'nnichchóore. Hence, the six items listed below are results of the previous and the present studies.

- |                   |                      |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| a. 'áda           | d. 'adaa'nnáare      |
| b. 'adáa'na       | e. 'adaa'nnichchóore |
| c. 'adaa'nníchcho | f. 'adaa'nnichcháare |

ALEMU (2016), which identified 'áda, 'adáa'na, and 'adaa'nnichcháare, provides inconsistent definitions in three languages: Kambaata, Amharic, and English. On the other hand, TREIS (2008a) categorizes 'áda as an interjection of agreement and translates it as 'I see.' ALEMU (2016) identifies his three entries as *ml* [*mahí*

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<sup>1</sup> Correspondences between the Kambaata orthography and IPA: <b> /b/, <c> /tʃ/, <d> /d/, <f> /f/, <g> /g/, <h> /h/, <j> /dʒ/, <k> /k/, <l> /l/, <m> /m/, <n> /n/, <p> /p/, <q> /kʰ/, <r> /r/, <s> /s/, <t> /t/, <v> /v/, <w> /w/, <x> /tʰ/, <y> /j/, <z> /z/, <sh> /ʃ/, <ch> /tʃ/, <ph> /pʰ/, <zh> /ʒ/, <'> /ʔ/. Vowels are represented both orthographically and in IPA as: /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/.

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*laagáta*], which means 'interjection' (lit. interjection word) and attempts to give each one of them a definition in the three languages as in (1) below.

We quoted the entry words from ALEMU (2016) with some modification by adding the glottal stop <'> and the pitch-accent mark wherever necessary. We also provided the English equivalents of the Kambaata and Amharic words and descriptions.

- (1) a. 'áda
- |          |   |
|----------|---|
| Kambaata | (ml) <b>maalalú caakkissáa laagáta</b><br>[a word expressing surprise]    |
| Amharic  | ለካ [lækka]<br>[I just realized]   |
| English  | so, that (particle indicating surprise, remorse, sorrow, discovery, etc.) |
- b. 'adáa'nna
- |          |   |
|----------|---|
| Kambaata | (ml) <b>maccocceemá xawíi mashkúta dagíi yeennó yanná</b><br>[a question uttered to find out a cause for a particular result] |
| Amharic  | ለካስ (ምክንያትን ለመረዳት) [lakkas miknijatín ləmærrədət]<br>[I just realized (to understand the reason)]                             |
| English  | so, that (particle indicating a reason)   |
- c. 'adaa'nnichháare
- |          |  |
|----------|--|
| Kambaata | (ml) <b>wóna habeemá xawá qaagú kulisanó yanná</b><br>[an expression that indicates recalling something forgotten] |
| Amharic  | ለካስ (ማስተወስን ለመግለፅ) [lakkas mastəwəsin ləməgʷiləs']<br>[I just have realized (to express remembering something)]    |
| English  | so, that (particle indicating a remembrance)   |

(adopted from ALEMU (2016))

Each of the three Kambaata definitions, the English translation of which we have given in square brackets, is distinct. While the definitions of 'áda and 'adaa'nnichháare seem generally acceptable, that of 'adáa'nna, which is translated as [a question uttered to find out the cause for a particular result] does not seem to be plausible. As regards the Amharic translations, they seem to be generally acceptable; but they need to be refined. In the case of the English translations, they are more problematic. In all three cases, 'so', which may have various senses depending on context, is supportable. On the other hand, the sense in which 'that' is provided is not clear. While the additional meanings,

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'surprise' for 'áda and 'indicating a remembrance' for 'adaa'nnichcháare are admissible, associating 'sorrow, discovery, etc.' with 'áda is not permissible.

Concerning translatability, BRINTON (2017: 5) states that words with low propositional meaning, particularly pragmatic markers, are hard to translate into other languages. Even in the same language, a pragmatic marker may have opposite meanings. VIVIEN (2006: 157) provides a good example from Singapore colloquial English where the particle *lah* is described, in one case, as implying friendliness, and, in another case, as having a sense of hostility. Vivien suggests that the disparity arises from "partial picture" of what the particle is. Since occurrences, meanings and functions of pragmatic markers are highly context-dependent, one needs to carefully distinguish which meaning of an utterance is due to the context and which one is inseparably linked to the language elements of the text. Thus, the analysis of pragmatic meaning (contextual meaning) has to be based on data obtained from spontaneous conversations and should not rely on data from elicitation or introspection. The problems associated with the meanings of 'áda in ALEMU (2016) are possibly rooted in the assumptions of the compiler. While the dictionary gives a glimpse of the meanings and functions of 'áda, its morphological characteristics, possible utterance positions, meanings, and functions need to be re-examined.

#### 4. The pragmatic markers related to 'áda

In 'áda and its sisters, pitch accent is realized on the penultimate syllable. For instance, in 'áda, as seen here, the pitch accent falls on the first syllable, 'á-, that is, the syllable which precedes the last one; hence penultimate. Similarly, in 'adaa'nnichchóore, it falls on -chóo-. The same holds for the other related ones. Morphologically, it is apparent that the other five forms are built on 'áda as a stem. In the case of those which embed -chch-, 'adaa'nníchcho, adaa'nnichcháare and 'adaa'nnichchóore, the element -chch- could be historically related to the Kambaata singulative marker. The singulative is marked with -ch/chch, which suffixes on the stems of nouns and words with nominal function (TREIS 2014: 112). Therefore, one could hypothesize that 'áda and the related forms had a nominal origin in the past. However, supporting the hypothesis by providing diachronic evidence does not seem easy, as documenting the language began only recently.

As regards occurrence in the two-hour corpus, 'áda was encountered 10 times while 'adaa'nníchcho appeared once. With respect to the other related ones, data were obtained through semi-structured interviews and introspection. In the corpus, freestanding pragmatic markers, 'áchche 'I feel sad and...' and 'éman

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'Congratulations for...' were found to be more frequent. While 'áda has a frequency of 10, 'áchche and 'éman have 42 and 12 occurrences, respectively.

To our understanding, the only dependent morpheme that can combine with 'áda and the related ones is **-be**. A speaker uses the suffix to negate what oneself or an interlocutor previously uttered. The morpheme can be suffixed to any of those words related to 'áda, with its final vowel lengthened, as seen below.

- (2) a. 'ada-bée  
PM-BE
- b. 'adaa'nna-bée  
PM-BE
- c. 'adaa'nnichcho-bée  
PM-BE
- d. 'adaa'nnaare-bée  
PM-BE
- e. adaa'nnichchaare-bée  
PM-BE
- f. adaa'nnichchoore-bée  
PM-BE  
'What I have just realized is ...'  
(Note: translation is the same for all the variants)

## 5. Occurrence of 'áda in an utterance

The PM 'áda appears with simple sentences, complex sentences with complement clauses, cleft constructions and interrogative sentences. It may also appear with other pragmatic markers. In some contexts, a speaker may replace 'áda by 'án dangimbá'a 'I did not know', or na'óot dangimbá'a 'we did not know'. The subsections below describe and illustrate the occurrence patterns of 'áda. What is described about 'áda is more or less applicable to the other related pragmatic markers.

### 5.1 'Áda and a simple sentence

With a simple sentence, 'áda appears preceding or following the sentence. It is extra-sentential and not integrated into the syntax of the sentence. It is independent and is thus separated with a pause in speech and with a comma in writing. In (3a) below, the PM precedes the sentence, while in (3b) it follows.

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- (3) a. 'Áda, 'ankar-í 'ankar-í  
PM night-M.ACC night-M.LOC  
waal-án dawwol-áyyoo'u  
come-3M.IPFVB.CVB ring-3M.PROG  
'I just realized, he was coming every evening and ringing (the bell)?'
- b. 'Ánkar-í 'ankar-í  
night-M.ACC night-M.LOC  
waal-án dawwol-áyyoo'u, 'áda  
come-3M.IPFVB.CVB ring-3M.PROG PM  
'I just realized, he was coming every evening and ringing (the bell)?'

**5.2 'Áda and a finite complement clause**

In a complex sentence, in which a complement clause is embedded, the PM appears optionally in various slots. Below, in (4a), it is before the complement clause, in (4b), after the complement clause and in (4c), after the matrix clause; that is, after the whole utterance. In the case of (4d), the complement clause, which is preceded by the PM, is further preceded by another PM.

- (4) a. 'Áda, 'ankar-í 'ankar-í  
PM night-M.ACC night-M.LOC  
waal-án dawwol-áyyoo-g-a,  
come-3M.IPFVB.CVB ring-3m.prog.rel-sim-m.acc  
'án dag-im-bá'a  
1SG.nom know-1SG.PFV-NEG  
'I just realized, I did not know that he was coming every evening and ringing (the bell).'
- b. 'Ánkar-í 'ankar-í  
night-M.ACC night-M.LOC  
waal-án dawwol-áyyoo'u,  
come-3M.IPFVB.CVB ring-3M.PROG  
'áda, 'án dag-im-bá'a  
PM 1SG.NOM know-1SG.PFV-NEG  
'I just realized; I did not know that he was coming every evening and ringing (the bell).'
- (lit. 'That he was coming every evening and ringing (the bell), I just realized, I did not know.')

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- c. 'Ánkar-í 'ankar-í waal-án dawwol-áyyoo'u, 'án  
night-M.ACC night-M.LOC come-3M.IPFV.CVB ring-3M.PROG 1SG.NOM  
**dag-im-bá'a,** 'áda  
know-1SG.PFV-NEG PM  
'I did not know that he was coming every evening and ringing (the bell); I just realized.'
- d. Hítt 'ík-k, 'áda, 'ankar-í 'ankar-í  
SIM\_P\_DEM become-3M.PFV.CVB PM night-M.ACC night-M.LOC  
**waal-án dawwol-áyyoo'u, dag-im-bá'a, 'áda**  
come-3M.IPFV.CVB ring-3M.PROG know-1SG.PFV-NEG PM  
**'án dag-im-bá'a,**  
1SG.NOM know-1SG.PFV-NEG  
'Then, I realized, I did not know that he was coming every evening and ringing (the bell).'

In (4a), while 'áda is a pragmatic marker, the part 'ankarí 'ankarí waalán dawwoláyyooga 'that he was coming every evening and ringing' is a complement clause and 'án dagimbá'a 'I did not know' is a matrix clause. The PM, 'áda, can be moved to the middle of the utterance and appear between the complement clause and the matrix clause. That is what is observed in (4b). The movement of the PM does not affect the meaning of the utterance. In the case of (4c), the PM follows the matrix clause; that is, it appears at the end of the whole utterance. The structure in (4d) differs slightly from the rest. It is a case where the utterance in (4a), which is preceded by 'áda, is further preceded by another PM. In Kambaata, as stated in TREIS (2008b: 163), a subordinate clause either precedes or nests in a matrix clause.

**5.3 'Áda and a cleft construction**

A cleft sentence is a complex sentence which contains two clauses, a main clause and a dependent clause. The sense of a cleft sentence is that of a simple sentence. However, structurally, in a cleft sentence, the main (copula) clause is focused. In English, a cleft sentence is structured as: it + be + NP/PP/A/AdvP + subordinate clause. Unlike in English, in Kambaata, the cleft structure is: NP/PP/A/Adv + be + subordinate clause. The 'be' is suffixed to the NP, PP, A or AdvP. As observed by TREIS (2008b: 189), a copula clause precedes a headless relative clause which is background information. The cleft pronoun 'it' is phonetically non-existent in Kambaata.

In a Kambaata cleft construction, 'áda comes either before or after the first (copula) clause. In (5a) below, 'áda precedes the focused copula clause. In other



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words, it precedes the whole cleft sentence while in (5b), it appears after the copula clause.

- (5) a. 'Áda, cíil-a-a                      waal-lóo  
PM      child-PRED-COP2      come-3M.PFV.REL.NMLZ.NOM  
'I just noticed; it is the child who came.'
- b. Cíil-a-a,                      'áda,      waal-lóo  
child-PRED-COP2      PM      come-3M.PFV.REL.NMLZ.NOM  
'I just noticed; it is the child who came.' (lit. 'It is the child, I just noticed, who came.')

Unlike in the typical syntactic sequence in the language (i.e. dependent-independent), the clauses in a cleft sentence switch their positions and occur in the order independent-dependent. The matrix clause 'án dag-im-bá'a 'I did not know', which we have seen in (4), is covert in (5a) and (5b).

**5.4 'Áda and interrogative construction**

In Kambaata, an interrogative yes/no sentence is normally structured by suffixing the question marker **-ndo** to the main verb at the end of a declarative sentence. The next example illustrates this.

- (6) Magán-o      'esaa-háa                      qixxans-íteent-indo  
God-M.VOC      1SG.DAT-ADD      arrange-2SG.PRF-Q  
'God, have you arranged it also for me?'

If the question marker **-ndo** is dropped, the structure would be that of a declarative sentence with the sense 'God, you have arranged it for me.'

If an interrogative sentence is preceded by 'áda, which is, in turn, preceded by background information, and the final verb of the sentence is suffixed with **-o**, that sentence would have a rhetorical interpretation. The following example demonstrates this.

- (7) Hittigoon-áta      xah-aakk-áta,                      'áda,      Magán-o  
SIM\_DEM-f.ACC      issue-PLV-F.ACC      PM      God-M.VOC  
  
'esaa-háa                      qixxans-íteent-indo-o?  
1SG.DAT-ADD      arrange-2SG.PRF-Q-EPISTEMIC  
'God, I just realized, have you arranged such good opportunities for me, too.'

If the background information, 'áda and **-o** are withdrawn, what remains is an ordinary interrogative sentence.

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**5.5 Co-occurrence of 'áda and other pragmatic markers**

In a conversation, 'áda can collocate with two other pragmatic markers; that is, with the freestanding 'éman 'Congratulations for,,,,' and/or the suffixal -be 'I disagree'. In their occurrence, 'éman follows 'áda and takes the additive suffix -fi, and the PM-be, as seen below.

- (8) 'Áda, 'eman-fi-be mar-im-ba'fi  
 PM1 PM2-ADD-PM3 go-1SG.PFV.REL-NEG.NMLZ.NOM  
 'I realize, I was right for not having gone.'

An utterance which involves 'áda suffixed with -be signals a speaker's request for a 'go ahead' after having negated his/her previous utterance. Accordingly, the listener responds with the interjection 'Ā! or 'Ū! implying 'Go ahead'.

For instance, a teacher in a school repeatedly punished a student who was always late. The student's parents blamed the teacher. But, after discovering that the child indeed arrives late to school, the father regretted having misunderstood the teacher. In the assumed conversation below, which concerns the behaviour of their child, the father [F] requests approval from the mother [M] uttering 'Ada-bée. And the mother responds saying 'Ā! Accordingly, the father continues.

- (9) F: 'Ada-bée  
 PM1-PM2  
 'I just realized the truth.'  
 M: 'Ā!  
 INTJ  
 'Go ahead!'  
 F: Nfi-b-aan-eet háww-u yoo'-fi  
 1PL.GEN=PLC-M.LOC-COP3 problem-M.NOM present-3M.PFV.REL.NMLZ.NOM  
 'The problem is with us.'

In the example, by uttering 'Ada-bée the father signals that the problem with the child has become clear to him. Then, the mother reacts with the 'go ahead' signal, 'Ā! Accordingly, the father tells the mother about the uncovered truth concerning the child.

In the above subsections of section five, we have examined the occurrence of the PM 'áda in relation to a simple sentence, a complement clause, a cleft sentence, an interrogative sentence and with other pragmatic markers. In relation to a simple sentence and a complement clause, 'áda occurs before or after each one of them. In a cleft sentence, it comes before or after the copula (focused) clause. In an

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interrogative sentence, it appears before that sentence making it rhetorical. We have not encountered the PM with sentences in the imperative and jussive mood.

#### **6. Functions of 'áda**

In the section above, we discussed structural issues concerning the occurrence of 'áda in utterances. In this section, we will deal with its functions. Among the functions of pragmatic markers encountered in the literature are signaling repair (ENFIELD 2017), apology (LAKOFF 2015), turn-yielding (PANEY 1997), and surprise (GUPTA 1992). In relation to Kambaata, we came across the following signaling functions.

- a) Repair
- b) Surprise
- c) Apology
- d) Noticing
- e) Turn yielding

Repair is a common process of identifying and correcting an error in a conversation. It can be initiated by a speaker or a conversation partner. ENFIELD (2017: 89) states that the process is divided into two phases; the first is initiation and the second is the repair itself, which is resolving the problem.

In a conversation, it is normal that one may come across something surprising and may express one's feeling through a PM of some sort. On the other hand, when an interlocutor feels that he or she has failed to have performed what is proper, he or she may acknowledge that by using a PM with a sense of apology. Similarly, PMs could be employed to mark noticing and turn yielding in a conversation.

Pragmatic markers are context dependent and, depending on the environment, they can be multifunctional (CUENCA and DEGAND 2022: 1). In other words, they can perform more than one function at a time (CRIBLE and CUENCA 2017: 159). Accordingly, in Kambaata, 'áda is multifunctional and it can perform more than one function simultaneously. We shall see this in the subsections below.

#### **6.1 Repair and apology**

Depending on context, the occurrence of 'áda in an utterance may impart two different senses, repair and apology, at the same time. Let us look at the following illustration extracted from the corpus which was a source of data for the present study.

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A teacher named Baqqalachch has a child. She tells the addressee (Temesgen, co-author of this article), what is in (10a). When she went to the house of a bereaved family to comfort them, she told someone to look after her baby. She identifies the caretaker as her maid. Suddenly, she realizes that using the word “maid” was wrong and corrects the error as in (10b) below

- (10) a. **Mát-e**                      **'ilan-ch-í**                      **sarraatanynyi-chch-óon**  
 one-F.ACC                      relative-SGV-M.GEN                      maid-SGV-F.ICP  
**'agún-n**                              **'oroo-nóomm**  
 leave-1PL.PFV.CVB                      go\_away-1PL.PFV  
 'We went away leaving (the baby) with a maid who is (our) relative.'
- b. **Fanqán-n**                              **waan-nán**  
 return-1PL.PFV.CVB                      come-1PL.IPFV.CVB  
**qax-ée**                      **'ā'ā**                      **'ilan-ch-í**  
 extent-F.DAT                      INTJ                      relative-SGV-M.GEN  
**sarraatanynyi-chch-óon-ba'a**                      **'áda**                      **Sabíl-a-at**  
 servant-SGV-F.ICP-NEG                      'ÁDA                      PN-PRED-F.COP3  
 'Until we would come back, oh no, it was not with the maid who is (our) relative; but it was (with) Sabila.'

In (10a), **máte 'ilanchí sarratanynyichcóon** 'with a maid who is (our) relative', is the information that was later corrected. In (10b), the speaker realizes that she has made a communication error and instantly interrupts herself with the cognitive interjection **'ā'ā**. The latter indicates a thought that a miscommunication has occurred which should be corrected. She then negates the word for 'maid'. After a brief pause, she inserts the PM **'áda** as a self-repair and an apology marker. After another brief pause, she utters **Sabílaat** 'it was Sabila'. This is a case where a speaker is involved in the processes of initiation and repair (ENFIELD 2017: 89).

When **'áda**, is brought in to effect repair, it implies noticing and turn yielding simultaneously. To illustrate this, let us consider a situation extracted from the corpus.

A girl named Baayyush tells her friend that an old man recently bought a mobile phone and he was unfamiliar with it. When the phone rang, he pressed a button and responded saying “Hello!”. He continued saying “Hello”. The man’s action confused those nearby. Someone asked him what button he pressed and found out that he pressed the “Cancel” button. What is seen below in (11) is Baayyush’s description of the situation.



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## 7. Conclusions

The character of the Kambaata PM 'áda is in congruence with the assumption in the literature that pragmatic markers are procedural in function and possess low conceptual or referential meaning. The PM is not classifiable to any of the usual word classes and does not take inflectional or derivational affixes except the PM-**be**. As pointed out earlier, the suffixation of the latter signals that the speaker negates what has been said by self or the interlocutor.

Usually, 'áda is used to signal the need for repairing miscommunication. However, it is also used to signal surprise, apology, noticing and turn yielding. At times, it may give more than one of the preceding interpretations, simultaneously.

The PMS which are related to 'áda both in form and meaning, namely 'adáa'nna, 'adaa'nnáare, 'adaa'nníchcho, 'adaa'nnichcháare, and 'adaa'n-nichchóore, need to be further investigated, as indicated earlier. In an utterance, whereas 'áda can replace the rest, the opposite is not possible. There is a subtle difference in meaning between them.

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## *Abbreviations*

1 first person, 2 second person, 3 third person, A adjectival, A\_DEM adjectival demonstrative, ACC accusative, BE pragmatic marker **-be**, COND conditional, COP copula, CVB converb, DAT dative, DEF definiteness, DEM demonstrative, F feminine, FCC finite complement clause, GEN genitive, HON honorific, IMP imperative, INS instrumental, INTJ interjection, IPFV imperfective, LD left-dislocation, LOC locative, M masculine, NEG negation, NMLZ nominalizer, NOM nominative, OBJ object, P pronoun, P\_DEM pronoun demonstrative (demonstrative pronoun), PFV perfective, PL plural, PLV plurative, PM pragmatic marker, PRED predicative, PROG progressive, PN proper noun, REL relative, SG singular, SGV singulative, SIM simulative

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