LANGUAGE DOCUMENTATION & CONSERVATION

Vol. 8 (2014), pp. 810–832
http://nflrc.hawaii.edu/ldc
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/24627

Notes from the Field: Baskeet Phonological Sketch and Digital Wordlist

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1. INTRODUCTION. Baskeet[1]—in the literature also known by the Amharic term, 'Basketo'—is an Omotic language spoken by about 80,000 speakers[2] in the Basketo Special Woreda and in the Melokoza Woreda of the Gamo-Gofa Zone in the Southern Region of Ethiopia (cf. Figure 1). Baskeet (ISO 639-3 code: bst) belongs to the Ometo branch of North Omotic and is hitherto little studied.

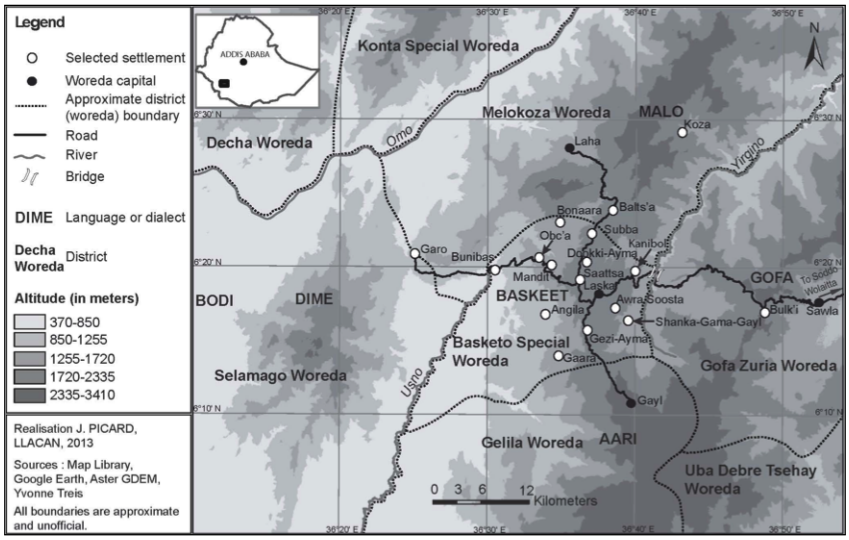

FIGURE 1. Location of the Basketo Special Woreda in Ethiopia

[1]Acknowledgments: The first author's research on the Baskeet language has been generously sponsored by the *Endangered Language Documentation Programme* (Individual Postdoctoral Fellowship 2011–2013: "Documentation of Baskeet song, verbal art and ceremonial language"), whose support is here gratefully acknowledged. Our sincere thanks go to Ambaye Tsedeke, Dutse Tamiru, Tamiru Admasu and all other Baskeet speakers involved in the project. We are grateful to two anonymous reviewers for their constructive and helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

[2]According to the 2007 Ethiopian census, there are 78,284 members of the Baskeet ethnic group in Ethiopia, the large majority of which live in the Basketo Special Woreda (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Population Census Commission 2008: 84).

E-ISSN 1934-5275

After an introduction to the sound system of the language in section 2, this work presents a list of about 200 Baskeet words in a phonemic and a broad phonetic transcription with tone marking. The lexical items of the list in section 3 were drawn from the first author's lexical and textual database, which had been established during fieldwork in different villages of the Basketo Special Woreda. The lexical items were then recorded in isolation in their citation form with Ambaye Tsedeke. These items were transcribed from the recordings, and their transcription was re-checked with recordings of other Baskeet speakers made in the field in order to exclude idiolectal variation. Ambaye Tsedeke is a native speaker of Baskeet, who has been living in the Baskeet speaking area since he was born in 1972 E.C.[3] The recordings were made on the 15th of August 2012 during his visit to Addis Ababa. The original recordings are to be deposited in the Endangered Languages Archive (SOAS, University of London) in an uncompressed wav-format.

The aim of this publication is to make verifiable lexical data available to a wider public for the comparison of Ometo languages (and dialects). So far, phonological descriptions of Baskeet and historical/comparative works on Ometo languages are based on sets of largely unreliable and inconsistent data, which were collected many decades ago and from speakers living outside the speaker area; see e.g. the Baskeet sources used in Bender's comparative studies of Omotic (2003 and earlier): Conti Rossini (1927), Alemayehu Abebe (1993), his own notes from 1969, and Harold Fleming's field notes from 1971–2. In addition, Bender used information from Alemayehu Haile (1994), Azeb Amha (1994, 1995), and Cerulli (1938 [1963]).

Little has so far been published on Baskeet in English; see, however, Sottile's (2002) unpublished PhD thesis in Italian and Inui's (2005; 2006; 2012 among others) work in Japanese. Their phonological analyses are mostly based on data collected from migrants outside the Baskeet area and, as our fieldwork has shown, they are not reflective of the language variety as spoken within the Baskeet area. In contrast to these earlier works, we also demonstrate the importance of tone in Baskeet.

2. PHONOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

2.1 VOWELS

2.1.1 VOWEL PHONEMES. Baskeet has a 5-vowel system: /a/, /e/, /i/, /ɔ/, /ʊ/. Length is phonemic, which is illustrated with the minimal pairs given below:

- /mátsː/ 'bee' (Rec2-2) vs. /máːtsː/ 'milk' (Rec2-1)
- /ésː/ 'old man' (Rec2-3) vs. /éːsː/ 'honey' (Rec2-4)
- /mìʧ'ːídè/ 'he burnt (vi)' (Rec2-5)[4] vs. /mìːʧ'ːídè/ 'he laughed' (Rec2-6)
- /kɔ́ɾà/ 'long wooden pole with a hook to pick fruits' (Rec2-7) vs. /kɔ́ːɾà/ 'group of near relatives' (Rec2-8)
- /bʊ̀dá/ 'ashes' (Rec2-9) vs. /bʊ̀ːdá/ 'heart' (Rec2-10)

[3]This corresponds to 1979/1980 in the Gregorian calendar.

[4]Note that this sound excerpt was extracted from a conversation. The word is thus pronounced faster than the other examples, which were recorded in isolation.

2.1.2 VOWEL ALLOPHONES. The phoneme /a/ has the allophones [a] and [ɐ]. The near-open central vowel [ɐ] is sometimes attested as the realization of /a/ word-finally (cf. no. 106). The phoneme /e/ has the allophones [e] and [ɛ]. The close-mid [e] is attested word-finally (cf. no. 68), before /i/ in a diphthong (cf. no. 167) and as a possible allophone in long vowels (cf. no. 5). The phoneme /i/ has the allophones [i], [ɪ] and [ə]. The schwa [ə] is rare but sometimes heard word-medially before [ɾ] (cf. no. 4) and as the very brief realization of /i/ between consonants (cf. no. 55). The closed realization [i] is required in long vowels (cf. no. 16) and optional word-finally (cf. no. 33). The phonemes /ɔ/ and /ʊ/ display no apparent allophonic variation.

Nasalization of vowels is not phonemic but facultative in the environment of nasals (cf. no. 178). Word-final nasalization in non-nasal environments (cf. no. 17) is an idiolectal phenomenon of the speaker with whom the Swadesh list in Section 3 was recorded but was not found in other speakers.

2.1.3 DIPHTHONGS. The simplex vowels combine into five rising diphthongs: /a͡i/, /e͡i/, /ɔ͡i/, /ʊ͡i/ and /a͡ɔ/. Examples are given in the following:

- /a͡i/ [a͡ɪ]: /wà͡it͡sːí/ ‘ear, leaf’ (no. 49)
- /e͡i/ [e͡ɪ]: /ʃéi͡ʃː/ ‘urine’ (Rec2-11)
- /ɔ͡i/ [ɔ͡ɪ]: /gɔ́i͡tsːí/ ‘road’ (no. 122)
- /ʊ͡i/ [ʊ͡ɪ]: /bʊ́i/ ‘yam’ (Rec2-12)
- /a͡ʊ/ [a͡ɔ]: /ʃáʊ͡k/ ‘thin’ (no. 9)[5]

2.1.4 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN OUR AND EARLIER WORKS. The vowel analysis presented here is in stark disagreement with Alemayehu Haile (1994: 398), who assumes Baskeet—like the national language Amharic—to have a 7-vowel system without length contrast: /i/, /e/, /ɨ/, /ä/,[6] /a/, /o/, /u/. Our vowel analysis is largely in agreement with Sottile (2002: 7) and Inui (2005: 3), who also describe Baskeet as having a 5-vowel system with a phonemic length contrast: /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/. In contrast to them, we hear the back vowels not as close and close-mid /u/ and /o/, but as the slightly more open throughout the recorded examples. Therefore, we have opted to represent these phonemes with the symbols /ɔ/ and /ʊ/.

2.2 CONSONANTS

2.2.1 CONSONANT PHONEMES. Baskeet has the 25 consonant phonemes presented in Table 1 below. There are three series of stops: voiceless, voiced, and glottalized. Depending on the place of articulation, the glottalized stops of Baskeet are realized as implosives or as ejectives. Baskeet distinguishes between two series of affricates (voiceless and glottalized) and two series of fricatives (voiceless and voiced). In addition to nasals, Baskeet has two other sonorants series: liquids and glides. Four consonants phonemes, /t͡s/, /t͡ʃ/, /ɾ/ and /ʔ/, have a defective distribution: they are never used word-initially.

[5] We assume [a͡ɔ] to be the surface form of the underlying form /a͡ʊ/. All Baskeet diphthongs can thus be analyzed as having, phonemically, a high vowel in second position.

[6] Alemayehu Haile marks the mid-central vowel [ə] with the symbol /ä/.

Place of articulation → / Mode of articulation ↓		labial	alveolar	postalveolar/ palatal	velar	glottal
Stops	Voiceless	p	t		k	ʔ
	Voiced	b	d		g	
	Glottalized	ɓ	ɗ		k’	
Affricates	Voiceless		t͡s	t͡ʃ		
	Glottalized		t͡s’	t͡ʃ’		
Fricatives	Voiceless		s	ʃ		h
	Voiced		z	ʒ		
Nasals		m	n			
Liquids	Tap		ɾ			
	Lateral		l			
Glides		w		j		

TABLE 1. Baskeet consonant phonemes.

Length is not only phonemic in the vowel but also in the consonant system, where all consonants—except /h/, /ɾ/, and /w/—distinguish between a simplex and a geminate form intervocalically and word-finally.[7] Minimal and near minimal pairs which show the contrast between simplex and geminate consonants are given below.

Stops

- /gʊ̀**p**á/ ‘walking pole’ (Rec2-56) —/kú**p:**à/ ‘weeds’ (Rec2-57)
- /ʒà**b**á/ ‘bow-legged’ (Rec2-41) —/ʒà**b:**á/ ‘torch (of bamboo or wood)’ (Rec2-42)

- /k’ɔ́**ɓ**á/ ‘enset leaf sheath’ (Rec2-54) —/tɔ̀**ɓ:**á/ ‘Ethiopia’ (Rec2-55)
- /kʊ̀**t**á/ ‘type of hoe (with two blades)’ (Rec2-60) —/kʊ̀**t:**á/ ‘brush’ (Rec2-61)
- /mà**d**á/ ‘upper millstone’ (Rec2-39) —/mà**d:**á/ ‘hard labor, forced labor’ (Rec2-40)

- /wá**ɗ**á/ ‘fighting’ (Rec2-58) —/pá**ɗ:**à/ ‘bat’ (Rec2-59)
- /wɔ́**k**à/ ‘sickle, crescent (shape)’ (Rec2-45) —/bɔ́**k:**à/ ‘knock-kneed’ (Rec2-46)
- /gà**g**á/ ‘gorge’ (Rec2-43) —/bà**g:**á/ ‘half’ (Rec2-44)

[7]It is unknown whether there is a phonemic distinction between simplex and geminate consonants in clusters, e.g. between /nt:/ and /nt/. So far we have not come across any minimal pairs. We have, however, noted that the C_1 or C_2 segments of a cluster are lengthened in some examples but not in others. The rules determining the distribution of short and long consonants in consonant clusters are still to be investigated.

- /zó:**k'**à/ 'midrib (torn off a green enset leaf)' (Rec2-62) —/sò:**k':**á/ 'elbow' (Rec2-63)
- /dò**ʔ**ídè/ 'sit' (Rec2-64) —/sò**ʔ:**ídè/ 'suspect sth. harmful' (Rec2-65)

Affricates

- /á:**t͡s**á/ 'shifting' (Rec2-51) —/á:**t͡s:**á/ 'grounds (of beer)' (Rec2-52)
- /pè:**t͡s'**á/ 'type of spice for leaf coffee' (Rec2-66) —/mè:**t͡s':**á/ 'palm tree (Hyphaene thebaica)' (Rec2-67)
- /mí**t͡ʃ**á/ '1. burning, 2. spreading in the sun' (Rec2-68) —/í:**t͡ʃ:**à/ 'robin-chat (Cossypha semirufa)' (Rec2-69)
- /gá**t͡ʃ'**à/ 'bird of prey species' (Rec2-53) —/má**t͡ʃ':**à/ 'woman' (no. 124)

Fricatives

- /tó:**s**à/ 'center-pole' (Rec2-47) —/tò:**s:**á/ 'feeding' (Rec2-48)
- /há͡i**z**í͡ts:á/ 'third' (Rec2-70) —/hà͡i**z:**í/ 'three' (Rec2-71)
- /ò**ʃ**á/ 'type of rope' (Rec2-49) —/ò**ʃ:**á/ 'drinking' (Rec2-50)
- /kʾó:**ʒ**ídè/ 'run fast' (Rec2-72) —/gò**ʒ:**ídè/ 'add' (Rec2-73)

Sonorants

- /gà**m**á/ 'dawn; Gamo land, Gamo people' (Rec2-15) —/gà**m:**á/ 'skin; leather (of cattle)' (Rec2-16)
- /gà**n**á/ 'heel' (Rec2-13) —/gà**n:**á/ 'nape' (Rec2-14)
- /gá**l**/ 'clay pot not used on the fire' (Rec2-17) —/gá**l:**/ 'body; surface' (Rec2-18)
- /gá**j**à/ 'baboon' (Rec2-74) —/bá**j:**à/ 'there is no X' as in /bírà bá**j:**à/ 'there is no money' (Rec2-75)

The difference between simplex and geminate obstruents is often not only a difference in length (duration) but also in the mode of articulation. As the next section on consonant allophony shows, gemination leads to the strengthening of some fricatives, which are then realized as affricates. In reverse, simplex plosives and affricates tend to be weakened.

2.2.2 CONSONANT ALLOPHONES. The conditioned and free allophonic variation of individual consonant phonemes is discussed in the following. We have not perceived any allophonic variation in the realization of phonemes that are not discussed below.

a. Stops

The voiceless bilabial plosive /p/ has two allophones: [p] and [ɸ]. Word-initially and as C_2 in consonant clusters,[8] the two allophones are in free variation. The speaker with whom

[8]Note that the list in Section 3 contains no example of a consonant cluster with /p/; but see /dàmpá/ 'tobacco' (Rec2-32).

the Swadesh list was recorded realized almost all word-initial /p/ as [ɸ]; see, for instance, nos. 74 and 158. Item no. 189 is, however, pronounced with a word-initial [p]. After vowels, simplex /p/ is always pronounced as [ɸ] (see no. 33), geminate /p/ always as [pː] (see no. 60).[9]

Word-medially, a simplex voiced bilabial plosive /b/ is realized approximant-like—almost like in Spanish—as [b̞]; see no. 7. Word-finally, it tends to be realized fricative and partly devoiced; see [β̥] in no. 87. Note that the devoicing of /b/—or other consonants mentioned below—does not lead to a neutralization of the contrast between voiced and voiceless consonants at the end of a word, as the devoicing is only partial.

Although the velar plosive /k/ and the glottal fricative /h/ are separate phonemes of the language a certain overlap can be observed (cf. overlap between /t͡s/ and /s/ below). In some lexemes of the language, there is interspeaker variation between the voiceless velar plosive /k/ and the glottal fricative /h/; cf. /záːk/ (no. 11) ~ /záːh/ 'cold' (Rec2-19).[10] As only /nk/, /ɾk/ and /lk/ clusters but no clusters with C_2 = /h/ are attested in Baskeet, it is reasonable to assume that the distinction between /k/ and /h/ is neutralized in clusters.

The voiced velar plosive /g/ is partly devoiced in the initial position of two examples; see nos. 159 and 195. The conditioning factors are unknown. Note, however, that there are also other consonants which may undergo partial devoicing word-initially (see the extra-short and partly devoiced nasals discussed below).

In contrast to what is claimed for most Ethiopian languages, we have no evidence that a prevocalic glottal stop is used word-initially or that it is even the default onset of vowel-initial words. Given the gemination restrictions to which the glottal stop is subject in many other Ethiopian languages, it is important to note that the glottal stop of Baskeet distinguishes between a simplex and a geminate form; see no. 77 /ʔ/ and no. 10b /ʔː/.

When consulting descriptions of languages related to Baskeet (Azeb Amha 2001, Wakasa 2008, Rapold 2006, Hellenthal 2010, Theil 2011), one notes that the authors agree that a word-initial prevocalic glottal stop should be assumed to be underlyingly present. This analysis is proposed despite the fact that in most languages the glottal stop is not "stable" word-initially in all words (Theil 2011: 285), "prone to deletion" (Hellenthal 2010: 77), "optionally [...] deleted" (Azeb Amha 2001: 20), or just occurring "very often" (Mulugeta Seyoum 2008: 9), i.e. not always present (only in Benchnon word-initial vowels are unattested; cf. Rapold 2006: 104f). Regarding Baskeet, we have no evidence for word-initial prevocalic glottal stops and, therefore, we have no reason to postulate an underlying prevocalic glottal stop word-initially.

Word-initially and intervocalically, the velar ejective /k'/ is sometimes realized with very little energy and thus with a burst that is difficult to perceive. In the absence of a diacritic to mark this partial lenition, we have marked the respective examples with a footnote, e.g. in no. 7.

b. Affricates

The affricate /t͡s/ is a separate phoneme; still, there is a certain overlap with the phoneme /s/. Intervocalic simplex /t͡s/[11] is realized as [s] by some Baskeet speakers: see /ɔ́ːt͡sà/ (Rec2-20) ~ /ɔ́ːsà/ (Rec2-21) 'work'; and /áːt͡sà/ (Rec2-22) ~ /áːsà/ (no rec.) '(way of)

[9]Note that when speaking the national language Amharic, Baskeet speakers also tend to treat [p] and [ɸ] as well as [f] as allophones.

[10]As another example for this interspeaker variation see /màːkí/ ~ /màːhí/ 'leopard', for which no recordings in isolation can be provided here.

[11]There is no example of an intervocalic simplex /t͡s/ in the wordlist in section 3.

shifting'. In clusters after /n/, the distinction between /t͡s/ and /s/ is neutralized; only /nt͡s/ but no /ns/ clusters are attested in the language. If the causative morpheme {-s} is suffixed to a verb with a stem-final nasal, the resulting cluster is necessarily realized as /nt͡s/.

The voiceless and ejective postalveolar affricates have two allophones each: there seems to be a certain preference for the variants [t͡ʃ] and [t͡ʃʼ] in the environment of /ʊ/ (nos. 108 and 118), and the more palatal realizations [t͡ɕ] and [t͡ɕʼ] in the environment of /i/ and /a/ (nos. 53, 80, and 200), i.e. close to non-rounded vowels. Generally speaking, the rounded vowels are most likely adjacent to the postalveolar allophone.

c. Fricatives

The alveolar voiced fricative /z/ is strengthened when geminated. It is then realized as an affricate: /zː/ = [d͡zː]; see no. 191. Word-finally, /z/ tends to be partly devoiced; see [z̥] in no. 31.

Like the postalveolar affricates, the postalveolar fricative has two allophones: [ʃ] (see no. 36) and the more palatal variant [ɕ] (see no. 39). As stated above, the allophonic variation is based here on an assimilation process between vowel and fricative: the more a vowel is rounded, the less likely the adjacent consonant is palatalized.

In the same way as the alveolar voiced fricative, the postalveolar voiced fricative /ʒ/ is subject to fortification when geminated:[12] /ʒː/ = [d͡ʒː]; see /gʊ̀ʒːídɛ̀/ 'add' (Rec2-23) .

The voiceless glottal fricative /h/ has two allophones: [h] and [h̆]. The latter allophone is a very brief and less energetic (less fricative) conditioned variant of /h/. For the Baskeet community the sound [h̆] is so unique that they have chosen to represent it in the Baskeet orthography by a symbol separate from that for the sound [h].[13] We are not aware of any minimal pairs for [h] and [h̆] and are thus inclined to consider them conditioned allomorphs. The allophone [h̆] is restricted to word-initial position in front of /a/; see e.g. nos. 78 and 174. In earlier works (see further below), the sound [h̆] has been considered to be a voiced glottal fricative [ɦ]—we find, however, no evidence for voicing in our acoustic analysis of the waveforms of the recorded examples. In this regard it is also worth noting that [h̆] never occurs intervocalically, where a voiced glottal fricative would first of all be expected. The sound would deserve a thorough acoustic study in the future.

d. Nasals

Word-finally, /m/ tends to be partly devoiced; see [m̥] in no. 20. In some examples, word-initial /m/ is realized very brief and partly devoiced as well. We mark these extra short word-initial variants as [m̆] (see e.g. nos. 25b, 31b, 41, and 42a).

Word-initial /n/ tends to be realized very brief and partly devoiced as well. We mark these extra short word-initial variants as [n̆] (see nos. 52 and 169).

The two nasal phonemes are not in opposition in all contexts. Before bilabial and velar consonants the distinction between /m/ and /n/ is neutralized. Before bilabial consonants, nasals are always realized as [m],[14] before velar consonants as [ŋ] (see [ŋk] in no. 64). The distinction between the two nasal phonemes is, however, retained before alveolar, postalveolar/palatal, and glottal consonants; see e.g. /mt͡s/ vs. /nt͡s/ in /sʊ́mt͡s/ 'name' (no. 132) and

[12] There is no example of a geminate /zː/ in the wordlist in section 3.

[13] Some years ago, the Baskeet community developed an orthography, which is a modified and augmented version of the Ethiopian syllabary (for an overview see Inui 2011).

[14] There is no example of a /mp/ or /mb/-cluster in the wordlist; see, however, /zìmbí/ 'lyre' (Rec2-31) and /dàmpá/ 'tobacco' (Rec2-32).

/síːnt͡s/ ‘nose’ (no. 51) or /nʔ/ vs. /mʔ/ in /gènʔá/ ‘antelope sp.’ (Rec2-24) vs. /k’émʔà/ ‘eyelashes’ (Rec2-25) . The palatal nasal [ɲ] is once attested in the Swadesh list as a conditioned variant of /n/ before a postalveolar affricate (see no. 21).

2.2.3 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN OUR AND EARLIER WORKS. Our analysis of the consonant system is partly in disagreement with earlier works on the language. Alemayehu Haile (1994: 397) provides a table of 24 consonant phonemes. He has omitted the phoneme /t͡s/, which he considers to be an allophone of /s/; see, however, the near minimal pair from our database: /bàːsːí/ ‘type of yam with multiple tubers’ (Rec2-26) vs. /wàːt͡sːí/ ‘water’ (no. 102). In contrast to our analysis, he assumes Baskeet—as Inui and Sottile do (cf. below)—to have a trill /r/ rather than a tap /ɾ/,[15] and an ejective /p’/ rather than an implosive /ɓ/.

Inui (2005: 3) lists 29 consonant phonemes. Compared to Table 1 above, he proposes four phonemes in addition: /p’/, /dz/, /ɸ/, and /ɦ/. The ejective /p’/ is not attested in our corpus at all. We interpret /dz/—or rather [d͡zː]—as the geminate realization of /z/ and we consider [ɸ] to be an allophone of /p/. The voiced glottal fricative /ɦ/—which corresponds to our [ĥ]—is for us an allophone of /h/.

Sottile (2002) considers Baskeet to have 33 consonant phonemes. To the phonemes given in Table 1 above, he adds /ɦ/, /dz/, /dʒ/, /m’/, /l’/, /n’/, /r’/, and /ŋ/. As already elaborated above, we consider /ɦ/ (our [ĥ]) to be an allophone of /h/. We interpret /dz/ (our [d͡zː]) and /dʒ/ (our [d͡ʒː]) to be the geminate realization of /z/ and /ʒ/, respectively. Sottile’s phonemes /m’/, /l’/, /n’/, /r’/ are in fact sequences of two phonemes, namely a sonorant and a glottal stop; see e.g. nos. 8, 110, and 190. There is no evidence in our corpus that the, ‘glottalized sonorants’ are monophonemic because—unlike other consonants—they cannot occur word-initially or in clusters. Neither can they be geminated.

The velar nasal, which is considered a phoneme by Sottile, can firstly be analyzed as a biphonemic segment and, secondly, as an allophone of /n/.

(i) Intervocalically, the velar nasal can be interpreted as the phonetic realization of a /n/ + /g/-sequence. Several arguments can be presented in favor of this analysis: While the nasals can form clusters with any obstruent in Baskeet (e.g. /nd/ in no. 4, /nt͡ʃ/ in no. 44, /nk/ in no. 64, /nʔ/ in no. 8), a /ng/-sequence is notably absent in the language. Intervocalically, there is no phonemic distinction between a simplex and a geminate velar nasal sound. In this context, the velar nasal is audibly longer than the alveolar /n/ and thus transcribed phonetically as [ŋː] (see no. 55). Unlike /n/, the velar nasal is never attested word-initially. These observations call the phoneme status of the velar nasal into question and make it more plausible to analyze [ŋː] as the phonetic realization of the two-phoneme sequence /ng/.

(ii) The short (simplex) velar nasal is attested as a conditioned allophone of /n/ as C_1 in clusters with C_2 = /k/, i.e. /nk/ = [ŋk]; see no. 64 and the discussion of the allophony of nasals above.

Baskeet syllables can have the following structures: V(V), V(V)C, V(V)CC, CV(V), CV(V)C, and CV(V)CC. Syllables without a consonantal onset are only found word-initially, e.g. /à.t͡ʃínt͡ʃ/[16] ‘sharp’ (no. 21). There are no complex onsets, i.e. no syllable-initial consonant clusters. The nucleus of a syllable can either be a short vowel, a long vowel or

[15]There is only *one* contact between the tongue and the roof of the mouth in the production of this consonant. Without an articulatory study we are unable to determine whether the consonant is a very short trill (with one contact) or a tap. We have here decided to represent it as a tap.

[16]The period (.) marks the syllable break.

a diphthong. Consonant clusters (C_1C_2) or geminate consonants (C: = C_1C_1) are found across syllable boundaries, e.g. /én.dìrs/ 'thick' (no. 4), /mèr.má/ 'guts' (no. 62), and /sìl.lí/ 'neck' (no. 63), where one consonant constitutes the coda of the initial syllable and the other consonant the onset of the second syllable. Complex C_1C_2 or C_1C_1 syllable codas are only found in word-final position, e.g. /ʃák:/ 'wide' (no. 3) and /sí:nt͡s/ 'nose' (no. 51). Note especially that syllables with a VVC_1C_1 structure, e.g. /é:s:/ 'honey' (Rec2-4) , are very uncommon in the world's languages (cf. Davis 2011: 881–885).

2.3 TONE

2.3.1 TONEMES. Baskeet is a tonal language with two tonemes, high (H) and low (L). The syllable is the tone-bearing unit and tone occurs on each syllable. The importance of tone has so far been overlooked in the literature on Baskeet. Tone is, however, used to differentiate lexemes, and tonal minimal pairs are easily found, e.g. /zàrzàrá/ 'lizard' (Rec2-27) vs. /zàrzárà/ 'sieve' (Rec2-28) and /mìt͡ʃ:ídè/ 'burn (vt)' (Rec2-29) and /mít͡ʃ:ídè/ 'spread in the sun' (Rec2-30) . Tone is marked in the transcription by an *accent aigu* for H and by an *accent grave* for L. By convention, tone is marked only on the first segment of diphthongs, e.g. /ʃáu̯k/ 'thin' (no. 9).

We can exclude that Baskeet is a, 'pitch-accent language' with (only) one high tone per word, as claimed by Sottile (2002: 34f) and Inui (2005: 3f).

2.3.2 ALLOTONES. The high tone can be realized as a level high or as a rising tone. The low tone can be realized as a level low or a falling tone. The allotones are conditioned by the environment, i.e. the position of the syllable to which the tone is associated and the tone of the preceding syllable. A more detailed description of the allotony will be provided in a forthcoming paper (Treis & Werth in prep.).

2.3.3 TONOLOGICAL PATTERNS. All-low sequences do not occur on words in isolation.[17] Therefore, each monosyllabic noun carries a high tone. For disyllabic nouns the following patterns are possible: LH, HH, and HL. LH is the most frequent noun pattern; the ratio of LH, HH, and HL nouns is an estimated 3:1:1. Trisyllabic nouns with the patterns LLH, LHL, HHH, and HLL are safely attested in our corpus. LLL is excluded; HLH does probably not exist. It still remains to be confirmed that the patterns LHH and HHL exist in the domain of underived (monomorphic) nouns.[18] The tonal patterns of words with four syllables have not yet been determined because underived quadrisyllabic nouns are very rare.

The large majority of verbal stems in Baskeet are monosyllabic; the list contains only one underived disyllabic verb root in no. 206. The root of a verb is never used in isolation but requires at least one inflectional morpheme. Baskeet distinguishes between H(H)-toned and L(L)-toned verbal stems. The combination of the stem with inflectional morphemes results in various tonal patterns. As the verbs in the list below are all provided in the masculine perfective form ending in *-ídè*, only two tone patterns are attested for monosyllabic verb roots: LHL and HHL. The only disyllabic verb root (no. 206) has a LLHL pattern.

[17] Except for ideophones, which can have an all-low tone pattern, e.g. /t͡s'ànàn gə́idè/ IDEO say.3mPFV, 'it squirted out'. Nouns are never all-low in isolation; they can, however, become all-low if they drop the final high-tone vowel in compounds, e.g. /kè:t͡s:í/ 'house', but /mí:z kè:t͡s:/ 'cattle-pen', lit., 'cattle house'.

[18] In our corpus, they are so far only attested on multi-morphemic words.

3. THE BASKEET WORD LIST. The Baskeet word list presented in this section is based on a Swadesh 200-word list of basic vocabulary; the numbering of the lexical items in column 1 follows the numbering and categorization of items into semantic fields by Bowern (2007). The second column contains the English gloss and the third column the Baskeet items in a phonemic transcription. Column 4 provides the tone patterns and column 5 a broad phonetic transcription of each lexical item. This transcription is based on the auditory perception of the two authors. In addition, acoustic analyses of the recordings were consulted. Other notes, e.g. on polysemy or synonymy relations, are found in the last column.

Nouns and pronouns are presented in the predicative form, i.e. the form given as answer to, 'what / who is this?'. According to a widespread convention in Ethiopian studies, verbs are provided in their masculine perfective form.[19]

The collection of translational equivalents has led to problems regarding some items in the Swadesh 200-word list: For some lexemes more than one appropriate equivalent has been found, in which case we provide more than one Baskeet translation; see e.g. no. 14, 'old': /t͡ʃ̀ingásh/ 'old (of people)' and /sìlá/ 'old (of things)'. For some items no translational equivalent could be found at all; see e.g. no. 116, 'snow'. A few translational equivalents are in a different word class: As Baskeet does not have a separate word class of adjectives, the English adjectives (e.g. 'heavy') can in principle either be translated by a noun ('(a) heavy (one)') or by an inchoative verb ('become heavy'). We have here chosen to provide nouns ('(something) of quality X') as translational equivalents.

TABLE 2. Baskeet Swadesh List

	Audio	Gloss	Phonemic Transcription	Tonemes	Phonetic Transcription	Notes on translation
1.		big	/ɓét͡ʃː/	H	[ɓét͡cː]	also: 'respected'; 'important'
2.		long	/ɓárínt͡s/	HH	[ɓárínt͡s][20]	
3.		wide	/ʃákː/	H	[ʃákː]	also: 'large'
4.		thick	/éndìrs/	HL	[ɛ́ndə̀rs]	also: 'fat'; 'powerful'
5.		heavy	/dèːt͡sːí/	LH	[dèːt͡sːí][21]	
6.		small	/gílːá/	HH	[gílːá]	small amount or size; cf. no. 187
7.		short	/k'àbínt͡s/	LH	[k'àb̥ínt͡s][22]	
8.		narrow	/kɔ́nʔ/	H	[kɔ́nʔ]	
9.		thin	/ʃá͡ɔk/	H	[ʃá͡ɔk]	

Continued on next page

[19] In the perfective aspect, Baskeet makes a distinction between masculine and feminine verb forms, which end in *-ídè* and *-ádè*, respectively. The masculine verb form shows agreement with 3ms, 1p, 2p, and 3p subjects; the feminine verb form agrees with 1s, 2s, and 3fs subjects.

[20] By mistake, the wrong lexical item was recorded with Ambaye Tsedeke on 15/08/2012. Therefore, we present here a recording made with Dutse Tamiru on 4/10/2008 in Laska (Basketo Special Woreda).

[21] The speaker from which the Swadesh list was recorded has a tendency to nasalize word-final vowels of words in isolation. This nasalization is an idiolectal phenomenon not shared by other speakers and is thus not transcribed in this list.

[22] The initial [k'] is realized with very little energy.

TABLE 2 – *Continued from previous page*

	Audio	Gloss	Phonemic Transcription	Tonemes	Phonetic Transcription	Notes on translation
10.		warm	a. /sɔ́ːl/	H	[sɔ́ːl]	also: 'hot'
			b. /hɔ́ʔːà/	HL	[hɔ́ʔːà]	also: 'hot'
11.		cold	/záːk/	H	[záːk]	alternative form: /záːh/
12.		full	/kɔ́mt͡s/	H	[kɔ́mt͡s]	
13.		new	/ɔ̀rát͡sː/	LH	[ɔ̀rát͡sː]	
14.		old	a. /sìlá/	LH	[sìlá]	of things
			b. /t͡ʃʼìngáʃ/	LH	[tɕʼìŋˈáʃ]	of people
15.		good	/kɔ́ʃː/	H	[kɔ́ʃː]	also: 'peaceful, healthy'; cf. no. 26
16.		bad	/ít/	H	[íːt]	also: 'ugly, yucky, dangerous, evil'
17.		rotten	a. /wɔ̀ːkʼí/	LH	[wɔ̀ːkʼí][23]	
			b. /sámìs/	HL	[sámìs]	of food
18.		dirty	/kʼít/	H	[kʼít]	
19.		straight	/lɔ́ːl/	H	[lɔ́ːl]	e.g. of a stick
20.		round	/mɔ́ːm/	H	[mɔ́ːm̥]	also: 'not split, not divided'
21.		sharp	/àt͡ʃʼínt͡ʃ/	LH	[àt͡ɕʼíɲt͡ɕ]	e.g. of a knife
22.		dull	/málkʼìt͡sː/	HL	[málkʼìt͡sː][24]	e.g. of a knife; also: 'slippery'
23.		smooth	/zʊ̀ldʊ́dà/	LHL	[zʊ̀ldʊ́dà]	
24.		wet	a. /írt͡sʼà/	HL	[írt͡sʼà]	e.g. of soil
			b. /wɔ́ːkʼ/	H	[wɔ́ːkʼ]	e.g. of clothes
25.		dry	a. /mɛ́l/	H	[mɛ́l]	a. and b. are synonyms
			b. /mɛ́lìs/	HL	[mɛ̆́lìs]	
26.		correct	/kɔ́ʃː/	H	[kɔ́ʃː]	cf. no. 15
27.		near	/ʊ́kː/	H	[ʊ́kː]	
28.		far	/gʊ́tː/	H	[gʊ́tː]	
29.		right	/ʊ̀ʃát͡ʃː/	LH	[ʊ̀ʃát͡ɕː]	
30.		left	/kɛ́sá/	HH	[kɛ́sá]	
31.		animal	a. /mɛ́hà/	HL	[mɛ́hà]	domestic animal, livestock

Continued on next page

[23]The nasalization heard on the final vowel is not marked in the transcription. Confer fn. 21.
[24]The medial [kʼ] is realized with very little energy.

TABLE 2 – *Continued from previous page*

	Audio	Gloss	Phonemic Transcription	Tonemes	Phonetic Transcription	Notes on translation
			b. /màːtí bàz/	LH_L	[m̌àːtí b̥àz̥]	wild mammal (lit. 'grass thing'); cf. no. 97
32.		fish	/mɔ́lá/	HH	[mɔ́lá]	
33.		bird	/kàpí/	LH	[kàɸíˑ]	alternative form /kàpá/
34.		dog	/kàná/	LH	[kàná]	
35.		louse	/t͡ʃʾòːt͡ʃːí/	LH	[t͡ʃʾòːt͡ʃːí]	
36.		snake	/ʃɔ́ːʃː/	H	[ʃɔ́ːʃː]	
37.		worm	a. /làːlínt͡s/	LH	[láːlínt͡s]	earthworm
			b. /gòt͡sʾìnt͡sí/	LLH	[gòt͡sʾìnt͡sí]	small worm (e.g. in maize, cabbage)
38.		skin	/gàmːá/	LH	[gàmːá]	also: 'leather (of cattle)'
39.		meat	/a͡iʃː/	H	[a͡ɪɕː]	
40.		blood	/sɔ́ːt͡sː/	H	[sɔ́ːt͡sː]	
41.		bone	/mɛ̀kʾát͡sː/	LH	[m̌ɛ̀kʾát͡sː][25]	
42.		fat (n.)	a. /mɔ́rs/	H	[m̌ɔ́rs]	non-edible fat
			b. /ʒàlgá/	LH	[ʒàlgá]	edible, fatty meat
43.		egg	/mɔ́kʾà/	HL	[mɔ́kʾà][26]	
44.		horn	/ʊ̀ʃínt͡ʃ/	LH	[ʊ̀ʃínt͡ʃ]	also: 'antler'
45.		tail	/gɔ̀lsí/	LH	[gɔ̀lsːí]	
46.		feather	/báːlːà/	HL	[báːlːà]	
47.		hair	a. /kʾɔ́mː/	H	[kʾɔ́mː]	of head; cf. no. 48
			b. /ísínt͡s/	HH	[ísínt͡s]	of body
48.		head	/kʾɔ́mː/	H	[kʾɔ́mː]	also: 'clan', 'self'; cf. no. 47
49.		ear	/wa͡ɪt͡sːí/	LH	[wa͡ɪt͡sːí]	cf. no. 93
50.		eye	/áːp/	H	[áːɸ]	cf. no. 91 and 92; also: 'face'; 'blade (of tool)'; 'roof (of house)'
51.		nose	/síːnt͡s/	H	[síːnt͡s]	also: 'edge'

Continued on next page

[25]The medial [kʾ] is realized with very little energy.
[26]The medial [kʾ] is realized with very little energy.

TABLE 2 – *Continued from previous page*

	Audio	Gloss	Phonemic Transcription	Tonemes	Phonetic Transcription	Notes on translation
52.		mouth	/nɔ̀ːná/	LH	[n̆ɔ̀ːná]	also: 'snout', 'bill', 'lip(s)', 'opening (e.g. of pot)'; 'language'; 'upper end (e.g. of market)'
53.		tooth	/àt͡ʃːí/	LH	[àt͡ɕːí]	also: 'edge'
54.		tongue	/ìnt͡sʼérs/	LH	[ìnt͡sʼérs]	alternative forms: /ìrt͡sʼínt͡s/ (Rec2-33) or /ílt͡sʼínt͡s/
55.		fingernail	/t͡sʼòngít͡s/	LH	[t͡sʼòŋːót͡s] [t͡sʼóŋːít͡s][27]	also: 'toenail', 'claw', 'hoof'
56.		foot	/tɔ́h/	H	[tɔ́h]	cf. no. 57; also: 'time(s) (as in 'four times')'
57.		leg	/tɔ́h/	H	[tɔ́h]	cf. no. 56
58.		knee	/bɔ́kʼ/	H	[bɔ́kʼ]	
59.		hand	/kɔ́ʃ/	H	[kɔ́ʃ]	also: 'arm', 'sleeve', 'foreleg'
60.		wing	/kàːpːá/	LH	[kàːpːá]	
61.		belly	/mílː/	H	[mílː]	
62.		guts	/mèrmá/	LH	[mèrmá]	
63.		neck	/sìlːí/	LH	[sìlːí]	also: 'constricted middle part of a calabash'
64.		back	/ónká/	LH	[o̞ŋká]	
65.		breast	/àmːá/	LH	[àmːá]	
66.		heart	/bɔ̀ːdá/	LH	[bɔ̀ːdá]	also: 'intelligence', 'nous'
67.		liver	/máiz/	H	[máɪz̬]	
68.		drink	/ɔ́ʃkídè/	HHL	[ɔ́ʃkídè]	also: 'smoke (e.g. a pipe)'
69.		eat	/mɔ́idè/	HL	[mɔ̆́ɪdè]	also: 'pain'; 'make (s.o.) drown' (of water)
70.		bite	/ɗ àkʼídè/	LHL	[ɗàkʼídè][28]	also: 'peck', 'pain'

Continued on next page

[27]This is an alternative recording from another speaker.
[28]The medial [kʼ] is realized with very little energy.

TABLE 2 – *Continued from previous page*

	Audio	Gloss	Phonemic Transcription	Tonemes	Phonetic Transcription	Notes on translation
71.		suck	/sʊ̀ːɓídè/	LHL	[sʊ̀ːɓídè]	
72.		spit	/t͡ʃʼʊ́tːídè/	HHL	[t͡ʃʼʊ́tːídè]	
73.		vomit	/t͡ʃʼɔ́ːʃkídè/	HHL	[t͡ɕʼɔ́ːʃkídè]	
74.		blow	/pʊ̀gːídè/	LHL	[ɸʊ̀gːídè]	also: ‘play (trumpet, lyre)’
75.		breathe	/kàstídè/	LHL	[kàstídè]	
76.		laugh	/mìːt͡ʃʼːídè/	LHL	[m̌ìːt͡ɕʼːídè]	
77.		live	/dɔ̀ʔídè/	LHL	[dɔ̀ʔídè]	cf. no. 154; also: ‘stay’, ‘be located’
78.		die	/hái̯kʼːídè/	HHL	[h̆áɪ̯kʼːídè]	also: ‘break (of pot)’; ‘be exhausted’; ‘do (vi) excessively’, ‘be excessive’
79.		red	/zɔ̀kʼátsːˆ/	LH	[zɔ̀kʼátsːˆ][29]	also: ‘red-brown’
80.		green	/t͡ʃʼàːlːá/	LH	[t͡ɕʼàːlːá]	of unripe fruits and crop
81.		yellow	/éːsː pál/	H_H	[éːsː ɸál]	lit. ‘honey comb’
82.		white	/bɔ́rs/	H	[bɔ́rs]	
83.		black	/kártsˆ/	H	[kártsˆ]	
84.		with	/=bar(a)/	dep.		dependent morpheme
			a. /té=bàr/	H=L	[tɛ́b̪àr]	‘with me’
			b. /àsí=bár/	LH=H	[àsə́b̪ár]	‘with someone’ (lit. ‘with person’)
85.		and	/-(i)k(e)/	dep.		dependent morpheme
			/né:níkˆ tà:nìk/	HH_LL[30]	[né:níkˆ tà:nìk]	‘you and me’
86.		if	/-(i)kɔ/	dep.		dependent morpheme
			a. /te lʊkː-aːrˑ-kɔ te neːb sɔːl-anda/[31]			‘If I go, I’ll tell
			[tɛ lʊkːaːrkɔː tɛ nɛːb̪ sɔːlanda]			you.’
			1s go-fIPV-COND 1s 2sDAT tell-INTENT			

Continued on next page

[29] The medial [kʼ] is realized with very little energy.

[30] The word /tá:níkˆ/ ‘and I’ is pronounced with a HH pattern in isolation; in this noun phrase it is realized as LL when it follows /né:níkˆ/ ‘and you’.

[31] As the tone rules in phrases and clauses are still to be analyzed, no tone marking has been attempted on this and the following example sentence.

TABLE 2 – *Continued from previous page*

	Audio	Gloss	Phonemic Transcription	Tonemes	Phonetic Transcription	Notes on translation
			b. /te lʊkː-ini-kɔ te i(j) bɛkʼːˑ-aːrˑ-ʃɔ/			‘If I had gone,
			[tɛ lʊkːʊnʊkɔː tɛ ɪ bɛkʼːaːrʃɔ]			I would have seen
			1s go-PRF-COND 1s 3m see-fIIPV-[?][32]			him.’
87.		because	/kɔ́tːàb/	HL	[kɔ́tːaβ̥]	
88.		tree	/mítsː/	H	[m̆ítsː]	cf. no. 90; also: ‘wood’, ‘wooden handle’
89.		forest	/bás/	H	[bás]	
90.		stick	/mítsː/	H	[m̆ítsː]	cf. no. 88
91.		fruit	/áːp/	H	[áːɸ]	cf. no. 50
92.		seed	/áːp/	H	[áːɸ]	cf. no. 50
93.		leaf	/wàitsːí/	LH	[wàɪtsːí]	cf. no. 49
94.		root	/tsʼàɓá/	LH	[tsʼàɓá]	
95.		bark	/kʼɔ̀rá/	LH	[kʼɔ̀rá]	
96.		flower	/bɔ́nà/	HL	[bɔ́nà]	
97.		grass	/màːtá/	LH	[màːtá]	also: ‘wilderness’; cf. no. 31
98.		freeze	–			
99.		sun	/àwá/	LH	[àwá]	
100.		moon	/àgán/	LH	[àgán]	also: ‘month’
101.		start	/béːrìs/	LH	[b̥éːrìs]	alternative: /béːrs/
102.		water	/wàːtsːí/	LH	[wɔ̀atsːí][33]	cf. no. 104
103.		rain	/íɾ/	H	[íɾ]	
104.		river	/wàːtsːí/	LH	[wɔ̀atsːí]	cf. 102
105.		lake	/ɗálbá/	HH	[ɗálb̥á]	
106.		sea	/bàháːrà/	LHL	[bàháːrɛ̀]	loan < Amh. *bähar*[34]
107.		salt	/màtsʾìná/	LLH	[m̆àtsʾìná]	(obsolete) synonym: /sɔ́kʼàls/ (Rec2-34) or /sɔ́kʼìls/ ‘salt’
108.		stone	/ʃótʃːˑ/	H	[ʃótʃːˑ]	
109.		sand	/ʃáːmá/	HH	[ʃáːmá]	

Continued on next page

[32]The function of the final morpheme is still undetermined.
[33]The vowel sequence [ɔ̯a] is probably the realization of long /aː/after /w/.
[34]Cf. Kane (1990: vol. 1, 855).

TABLE 2 – *Continued from previous page*

	Audio	Gloss	Phonemic Transcription	Tonemes	Phonetic Transcription	Notes on translation
110.		dust	/bólʔà/	HL	[bólʔà]	see alternative recording Rec2-35 , which demonstrates the HL tone pattern more clearly
111.		earth	/sáːz/	H	[sáːz̥]	also: ‘ground’, ‘soil’
112.		cloud	/ʃàːrá/	LH	[ʃàːrá]	cf. 113
113.		fog	/ʃàːrá/	LH	[ʃàːrá]	cf. 112
114.		sky	/t͡ʃʼìlá/	LH	[t͡ɕʼìlá]	synonym: /àpí sáːz/ ‘sky’ (lit. “upper earth”) (Rec2-36)
115.		wind	/à͡igí͡tsː/	LH	[à͡ɪgí͡tsː]	
116.		snow	–			
117.		ice	/ʃát͡ʃː/	H	[ɕát͡ɕː]	also: ‘hail’
118.		smoke	/t͡ʃʼóːʒ/	H	[t͡ʃʼóːʒ̥]	
119.		fire	/tàmá/	LH	[tàmá]	
120.		ashes	/bʊ̀dá/	LH	[bʊ̀dá]	Nos. 120 and 66: /ʊ/ vs. /ʊː/ minimal pair
121.		burn (vt)	/mìt͡ʃːídè/	LHL	[mìt͡ɕːídè]	
122.		road	/gɔ̀͡it͡sːí/	LH	[gɔ̀͡ɪt͡sːí]	also: ‘journey’; ‘side’, ‘direction’; ‘time(s)’ (as in ‘three ~’); ‘manner’, ‘method’
123.		mountain	/ìndá/	LH	[ìnːdá]	
124.		woman	/mát͡ʃʼːà/	HL	[mát͡ɕʼːà]	also: ‘female’
125.		man	/àtínàʔ/	LHL	[àtínàʔ]	also: ‘male’
126.		man	/àsí/	LH	[àsí]	also: ‘human being’, ‘person’
127.		child	/nàʔí/	LH	[nàʔí][35]	also: ‘young person’; ‘lid (of basket)’; ‘upper millstone’

Continued on next page

[35]The nasalization of the word-final vowel has not been marked (confer fn. 21); it is an idiolectal phenomenon and has not been found in the speech of other speakers (see Rec2-38) .

TABLE 2 – *Continued from previous page*

	Audio	Gloss	Phonemic Transcription	Tonemes	Phonetic Transcription	Notes on translation
128.		wife	/mátʃːɔ/	HH	[mátɕːɔ]	
129.		husband	/àsìní/	LLH	[àsìní]	
130.		mother	/índɔ́/	HH	[ínːdɔ́]	also: ‘female’; ‘lower millstone’; ‘lower part (of basket with lid)’
131.		father	/bàːbá/	LH	[bàːb̥á]	also: ‘owner’
132.		name	/sɔ́mts/	H	[sɔ́mts]	also: ‘noun (neolog.)’
133.		sing	/jétsʼːídè/	HHL	[jétsʼːídè]	
134.		play	/kàːʔídè/	LHL	[kàːʔídè]	also: ‘chat’
135.		swell	/kìtsʼːídè/	LHL	[kìtsʼːídè]	e.g. of a sprained foot
136.		kill	/wɔ̀ɗídè/	LHL	[wɔ̀ɗídè]	also: ‘cut (grass)’; ‘be unbearable’, ‘overpower’
137.		fight	/ɔ̀lídè/	LHL	[ɔ̀lídè]	
138.		hunt	/ɔ̟́ɪtːídè/	HHL	[ɔ̟́ɪtːídè]	
139.		hit	/bɔ̀kːídè/	LHL	[bɔ̀kːídè]	also: ‘thresh’; ‘produce (of bamboo)’
140.		cut	/kʼàtsʼːídè/	LHL	[kʼàtsʼːídè]	also: ‘fell’; ‘decide’; ‘sting (of wasp)’
141.		split	a. /ɓálkídè/[36]	HHL	[ɓálkːídè]	e.g. firewood
			b. /kʼɔːkʼːídè/	LHL	[kʼɔːkʼːídè][37]	e.g. an enset corm; also: ‘saw (wood into planks)’; ‘wound (s.o.’s head)’
142.		stab	/tʃʼàdːídè/	LHL	[tʃʼàdːídè]	also: ‘pain’; ‘pound (in mortar)’
143.		scratch	/bátsʼːídè/	HHL	[bátsʼːídè]	e.g. of cats
144.		dig	/bɔ́ːkːídè/	HHL	[bɔ́ːkːídè]	e.g. a pit, for yam tubers

Continued on next page

[36]The length of consonants in clusters is probably not phonemic. Thus the phonetically long consonant [kː] is represented by a single /k/ in the phonemic transcription. Confer fn. 7.

[37]The initial and the medial [kʼ] are realized with very little energy.

TABLE 2 – *Continued from previous page*

	Audio	Gloss	Phonemic Transcription	Tonemes	Phonetic Transcription	Notes on translation
145.		at	/=gal(ː)/	dep.		also: 'on'; dependent morpheme
			/jèːpí=gàl/	LH=L	[jèːɸígàl]	'at a mourning ceremony'
146.		in	/=garta/	dep.		dependent morpheme
			/míl:=gàrtà/[38]	H=LL	[mǐ́l:gàrt:à]	'in the belly'
147.		sew	/sìkːídè/	LHL	[sìkːídè]	
148.		count	/pài̯dídè/	LHL	[ɸài̯dídè]	
149.		swim	/gòtídè/	LHL	[gòtídè]	
150.		fly (v.)	/pàɾídè/	LHL	[ɸàɾídè]	
151.		walk	/jéɗːídè/	HHL	[jéɗːídè]	also: 'step', 'tread'
152.		come	/jéi̯dè/	HL	[jéɪ̯dè]	
153.		lie	/sóɾkʼːídè/	HHL	[sóɾkʼːídè][39]	change of position verb: 'lie down'; cf. no. 166
154.		sit	/dɔ̀ʔídè/	LHL	[dɔ̀ʔídè]	change of position verb: 'sit down'; cf. no. 77
155.		stand	/èkʼːídè/	LHL	[èkʼːídè]	change of position verb: 'stand up'; 'stop'; 'take place (of market)'
156.		turn (vi)	/bìɾíntídè/	LHHL	[bɔ̀ɾíntídè]	also: 'turn around, turn over' /-int/ = middle morpheme
157.		fall	/kéɗːídè/	HHL	[kɛ́ɗːídè][40]	e.g. of person, of rain
158.		float	/pàlàl gé̯idè/	LL_HL	[ɸàlàl géɪ̯dè]	ideophone + 'say'; cf. no. 167
159.		flow	/gɔ́gːídè/	HHL	[g̊ɔ́gːídè]	

Continued on next page

[38] See fn. 36.

[39] The medial [kʼ] is realized with very little energy.

[40] On the record, the speaker pronounces this item with a LHL tone pattern, i.e. [kɛ̀ɗːídè]. This pattern is probably an idiolectal phenomenon or a pronunciation error. Other speakers we have consulted pronounce this item with a HHL pattern, and we have, therefore, decided to transcribe it as HHL here.

TABLE 2 – *Continued from previous page*

	Audio	Gloss	Phonemic Transcription	Tonemes	Phonetic Transcription	Notes on translation
160.		see	/bèk'ːídè/	LHL	[bèk'ːídè]	also: 'look (at)'; 'check', 'try'; 'visit'; '(do) ever'
161.		hear	/sískídè/	HHL	[sískídè]	also: 'listen to'
162.		know	/èrídè/	LHL	[èrídè]	'come to know'; also: 'be able', 'can'
163.		think	/k'ɔ̀pːídè/	LHL	[k'ɔ̀pːídè]	alternative form: /k'ɔ́pːídè/[41]
164.		smell (s.th.)	/síːɗídè/	HHL	[síːɗídè]	'smell s.th. deliberately', 'sniff'
165.		fear	/íːt͡ʃ'ːídè/	HHL	[íːt͡ɕ'ːídè]	
166.		sleep	/sɔ́ɾk'ídè/	HHL	[sɔ́ɾk'ːídè][42]	cf. no. 153
167.		say	/gé͡idè/	HL	[gé͡ɪdè]	cf. no. 158
168.		I	/táːná/	HH	[táːná]	
169.		you (s)	/néːná/	HH	[n̆éːná]	
170.		a. he	/íjá/	HH	[íjá]	
		b. she	/ízɔ́/	HH	[ízɔ́]	
171.		we	/nɔ́ːná/	HH	[nɔ́ːná]	
172.		you (p)	/jíntá/	HH	[jíntá]	
173.		they	/íntá/	HH	[íntá]	
174.		this[43]	a. /háː/	H	[h̆áː]	masculine
			b. /hànːí/	LH	[h̆ànːí]	feminine
175.		that	a. /sèkáː/	LH	[sèkáː]	masculine
			b. /sèkàní/	LLH	[sèkàní]	feminine
176.		here	/há͡i/	H	[h̆á͡ɪ]	
177.		there	/sèká͡i/	LH	[sèká͡ɪ]	
178.		who	/ɔ́ːnì/	HL[44]	[ɔ̋ːnì]	
179.		what	/ábz/	H[45]	[ábz̥]	

Continued on next page

[41] In different recordings (from 2008 and 2009) with another native speaker (Dutse Tamiru), this verb is always realized with a high-toned stem: /k'ɔ́pːídè/ (HHL) (Rec2-37) . It can thus not be excluded that the pronunciation of no. 163 as presented here is incorrect.

[42] The medial [k'] is realized with very little energy.

[43] Note that Baskeet has six different demonstratives, only two of which are here presented in nos. 174 and 175.

[44] On the record, the interrogative pronoun is pronounced with the typical Baskeet question intonation: with raised pitch on the penultimate syllable and a fall on the lengthened final syllable.

[45] The monosyllabic interrogative pronoun is pronounced with raised pitch.

TABLE 2 – *Continued from previous page*

	Audio	Gloss	Phonemic Transcription	Tonemes	Phonetic Transcription	Notes on translation
180.		where	a. /wɔ̀i/	H[46]	[wɔ̀ɪ]	
			b. /wɔ̀idì/	HL[47]	[wɔ̀ɪdːì]	*-di* = locative morpheme
181.		when	/áːntà/	HL[48]	[áːntà]	
182.		how	/wɔ̀záɾ/	LH	[wɔ̀záɾ]	
183.		not	/bá̰iː/	H	[bá̰ɾː]	'there is not' alternative form: /bá̰i/
184.		all	/wɔ́i͡tsːí/	HH	[wɔ́ɪ͡tsːí]	
185.		many	/wɔ́ilìn͡ts/	HL	[wɔ́ɪlìn̥͡ts]	also: 'much'
186.		some	/mɔ́kʼːá/	HH	[m̆ɔ́kʼːá]	also: 'a bit'
187.		few	/gílːá/	HH	[gílːá]	cf. no. 6
188.		other	/mélà/	HL	[m̆élà]	
189.		one	/pétːán/	HH	[pétːán]	
190.		two	/nàmʔí/	LH	[nàmʔːḭ́]	
191.		three	/hà̰izːí/	LH	[h̆à̰ɾd͡zːí]	
192.		four	/ɔ̀idːí/	LH	[ɔ̀ɪd̥ːí]	
193.		five	/ìʃːín/	LH	[ìʃːín]	
194.		night	/kʼámː/	H	[kʼám̥ː][49]	also: 'day (24h)'
195.		day	/gàlásː/	LH	[gàlás̥ː]	
196.		year	/lá̰i͡tsː/	H	[lá̰ɾ͡tsː]	
197.		rope	/gàːdí/	LH	[gàːdí]	
198.		give	/ímːídè/	HHL	[ímːídè]	alternative form: /ɔ́mːídè/
199.		hold	/éːɗːídè/	HHL	[éːɗːídè]	also: 'seize'; 'start'
200.		squeeze	/t͡ʃʼìːt͡ʃʼídè/	LHL	[t͡ɕʼìːt͡ɕʼídè]	e.g. wet clothes
201.		rub	/wɔ́ɾdídè/	HHL	[wɔ́ɾdídè]	also: 'brush (one's teeth)'
202.		wash	/mèːt͡ʃʼːídè/	LHL	[m̆èːt͡ɕʼːídè]	
203.		wipe	/kʼɔ́t͡ʃːídè/	HHL	[kʼɔ́t͡ɕːídè][50]	also: 'grease (a griddle)'
204.		pull	/gát͡ʃːídè/	HHL	[gát͡ɕːídè]	

Continued on next page

[46] On the record, the interrogative pronoun is pronounced with the typical Baskeet question intonation: with raised pitch on the first vowel of the diphthong and a fall on the lengthened second vowel of the diphthong.
[47] See fn. 44
[48] See fn. 44
[49] The initial [kʼ] is realized with very little energy.
[50] The initial [kʼ] is realized with very little energy.

TABLE 2 – *Continued from previous page*

	Audio	Gloss	Phonemic Transcription	Tonemes	Phonetic Transcription	Notes on translation
205.		push	/sʊ́gídè/	HHL	[sʊ́gídè]	
206.		throw	/jʊ̀gʊ̀dːídè/	LLHL	[ʒʊ̀gʊ̀dːídè]	alternative form: /ʒʊ̀gìdːídè/
207.		tie	/kʼátʃːídè/	HHL	[kʼátɕːídè]	also: ‘fasten’; ‘arrest’, ‘imprison’

RECORDED SPEAKERS. Most recordings presented here were made with Ambaye Tsedeke (*1979/80, born and raised in Awra-Soosta, Basketo Special Woreda).

The following recordings were made with Dutse Tamiru (approx. *1985, born and raised in Ganshir, Basketo Special Woreda): Rec2-1 to Rec2-6, Rec2-8 to Rec2-18, Rec2-20, Rec2-22 to Rec2-38, Rec2-40, Rec2-44, Rec2-53 to Rec2-55, Rec2-58, Rec2-59, Rec2-62, Rec2-63, Rec2-66 to Rec2-69, Rec2-70 to Rec2-75 as well as no. 2 and the second variant of no. 55 in the Swadesh list.

Tamiru Admasu (approx. *1982, born and raised in Mandit, Basketo Special Woreda) is the speaker of Rec2-19, Rec2-21 and Rec2-47 to Rec2-50.

ABBREVIATIONS

1, 2, 3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person
COND	conditional
DAT	dative
dep.	tone dependent on the host
E.C.	Ethiopian calendar
f	feminine
IDEO	ideophone
INTENT	intentional
m	masculine
p	plural
PFV	perfective
PRF	perfect
s	singluar
vi	intransitive verb
vt	transitive verb

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