

DISCOURSE FEATURES OUTLINE

This is a draft paper based on research done during a Discourse Analysis Workshop facilitated by Dr Stephen Levinsohn (SIL) in Addis Abeba, Ethiopia, 2002.

Language: Shekkacho (also: Shakacho, Shekka, Šakačo, Shekicho, Mocha)

Language family: (North-)Omotic

Researcher: Jacob Haasnoot (1968)

1. Variations in the order of clause constituents

1.1 Nuclear constituents (Subject Verb Object/Complement and possibly Indirect Object)

State the unmarked or most common order in narrative; in reasoned argument; in equative clauses (if different).

The unmarked order of clause constituents is Subject - Object - Indirect Object - Verb.

For example¹:

	<i>Subject</i>		<i>Direct Object</i>		<i>Verb</i>
(1)	Yeeri	wotta	ooga	mo'on	tuniihe
	God	again	big.ADJ	thing.DO	do.PAST.3SG.M
	<i>Again God did mighty things. (Dergue text # 23)</i>				

	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Object</i>	<i>Ind. Object</i>		<i>Verb</i>
(2)	Ø	haniin	ashiis	bottona	gettiye
		this.DO	people.to	clearly	tell.PAST.3SG.M
	<i>He told the people this clearly. (Gospel text # 9)</i>				

1.2 Preposing of nuclear and non-nuclear constituents

Describe the reasons for preposing constituents (e.g. to establish points of departure, to bring constituents into focus). If there is more than one reason for preposing, indicate how they may be distinguished (e.g. by the presence of a pronominal trace if the point of departure is a nuclear constituent, of a 'sentence topic/thematic' marker; cross-reference sec. 2.1 if a 'focus' marker is used).

Constituents are preposed to establish points of departure. I have found three types of *points of departure* in narrative. The first two types are unmarked, the third type is marked.

1. A **temporal** point of departure. For example:

	<i>(Point of Departure)</i>						
(3)	Daarigo	beeti	gizooba	meetta	hayimanoteesse	giro	beehe
	Dergue	be.RC	time.in	many.ADJ	religion.of	problem	be.3SG.M
	<i>In the Dergue time there were many problems about religion. (Dergue text # 2)</i>						

¹ In the gloss line the following abbreviations are used:

ADJ	Adjective	PL	Plural	POL	Polite
DO	Direct Object	PASS	Passive	CON	Converb (= participle)
PF	Perfective aspect	RC	Relative Clause marker	CNJ	Conjunction
SG	Singular	CONT	Continuous	NEG	Negative marker
M	Masculine	PROM	Prominence marker	PAST	Past tense

2. A **spatial** point of departure. For example:

- (4) (Point of Departure)
Maashi **weradoos** **Ataasso** **qaballe** **maacos** xeeyosse
 Maasha region Ataasso district in lightning.of
 giro beddiye
 problem arrive.PAST.3SG.M
In the Maasha region, in the Ataasso district there was a problem of lightning.
(Lightning text # 3)

3. A non-subject as a **referential** point of departure (marked, see also 2.2).

- (5) (Point of Departure)
Ikka **akkes** keejja na'o beeheete
 one.ADJ partridge.to three.ADJ child be.PAST.3PL
A certain partridge had three children. (Partridge text # 2)

1.3 Tail-head linkage²

Describe the functions of different types of tail-head linkage (e.g. maintain continuity in oral material, slow down the story or argument prior to a particularly important event or assertion, resume the main line of the story or argument, introduce the next step of a procedure).

Tail-head linkage involving *temporal overlap* is used to introduce background information (see example 6) or it is used before introducing a significant development in the story (example 7).

- (6) ... qees DemmiYeeri qaallon miixabeehoone.
 ... pastor DemmiGod word.DO preach.CONT.PAST.3POL
pastor Demmi was preaching God's Word. (Dergue text # 18)

Yeeri qaallon **booshi** **miixaqqi** **booshi** **kessitiye** **gub**
 God word.DO 3POL preach.CON 3POL start.Cnj.sf after
After he had started to preach God's Word, (#19a/b)

matsaafe qiduusson qees Demmikishoosse shottaqqi deqqiyeete
 book.of holy.DO pastor Demmihand.from rob.CON take.PAST.3PL
they [the communists] grabbed the Bible out of pastor Demmi's hand. (#19c/d)

- (7) keejjaa gattonoshin ikka daaharo 'maamane' hettiqqi
 3.ADJ ox.PL.DO 1.ADJ lion eat.let.me say.CON

yookkiye
 chase.PAST.3SG.M
A certain lion chased three oxen to eat them. (Lion text, sentence # 3)

Sentence # 4 provides background information (the different colours of the oxen).

'maamane' hettiqqi, bi yookkibeeto, xumi xumoniye
 let.me.eat say.CON 3SG chase.RC night.ADJ night.it.is
When he was chasing them, it was night. (# 5)

² This is a special use of the term 'tail' which is distinct from that in sec. 1.5.

1.4 Post-nuclear (peripheral) constituents

Indicate whether the order of post-nuclear constituents is fixed, or whether there are special positions for constituents in 'unmarked focus' and for thematic/given information.

No observations.

1.5 Postposing of constituents ('tails')

Describe the functions of postposing constituents (e.g. clarification, anticipation of a change of topic).

I have found only one example (see example # 9) of postposing (a direct object after the verb) but this seems not to be a regular feature used in the language.

2. Prominence (see Perrin article in *Ten Languages*, pp. 231-41, for a comprehensive description of focus.)

2.1 Focus

Describe the device(s) used to focus on clause constituents (e.g. preposing, postposing, focus marker, changes in the order of constituents that are not in focus).

No observations yet.

2.2 Thematic prominence

Describe the device(s) that are employed to give prominence to a point of departure.

There are three ways of giving prominence to a topic or point of departure.

The **first** device is to add the suffix **-(y)o** to the topic. When this suffix is used, there is also a switch from one participant to another. For example:

(8) [...] hettiyeete.
[direct speech] say.PAST.3PL
They [the soldiers] said ... (Dergue text # 11)

amaaniyonoshiyo wocciqqi “no amon qaca’one” hettiyeete.
believer.PL.PROM answer.CON we what.DO do.PAST.1PL say.PAST.3PL
The believers answered and said: ‘What did do?’. (# 12)

A **second** device employed to give prominence is to add the copula **-ne** to a left-dislocated constituent, to establish it as the topic. For example:

(9) yookkibee mawiti “menni ceellone taas bekkabeeto
chase.while be.tired.CON that red.is me.by be.seen.RC

aron negesse ne bajjataana neen maataacheto taane
he.DO you.from 2sg forbid.if 2sg eat.NEG.PF 1sg

hettiye aa’on.
say.PF.3SG black.DO

When he [the lion] got tired of chasing [the oxen], he said to the black [ox]: “It is the red one that is seen by me, if you chase it away from you, I will not eat you”.
(Lion text # 14)

A **third** option to give prominence to a constituent is to **prepose** a non-subject to establish a referential point of departure.

(7) **keejjaa gattonoshin** ikka daaharo “maamane” hettiqqi
3.ADJ ox.PL.DO one.ADJ lion let.me.eat say.CON

yookkiye
chase.PAST.3SG.M
A certain lion chased three oxen to eat them. (Lion text #3)

2.3 Features of emphasis

Describe the device(s) that are employed to emphasize sentences or constituents.

No observations.

3. Backgrounding and highlighting devices

3.1 Foreground events

Describe the unmarked way of presenting foreground events in a narrative (e.g. topic-comment articulation with the verb in the perfective aspect).

The unmarked way of presenting foreground events in Shekacho narrative is to use a topic-comment articulation with the verb in the perfective aspect. Participles that **depend** on a main verb in the perfective aspect also present foreground events. For example:

- (10) Ø aron yechi maahe
Ø he.DO catch.(CON) eat.PAST.3SG
The lion caught and ate him. (Lion text # 12)

3.2 Backgrounding events of secondary importance

Describe the devices that are used to background events in narrative. Distinguish their functions. Describe how flashbacks are encoded.

Events can be backgrounded in several ways. Within the sentence, events are backgrounded by **subordination**. Not seldom this goes together with a Tail-Head linkage construction. The function of this device seems to be to highlight the foreground information that follows. For Example:

- (11) [...] yookkiye
chase.PAST.3SG
he chased (Lion # 13)

yookkibee mawiti [...] hettiye
chase.while be.tired.CON [...] say.PF.3SG
While chasing [them], he got tired and said: "...". (# 14)

The **imperfective** verb form is used to background sentences or part of sentences. The participles that are dependent on the imperfective verb will also present backgrounded events. Events that are backgrounded in this way give the setting for the main story line (see example 12). Sometimes this goes together with a 'slow down' device to highlight what follows (see 3.3.).

- (12) bullabon Ø taahaanon deebba **maajjibeehan**
all.the.time she be.tired.when.not bring.(CON) feed.IPF.PAST.3SG.F
When she was not tired, she would always bring food and feed [them]. (Partridge text # 4)

Then there is also the possibility of using the **perfect** to present background information. Since I have found only one example of this (up to now), I am not sure yet about the function of this device. In the following example the information that is given has been mentioned already before. It seems that this is (again) a slow down device. The reader is interested in the reaction of the mother partridge after sentence #19. But her crying comes only in # 21, after the repetition of established information.

- (13) *She went, saying: 'They are lost, let me now go and see [where they are]'. (Partridge # 19)*

bi teribeeteena keejjo bulli **yechiyaqqi** **beeheete**
3SG go.IPF.when.and three all catch.PASS.CON PF.3PL
When she went, all the three [children] had been caught. (# 20)

She cried a lot. (# 21)

3.3 Highlighting

Describe the devices that are used to slow down a narrative immediately before a climax or significant development.

Describe any other devices that give prominence to climactic sentences, significant developments, key assertions, etc. If the device is typically found in some genres but not in others (e.g. in reported conversation but not in the narrative superstructure), then note this fact.

One way to slow down the narrative immediately before a significant development is to put in backgrounded events (by using subordination and the imperfective verb form, see 3.2.). This can go together with the usage of participle forms that are not dependent on any particular verb form. These participle forms carry the event line forward. In the following example the foregrounded verb forms are in bold print while the backgrounded verb forms are underlined. In example 14 we see that the event line is carried by two participles in the beginning of sentence # 18. Then there is a slowing down of the event line because of the clauses with backgrounded verb forms. After this slow down we expect a *highlighted action* to follow, starting with the participle **shottaqqi** to resume the event line.

- (14) arosseena **afaafinaqqi** woccona **teriqqi**
 that.from.and hurry.CON run.INF.by go.CON
- milliishonoshi eefe xaa'oos boono sheggiye
 soldier.PL mourning.of place.at 3PL arrive.when
- [... qees Demmi] Yeeri qaallon miixabeehoone
 [... pastor Demmi] God word.DO preach.CONT.PAST.3POL
- Then the soldiers went quickly; when they arrived at the place of the funeral, pastor Demmi was preaching from God's word. (Dergue text #18)*

Yeeri qaallonbooshi miixaqqi³ booshi kessitiye gup
 God word.DO.3POL preach.CON 3POL start.Cnj.Sf after

matsaafe qidusson qees Demmikishoosse **shottaqqi**
 book.of holy.DO pastor Demmi hand.from grab.CON

deqqiyeete

take.PAST.3PL

After he had started to preach from God's word, they grabbed the Bible out of pastor Demmi's hand. (# 19)

Other ways to highlight significant developments in a story are **heavy participant encoding** and introducing **non-event information** just before a climax. Both these features are illustrated in example 15 and 16. The lion comes back to check upon the animals that were given tasks by him. The reader wants to know what the lazy monkey will say to the lion. In sentence # 15 the lion comes back but only in sentence # 23 we find the monkey's respons. In between sentence 15 and 23 we see the following heavy participant encoding:

(15)	sentence #	Subject
	16	agaajjo (= cat)
	17	daaharo (= lion)
	18	Ø (= lion)
	19	sheexxo (= baboon)
	20	daaharo
	21	daaharo

Sentence # 22 gives us background information. This slows the narrative down and highlights the conversation that follows between the lion and the monkey.

³ This participle is dependent on the subordinate clause that follows and therefore backgrounded.

(16) bi shuunati shuuno baadone
3SG work.RC work there.is.nothing
She [monkey] had not done anything. (Monkey text # 22)

The monkey got up to the lion and told him: “....” (# 23).

4. Pragmatic connectives

4.1 Coordinating sentences

Which is the default way of coordinating sentences that describe the main events of a narrative: by juxtaposing them or by means of a particular coordinating conjunction (specify which)? Distinguish the functions of the other ways of coordinating sentences.

The default way of coordinating sentences that describe main events is by **juxtaposing** them. Other ways are: by the suffix *-na* attached to a topic or adverbial phrase or the word *wotta* [=also] (see 4.4); by the referential connectives *aroos(seena)* [after this] (see 4.4) or *are gup* [after that] (see 4.5) or by the word *haniqina* [=therefore] (see 4.6).

4.2 Coordinating clauses within a sentence

Which is the default way of coordinating clauses that describe successive events performed by the same subject: by juxtaposing them (i.e. by means of ‘serial’ verbs or predicates) or by means of a coordinating conjunction or repeated pronoun? What are the effects of coordinating clauses in other ways?

The default way of coordinating clauses describing successive events performed by the same subject is by juxtaposing a string of participles to the final verb. See example:

- (17) aroos **kotaqqi,** mocon **maaqqi,** **missiyeete**
that.at settle.CON grass.DO eat.CON be.satisfied.PAST.3PL
They settled there, ate grass and were satisfied. (Donkey & ox text # 6)

Sometimes participles are connected by the additive suffix *-na*. When this suffix is added it instructs the following proposition(s) to be added to the current one. This is done for a variety of reasons⁴:

1. the actions happen at the *same time* (or in a *close* chronological sequence) rather than in a clear sequence (see example 18);
2. there is a *concessive* relationship between the clauses (see example 19);
3. when the events are clearly in chronological sequence, then the *-na* is added to *highlight* the proposition(s) that follows (see example 20).

- (18) yechiqqina bi waamo maacciqqina bi maa'on kindiie
hold.CON.and 3SG ear cut.CON.and 3SG grain.DO take.down.PAST.3SG
[The man] took his ear, cut it off and took is grain down. (Donkey & ox text # 27)

- (19) kuroona [...] qaro kissibane hettaqqana
donkey.PROM.and horn bring.out.let.me say.CON.1SG.and

waamo maacciyayo [...]
ear cut.PASS.1SG
*The donkey said: 'I wanted a horn **but now** my ear is cut'... (# 28)*

- (20) kuro kessiqqina [...] hettiye
donkey get.up.CON.and say.PAST.3SG.M
The donkey got up and said: "... [speech highlighted] (Donkey & ox, # 8)

4.3 Countering markers

List any countering markers not covered in secs. 4.1-4.2, and distinguish their functions.

No observations.

⁴ The list that follows here is tentative and not exhaustive.

4.4 Additives (markers of reinforcement and parallelism)

List the markers of reinforcement and parallelism, and distinguish their functions.

When the additive suffix *-na* is attached to a topic, conjunction or a *Point of Departure* it signals that the following proposition(s) should be added to the previous one. We see that sometimes a question and an (appropriate) answer are grouped together by means of the *-na* additive (see example 21). This additive is also used to signal a *confirmation* of what is said before (see example 22).

(21) are worade shiichacho [...] hettiqqi echaye
 that district.of leader [...] say.CON ask.PAST.3SG.M
That district leader asked: "...". (Gospel text # 26)

uroona [...] hettiqqi gettiyoone
 man.PROM.and [...] say.CON tell.PAST.3POL
The man answered: "...". (# 27)

(22) gattoona "tunabe hambe" hettiye
 ox.PROM.and well go.IMP.2SG say.PAST.3SG.M
The ox said: "Well, just go!" (Donkey & ox text # 13)

kuroona kessiqqi hammiye
 donkey.PROM.and get.up.CON go.PAST.3SG.M
Then the donkey got up and went. (# 14)

For the adverb *wotta* [=also] I have not found any special pragmatic effects than only *grouping* two actions that are similar together (see example 23). When *wotta* is used, the subject is the same but there is a different predicate. In one case *wotta* has a more *resumptive* function (see example 24).

(23) Before this the lion had gone to the cat. (Monkey text)

wotta sheexobaan hammiye
 also baboon.to go.PAST.3SG.M
 [The lion] also went to the baboon. (# 18)

(24) The lion chased the oxen before and has eaten the white ox. (Lion text)

aree gup **wotta** ceellona aa'onon yookkiye
 that.Cnj.Sf. after again red.and black.and.DO chase.PAST.3SG.M
After that, he again chased the red and the black one. (# 13)

The additive *aroos* or *arosseena* functions on a **higher level** than those mentioned before and it groups 'blocks' of text together that should *not* be interpreted as a new development (compare 4.5). In a text about persecution of christians (Gospel text) we see the following marked text divisions:

(25)

sentences 19 – 20	about persecution
<i>aree gup</i>	<i>new development marker</i>
sentences 21 – 22	another example of persecution
<i>arosseena</i>	<i>additive marker: i.e. what follows is not a new development but is grouped together with sentence 21-22.</i>
sentences 23 – 27	persecution of one older man
<i>aree gup</i>	<i>new development marker</i>

4.5 Markers of new information

List any markers of new development, and distinguish their functions.

The conjunction 'gup' is used in narrative to mark new developments. This conjunction is used as a referential connective ('aree gup' = *after that*) or it goes together with a verb (e.g. 'bi waate gup' = *after he came*). In the story about the partridge mother and her three children, we see the following marked structure.

(26)

sentences 1 - 5	introduction and setting
<i>boono eennite gup</i>	<i>new development marker</i>
sentence 6	partridge children get wings and can fly
<i>aree gup</i>	<i>new development marker</i>
sentences 7 - 21	advise of mother to children and the children getting into problems
<i>aree gup</i>	<i>new development marker</i>
sentences 22 - 26	mother gives new advise and problem gets solved
<i>aree gup</i>	<i>new development marker</i>
sentence 27	children go back to mother

4.6 Introducing non-event material in narrative

If any connectives are used primarily to introduce non-event material in a narrative (e.g. explanatory comments, summaries, morals), then list them and distinguish their functions.

The connective 'haniqina' is used to introduce an explanatory remark from the author in narrative. See example:

(27) A boy had been hit by lightning.

haniqina naamo xello toomos qeeyiqqi beehe
 therefore boy field on sleeping.CON be.PAST.3SG.M
That is why the boy was lying in the field. (Lightning text # 19)

4.7 Resumptives

Describe any markers or constructions not covered in sec. 1.3 that are used to resume an earlier event line or argument line.

No observations.

4.8 Other coordinating conjunctions

Describe the functions of any coordinating conjunctions not covered in secs. 4.1-4.7, indicating the semantic relationships between propositions that they signal. Describe when such relationships are left implicit.

No observations.

5. Participant reference

5.1 Activation of participants

Describe the different ways that MAJOR participants are activated (introduced): in connection with a NEW mental representation; into an EXISTING mental representation. How are MINOR participants activated? How are introductions of participants HIGHLIGHTED (other than by tail-head linkage—sec.1.3)?

Major participants (or props) are often introduced with the formula '*ikka* (a certain) + NP'. This can be in connection with a new mental representation (example 28⁵) or into an existing mental representation (example 29).

- (28) keejjaa gattonoshin **ikka** **daaharo** [...] yookkiye
3.ADJ ox.PL.DO one.ADJ lion [...] chase.PAST.3SG.M
A certain lion chased three oxen ... (Lion text # 3)

- (29) [...] **ikka** **uro** [...] qottibeehe
[...] one.ADJ man [...] wait.CONT.PAST.3SG.M
A certain man was waiting ... (Donkey & Ox text # 15)

Minor participant are normally introduced by a (simple) noun phrase. For example:

- (30) [...] **gutta** **genno** gabiyosse wottaqqi
[PoD] two.ADJ woman market.from return.CON
... two women came back from the market ... (Lightning text # 20)

It is also possible to *highlight* the introduction of a minor participant or prop. This signals that this participant or prop will play a prominent role in that part of the narrative. For example:

- (31) **xeeyoona** phariqqiye
lightning.PROM.ADD strike.PAST.3SG
Then lightning struck. (Lightning text # 9)

⁵ In the gloss line the following abbreviations are used:

ADJ	Adjective	PL	Plural	POL	Polite
DO	Direct Object	SF	Suffix	CON	Converb
PF	Perfective aspect	RC	Relative Clause marker	POST	Postposition
SG	Singular	CONT	Continuous	NEG	Negative marker
M	Masculine	PROM	Prominence marker	PAST	Past tense

5.2 Further reference to activated participants

Give the encoding scale for further reference to activated participants.

State the default encodings for the following (if a 'VIP strategy' is sometimes used, explain how this affects the default encodings):

- the subject is the same as in the previous sentence (S1);
- the subject was the addressee of the previous reported speech (S2);
- the subject had some other non-subject role in the previous clause/sentence (S3);
- the subject was not involved in the previous clause/sentence (S4).

Describe marked subject encodings and their discourse-pragmatic motivations.

[Present a similar scheme of default and marked encodings for references to activated non-subjects.]

In Shekacho narrative we see the following scale for default and marked encodings of the activated subjects:

context	default	marked
S1	∅	(Dem) NP
S2	∅	NP / Prom + Pronoun
S3	∅	Pronoun / NP
S4	NP	∅

If the subject is the same as in the previous sentence (S1), the default marking is zero. For example:

(32) agaajjon **daaharo** doojjiqqi gallataye
 cat.DO lion work.CON thank.PAST.3SG.M
 The lion thanked the cat very much. (Monkey text # 17)

wotta ∅ sheexxobaan hammiye
 also lion baboon.to go.PAST.3SG.M
 He also went to the baboon. (# 18)

The marked encoding for S1 ((Dem) NP) is used to *highlight* the contents of the particular sentence. For example:

(33) ∅ bullon beqqiqqi **daaharo** yiijjiye
 lion all.DO see.CON lion be.sad.PAST.3SG.M
 When he saw all this, the lion was sad. (Lion text # 44)

If the subject was the addressee of the previous reported speech (S2), the default encoding is zero. For example:

(34) "hani maa'on ne daameena ne gattiyon qocane" hettiye
 this grain.DO 2SG take.CONJ 2SG price.DO pay.JUSS.1SG say.PAST.3SG.M
 "Take this grain and I will pay you for it", [the man] said. (Donkey text # 18)

∅ "do'one" hettiye
 donkey good.is say.PAST.3SG.M
 "That's fine", [the donkey] said. (# 19)

If the NP is used in the S2 context, it can either be in the situation of a *counter*⁶ (see example 35) or it is used as a *highlighting* device (see example 36).

(35) [...] "ittoshi penxonoshi ittoshine shawoon kemmibeeto" hettiyeete
 2PL christian.PL 2PL.is country.DO sell.RC say.PAST.3PL
 "Hey you christians, it is you that sell our country!", they said. (Dergue text # 11)

amaaniyonoshiyo wocciqqi "no amon qaca'one" hettiyeete
 believer.PL.PROM answer.CON 1PL what.DO do.PAST.1PL say.PAST.3PL
 The believers answered them: "What did we do?". (# 12)

(36) The ox said: "Well, just go!". (Donkey # 13)

kuroona kessiqqi hammiye
 donkey.PROM.ADD get.up.CON go.PAST.3SG.M
 So the donkey got up and went (# 14)

If the prominence marker + pronoun is used in the S2 context, the sentence that follows is highlighted (see example 37; surprise that the oxen agree with such a proposal!). It could be that this encoding is also used to mark (local) VIP's but more research is necessary to create more evidence for this (see example 38).

(37) "It is like this when I am chasing you: That white ox is seen by me [clearly]. If you chase him from you, I will leave you alone", [the lion] said. (Lion text # 10)

boonoshiyo "ibarone" hettiqqi [...] [...]
 3PL.PROM true.it.is say.CON
 They said: 'That is true!' ... (# 11)

(38) This example is taken from a fable about a partridge mother and her three children.

Ref.	Encoding	Content
9	PROM+ADD+Pronoun (mother)	Mother tries to prevent her children from going out by themselves.
10	PROM+Pronoun (children)	Children do not see any problem. They want to go.
11	∅ (mother)	Mother gives in but she wants to give them some advice.
12	PROM+Pronoun (children)	Children say: 'OK, we will listen'.
13	∅ (mother)	Mother gives advise.
14	PROM+Pronoun (children)	Children say: 'OK' and they leave.

Because of the 'heavy' encoding on # 12 and # 14 for which there is no grammatical reason, we assume that the children have a 'VIP marking' in this part of the narrative.

If the subject had some other non-subject role in the previous clause/sentence (S3), the default marking is zero. For example:

(39) [...] daaharo ∅ yookkibeete ∅ mucciyeete
 lion oxen chase.while oxen escape.PAST.3PL
 ... while the lion chased the oxen, they escaped. (Lion text # 6)

⁶ There are also occasions though that the subject has zero encoding in the context of a counter. An explanation for this could be that the counter reaction is expected or that the turns in the conversation are predictable.

The *marked* encoding for a S3 context can be used to highlight a participant after its introduction in a non-subject position (see example 40). The marked encoding is also used to highlight the morale of the story (see example 41).

(40) ikka akkes keejja na'o beeheete
 one.ADJ partridge.to three.ADJ child be.PAST.3PL
There was a certain partridge that had three children. (Partridge text # 2)

are akke iinde [...] **marked**
 that partridge mother
 That partridge mother ... (# 3)

(41) [...] Ø[SU] Ø [DO] gafiriyeete
 they her (monkey) release.PAST.3PL
... then they released her. (Monkey text # 51)

biyoona bi shuune gattiyon daachiyaane
 3SG.PROM.ADD 3SG work.of price.DO find.PAST.3SG.F
And so she got the 'reward' for her work! (# 52)

If the subject was not involved in the previous clause/sentence (S4), the default marking is a NP. For example:

(42) Last time the lion was 'on stage' was in # 27.

daaharo guttino waaqqi [...] **marked**
 lion second come.CON
The lion returned for the second time ... (# 38)

If we find a zero *marked* encoding in a S4 context, in most cases we can find a grammatical explanation (e.g. there is marking on the verb for male/female or singular/plural so we do not need a NP). If a VIP is involved, we sometimes get a zero marking in a S4 context. Because it is the VIP, a NP encoding is not necessary (see example 43).

(43) Ø teriyeete Ø geppoges beddiqqi Ø mawihe
 they go.PAST.3PL they hill.at arrive.CON donkey be.tired.PAST.3SG.M
They went, arrived at a hill and the donkey was tired. (Donkey text # 21)

A scheme of default and marked encodings for activated non-subjects looks like this:

context	default	marked
Introduction	(one) NP	-
NS1	Ø	NP / Pronoun
NS2	Ø	-
NS3	Ø	NP
NS4	NP	Ø

5.3 Determiners and pronouns

Describe the system of determiners, together with the spatial and discourse functions of each. Which set of determiners or pronouns, if any, is used for thematic references; for athematic references?

I have found a number of determiners (or demonstratives) in Shekacho narratives. I am not sure yet about all their spatial and discourse functions but on the basis of the data I have now, I present the following.

The demonstrative 'are' (*that*) is used often in narrative. Also regularly used is 'hani' (*this*). It seems that 'are' is used for material that is foregrounded or more important, while 'hani' refers to backgrounded or less important material. For example:

- (44) In this example sentence # 5 is part of setting the scene, while sentence # 26 is part of a climactic episode. The subject of both sentences is the same participant.

hani uro [...] waahe
this man go.PAST.3SG.M
This man went... (Gospel text # 5)

are worade shiichacho [...] echaye
that district.of leader ask.PAST.3SG.M
That district leader asked ... (# 26)

In one fable we find an 'after this' (*ebiye bek*) in reported speech which is different from the development marker 'after that' (*aree gup*) in the narrative (see 4.5). It seems that the author used a different demonstrative here (also a different conjunction) to mark the difference with the development marker in the narrative (see example 45). More research is needed to find out the discourse functions of this demonstrative 'ebi'.

- (45) **aree** gup [...] that.Conj.Sf after
After that ... (Partridge text # 7)

"no **ebiye** bek qosho noos beetone [...]"
we this.SF after wing us.to be.it.is
Now we have wings (# 8)

One last demonstrative which is used (with the data available: only) in reported speech is the word 'menni' (*that*). It seems this demonstrative has a 'selective' function, as is seen in example 46:

- (46) There are three oxen on stage. The lion talks now about the red one, not about the others.

"**menni** ceellone taas bekkabeeto [...]"
that red.it.is me.by be.seen.RC
It is the red one that is seen by me ... (Lion text # 14)

5.4 Point of orientation or centre of interest

Describe any devices not mentioned above that indicate the point of orientation or centre of interest for part or all of a text (e.g. *come* and *go* auxiliaries). Comment on any changes of orientation at climax.

The point of reference in Shekacho narrative is related to the location of the next main event in which the VIP is involved. In the following table this is illustrated from the fable of the donkey and the ox.

(47)

Point of reference	Event: come/go/arrive
place without grass (1)	Donkey & ox go to place where there is grass.
place where there is grass (2)	Donkey wants to arrive at one place to get horn and come back to ox.
place where there is grass (2)	Donkey goes to new place.
new place with man (3)	Donkey says: I came to get a horn.
new place with man (3)	Donkey & man go .
hill (4)	They arrive at a hill.
place where ox is (2)	Donkey comes (back).

6. Reporting of conversation

6.1 Positions of the speech orienters

What is the normal position of the orienter relative to the speech being reported (prior to the speech, following the speech, both). If the orienter is found in other positions, describe when each is used.

The normal position of the speech orienter is after the speech. For example:

- (48) boonoshiyoo "ibarone" **hettiqqi** [...]
3PL.PROM true.it.is say.CON
They said: "That is true!" ... (Lion text # 11)

A *marked* way of using a speech orienter is to put it *before* the speech. This is added to the speech orienter after the speech which cannot be omitted. By putting the orienter before the speech, the speech that follows is highlighted (cf. 6.4). For example:

- (49) keejjonoshi **echiyatini** [speech] hettiqqi [...]
three.PL discuss.CON.and⁷ say.CON
The three discussed it and said: "... (Lion text # 6)

6.2 Ways of reporting the speeches

Indicate which is the default way of reporting speech: direct, indirect or semidirect. Describe any other ways of reporting speeches, along with their functions.

The default way of reporting speech in Shekacho is *direct* (see example 48; free translation: 'they agreed').

6.3 Tenses and aspects used in the speech orienters

Indicate in which tense-aspects the orienters may be presented. If more than one, describe when each is used. When is the orienter omitted completely?

There are two ways in which speech orienters are presented in narrative. One way is to have the reported speech followed by the speech orienter 'to say' (*hettiye*) in the simple past (see example 49).

- (49) Ø "do'one" **hettiye**
donkey fine.is say.PAST.3SG.M
"That's fine", he said. (Donkey & ox text # 19)

The other way is to have the reported speech followed by a participle form of the verb 'to say' (*hettiye*) and then a verb which either gives the mode (e.g. ask, answer, beg) of speaking (see example 51) or just continues with the following action (see example 50).

- (50) boonoshiyoo "ibarone" **hettiqqi** [...] **yookkiyeete**
3PL.PROM true.it.is say.CON chase.PAST.3PL
"That is true!", they said and they chased ... (Lion # 11)

I have not found cases in which the orienter is omitted completely.

6.4 Changes of direction within a reported conversation

Describe the means of indicating a change of direction within a conversation (e.g. verbs such as *answer*).

For the occurrence of a NP to mark a change of direction, see 5.2 (example 35). Added to the usage of a NP is the *marked* device of putting a speech orienter *before* the speech. This is added to the speech orienter after the speech which cannot be omitted. By putting the orienter *answering* before the speech the reader knows that this is a counter response⁸. For example:

⁷ Function of suffix -ni is not clear to me at this point.

⁸ I have found three examples of this construction (NP [SU] + wochiqqi + [speech] + rest) which all three are a counter response to the question or the comment made before.

(51) In sentence # 12 the cat asks the baboon for food. The highlighted response is:

sheexxo	wochiqqi	[speech]	hettiqqi	bajjiye
baboon	answer.CON	[speech]	say.CON	forbid.PAST.3SG.M

The baboon forbade her and answered: "...". (Monkey text #13)

6.5 Repetitions of speech orienters

Explain any repetitions of the same speech orienter.s

No observations.

6.6 Other observations about the speech orienters

Describe any other variation in the orienters (e.g. the function of each verb used).

No observations.

See also: 'Shakacho language' (or: Šakačo, Shekkacho, Shekicho, Mocha) in: Siegbert Uhlig and Alessandro Bausi, et al. (eds.) (2010), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, Vol. 4: O-X. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.