

THE MORPHOLOGY OF ENDEGAÑ

BY

EYASSU NEGA

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EYASSU NEGA

APPROVED BY

1. _____

Advisor

2. _____

Examiner

3. _____

Examiner

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 The language and the people

The language Endegañ genetically belongs to the Ethio-Semitic language family, particularly to the West Gurage languages, which is the sub group of what is often called ‘Gurage languages. The different Gurage languages were previously believed to belong to one group, which was also known as ‘Gurage’ (cf. Hetzron & Bender: 1976).

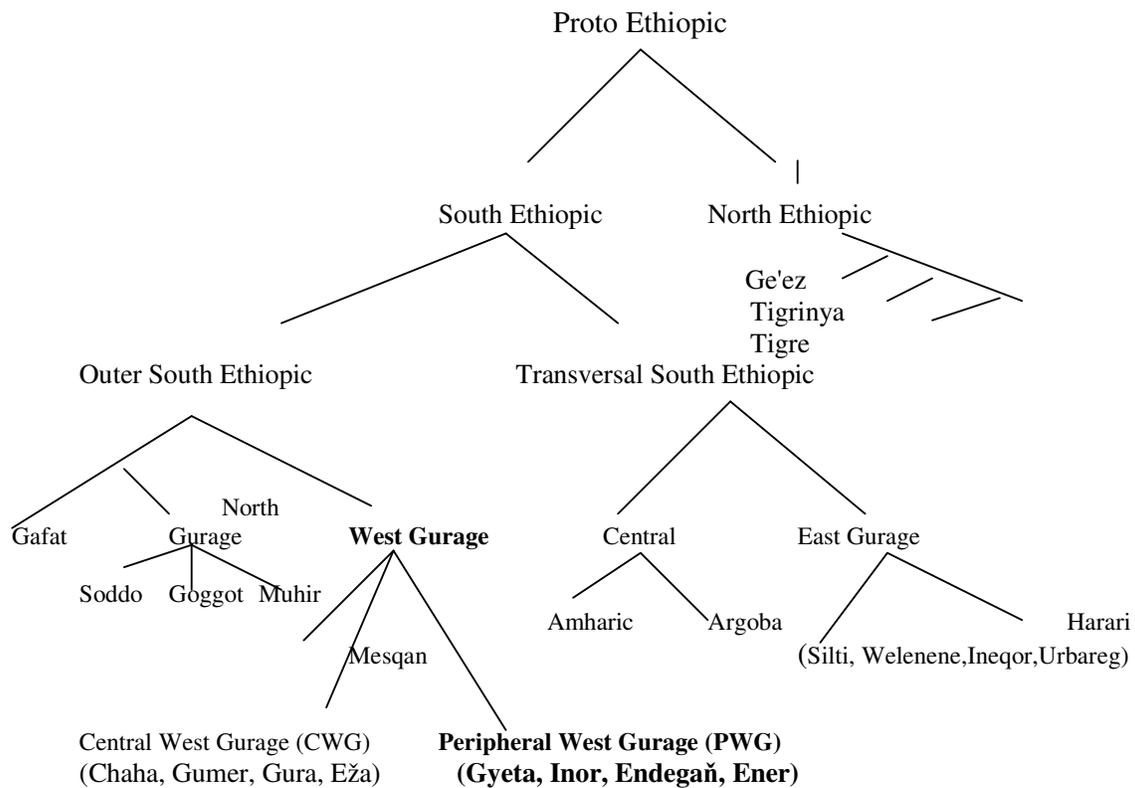
As it is stated in Hetzron (1977: 21) “the question is whether Gurage is to be considered as one branch of South Ethiopic, with internal dialectical division, or there is no entity Gurage at all, but an agglomerate of Semitic languages of different origins assembled in one area.”

A consensus has thus been reached among scholars that the term ‘Gurage’ should no longer be used as a meaningful linguistic term. Thus (Hetzron, 1977; Bender, 1976) have stated that the term ‘Gurage’ is a geographical term rather than a genetic linguistic term.

Scholars who are engaged in Ethio-Semitic studies agree on three major divisions within the Gurage language group: Northern, Eastern and Western Gurage. However, as to the members constituting each branch, there are different views among scholars like Leslau (1968) and Hetzron (1972, 1977). Leslau, for instance, classifies the languages (dialects as he calls them) as follows: Silti, Welene and Zway belong to East Gurage; Chaha, Geto, Eža, Gumer, Endegañ, Muhir, Mesqan and Goggot as belonging to Western Gurage and he claims that Soddo is the sole representative of North Gurage. Rose (1997) has also classified Muhir as

belonging to the Western Gurage cluster. However, Hetzron (1972, 1977), classifies Soddo, Goggot and Muher as members of Northern Gurage.

Though the issue of classification is still unsettled, there seem to be a tendency towards accepting Hetzron's (1972, 1977) classification, (Hudson, 2000). Hetzron (1977) has investigated the shared morphological innovations among the Gurage languages. The place Endegeñ assumes within the Ethio-Semitic language family is presented below.



1. Ethio Semitic family tree adapted from Bender (1976)

Endegeñ, as it shown above, is sub-grouped under Peripheral Western Gurage (PWG) under the three tense group.

The Gurage languages are spoken in a geographically compact area. Endegañ speakers, for instance, are neighbored by speakers of Enemor (Inor) in the west, Ener in the east and south, and Geto (Gyeta) in the north. As a result, some Endegañ speakers are bilingual in one of these languages.

The Endegañ community lives in the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Regional State [SNNPRS] in the Gurage zone. According to the Central Statistics Authority (CSA) abstracts of population and housing census of 1994, the total number of native speakers of the Gurage languages is 1,881,574. However, the number of speakers of each Gurage language has not been included in the census. Thus, the exact number of Endegeñ is unknown.

The majority of Endegañ speakers are followers of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Few of them are Muslims, and there are an insignificant numbers of Protestants. The rural people are mostly farmers, where much of the economy is based on 'Enset' (*ensete edulis*), maize and grain. In urban areas, Endegeñ speakers are mostly masons and some are merchants.

1.2 Review of related literature

Abiyot Teffera (2000) in his unpublished senior essay "noun phrase in Endegeñ" has presented the structure of the noun phrase. According to him, a noun phrase in Endegañ

consists of a single word or a string of words, and except determiners, possessive modifiers, which are found after the head noun, all other constituents occur preceding the head.

Furthermore, Abiyot (2000) has stated that the phrase can occur sentence initially and within a verb phrase. Regarding the function of an NP, it is stated in the study that a noun phrase can function as a subject and as an object. The subject, which is identified by the place it occupies in a sentence, is found at the beginning of a sentence while the direct and indirect objects are found within the verb phrase. Abiyot (2000:35-7) has also stated that the direct object noun phrases occur before the verb whereas the indirect object noun phrase occurs before the direct object.

Aklilu Yilma (1983), in his unpublished senior essay “Endegeñ phonology” has conducted a study on the phonology of the language. He has identified a total of 26 consonant and 7 vowel phonemes. His phonemic inventory includes the nasalized semi vowel /w/ and the voiceless bilabial stop /p/. He however, has not provided minimal pair for the nasalized semi vowel /w/ and has only presented one instance of the voiceless /p/ which does not also constitute a minimal pair. He has also identified three types of diphthongs: rising /ei, ai, oi, ae/, centering /iä, eä, uä, oä/ and back rising /au, äo, ou/, which are rejected in this study for the phonological rule of the language does not allow sequencing of vowels.

Birhanu W/Yohanes (1999) in “Derivational morphology of Endegeñ” has attempted to describe the derivational morphology. According to him, nouns are derived from different grammatical categories. For instance, abstract nouns are derived from other nouns and adjectival bases and from verb stems. Furthermore, According to him, the discontinuous morpheme {ä...ut} which has {ä...t} as a variant, is used to derive verbal nouns as in /ä-

heñ-ut/ ‘to dig’ /ä-säm-ut/ ‘to hear’. Furthermore, Birhanu (1999:12) states “verb stems that consist of dental phonemes in their final positions change their internal structures from **CäCäC** to **äCuC₁C₂**”. Following are some of the examples he provided.

/näkad-/	‘touch’	/ä-nuk□-ut/	‘to touch’
/käfäd-/	‘open’	/ä-kuf□-ut/	‘to open’

It is also stated that the variant {ä...t} is used to derive verbal nouns from verb stems whose final radical is /t/ as in /sä?är-/ ‘beg’ /ä-su?ur-t/ ‘to beg’. Birhanu (1999:15) has also stated that manner nominals are derived by the discontinuous morpheme {i...i?ä} as in /heñ-/ ‘to dig’ /i-heñ-i?ä/ ‘manner of digging’ while instrumental nominals are derived from verb stems by the discontinuous morpheme {i...koda} as in /sä?är-/ ‘beg’ /i-sä?är-koda/ ‘an instrument used for begging’. Agentive nominals are said to be derived by {i...kän}, examples like /t’af-/ ‘write’ /i-t’af-kän/ ‘writer’ /sä?är-/ ‘beg’ /i-sä?är-kän/ ‘begger’ are provided.

Regarding verbal derivations, Birhanu (1999) has identified processes used in the derivation of passive, causative, intensive, intensive-passive, and reciprocal. The passive, as it is stated in Birhanu (1999), is derived by the morpheme {tä-}. The direct causative is marked by the morpheme {a-} while the indirect causative is marked by the morpheme {at-}. Furthermore according to his analysis, the frequentative is formed by reduplicating the penultimate radical of the root and by inserting the vowel /a/ between the reduplicated radicals as a ‘reduplication formative’ as in /tä?epär-/ ‘take’ /tä?epapär-/ ‘take repeatedly’. Moreover, the intensive passive and the reciprocal forms are, according to this study, expressed by using identical derivations; attaching {tä-} and reduplicating the penultimate radical. Thus,

intensive passive has the form /käfafäd-/ ‘open repeatedly’ /tä-käfafäd/ ‘be opened repeatedly’, while the reciprocal has /tä-zīnanäk-/ ‘speak to each other’ (Birhanu, 1999:22). However, as we shall see later, Birhanu’s (1999) analysis of the derivational processes of Endegañ is full of wrong analysis and misleading generalizations.

Eyassu Nega (1999) in a senior essay entitled “Inflectional Morphology of Endegañ” has stated that inflections in Endegañ are used to express grammatical functions such as number, gender, determiners and case. Regarding the verb inflection, it is shown that person; number and gender are separately indicated in the perfective and imperfective aspects. According to him, the person marker in the second and third masculine and feminine plural in the perfective aspect is /-hum/ and /-ham/ and /-um/, /-am/ for the second and third plural respectively. However, the /-m/ identified as person marker by Eyassu (1999) is a main verb marker and not a person marker. Furthermore, aspect and tense are considered to be one and the same in the study. The morphological analysis of Eyassu (1999) seems to be dubious. This is because his analysis is only based on a single verb /sappär-/ ‘break’. Thus, much of the morphological and morphophonemic facts remain unexplained.

Edward Ullendroff, in his book titled **Semitic languages of Ethiopia: A comparative phonology** (1955) has done a comparative phonological study. He has compared the Gurage languages with other Semitic groups irrespective of dialectical and language variation. He has identified 30 consonant and 7 vowel phonemes for Gurage languages. The consonant phonemes include labio-velars and palatalized consonants like /gʸ, kʸ, kʸ/.

Robert Hetzron (1977) has done a comparative phonological study in his book **The Gannan Gurage Languages**. He has identified 42 consonants phonemes for the Gurage languages in general. His phonemic inventory of consonants includes rounded labialised consonants like /b^w, p^w, m^w, f^w, g^w, k^w, k'^w, ?^w and h^w/. Furthermore, nasalized consonants like /w, m, r/ according to Hetzron (1977), are mostly found in Peripheral Western Gurage. He has also stated that /b^w/, /m^w/ and /β/ (bilabial fricative) are not found in Endegeñ. From Hetzron's phonemic inventory of vowels, /æ/ and /[~]/ are said to be found in some dialects.

In his article "The two futures in central and peripheral western Gurage" in **Essays on Gurage Language and Culture** (1996), Hetzron has stated that two future markers are found in these languages and has presented a sketchy analysis of them.

Wolf Leslu (1968), in his article "Towards the classification of the Gurage dialects", has stated that there are no phonetic or phonemic features that are specific to Gurage as a whole or to any two groups of Gurage clusters. It is only the Western Gurage, which has certain features that are not found elsewhere. These are palatalized velars and rounded labialised phonemes. However, it is also stated that certain dialects of Western Gurage may lack such phonemes.

In his article "The Verb Forms of the Gurage Delicate of Endegeñ", Leslau (1992) discusses that unlike other Ethiopian languages, the second radical of type A verbs in Endegeñ is represented by verbs some of which have geminated second radical, while others have a non-geminated second radical.

In his article “The Tri-radicals in the Gurage Dialects of Endegeñ”, Leslau (1992) has discussed on the main verb types A, B and C. Type A is basically a non-geminated type except in some cases. Type B is characterized by the gemination of the second radical in all forms and type C is characterized by the vowel /a/ after the first radical.

In the article “Traces of laryngeals in the Gurage dialect of Endegañ” Leslau (1992), has stated that the laryngeal consonants which are completely lost in Enemmor and Chaha, are preserved by the use of the glottal stop in Endegañ.

Degif (1997), argues that the labialised and palatalized consonants of West Gurage languages, particularly of Chaha, are derivational, and thus, he has excluded them from the phonemic inventory of the language. He argues that in Chaha, the abstract phoneme /U/ has three realizations; [u] and [w] which are nuclear and non-nuclear respectively, and an autonomously floating [u] with the feature [+round] and [+high]. Furthermore, he has stated that the floating [u] triggers labialisation and /or palatalisation for it has both features by virtue of being labio-dorsal.

1.3 The present study

The main purpose of this study is to analyze and present a comprehensive and systematic description of Endegeñ morphology. As already stated, for Leslau (1969a), the Gurage clusters are considered as dialects constituting a single genetic unit, but such a conclusion seems to be strong for scholars like Hetzron (1977). This shows that there is lack of

exhaustive research on each variety of the Gurage cluster, which calls for exhaustive comparative studies. However, such comparative works have to be based on exhaustive baseline descriptions of each variety. Thus, this study attempts to fill the gap by providing relatively comprehensive and exhaustive morphological description of Endegeñ, for it is the belief of the researcher that the researches done so far on the morphology of the language are not adequate and comprehensive. Furthermore, as it is stated in Anderson (1992:7) “ the object of study in morphology is the structure of words and the way in which the structure reflects their relation to other words- relation both within some larger construction such as sentence and across the total vocabulary of the language.” Following this notion, this study aims at collecting linguistic data, and showing the structure of Endegeñ words along with their relationship with other words or sentences.

1.4 Significance of the study

This research is conducted hoping that it may add to our knowledge about the Gurage languages in general, particularly Western Gurage languages. Hudson (2000) suggests the strong relevance of morphologically oriented comparative studies in Ethio-Semitic languages. Thus, apart from serving as a source material for further comparative studies, the analysis might contribute to a neater classification of the Gurage cluster. Furthermore, the study will provide information for the preparation of literacy materials.

1.5 Methodology

The study is based on data collected from two native speakers of the language. First a questionnaire is prepared in the contact language Amharic and linguistic data are then

elicited. The data are transcribed phonemically and whenever surface forms are emphasized, the transcription is phonetic, shown by using square brackets. Apart from elicitation, texts are recorded to complement the elicited data. The framework used is the structural framework. This is because, since there is lack of an exhaustive descriptive work on the morphology of Endegeñ, it is the belief of the researcher that theorizing should only come after adequate descriptive works is made available.

1.6 Phonological preliminaries

1.6.1 Consonant phonemes

According to Aklilu's (1983) investigation of the phonology of Endegeñ, the language has a total of 26 consonant phonemes. These include the nasalised semi vowel [w] and the voiceless bilabial stop [p]. Both phonemes are rejected in this study because the nasalized semi-vowel does not constitute minimal pairs while [p] is not considered as a full-fledged phoneme. Thus, only 24 consonant phonemes are recognized and these are shown in the table below:

	Billabi al	Labio- dental	Alveolar	palatal	velar	Glottal
Stops	b		t d		k g	ʔ
Glottalize d			t'		k'	
Afficates				č		
Glottalize d				č'		
Fricatives		f	s z	š ž		h
Nasals	m		n	ň		
Liquids			l			
Trill			r			
<u>Semi- vowel</u>	w			y		

Table 1. Consonant phonemes.

In this study, contrary to Aklilu (1983), it is claimed that there are 24 consonant phonemes in Endegañ. The phoneme [p] which is treated as a phoneme in Aklilu (1983) is the result of devoicing of an original geminated [bb>p]. Other than such processes, the phoneme [p] has very rare occurrence. The nasalised semi vowel /w/ which is treated as a phoneme, is also rejected in this study, for as already stated, it does not constitute a minimal pair and as stated by Aklilu (1983) it has unpredictable occurrence. However, regardless of such facts, he has included it in the phonemic inventory of the language.

The basic syllable types of Endegañ, as in most Ethio-Semitic languages, are CV and CVC. Furthermore, as in other Gurage languages, V and VC structures are permitted. In Gurage languages as opposed to Harari (Rose, 1997), clusters of consonants in word final and medial position are allowed. Furthermore, the consonant clusters in Endegañ, seem to be governed by the sonority sequencing principle (Durand, 1990:210), in which sounds occur in sequence, as governed by a universal sonority scale hierarchy. Thus, in consonant clusters of Endegañ, the sonority of the first consonant must be higher than that of the second. If not, the epenthetic vowel [i] is used to avoid sequencing of such consonants. Clusters or sequences of consonants are only possible in word medial and final positions. There are no initial clusters in Endegañ.

(1)

- a. /idärg/ 'I hit'
- b. /ätirf/ 'remain!'
- c. /änkis/ 'bite!'
- d. /ändif/ 'sting!'

As it is shown in (1a-d) above, whenever the sonority constraint is violated, the epenthetic vowel [i] is inserted but if the sonority constraint is maintained as observed the examples in (1a-d), no epenthetic vowel is needed. Furthermore, Aklilu (1983) has also stated that all the phonemes except /p/, /n/ and /h/ can form clusters in word final position. All the consonant phonemes except /l/ and /r/ can occur in word medial and final positions, while the phoneme /b/ does not occur in final position.

Aklilu (1983:2), has also stated that the feature that characterizes the consonant segments of Endegeñ at the phonetic level are labialisation and palatalization. Most of the consonants are either labialised before back vowels [u] or [o], or palatalized before the front vowels [i] or [e]. In this study also, the labialised and palatalized velars, which have been considered as phonemes by Leslau (1992), Ullendroff (1955), and Hetzron (1977), are not treated as independent phonemes but as derivations (Cf. Degif, 1997; Aklilu 1983). This is because, as it is stated in Aklilu (1983), the rounded and palatalized consonants show predictable occurrence.

1.6.2 The vowel phonemes

As it is stated in Aklilu (1983), Endegeñ has 7 vowel phonemes. They are presented below:

i	ï	u
e	ä	o
	a	

Table 2. Vowel phonemes of Endegeñ. Adapted from Aklilu (1983).

As is stated in Aklilu (1983:27), all the vowels occur as short. The long counterparts are treated as sequence of two identical vowels, both phonetically and phonemically¹.

Furthermore, it is also stated that the vowels in Endegeñ are nasalized when they occur before or after nasal consonants. Apart from these simple vowels, Aklilu has also identified

¹ Leslau (1992:6) has also stated “ outside their phonemic value, the long vowels may result from various phonetic developments. They may arise from the disappearance of intervocalic, prevocalic and post vocalic consonants.”

complex vowels or diphthongs. These are rising diphthongs /ei, ai, oi, ae/, back-rising diphthongs /au, ao,äo, ou/ and centering diphthongs like /iä, eä, uä,oä/. However, such diphthongs are rejected in this study for two reasons. First, the contrasts he presented are inaccurate in their transcription and thus do not constitute real minimal pairs. For instance, he has presented /aed/ ‘sun’, which should have been transcribed as /ayed/, /aikätf/ ‘he won’t chop’ should have been transcribed as /a-y-kätf/. There seem to be a confusion in identifying the negative morpheme {a-} and the 3ms marker /y-/, which are considered as diphthongs /ai/ in the example provided by Aklilu (1983:47). Second, the phonological rule of Endegañ, as we shall see in section (1.9.1) below, avoids vowel sequences either by deleting one of the vowels in the sequence or by inserting a glide between them.

1.6.3 Phonological Processes

The following phonological processes have been attested in Endegañ.

1.6.3.1 Vowel deletion

When two vowels occur at morpheme boundary, the first vowel is deleted.

a. menä	‘work’	men-ännä	‘worker’
b. zängä	‘trouble’	zäng-ännnä	‘trouble maker’
c. mäla	‘tactic’	mäl-ännnä	‘tact full’

As shown above, when an affix that begins in a vowel is attached to a base with a word final vowel, the last vowel of the base is deleted.

1.6.3.2 Glide insertion

The glide [y] or [w] are inserted between vowels, to break successions of vowels within a word or at morpheme boundary.

- a. /mei/ [meyɪ] 'wash (imp.2sf)'
- b. /giä/ [giyä] 'dog'
- c. /a-y-säwr-u-a-te/ [aysäwruwate] 'they will not break her'

Furthermore, two short vowels can become long or can be disjoined by the glottal stop ʔ as shown in the examples provided below.

- (a) ä-ässäʔäm → [ä:ssäʔäm]
of-brother 'of brother'
- (b) ä-ahä → [a:hä]
of- you (2sm) 'of you (2sm)'
- (c) ä-uʔur → [u:ʔur]
of- fence 'of fence'

- (d) ä-iyä → [iʔiyä]
of –me ‘of mine’
- (e) ä-inä → [iʔinä]
of –we ‘of ours’

As shown in the examples (a-c) above, there are two phonological processes when the morpheme \ä-\ is affixed to nouns or pronouns, first it totally assimilates to the vowel quality of the noun or pronoun to which it is attached due to vocalic harmony and second it becomes long due to the process of vowel contraction. In (d and e), the two short vowels are disjoined by the glottal stop after the prefix has totally assimilated to the initial vowel of the pronoun. The same process is found in Chaha (Leslau, 1992) and regarding the insertion of the glottal stop, Leslau (1992) has stated that the glottal stop might be the original initial consonant of the noun or pronoun which appears whenever \ä-\ is prefixed to nouns or pronouns.

1.6.3.3 Labialisation and Palatalisation

Whenever a labial or a velar consonant is followed by either of the two back rounded vowels \u\ and \o\, there occurs labialisation as shown in the examples below:

- a. gončä → [g^winčä] ‘hayena’
- b. afuňä → [af^wňä] ‘nose’
- c. fuʔar → [f^wʔar] ‘back’
- d. k’ur → [k^wir] ‘light’

Alveolar and velar consonants are palatalized when they occur before the front high and mid vowels *i* and *e* respectively.

- a. /dak'-i/ → [dak'^y]
 lough-2sf 'you (sf) lough!'
- b. /kift-i/ → [kifč]
 open-2sf 'you (2sf) open!'

1.6.3.4 Devoicing

Aklilu (1983:) has stated that gemination in Endegañ is phonemic. However, in this study it is claimed that gemination is not phonemic for the language is not characterized by such a feature as opposed to Eža, which is such a language. In Endegañ as is the case in Enemmor and Chaha (Leslau, 1992:139ff; Hetzron, 1977), original voiced consonants like the bilabial /b/, dentals /d, z, ž/ and /g and ġ/ are devoiced to their voiceless counterparts /p/, /t, s, ,š/ and /k, č/². Consider the examples below for the comparison between Endegañ and Eža.

	Endegañ	Eža	
a.	däpär-	däbbär-	'add'
b.	gättär-	gäddär-	'sleep'

² Hetzron (1977:39) have stated that original consonantal gemination is still preserved in Soddo, Goggot, Muher, Mesaqan and Eža.

c. zass- zazz- ‘act mad’

1.6.3.5 Spirantization

Spirantization refers to the process of fricativization or weakening of stops. In Endegañ, the voiced stop /b/ in word initial position and its devoiced counterpart /p/ coming from /b/, is realized as /w/ in the imperfective and jussive forms in intervocalic, post-vocalic and pre-vocalic positions. Observe the examples provided below:

a. bǎʔina ‘he ate’

[yǐ-wǎrʔǎ] ‘he eats’

b. sappǎr-hǎ ‘you (2ms) broke’

[tǐsǎwǐr] ‘You (2ms) break’

c. ǰappǎr-ǎ ‘he finished’

[yǐǰawǐr] ‘he finishes’

1.6.3.6 Consonant Alternation

The sonorants /r/, /n/, /l/ substitute for each other in Endegañ. The most frequent alternation is the alternation between /r/ and /n/. According to Degif (1996), such sonorant alternation in Chaha is only attributed to various idiosyncratic factors, for which phonological explanations

cannot be provided. The phonemes /r/,/n/ and /l/, according to Aklilu (1983) are not found in initial, medial, and final positions without giving any phonological explanation for the alternations. However, Leslau (1992:51) has stated that a non-geminated /n/ is realized as [r], in non-initial, intervocalic or postvocalic positions. Thus, /tärässa/ ‘get up’ and /arat/ ‘top of the head’ which are /tänässa/ and /anat/ in Amharic.

CHAPTER TWO: NOUNS

2.1. Noun Inflection

Inflection is the addition of affixes to the base of a word, to obtain linguistic forms, which enter into grammatical relations and carry out functions. In this section, the inflection of nouns for number, gender, definiteness and case will be discussed and the inflectional affixes of Endegañ will be identified.

2.1.1. Number

Endegañ has the concept of singular and plural. However, except in limited kinship terms, there is no overtly realized morpheme that marks either singular or plural forms. Hence, /färäz/ could be both ‘horse’ and ‘horses’. Nevertheless, the number of the noun is expressed syntactically in the verbal agreement morphemes.

The archaic Semitic plural marker {-at} indicates plurality in limited kinship terms given in (1) below. These nouns are the only nouns in Endegañ in which number is expressed by using an inflectional morpheme³.

(1)	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
a.	ässä?äm	‘brother’	ässä?äm-at	‘brothers’
b.	ätta?äm	‘sister’	ätta?äm-at	‘sisters’

Some nouns have different roots for the distinction between singular and plural. They have suppletive forms, which are lexically identified as singular or plural as in (2) below:

(2)	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
a.	mus	‘man’	gämä	‘men’
b.	mīšt	‘woman’	inš	‘women’
c.	äčč	‘boy’	deyng	‘boys’
d.	dek	‘calf’	mägärä	‘calves’
e.	t’ay	‘sheep’	gīssä	‘sheep (pl.)’

³ Plural in other nouns is marked either by adding a cardinal number before the noun as in *wir?et säb* ‘two men’ or by using the third person plural pronouns, which themselves lack number specification except showing mere plurality as shown below.

akebe	‘uncle’	akebe-hunno	‘uncles’
amayed	‘maternal aunt’	amayed hīnna	‘aunts’
anačiwod	‘paternal aunt’	anačiwod-hīnna	‘aunts’
abo	‘fathers’	abo-hunno	‘fathers’
adod	‘mother’	adod-hīnna	‘mothers’

f.	anaw	‘cow’	arʔe	‘cows’
g.	gäräd	‘girl’	gürʔed	‘girls’

As the examples in (2 a-e) show, number distinction is made by using suppletive forms in which singular and plural forms are designated by using different lexical items. In (2g) however, the plural is shown by inserting a glottal stop and by changing the vocalic melody from $C_1\ddot{a}C_2\ddot{a}C_3$ to $C_1\ddot{i}C_2ʔeC_3$.

2.1.2 Gender

Nouns in Endegañ can be masculine or feminine, though there are no overtly realized morphemes showing gender in a noun itself. Gender is however, indicated by the verb inflection or by the pronouns referring to the noun⁴. Natural gender is attributed to inanimate nouns and biological gender to animate nouns; thus, [+ANIMATE] nouns have suppletive forms distinguishing masculine and feminine genders as shown in (3) below:

(3)	Masculine	Gloss	Feminine	Gloss
a.	mus	‘man’	⁵ mīšt	‘woman’
b.	ässäʔäm	‘brother’	ättäʔäm	‘sister’
c.	abo	‘father’	adod	‘mother’
d.	äčč	‘boy’	gäräd	‘girl’
e.	akebe	‘uncle’	amayed	‘aunt’

⁴Gender is indicated by agreement a noun has with the verb. Thus, /sappär-äččī/ ‘she broke’ while /sappär-ä/ ‘he broke’.

⁵ The final -t of the noun mīšt is no more used as a feminine marker synchronically, but /t/ used to mark feminine (Cf. Hetzron, 1977; see also Leslau, 1951:219).

f.	färüz	‘horse’	wänad	‘mare’
g.	bawirä	‘ox’	anaw	‘cow’
h.	goränte	‘he-sheep’	t’ay	‘she-sheep’

The archaic Semitic feminine ending /-t/ does not have any relevance in Gurage languages (Leslau, 1951). However, it is still preserved in some feminine proper nouns as in čalu-t and änt’äwä-t.

2.1.3 Articles

Articles that restrict the referential range of nouns are classified into definite and indefinite. Nouns whose referential range is not restricted such as /säb/ ‘man/ person’ and /gäräd/ ‘girl’ are considered as generic nouns (Baye, 1988).

2.1.3.1 Definite Article

Definiteness in Endegañ is either expressed by using the possessive suffixed pronouns of the third person masculine and feminine /-uhä/ and /-ššä/ respectively, or by employing the personal pronouns of the third person masculine /hudä/ and feminine /šidä/, suffixed to the noun. It usually refers to a noun, which has already been mentioned in discourse (See Leslau 1992:123) for Chaha and Enemmor definiteness; Baye (1988))⁶. Consider the examples below in (4).

(4) a. bid-uhä

⁶ The third persons can be added to the list of deictic, for they occur in pronominal positions and have similar function as demonstratives since they are used to restrict the reference to one in the vicinity of the speaker and the hearer (Baye: 1988). This combination is also considered as having the value of demonstrative by (Leslau, 1992:123).

	Hose-his (3ms)	‘the /his house’
b.	bawir-ššä [bawiriššä]	
	ox- her (3fs)	‘the/her ox’
c.	äč- hudä	
	boy- 3ms	‘the /he boy’
d.	gäräd šidä	
	girl- 3fs	‘ the/ she girl’
e.	gír?ed- hīnna	
	girls (p) 3fp	‘the girls’
f.	inš hīnna	
	women- 3fp	‘the women’
g.	gämmä hinno	
	men -3mp	‘the men’

As shown in (4, a-e) above, the third person possessive suffixes /-uhä/ and /-ššä/ and the independent personal pronouns of the third person /hudä/ ‘he’ and /šidä/ ‘she’, are used to mark definiteness in Endegañ. With plural nouns, as in (4 f-g), the third person plural /hīno/ ‘they (m)’ and /hīnna/ ‘they (f)’ are used to indicate definiteness in plural nouns.

2.1.3.2 Indefinite Article

The indefinite article is not morphologically marked. However, quantifiers, indefinite pronouns and the numeral /att/ ‘one’, morpho-syntactically show that a noun is an indefinite some as in the examples below in (5).

- (5) a. att äč mä?a
one boy came
‘A boy came’

- b. att-īm säb
any man
'Any man/ any one'
- c. atat deyng
some boys
'Some boys'

As it is stated in Baye (1988), the reference of the nouns in (5) above is to any number of the class denoted by the head noun⁷. Furthermore, quantifiers such as in (6) below, are used to show that a noun is indefinite. According to Lyons (1977:455) quantifiers, which are used to “to produce expressions whose reference is determined in terms of size of the set of individuals or in terms of the amount of substance that is being referred to.” Quantifiers, like articles can be classified into definite and indefinite quantifiers. See the examples in (6)

- (6) a. k'äri 'some'
k'äri aññu 'some milk'
- b. hīt'ik'e 'a few/little'
hīt'ik'e wiyä 'a few/little honey'
- c. hamä?ad⁸ 'a lot of/many'
hamä?ad ihä 'a lot of water'
- d. att bīrč'č'ik'o aññu
one glass milk 'one glass of milk'

⁷ According to Baye (1988), These forms are used to initiate discourse or to introduce new information.

⁸ The quantifier /hamä?ad/ is used to express a large quantity of the noun in the collective as in hamä?ad äwan 'a large number of/ lots of donkeys', hamä?ad säb 'a large number of/ lots of men'.

corresponding citation forms. Nouns are licensed as subjects by the subject pronominal suffixes in the verb (See Chapter four). Subject NPs are also identified by their position in clause. A subject is always found at the beginning of a sentence as the following examples in (7) shows.

- (7) a. bahiru mod-ä
 Bahiru die-3mss-perf.
 ‘Bahiru died’
- b. ahä ambas ättär-hä
 you (2ms) he lion kill-2mss-perf
 ‘You killed a lion’
- c. gäräd šidä ä-färüz siyä- čči
 girl- def- acc-horse buy-3fss-perf
 ‘The girl bought a horse’

As it is shown in (7, a-c) proper names, pronouns and common nouns have the syntactic role of subjects, without an overt morpheme marking them as nominatives.

2.1.4.2 Accusative Case

In transitive constructions, there are two noun phrases with the semantic roles of agent and patient. Syntactically, an agent is associated with subject and patient with object. As it is stated in Comrie (1981), in languages where grammatical roles are marked through inflections, the accusative case is described as being the direct object. In Endegañ, accusative case is marked with the morpheme {ä-}. The accusative case marker, however, may or may

not appear overtly, since it is governed by the semantic and morphological features of the NPs to which is attached. Compare the examples in (8), (9) and (10).

- (8)
- a. šidä ä-hudä ättär-äččī-n-u
 she acc-he kill- 3fss-acc-3mso.
 ‘She killed him’
 - b. ambäs -hudä ä-gäräd-šidä näkäss- ä –n-aa
 lion - def acc-girl-def bite - 3mss- acc-3fso
 ‘The lion bit the girl’
 - c. kábädä ä – bahīru ak’uraññ-ä-n-u
 Kebede acc- Bahiru chase – 3mss-acc – 3mso
 ‘Kebede chased Bahiru’

As shown in (8), the accusative case marker is overtly realized in nouns, which are specified for the feature [+HUMAN, +DEFINITE]. Thus, the accusative case marker {ä-} is suffixed to proper names and pronouns, which are inherently definite, and to definite nouns. However, inanimate and indefinite inanimate nouns do not take the accusative marker {ä-}. Observe the examples in (9) below.

- (9)
- a. ahä bawirä siyä – hä
 you (2ms) ox buy – 2mss-perf.
 ‘You bought an ox’
 - b. girma wärrange enzz- ä
 girma fox catch – 3mss-perf.
 ‘Girma caught a fox’

- c. gāräd šidä aññu asiyä-čči
 girl- def milk sell-3fss-perf
 ‘The girl sold milk.’

In (9a-c), the accusative case marker {ä-} is not prefixed to the nouns /bawirä/ ‘ox’ /wärange/ ‘fox’ and /aññu/ ‘milk’. This is because, the object nouns in (9a-b) are indefinite and the object noun in (9c) is inanimate. In definite animate objects, however, the accusative case marker surfaces as in (10) below:

- (10) a. ahä ä-bawir-hudä siyā-hä-n-u
 you (2ms) acc- ox-the sell-2ms-acc-3mpo-perf.
 ‘You sold the ox’
- b. kebed ä-t’ay-šidä attar-ä-n-aa
 kebede sheep(she)-def kill-3ms-acc-3fpo
 ‘Kebede killed the sheep’

As shown in the examples (8),(9)and (10)above, The accusative case marker is overtly realized with NPs which are both [+ANIMATE] and [+DEFINITE]in object position. Thus, it can be said that animacy and definiteness are central to the overt realization of the accusative case marker {ä-} and the object marker {-n-} in the verb, which are overtly realized when there is a definite animate noun in object position.

2.1.4.3 The Genitive case

In languages where grammatical relations are inflectionally marked, the genitive case expresses relations of possessions, source, temporal, purpose, instrumental, etc...(Crystal,

1997). In Endegañ, possessive genitive is the same in pronouns and nouns and there are two ways of expressing the genitive case. One is by using the possessive suffixes of the pronoun whereas the other is by using the particle {ä-}.

There are ten different possessive suffixed pronouns. The suffixes are presented in the table below:

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	-ännä	-änirä
2 nd mas.	-ahä	-ahu
fem.	-aš(i)	-aha
3 rd mas.	-uhä	-hino
Fem.	-ššä	-hinna

Table (3) Possessive suffix of the pronoun

The above listed possessive suffixes of the pronoun are all attached to the possessed nouns as shown in (11).

- (11) a. **bid-ännä** wärä-hu
house-my went-1ss
‘I went to my house’
- b. **abo-ššä** mo□-u-m

- father-her (3f) died-3mp-mvm
 ‘Her (3fs) father died’
- c. **en-aši** nu?-n
 eye-your (2fs) big-COPULA
 ‘Your eyes are big’
- d. iyä **bawir-uhä** siyä-hu
 I –ox-his (3sm) sell-1ss
 ‘I sold his (3sm) ox.’

The noun phrases in bold in (11a-d) above, are nouns with possessive genitive suffixes⁹. The other way of showing the possessive relations is by prefixing the particle {ä-} with the possessor noun. Consider the examples in (12)

- (12) a. **ä-iyä** [i?iyä] färäz
 of- I horse ‘My horse’
- b. **ä-adod-ännä** [a:dodĩñnä] bid
 of –mother- my house ‘My mother’s house’
- c. **ä-färaz** ägür
 of –horse leg ‘leg of a horse’
- d. **ä-mišť-uhä** wag
 of –wife-his (3ms) money ‘His (3ms) wife’s money’
- e. **ä- ?ätäm-änirä** mäs
 of –sister-our husband ‘our sisters husband’

As shown in (12,a-e) above, {ä-} is prefixed to personal pronouns, indefinite pronouns and nouns.

Similarly, source, purpose and locative genitives are marked by the morpheme {ä-}, which has different meanings according to the type of genitive it expresses.

- (13) a. **ä – anaw** aññu
 of – cow milk ‘Cow’s milk/milk from a cow’
- b. **ä – sinnay** dabbo
 of – wheat bread ‘Bread of wheat/bread made of wheat’
- c. **ä-biräd sat’in**
 of – iron box ‘box made of iron’
- d. **ä-šäräd** lemat
 for-food plate ‘a plate (used) for food’
- e. **ä-k’ibe** gämbä
 for- butter pot ‘ a pot (used) to store butter’
- f. **ä-äršä [ä:ršä]** bawirä
 for-ploughing (n) ox ‘an ox used for ploughing’
- g. **ä-bid** eč’č’ä
 for-house wood ‘a wood for constructing a house/a wood used
 for fire’

⁹ Whenever there is an impermissible sequence of consonant clusters as in (11(a) and (c)), the epenthetic vowel [i] is inserted.

As it is shown in (13,a-c), the morpheme {ä-} shows source genitive, and in (13d-e) it shows instrumental genitive, while in (13,f-g) it expresses purpose and/ or instrumental genitive.

2.1.4.4 The Dative case

As stated in Palmer (1994:31), the dative case “refers to entities, usually animates, that are indirectly affected by the action of the verb.” It pertains the indirect object of a sentence and is marked by the morpheme {ä-}. Examples are provided in (9) below:

- (9) a. mīs- hudä ä – giyä äzaf amm- ä-n-u
 man- he (def) dat- dog food give-3mss-acc- 3mso-perf
 ‘The man gave food to the dog’
- b. gırma ä-mäsfin tarik edd –ä –n-u
 Girma dat- mesfin story tell – 3mss-acc-3mso-perf
 ‘Girma told a story to Mesfin’
- c. mīs -hudä ä-adod-uhä bid siy-ä-hīnaa
 boy –he (def) dat-mother-his house buy-3mss-3fpo-perf
 ‘The man bought a house to his mother’
- d. käbedä ä- šīdä ihä amä?-ä-n-aa
 kebede dat-her(3fs) water bring-3mss-acc-3fso-perf
 ‘kebede brought water to her’

As shown in (8a-d) above, the dative marker {ä-} is prefixed to proper nouns, common nouns and pronouns assuming the role of the indirect object.

2.1.5 Semantic cases

The semantic case refers to a case, which is assigned by using ad-positions (pre-and post positions) instead of inflections, thereby assigning different semantic roles to nouns or pronouns. Thus, ad-positions are heads in the ad-positional phrases and express semantic cases such as direction, location, and instrumental. The commutative, instrumental and ablative cases are expressed by prepositions or combination of pre- and post-positions. The same prepositional morpheme can also assign different semantic cases.

2.1.5.1 Instrumental Case

The instrument with which an action is performed is marked by the prepositional morpheme {bä-} prefixed to nouns.

- (10) a. bä – ginzo ä-yä?i-hudä ant’-ä-hä
 ins – ax -acc-tree cut-2mss
 ‘You cut the tree with an ax’
- b. bä – biräd gonč ättar-änä
 ins- gun hyena killed-1ps
 ‘We killed a hyena with a gun.’
- c. abo-ññä ä-gäyä bä-färäz-uhä wär-ä
 father-my to-market by-horse-his go-3mss
 ‘My father went to the market by his horse’

2.1.5.2 The ablative case

The ablative case shows movement from a place. It is marked by the prepositional morpheme {tä-}, indicating place of departure as in (11) below:

- (11) a. tä – gäyā mä?a-hu
 loc- market come-1ss-perf.
 ‘I came from the market’
- b. adod-ašī sine tä- dīnk’ula siyā-ččī
 mother-your (2fs) wheat from-dinkula buy-3fss-perf
 ‘Your (2fs) mother bought wheat from Dinkula’
- c. abo-ññā tä-ārš-uhä [täršuhä]¹⁰ mä?-ä
 father-my from-farm-his come- 3mss-perf.
 ‘My father came from his farm’

2.1.5.3 Locative case

The locative case encompasses destination, static and fixed location.

2.1.5.3.1 Destination (to)

The location to which someone or something moves to is indicated by using the combination of the pre- and post- positions {ä-} and {-e} prefixed and suffixed to the nouns respectively.

See example (12) below:

- (12) a. ä-bid- e-ññā wärä-hu
 to-house –loc-my-go-1ss-perf

¹⁰ Whenever the ablative case marker {tä-} is prefixed to nouns beginning in vowels, the /ä/ of the ablative marker is deleted.

- ‘I went to my house’
- b. ä-gäññ-e yī-wär?-u-de
 Countryside –loc 3mp-go-3mp-df.
 ‘They will go to the countryside’
- c. ä-gādan-e wätä?-ä
 to-down – loc fall-3sm-perf.
 ‘He fell downward’

2.1.5.3.2 Static Location.

Static location is marked by the morpheme {ba-}. See example (13) below:

- (13) a. bä- bid-äššä
 loc- house-her
 ‘In/on her hose’
- b. bä- □ onya-hudä
 loc- sack-def.
 ‘In/ on the sack’
- c. bä- sat’in annä
 loc – box –exists
 ‘It is in/ on a box’

In example (13 a–c), the morpheme {bä-} only designates a fixed or static location. As a result, it fails to indicate the precise location of a person or an object denoted by the noun. Therefore, adverbial expressions such as /käsīn/ ‘inside’, /for/ ‘on’, /ini/ ‘under’ /yifitiyift/ ‘in front of’ are used to specify the precise locations of a noun. The precise location of the nouns in (14 b and c) for instance, can be specified and expressed as follows;

- (14) a. bä- jonya käsin sinne annä
 loc-sack -in wheat exists
 ‘There is wheat in the sack’
- b. ginzo-hudä bä- sat’in for annä
 ax-def-loc- box – on exists
 ‘The ax is on the box’
- c. tä-bid-änirä yiftyift
 from-house-our in front of
 ‘In front of our house’

2.1.5.4 Commutative Case

The commutative case is used to indicate with whom an entity is located (Blake, 1994). It is marked by the morpheme {tä-} as shown in (16) below.

- (16) a. tä- bahiru wärrä-hu
 com – Bahiru go-1ss
 ‘I went with Bahiru’
- b. tä- dob -ähä mä?a-čči
 com.- relative- your(2sm) come-3fss
 ‘She came with your relative’
- c. tä- mišt-uhä dāräs-hä
 com.- wife- his dance-2mss
 ‘You danced with his wife’

The morpheme {ä-} of Endegañ, as it is illustrated above, is used to mark different cases. Hence, it can be considered as a homophones morpheme since it is attached to different bases bearing different meanings. Thus, the meaning of one of the forms can only be differentiated from the others by the meaning of the noun to which the morpheme is attached.

Expressing different cases with a homophonous morpheme is a common feature across the Western Gurage languages, (see Leslau, 1992 for Enemmor and Chaha case markers. see also Lyons, 1968:293). In Endegañ, for instance, the morpheme {ä-} is attached to different bases yielding three different meanings. The morpheme can be attached to a possessor noun marking the genitive case, it marks accusative case when attached to an NPs functioning as direct object in clause, it also marks the dative case when attached to NPs serving as indirect object in clause. Similarly, the morpheme {bä-} can be prefixed to mark Instrumental case as shown in (2.1.5.1), and static location as in (2.1.5.3.1). Furthermore, the morpheme {tä-} marks source or place of departure (2.1.5.2), while it simultaneously encodes the commutative case when prefixed to [+HUMAN] nouns as in (2.1.5.4). This phenomenon may be attributed to the fact that there are only three prepositions {bä-}, {tä-} and {ä-} in Endegañ which are used for different cases. And as it is stated above, the meaning of the forms can be deduced from the meaning of the noun to which they are attached.

To sum up, in this section, we have seen that Endegañ nouns are not inflected for number (except in one instance) gender and definiteness. However, agreement phenomenon and morpho-syntactic processes signal such features. Furthermore, different cases of Endegañ have been identified and discussed. The language, as far as this study is concerned does not have inflectional morphemes for the features singulative, augmentative and diminutive cases.

2.2. Noun Derivation

This section deals with the nominal derivation of Endegañ. There are few morphemes, which derive nouns from other word classes such as verbs and adjectives or from other nouns.

Nouns derived from verbs, adjectives and other nouns can be classified as abstract, gerundive, manner, group identity, result nominals, agentive and instrumental nominals.

2.2.1 Abstract Nominals

Abstract nominals are derived by suffixing the morpheme / -näd/ to nouns and adjectival bases.

Thus, the inputs are either adjectives or [-ABSTRACT] nouns, and the outputs are nouns that are abstract. The example in (17) and (18) below illustrates the derivation of such nouns.

2.2.1.1. Derivation of [+ abstract] nouns from [- abstract] nouns

(18)	Noun stem	Gloss	Abstract nominal	Gloss
	a. abo	‘father’	abo- näd	‘fatherhood’
	b. adod	‘mother’	adod- näd	‘motherhood’
	c. bešä	‘friend’	beš- näd	‘friendship’
	d. dob	‘relative’	dob- näd	‘relationship’
	e. säw	‘man’	säw-näd	‘manhood’
	f. mišt	‘woman’	mišt-näd	‘womanhood’

2.2.12. Derivation of [+ abstract] nouns from Adjectives

(19)	Adjective	Gloss	Abstract	Gloss
			Nominal	
	a. .awīžä	‘foolish’	awīž-näd	‘foolishness’
	b. mo?	‘good’	mo?- näd	‘goodness’
	c. uru	‘near’	ur- näd	‘nearness’
	d. zigä	‘poor’	zig-näd	‘poorness’
	e. dek	‘ tall’	dek-näd	‘tallness’
	f. nu?	‘big’	nu?-näd	‘bigness’

As it can be seen from (17 a-e and 18 a-e), the suffix {-näd} is a noun suffix, which changes [-ABSTRACT] nominals into [+ABSTRACT] nouns. Semantically, the morpheme expresses the notion ‘ the fact of being x’. Furthermore, as it can be seen in (17) and (18), a word final vowel is dropped before the abstract nominal marker. The epenthetic vowel [i] is inserted between the base and the derivational suffix in surface forms if the base ends in consonant and whenever a word final vowel is deleted. Hence, /awīžä/ in (17a.) for instance, is realized as [awīžinäd].

2.2.2. Gerundive Nominal

Gerundive nominals are derived from verb stems by using a discontinuous morpheme {ä....ut}. Such nominals are used to express process or action of verbs from which they are derived. See the examples in (20) below.

(20)	Verb root	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
a.	s-?-r-	‘ask’	ä-sä?är-ut [äsä?art]	‘asking/to ask’

b.	t-m-r-	‘learn’	ä-tämar-ut [ätämart]	‘learning/to learn’
c.	g-d-r-	‘sleep’	ä-gädär-ut [äg ^w ǰrt]	‘sleeping/to sleep’
d.	z-k-r-	‘jump’	ä-zikär-ut [äžik ^w rt]	‘jumping/to jump’
e.	b-?-n-	‘eat’	ä-wir?-ut [äwir? ^w t]	‘eating/to eat’
f.	z-r-f-	‘rob’	äzirfä-ut [äžirf ^w t]	‘robbing/to rob’
g.	k-f-t-	‘open’	äkäfät-ut [äk ^{wf} čt]	‘opening/to open’

The derivation of gerundives involves a complex process of labialisation and palatalization.

According to Hetzron (1977:45), in some morphological conditions, labialisation of the relatively last non-coronal consonant of the verbal word takes place¹¹. Hetzron (1972, 1977) termed this process internal labialisation (IL). He also claims that labialisation is triggered by “the absorption of an originally suffixal –u.” Furthermore, if the last consonant preceding the affix is palatalizable, (i.e. if it is a dental consonant), the process of end palatalization (EP) takes place. Thus, the process of labialisation is concomitant with palatalization and in all cases internal labialisation is always followed by end palatalization.

Based on the above facts, the generalization that can be made regarding the data in (20) is that, both (IL) and (EP) play crucial role in the derivation of gerundives, and that Hetzron’s argument exactly predicts the process of labialisation and palatalization. As to the discontinuous morpheme {ä...ut}, my assumption is that, the /u/ of the suffix {...ut} floats so that it can labialise the right most non-coronal consonants in the verbal words. The evidence for this comes from the fact that if there are non-coronal labializable consonants as in (20a-b), internal labialisation is not applied. Furthermore in Endegañ, a labial harmony may affect

any non-coronal consonant before most suffixes containing a round element (Cf. Hetzron, 1977:47) and labial harmony as it is shown in (20c-g) is also extended to the vowels i.e. non back vowels are changed to back vowel /u/ as a result of vowel harmony.

2.2.3 Group identity nominal

These are nominals that are used to refer to members of a certain group, or to the activities of that selected group. The morpheme {-äänä} is used to derive such kinds of nominals in Endegañ. See example (21) below.

(21) Nominal base	Gloss	Derived forms	Gloss
men	‘work’	men- äñä	‘worker’
däs	‘song’	däs- äñä	‘singer’
färüz	‘horse’	färüz- äñä	‘horse man’
ugat	‘hunt’	ugat-äänä	‘hunter’

2.2.4 Agent Nominals

Agentive nominals designate the doer of an action that a verb denotes. In Endegañ, agentive nominals are expressed by using relativized phrases. Observe the examples in (22) below.

(22)

¹¹ According to Hetzron (1977, and 2000), this process is only found in the tt-languages in the formation of impersonals.

Root	Derived stem	Gloss	Agent nominal
Gloss			
n-t'-k'	nät'ak'	'snatch'	ä-nät'ik' (säb) 'snatcher'
k'-bb-r	käbbar	'burry'	ä-k'äbbar (säb) 'burrier'
č'-w-t	čäwat	'till'	ä-č'äwač (säb) 'tiller'
n-m-d	nämäd	'love'	ä-nämäd (säb) 'lover'

As it shown in (22 a-d) above, agentive nominals are expressed by using the relativizer /ä-/ attached to a relativized form of the verb. The lexical item /säb/ 'person' is an optional element. Such agentive nominals are common in other Gurage clusters¹².

2.2.5 Result Nominal

Such nominals are those that refer to the outcome or product of certain actions. The result nominal is derived from the verb roots by the suffix {-at}. Examples are provided in (23) below:

(23) Verb root	Result nominal	Gloss
a. b-r-?	biri?-at	'happiness'
b. m-r-?	miri?-at	'blessing'
c. .mik-	mik-at	'problem'
d. gir-	gir-at	'satiety'

¹² See Alemayehu (2000) for Kistane; See also Hetzron (1977) for other Guurage languages.

As it is shown in (23a-d), the morpheme {-at} derives result nominal from verb roots. There are two stem patterns here the first is **CvC(C)vC-**(22a-b), while the second pattern is a **CvC-** pattern (22c-d).

2.2.6 Instrumental and Manner Nominals

Manner nominals refer to the way something is done, while instrumental nominal expresses the instruments with which one performs an action. Both instrumental and manner nominals in Endegañ are expressed by using phrases and not with distinctively recognizable morpheme¹³. Birhanu (1999) however, has identified a discontinuous morpheme {i...i?ä} which, he claimed, could derive manner nominal, from verb stems. In the present study, the forms identified by Birhanu (1999) are completely incorrect to the extent that they were rejected by my informants. Consider the examples provided in (24) and (25) below:

(24)	Verb Stem	Gloss	Instrumental nominal	Gloss
a.	t'än-	'hit'	ä-t'än-ko	'an instrument used for hitting'
b.	seč'č'	'drink'	ä-seč'č'-ko	'an instrument used for drinking'
c.	fanš-	'dig'	ä-fanš-ko	'an instrument used for digging'
d.	čän-	'sit'	ä-čän-ko	'an instrument used for sitting'

(25)	Verb stem	Gloss	Manner nominal	Gloss
a.	ärsä-	'plough'	ä-ars-bo	'way/manner of ploughing'
b.	cän-	'sit'	ä-čän-bo	'way/manner of sitting'
c.	bä?n-	'eat'	ä-wär?-bo	'way/manner of eating'

¹³ Similar situation is observed in other West Gurage and Northern Gurage languages (Hetzron, 1977).

d. seč'č'- 'drink' ä-seč'č'-bo] 'way/manner of drinking'

As it is shown in (24) above, the instrumental and manner nominal are expressed by using relative phrases, in which {ä-} is a relativizer. The difference between the two forms lies on the types of morphological element they attach as a suffix nominal. Manner nominals take the postposition /-bo/ 'with', and instrumental nominal takes the postposition /-ko/ 'like'.

Furthermore, The epenthetic vowel /i/ is inserted so as to avoid impermissible sequence of consonants. The surface form for (24c.) for example, would be [äfanšikodä?ar].

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to examine the inflectional and derivational properties of nouns in Endegañ. In the discussion regarding inflections, we have seen inflections for gender, case, number, definiteness, and case. In Endegañ, gender and number (except in limited kinship terms) are not expressed inflectionally. The definite article is expressed by independent or suffixed pronouns. Furthermore, it has been also shown that case markers are prepositions that are homophonous. The second section of this chapter deals with the derivation of abstract, gerundive, agentive, group identity, result and instrumental nominals.

CHAPTER THREE: PRONOUNS

In Endegañ, personal pronouns are of two types, personal independent pronouns and suffixed pronouns. The suffixed personal pronouns are subdivided into possessive, subject and object pronoun suffixes. The former are attached to nouns while the latter are suffixed to verbs. (See chapter four for the discussion on subject and object pronominal affixes.)

3.1 Independent personal pronouns

Personal pronouns refer to a speaker, the person spoken to and others whose referents are assumed to be known from the general context. There are three persons (1st, 2nd and 3rd) each with singular and plural and masculine and feminine counterparts. The absolute form of the independent personal pronouns of Endegañ are given in (1) below:

(1)	Singular	Plural
1.	?iyä	?inä
2.mas.	ahä	ahu
fem.	ah-i [ʔaši]	ahaa
3.mas.	h-u-tä [hudä]	hĩnä-u[h ^w ĩno]
fem.	h-i-tä [šidä]	hĩnä-aa

Table (1):Independent personal pronouns.

The personal pronouns given in (1) above are morphologically complex. Their internal structure along with the morphophonemic changes is presented in (2) below.

(2)	2fem.	/ah-i/ → [aši]
	3mas.	/ht-u/ →/hĩd- <u>u</u> /→ [hudä]
	fem.	/ht-i/ → /hĩt-i/→/hidä/ → [šidä]
	2pm.	/ah-nä-u/ → /ah-u/ → [ʔahu]
	2pf.	/ah-nä-a/ → /ah-a/ → [ʔahaa]

- 3pm. /hĩ-nä-u/ → /hĩ-nä-u/ → /hĩno/ → [h^wnno]
- 3pf. /hĩ-nä-a/ → /hĩ-nä-a/ → [hĩna]

As it is shown in (2) above, the pronouns in Endegañ are internally complex. In 2sf, the gender marker /-i / palatalizes the preceding consonant and hence /h→š/. In 3s masculine and feminine, the masculine suffix is /-u/ and the feminine /-i/ found between the third person marker /h/ and the base /t/. Then /t/ in both forms is changed to /d/¹⁴. In 2pm and feminine, the number marker /-nä-/ is deleted before the gender suffixes /-u/ and /-a/, respectively. As a result, the feminine marker /-a/ is lengthened¹⁵. In 3pm, the masculine marker /-u/ is suffixed. Then /-u/ labialises the rightmost consonant, then, the combination /ä-u/ is realized as [o] due to vowel contraction. In the case of 3pf, first the gender marker /-a/ is prefixed, then, the number marker /-nä/ is deleted and as a result the 3pf marker is lengthened.

3.1.1 Inflection of the personal pronouns

As it is stated above the independent personal pronouns in (1) are morphologically complex and hence can further be analyzed for the grammatical categories of person, number and gender.

¹⁴ Leslau (1992) and Hetzron (1977,1972) claimed that originally the 3rd person masculine and feminine pronouns were *huta* and *hita* respectively. And the /t/ in both cases becomes voiced /d/. According to Hetzron (1977:49-52), there is a root consonant alternation in most of the Gurage languages and such kinds of strong /weak qualitative alternations are widely attested phenomena in Western Gurage languages.

3.1.1.1 Person

The person markers, which are also the bases to which number and gender markers are attached are {ʔi-} for first person singular and {ʔi-} for first plural, {ʔah-} for second persons, and {h~t} which is realized as {š-} stands for third person feminine. The third person marker {hüdä-} becomes discontinuous in third masculine and feminine singular, for the gender marker affixes {-u-} and {-i-} are infixes between the roots of the third person, from their original suffixal position. The evidence for this comes from Ge'ez and Tigrä where the former has [wīʔit-u] 'he' and the latter [hīt-u] (Leslau, 1992:570, See also Hetzron, 1977:59). Thus, gender markers for third person singular are not infixes originally but are claimed to be suffixes.

3.1.1.2 Number

The singular in Endegañ is unmarked whereas first plural is marked by the morpheme {-nä-}, which is deleted in all the other plural persons followed by the gender markers as shown in (2) above.

3.1.1.3 Gender

The masculine gender is indicated by the morpheme {-u} in the second and third masculine plural. In third masculine plural, the masculine marker {-u} labialises the /h/ of the third person masculine and changes the vowel /ä/ to /o/ for the reasons of vowel harmony. The

¹⁵ Long vowels in Western Gurage languages may arise either from deletion of intervocalic, prevocalic or post vocalic consonants or from contraction of short vowels. (Cf. Leslau, 1992 and also Hetzron 1977)

feminine is marked by the morpheme {-i} in the second and third person singular and by {-aa} in the second and third plural.

3.2 Possessive Pronouns

Possessive pronouns in Endegañ are formed by attaching the possessive prefix {ä-} to the base of the pronoun as shown in (3) below.

(3)

	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
1.	ä-iyä [i?iyä]	‘my’	ä-innä [i?innä]	‘our’
2 mas.	ä-ahä [a?ahä]	‘your’	ä-ahu [a?ahu]	‘your’
fem.	ä-aši [a?aši]	‘your’	ä-ahaa [a?ahaa]	‘your’
3mas.	ä-hudä	‘his’	ä-hunno	‘their’
fem.	ä-šidä	‘her’	ä-hīnaa	‘their’

Table (2) Possessive pronouns

As it is shown in (3) above, the possessive affix {ä-} changes its vocalic quality. In first person singular and plural the marker {ä-} assimilates to the word initial vowel and a glottal stop is inserted between the two short vowels¹⁶. In all the other persons where the word initial vowel is /a/, the possessive suffix assimilates to the initial vowel of the pronouns and as a result there occurs vowel lengthening¹⁷.

¹⁶ The /ʔ/ which is inserted between the possessive suffixes and the initial vowel is the original initial consonant which surfaces whenever there is a prefix (Cf. Leslau, 1992). In all other cases, the glottal stop is deleted from surface phonetic representations except in first person singular and plural forms only.

¹⁷ Note that the possessive suffix /ä-/ does not change its quality in pronouns having an initial consonant.

Furthermore, for every independent personal pronouns of Endegañ, there is a corresponding possessive suffix pronoun. Hence, possession can also be expressed by using the suffixed possessive affixes of the pronoun as shown in (4).

(4)

Person	Singular	Plural
1.	-äññä	-änirä
2 mas.	-ahä	-ahu
fem.	-aši	-ahaa
3 mas.	-uhä	-hunno
fem.	-äššä	-hinna:

Table (3) Suffixed possessive pronouns

As shown above, the possessive suffixes of the pronouns are identical with the independent personal pronoun forms except for the first singular and plural, and third singular which are different from their corresponding independent forms¹⁸.

The possessive suffixes are attached to nouns as shown below in (5).

Person	Singular	Gloss	Plural
		<u>Gloss</u>	
1 st	bid-äññä	‘my house’	bawir-änirä ‘our ox’
2 nd mas.	bid-ahä	‘your (2sm) house’	bid-ahu ‘your (2mp) house’

fem.	adod-aši	‘your (2sf) mother’	bid-ahaa	‘your (2fp) house’
3 rd mas.	mīšt-uhä	‘his wife’	äčč-hīno	‘their (m.) son’
fem.	abo-äššä	‘her father’	wag-hīnaa	‘their (f.) money’

In the case of the first person possessive pronoun, the number marker /-nä/ is realized as /-rä/ because of the consonant alternation between /n/ and /r/ which is common in Western Gurage languages (Leslau, 1992; Hetzron, 1977). The epenthetic vowel /i/ appears in the surface form so as to avoid consonant clusters. The suffixed pronouns are used in the formation of reflexive pronouns (See section 3.4) and possessive genitives.

3.3 Demonstrative pronouns

In Endegañ, there are only two demonstrative pronouns /wa/ ‘this/these’ and /ha/ ‘that/those’, without showing agreement in number as the same form is used to refer to singular and plural nouns as in (6) below.

- (6) a. ha äčč ‘that boy’
 ha deyīng ‘those boys’
- b. wa mīšt ‘this woman’
 wa inš ‘these women’

The demonstratives attach /dä/ whenever they occur independently. Thus, /wadä/ is ‘this one/ these ones’ and /hadä/ is ‘that one /those ones’ where the gender is considered as masculine

¹⁸ Hetzron (1972:34), states that the independent second person pronouns may have come from their corresponding possessive suffixes.

by default. As shown above, the demonstrative pronouns do not exhibit inflectional morphemes to mark grammatical categories such as number and gender.

3.4 Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns are formed by using the word /gäg/ which means ‘self’, to which are attached possessive suffixes to render the meaning ‘one self’. The word /gupä/, which has a similar meaning with /gäg/ ‘self’, can also be used in the formation of reflexive pronouns. Consider the examples in (7) and (8) below.

(7)

	Singular		Plural	
1.	gäg-äänä	‘myself’	gäg-änirä	‘ourselves’
	self-my		self-our	
2m.	gäg-ahä	‘yourself’	gäg-ahu	‘yourself’
	self-you (2m)		self-you (2mp)	
f.	gäg-aši	‘yourself’	gäg-ahaa	‘yourself’
	self-you (2f)		self- you (2fp)	
3m.	gäg-uhä	‘himself’	gäg-hunno[gägihuno]	‘themselves’
	self-con-his		self-they (m)	
f.	gäg-äšši	‘herself’	gäg-hinaa [gägihinää]	‘themselves’
	self-her		self-they (f.)	

Similarly, as stated above reflexives are also formed by using /gupä/ as in (8) below.

(8) a. gup-äänä ‘I myself’

- b. gup-aši [gupämaši] ‘She herself’
 c. gup-uhä [gupämuhä] ‘He himself’

Reflexive pronouns, as shown in (7) and (8) above, are formed by using either /gägg/ or /gupä/. Where there is cluster of consonants, the epenthetic [i] is inserted. Furthermore, word final vowels are deleted when an affix, which starts with a vowel, is attached to them, as the language does not allow sequence of vowels.

3.5 Reciprocal pronouns

Reciprocal action is indicated either by the morpheme {tä-}, prefixed to the second element of the reduplicated pronouns, or by {tä-} attached to verbs to render reciprocity. The /-m/ is a conjunction morpheme attached to join the elements as in (9) and (10) below.

- (9) a. hīno-m -tä-hīno ‘they(m.) each other’
 they- con -rec.- they
 b. hīna-m tä-hīna ‘they(f.) each other’
 they- con- rec.-they

{tä-} can also be attached to verbs to express reciprocity.

- (10) a. hīno-m tä-hīno tä-danäg-u-m
 they (m.)- con-rec.-they (m.) rec.hit-3pm-mvm ‘They hit each other’
 b. hīnaa-m tä-hīnaa tedanäg-aa-m
 they(f.)-con.-rec.-they(f.) hit-3pf-mvm ‘They hit each other’

When the reciprocal morpheme is prefixed to a verb, reduplication of the independent pronouns is optional. Furthermore, reflexives can be formed by using the reduplicated forms of either /gäg/ or /gupä/ followed by the suffixed possessive pronouns as in (11) below.

- (11)
- | | | |
|----|----------------------|-----------------------|
| a. | gäg-tä-gäg-m-hïno | ‘They(m) each other’ |
| | self- rec-self-con- | they (m) |
| b. | gägtä-gäg-m-hïnna | ‘They(f.) each other’ |
| | self-rec-self-con- | they (f.) |
| c. | gupä-tä-gupä-m-änïrä | ‘We each other’ |
| | self-rec-self-con- | we (1p) |

3.6 Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns in Endegañ are formed by using the words /ä?ar/ which means ‘thing’ and /säb/ ‘body/person’ to different morphemes as in (12) below.

- (13)
- | | | |
|----|-------------|------------------------|
| a. | att | ‘a certain, some, one’ |
| b. | att- säb | ‘somebody’ |
| c. | att-dä?ar | ‘something’ |
| d. | att-att | ‘some, several’ |
| e. | ma?ïn-ïm | ‘whatever’ |
| f. | ma?n-ïm säb | ‘whoever’ |
| g. | hï?ïn | ‘all, whole’ |
| h. | hï?ïn säb | ‘everybody’ |
| i. | hï?ïn-dä?ar | ‘every thing’ |
| j. | att-ïm säb | ‘nobody’ |

As illustrated in (13), the quantifier /att-/ ‘one’ above with the noun /säb/ ‘person’ functions as indefinite pronoun. /att att/, in (13 b.) is a quantifier resulting from the reduplication of /att/. /hi?in/ which means ‘all, whole’ also can be attached to /-dä?ar/ ‘thing’ or säb ‘person’. The conjunction /-m/ in /ma?n-īm/, is a combination of the interrogative pronoun /ma?in/ ‘who’ and the bound morpheme /m/. As shown in (13 e, f, i), /-m/ occurs as a linking element in indefinite pronouns used as a negative marker. The epenthetic vowel [i] is inserted before /-m/ so as to avoid impermissible consonant cluster.

3.7 Selective and Non-selective pronouns

Pronouns, which refers to a particular person from an already existing whole or set is referred to as ‘selective pronoun’. These pronouns have the meaning ‘some/ each one of you’, ‘ some/ each one of us’. Attaching the first, second and third person plural suffixes to the indefinite pronoun /att-att/ which means ‘some’ forms selective pronouns as in the examples in (14) below.

- | | | | |
|------|----|----------------|----------------------|
| (14) | a. | att-att-änirä | ‘one of us’ |
| | b. | att-att-ahu | ‘one of you(pm.)’ |
| | c. | att-att-ähaa | ‘one of you(pf.)’ |
| | d. | att-atthunno | one of them(3pm.)’ |
| | e. | att-att- hīnna | ‘one of them (3pf.)’ |

Non selective pronouns which are referred to as ‘pronouns of totality’ by Leslau (1981) are formed by attaching the plural suffixed pronouns to the word /hi?in/ ‘all/every’ as in (17) below.

- | | | | |
|------|----|-------------|--------------------|
| (15) | a. | hiʔin-änira | ‘all of us’ |
| | b. | hiʔin-ahu | ‘all of you(pm.)’ |
| | c. | hiʔin-haa | ‘all of you (pf.)’ |
| | d. | hiʔin-hunno | ‘all of you(3pm.)’ |
| | e. | hiʔin-hinna | ‘all of you(3pf.)’ |

As shown above, the selective pronouns are formed by suffixing pronouns to the indefinite pronoun /att-att/ ‘some’, whereas non-selective pronouns are formed by attaching the suffixed plural pronouns to the indefinite pronoun /hiʔin/, which means ‘all/ whole’.

3.8 Exclusive pronouns

Pronouns, which render the meaning ‘none of us’ and thereby excluding all or part of the participants in a discourse are referred to as ‘exclusive pronouns’. Such types of pronouns in Endegañ are formed by suffixing the suffixed pronouns to the indefinite pronoun /att-ïm/ ‘none’. The element /-m-/, occurs as a negative marker.. Such combinations are used to denote the meaning ‘none’ as in the examples provided in (16) below.

- | | | | |
|------|----|--------------|----------------------|
| (16) | a. | att-ïm-änira | ‘none of us’ |
| | b. | att-ïm-ahu | ‘none of you(mp.)’ |
| | c. | att-ïm-ahaa | ‘none of you(fp.)’ |
| | d. | att-ïm-hïno | ‘none of them(3mp.)’ |
| | e. | att-ïm-hinna | ‘none of them(3fp.)’ |

3.9 Interrogative pronoun

The following are the interrogative pronouns of Endegañ.

(19)	a.	maʔin	‘who’
	b.	mīr	‘what’
	c.	ä-mīr	‘why’
	d.	mäč-rä/mäčä	‘when?’
	e.	ettädä	‘which’
	f.	ettähä / bämīr	‘how’
	g.	ett-e	‘where’
	h.	ett-ädä	‘which one?’

The pronouns are used in structures like those in (18) below.

(18)	a.	maʔin mod-ä	
		who- die-3ms	‘Who died?’
	b.	mīr tī-ši	
		what- 2ms-want	‘What do you want?’
	d.	ä-mīr t-βek-i [tīβekʷ]	
		for-what 2fs-cry-fss-imp.	‘Why do you (2fs) cry?’
	e.	ett-e wärr-ä	
		which –loc go-3sm-perf.	‘Where did he go?’
	f.	mäč-rä ¹⁹ mäʔa-ha	

¹⁹ See the discussion on adverbs in chapter five for more details.

	when-past come-2sm	‘When (past) did you come?’
g.	mäčä t-mä?a	
	when (future) 2sm-come-imp	‘When (future) are you coming?’
h.	bä-mİR mod-ä	
	for-what die-3sm-perf.	‘How did he die?’

As shown in (17d-h), some of the interrogative pronouns are combinations of different morphemes. For instance, /ä-mİR/ is a combination of /mİR/ ‘what’ and the preposition /ä-/. /bä-mİR/ ‘how’ is also made up of the preposition /bä-/ and /mİR/ ‘what’. Similarly, /ett-e/ ‘where’ is the combination of /ett/ ‘where’ and the locative /-e/.

To conclude, in this chapter, the different types of pronouns such as personal, demonstrative, reflexive, reciprocal, interrogative, indefinite, ‘selective’, ‘non selective’ and exclusive are discussed. Furthermore, person, number and gender markers of the personal pronoun have been identified. Pronominal agreement affixes are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR: VERBS

Endegañ verbs, as in other Semitic languages - such as Amharic (Taddcsse, 1972; Baye, 1995), Tigriniya (Tesfay, 2002) and Gurage languages (Leslau, 1992; Hetzron, 1977), are made up of a set of consonants, in which the basic meaning of the verb is contained and a set of vowels, which are inserted between the constants of the root, thereby expressing grammatical categories, such as aspect. Generally, it can be said that verbal structure in Endegañ consists of roots, an aspectual vowel, and pronominal affixes. This chapter examines both the inflectional and derivational morphology of the language.

4.1 Types of verbs

In Endegañ, verb roots consist of mono- to qudri-radicals. However, as will be discussed, most verbs are tri radicals. Examples from each group is presented in (1) below

(1)

Verb class.	Radical	Stem	Gloss	
mono radical		š-	šä	'want/ need'
bi- radical		w-r	wära	'go'
		t'-nn	t'äna	'hit'
tri-radicals		s-č'č'	se č'č'ä	'drink'
		k-ff-d	käffädä	'open'
		b-?-n	bä?ina	'eat'
		n-zz-z	näzzäzä	'dream'
		s-?-r	sä?arä	'beg'
		g-ff-r	gäffärä	'release'
		g-tt-r	gättärä	'sleep'
Quadri radicals		n-b-r	näppärä	'reside'
		t-r-t-r	tirattärä	'rend'
		m-s-k-r	mäsäkkärä	'testify'
		ğ-f-ğ-f	ğäfäğğäfä	'germinate'

Some verbs, which synchronically seem to be mono-, bi- or quadri- radicals at their surface representation are tri-radicals at the underlying level. Baye (1999) argues that the basic radicals of Ethio- Semitic languages are tri-radicals in their underlying representation; the distinction exists only at the surface level. Such types of verbs are formed either by root reduction or extension. In Endegañ, mono and/or bi radical verbs seem to have gone root reduction at the surface level. Thus, mono and bi radical verbs are results of reduction of an original second or third radical of the set /ʔ,h,ħ,x/ or the glides /w/ and /y/ in the perfective aspect. (See also Leslau, 1992; Degif, 1994) Some examples of reduced roots are given in (2) below.

(2)	Reduced Root	Perfective	Basic Root	Gloss
-----	---------------------	-------------------	-------------------	--------------

a.	/-mm-/	[amma]	/□-mm-□/	/ʔammäʔa/	‘back bite’
b.	/d-k’/	[dak’ä]	/d-ʔ--k’ /	/däʔak’ä/	‘laugh’
c.	/g-d/	[akkädä]	/ʔ-g-d/	/ʔakkädà/	‘bind’
d.	/d-g /	[attägä]	/h-d-g /	/ hattagä/	‘threw’

All verbs (tri radicals) in Endegañ can have any consonant as their first radical except /r/ /l/²⁰.

If a tri radical verb begins with either /r/ or /l/, it is always realized as /n/. Furthermore, verbs beginning with vowels are those, which have lost either one of the guttural or glide radicals of the basic root²¹.

The analysis in this study is only based on tri radical verbs since mono-, bi-, and quadri-radicals are relatively rare in the language.

4.2. Stem classes

As mentioned in 4.1 above, verbs in Endegañ, as in most Ethio-Semitic languages, can be classified on the basis of their root radicals. In addition, Semitic verbs can be grouped on the basis of their stem patterns, which particularly refers to the quality of the vowel inserted between the first and third radicals. Here, gemination of the penultimate consonant in the perfect, imperfect, jussive and mood is also taken into consideration.

²⁰ Note that the alternation also applies to second radical /r/ and /l/ for there are very limited verbs having the liquids as second radicals such as /k’ärät’ä/ ‘he levy dues’ and /zäläk’ä/ ‘he entered/penetrated’. However, these verbs are probably borrowings from Amharic.

²¹ In (2 c and d) the voiced voiceless alternation is the result of the devoicing and gemination process; in which original non-geminated voiced consonants are realized as geminated voiceless consonants (See Leslau, 1992).

Endegañ verbs have been divided into types A, B and C on the basis of their vowel melody and gemination of their second radicals (See Leslau, 1992; Rose, 1997). The structures of those types of verbs are given in (3) below.

(3) 1.Type A

Type A verbs are characterized by the vowel /ä/ which occurs between the first and second radicals in perfective and imperfective aspect but not in the jussive. Such verbs, as a rule, do not have geminate second radical. There are however, some verbs with a geminate second radical²². According to Leslau (1992), gemination and devoicing of the second radical in type A verbs is characteristic of verbs, which had an original voiced non-geminate second radical²³. The evidence for this claim comes from the fact that in their corresponding imperfective and jussive forms, the original non-geminate voiced radical reappears. Type A verbs have the stem pattern $-C_1\ddot{a}C_2(C_2)\ddot{a}C_3$, $-C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_3$, and $-C_1\ddot{i}C_2C_3$ for the perfective, imperfective and jussive forms respectively, as in the examples given below shows:

(3) Perfective	Gloss	Imperfective	Gloss
näkkädä	‘he binded’	yinägd	‘he will bind’
assärä	‘he tied’	yäzīr	‘he will tie’
gättädä	‘he tear’	yīgädīd	‘he will tear’
sännä?ä	‘he stole’	yīsārī?	‘he will steal’

²² As it is stated in Leslau (1992), geminated second radicals of Type A verbs should not be confused with type B verbs, for their imperfective form exhibits the Geez pattern iqätl ,thereby indicating such verbs are type A verbs.

²³ Verbs that have a voiceless geminated second radical in the perfective show the original voiced non geminated consonant, which are (kk<g, tt<d, ss<z, w<pp<w) in their imperfective form. Furthermore, the labial /pp<b/ is realized as /w/ in the imperfective (Leslau, 1992).

näddäfä	‘he stung’	yinädf	‘he will sting’
käffädä	‘he opened’	yikäfd	‘he will open’

Moreover, as it is stated in Leslau (1992:478), second radical liquids such as /l/ /n/ and /r/ are realized as geminated /n/. In the imperfective and jussive forms, type A verbs do not geminate their second radical, regardless of the type of the radical in the perfective.

(3) 2.Type B verbs

Type B verbs are characterized by the gemination of their second radical throughout the verbal conjugation. Furthermore, they have either /e/ or /i/ between the first and second radical in the perfective and imperfective aspects but /ä/ in their jussive counterpart.

In verbs having a palatalizable initial consonant, like /d, t, t', g, s and z/ there always occurs a process of palatalization and as a result the front vowel is realized as /ä/ after the palatalization process. As it is stated in Rose (1997:14), in the absence of palatalizable consonant initially, the penultimate, which is mostly a velar consonant, is palatalized.

However, in the absence of a palatalizable consonant, the front vowels reappear in the non-geminating languages to which Endegañ belongs. Type B verbs have the pattern -

$C_1eC_2C_2äC_3$, $C_1äC_2C_2C_3$, and $C_1äC_2C_2C_3$, in the perfective, imperfective and jussive stems respectively as shown in the examples below

<u>Perfect</u>	<u>Imperfect</u>	<u>Jussive</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
zeppärä [žäppärä]	yžžäwİR	yä-zİR	‘return, give back’

mägğärä	yimägğär	yä-mägğär	‘mount a horse’
sekkät’ä [šäkkätä]	yišäkkät’	yä-škit’	‘trade’
teffärä [čäffärä]	yičäffär	yä-čäffär	‘take mouth full’

(3) 3.Type C Verbs

Type C verbs are characterized by the vowel /a/ after the first radical. Gemination of the penultimate radical is attested in verbs having an original voiced consonant as in /sappär-/ /s-b-r/ ‘break’. In others, the second radical is always a non-geminate as in /manähä/ ‘captured in a war’ and /fafädä/ ‘made a hole by scratching’.

The stem pattern of type C verbs is $-C_1aC_2C_2äC_3$, $-C_1aC_2C_3$ and $-C_1aC_2C_3$ in the perfective, imperfective and jussive forms respectively. Following are some examples:

Perfect	Imperfect Jussive		Gloss
manäd-ä	yī-mand	yä-mand	‘he traveled’
ašš-ä	yī-gaž	yä-gaž	‘see’
dappär-ä	yī-dawir	yä-dar	‘add’

4.3 Inflections

4.3.1 Pronominal Affixes

Agreement between subject, object and verb is expressed by pronominal affixes of person, number, and gender. These affixes are highly dependent on the nature of aspect and tense of

the verb. They are realized as suffixes only or as prefixes and suffixes combined. In the following subsection, we will deal with such affixes.

4.3.1.1 Subject pronominal affixes

As it is stated above, subject pronominal affixes in Endegañ are of two types. They are suffixed to verbs in the perfective and prefixed and suffixed in the imperfective and jussive forms of a verb. The subject pronominal affixes for the perfective conjugation are given in (4) below:

(4) A. Subject agreement affixes in the perfective aspect.

	Singular	Gloss	Pural	Gloss
1.	sappär- hu	i broke	sappär-nä	we broke'
2m.	sappär-hä	you (m.) broke	sappär-hu-m	you(m) broke'
f.	sappär-h-i [sappäriš(i)]	you(f) broke'	sappär-haa-m	you(f) broke'
3m.	sappär-ä	he broke'	sappär-u-m	they (m) broke'
f.	sappär-t-i [sappäräč(i)]	she broke'	sappär-aa-m	they (f) broke'

As shown in (4) above, a verb in the perfective aspect consists of a stem, an aspectual marker /ä/ and a pronominal suffix. Hence, in the singular conjugation, /-hu/ indicates first person, /-hä/ second person masculine, and [-ši], which is a fusion or composite of the second person marker /h/ and the feminine marker /i/, shows second person feminine. Third person masculine is marked by the vowel /-ä/ and feminine is indicated by the morpheme [-či], which is again a composite of /-t/ and /i/ marking person and gender respectively. In the plural conjugation, /-nä/ indicates first plural while /-h/ indicates second person, /u-/ /-aa-/ show

second person masculine and feminine plural respectively. Third plural masculine is shown by /-u/, and feminine /-aa-/. The /-m/ which is found in second and third masculine and feminine plural suffixes were previously identified as person markers by Eyassu (1999) and Leslau (1992). However, in this study it is treated not as a person marker but as a main affirmative verb marker. Thus, unlike in other Gurage languages, the main affirmative verb marker /-m/in Endegañ occurs only in second and third masculine and feminine plural conjugations.²⁴

Furthermore, except the third person masculine, where a single pronominal affix /-ä/ as in /gašš-ä/ ‘he sang’ represents person, number and gender, at the same time, the rest of the pronominal suffixes can further be analyzed as distinct person, number and gender affixes as in (5) below:

	Singular		Plural	
	Person	Gender	person	Gender/number
1.	-hu	Ø	Ø	-nä
2m	-hä	Ø	h-	u
f.	-h	-i	h-	aa
3m.	-ä	Ø	Ø	-u
f.	-t	-i	Ø	-aa

Table (1) Subject agreement affixes of the perfective aspect.

B. Subject agreement affixes in the imperfective aspect

²⁴ Independent affirmative indicatives are shown by the morpheme /-m/, which assumes the right most final position, thereby distinguishing affirmative indicatives from subordinates, negatives and non indicatives construction./-m/ is found with all the persons in the perfective conjugations of Chaha and Enemmor. (See Hetzron, 1968 and 1972. see also Goldenberg, 1968)

In section (4.3.1.1) above, we have dealt with subject agreement affixes in the perfective paradigm. This section examines subject pronominal affixes in the imperfective paradigm.

Consider the paradigm in (6) below.

(6)

Singular		Gloss	Plural		Gloss
1.	?i-därg	'I (will) hit'	nä-därg-nä		'we(will) hit'
2mas.	tī-därg	'you(will) hit'	tī-därg-u		'you (will) hit'
f.	tī-därg-i[tidärg ^y]	'you(will) hit'	tī-därg-aa		' you(will) hit'
3mas.	yī-därg	'He(will) hit'	yī-därg-u		'they(will)hit'
fem.	tī-därg	'She(will) hit'	yī-därg-aa		'they(will) hit'

As it is show above, the affixes indicating subject NPs are realized as prefixes or combination of prefixes and suffixes following the stem. In the singular conjugation, subject NPs are indicated by prefixes only. In the second person feminine, however, a combination of both prefix and suffix, indicating person and gender respectively, is used. In the plural conjugations on the other hand, person markers occur as prefixes while number and gender markers are suffixed to the stem. The following table illustrates person, numbers and gender markers in the imperfect.

(7)

Singular		Plural	
Person	Gender	Person	Gender/ number
1	i-	nä-	-nä
2mas.	t-	t-	-u
fem.	t-	t-	-aa
3mas.	y-	y-	-u
fem.	t-	y-	-aa

Table (2) subject agreement affixes of the imperfective aspect.

C. Subject Agreement affixes in the jussive

Subject NP markers in the jussive are as shown in (8) below for the verb stem /dänäg-/ ‘hit’.

(8)	a.	nä-dīrg	
		1s.- hit	'let me hit'
	b.	yä- dīrg	
		3ms. – hit	‘let him hit’
	c.	tä-dīrg	
		3fs.- hit	‘let her hit’
	d.	nä-dīrg-nä [nädīrginä]	
		1p.- hit -1p.	let us hit’
	e.	yä-dīrg-u [yädīrg ^w]	
		3mp-hit-3mp.	'let them (m) hit'
	f.	yä-dīrg-aa	
		3pf. - hit - 3fp.	‘let them (f) hit’

The person, number and gender markers in the jussive are listed in table (3) below.

	Singular		Plural	
	Person		Person	Number / gender
1	nä-		nä-	-nä
3mas.	yä-		yä-	-u
3fem.	tä-		yä-	-aa

Table (3) person, number and gender in the jussive

In the jussive, person is marked by prefixes while number and gender are shown by suffixes. First person singular and plural are marked by /nä-/. Third singular masculine is marked by /yä-/ while third feminine is marked by /tä-/. Third person plural masculine and feminine are both marked by /yä-/. Number/ gender is marked by suffixes. Thus, /-nä/ marks first person plural while /-u/ and /-aa/ shows third person plural masculine and feminine respectively.

So far, we have seen subject agreement affixes in the perfective, imperfective and jussive forms. We have also observed that subject markers in the perfective aspect are suffixes while they are prefixes and suffixes in the imperfective and jussive conjugation. The following table summarizes the subject NP affixes found in the perfective, imperfective and jussive forms.

Singular	Perfect	Imperfect	Jussive
1	-hu	?i-	nä-
2mas	-hä	tī-	Ø
fem.	-š(i)	tī . . . i	Ø
3mas.	-ä	yī-	yä-
fem.	-äčč	t-	tä-

Plural

1	-nä	nä...nä	nä...nä
2mas.	-hu	tī- - - u	Ø
fem.	-haa	tī- - -aa	Ø
3mas.	-u	yī- - - -u	yä- - -u
fem.	-aa	yī- - - -aa	yä- - - aa

Table (4) person, number/ gender in the perfective, imperfective and jussive.

4.3.1.2 Object pronominal affixes

Unlike subject pronominal affixes, object pronominal affixes are all realized as suffixes. They occur following the subject agreement affixes and express head-complement relations. These suffixes can be further classified as direct and indirect object affixes.

4.3.1.2.1 Direct object Affixes

The direct object suffixes as shown in table (4), exhibit singular and plural forms.

Singular

Plural

	Perfect	Imperfect	Prefect	Imperfect.
1	-ññ~-y(e)	-ññ ~e	-nirä	-nirä
2mas	-n-ahä ~kkä	-n-ahä ~kkä	-n-ahu ~kku	-n-ahu ~-kku
fem	-š(i)	-š(i) ~kki	-n-ahaa ~kka	-n-ahaa ~-kka
3mas.	-n-u ~y	-n-y	-n-u	-n-u-
fem.	-n-a ~ ya	-n-aa ~ ya	-n-ahaa~ -ya	-n -ahaa~ -ya

Table (4) Direct object affixes

The alternation of object suffixes is common in almost all the Gurage languages. Hetzron (1968,1972 and 1977) following Polotsky (1938: 160-162)²⁵, has grouped the suffixes as heavy and light. The allomorphic distribution being phonological, heavy object suffixes occur where there were former long vowels in the subject marker *-i (2fss), -uu (mps) and -aa (fps), while light suffixes are suffixed after original short vowels and consonants. The heavy suffixes, with the first consonant of the suffix geminated, are suffixed after long vowels (Hetzron, (1972:49)).

The allomorphic distribution of the heavy and light object suffixes is not only phonological. Heavy suffixes are selected for plural subjects and 2fs subject, while light suffixes are chosen when the subjects are 2ms and 3ms. However, for 1s and 3f singular subjects, the choice of heavy and light suffix depends on the person of the complement and on the aspect of the verb. For first person singular subjects, a perfective verb form selects heavy suffixes for 2sm and 3sm complements. Light suffixes are chosen in all the imperfective constructions. Similarly, when the subject is 3fs, light /-u/ and heavy /-ya/ is selected for 3sm and 3fs objects

²⁵ See Hetzron (1972: 160 ff.)

respectively. For other persons only light suffixes are used in the perfective and imperfective constructions. Thus, the distinction between light and heavy suffixes is, not only governed phonologically but grammatical, aspectual and semantic motivations are also attested.

In the literature (See Hetzron, 1972,1977; Leslau, 1992 and Poltsky, 1959), the [n]²⁶ which is found with the object markers, was considered to be part of the pronominal affix. However, the sound is not considered as part of the pronominal affixes in this study. It is taken as an accusative case marker, for it does not occur with the benefactive and malffective objects (Cf. Degif, 1997:285), for the accusative case marker in Chaha.). Thus, in this study, agreeing with Hetzron (1977:60), it is claimed that there are three sets of case markers (accusative, malffective and benefactive) preceding object pronominal suffixes. However, contrary to Hetzron (1977), it is also claimed here that in some cases the accusative case marker in Endegañ is not phonetically realized. The [n] is realized as Ø before consonant initial object suffixes, and it is phonetically realized before vowel initial object suffixes. Illustrative conjugations will be provided when discussing the suffixes.

In general, Hetzron's (1972,1977) grouping of the object suffixes into light and heavy, with some modifications, seems to be applicable to Endegañ. Let us first examine the alternation in the first person singular object suffixes using the paradigm given in (9A and B) below.

(9) A. Perfective

²⁶ The accusative case marker [n] was referred to as preposition by Leslau (1992), a mediate suffix by Poltsky (1951) and the n-b- suffixes by Hetzron (1977). However, Degif (1997) has stated that the [n] is an accusative case marker.

a.	dänäg-hä-y	‘You (ms.)hit me’
b.	dänäg-ši-ňňi	‘You (fs.)hit me’
c.	dänäg-ä-y	‘He hit me’
d.	dänäg-äčč-y [dänägäččiy]	‘She hit me’
e.	dänäg-hu-ňňi-m	‘You(ms.) hit me’
f.	dänäg-haa-ňňi-m	‘You(fs.)hit me’
g.	danäg-u-ňňi-m [däng ^w ňňi-m]	‘They (m.) hit me’
h.	dänäg-aa-ňňi-m	‘They (f.) hit me’

(10) B. Imperfective

a.	tī-därg-e	‘You (ms.) hit me’
b.	tī-därg-i-ňňi [tī därg ^y ňňi]	‘You (fs.) hit me’
c.	yī- därg-e	‘He hits me’
d.	tī därg-e [tī därke]	‘She hits me’
e.	tī- därg-u-ňňi [tīdärg ^w ňňi]	‘You(mp) hit me’
f.	tī-därg-aa-ňňi	‘You(pf.) hit me’
g.	yī-därg-u-ňňi [yīdärg ^w ňňi]	‘They (m) hit me’
h.	yī-därg-aa-ňňi	‘they (f.) (will)hit me’

As stated by Hetzron (1972), in Endegañ, the alternation between the heavy object suffix { -ňňi } and the light { -y } in the perfective, and between the light { -e } and the heavy { -ňňi } in the imperfective is attested. The heavy { -ňňi } occurs with plural subjects while { -y/ -e } occurs with singular subjects. However, the heavy object suffix { -ňňi } occurs when the subject is second feminine singular. Here, the use of the heavy { -ňňi } in 2fss form is for a semantic reason; as shown in (12c), in the conjugation for the 3sms, the light suffix { -y } also

marks 3smo when the subject is 2fs. Hence, in order to avoid confusion between the two readings, the heavy {-ññi} refers to ‘me’ with 2fs subject, while the light {-y} refers to ‘him’ (3mso) with 2fs subject.

Let us now examine the alternation of object suffixes in the second singular masculine in (11) below:

A. Perfective Aspect.

- | | | | |
|------|----|----------------|----------------------------|
| (11) | a. | aššä-kkä | ‘I saw you’ |
| | b. | ašš-ä-n-ahä | ‘he saw you’ |
| | c. | ašš-äččī-n-ahä | ‘she saw you (ms.)’ |
| | d. | ašš-ä-kki | ‘he saw you (2fs.)’ |
| | e. | aššä-nä-kkä | ‘we saw you’ |
| | f. | ašš-u-kku | ‘they (mp) saw you (2mp.)’ |
| | g. | äšš-ä-kka | ‘he saw you (2fp)’ |
| | h. | ašš-u-kkä | ‘they (mp) saw you’ |
| | i. | ašš-aa-kkä | ‘they (fp) saw you’ |

(11) (B) Imperfective

- | | | |
|----|----------------|---------------------|
| a. | ?ä-ažži-kkä | ‘I see you’ |
| b. | y-ažži-n-ahä | ‘He sees you’ |
| c. | t-ažži-n-ahä | ‘She sees you’ |
| d. | t-ažži-kki | ‘She see you (fs.)’ |
| e. | nä-ažži-nä-kkä | ‘We see you’ |

- f. y-ažž-u-kkä ‘They (m) see you’
 g. y-ažž-aa-kkä ‘They (f) see you’

As it is shown in (11A-B) above, the heavy object suffix {-kkä} occurs when the subject affix is plural, except in (11 A (a)) where we have the heavy suffix {-kkä} with first person singular subject. The reason for the choice of the heavy suffix {-kkä} depends on the person of the subject and aspect of the verb. Whenever the subject is first singular, a perfective and imperfective verb chooses heavy object suffixes for 2ms complements. Light affixes are chosen for all the imperfective verbs as shown in (11B,(a-d)).

Let us now consider the alternation of object suffixes for third person singular masculine in the examples given in (12) below.

(13) A. Perfect

- a. dänäg-hu-y ‘I hit him’
 b. dänäg-ahä-n-u ‘you (sm.) hit him’
 c. dänäg-šī-y ‘You (sf.) hit him’
 d. dänäg-ä-n-u ‘He hit him’
 e. däng-äčč-n-u [dänägäčīnu] ‘She hit him’
 f. dänäg-nä-y ‘We hit him’
 g. dänäg-ahu-y [däng^why] ‘You (pm) hit him’
 h. dänäg-haa-y ‘you(pf) hit him’
 i. dänäg-u-y [dänäg^wy] ‘They (m) hit him’
 j. dänäg-aa-y ‘They (f) hit him’

The light object suffix {-u} is used with singular subjects except in (12a.) where the heavy {-y} is used for first singular subject and 3sm complement since, as already mentioned, the choice depends on the person of the subject and on the aspect of the verb. For 1s subjects a perfective verb form selects heavy suffixes for 3sm complements.

In Endegañ, as we have seen in the previous presentation, the conditioning factor for the alternation between heavy and light object suffixes is phonological, grammatical and semantic. Heavy suffixes are chosen for plural and 2sf subjects. Light object suffixes are chosen for 2ms and 3ms subjects. The choice between the heavy and the light object suffixes for 1s and 3fs subjects, however, depends on the person of the complement and on the aspect of the verb.

Generally, it can be said that the person of the subjects and the aspect of the verb play a major role in determining the morphological shape of the object suffixes. The object suffixes, as shown in the conjugations presented above, assume the peripheral position.

4.3.1.2.1 Indirect object suffixes

Indirect object suffixes are classified as benefactive and malfactive, based on the semantic difference between the two. **Benefactive** refers to the notion ‘for the benefit or advantage of, and **malfactive** for the notion ‘against the will of some body’.

A. Benefactive

A benefactive relationship is shown by the suffix /n~nn/²⁷. The selection of the geminate or the non-geminate allomorphs is governed by the nature of the object pronominal suffixes.

Examples are provided in (13) below:

(13)

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (a) amä?a-čč-nn-y [amä?aččinnäy] | ‘She brought water for me’ |
| bring -3fss.-BEN-1so | |
| (b) dänäg-hä-nn-y [dänäghänäy] | ‘You (2mss) hit for me’ |
| hit - 2 mss.- BEN – 1so | |
| (c) dänägä-hä-n-nirä [dänäghännirä] | ‘You (2mss) hit for us’ |
| hit-2mss-BEN-1po | |
| (d) siyä-hä-nn-y [siyähänäy] | ‘You (2mss) bought for me’ |
| buy-2mss-BEN –1so | |
| (e) siyä -hu –nn-akkä | ‘I bought for you (2mso) |
| buy-1ss-BEN -2mso | |
| (f) siy-ä-n-ahä | ‘He bought for you (2mso)’ |
| buy -3mss-BEN -2mso | |
| (g) siyä-hu-n-ši [siyähuniši] | ‘I bought for you (2fso)’ |
| buy- 1ss -BEN -2fso | |

²⁷ In Chaha {-r-} indicates the benefactive relationship. In Endegañ, however, the benefactive marker {r} is realized as /n/. Recall the alternation between /n/ and /r/.

(h) siy-ä-n-ši [siyänniši] buy-3mss-BEN- 2fso	'He bought for you (2fss)'
(i) dänäg- hä -nn-aa-m hit -2ms-BEN-3fso-mvm	'You (ms) hit for her (3fso)
(j) dänäg-u-n-ahu-m hit -3mp-BEN -2mpo-mvm	'They (mp hit for you(2mpo)
(k) dänäg-äčči-nn-u- m hit -3fs- BEN- 3mpo- mvm	She hit for them (3pmo)'
(l) siy -ä- nn-aa-m buy -3ms -BEN- 3fpo -mvm	'He bought for them (3fpo)'

As illustrated above, the benefactive marker /n~nn/ is used with 'light' and 'heavy' object suffixes.

Mal-factive Object Suffixes

Mal-factive relationship is expressed by the morpheme {-b-}, which is realized as [β] or [w] intervocalically²⁸. Examples are provided in (14) below:

(14) a. sappär-ä-β-y break -3mss -MAL -lso	'He broke something of mine/me'
b. sappär -ä-w-ahä break -3mss -MAL- 2mso	'He broke something of you(2mso)'

²⁸ In Endegan, non-geminated /+obstruents/-continuants / such as /b/ change their feature to /+ continuant / [w] intervocalic- ally.

- | | | |
|----|---|--------------------------------------|
| c. | sappär-ä- β- šī
break- 3mss- MAL- 2fso | 'He broke something of you (2fs)' |
| d. | sappär-ä- w-u [sapp ^w ru]
break -3mss – MAL -3mso | 'He broke something of his' |
| e. | sappär-ä-w-aa
break -3mss- MAL – 3fso | 'He broke something of her' |
| f. | sappär-ä-β-nirä
break -3mss –MAL –1po | 'He broke something of ours' |
| g. | sappär-ä – w- ahu-m
break – 3mss- MAL – 2pmo –mvm | He broke something of yours (2pm)' |
| h. | sappär-ä-w-ahaa-m
break -3mss – MAL-2pfo-mvm | He broke something of yours (2pfo)' |
| i. | sappär-ä-w-u-m [sapp ^w rum]
break -3mss-MAL- 3mpo-mvm | 'He broke something of theirs (3pm)' |
| j. | sappär-ä-w-aa-m
break -3mss –MAL-3fpo-mvm | 'He broke something of theirs(3pf)' |

Both the benefactive and malfactive affixes occur following the subject marking suffixes and preceding the suffixes identifying the indirect receiver of the action.

To conclude, as we have seen from the presentations that in Endegañ, there are two types of verbal pronominal suffixes and there are three sets of case markers preceding the object pronominal suffixes. It is also shown that the accusative case marker, unlike the malfactive

and benefactive markers, is phonetically realized when preceding vowel initial object suffixes²⁹.

4.4 Aspect, Tense and Mood

In Endegañ, various forms are used to express the distinction between aspect, tense and mood. These variations are indicated by different consonants and vowel patterning, and auxiliaries. The following section deals with the description of the morphological realizations of aspect, tense and mood.

4.4.1 Aspect

The grammatical category aspect designates the beginning, continuation and completion of an action denoted by the verb. Hence, actions denoted by the verb can be categorized as perfective, imperfective, habitual etc. (Comrie, 1985) and into progressive and non-progressive.

4.4.1.1 Perfective

²⁹ Leslau (1992) considers the suffixes marking benefactive and malefactive relationship as prepositional suffix pronouns.

The perfective aspect in Endegañ indicates completion of an action. It is indicated by the vowel {-ä-}, following the penultimate and preceding the ultimate consonant. Examples are shown in (15) below

(15) Type A		Type B		Type C
/näkkäd-/	‘binde’	/sek’k’ät/	‘trade’	/mannäd/ ‘travel’
/gättäd-/	‘tear’	/teffär-/	‘take mouth full’	/dappär-/ ‘add’
/näddäf-/	‘sting’	/zeppär-/	‘return’	/bannär-/ ‘demolish’

As shown in (15) above, the perfective form of a tri-radical verb in Endegañ, has the stem pattern $C_1vC_2C_2äC_3-$, with a geminated second radical and with the aspectual vowel /-ä-/ between the penult and ultimate consonants.

4.4.1.2 Imperfective

The imperfective in Endegañ assumes the stem pattern $-C_1vC_2 (C_2) C_3$. Gemination of the penultimate radical is only attested in Type B verbs as the examples in (16) shows.

(16) Type A		Type B		Type C
/y-nägd/	‘he binds’	/y-sek’k’it’/	‘he trades’	/y-mand/ ‘he travels’
/y-gädid/	‘he tears’	/y-teffir/	‘he takes mouth full’	/y-gašš/ ‘he sings’
/y-käfd/	‘he opens’	/y-seč’č’/	‘he drinks’	/y-banir/ ‘he demolishes’

4.4.2 Tense

The grammatical category tense is concerned with the localization of time through verbs (Comrie, 1981) and thus the categories past, present and future.

In Endegañ, tense is not morphologically marked. A verb form in the perfective expresses past tense while a verb in the imperfective indicates the non-past (present) tenses. Other temporal distinctions are made by using auxiliaries and time adverbs.

4.4.2.1 Simple Past Tense

Simple past tense, is indicated by using a perfective verb form, without a morphologically realized tense marker. Examples are provided in (17) below:

- (17) a. bä?na-hu
 eat- lss- perf. 'I ate'
- b. bä?na-šī
 eat – 2fss-perf. 'You (2fs) ate'
- c. tīra?aññä bawīrā siy-aa-m
 yesterday –ox-buy-3pf-perf.-mvm 'They(3pf) bought an ox yesterday'
- d. abo-ññä tīra?aññä t'āk'äš siy-ä
 father-1s.pos. yesterday chair buy -3sm-perf. 'my father bought a chair yesterday'

auxiliary, expressing actions or situations taking place in the past, thus denotes the time reference. Consider the examples in (19) below:

- (19) (a) äzaf yī-wär?-u ba(näd)
 lunch 3mp- eat+imp.-3mps- aux + past 'They (mp.) were eating lunch'
- (b) ussā tī- awsīr ba(näd)
 bread -3fs bake + imp. aux + past 'She was baking bread'
- (c) yī-nāwī?ī ba(näd)
 3ms- run + imp aux + past 'He was running'

As shown in (19) above, the time reference is expressed by the auxiliary /ba(näd)/, while the progressive aspect is indicated by the imperfective verb form. In present progressive, however, no auxiliaries are used and the progressive reading is obtained from the context. This is because the bare imperfective reading is also used to indicate present tense.

4.4.2.4 Simple Present

The bare imperfective aspect in Endegañ is used to express simple present tense. Consider the examples in (20) below.

- (20) a. ä-ččiwīd
 lss - till 'I till'
- b. nā – agd-nā
 lp -tie-lp 'We tie'
- c. tī- säwīr-aa

	2pf- break- 2pf	'You (2pf.) break'
d.	yī-hor	
	3sm.-go	'He goes'
e.	hudä bässär yī-asiyā	
	he meet –3sm-sell	'He sells meat'

The imperfective form of the verb also expresses habitual actions as in (21) below:

(21)	a.	däs yī- gaš	
		song 3sm- sing	'He sings (a) song'
	b.	andī'r tī-dārg	'She plays drum'
		drum 3sf- hit	
	c.	šäräd yä-asīy-aa	'They(fp) sell food'
		food – 3pf- sell-3pf	

Ambiguity may arise between simple present, habitual, and present progressive. It may be avoided by using periphrastic expressions such as adverbial specifications as in **/hinigä?at/** 'always', which indicates habitual actions while **/ahu/** 'now' indicates present actions.

4.4.2.5 Future Tense

In main affirmative sentences, Endegañ has two future tense markers, definite and indefinite. The definite future is formed by the morphemes {-te} after a vowel other than /ä/, {-ke} after a consonant, and {-de} after the vowel /ä/ suffixed to the imperfective form of the verb. The

indefinite future on the other hand is made up of the morpheme {-se}, which is suffixed to jussive bases. Regarding the two future tenses, Hetzron (1976:85-86) has stated that

The definite future is used for future events the forthcoming happening

of which is considered certain, already decided on, no more questionable. The

indefinite future expresses future tainted with feelings of any kind: hope, expectation, promise or threat, doubt, wish, suggestion –it would happen; fear, worry, wish-let it happen, contingency:

4.4.2.5.1 Definite Future

The definite future expresses actions, which are certain to happen in the future. It is formed by suffixing the morphemes {-de(-ke) and -te} to the imperfective form of the verb. The morphemes {-te} occurs in all heavy positions, that is, after short vowels, long vowels other than /ä/, at word final positions, while in light positions, the morpheme {-de} is suffixed to the imperfective form of the verb. In Endegañ, unlike other varieties of Peripheral Western Gurage languages as in Enemmor and Geyto (Cf. Hetzron, 1972), it seems that there is a free variation between the suffixes {-de} and {-ke}. Here are some examples in (22) below:

- (22) a. ä-saʔir-de
 1s-beg-d.f ‘I will beg’
- b. tī-saʔir-de
 2ms-beg-d.f ‘You will beg’
- c. tī-säw-i-te
 2fs-break-2fs.-d.f ‘You(2fs) will break’

d.	yī-därg-de	
	3ms-hit-d.f	‘He will hit’
e.	tī-därg-de	
	3fs-hit-d.f	‘She will hit’
f.	nä-nägi?-nä-te	
	1p- kick- 1p-d.f	‘We will kick’
g.	tī-sa?ir-u-te	
	2mp-beg-2mp-d.f	‘You (2mp.) will beg’
h.	tī-hor-aa - te	
	2pf-go-2pfs-d.f	‘You (2fp) will go’
i.	yī-wär?-u-te	
	3pm-eat-3pm-def.	‘They (3mp) will eat’
j.	yī-wär?-aa-te	
	3pf-eat-3pfs-def.	‘They (3fp) will eat’

4.4.2.5.2 Indefinite future

An action, which may or may not take place, or an action about which the speaker is uncertain about or has reservation, is expressed by the morpheme {-se}. It is attached to the jussive form of the verb to express the indefinite future tense in Endegañ³⁰. Here are some examples in (23)

- (23) a. nä-dīrg-se
 1ss-hit-Id.f ‘I shall/might hit’
- b. yā-st’-se
 3ms-drink- Id.f ‘he will/might drink’
- c. tä-st’-se
 3fs.-drink-Id.f. ‘She will/ might drink’
- d. yā-hor-u-se
 3mp-go-3mp-Id.f ‘They (pm) will/might go’
- e. nä-hor-nä-se
 1p-go-1p-Id.f ‘We shall/might go’

4.5 Mood

In Endegañ, a distinction is made between the jussive and imperative moods. The distinction is made by using consonant and vowel patterning. The jussive form may be used as the base for the addition of other morphemes with other grammatical functions such as tense. The two moods are discussed in the following two subsections.

4.5.1 Jussive

The jussive mood expresses an indirect command or permission to first and third person singular and plural. In Endegañ, there are two jussive patterns: $C_1C_2\ddot{a}C_3$ and $C_1C_2C_3$. Observe the examples below in (24).

³⁰ Hetzron (1976) quoting (Cohen, 1931, Polotsky, 1938, Leslau 1968) proposes that the ša/se distinction attested in Western Gurage languages might have come from the verb ‘want’.

(24)	(a) -C ₁ C ₂ ä C ₃		
		/yä- träf/	‘let him remain’
		/nä-gräz-nä/	‘let us add’
		/nä-dfär/	‘let me dare’
		/tä-ngäs/	‘let her reign’
		/yä-dfär-u/	‘let them (3mp.) dare’

(b) -C₁C₂ C₃

	/yä-dürg/	‘let him hit’
	/tä-dürs/	‘let her destroy’
	/nä-dürg-nä/	‘let us hit’
	/yä-dürg-aa/	‘let them (3fp.) hit’
	/nä-ndif/	‘let me sting’
	/nä-nt’ik’-nä/	‘let us snatch’
	/tä-nt’ik’/	‘let her snatch’
	/nä-nkäs/	‘let me bite’

4.5.2 The Imperative

The imperative mood expresses an order for second persons. The pattern is the same as the jussive one except that the initial consonant clusters are always disjoined by the epenthetic vowel /-i-/. The patterns in Endegañ are C₁iC₂äC₃ and C₁iC₂C₃. Furthermore, imperatives are formed with suffixes only as shown in (25)

Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
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2m. zīgär	‘jump!’	gīfir-u	‘release!’
f. zīgär-i	‘jump!’	gīfir-aa	‘ release!’

For the C₁iC₂C₃ type

kītf ‘chop!(2sm.)’

kītf-aa ‘chop!(2pf.)’

As it is the case in imperfective forms, if the second radical of the perfect is a geminate consonant which is traceable to a non-geminate voiced consonant, in both the jussive and imperative constructions, the basic non geminate voiced consonant reappears.(Cf.

Leslau,1992 for similar case in Chaha). For instance, the perfect form /nākkä?-/ ‘kick’, has /nīg?i/ ‘kick!(2ms.)’ for the imperative mood, where the original non geminated /g/ appears for the geminate second radical /kk/ of the perfective.

4.5.3 The Conditional Mood

Regarding conditionals, Hetzron (1977:104) states that there are two types of conditional constructions in Gurage languages. These are ‘real’ and ‘unreal’ conditionals. The real conditional expresses about the consequences of a possible event, the unreal or hypothetical conditional depicts imaginary consequences of an event that did not take place.

According to Eyassu (1999) the conditional mood in Endegañ is expressed by the morpheme {bä-}. However, it is formed not only by using the morpheme {bä-}, as stated in Eyassu (1999), it is also indicated by using the morpheme {tä-} prefixed to the perfective form of the

verb to show the unreal conditional. In the ‘unreal’ conditional construction, the auxiliary /ba(näd) should be attached to the subsequent clause. Consider the examples in (26) (a-b) for real conditional and (c-d) for the unreal conditional.

(26)

- a. bä-bä?ina-hä ti-käss-de
 if-eat- perf-2ms- 2ms-pay-imp.-df ‘If you eat, you will pay’
- b. bä-sappär-šī yī-mäč’-de
 if-break+perf.-2fs 3ms-angry-imp.-df ‘If you break ,he will be angry’
- c. tä-sappär-hä ti-?ättira-hä ba(näd)
 if –break-perf.-2ms- 3fs-kill-imp.-2ms- aux
 ‘If you break it, she would have killed you’
- d. tä-ašš-ä-hä yī-ättirä-hä ba(näd)
 if-see-perf.-3ms 2ms-perf. 3ms-kill-2ms-imp-aux
 ‘If he had seen you, he would have killed you’

4.6 Negation

4.6.1. Tense and Negation

Negation in the past tense is expressed by prefixing the negative morpheme {an-} and suffixing the morphemes{-dä,-tä} to the perfective form of the verb. In the imperfective, the negative prefixes is {a-} along with the negative suffixes {-kä,-tä,dä}. Hetzron (1968,1972 and 1977) states the distributional³¹ characteristics of the ‘k/t/d suffixes’ as he calls them, as

³¹ Hetzron (1972:66) has also stated “ the absolutely decisive proof of the historical identity of the PWG endings with the MVM’s lies in the peculiarity of their distribution.”

being inherited from the main verb markers (MVM) of Northern Gurage languages³². He has also stated that in Peripheral Western Gurage (PWG) languages, there is a clear distinction between main and subordinate negative forms (Hetzron, 1977). These suffixes are used after main negative verbs obligatorily. Thus, in Enemmor, a language grouped under Peripheral Western Gurage (PWG) along with Endegañ, the main negative past is /aysäβir-ka/ ‘he will not break’, while the subordinate negative form is /aysäβir säw/ ‘the one who does not break’. Hence, in such constructions negation is only marked by the pre-verbal negative suffixes (Cf. Hetzron, 1972, 1977). The negative suffixes of Peripheral Western Gurage show similar distributions as the Mvm’s of MVM’s (-u, -t, and -tt) of Northern Gurage, since in both cases (PWG and Northern Gurage) the distribution is governed by a preceding element³³.

Hetzron’s (1968, 1972 and 1977) account seems to be plausible in Endegañ. In this study, the post verbal suffixal elements are considered as main negative verb suffixes. This is because, as is the case in Enemmor (Hetzron, 1977), the suffixed negative markers are not found in subordinate and non-indicative construction³⁴. Thus, whenever negated verbs are subordinated, the post verbal negative markers are omitted while the preverbal negative prefixes remain intact. Furthermore, regarding their distribution, the post verbal negative

³² In northern Guurage languages, independent-affirmatives are distinguished from subordinates, negative and non-indicatives (jussive, imperative, etc) constructions by using morphologically realized suffixes. There are two types of suffixes: /-m/ in perfective verb conjugation and /-n ~i ~u ~t/ in perfective and imperfective verb stems. According to Hetzron (1977), both forms are main verb markers and he used the distinction to classify the outer South Ethiopic languages into the nn-group in which Gaffat, Soddo, and Goggot are members, and the tt-group in which Western Gurage languages and Muher are found.

³³ Regarding the similarities attested Hetzron (1972:66) has stated that –dä,-tä,-kä of PWG are inherited from the light MVM –t, from heavy-tt, and from the light –u respectively.

³⁴ See Hetzron (1977:87) for the distinction between main and subordinate negatives in Soddo imperfective.

suffixes are not found with the non-indicatives (jussive and imperatives), as they are only found in main negative constructions.

Negation in the simple past is indicated by prefixing the negative marker {an-} and suffixing the suffixes {-dä} and {-tä} to singular and plural forms respectively. Consider the examples provided in (27) below:

- (27) a. an-sappär-ä-dä
neg-break-3ms-Neg 'He did not break'
- b. an-asiyä-ši-tä
neg-sell-2fs-Neg 'you(2fs) did not sell'
- c. an-bä?ina-hä-dä
neg-eat-2ms -Neg 'you(2ms) did not eat'
- d. an-asiyä-nirä-dä
neg- buy-1p 'we did not sell'
- f. an-banära-hu-tä
neg-destroy-2mp-Neg 'you (2mp) did not destroy'
- h. an-mässär-aa -tä
neg-change-2fp-Neg 'you(2fp) did not change'

Negation in remote past is indicated similarly as in (28) below:

- (28) a. an-bä?ina-hä-dä ba(näd)

	neg-eat-2sm- neg aux	‘you (2sm) had not eaten’
b.	an-banar-nīra-tä ba(näd)	
	neg-destroy-1p-neg aux	‘We had not demolish’
c.	an-šappäd-u- tä ba(näd)	
	neg-choose- 3ms-neg aux	‘They (m.) had not chosen’
d.	an-asiyä-čī-dä ba(näd)	
	neg-sell-3fs- neg aux	‘She had not sold’

Negation in past and remote past tense is marked by the prefixed and suffixed negative markers {an-} and {-dä/-tä} respectively. Furthermore, the /-m/ which was identified as part of the person marker of the second and third person plural by Leslau (1992) and Eyassu (1999) is not found in the second and third plural negative conjugations. If /-m/ were a person marker, it would appear in the negative constructions. The absence of /-m/ in second and third person plurals negative constructions supports the claim made earlier in section (4.3.1.1). The /-m/ of second and third persons plural is a main affirmative verb marker and not a person marker, since it only occurs with independent-affirmative indicative constructions but not in subordinate, negative or non-indicative constructions.

Negation in the progressive past is indicated by the negative morpheme {a-} as in (29) below:

(29)	(a.)	a- tī-we?-i ³⁵ -tä ba(näd)	
		neg-2fs-eat-2fs-neg aux	‘You (2fs) were not eating’

³⁵ In roots where the penult radical is deleted, the aspectual vowel /ä/ changes its vocalic quality. Here, the root is /b-?-n/

- (b) a-n-säwīr-nä-de ba(näd)
 neg-1p-break-1p-neg aux ‘We were not breaking’
- (c) a-y-wär?-u-tä ba(nad)
 neg.-3mp-eat-3mp-neg aux ‘They (m) were not eating.’
- (d) a-n-asiyä-kä ba(näd)
 neg- 1s-sell aux-neg ‘I was not selling’

4.6.2 Negation in Present and Future Tense

In the simple present, negation is indicated by prefixing and suffixing the morpheme {a-} and suffixing the negative markers {-kä,-tä and -dä} to the imperfective form of the verb. The suffixed negative markers show allomorphic distributions, {-kä} after final consonant, {-tä} after word final vowels other than /ä/ and, finally {-dä} after word final mid central vowel /ä/.

The negative marker in the imperfective and jussive form is the morpheme {a-} for all persons. Eyassu (1999) has wrongly stated that negation is marked by the morpheme {a-} in the imperfective and jussive except for first person plural and singular where it is realized as {an-}. Leslau (1992:470) also realizes that {an-} marks negation in first person singular and plural in the imperfective and jussive and claims that it might have come from the Semitic negative marker {al-}, realized as {an-} in Gurage languages with the loss of /n/ in all persons, except in first person plural and singular forms.

In this study, the morpheme /an-/ which is wrongly identified as a negation marker by Eyassu (1999) and Leslau (1992) is treated as a combination of two grammatical morphemes, /a-/ marking negation and /n-/ identifying person in first person plural and singular forms.

In Endegañ, the negative morpheme {a-} is used to mark negation in both simple present and the future tenses. This is because the indefinite future markers {-te,-de} are deleted in the negative form of the verb because negation and tense markers are in complementary distribution in Endegañ. Here are some examples for the negative imperfective in (30) below.

- (30) (a.) a-n-säri?ä-dä
 neg-1s-steal-neg ‘I did not/ will not steal’
- (b.) a-t-sär?ä-dä
 neg-2sm-steal-neg ‘You (2ms) did not/ will not steal’
- (c.) a-t-zigr-i-tä
 neg-2fs-jump-2fs-neg ‘You (2fs) did not/ will not jump’
- (d.) a-y -säwır-kä
 neg-3ms-break-neg ‘He did not/ will not break’
- (e.) a-t-därg-kä
 neg-3fs-hit-neg ‘She did not/ will not hit’
- (f.) a-nä-dirg-nä-dä
 neg-1p-hit-1p-neg ‘She did not/ will not hit’

- (g) a-t-zīgär-u-tä
neg-2mp-jump-2mp-neg ‘You (pm) did not/ will not jump’
- (h) a-t-zīgär-aa-tä
neg-2fp-jump-2fp-neg ‘You (pf) did not/ will not jump’
- (i.) a-y-zigr-u-tä
neg-3mp-jump-3mp-neg ‘They (m) did not/ will not jump’
- (j.) a-y-säwir-aa-tä
neg-3fp-break-3fp ‘They (f) did not/ will not break’

4.6.3 Mood and Negation

In the jussive, imperative and conditional moods, negation is indicated by the negative morpheme {a-}. Consider the examples below in (31) (A), (B) and (C) respectively.

(31) A. Negation in the Jussive

The negative jussive expresses prohibition in all persons. The negative morpheme {a-} prefixed to jussive stem, as shown below, indicates negation.

	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
1.	a-n-dürg	‘let me not hit’	a-n-dürg-nä	‘let us not hit’
2m.	a-t-dürg	‘let you not hit’	a-t-dürg-u	‘let you not hit’
f.	a-t-dürg-i [atdürg ^y]	‘let you not hit’	a-t-dürg-aa	‘let you not hit’
3m.	a-y-dürg	‘let him not hit’	a-y-dürg-u	‘let them not hit’
f.	a-t-dürg	‘let her not hit’	a-y-dürg-aa	‘let them not hit’

(31) B. Negation in the Imperative

	Singular	Gloss
2m.	a-t-gifir	‘you(ms) do not release !’
f.	a-t-gifir-i	‘you(fs) do not release!’
	Plural	
2m.	a-t-dirg-u	‘you(mp) do not hit!’
f.	a-t-dirg-aa	‘you(fp) do not hit!’

(31) C. Negative conditionals

Negation in both real and unreal conditional is marked by the negative marker /-a-/ which comes right after the conditional markers /bä-/ and /tä-/. The mid central vowel /ä/ of the conditional morphemes assimilates to the negative marker /-a-/.

- | | | | |
|----|----------------------|---------------|---------------------------|
| a. | bä-a-nä-sappär-nä | [bansappärnä] | ‘If we do not break’ |
| | If-neg.-1p-break-1p | | |
| b. | bä-a-y-dirg | [baydirg] | ‘If he does not hit’ |
| | If-neg-3ms-hit | | |
| c. | bä-a-t-säwr-u | [batsäwiru] | ‘If you(pm) do not break’ |
| | If-neg-2mp-break-2mp | | |
| d. | tä-a-t-seč’č’-aa | [tatseč’č’aa] | ‘had you(2pf) not drink’ |
| | If-neg-2fp-drink-2fp | | |
| e. | tä-a-y-bä?ina | [taybä?ina] | ‘had he not eat’ |
| | If-neg-3ms-eat | | |

To wind up, negation in Endegañ is marked by the prefix negative markers {an-} and {a-} and the suffixed negative markers {-dä}, {-kä} and {-tä}. The variation is grammatically

motivated since it is sensitive to the different tenses and moods. The negative suffixes are used in main negative constructions, as the post verbal negative markers are not found in subordinate and non-indicatives (jussive and imperative) forms.

4.7 Verb Derivation

In Endegañ, two types of verbal derivations are attested, simple and complex. Verbs, which are derived by using a single derivational affix and/ or internal stem modifications, are simple while derivations involving two or more affixes along with internal modification are complex verb derivation.

The following subsection deals with the derivational morphology of Endegañ. In the first part, we will examine simple derivational processes and then we will examine various combinatorial possibilities (complex) derivations.

4.7.1. Simple Deviation

Using simple derivations derives reflexives, passives, causatives, adjutative, intensive/frequentatives and reciprocal verbs.

4.7.1.1 Causatives

As it is stated in Comrie (1989), there is a three way typological distinction of causatives, namely, morphological causatives, analytical causatives and lexical causatives³⁶. This section

³⁶ According to Comrie (1989), Analytical causatives use separate predicates for the notion of the cause and the effect, while lexical causatives are expressed by using suppletive forms, as in 'kill' and 'die' where the former is considered as the causative of the former.

deals with the morphological causatives of Endegañ, where the relation between the causative and the non-causative is expressed by morphological device such as affixation.

According to Birhanu’s (1999) analysis, Endegañ has two types of causatives, direct and indirect, marked by two different morphemes {a-} and {at-} respectively. In his senior essay, Birhanu (1999:19) states that “...the meaning of such kinds of verb (transitive and intransitive) is expressed by prefixing the derivational morphemes {a-} and {-at} to the basic stem and indicates the direct and indirect causatives respectively.” And he concluded that {-a} is prefixed to intransitive verbs, while {at-} to transitive ones.

Contrary to Birhanu’s (1999) analysis, in this study, only the causative morpheme {at-}, which can be prefixed to both transitive and intransitive verbs, is identified. The causative morpheme is productive for it can be prefixed to any verb stem. Furthermore, the causative marker {at-}, except in some cases, as we will see below, fully assimilates to the first radical of both transitive and intransitive verb stems. Moreover, whenever the causative morpheme is attached to non-agentive verb stems (arguments), the causative morpheme adds an agent to the agentless verb stem, which is actively involved in the action expressed by the verb stem. In transitive verbs on the other hand, the same causative morpheme yields the meaning causing someone to perform an action³⁷.

The causative marker is attached to verb stems with the pattern $C_1vC_2(C_2)äC_3$ as shown in the examples in (32) below.

(32)	Verb root	Gloss	Causatives	Gloss
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k'-nn-r	'be light'	ak'-k'ännär-	'make light/cause someone to make light'
t'-n-r	'be filtered'	at'-t'ärär-	'make filter/cause someone to make filter'
b-kk-r	'be lost'	a-bäkkär-	'make lost/cause someone to loose/lost'
b-ss-r	'ripe, cook'	a-bässär-	'cook, make ripe/cause someone to cook'
n-t'-w	'be profitable'	an-nät'äw-	'make profit/cause someone to make profit'
n-ss-?	raise, lift'	ar-rässa?-	'make, to raise/lift/cause someone to raise'
b-nn-r	fly'	ab-bänär-	'make, cause(someone) to fly'
<u>d-n-g</u>	<u>'hit'</u>	<u>ad-dänäg-</u>	<u>'cause someone to hit'</u>
<u>s-n-?</u>	<u>'steal'</u>	<u>as-sänä?-</u>	<u>'cause someone to steal'</u>
<u>k'-n-w</u>	<u>'insult'</u>	<u>ak'-k'änäw-</u>	<u>'cause someone to insult'</u>
<u>m-t'-r</u>	<u>'choose'</u>	<u>am-mät'är-</u>	<u>'cause someone to choose'</u>

The /-t/ of the causative marker {at-}, as shown in the example above, assimilates to the first radical of both transitive and intransitive verbs. However, if the first radical of the stem starts with a guttural sound, in this case the glottal stop /ʔ/, the /-t/ of the causative marker {at-} does not assimilate to the first radical of the stem and hence surfaces as it is shown in the examples given in (33) below. In all other cases, as in (32) above, the /-t/ of the causative marker {at-} totally assimilates to the first radical of the stem leaving its trace in the gemination of the first radical.

(33)	Verb root	Gloss	Causative	Gloss
	ʔ-tt-r	'kill'	at-ʔattar-	'cause someone to kill'
	ʔ-kk-d	'bind'	at-ʔäkkäd-	'make, cause(someone) to bind'

³⁷ Leslau(1992) and Hetzron (1977) use the term 'factitive' to this function of the causative

4.7.1.2 Adjutative

The adjutative, which expresses actions that a person performs so as to help another one who is engaged in the action denoted by the verb. It is marked by the morpheme {at-} prefixed to the verb stem pattern -C₁aC₂(C₂)äC₃. As in the case of the causative, the /-t/ of the adjutative marker {-at} assimilates to the first radical of the stem. Examples are provided in (34) below

(34)	Verb root	Gloss	Adjutative	Gloss
	s-b-r	'break'	at-sappär-	'help to break'
	z-n-m	'sow'	at-zanäm	'help to sow'
	n-s-?	'pick'	at-rassä?	'help to pick'
	m-t'-r	'choose'	at-mat'är-	'help to choose'

4.7.1.3. Reflexives and passives

The passive marker in Endegañ, as in other Ethio-Semitic languages such as Chaha and Enemmor (Leslau, 1992) and Amharic (Baye, 1998), is expressed by the morpheme {tä-}, prefixed to transitive verb stems. The same morpheme {tä-} attached to intransitive verb stems, functions as a reflexive³⁸ marker. The passive marker is prefixed to transitive verbs with the stem pattern C₁vC₂(C₂)äC₃- as shown in (35).

(35)	Verb root	Gloss	Reflexive/passive	Gloss
	z-n-f	'pillage'	tä-zännäf-	'be pillaged'
	g-ff-r	'separate'	tä-geffär-	'be separated'

d-n-g	‘hit’	tä-danäg-	‘be hit’
?-g-d	‘tie’	tä-?akkäd-	‘be tied’
s-b-r	‘break’	tä-sappär-	‘be broken’

As shown above, the morpheme {tä-} is prefixed to transitive verb stems, thereby, expressing the passive voice. In verb stems beginning with vowels as in /aššä/ ‘he saw’ the [ä] of the prefix {tä-} assimilates to the word initial vowel of the stem as in /tä-ašš/ realized as [tašš-] ‘be seen’.

Moreover, in Endegañ, as in other Gurage languages (see Leslau, 1992; for impersonals in Chaha and Enemmor) an impersonal passive form is used to indicate an agentless passive voice. It is formed by the morpheme /-u/³⁹, suffixed to the stem pattern **C₁vC₂(C₂)äC₃**. This morpheme however, is a floating morpheme, which either labialises the right most labializable labial⁴⁰ and velar consonants or palatalizes the adjacent palatalizable alveolar consonants. Examples are provided below in (36)

(36)	Verb root	Gloss	Impersonal passive	Gloss
(a)	d-n-g	‘steal’	dänagä- [dänäg ^w -y]	‘be hit’
(b)	b-?-r	‘say’	bä?är-u [b ^w ar-y]	‘it is said’
(c)	m-n-t’	‘peel’	mänät’-u [m ^w änäč’-y]	‘be peeled’
(d)	d-?-k’	‘laugh’	dä?ak’-u [dak’ ^w -y]	‘It is laughed’
(e)	n-m-d	‘love’	nämäd-u [näm ^w a□-y]	‘be loved’

³⁸ They are also called ‘mideo passive’ or ‘anti-causative’ by Palmer (1994). With intransitive verbs such as

³⁹ Regarding the suffix /-u/, Hetzron (1977:83) says “historically, the impersonal is a continuation of an older Pl.3 masculine.”

⁴⁰ See Degif (1997) and for the derivation of Impersonals in Chaha.

(f) s-k-r 'drunk' säkär-u [säk^war-y] 'be drunk'

In (36,a and d), the labializable consonant occurs as the last radical of the stem and is hence labialised. Furthermore, in (b, c and e) since the labializable consonant is found as the first radical of the stem, the morpheme {-u} floats and labialises the consonants. Furthermore, the heavy 3ms object suffix /-y/ is suffixed to the impersonal passive form. The impersonal can also be used with the perfective, imperfective, jussive and imperative forms as in (37) the examples below.

(37) Perfective	dänäg-u-y	[dänäg ^w y]	'one hit him/he was hit'
Imperfective	yī-därg-u-y	[yīdärg ^w y]	'one will be hit'
Jussive	yä-dīrg-u-y	[yädīrg ^w y]	'let one be hit'
Imperative	dīrg-u-y	[dīrg ^w y]	'hit'

As shown in (37) above, the impersonal in Endegañ id formed by the floating morpheme /-u/ which labialises the right most labializable consonant and palatalizes the adjacent palatalizable consonant. However, it might appear as if the overt heavy 3ms suffix /-y/ is responsible for the palatalization. But as shown below in (38) palatalization still occurs even in forms with different object marker. Let us see this with the stem /nämäd-/ 'love'.

(38)	nämmä□-ä-n-u	'he is loved'
	nämm□-ä-nirä	'we are loved'
	nämmä□-kkä	'one loved you (2sm)'

4.7.1.4 Intensive / frequentative

The intensive/ frequentative, which is also referred to as iterative, is used to express actions, which are performed frequently or intensively. Birhanu (1999) has stated that the frequentative is formed by reduplicating the penultimate consonant and by inserting the vowel /a/ which is a ‘reduplication formative’ morpheme and by attaching the morpheme {tä-}.

Such forms in Endegañ are, however, derived only by reduplicating the penultimate radical of the stem without prefixing the morpheme {tä-}, as shown in (39) below:

(39)	Verb root	Gloss	Intensive	Gloss
	k-tt-f	‘chop’	kätattäf-	‘chop into pieces’
	k-ff-d	‘open’	käfaffäd-	‘open repeatedly’
	g-tt-d	‘tear’	gätattäd-	‘tear into pieces’
	s-b-r	‘break’	säpappär-	‘break into pieces’

As illustrated in (39) above, the frequentative verb stem is formed by reduplicating the penultimate radical. Note the change of vowel melody of the aspectual vowel [ä].

4.7.1.5 Reciprocal

Birhanu (1999:22) has stated that the reciprocal in Endegañ is formed by “...repeating the penultimate radical plus the insertion of the vowel /a/ between the repeated radical and by prefixing {tä-} to the basic stem.” If one follows Birhanu’s (1999) analysis, the intensive/frequentative and the reciprocal would turn out to be similar in form to the extent

that one cannot grasp the distinction between them. Second, reciprocals are not formed through the process of reduplication and the vowel /a/, which is claimed to be an insertion though it is part of the stem to which the reciprocal marker is attached.

In this study, it is shown that the reciprocal and the frequentative are not isomorphic and hence are distinct in their form, meaning and manner of derivation. Reciprocals in Endegañ are formed by affixing the morpheme {tä-} to the stem pattern $-C_1aC_2C_2äC_3-$. The reciprocal and the passive/ reflexive may seem to be identical in form. Nevertheless, they differ in the vowel found between the first and the penultimate radical of the stems to which the morpheme {tä-} is attached. The reciprocal is characterized by the vowel /a/ whereas the passive and frequentative are distinguished by the vowel /ä/. The reciprocals are characterized by the fact that the subjects are involved not only in performing the actions but also in undergoing them thus, they are both agents and patients simultaneously. Furthermore, reciprocals are inherently plural since reciprocal actions presuppose the presence of two or more participants in the action denoted by the verb. Examples are provided in (40) below.

(40)	Verb root	Gloss	Reciprocal	Gloss
	m-t'-r	'choose'	tä-mat'är-u-m	'They (m.) choose each other'
	d-n-g	'hit'	tä-danäg-aa-m	'They(f.) hit each other'
	k'-n-w	'insult'	tä-k'anäw-hu-m	'you (2mp) insult each other'
	s-n-?	'steal'	tä-sarä?-haa-m	'you (2fp)stole from each other'
	n-kk-d	'touch'	tä-nakkä□-u-m	' they (mp) touched each other'

4.7.2 Complex verbal Derivations

In the previous section, we have seen simple verbal derivation. In this section, we will examine the combinatorial possibilities of the simple derivations described in the preceding section. The possible combinations in Endegañ are listed below:

- A. Passive frequentative
- B. Reciprocal frequentative
- C. Causative reciprocal
- D. Causative frequentative
- E. Causative of the frequentative reciprocal

As can be seen in the combinations, the passive occurs in only one instance while the causative, which is more productive in simple verb derivation than the passive, occurs with the frequentative, reciprocal and in the combination of the frequentative reciprocal.

4.7.2.1 Passive frequentative (P.F)

The frequentative passive is formed by attaching the passive marker {tä-} to the frequentative stem, which has a reduplicated penultimate radical. The examples in (41) below show this.

(41)	Verb root	Gloss	Frequentative stem	Passive Frequentative	Gloss
	s-b-r	‘break’	-säpappär-	tä-säpappär-	‘be broken into pieces’
	k-tt-f	‘chop’	-kätattäf-	tä-kätattäf-	‘be chopped into pieces’

k-ff-d	‘open’	-käfaffäd-	tä-käfaffäd-	‘be opened repeatedly’
m-t’-r	‘choose’	mät’at’är-	tä-mät’at’är-	‘be chosen repeatedly’

As shown in (41) above, in the derivation, intensive and iterative meanings are added to the passive actions by the frequentative stem.

4.7.2.2 Reciprocal frequentative (RF)

The reciprocals of frequentative are formed by the morpheme {tä-} prefixed to the reciprocal verb stem, and by reduplicating the penultimate radical of the stem as in the example in (42) below:

(42) Verb root	Gloss	Reciprocal stem	Reciprocal frequentative	Gloss
d-n-g	‘hit’	-daräg-	tä-däraräg-	‘hit one another seriously’
n-kk-s	‘bite’	-nakkäs-	tä-näkakkäs-	‘bite each other severely’
?-tt-r	‘kill’	-?atär-	tä-?ätattär-	‘kill one another severely’
m-t’-r	‘choose’	-mat’r-	tä-mät’at’är-	‘chose one another repeatedly’

4.7.2.3 Causative reciprocal (CR)

The causative reciprocal is formed by prefixing the causative marker {at-} to the reciprocal verb stems. The reciprocal marker {tä-} is, however, deleted. See the examples in (43) below:

<u>Verb root</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Reciprocal</u>	<u>Causative</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
		<u>stem</u>	<u>reciprocal</u>	
d-n-g	‘hit’	tä-däraräg-	at-tä-däraräg-	‘cause to hit one another’
n-s-?	‘pick’	tä-räsassä?-	at-tä-räsassä?-	‘cause to steal one another’
s-p-r	‘break’	tä-säpappär-	at-tä-säpappär-	‘cause to kill one another’
k’-n-w	‘insult’	tä-k’ärraräw-	at-tä-k’ärraräw-	‘cause to insult one another’

As shown above, causative reciprocals are formed by the causative marker {at-}, and the reciprocal marker {tä-} attached to the verb stem with **-C₁aC₂(C₂)äC₃** pattern. In the derivation of the causative reciprocal, the reciprocal marker is deleted and hence, is not found at surface level. However, if it is overtly realized, the reciprocal marker {tä-} assimilates to the first radical of the stem and thus appears as a geminate of the first radical of the verb. Let us see the phonological process involved in the formation of the causative reciprocal.

In /at-tä-däraräg-/, for instance, the causative morpheme assimilates to the first radical of the verb, after the deletion of the reciprocal morpheme. As a result gemination of the first radical occurs⁴¹. The underlying and surface forms are given below

at-tä-därarägä-u-nirä → at-däraräg-u-nirä → [addärarägünirä] ‘they caused us hit each other’
 cs.-rec.-hit-3pms-1po

⁴¹ In Amharic (Baye, 1999:71) the opposite process seems to take place, the reciprocal does not get deleted but totally assimilates to the word initial consonant.

In the derivation of the causative reciprocal, the gemination of /-t/ of the causative marker {at-} may not take place if the first radical of the stem to which it is attached has one of the guttural sounds.

Furthermore, ambiguity may arise between reciprocal causatives and causative frequentative readings, for both are identical in form. One way of avoiding the ambiguity is using the reciprocal pronoun for the causative reciprocal readings. As discussed in the formation of the reciprocals in section (4.7.1.5), the use of plural subjects is obligatory because reciprocity in a way implies plurality⁴².

4.7.2.4 Causative frequentative (CF)

The causative frequentative is formed by attaching the causative marker {at-} to the frequentative stem as in (44) below:

<u>Root</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Frequentative</u>	<u>Causative</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
		<u>stem</u>	<u>frequentative</u>	
k'-m-s	'taste'	-k'ämamäs-	ak'k'ämamäs-	'cause somebody to taste repeatedly'
s-b-r	'break'	-säpapär-	assäpappär-	'cause somebody to break repeatedly'
s-n-?	'steal'	-sänanä?-	assänanä?-	'cause to steal from each other repeatedly'
d-n-g	'hit'	-därarg-	addäraräg-	'cause to hit each other severely'
?-tt-r	'kill'	-?ätatär-	at-?ätattär-	'cause to kill each other severely'

⁴² See Baye (1999:72) for Amharic adjunctive and causative reciprocals.

4.7.2.5 Causatives of frequentative reciprocal (CFR)

In the formation of the causative of frequentative reciprocals, there are three notions involved and expressed at the same time. That there is a causer of the action is indicated by the causative morpheme {at-}. The verb of reciprocity shows that there are two or more active participants carrying out and undergoing the action denoted by the verb. The frequentative stem expresses intensity of the action stated by the verb. In the derivation, the reciprocal marker {tä-} is deleted. However, it leaves its trace by the gemination of the first radical of the stem. The derivation is provided in (45):

Frequentative	Causative frequentative	Gloss
Reciprocal stem	reciprocal	
-säpappär-	at-tä-säpappär- [at-ssäpappär-]	‘cause to break one another badly’
-mät’at’t’är-	at-tä-mät’at’är-[at-mmät’at’är-]	‘cause to choose one another repeatedly’
-?ätattär-	at-tä-?ätattär- [at-?ätattär-]	‘cause to kill one another severely’
-därraräg-	at-tä-därraräg- [atiddärraräg-]	‘cause to hit one another badly’

As exemplified in (45) above, the causative of reciprocal frequentative and the causative reciprocal are very similar. The notion, which is actually added to the causative reciprocal, is the intensity of the action denoted by the verb.

To summarize, in Endegañ, simple and complex verbal derivation are carried out by prefixing the morphemes {at-} and {tä-} to various patterns along with the processes of partial reduplication. The morpheme {at-} prefixed to basic stems derives causatives while with type

C verbs; it expresses the adjutative and the causative of the reciprocal. Prefixed to the basic stem, the morpheme {tä-} derives the reflexives and passives but when prefixed to type C verbs it derives reciprocal verbs. Furthermore, the frequentative can be derived by reduplicating the second radical of type A,B and C stems.

In this chapter, we have dealt with the verb morphology of Endegañ. The verbs as shown in the discussion, are complex with regard to their internal structure. Different verbs have been grouped as mono-, bi-, tri- and quadri- radicals based on the number of the consonant roots. Verbs have also been grouped as type A,B and C based on the stem patterns they exhibit. Furthermore, the pronominal affixes of Endegañ have been identified. With regard to inflectional morphology, subject and object agreements have been treated along with the inflection of verbs for person, number, aspect, tense, mood and negation. Regarding derivation, a detailed description of the passives, reflexives, causatives, reciprocals, adjutative and frequentatives have been presented. Under complex verbal derivation, frequentative passives, frequentative of reciprocal, frequentative causative, reciprocal causative and causative of reciprocal of frequentative have been discussed.

CHAPTER FIVE: ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS

This chapter deals with the morphology of adjectives and adverbs of Endegañ. The discussion on adjectives and adverbs is treated under the same chapter for convenience and because of

limited morphological properties they exhibit. Furthermore, both adjectives and adverbs have similar syntactic property as they occur in phrases in which nouns and verbs are heads.

5.1. Adjective

Adjectives in Endegañ are of two types: simple and derived. These are further divided into semantic fields/properties, which define the word class as adjectives. The fields are physical property, human propensity, colour, age, dimension and speed (cf. Azeb (2001) for Maale Adjectives).

Moreover, Dixon (1982), as cited in Azeb (2001:133), suggests that with a parametric variation, the number of adjectives in the different semantic fields can fall into a predictable range. The generalization given by Dixon (1982) is as follows:

Value, age, colour, and speed type normally have very restricted size involving from two to half a dozen words, according to the language. Dimensions usually involves a dozen or so words, rarely Very many more. Physical property always involves at least several score items while; human property words can run into hundreds.

Accordingly, adjectives in Endegañ can be categorized in the manner shown in (1) below into semantic fields.

(1) A. Dimension

i?ir	'short'	gunšir	'fat'
dekkä	'tall'	k'äčir	'thin'
nu?ä	'big'	mur?ä	'full'

k'äri	'small'	k'äri	'hall full'
no?i	'far'	gän□ir	'thick'
uru	'near'		
bättäd	'wide'		
upapä	'narrow'		

B. Human Propensity

awǐžä	'foolish'	adäbat- äññä	'calm'
bet't'	'wise'	bet't'	'thirfty'
fäya-ññä	'healthy'	zängä-ññä	'talkative'
sänäf /moñä	'lazy'	foyi	'fearful'
zigä	'poor'	wabi	'kind/donor/ generous'
mo?	'good'	däfar/gobäz	'courageous'
äwt'ir	'mean'	t'uri	'civilized'

C. Physical property

märk-ama	'beautiful'	ir?ä	'wet'
därä?	'dry'	wäya	'clean'
dīrzīz	'blunt'	mo?	'hot'
žeš	'cold'		

gäddar 'sharp'

D. Colour

gämbänä 'black(for animals & humans)

t'ik'ur 'black (for object: human)'

gad 'red'

ding 'yellow (horse) '

mäč'a 'yellow (sheep)'

käsyat 'yellow and red (sheep)'

bäras 'black and red (for cow and oxen)'

E. Age

gurz 'old [+HUMAN]'

barik' 'old [+HUMAN]'

gädür 'new born baby'

t'ik'k'ä 'teenage'

ziyä 'teenage'

deyng 'young'

F. Value

mo? 'good' t'irä 'expensive'

zigä	'poor'	gäwa	'cheap'
dindä-ñña	'rich'		

G. Speed

nuč'č'	'fast'
t'urī	'fast for horse'
gotata	'slow'

5.1.1 Inflection

Adjectives, which precede nouns, do not inflect for the grammatical categories of gender and number. Thus, there is no agreement between adjectives and nouns for these features, /nu?ä/ 'big/ elder' can be used to modify both masculine and feminine nouns, as in /nu? ässä?äm/ 'big/ elder brother' /nu? ättä?äm/ 'big/ elder sister', without showing any change in form.

Definiteness in adjectives is expressed by the third person independent pronouns as shown in (2) below:

- (2) a. barik'-hudä
old-he (3ms) 'the old one'
- b. gunšīr-hinna
fat- they (f) 'the fat ones'
- c. i?ir-hino

	short- they (m)	‘the short ones’
d.	dekkä-šidä	
	tall- she	‘the tall one’

As shown in (2a-d) above, definiteness is indicated by attaching the third person independent pronouns to the adjectives. Thus, /hudä/, /šidä/ and /hīno/ /hīnna/, the third person masculine and feminine, singular and plural forms are used to mark definiteness without showing agreement in number.

5.1.2 Derivation

Adjectives are mostly derived from nouns. They can also be derived from verbs and from other adjectives. The most common derivations are shown in (3 and 4) below:

(3) i. Adjectives derived by using {-äñña}

Adjectives can be derived from nouns by prefixing the morpheme {-äñña}

(3)

Noun	Gloss	Derived Adjectives	Gloss
a. zängä	'trouble'	zäng-äñña	'trouble maker'
b. mäla	'tactic'	mäl- äñña	'tact full'

c. t'om	'fast'	tom-äññä	'one who fasts'
d. k'im	'grudge'	k'im-äññä	'one with feelings of grudge'
e. ämar	'manner'	amär-äññä	'bad mannered'
f. mazä	'wound'	maz-äññä	'one who is wounded'

ii. Adjectives derived by using {-ama}

The morpheme {-ama} suffixed to nouns derives adjectives as in (4) below:

(4)

Noun	Gloss	Derived Adjectives	Gloss
a. märk	'appearance'	märk-ama	'beautiful'
b. o□□ä	'lie'	o□□-ama	'liar'
c. wärk'	'gold'	wärk'-ama	'goldish'

The morpheme {-äññä} and {-ama}, as shown above, derives adjectives from noun bases. Word final vowels are deleted as in (3a,b and f and 4b), when an affix that begins with a vowel is attached to the base.

iii. Compound Adjectives

There are limited adjectives formed by using compounding. The compound adjectives in Endegañ, are formed by combining a noun and an adjective, joined by the 'thematic vowel' {-ä-} as shown in (5) below:

(5)	Noun	Adjective	Compound	Gloss
			Adjective	
	enn ‘eye’	därä? ‘dry’	enn-ä-därä?	‘Shameless’
	ä□□ ‘hand’	sur ‘broken’	ä□□-ä-sur	‘lazy’
	hī?in ‘heart’	mo? ‘good’	hī?in-ä-mo?	‘honest’
	hī?in ‘heart’	mur?ä ‘full’	hī?in-ä-mur?ä	‘courageous’
	hī?in ‘heart’	gän□ir ‘thick’	hī?in-ä-gän□ir	‘cruel’

To summarize, in this section, we have seen that adjectives are grouped into seven different semantic fields, namely, dimension, physical property, colour, age, human propensity, value and speed. Furthermore, we have also seen that adjectives do not inflect for the grammatical categories of person, number, gender and definiteness. It is also shown that adjectives are derived from noun bases by using the morphemes {-ama} and {-äñña}.

5.2 Adverbs

Adverbs are used to express circumstances or contents of actions described by verbs. In Endegañ, there are both simple and derived adverbs falling under different adverbial

categories such as time, place, degree, place, and manner etc⁴³. Adverbs in Endegañ, do not inflect for any of the grammatical categories. Most of the adverbs are derived. The derivational process involves both affixation and reduplication.

5.2.1 Time adverbs

The time adverbs in Endegañ are listed in (6) below.

Adverb	Gloss	Adverb	Gloss
mäč-ä	‘when’	säst-ra	‘the day before yesterday’
mač-rä	‘when(past)’	näw?at-rä	‘four days ago’
wä?akä	‘now’	amī?st-rä	‘five days ago’
ir?ä	‘morning’	sadist-rä	‘six days ago’
mīšädä	‘evening’	säb?at-rä	‘seven days ago’
akkä	‘today’	samit-rä	‘a week ago’
nägä	‘tomorrow’	säst-ä	‘the day after tomorrow’
tira?añä	‘yesterday’	näw?atä	‘after four days’
amī?st-ä	‘after five days’		
sadist-ä	‘after six days’		
säw?at-ä	‘after seven days’		
samitä	‘a week from now’		

⁴³ Shopen (1985) refers to place adverbs as ‘directional adverbs’

The time adverbs listed in (6) above can be used in sentences as shown in (7) below:

- (7) (a). mačä yi-wär?ä-te
when 3sm-eat-3sm-df 'When will he eat'
- (b). mač-rä warr-u-m
When -past go-3pm-Mvm 'When (past) did they (m) go?'
- (c). säst-ä i-mä?a-de
The day after-1s. -come-df. 'I will come the day after tomorrow'

As can be seen from the data in (6) and (7) above, some derived time adverbs are marked with different morphemes to indicate the temporal notions past and future⁴⁴. Thus, {-rä} indicates the temporal notion of past time while {-ä} indicates future time as shown in (8) below:

Stem	Gloss	Past	Gloss	Future	Gloss
mäč-	'when'	mäč-rä	'when'	mäč-ä	'when'
so?ost	'three'	säst-rä	'3 days ago'	säst-ä	'after three days'
näw?at ³	'four'	näw?at-rä	'4 days ago'	näw?at-ä	'after four days'
amī?ist	'five'	amī?ist-rä	'5 days ago'	amī?ist-ä	'after five days'
samīt	's week'	samīt-rä	'a week after'	samīt-ä	'after a week'

⁴⁴ The lexical item /näw?at/ particularly refers to four days, as opposed to the numeral /arwa?at/ 'four'

The morphemes {-rä} and {-ä} might be found in other time adverbs, which are not possible bases, if they particularly refer to the temporal notions of past and future respectively. The morpheme {-rä} can be found in /tī-rä-?añä/⁴⁵ ‘yesterday’ and the future marker {-ä} can be found in /nag-ä/ ‘tomorrow’. In other time adverbs which do not refer to temporal notions like /akkä/ ‘today’ and /ahu/ ‘now’, and /mišäd/ ‘evening’, the morphemes {-ä} and {-rä} are not used. Therefore, it can be concluded that the morphemes {-rä} and {-ä,} are derivational morphemes, expressing past and future time respectively⁴⁶. It should be noted that {-rä} and {-ä} are formally different from the verbal inflectional affixes of the future tense markers {-te/-de} and {-se}, which are non-derivational. The latter are derivational and they also express the temporal notions of past and future.

5.2.2 Manner Adverbs

Manner adverbs in Endegañ can be derived by attaching the bound morpheme {-hīma} ‘like’ to the demonstrative pronouns /wa/ ‘this’ and /ha/ ‘that’ as in (9) below.

(9)	a. wa	'this'	wa-hām	'like this'
	b ha	'that'	ha-hām	'like that'

⁴ This is a common feature of Gurage languages. Hetzron (1977: 112) says, “...These languages have terms for each of the seven days preceding and following ‘today’.” However, he has only identified the suffix –ra, which is attached to numerals. The same process is also found in Ežha, a Western Gurage language (Fekede, 2002)

⁴⁶ Baybee (1985:161) has stated that tense as a derivational category, occurs very rarely and is attested in Kwakitul language.

Manner adverbs can also be derived by attaching the bound morpheme {-hīma} to adjectival bases as shown in (10) below:

(10)	Adjectives	Gloss	Adverbs	Gloss
	moʔ	‘good/ nice’	moʔ-hīma	‘nicely’
	awižä	‘foolish/careless’	awižä-hīma	‘foolishly/ carelessly’
	adäbat	‘calm’	adäbat-hīma	‘calmly’
	tiffä	‘bad’	tiffä-hīma	‘badly’

5.2.3 Frequency Adverbs

Frequency Adverbs are used to indicate how often an action takes place. In Endegañ, such adverbs are derived by using complete reduplication as shown in (11) below:

(11)

Time Adverbs	Gloss	Frequency Ad.	Gloss
a. iräʔä	‘morning’	iräʔä-iräʔä	‘every morning’
b. mišadä	‘evening’	mišadä-mišadä	‘every evening’
c. käms	‘Thursday’	käms-käms	‘every Thursday’

- | | | | | |
|----|--------|----------|---------------|----------------|
| d. | □im?at | ‘Friday’ | □im?at-□im?at | ‘every Friday’ |
| e. | ahu | ‘now’ | ahu-m-ahu-m | ‘now and then’ |

As shown in (11a-d) above total reduplication is used to derive adverbs of frequency. In (11e), the {-m-} which is attached to /ahu/ ‘now’ is a conjunction morpheme and thus has the meaning ‘and’. Moreover, there are certain frequency and time adverbs which are derived by attaching the bound form /ge-/ ‘time’ to indefinite pronouns such as /hi?in/, /att/ and /att-att/ as shown in the examples (12) below:

- | | | | |
|------|----|------------|-------------|
| (12) | a. | hi?in-ge | ‘always’ |
| | b. | att-ge | ‘once’ |
| | c. | att-att-ge | ‘sometimes’ |

5.2.4 Place Adverbs

One can indicate place adverbs by using different lexical items listed (13) below:

- | | | | |
|------|----|---------|----------------|
| (13) | a. | for | ‘top’ |
| | b. | kässin | ‘under’ |
| | c. | ift-ift | ‘in front of’ |
| | d. | ti?i | ‘back/ behind’ |
| | e. | ägad | ‘side’ |

As shown in (13 a-d), most of the place adverbs are simple except (13c), which is derived by reduplicating *ift* ‘before’.

5.2.5 Adverbs of Direction

In Endegañ adverbs of direction are derived by suffixing the morpheme {-niyä} to place adverbs and to the demonstrative pronouns /wa/ ‘these’ and /ha/ ‘that’ and to place adverbs as in (14) below.

- (14)
- | | | |
|----|------------------------|-------------------------|
| a. | for-niyä | |
| | top-towards | ‘towards the top’ |
| b. | gäddä-niyä | |
| | down- towards | ‘downward’ |
| c. | wa-niyä ažž-ä | |
| | here-towards see-3ms | ‘he saw towards here’ |
| d. | ha-niya mä?a-čï | |
| | here- towards come-3fs | ‘she came towards here’ |

To conclude, in this section, five types of adverbs, that is, adverbs of time, frequency, manner, place and direction have been discussed. In some of the time adverbs, the morpheme {-ra} is used to indicate past time while {-ä} seems to indicate present. Frequency adverbs are formed either by total reduplication or by conjoining two time adverbs by the conjunction {-m}.

Manner adverbs are derived by suffixing {-hïma} to adjectives. Certain frequency and time adverbs are derived by attaching {-ge} to indefinite pronouns. Furthermore, we have seen that place adverbs are simple, except in /ift-ift/ ‘in front of which is derived by reduplication. The directional adverb is derived by suffixing the morpheme {-niyä} to simple place adverbs and demonstrative pronouns.

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we will try to recapitulate the major points raised in the preceding chapters. The main objective of this thesis is to present an exhaustive descriptive account of Endegañ morphology, which includes the morphology of nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs.

In the first chapter, a brief introductory remark of the language, the people, significance and the research methodology is provided. An overview on the phonology of the language is also presented.

The second chapter deals with the inflection and derivations of nouns. Singular nouns are not morphologically marked. Except in limited kinship terms, number is not morphologically marked in nouns. Singular and plural forms are lexically distinguished whereas some nouns show plurality by change as in /gäräd/ 'girl' /gired/ 'girls'. Gender is also expressed lexically by using suppletive forms.

Definiteness in Endegañ is not morphologically marked. However, definiteness is indicated by using the possessive suffixed pronouns of the third person or by employing the personal pronouns of the third person suffixed to nouns. Indefinite nouns are also not morphologically marked but it is expressed by using indefinite pronouns and quantifiers.

As to the case system of the nouns, 'core' and 'semantic' cases are identified. The former includes the nominative, accusative and dative cases while the latter includes the various semantic cases. The nominative case is not morphologically marked while the morpheme {ä-} attached to [+HUMAN] [+DEFINITE] object NP indicates the accusative case. The

morpheme {ä-}, is a homophones morpheme since it is also attached to the genitive and dative cases.

The semantic cases are predominantly prepositional and are also homophones. The instrumental, the temporal and static location is marked by the morpheme {bä-} while {tä-} shows source as well as comitative cases. The morpheme {-e} shows destination of movement. Regarding the derivational properties of nouns, the morphemes that are used to derive infinitival, abstract and agentive nominals from nouns or adjectives are identified. Furthermore, it is also stated that phrases instead of morphological devices are used to in the formation of instrumental, manner and agentive nominals.

The internal structure of personal, possessives, demonstrative, reflexive, indefinite interrogative, selective and non-selective and exclusive pronouns of Endegañ have been discussed in chapter three. The case markers used in pronouns are found to be the same as those found in nouns. Furthermore, it has been shown that number, person and gender are distinctly marked. The person markers which are also the bases to which number and gender are attached are {?i-} for first person singular and {?i-} for first plural. {?ah-} marks second person masculine while {h-t} which is realized as [š] stands for the feminine counterpart. Third person is marked by {h-t}. It has also been shown that singular is not marked while plural is marked by {-nä}. The masculine gender is indicated by {-u} in third singular, third plural, and second person masculine plural. The vowel {-i} marks feminine in the second and third person singular while it is indicated by {-aa} in second and third plural forms. Possession in pronouns is expressed by prefixing {ä-} to the personal pronoun or any noun or by using possessive suffixes, which are attached to nouns.

Moreover, two demonstrative pronouns /wa/ ‘these/this’ and /ha/ ‘that/ those’ have been identified for the notions near and far to the speaker respectively. Reflexive pronouns are derived by attaching the possessive markers to the word /gäg/ or /gupä/ ‘self’. Reciprocal action is indicated by attaching the morpheme {tä-} to the second element of the reduplicated independent pronouns. Indefinite pronouns are compounds of /ä?ar/ ‘thing’ or /säb/ ‘body/ person’ to which different morphemes are attached. Interrogative are found to be lexical.

In chapter four, the verb morphology of Endegañ has been presented. It has been stated that verbs in Endegañ has a complex verbal structure consisting of radicals, an aspectual vowel and pronominal affixes. Verbs in Endegañ employ various consonantal and vowel patterning so as to express grammatical categories such as aspect, tense and mood. It has been shown that the distribution of subject and object pronominal affixes varies according to the aspect and person of the verbs. Subject agreement affixes are suffixed to verbs in the perfective aspect, and jussive mood but are prefixed and suffixed in the imperfective verb form. Furthermore, in chapter four verbs are classified according to their number of radicals as mono-, bi-, tri-, and quadri- radicals and as types A, B and C based on the stem pattern a tri-radical verb shows.

As stated throughout chapter four, verbs in Endegañ make distinction between two aspectual forms perfective and imperfective. The perfective aspect is shown by the vowel {-ä-}, which is found between the ultimate and the penultimate radicals. Thus, verbs assume a particular morphological shape to distinguish between the aspectual markers. Hence, a tri-radical verb has the pattern $C_1\ddot{a}C_2C_2\ddot{a}C_3$ - in the perfective, and $-C_1vC_2(C_2)C_3$ - in the imperfective. Temporal distinctions such as past, remote past, present, and past progressive are expressed

by using auxiliaries and time adverbs. There are two future tenses definite and indefinite. The definite future is expressed by the morphemes {te/-de}, while indefinite future is indicated by suffixing {-se}, to the jussive form of the verb.

Furthermore, two jussive stem patterns $C_1C_2\ddot{a}C_3$ and $C_1vC_2C_3$ have been identified. The imperative mood has the stem pattern $C_1vC_2\ddot{a}C_3$ and $C_1vC_2C_3$ pattern. Two types of conditionals, real and unreal have also been identified. The former is marked by the morpheme {bä-}, while the latter is indicated by using {tä-}.

Moreover, negation has also been treated in chapter four. Negation in the perfective is indicated by the negative prefix {an-} and the suffixed main negative markers {-dä/-tä}, while in the imperfective the negative prefix is {a-} and the negative suffixes are {-kä, -tä, -dä.}

Regarding the derivation of verbs, two types of verbal derivations: simple and complex are identified. The former consists of reflexives, passives, causatives, adjunctive, iterative and reciprocal forms of the verb. Moreover, frequentative passive, frequentative reciprocal, frequentative causative and causative of the frequentative reciprocal are discussed under the complex verbal derivation. These verb stems are derived by attaching the prefixes {a-/at-}, and {tä-} with various consonantal and vowel patterns, and the process of reduplication.

In chapter five, adjectives and adverbs have been discussed. Adjectives do not inflect for the grammatical categories of person, number, gender and definiteness. Regarding adverbs, different types of adverbs have been mentioned. Furthermore, the time adverbs are presented. Here, it is claimed that some of the time adverbs derivational and at the same time indicates the temporal notions of past, future and/or present.

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