Chapter 22

Daats'íin, a newly identified undocumented language of western Ethiopia: A preliminary examination

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Daats'íin is a heretofore unknown language spoken in western Ethiopia near the border with the Republic of Sudan. The Daats'íin people live in both Ethiopia and the Republic of Sudan but only those in Ethiopia still speak the Daats'íin language. The speakers of Daats'íin may number around 1,000 but may be as few as 300-500. This paper provides the first-ever overview of basic aspects of Daats'íin phonology, morphology and syntax. The overview documents that Daats'íin is structurally similar to the nearby Gumuz languages (of possible Nilo-Saharan affiliation) in many respects, including vocabulary, bound pronominals with a distinct tone for S versus A arguments, and incorporated nouns. However, there are a few differences, mainly in structure and certain tense-aspect categories of the verb word.

1 Introduction

Daats'íin is the autonym of a people group living in western Ethiopia and the southern part of the Republic of Sudan. The Daats'íin in Sudan have lost their traditional language but those in Ethiopia still speak it. Up until 2013, the language and people group were unknown to researchers and not included in the Ethiopian Census. I traveled to the area in 2014 in order to investigate the language and confirmed that Daats'íin (ISO dtn) is distinct from but closely related to Gumuz (ISO guk). I estimate that the Daats'íin likely number less than 1000 and that their language may be in danger of dying due to their population size and the heavy influence of Arabic and Amharic in the area.

Following is a first ever description and analysis of the Daats'íin language based on a word list of 400+ words,[1] five translated and annotated texts, and forty-four hours of targeted elicitation gathered in Ethiopia during a May-June 2014 field trip. The texts were gathered from Daats'íin adult native speakers of various ages, both male and female from

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[1] These are the first 300 words of the SIL Comparative African Wordlist (Snider & Roberts 2006) plus words gleaned from texts which matched other items on the wordlist. Individual words were also collected for the Leipzig-Jakarta wordlist of the "least borrowable" words (Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009). See Appendix.

the village of Mahadid, Qwara wereda, Amhara Region. The word list and elicitation sessions were conducted with a male native speaker in his late 20's from Mahadid village. In §2 I present the locations of villages where Daats'íin is known to be spoken and give an overview of the similarities and differences between Daats'íin and Gumuz. In §3, I present a brief phonological analysis. In §4 I present the verbal morphology, in §5 describe the reciprocal construction, and in §6 various voice constructions. I then move on to noun morphology in §7 and noun modification in §8. In §9 I present demonstratives and in §10 describe prepositions and spatial relations. Lastly, in §11 I cover syntax. I end the grammatical description with a brief conclusion in §12.

2 Background

2.1 Location

In Ethiopia, the Daats'íin live in small villages within Mahadid K'ebele, northwest of Gelegu (formerly "Tewodros Ketema"), the capital of Qwara wereda, Amhara Region, near the edge of Alatish National Park. The Daats'íin also live in villages of Inashemsh (Emshemis?) K'ebele near Omidla in Guba wereda, Benishangul-Gumuz Region (Figure 1).[2] In Sudan, ethnic Daats'íin live in the villages of Ba'asinda and Gotihayaf.[3]

2.2 Relationship to Gumuz

Daats'íin and the Gumuz languages are very similar and would appear to be dialects of the same language if one merely inspected a wordlist (see Appendix). However, there exist quite a few differences grammatically, many of which explain the reported lack of mutual intelligibility between the languages.[4]

While verb roots in Daats'íin and Gumuz are mostly cognate, the verbal morphology is very different in some respects. For both Daats'íin and the Gumuz languages, verbs are often polysynthetic (1)-(2).[5] Much verbal morphology in these languages is presumed cognate, but certain cognate morphemes appear in different orders on the verb, such as the directional morpheme /-é/[6] (1) and incorporated prepositions like the Dative (DAT) (2).

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[2] The location of Mahadid village is 12º17'56"N, 35º45'48"E. The location of Inashemsh is approximate, based on a description given by a Daats'íin language consultant.

[3] The village names (other than Mahadid) were given to me by a Daats'íin language consultant; I have not visited these locations to confirm whether ethnic Daats'íin live there.

[4] I witnessed Gumuz and Daats'íin neighbors using Arabic or Amharic to communicate with one another. In some cases, the Daats'íin have learned the Gumuz language. However, I know of no instances where a Gumuz has learned to speak Daats'íin. Both groups claim to not understand the other's language unless they have learned it.

[5] All language examples are written phonemically including the predictable epenthetic /a/ (in both Daats'íin and Gumuz), which also carries tone. Examples not written phonemically appear in phonetic brackets [ ].

[6] When the directional /-é/ TWRD occurs on a non-motion verb, it indicates that the speaker went to a location and came back (see also Ahland 2012).
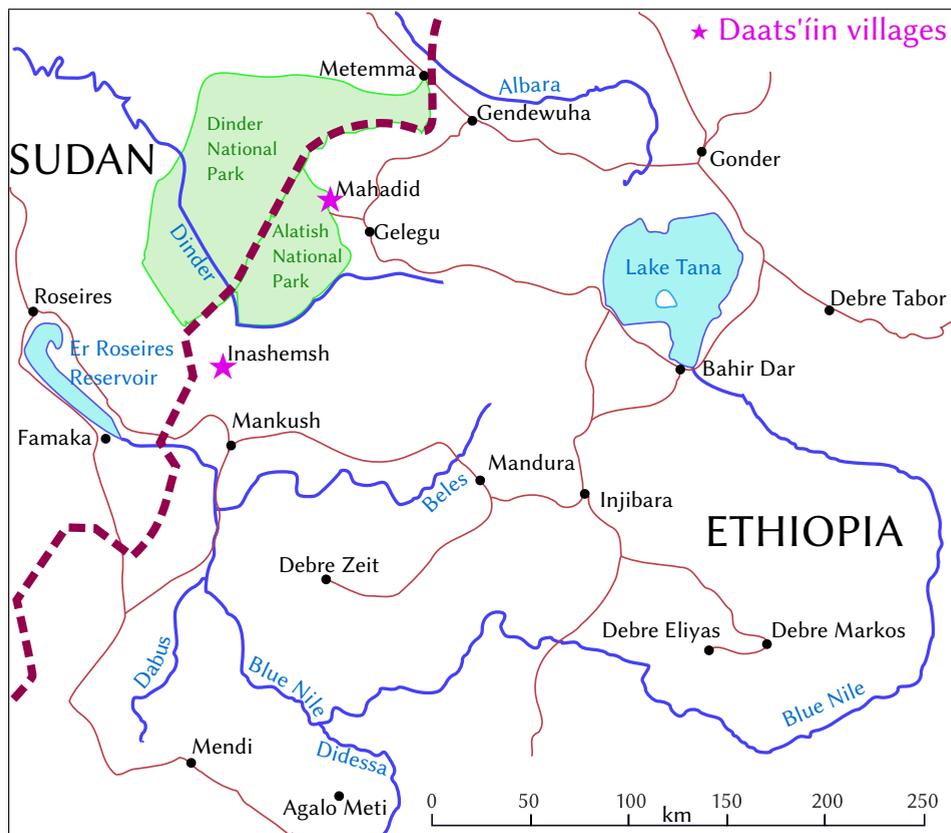
Figure 1: Daats'íin villages in Ethiopia. (Based on a map by SIL.)

(1)   a.   Daats'íin
          ákwá   má-ba-ŋ-gáŋ-gám-ákwa-ts-é.
          1PL.INCL IMP-1PL.INCL.IMP-VR-REDUP-know-1PL.INCL-BODY-TWRD
          'We see each other over there.'

      b.   Southern Gumuz
          ákwa   kâm-a-gam-ágw-é-ts.
          1PL.INCL FUT-RECP-know-1PL.INCL-TWRD-BODY
          'We will see each other over there.'

(2)   a.   Daats'íin
          áljá   ká=járʔám k-ila-ca-ká.
          1PL.EXCL DAT=3SG   AFF-1PL.EXCL.TR-give-DAT
          'We gave to him.'

b. Southern Gumuz

áíla   b-íl-ká-cá-gá   ká=áŋ.

1PL.EXCL AFF-1PL.EXCL.TR-DAT-give-NFUT DAT=3SG

'We gave to him.'

Certain verbal morphemes only exist in Gumuz and not Daats'íin – e.g. the uncertainty prefix, perfect aspect suffix, nonfuture (NFUT) suffix (2b) (Ahland 2012) – and vice versa, i.e. a unique 1PL inclusive prefix *ba-* that co-occurs with the bound pronominal is found only in Daats'íin (1a). In addition, some verbal morphemes in Daats'íin and Gumuz that perform the same function are non-cognate, e.g. the (remote) past tense (/é-/ in Southern Gumuz and /-b/ in Daats'íin) (see §4.4), the affirmative prefix (/k-/ in Daats'íin as in (2a), but /b-/ in Southern Gumuz as in (2b), and /d-/ in Northern Gumuz), and the relativizer (§11). Also, the verbal plural (pluractional) is the result of a morphological process in Daats'íin (§4.7), but is expressed as the prefix /N-/ in the Gumuz languages.

Moreover, the Gumuz languages utilize two verbal templates based on tense: future (1b) versus nonfuture (2b); while the two Daats'íin verbal templates are based on aspect: imperfective (1a) versus perfective (2a). This would no doubt result in miscommunication as the 'future' form in Southern Gumuz (used mainly to express future time events) is similar to and presumed cognate with the 'imperfective' form in Daats'íin (which can be used to express a past event). The future template in Northern Gumuz utilizes a non-cognate future tense morpheme.[7]

Lastly, while verbs are often inflected with bound pronominals in Daats'íin, this inflection is not required. One can simply use the free pronoun without inflecting the verb for person. This is not true for either Northern or Southern Gumuz; verbs must be inflected for person.

Therefore, while Daats'íin and the Gumuz languages are very similar, there are several reasons to categorize these as distinct languages: lack of mutual intelligibility, distinct ethnolinguistic identity, and differing grammatical structures. These languages (Daats'íin, Northen Gumuz, Southern Gumuz) form their own subgroup within Nilo-Saharan or possibly stand as an independent isolate family, as proposed for Gumuz by Dimmendaal (2011). In what follows the discussion will primarily focus on Daats'íin as a hitherto undocumented language, but occasional comparisons with Gumuz will be noted.

3 Phonology

The Daats'íin phonological inventory includes 33 consonants (Table 1), and 5 vowels (Table 2) with some contrast in vowel length. Daats'íin has two tones: H (high) and L (low). In this paper, H tone is indicated with an acute accent mark while L tone is unmarked. Downstepped H tones are marked with ꜜ before the affected tone.

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[7] Northern Gumuz has a less commonly used 'future' form which I presume is cognate to that of Southern Gumuz and Daats'íin. I tentatively label this form *immediate future* (Ahland 2012: 233).

3.1 Consonants

Daats'íin consonants span six places of articulation. Phonetically labialized consonants occur, but unlike for Gumuz these are not phonemic. Also noteworthy is the existence of a phonetic pharyngeal fricative. However, I do not consider it phonemic as the distribution is limited and predictable to some extent. Lastly, the language has both ejective and implosive stops.

Table 1: Daats'íin consonant phonemes

	Labial		Alveolar		Alveo-Palatal	Palatal		Velar		Glottal
Stop	p	b	t	d		c	ɟ	k	g	ʔ
glottalized	p'	ɓ	t'	ɗ		c'		k'		
Affricate			ts		tʃ					
glottalized			ts'		tʃ'					
Fricative	f	(v)	s	z		ʃ	(ʒ)			h
Nasal	m		n					ŋ		
Approximant										
lateral				l						
flap/trill				r						
Semi-vowel	w					j				

The palatal stop allophones [c, c', ɟ] of /c/, /c'/ and /ɟ/ are in free variation with palatalized velar stop allophones [kʲ, k'ʲ, gʲ], respectively. This is similar to Gumuz palatal stops. However, in most Gumuz dialects, the palatal stop pronunciation appears to be preferred over the palatalized velar stop pronunciation; in Daats'íin, the palatalized stop pronunciation seems to be preferred.

Marginal phonemes are in parentheses in Table 1. The consonants /v/ and /ʒ/ have highly limited distributions. The consonant /v/ is only found in one word thus far /vako/ 'bone', but exhibits contrast with similar segments in analogous environments.

(3) v   f   b
     /vako/ 'bone'   /fago/   'be drunk'   /bakaʔííba/ 's/he who had'
                     /k'ófaku/ 'navel'

Likewise, /ʒ/ is only found in the root /ʒiɟ/ 'sleep'. However, there is clear contrast with /z/ before a short /i/. With further data, it may be proven that the /ʒ/ in 'sleep' is simply an allophone of /z/ when the following consonant is palatalized or is a palatal stop. As discussed above, palatalized stops (e.g. [gʲ]) and palatal stops (e.g. [ɟ]) are in free variation.

(4) ʒ   z
    /ʒɨɟ/ 'sleep'   /ázil-k'o/ 'bend down, stoopʿ

The glottal stop /ʔ/ is realized as a voiced pharyngeal fricative [ʕ] following a sonorant and in the environment of the low vowel /a/, as in (5a). If a non-low vowel follows the glottal stop, the latter is realized as a phonetic glottal stop regardless of whether a sonorant precedes (5b). If no sonorant precedes, the glottal stop surfaces as a glottal stop [ʔ], regardless of the surrounding vowels (5c).

(5)   a. [jarʕam] '3SG PRO'
      b. [jarʔii] 'be black'
      c. [baʔás] 'three'

3.2 Vowels

The vowel inventory of Daats'íin (Table 2) could be argued to consist of five vowels but with length contrasts realized by a difference in vowel quality. This is most noticeable with the realization of short /a/ as [ə]. Vowel quality differences are less pronounced (perhaps non-existent) for the mid-vowels /e/ and /o/. Thus, there appears to be no length contrast for the mid-vowels. Contrast between the long [i] and short [ɨ] high front vowels is similar to typical ATR contrasts found in many other African languages: [i] vs. [ɪ].

Table 2: Daats'íin vowel phonemes

i   u

e   o

a

The short round vowel /u/ is optionally realized as a labiovelar approximant followed by a high central vowel: [wɨ]. Table 3 shows posited length contrasts for the high vowels in all environments and between long and short /a/ word-medially. There is no known contrast for long and short /a/ word-initially, and only few examples word-finally. The phonetic realization of what I analyze as length contrasts are given in brackets.

While /o/ does not appear to have a contrast in length with short /o/ being realized as [wə], for example, the vowel often varies with labialization on a previous (back) consonant.

3.3 Tone

Daats'íin has two tones, high (H) and low (L), as represented in the near minimal pairs in (6) and (7). H tone is indicated with a accute mark ´ over the vowel, L tone is unmarked, and a HL sequence on a single vowel is indicated with a haceck ˆ over the vowel. Preliminary analysis suggests that Daats'íin also exhibits downstepped H tones. For example,

Table 3: Posited vowel length contrasts

	Short Vowel			Long Vowel		
/i/	/iˈl-kˈó/	[iɫkˈó]	'head'	/íil/	[íl]	'belly'
/u/	/afútʃˈa/	[afwɨtʃˈa]	'blow'	/fúúna/	[fúnna][a]	'smell'
/a/	/ham/	[həm]	'gall blad-der'	/ahááma/	[aháma]	'yawn'
	/baʃok/	[bəʃok]	'porcupine'	/mbaaʃia/	[m̩baʃija]	'hide (v.ᴛʀ)'

[a] In this particular word, long /uu/ is realized as a short [u] followed by a lengthened nasal.

the final L tone of the HL pattern on intransitive (S)[8] bound pronominals (Table 4 in §4.2) induces a downstepped H tone on a following H-initial morpheme (see Table 5 in §4.2).

(6)
LL	HH
/giʃa/	/gíʃí/
'stone(s)'	'see'

(7)
LHL	LH
/afága/	/fagá/
'urinate'	'grow (up)'

4 Verb morphology

Daats'íin verbs are somewhat polysynthetic with up to eleven position classes (and possibly more). While both prefixes and suffixes are possible, verbs are more heavily suffixing. There exist two templates for Daats'íin verbs: one for perfective verbs (Figure 2) and one for imperfective verbs (Figure 3).

One of the main differences between the two templates is the position of the S/A bound pronominal. For the perfective template, the S/A bound pronominal is a prefix to the verb root (8). For the imperfective template, the pronominal is a suffix (9) save for the 1st person plural inclusive, which is doubly marked in the imperfective with both a prefix and a suffix.

(8) k-**íl**-dugwa.
     ᴀꜰꜰ-**1ᴘʟ.ᴇxᴄʟ.ɪɴᴛʀ**-run
     'We ran.'

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[8] I use the notation S, A, and P in the vein of Comrie (1989): S is the single core argument in an intransitive subject function, A is the argument of a transitive clause that correlates most closely with the notion of *Agent*, and P is the argument of a transitive clause that correlates most closely with the notion of *Patient*.
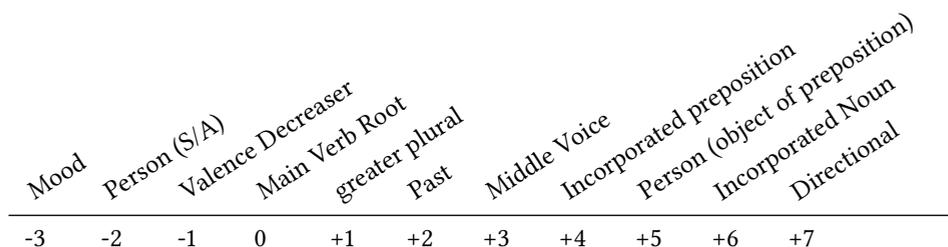
Mood	Person (S/A)	Valence Decreaser	Main Verb Root	greater plural	Past	Middle Voice	Incorporated preposition	Person (object of preposition)	Incorporated Noun	Directional
-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6	+7

Figure 2: Position class chart for Daats'íin perfective verbs

Imperfective	1PL Inclusive	Main Verb Root	Past	greater plural	Person (S/A)	Incorporated preposition	Directional	Incorporated Noun
-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6
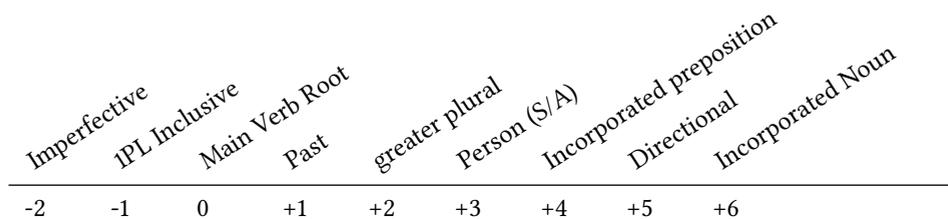
Figure 3: Position class chart for Daats'íin imperfective verbs

(9) má-dugwa-**íla**.   [mədugúla]
IMP-run-**1PL.EXCL.INTR**

'We run.'

Also noteworthy is that perfective is only indicated by the choice of verbal template itself; unlike for the imperfective, there is no dedicated perfective morpheme.

4.1 Complex verb stems

Daats'íin verbs often have simple roots accompanied by an historically incorporated noun (IN), which together form a complex verb stem (10).[9] This complex stem is more readily identified in the middle voice (11), in the past tense (12), or imperfective (13), where other morphemes intervene between the verb root and the incorporated noun.

(10) ɓaga   k-a-**koɗ-ás**   nkudida.
     person AFF-3SG.TR-**open-MOUTH** door

'The person opened the door.'

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[9] The structure of INs needs further investigation. For the most part, INs ending in L-tone /a/ in their free forms do not end in /a/ when incorporated. However, in passive and middle formations, the final /a/ is maintained, e.g. *-sa* in (11). Also, an /a/ vowel is epenthesized when a consonant-final morpheme precedes a consonant-initial IN. The epenthesized /a/ carries H tone if the preceding and following syllables are (underlyingly) L (10), with some exceptions (12). While the epenthesized /a/ and H tone appear to be somewhat predictable, I have represented them as part of the IN (i.e. *-ás* as a variant of *-sa* 'MOUTH').

(11) ʃeeʃokwá k-a-**kóɗ**-áá-**sa**.
doorway AFF-3SG.TR-**open**-MV-**MOUTH**
'The doorway opened.'

(12) ná=gats'ar   k-u-**gám**-b-**áts**   jáhú.
LOC=old.days AFF-3PL.TR-**know**-PST-**BODY** reedbuck
'In the old days, they saw reedbuck.'

(13) má-**si**-áɗá-**ííl**   alkubáj.
IMP-**wash**-1SG.TR-**BELLY** cup
'I wash the inside of the cup.'

The list of grammaticalized INs in Daats'íin is similar to that of Gumuz (semantically and structurally): /-k'ó/ 'HEAD', /-cé/ 'EYE', /-ííl(a)/ 'BELLY', /-ts(a)/ 'BODY', /-s(a)/ 'MOUTH', and /-f(a)/ 'HIP/LOINS'. Only one of these incorporated nouns does not exist as a free noun form: /-f(a)/ 'HIP/LOINS'.[10] Many of these INs clearly function as parts of wholes in an external possession (EP) construction (Payne & Barshi 1999). That is, these incorporated body part nouns often serve as the possessed 'part' of the P (object) or S (intransitive subject) argument, while the P/S argument serves as the possessor. By incorporating different body part nouns into the verb 'wash', for example, one can wash the inside of the cup (13) versus the (out)side of the cup (14).

(14) má-si-áɗá-**ts**   alkubáj.
IMP-wash-1SG.TR-**BODY** cup
'I wash the (out)side of the cup.'

Beyond the body part nouns listed above (which have commonly grammaticalized – and lexicalized – as part of complex verb stems), other body part nouns are also commonly incorporated (15), (16).[11]

(15) ɗa-ɗú-áá-**ee**.
1PL.TR-be.sick-MV-**arm**
'My arm hurts.'

(16) íi-**tʃugwa**.
be-**foot**
'Stand.'

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[10] I have inferred this meaning of the IN /-fa/ 'HIP/LOINS' from its free cognate form in Southern Gumuz /ʃa/ (perhaps /keef/ 'loins' in Daats'íin is historically related.) The IN has grammaticalized to mean something akin to the direction 'down' or has lexicalized with verb roots like 'know' /gam-áf/ referring to cognitive function.

[11] These incorporated body part morphemes sometimes function in a more grammatical way and sometimes in a more lexical way. The grammaticalization versus lexicalization issues of one and the same morpheme must be saved for other research.

Finally, one noun that is not a body part can also be incorporated: /-gw(a)/ 'place' (17).[12]

(17) k-â-ɗá‡b-**ágw**-é?
      AFF-3SG.INTR-find-**PLACE**-TWRD
      'Did he arrive?'

4.2 Bound pronominals

Daats'íin 1st and 2nd person bound pronominals are similar to their free forms (Table 4). The bound forms are somewhat reminiscent of an ergative pattern in that there exists a distinct difference in tonal melody for the S bound pronominals versus the A bound pronominals.[13] In general, S bound pronominals follow an H(L) pattern (17), (19) while A bound pronominals follow an L pattern (18), (20).[14] Again, these bound pronominals are prefixes in the perfective template and suffixes in the imperfective template. Table 4 provides all the free[15] and (verbal) bound pronominal forms, save the additional 1st plural inclusive bound form /ba-/ for the imperfective template, which co-occurs with the /-akwa/ pronominal (20).

(18) k-**aɗa**-ráfaʔ   jarʔam.
      AFF-**1SG.TR**-carry 3SG
      'I carried him.'

(19) k-**áɗa**-dugwa.
      AFF-**1SG.INTR**-run
      'I ran.'

(20) mâ-**ba**-sa-**akwa**.
      IMP-**1PL.INCL.IMP**-eat-**1PL.INCL.TR**
      'We eat.'

Daats'íin does not require a bound pronominal on the verb; it is perfectly acceptable to use a free pronoun with no bound pronominal. In such instances, the morpheme /áá-/ (INTR) is used for an S argument (21) and /a-/ (TR) for an A argument (22) in the position where the bound pronominal would occur.

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[12] The IN /-gw(a)/ 'place' often reduces the valence of an otherwise transitive verb root. In example (17) /-gw(a)/ has lexicalized with the verb root resulting in a distinct intransitive verb, and in Table 10 (§8.3), it functions as an antipassive.

[13] The pattern is also nominative in that both the S and A pronominals can be marked on the verb and occupy the same position on the verb, whereas the P argument is not marked on the verb.

[14] There exist some variations in this pattern, which need further investigation.

[15] Tone on free pronouns needs further investigation. Tone variation appears to indicate a split system, suggesting that 1st person exhibits an ergative-absolutive pattern and 3rd person a nominative accusative pattern. However, evidence is inconclusive (Kelly 2014), and just one tone form for free pronouns is given in Table 4.

Table 4: Daats'íin bound and free pronominals

| | Bound | | Free |
	S	A	
1SG	*áɗa*	*aɗa*	*áɗa*
2SG	*áa*	*aa*	*ám(am)*
3SG	*â*	*a*	*jarʔam*
1PL.INCL	*ákwa*	*akwa*	*ákwá*
1PL.EXCL	*íla*	*ila*	*álja*[a]
2PL	*áca*	*aca*	*áca*
3PL	*úúa*	*uua*	*máʔam*

[a] This pronoun is also pronounced [áíla] with variations in tone.

(21) áɗa k-áá-bo.
1SG AFF-INTR-move.away
'I moved.'

(22) áɗá k-a-rábiis-é   nágát.[16]
1SG AFF-TR-raise-TWRD there
'I raised him/her over there (and came back).'

4.3 Greater plural

The greater plural (GP) morpheme /-óa/ in Daats'íin is reserved for animate entities and tends to mark numbers that are unknown due to the high quantity.[17] The greater plural is often used in combination with bound pronominals. The plural number indicated in the bound pronominals generally refers to a known number, which is often 2 to 4 participants (or 'paucal'). When a plural bound pronominal combines with the greater plural verb suffix, the number of participants is understood as vast. When combining these morphemes in the 3rd person, one can indicate up to three degrees of plurality: 'some', 'many' and 'very many' (Table 5). While the greater plural can be marked on any 3rd person verb form, it can only be marked on the plural verb forms for 1st and 2nd persons.

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[16] The verb stem /rábiis/ 'raise' may prove to be complex (verb root + incorporated noun) with further investigation.

[17] The greater plural in Daats'íin is cognate with the greater plural in Northern Gumuz. The term *greater plural* as used here is similar to that in Corbett (2000); the difference is that greater plural is marked on the verb in Daats'íin whereas Corbett (2000) uses the term to describe marking on a noun.

Table 5: 3rd person number marking on verbs in Daats'íin

Daats'íin	Gloss
k-úú⁺-d-óa AFF-3PL.INTR-go-GP	'very many went'
k-á⁺-d-óa AFF-3SG.INTR-go-GP	'many went'
k-úú⁺-ɗá AFF-3PL.INTR-go	'some went'
k-á⁺-ɗá AFF-3SG.INTR-go	's/he went'

4.4 Past tense

Daats'íin has a past tense marker /-b/, which can occur in either the perfective (23) or imperfective (24) aspect.

(23) ná=gats'ár   ɓaga   bá   k-a-gám-b-átsa   jáhú.
      LOC=old.days person PROX AFF-3SG.TR-know-PST-BODY reedbuck

      'In the old days, this person saw reedbucks.'

(24) ná=gats'ár   ɓaga   má-sa-b-uuá   gar.
      LOC=old.days people IMP-eat-PST-3PL.TR porridge

      'In the old days, people would eat porridge.'

4.5 Incorporated prepositions

The prepositional proclitics /ká=/ 'to, for' (benefactive/dative; DAT) and /ka=/ 'with' (instrumental/comitative; INST) can be incorporated into the verb. Unlike traditional "applicatives" (Payne 1997), these incorporated prepositions do not "promote" an oblique to object grammatical status. Rather, the incorporated prepositions index an oblique referent on the verb; the external object of the preposition remains as such if it is expressed lexically, even if the incorporated preposition also occurs. Compare (25) and (26).

(25) má-nsam-ɗa-**ká**-ts   **ká**=máʔam.
      IMP-speak-1SG.TR-**DAT**-BODY **DAT**=3PL

      'I tell them.'

(26) má-si-áɗa-**ka**-tsa   **ka**=aʔe.
      IMP-wash-1SG.INTR-**INSTR**-BODY **INSTR**=water

      'I bathe with water.'

In addition, the 1SG (27) and 2SG (28) pronouns can be indexed on the verb even while simultaneously expressed external to the verb as objects of a preposition. However, plural pronominals 1PL exclusive (29), 2PL (30), and 3PL (25) are not indexed on the verb when expressed as objects of a preposition.

(27) máʕám ká=áɗa k-uu-ca-ká-**áɗ**-é.
3PL   DAT=1SG AFF-3PL.TR-give-DAT-**1SG**-TWRD
'They gave (it) to me.'

(28) má-nsam-ɗa-ká-**áa**-tsa.
IMP-speak-1SG.TR-DAT-**2SG**-BODY
'I tell you.'

(29) jarʔám k-a-c-é   ká=álja.
3SG   AFF-3SG.TR-give-TWRD DAT=1PL.EXCL
'S/He gave to us.'

(30) má-nsam-ɗa-ká-ts   ká=áca.
IMP-speak-1SG.TR-DAT-BODY DAT=2PL
'I tell you all.'

4.6 Directional 'toward'

Daats'íin has a directional suffix /-é/ meaning 'toward', but no known directional meaning 'away'. The 'toward' directional can indicate: 1) action directed toward the deictic point of reference (which is normally the speaker), 2) action performed elsewhere and returning to the deictic point of reference, and 3) perfect aspect.

4.6.1 Action directed toward speaker

For motion verbs, if an entity is performing an action in the direction of the speaker, the /-é/ suffix is added (31)-(33); a motion verb unmarked for direction is typically understood as involving motion away from the speaker (34).

(31) du-ʔám   k-á-wá-é.
child-3SG.POSS AFF-3SG.INTR-go-TWRD
'His/her child came.'

(32) ʃeeʃokwá k-a-kóˀɗ-áá-s-é.
doorway AFF-3SG.TR-open-MV-MOUTH-TWRD
'The door opened toward me. '

(33) aíla   da=k-íl-boo-b-é   nagá cét   hogí.
1PL.EXCL TEMP=AFF-1PL.EXCL.INTR-move-PST-TWRD here IDEO:all forest
'When we moved here, it was all forest.'

(34) wá ká=eb-úʔ.
go DAT=homeland-2SG.POSS
'Go home. '

Similarly, ditransitive verbs like 'give', in which the THEME is set in motion, can also take the 'toward' directional, whether the movement is literal (27), (29) or metaphorical (35). While most instances of the directional involve motion directed toward the speaker, the meaning in example (35) involves motion directed toward a third party, presumably as the deictic reference point.

(35) ámám baʔadeén ká=jarʕám nsam-ká-ts-é.
2SG later DAT=3SG speak-DAT-BODY-TWRD
'Tell him something later.'

4.6.2 Action performed in different location from the deictic reference point

The 'toward' directional can occur on the verb to indicate that an action was performed in a different location from the deictic reference point (normally the speaker), but then with a return to the reference point (see example 22 above). This is generally true for non-motion verbs in Daats'íin.

4.6.3 Perfect aspect

Lastly, addition of the 'toward' directional can indicate that the action was completed but retains present relevance to the speaker and the addressee. This function of the directional I refer to as 'perfect' (36)-(37).[18]

(36) k-aɗa-sá-é.
AFF-1SG.TR-eat-TWRD
'I have eaten. '

(37) albúna k-uu-fa-e.
coffee AFF-3PL.IMPL-drink-TWRD
'The coffee has been drunk.'

4.7 Verbal number (verbal plural)

According to Corbett (2000: 246-249), VERBAL NUMBER relates to events (as opposed to ENTITY NUMBER[19] which refers to nominal plurality), and can be further subdivided into EVENT NUMBER and PARTICIPANT NUMBER. EVENT NUMBER encodes whether an event

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[18] It is not known why the verb root 'drink' /fá/ and the directional /-é/ surface with L tone in example (37). It may be that L tone is part of the 3PL Impersonal construction, outlined in §6.1.

[19] Entity number, according to Corbett (2000), is typically number encoded on nouns but can also be encoded on verbs via bound pronominals.

took place more than once, or in more than one location, which for many African languages is referred to as *pluractional* (Corbett 2000: 243). PARTICIPANT NUMBER refers to the number of participants in an event.[20] For example, a special verb form is used in some languages for one or two participants, versus many. This preliminary analysis reveals that, regarding verbal number, Daats'íin utilizes the same construction to encode EVENT NUMBER and PARTICIPANT NUMBER.[21] The verbal plural is expressed via partial $((V)C_1V)$ reduplication of the simple verb root.[22] If an event is completed *en masse* or if the action of each individual is not emphasized, the verb is not reduplicated; then only entity number (e.g.3PL) is encoded on the verb (38). In (39), by contrast, there are several drinking events and the emphasis is on the amount of coffee that was consumed. Example (40) refers to only one event, whereas (41) refers to several breaking events.

(38) ɓaga deá k-uu-fá albún.
people PROX.PL AFF-3PL.TR-drink coffee
'These people drank coffee.'

(39) ɓaga deá k-uu-fá∼fá albún.
people PROX.PL AFF-3PL.TR-PL∼drink coffee
'These people drank (a lot of) coffee.'

(40) giá k-á-n-⁺ts'áda.
wood AFF-3SG.INTR-VR-break
'The wood broke.'

(41) giá k-á-nts'á∼n-ts'áda.
wood AFF-3SG.INTR-PL∼VR-break
'The wood broke into pieces.'

If the verb stem is complex, only the simple verb root is partially reduplicated and not the incorporated noun (42).

(42) k-íl-gá∼gam-b-áts áíl ííjá bac' ná=hógiá baʔ.
AFF-1PL.EXCL.TR-PL∼know-PST-BODY 1PL.EXCL every meat LOC=forest PROX
'We saw every animal in this forest.'

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[20] Examples of 'participant number' in Corbett (2000: 247-8) appear to involve S/P arguments which are semantically PATIENTS or THEMES.

[21] In Daats'íin, there appears to be no distinction made between EVENT NUMBER and PARTICIPANT NUMBER; all are interpreted as plural events. However, the verbal plural construction is not always required when there are multiple participants (S/P PATIENT/THEMES) unless each individual event is emphasized. For this reason, one could analyze all instances of the verbal plural in Daats'íin as encoding/emphasizing multiple events, regardless of the number of participants.

[22] The valence reducer /n-/ is included in the partial reduplication (41).

4.8 Negative enclitic

The negative enclitic /=cé/ [kʲé] in Daats'íin (43) attaches to the end of the verb word and appears to be cognate with *=cê* of the Sirba Abay dialect of Southern Gumuz (44) (cf. Ahland 2012: 241-242).

(43) Daats'íin
     il-tʃ'a=c   da.
     1PL.EXCL.TR-have=NEG thing
     'We (EXCL) don't have anything.'

(44) Southern Gumuz (Sirba Abay)
     a-tʃ'á-gá=cê   lamáána.
     3SG.TR-have-NFUT=NEG money
     'S/he doesn't have money.'

5 Reciprocal

In order to express a reciprocal meaning in Daats'íin, one uses a transitive verb stem in the verbal plural construction (§4.7) with a plural S argument (which is doubly marked on the verb in the 1st plural inclusive) (45), (46). As the construction is structurally intransitive, an intransitive tonal pattern is used on the bound pronominal (see Table 4). Additionally, the construction involves a valence reducer /N-/, which is phonetically undetectable before a nasal, e.g. (45).

(45) ákwa ná=nɟertáát má-ba-ná∼n-nás-ákwa.
     1PL   LOC=before IMP-1PL.INCL.IMP-PL∼VR-talk-1PL.INCL.INTR
     'We were talking to each other earlier.'

(46) ákwá má-ba-ŋgá∼ŋ-gám-ákwa-tsa.
     1PL   IMP-1PL.INCL.IMP-PL∼VR-know-1PL.INCL.INTR-BODY
     'We see each other. '

6 Voice

Daats'íin has three voice constructions: active, passive and middle. Active voice is unmarked. Passive voice is expressed via an impersonal 3PL verbal construction. Lastly, middle voice (MV) has a distinct construction which involves the suffix /-aa/.[23] Passive and middle voices are discussed below and compared with active voice.

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[23] This MV suffix can also surface with H tone, as in (11), (15), (32). H tone may be the underlying tone with an L tone added to valence-reducing voice constructions; the hypothesized L tone surfaces on the MV suffix itself and/or the final vowel of the IN.

6.1 Passive (3PL impersonal)

Passive voice in Daats'íin is generally expressed via the 3rd person plural impersonal (3PL.IMPL) construction. Cross-linguistically, impersonal 3rd plural subject marking differs from non-impersonal 3rd plural subject marking in two ways: 1) the impersonal construction lacks an overt antecedent in the preceding discourse; and 2) the impersonal construction is typically a phonologically (or morpho-phonologically) reduced form of the 3rd plural anaphoric form (Siewierska 2010: 75). The 3rd plural bound pronominal in the impersonal construction is non-referential in Daats'íin, but is identical in form to referential 3rd plural A argument marking. However, what distinguishes the active and passive constructions (structurally) is the position of the lexical S/P argument: in a passive construction the lexical S argument precedes the verb (47); but in the corresponding active transitive construction, the P argument follows (48).[24] Furthermore, the 3rd plural active transitive construction must have a plural agent referent; whereas in the impersonal passive, the unknown agent could be singular or plural.

(47) ɓaga   k-uu-ʃa-k'o.
      person AFF-3PL.IMPL-die-HEAD

      'A person was killed.' (The person who did it is unknown.)

(48) k-uu-ʃa-k'o   ɓaga.
      AFF-3PL.TR-die-HEAD person

      'They killed a person.'

6.2 Middle voice

Daats'íin has a construction in which the suffix *-aa* plus a transitive (complex) verb stem yields an overall intransitive clause. I refer to this as the *middle voice* (MV) construction (cf. Klaiman 1991: 44-45; Kemmer 1993: 3-4; Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000: 12; Givón 2001: 116-121). Following Kemmer (1993: 3), I use the term *middle voice* to refer to constructions that are semantically intermediate in transitivity. The Daats'íin MV construction involves verbs that depict agent-initiated actions to construe a change, potential state or resulting state of a PATIENT (cf. Givón 2001: 116). In Daats'íin, the MV construction is structurally intermediate in transitivity in that the construction has only one argument but the tonal marking of the bound pronominal on the verb indicates that the construction is transitive. Furthermore, though the verb stem is transitive, the construction does not allow expression of the AGENT in an agent phrase or otherwise. Unlike the 3rd plural impersonal construction (§6.1), a non-referential 3PL A prefix does not occur on the verb, but instead there is a prefix which agrees in person and number with the lexical S argument that precedes the verb. In addition, the Daats'íin MV construction requires an incorporated noun; the MV suffix *-aa* cannot occur on a verb stem consisting of only a

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[24] Here I label the single argument of the 3rd plural passive as S. However, the argument also has characteristics of a transitive P argument in that the 3PL bound pronominal takes the form of an A argument.

simple verb root. Compare the active transitive voice construction in (49), in which the A argument 'fire' burned the grass, with the middle voice construction in (50) where the S argument 'grass' is the semantic PATIENT.[25]

(49) toa k-a-sa-k'ó   amfaḏea.
      fire AFF-3SG.TR-eat-HEAD grass
      'The fire (completely) burned the grass.'

(50) amfaḏeá k-a-s-aa-k'o.
      grass   AFF-3SG.TR-eat-**MV**-HEAD
      'The grass burned.'

7 Noun morphology

Daats'íin exhibits minimal nominal morphology. Simple nouns can be inflected for number (via prefixation or other morphological processes) and can take a bound pronominal expressing a possessor.

7.1 Nominal number

Most nouns in Daats'íin are not specified for number. The language displays what Corbett (2000) calls "general number" and others have labeled as "transnumeral" (Biermann 1982; Storch & Dimmendaal 2014), in that the noun in its unmarked form can be interpreted as either general/plural or singular. Only nouns higher on the animacy hierarchy (e.g. humans, animals) can be explicitly marked for plural, most commonly with the prefix /má-/ (Table 6, Set A). A few nouns referring to humans and animals form a plural via a morphological process (Table 6, Set B). Finally, only one noun is known to have suppletive singular and plural forms (Table 6, Set C).

Set B in Table 6 is formed via the following morphological process: $c_1 v_1 (c_2)(v_2) \rightarrow c_1 \acute{a} \acute{a} c_1 \grave{v}_1 (c_2)(v_2)$ (where $\grave{v}$ is a vowel that carries L tone). In addition, /o/ and /i/ in the v_1 position tend to weaken to labialization and palatalization, respectively, when following a back consonant. Therefore, v_1 in 'guest' and 'lion' is expressed as part of c_1 when /áá/ follows.

7.2 Bound possessive pronominals

Nouns in Daats'íin can be inflected with the bound possessive pronominal suffixes listed in Table 7. These pronominals are related to the free pronoun forms (Table 4), save for the 2nd person singular.

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[25] It is also feasible to apply the term 'anticausative' (cf. Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000: 7) to what I call the MV construction.

Table 6: Nominal plural strategies

		Singular	Plural
Set A	'woman'	*gáf*	*má-gáf*
	'man'	*gwinzá*	*má-gwinzá*
	'mother'	*jaajó*	*má-jaajó*
	'older brother'	*aʔé*	*má-aʔé*
	'older sister'	*dadó*	*má-dadó*
Set B	'guest'	*kodar*	*kwáákodar*
	'king'	*t'ís*	*t'áát'is*
	'young man'	*síbi*	*sáásibi*
	'bird'	*mété*	*máámete*
	'reedbuck'	*jahu*	*jáájahú*
	'lion'	*hii*	*hjááhii*
	'mouse'	*bu*	*báábu*
Set C	'child'	*du*	*dííd*

Table 7: Bound possessive pronominals

	Singular	Plural	
		INCL	EXCL
1	*-máɗa*	*-ákwa*	*-múlja*
2	*-ʔú*	*-áca*	
3	*-ʔám*	*-máʔám*	

For noun roots that are consonant final, a short /a/ is epenthesized between the final consonant and any bound pronominal that is consonant initial (51).[26]

(51) rus-ʔú [rusaʔú] k-á-dugwa.
cow-2SG.POSS AFF-3SG.INTR-run

'Your cow ran.'

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[26] In Daats'íin, noun roots in citation form are typically uttered without a final /a/. However, a final /a/ is often added with varying tones (which together I suspect is marking case when the noun occurs as part of certain syntactic constructions). It could be that (51) does not involve an epenthesized /a/ but rather the final /a/ is added because the word is uttered as part of a sentence.

8 Noun modification

Daats'íin has two related constructions for when one noun modifies another: the associative construction (§8.1) and the attributive construction (§8.2). The two noun-noun (NN) constructions differ in order of head and modifying noun. Both constructions require an epenthesized /-a/ after the first noun if the first noun is consonant-final (in citation form). Two other related constructions are the relator noun construction (§10.2) and pronominal nominalizations. The last is formed with the pronouns /etá-/ 'SG.HUM', /dáá-/ 'PL.HUM', and /dá-/ (nonhuman) as the first "noun" of the construction (§8.3).

8.1 Associative construction

The associative construction is a NN construction in which the second noun modifies the first. The Daats'íin associative construction is semantically similar to other similarly-named constructions found across Africa (Welmers 1974: 275-276). The semantics of this construction include possession (mainly parts of wholes, material, contents, and function/purpose).

When a L tone noun modifies a L tone noun in the associative construction, a H tone is suffixed to the modified noun (first noun of the construction) and an /a/ is epenthesized if the first noun is consonant-final (Table 8). Tonal behavior of non-L tone nouns in this construction is yet to be determined.

Table 8: L tone nouns in the associative construction

L tone nouns	Associative construction
batʃʼ 'meat' + *rus* 'cow'	*batʃʼárus* 'cow meat'
tʃugw 'foot' + *hii* 'lion'	*tʃugóhii* 'lion leg'[a]
tʃakʼo 'house' + *mfaɗe* 'grass'	*tʃakʼómfaɗe* 'grass hut'

[a] Regarding the alternating pronunciation [tʃugw] / [tʃugo-] 'foot', see §3.2 above.

8.2 Attributive construction

The attributive construction, like the associative construction, is comprised of two nouns which together may be pronounced as a single phonological word. However, in the attributive construction the first noun is the modifier and it is typically a deverbal noun (52).[27]

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[27] Deverbal nouns in Daats'íin are typically formed with the nominalizers /ma-/ and /ga-/. The /ma-/ nominalizer yields a form that is more verb-like, in that the form is also used for infinitive-like constructions.

(52) ma-ráɗa-ɓag   k-á-w-é.
      NMLZ-be.tall-person AFF-3SG.INTR-go.away-TWRD
      'The tall person came.'

In order to pluralize a NN attributive construct, the first (modifying) noun is typically a nominalized verbal plural form of a stative verb (in bold), and the second noun, if animate, takes the plural form it would typically take outside of the construction. Compare the singular (53a) and plural (53b) forms of 'beautiful horse'. The plural form, as opposed to singular, does not appear to take the additional /-a/ on the nominalized noun typical of NN constructions, nor do the two nouns appear to be phonologically bound.

(53) a. bá   **ma-ʔarásá**-marta.
          PROX NMLZ-be.beautiful-horse

          'This is a beautiful horse.'

      b. deá   **ma-ʔá-ʔaras**   má-marta.
          PROX.PL NMLZ-REDUP-be.beautiful PL-horse

          'These are beautiful horses.'

The attributive construction is structurally similar to relator (inherently possessed) nouns of the associative construction in that if the second noun of the construction is not expressed, the 3ʳᵈ singular possessive bound pronominal, i.e. the inherent possession (IP) marker, is used in its place (see also §10.2). In the associative construction, a similar phenomenon occurs but any bound pronominal is optional. Table 9 compares these three NN constructions and with the 3SG POSSESSIVE/IP.

Table 9: NN Constructions with 3SG possessor/inherent possession

	NN construction	N + 3SG.POSS/IP
Associative construction	*tʃugó-hii* leg-lion 'lion leg'	*tʃugó-ʔám* leg-3SG.POSS 'its leg'
Relator noun construction	*i´íl-tʃok'o* belly-house 'inside (the) house'	*ííl-ʔám* belly-IP 'inside (of it)'
Attributive construction	*ga-ʃé-ɓag* NMLZ2-be.good-person 'good person'	*ga-ʃe-ʔam* NMLZ2-be.good-IP 'good (one/thing)'

Beyond nominalized stative verbs, at least two other noun-like words can serve as the first noun in the attributive construction: 'big' (54)-(55) and 'small' (56).[28] Because

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[28] These are considered attributive constructions because the semantic head is the second noun, e.g. *babúʃá-kambo* 'big-camel'.

these are not deverbal nouns, they are pluralized with the /má-/ prefix (55) instead of the reduplicated form found in the nominalized verbal plural (see (53) above).

(54) kaambo bá   babúʃa-ʔam.
      camel   PROX big-IP

      'This camel is big.'

(55) kaambo deá   má-babúʃa-ʔam.
      camel   PROX.PL PL-big-IP

      'These camels are big.'

(56) kaambo bá   duʃíʃa-ʔam.
      camel   PROX small-IP

      'This camel is small.'

8.3 Pronominal NN Constructions

Pronominal NN constructions have the bound pronominal forms /etá-/ 'SG.HUM', /dáá-/ 'PL.HUM', and /dá-/ (nonhuman) as the first "noun" of the construction and either a non-derived (57) or derived noun (Table 10) as the second noun of the construction. This construction type is often used for professions (57a) or for general names of things or people (as in clan names, e.g. *Daa-tsʼíin*). Those expressions with derived nouns as the second noun often function as nominalized relative clauses or, better yet, as nouns with participial modifiers.

(57) a. áɗá etá-maj.
          1SG SG.HUM-field

          'I am a farmer.'

      b. álja   dáá-maj.
          1PL.EXCL PL.HUM-field

          'We are farmers.'

Table 10: Pronominal NN constructions with derived nouns

	Nonhuman	Human singular	Human plural
N > 'sit'	*dá-ꜜm-ʔíí-f*	*etá-m-ʔíí-f*	*dáá-ꜜmá-ʔíí-f*
	NHUM-NMLZ-be-HIP	SG.HUM-NMLZ-be-HIP	PL.HUM-NMLZ-be-HIP
	'chair'	'a person who sits'	'people who sit'
N > 'eat'	*dá-m-ꜜsá-gó*	*etá-m-ꜜsá-gó*	*dáá-ꜜmá-sá-gó*
	NHUM-NMLZ-eat-PLACE	SG.HUM-NMLZ-eat-PLACE	PL.HUM-NMLZ-eat-PLACE
	'food'	'a person who eats'	'people who eat'

9 Demonstratives

Daats'íin demonstratives function as both modifiers (54)-(56) and pronouns (53). The demonstratives appear to exhibit three degrees of distance: proximal, mid-distal, and distal (Table 11). For the mid-distal and distal singular demonstratives there exists some variation. The analysis in Table 11 is tentative.[29]

Table 11: Demonstratives

	Singular	Plural
Proximal	*bá(ʔ)*	*dea*
Mid-distal	*baʔan / ha*	*dean*
Distal	*báát / taat / háát*	*deet*

10 Prepositional phrases and spatial relations

10.1 Prepositonal proclitics

Daats'íin has four prepositional proclitics: /ká=/ 'to, for' (dative) (25), (29)-(30); /ka=/ 'with' (instrumental/comitative) (26), (58); /ná=/ 'in, on, at, from' (locative/ablative) (59); and /jáá=/ 'of' (genitive). The genitive construction (60) is distinct from the associative construction (§8.1) in that with the associative the possessor names a general category (e.g. 'cow head') and with the genitive the possessor names a more specific entity (e.g. 'cow's head').

(58) alálágí-c ka=ɓaga   deán.
     meet-2PL COM=person MID.PL

     'Meet (2PL) with those people.'

(59) álja   ná=tʃók'ó
     1pl.EXCL LOC=house

     'We (EXCL) are at home.'

(60) ilk'wá jáá=rus
     head   GEN=cow

     '(the) cow's head'

The genitive proclitic can also combine with the bound possessive pronominals to form genitive pronouns (61).

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[29] Some conflicting data suggests the final /t/ on what I have called the Distal forms may not denote distance but rather specificity. The final /t/ is likely related to the final /t/ found in relative clauses (§11).

(61) dua bá   jaa=múlja.
      child PROX GEN=1PL.EXCL.POSS

      'This child is ours (EXCL).'

One can also form a genitive pronoun with the genitive proclitic + /go/ 'place' + a bound possessive pronominal (62)-(64).

(62) dua bá   jáá=gó-ákwa.
      child PROX GEN=PLACE-1PL.INCL.POSS

      'This child is ours.'

(63) dua bá   jáá=go-áca.
      child PROX GEN=PLACE-2PL.POSS

      'This child is yours (PL).'

(64) dua bá   jáá=go-máʕam.
      child PROX GEN=PLACE-3PL.POSS

      'This child is theirs.'

10.2 Relator nouns

Relator nouns in Daats'íin are grammaticalized body part terms (in addition to /go/ 'place'), which combine with nouns and the three prepositional proclitics, /ká=/ 'to, for', /ka=/ 'with', and /ná=/ 'in, on, at, from', to form complex prepositional phrases. The most commonly used preposition for this construction (in the present corpus) is the locative /ná=/ (65)-(67).

(65) giʃá a-ʔíí-f   ná=kʼó-tʃokʼwa.
      rock 3SG-be-HIP LOC=HEAD-house

      'The rock is on top of the house. '

(66) giʃá a-ʔíí   ná=étʃ-étʃé-tʃokʼwa.
      rock 3SG-be LOC=BACK-REDUP-house

      'The rock is behind the house.'

(67) giʃá a-ʔíí   ná=ganɗo-tʃokʼwa.
      rock 3SG-be LOC=FOREHEAD-house

      'The rock is in front of the house.'

11 Clausal syntax

This section presents some brief notes on clause-level matters. The major constituent order in Daats'íin clauses tends to be AVO/SV (68)-(69). In embedded clauses, the constituent order remains the same (33), (86). Constituent order in certain copular clauses, by contrast, is relatively more free (65), (79).

(68) gáfá   k-a-gám-tsá   gwinza.
      woman AFF-3SG.TR-know-BODY man
      'The woman saw the man.'

(69) gáfa   k-á-dugwa.
      woman AFF-3SG.INTR-run
      'The woman ran.'

There appears to be a nominative-accusative system of case marking on nouns, though this needs further research. S/A arguments tend to have a final High-tone /-á/ (70)-(72); and P arguments tend to have a final Low-tone /-a/ (73), or lack the suffix /-a/ (70), (74). For example, the A argument 'woman' ends with /-á/ in (68), but has no suffix as a P argument (70). Likewise, the P argument 'man' in (68) ends with /-a/, but terminates with /-á/ as an A argument (70). However, S arguments do not always follow the A argument-marking pattern (69). The noun /ɓag(a)/ 'person' always carries the same tone regardless of whether it functions as S, A, or P (73)-(74), though it often lacks the final /a/ when it functions as a P argument (74).

(70) gwinzá k-a-gám-ts   gáf.
      man   AFF-3SG.TR-find-BODY woman
      'The man saw the woman. '

(71) jahwá   k-á-dugwa.
      reedbuck AFF-3SG.INTR-run
      'The reed buck ran.'

(72) jahwá   k-á-biʔe.
      reedbuck AFF-3SG.INTR-fall
      'The reed buck fell.'

(73) ɓaga k-a-ráfaʔa   jahwa.
      person AFF-3SG.TR-carry reedbuck
      'The person carried the reed buck.'

(74) ɓaga   k-a-ʃa-k'w-é   ɓag.
      person AFF-3SG.TR-die-HEAD-TWRD person
      'A person killed (another) person. '

Tone marking for free pronouns is yet even more inconsistent, suggesting a possible split in the case marking system of pronouns (Kelly 2014).[30]

Copular clauses either link a noun phrase (NP) with another NP (predicate nominal constructions); or link a NP with a location (predicate locative constructions), usually

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[30] Recall that the bound pronominals in Daats'íin also distinguish between S and A arguments, also suggesting some kind of split system.

expressed as a prepositional phrase (PP). Most copular clauses in Daats'íin involve jux-taposition, either NP-NP (77) or NP-PP (59). Alternatively, the copula /ʔíí/ can also be used for predicate locative constructions (66)-(67). For predicate nominals in the past, one must use the copula /káán/.[31] This copula form is fixed, regardless of person (76)-(78).

(75) áɖá etá-maj.
      1SG SG.HUM-field
      'I am a farmer.'

(76) áɖá káán   etá-maj.
      1SG COP.PST SG.HUM-field
      'I was a farmer.'

(77) jarʕám káán   etá-maj.
      3SG   COP.PST SG.HUM-field
      'He was a farmer.'

(78) álja   káán   dáá-maj.
      1PL.EXCL COP.PST PL.HUM-field
      'We (EXCL) were farmers.'

To express a predicate nominal in the future, one can use the imperfective form of the verb 'sit' /ʔíí-f(a)/ (79) or the verb 'become' /bági/ (80).

(79) áljá   dáá-maja   má-ʔíí-íla-fa.
      1PL.EXCL PL.HUM-field IMP-be-1PL.EXCL-HIP
      'We (EXCL) will be farmers.'

(80) (baʔadéén) áɖá ḿ-bágí-ɖ   etá-maj.
      later   1SG IMP-become-1SG SG.HUM-field
      '(Later) I will be a farmer.'

To express a predicate locative in the recent past, one uses the perfective form of the verb 'be' just as one would for an event in the present (81).[32] For the remote past, one uses the perfective form of the verb /ɖál-af/ marked with the past suffix and preceded by a prepositional phrase indicating distant past time (82).

(81) ʔám k-á-ʔíí   ná=tʃók'ó.
      2SG AFF-3SG.INTR-be LOC=house
      'You were in the house.'

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[31] This past copula form was apparently borrwed from Arabic.
[32] Expressing a copular clause in the present versus recent past appears to involve the presence versus absence of the affirmative (AFF) prefix.

(82) áljá   ná=baʔadéén-át k-íl-ɗál-bá-f   ná=tʃók'ó.
      1PL.EXCL LOC=later-DIST? AFF-1PL.EXCL-dwell?-PST-HIP LOC=house
      'We were at home a while back.'

To express a future time predicate locative, one uses the imperfective form of the verb /ɗál-af/ in addition to the time adverb 'later' (83).

(83) áljá   **baʔadéén** má-ɗál-ílá-f   ná=tʃók'ó.
      1PL.EXCL **later**   IMP-dwell?-1PL.EXCL-HIP LOC=house
      'We will be at home.'

Relative clauses in Daats'íin are introduced with the relativizer /ba=/. Clauses that relativize on S and A are doubly marked. In such instances the lexical head of the relative clause is marked with the morpheme /=(a)t/. This same morpheme serves as a clitic marking the end of the relative clause, whether the final element is a noun (84) or a verb (85).

(84) ɓaga-**t**   ba=k-a-cíl   gáfa=**t**   k-á-lag-é.
      person-RELC REL=AFF-3SG.TR-hit woman=RELC AFF-3SG.INTR-return-TWRD
      'The person who hit the woman returned.'

(85) ɓaga-**t**   ba=k-á-dugu=**t**   k-á-lag-é.
      person-RELC REL=AFF-3SG.INTR-run=RELC AFF-3SG.INTR-return-TWRD
      'The person who ran returned.'

For relativization on locations, the relative clause (RELC) suffix /=(a)t/ is not used. The relative clause is introduced with /ba=/ and the verb of the relative clause has the incorporated noun /-go/ 'place'. In addition, the head of the relative clause is the noun /go/ 'place' which functions as a relative pronoun (86)-(87).

(86) ba=k-a-ɗáb-agó   ká=gó   ba=káána   ká=gát.
      REL=AFF-3SG-reach-PLACE DAT=PLACE REL=COP.PST DAT=here
      'The place s/he arrived was here.'

(87) ba=k-a-ɗáb-agó   gó   ba=káána   k-aɗa-gám-tsa.
      REL=AFF-3SG-reach-PLACE place REL=COP.PST AFF-1SG.TR-find-BODY
      'I saw the place where s/he arrived. '

12 Conclusion

This brief sketch of Daats'íin hopefully lays the groundwork for future investigation of the language and its relationship to other languages of the area. Daats'íin is clearly related to the Gumuz languages, though many questions still remain about the grammar. As Daats'íin has relatively few speakers and is spoken in an area where Arabic, Amharic

and Oromo are used as languages of wider communication, it is crucial that the language be fully described before the Daats'íin people abandon their language, as they apparently have in Sudan.

Abbreviations

Body part nouns (+ /go/ 'place') that have grammaticalized to some degree are glossed in small caps and are not included in this list, save the relative pronoun, /go/.

1,2,3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person	NMLZ2	(product) nominalizer, derives nominals which retain no verbal arguments
A	most agent-like argument of two argument verb		
AFF	affirmative mood	NoG	Northern Gumuz
C	consonant	NP	noun phrase
COM	comitative	P	most patient-like argument of two argument verb
COP	copula		
DAT	dative	PL	plural
EP	external possession	PLACE	relative pronoun for 'place, where'
EXCL	exclusive		
FUT	future	POSS	possessive
GEN	genitive	PRO	pronoun
GP	greater plural	PROX	proximal demonstrative
HUM	human	PST	past
H	high (tone)	RECP	reciprocal
IDEO	ideophone	REDUP	reduplicate
IMP	imperfective	REL	relativizer
IMPL	impersonal	RELC	enclitic marking first and last elements of a relative clause
IN	incorporated noun		
INCL	inclusive		
INSTR	instrumental	S	single argument of verb
INTR	intransitive	SG	singular
IP	inherent possession	SoG	Southern Gumuz
L	low (tone)	TEMP	temporal clause prefix
LOC	locative prepositional proclitic	TR	transitive
		TWRD	action directed towards speaker; action taking place in different location from speaker
MID	mid-distal demonstrative		
MV	middle voice		
NN	noun-noun		
NHUM	nonhuman	V	vowel; verb
NEG	negative	VR	valence reducer
NFUT	nonfuture		
NMLZ	nominalizer, verbal noun		

Acknowledgements

Appendix

The English list of words is taken from: Haspelmath & Tadmor (2009). The Gumuz column represents Southern Gumuz unless otherwise indicated.

Word meaning	Daats'íin	Gumuz (S. Gumuz)
1 fire	*too*	*máánɟa*
2 nose	*íít*	*ííta*
3 to go	*ɗa*	*ɗá*
4 water	*áʔéé*	*aja*
5 mouth	*hós*	*sa*
6 tongue	*t'at'é*	*k'ót'át'á*
7 blood	*maha*	*mahá*
8 bone	*voko*	*ʒákwá*
9 2sg pronoun	*ámam*	*áam*
10 root	*tírágí*	*tíŋáɟá*
11 to come	*wéá*	*wé*
12 breast	*kú*	*kúá*
13 rain	*dám*	*dama*
14 1sg pronoun	*áɗa*	*ára*
15 name	*ts'ê*	*ts'éa*
16 louse	*sankun*	*sakúná* (NoG: head louse)
17 wing	*p'áp'á*	*p'áp'a*
18 flesh/meat	*bátʃˀ*	*batʃˀa*
19 arm/hand	*éé*	*ela*
20 fly	–	–
21 night	*mágúŋkú*	*magókwa*

22 ear	tsʿê	ts'éa
23 neck	ɓi	ɓia
24 far	háátí	háat
25 to do/make	háádama or dá	dá
26 house	tʃokʼo	máts'á
27 stone/rock	giʃa	gíʃá
28 bitter	ántʃʼiŋ	nc'áŋ
29 to say	kéa	kál
30 tooth	kʼòs	k'ósa
31 hair	bekʼo	béék'wá
32 big	baabúʃaʔam	babák'ómá
33 one	mité	metáam
34 who?	wada	odé
35 3SG pronoun	jáárʔám	áŋa
36 to hit/beat	tʃííla	átʃ
37 leg/foot	tʃugw	tʃogwa
38 horn	ɟikʿo	k'ála (NoG: ɟúk'ómá)
39 this	baa(ʔ)	baaʔ
40 fish	wii	uŋa
41 yesterday	náfinɟígin	ná=mágáázig
42 to drink	fa	fá
43 black	jaraʔii	ŋíí
44 navel	k'ófakʼu	k'ófagwa
45 to stand	íˡkátʃugwa	íitʃogw
46 to bite	k'áŋa	k'áɲ̀
47 back	étʃá	tʃítʃá
48 wind	zumbór	zibá
49 smoke	ɗakʿu	súŋmaanɟa
50 what?	ńtsaka	ntsá
51 child (kin term)	du	dua
52 egg	íʃ	iʃa
53 to give	kʲá	cá
54 new	jáácici	cicá
55 to burn (intr.)	sakʲé too (fire burning)	(ɟi)súk'
56 not	=kʲé	=cê
57 good	gaʃeʔam	gaʃalamá
58 to know	gama	gam
59 knee	k'ókoku	k'úcítʃogwa
60 sand	sanseʔ	saasama
61 to laugh	gecʼ	alo
62 to hear	gásakʼo	gásak'w
63 soil	ílmai	ńtʃók'wa
64 leaf	tsʿéiŋgi	ts'ênɟá

65 red	jaawiᵛʔe	ééc
66 liver	ndihi	andííá
67 to hide	mbaʃia	bats' (maaʃiuk'w)
68 skin/hide	be	bea
69 to suck	asámtsa ásámk'ó	ts'imúk'w
70 to carry	ráfaʔa	bur
71 ant	bigámz (black ant)	basésíá
72 heavy	áhic'a	hic'
73 to take	kántsa	tséets
74 old	gaz (person)	gááza
75 to eat	sa	sá
76 thigh	albáádar	ílc'áʃa
77 thick	átaba	tab
78 long	aráɗa	zem
79 to blow	fútʃ'a	fwítsʃ
80 wood	gí	ɟá
81 to run	dugwa ranɗóc'a (many)	dugw
82 to fall	bíʔé	faat (SoG) beʔ (NoG)
83 eye	(k'ó)kéé	k'ócá
84 ash	mfoʔo	mfá
85 tail	ts'íŋts'iŋ	tsia
86 dog	k'aw	k'óá
87 to cry/weep	ísí	íís
88 to tie	fántʃ'á	afíntʃ' (NoG)
89 to see	gíʃí	jîr
90 sweet	mínna	mîn
91 rope	sí	síá
92 shade/shadow	masaŋgil	masáánɟílá
93 bird	mété	mátá
94 salt	gunn	saŋa
95 small	duʃíʃaaʔam	dúganáátsámá
96 wide	áfágááʔííl	fagííl (widen)
97 star	ntʃ'ék'	bííʒa
98 in	íílʔám	níílámá
99 hard	áhic'a	ʒígâts
100 to crush/grind	garʃ	ganʃ

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