

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRAGUATE STUDIES**

THE MORPHOLOGY OF GOGGOT

BY

KEBEDE TEKLE-MICHAEL

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KEBEDE TEKLE-MICHAEL

Institute of Language Studies

Approved by:

Advisor

Signature

Examiner

Signature

Examiner

Signature

Examiner

Signature

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	=	Accusative
AUX	=	Auxiliary
BEN	=	Benefactive
COM	=	Comitative
DEF	=	Definite
GEN	=	Genitive
GERN	=	Gerundive
IMPASS	=	Impersonal Passive
IMPRF	=	Imperfective
LOC	=	Locative
MAL	=	Malfactive
MVM	=	Main Verb Marker
NEG	=	Negative
NOM	=	Nominative
NP	=	Noun Phrase
OBJ	=	Object
PASS	=	Passive
PP	=	Prepositional Phrase
PRES	=	Present
PRF	=	Perfective
SUB	=	Subordinate
1pl.	=	First Person Plural
1plo.	=	First Person Plural Object
1sg.	=	First Person Singular
1so	=	First Person Singular Object
1ss	=	First Person Singular subject
2f	=	Second Person Feminine
2fo	=	" " " Object
2fpl	=	" " " Plural
2fplo	=	" " " Plural Object
2fpls	=	" " " Plural Subject
2fs	=	" " " Singular
2fso	=	" " " Singular Object
2fss	=	" " " Singular Subject
2m	=	Second Person Masculine
2mo	=	" " " Object
2mpl	=	" " " Plural
2mplo	=	" " " " Object

2mpls =	"	"	"	"	Subject
2ms =	"	"	"	Singular	
2mso =	"	"	"	"	object
2mss =	"	"	"	"	subject
2pl =	"	"	Plural		
3f =	Third Person Feminine				
3fo =	"	"	"	Object	
3fpl =	"	"	"	Plural	
3fplo =	"	"	"	"	Object
3fppls =	"	"	"	"	Subject
3fs =	"	"	"	Singular	
3fso =	"	"	"	"	Object
3fss =	"	"	"	"	Subject
3m =	Third Person Masculine				
3mo =	"	"	"	Object	
3mpl =	"	"	"	Plural	
3mplo =	"	"	"	"	Object
3mpls =	"	"	"	"	Subject
3ms =	"	"	"	Singular	
3mso =	"	"	"	"	Object

ABSTRACT

This thesis concerns the morphology of Goggot. The central theme of the study is to give a base-line description on both the inflectional and derivation properties of Goggot nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. The paper is organized in six chapters, including the introductory and concluding chapters.

In chapter one, a brief introduction is given on the linguistic and Scio-linguistic situations of the language, on the significance and methods of the present study, and on the morphophonemic feature of the language.

In the next four chapters (2-5), attempt is made to describe both the inflectional and derivational properties of Goggot nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. In the description, inflections for such grammatical categories as number and definiteness in nouns and adjectives; tense, aspect, mood, and AGRS in verbs have been treated. In the study, it has been identified that case marking is predominately prepositional in Goggot. In addition, attempt has been made to analyze the internal structure of Goggot pronouns. Concerning their derivations, stems from which nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs can be derived, and the patterns and bound morphemes used to derive these word classes have been identified.

In chapter six, major findings of the study have been summarized and conclusions are made on the basis of these findings.

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

This paper concerns the morphology of Goggot, one of the least studied languages in the Gurage cluster. The actual description commences in chapter two. But, in this chapter, we consider issues pertaining to linguistic and sociolinguistic situations of the language, previous studies, significance and methodology of the present study, and the morphophonemic aspects of the language.

1.1 The language and the people

Goggot is spoken in the Gurage zone, in the western highlands of Butajira town, 135 kilometers southwest of Addis Ababa. The occupation of the local people is farming. They predominantly cultivated the staple food called *insät* (i.e 'false-banana'). This is, of course, supplemented by other food stuff such as 'teff', 'wheat' and 'barely'. There are also migrant speakers of Goggot in Addis Ababa, who are mainly engaged in making and selling shoes. Though there are few people who follow Islam, the majority of the Goggot speakers are followers of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

The Gurage languages are spoken in a geographically compact area. The Goggot speakers are, for example, neighbored by speakers of Muher in the southwest, by Kistane speakers in the southeast, and by Masqan speakers in the southwest. Hence, some Goggot speakers are also bilingual in one of these languages. Though it is difficult to state the exact figure, Goggot speakers are estimated to be 15,000.

The language is known by different names. Some of the local people refer to it as "Dobbi", while others use "Goggot". There are still others who call it "Guragiñña".¹ Regarding its status and classification, Goggot has received different treatments by different scholars.

Scholars such as Leslau (1968) describe Goggot as one of the dialects constituting the Gurage cluster. Goldenberg (1968) identifies it simply as a modified form of Kistane. But for scholars like Hetzron (1977), Goggot refers to one of the Gurage varieties whose status yet unknown.² In addition, 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, some linguists have different views. Leslau (1968) and Hetzron(1972, 1977), for instance, have included different languages under the Northern Gurage branch.

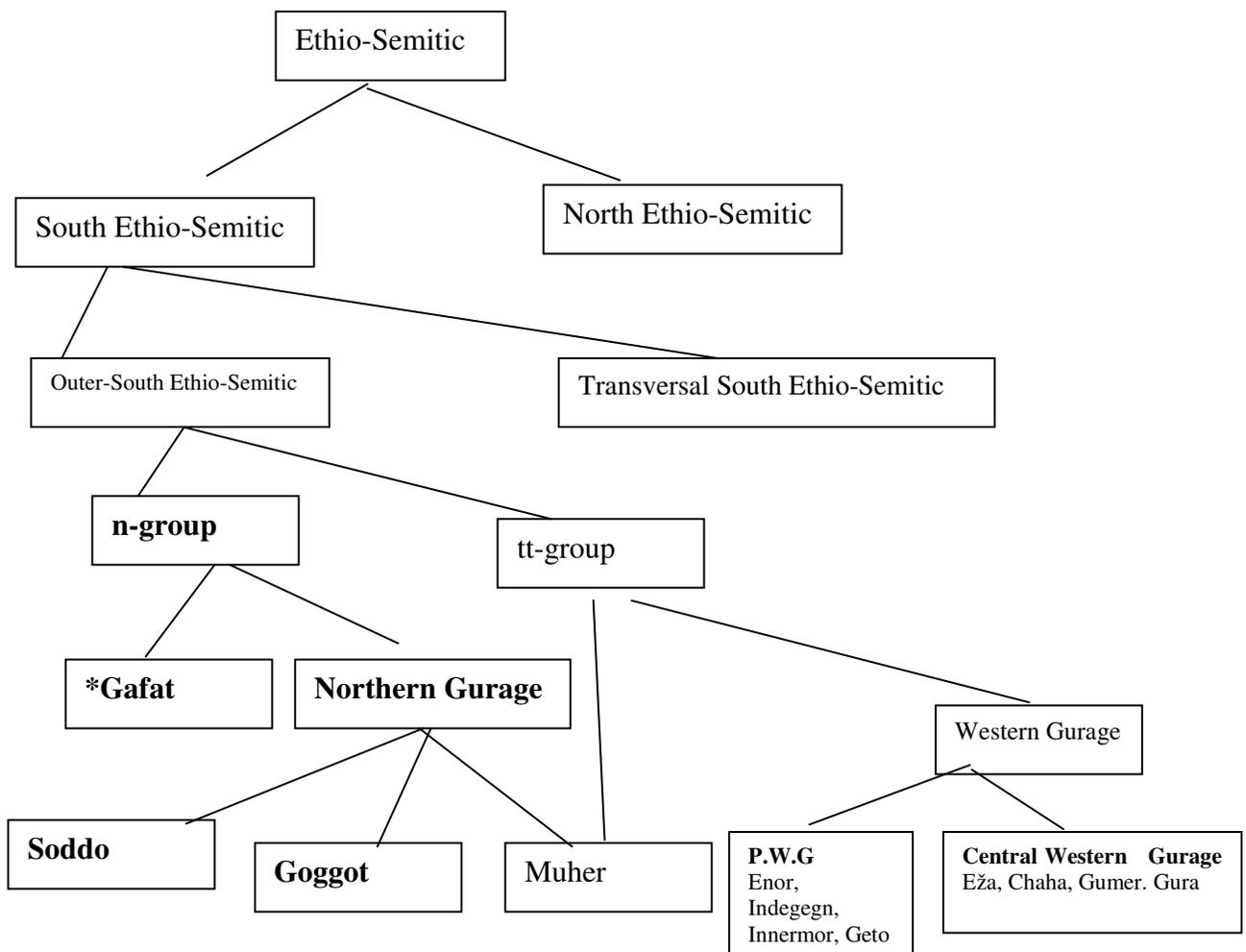
Leslau (1969b) claims that Soddo is the sole representative of Northern Gurage, and he classifies Muher, Masqan and Goggot as a subgroup within western Gurage. However, Hetzron (1972) puts Soddo, Goggot and Muher as members of Northern Gurage. Both scholars employ different justification for proving the unity of a branch. Leslau for example, cites shared phonological, morphological and lexical features as evidence. Hetzron criticizes the methodological approach followed by Leslau. In his 1977 work, Hetzron states that Leslau's use

¹ Here, I use "Goggot" as a representative name for two reasons. First, the term "Goggot" refers to one of the villages where the language is spoken and that elderly people in the locality prefer the term "Goggot" as the name of their language, for its historical relevance. Goggot was once a place where negotiation was made among different hostile groups. Second, in most literatures I consulted, the language is identified as "Goggot" with a sound justification"(Leslau, 1969; Hetzron, 1972, 1977).

² Throughout this paper I take Goggot and other members of the Gurage cluster as languages. I have two reasons for this. First, the Goggot people identify themselves as Goggot speakers, not as Soddo or Muher and that they believe their language is different. Second, there is no research addressing the status of any member of the cluster.

of archaisms and features attributable to Cushitic influence makes his finding less plausible. Instead, he recommends the use of morphological innovations to justify classifications within Ethio-Semitic. He has, for example, used preserved archaic features like main verb markers to prove the unity within the Northern Gurage branch.

Though the issue is still unsettled, the tendency is towards accepting the suggestion made by Hetzron (Gutt, 1979; Goldenberg, 1996; Hudson, 2000). The following tree diagram shows the genealogy of the Ethio-Semitic languages to which Goggot belongs.



(Adapted from Hetzron (1977))

As shown in the diagram, Hetzron (1977) has used the main verb markers as a basis to classify the Outer-South Ethio-Semitic into: **n-group** and **tt-group**. Hetzron has identified these markers as archaic features of the Semitic verb endings in the indicative non-past paradigm. He strengthens his position by saying, " In Arabic the indicative non past has the endings **/-u/** after a consonant and **/-nv/** after a long vowel. Correspondingly, Soddo and Goggot have for the main indicative affirmative verbal form **/-u/**, after a consonant and **/-n/** after an original long vowel". (1977:23). But he mentions that further allomorphic development is observed in Northern Gurage in which the use of the verbal endings is extended to the past tense, where **/-u/** is also used after short vowels. It is here that the innovation lies. Of the members constituting the Northern Gurage group, Muher has **/-tt/** corresponding to the **/-n/** of Soddo and Goggot. But unlike the other **tt-group** languages, Muher has retained the main verb markers of Semitic, and this innovation connects it to Soddo and Goggot. For Hetzron, the Northern Gurage branch is not genealogical but typological.

1.2 Previous Study

In addition to some scanty works, mainly on classification, there are few phonological and morphological descriptions on Goggot. Here, the works of Leslau (1968, 1979), Hetzron (1972, 1977) and Alemayehu (1985) can be mentioned.

In his Etymological Dictionary of Ethiopic, Leslau (1979) identifies twenty-three consonantal and seven vowel phonemes in Goggot. Table (1) shows the consonantal phonemes.

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
STOPS						ʔ
Simple	b		t d		k g	
Glottalized			t'		k'	
FRICATIVES						
Spirants		f	s z			h
Subliants				š ž		
AFFRICATES						
Simple				č ğ		
Glottalized				č'		
NASAL	m		n	ň		
LIQUIDS						
Lateral			l			
Trill			r			
SEMI-VOWELS	ω			y		

Table (1): Consonantal phonemes

In addition to the ones listed in the table, Leslau mentions the velar spirant /x/ and the seven labialized consonants /b^ω, f^ω, m^ω, g^ω, k^ω, x^ω; g^ω/ as phonemes. And the seven vowel phonemes are shown in table (2) below.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ĩ	u
Mid	e	ä	o
Low		a	

Table (2): Vowel Phonemes

In addition to these simple vowels, Leslau(1979) has identified two diphthongs-/eä/, as in [däbeä], 'add' and /ea/ ,as in [beam], 'say'.

Leslau also mentions some phonological processes attested in the language, 'dialect' or across 'dialects'. These include the intervocalic spirantization of /k/ ,as in /yä-/+/k^ωa/→yäh^ωa, 'his'), labialization, as in [säddäb^ωim], 'insulted', from the root *sdb; [merrä?^ωim], 'blessed', from

the root ***mrk**), palatalization ,as in [**šäkkäčim**], 'done', from the root ***škt**; [**t'äbbäšim**], 'roasted', from the root***t'bs**), assimilation ,as in [**an+biya**→ **ambiya**], 'he did not eat', and metathesis ,as in [**izger**] from [**igzer**], 'God'.

In his attempt to trace "proto-Gurage", Leslau (1968) identifies certain morphological features that Goggot shares with Soddo. He has, for example, stated that /-očč/ is a regular plural marker, and /-i/, a definite marker.

In Hetzron (1972), /-n/ is identified as a main verb marker in both Goggot and Soddo. It is this feature that distinguishes Soddo and Goggot from the rest of the Gurage cluster. In his (1977) work, Hetzron has attempted to identify morphological features shared among the Gunnän Gurage languages.³ Concerning inflections, for example, he states that nouns and adjectives do not show gender distinction (eg. **järä** (n) 'hen, cock'; **gälif**, 'tall', as in **gälif miss** 'tall man' and **gälif müšt** 'tall women'). In addition, he states that certain Goggot adjectives show number distinction by reduplicating their penultimate consonant (as in **giddir** 'large'→**giddidir**). Concerning case marking, he concludes that prepositions are basic case markers. For example, /**bä-**/ is used for the locative ('in'/'at'), for the instrumental ('with'), and for the ablative ('from'); /**tä-**/, for the commitative ('with'/'in the company of'), etc.

Both Leslau and Hetzron, however, acknowledge that their descriptions lack completeness. Hetzron (1977:29), for example, says, “Gaps in the description show lack of investigation in specific domains. Moreover, further research may provide additional information even in

³ The term Gunnän Gurage refers to languages or clusters in the other South Ethiopic group except *Gafat
Hetzron (1972, 1977)

domains that are believed to be known at this time.” Similarly, Leslau (1969) says, "Needless, to say, this study is not complete. This is mainly due to the fact that my investigation on the morphology of various Gurage dialects is still inadequate.”

Alemayehu (1985) attempted to describe the morphology of Goggot pronouns. His study focused mainly on the personal pronouns, both independent and suffixal. Based on his analysis, the internal morphological structure of the independent personal pronouns is made up of the following person, and number and gender markers.

Linguistic form	Stem	Gender	Person	Number	Gloss
anä	a-	-	-nä	Ø	'I'
aha	a-	-Ø	-h	Ø	'you (msg).'
aš	a-	-i	-h	Ø	'you (fsg).'
k ^o a	k-	-u	-a	Ø	'he'
k ^y a	k-	-i	-a	Ø	'she'
iñña	in	-	Ø	-na	'we'
ahm	a-	-a	-h	-m	'you (plm).'
ahma	a-	-a	-h	-m	'you (plf).'
kīnnām	k-	Ø	-nnä	-m	'They (m).'
kīnnāma	k-	-a	-nnä	-m	'They (f).'

Table (3): Internal Morphology of Goggot pronouns (Alemayehu, 1985)

As depicted in the table, Alemayehu has analysed Goggot independent personal pronouns as made up of stem, gender, person, and number. However, he didn't mention anything about the functions of the forms falling under the category '**stem**'.

Alemayehu has also identified the particle /yä-/ as the direct object, indirect object and genitive marker. Moreover, he has identified the pronominal suffixes in verbs, licensing the subject and object NPs.

1.3 The present Study

As stated already, for scholars like Leslau (1969a), Gurage clusters are taken as dialects constituting a single genetic unit. But such a conclusion seems to be strong for scholars like Hetzron (1977). This implies that there is lack of exhaustive research on each variety constituting the Gurage cluster. And this undoubtedly calls for exhaustive comparative studies both at grammatical and sociolinguistic levels. But to make the comparative work possible, we have to go first through the base-line descriptions. Thus, this thesis attempts to fill such a gap by providing a relatively exhaustive morphological description of Goggot.

1.4 Significance of the study

Morphological studies have a vital role in the description of languages, especially in morphologically complex ones (Crystal, 1994). Hudson (2000) stresses the strong relevance of morphologically oriented comparative studies in Ethio-Semitic languages. Thus, the detailed morphological study of Goggot would serve as a basis for other linguistic and sociolinguistic studies on the language. In addition, the study would contribute to solutions of problems pertinent to the classification of Gurage languages and dialects (clusters). Moreover, the description serves as a valuable source of information for those who would like to prepare teaching or other linguistic materials in the language.

1.5 Methodology

Both primary and secondary sources are consulted for the study. The secondary sources referred include researches done on Goggot and related languages or dialects. This is done to confirm the validity of some of the conclusions cited as background information. The primary data were collected from two informants, Yirgu Asres and Habte **Yirgu**. Yirgu, 29, was born and brought up in a village called **Dobbi**. He has a Bachelor's Degree in English and teaches at a secondary school in Addis Ababa. Habte, my second informant, who is 28, is a farmer living in a village called **mäkkiččo**. Like the first informant, he was born and brought up in the same village. He is literate and good in Amharic reading and writing. Both Yirgu and Habte are fluent speakers of the language.

The data were collected using a set of questionnaire prepared in advance. Where necessary, however, certain constructions were used on the spot to trigger the speakers' judgement. Information was also obtained by eliciting short texts such as narratives and dialogues. The collected data were transcribed and then analysed for various inflectional and derivational categories. At last, the results of the analysis were organized and presented as follows. Chapter two and three present the morphology of nouns and pronouns, respectively. Chapter four is devoted to Verb morphology, and Chapter five to adjectives and adverbs. The last chapter highlights the major findings of the study and concludes with the implications of the findings.

1.6 Morphophonemics

This section presents discussion on the morphophonemic features of Goggot. For the lack of detailed grammatical descriptions previous works have failed to give all the possible phonological processes involved in the derivational and inflectional aspects of the various word classes. But, the investigator believes that morphophonemic information given in advance would facilitate better understanding of the morphological description.

A number of phonological processes are attested in Goggot. These include vocalic elision, glide insertion, merger, devocalization, dissimilation, assimilation, spirantization (fricativization), labialization, and palatalization.

Except for the diphthongs [eä] and [ea], other sequence of vowels is not permitted in Goggot. When this happens in the process of derivation, processes such as elision, glide insertion, merger, devocalization, etc. are involved to avoid such a sequence. The selection of one or the other process is determined by the nature of the vowel sequence and the neighboring consonantal sounds

1. *Vowel elision*: one possible means of avoiding impermissible vowel sequence is to delete one of the vowels from the sequence

- a. / yab/, ' of father' (from yä-ab)
- b. / bäğihuta/, ' with his hand' (from bä-äg-huta)
- c. / wäž /, ' to see' (from wä-äž)
- d. / oğama/, ' gossipy' (from oğä – ama)

2. *Glide insertion*: The other means of avoiding impermissible vowel sequence is by inserting the glide [y] or [w]. The selection of one of the glide is determined by the nature of the vowel of the suffix; /-i/ selects [y], while /-o/ does [w], depending on their roundness

- a. / ät'e/, ' sheep' + /-i/, 'Def.' → ät'e-yi, ' the sheep'
- b. / asso/, ' salt' + /-i/, ' Def.' → asso-yi, ' the salt'
- c. / tükä/, ' boy' + /-i/, ' Def.' → tükä-yi ' the boy'
- d. / angáčča/, ' cat' + /-očč/, ' Plu.' → angáčča- wočč ' cats'

3. *Merger*: when the central vowel [ä] patterns with the rounded back vowel [u], [o] will be formed. Observe the merger between the [ä] of the person marker and the main verb marker /u/ in verbs.

- a. čotik-o, 'you (ms) worked.' (from čot-kä-u)
- b. ničotin-o, 'We will work' (from n-čot-nä-u)
- c. bässah-o, 'You (ms) came.' (from bässa-hä-u)
- d. bäss-o, 'He came' (from bässä?-ä-u)

4. *Devocalization*: The process of devocalization as a means of avoiding impermissible vowel sequence is common when labializable consonants such as /k, b, h/ occurs in contiguous with a sequence of two rounded high vowels, or when there is an [a-u] vowel sequence. The devocalization process may co-occur with other processes such as dissimilation, as in (4a, b) below.

- a. čot-ik^wi, 'I worked' (from čot-ku-u)
- b. bässa-h^wi, 'I came' (from bässa-hu-u)
- c. i-bäsa-w, 'I will come' (from i-bäsa-u)

5. *Assimilation*: The process of assimilation involves both consonants and vowels and it can be complete or partial. Observe the examples in (5).

- a. ambiya, 'He didn't eat.' (from an-biya)
- b. assabbäre, 'He helped me break' (from /at-/+the root*sbr)
- c. aččoto, 'He caused someone work' (from /at-/+ the root *čwt)
- d. tibešin, 'you (fs) cry.' (from tībäš-i-n)

6. *Spirantization*: The velar sound /k/ may spirantize to /h/ or /ʔ/ in an intervocalic or post-vocalic positions

- a. yäh^wa, 'his' (from yä-k^wa)
- b. borahinnäm, 'their ox' (from bora- kinnäm)
- c. tīʔur, 'black' (from the Semitic root* t'kr)

7. *Labialization*: Labializable consonants such as /b,m,ʔ/ can be labialized at a pre-vocalic position during derivation or impersonal passive formation. It is usually the consonant in the final syllable, which undergoes the labialization process.

- a. q^wäbbe → q^wäbbeab^wit, 'brothers'
- b. ättäm → ättämam^wit, 'sisters'
- c. tīʔur → tī^waʔur, 'black (pl.)'
- d. yīb^wiyet 'be eaten' (from the root *bnʔ/)
- e. wäk^we 'be hit' (from the root *wkʔ)

8. *Palatalization*: palatalization occurs mainly during the process of suffixing the gender marking morpheme /-i/ in verbs and during impersonal passive formation.

- a. šäkkäšim, 'roasted' (from the root*škt)
- b. täbbäšim, 'roasted' (from the root*t'bs)
- c. yimärčit, 'be elected' (from the root*mrt')

Chapter-Two

NOUNS

Introduction

This chapter presents the noun morphology of Goggot. It addresses both the inflectional and derivational properties of nouns. Before we go into the main discussion, it is important to know the basic features of Goggot nouns.

Goggot nouns do not begin with consonant clusters. Common nouns of Goggot do not also distinguish between masculine and feminine by inflectional means¹. As a result, the common noun /**järä**/, for example, may mean 'cock' or 'hen'. In addition, there is no singulative marker; hence, common nouns like /**säb**/ can refer to a person or many persons. The citation forms of common nouns of Goggot are, hence, ambiguous between masculine and feminine on the one hand, and between the individual and the group on the other.

2.1 Inflection

Goggot nouns inflect for the grammatical categories of number, definiteness and case.² The following subsections present discussions on each grammatical category.

¹ Goggot nouns show gender (i) in their agreement with verbs (eg. [**ät'e-yi bäss-o**] ; Lit. 'sheep-Def. came-3ms/' 'The sheep (m) came' ; [+ animate, - human] nouns are identified with a masculine marker in the verb morphology. Thus, the construction ***[ät'e-yi bäss-at]**, 'the sheep came' is ungrammatical. Gender can also be indicated by using (ii) gender sensitive modifiers like /**wir**/, 'male', as in [**wir kutäna**], 'cock', and (iii) using separate lexical items like /**müss**/, 'husband' and /**müšt**/, 'wife' or (iv) by using pronouns used to refer to such nouns.

² In the true sense of the term, case marking is not morphological, except for some instances of the possessive genitive case (see section 2.1.3)

2.1.1 Number

Lyons (1968:281) states the following points concerning the grammatical category of number.

The most common manifestation of the category of number is the distinction between singular and plural, which is found in many languages all over the world. This distinction clearly rests upon the recognition of persons, animals and objects which can be enumerated as 'one' or 'more than one' and referred to, individually or collectively, by means of nouns.

In Goggot, countable nouns contrast between singularity and plurality. There is no overtly realized morpheme marking the singular. But, there are suffixes for signaling plurality. Observe the examples in (1) below.

		singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
1	(a)	säb	'person'	säb-očč	'persons'
	(b)	bet	'house'	bet-očč	'houses'
	(c)	mīšt	'wife'	mīšt-očč	'wives'
	(d)	gälod	'knife'	gälod-očč	'knives'
	(e)	gīyā	'dog'	gīyā-wočč	'dogs'
	(f)	bošša	'leaf'	bošša-wočč	'leaves'
	(g)	angačča	'cat'	angačča-wočč	'cats'
	(h)	gämmīya	'male'	gämmīya-wočč	'males'

Some nouns form their plural by adding the suffix */-očč/* or */-wočč/*, as in Amharic. The selection of these allomorphs is governed by phonological conditions. Stems ending in consonant, as in (1a-d), take the allomorph */-očč/*, and those which end in vowels, as in (1e-h),

select the allomorph **/-wəčč/**. In the latter case, [w] is a glide inserted to avoid impermissible sequence of vowels.³

Some other nouns form their plural by suffixing **/-aCä/**. The [C] of **/-aCä/** stands for the last consonant of the stem. Because there is a deletion of the last consonant in the suffix, there seems to be a process of copying. The examples in (2) illustrate this.

		singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
2	(a)	bīčīl	'mule'	bīčīlalä	'mules'
	(b)	färäz	'horse'	färäzazä	'horses'
	(c)	mīšt	'woman'	mīstatä	'women'
	(d)	fiyäl	'goat'	fiyälalä	'goats'
	(e)	ät'e	'sheep'	ät'at'e	'sheep'

All the singular nouns in (2) form their plural by copying their last consonant in an intervocalic suffix **[-a-ä]**. In (2e), the stem final vowel of the singular noun is deleted to avoid impermissible vowel sequence. Thus, $V_1+V_2 \rightarrow V_1(2)$, where V_1 stands for the stem final vowel⁴. But in (2e), the vowel [e] passes its [+ front] feature to the central mid vowel [ä] of **/-aCä/** before it deletes, and hence the last vowel [ä] of **/-aCä/** appears as [e]. Observe the data in (3), too.

		singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
3.	(a)	g ^w äbbe	'brother'	g ^w äbbeab ^w it	'brothers'
	(b)	ättäm	'sister'	ättämam ^w it	'sisters'
	(c)	ansab	'uncle'	ansabab ^w it	'uncles'

The kinship terms in (3) also employ the same strategy. But the copying of the last consonant in the frame **[a-ä]** is accompied by the process of suffixing the kinship morpheme **/-it/**. Hetzron

³ Goggot does not allow the sequencing of two vowels except for the diphthongs [eä] and [ea] (Leslau, 1968).

⁴ This process is also attested in many parts of this thesis (eg. /yä-/ , 'of' plus /ab/, 'father' results /y-ab/, 'of father')

(1977) identifies the [t] of **/-it/** as an archaic feminine marker. He supports his claim by giving **/ättämam^oit/**, 'sisters', which is inherently feminine, as an example. But we find the same morpheme **/-it/** in nouns which are inherently masculine, too as in (3a) and (3b), above.

Unlike (2e) above, the singular noun **/g^oäbbe/**, of (3a), does not delete its stem final vowel [e], as it is possible to form an [e-a] vowel sequence, though it passes its [+front] feature to [ä] of **/-aCä/**. This process results in an intermediate plural form ***[g^oäbbeabe]**, in which the final vowel [e] deletes before the kinship marking morpheme **/-it/**. The stem final consonant undergoes the process of labialization. Here again, the impermissible sequencing of vowels accounts for the deletion of /e/ before /i/ of **/it/**.⁵

The method of suffixing **/-aCä/** also applies to a few plural nouns signaling some kind of grouping as in the examples below.

	Form	Gloss	Form	Gloss
4 (a)	inäšta	'women'	inäštätä	'group of women'
(b)	güred	'girls'	güridadä	'group of girls'

In (4), the plural nouns with the suffix **/-aCä/** denote individuals who are seen as forming a coherent set or group. In other words, the suffix shows the individual in distributional sense or the collective at the same time.

Goggot nouns also employ non-inflectional means to mark plurality. These include internal modification and the use of suppletive forms. The examples in (5) are instances of each type.

⁵ Leslau (1992) has identified devocalization and vowel deletion as means of avoiding impermissible vowel sequence in Gurage cluster, (eg. **kua**→**k^oa**; **kia**→**k^ya**).

	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
5	(a) gāräd	'girl'	gired	'girls'
	(b) mīšt	'woman'	īnšīta	'women'
	(c) īnam	'cow'	gīzat	'cattle'
	(d) bora	'ox'	gīzat	'cattle'
	(e) tikā	'boy'	dengiya	'boys'

The singular noun in (5a) involves vowel modification to mark plurality and the one in (5b) involves both vowel and consonant modifications and metathesis. The nouns in (5c-e) use suppletive forms in which the singular and plural forms are designated by different roots.

Generally, countable nouns of Goggot mark plurality by suffixing either */-očč/* or */-aCä/*. Though both are productive, there is a tendency for the suffixation of */-očč/* to be predominant.

2.1.2 Definiteness

According to Crystal (1997), “Definiteness is a term used to refer to a specific, identifiable entity or class of entities.” Different languages employ different means to mark definiteness. At the syntactic level, as in English, for example, a definite noun can be implied by a pronoun, a proper name or by a common noun introduced by a definite article, demonstrative or other determiners. Definiteness can also be expressed by morphological means as in Western Gurage in which the suffix */-we/* is used to mark definiteness, as in */bora-we/*, ‘the ox’, from */bora/*, ‘ox’.

In Goggot, indefiniteness is marked by a zero */Ø/* morpheme and definiteness by the suffix */-i/*⁶. Observe the examples in (6).

⁶ The same morpheme is also used as a definite marker in Kīstane. Muher, unlike other members of the Northern Gurage, uses */-we/* as a definite marker (Leslau, 1981; Hetzron, 1977).

	Indefinite	Gloss	Definite	Gloss
6 (a)	mīss	'husband/man'	mīss-i	'the husband/man'
(b)	mīšt	'woman/wife'	mīšt-i	'the woman/wife'
(c)	gäräd	'girl'	gäräd-i	'the girl'
(d)	säbočč	'persons'	säbočč-i	'the persons'
(e)	tikä	'boy'	tikä-yi	'the boy'
(f)	mīštata	'women'	mīštata-yi	'the women'
(g)	borarä	'oxen'	borarä-yi	'the oxen'
(h)	wiyä	'honey'	wiyä - yi	'the honey'
(i)	asso	'salt'	asso - yi	'the salt'

As shown in (6), definiteness is marked by the allomorphs */-i/* and */-yi/*. The selection of one or the other is phonological. Nouns ending in consonants take the suffix */-i/*; whereas those ending in vowel, use */-yi/*, with the semivowel [y] inserted as an epenthesis⁷. The semivowel is inserted to avoid impermissible sequence of vowels. As illustrated in all the data, the definite marker is invariably used with count or non-count, singular or plural, feminine or masculine nouns.

2.1.3 Case-marking

Nouns have both semantic and syntactic relations within sentences and phrases. Palmer (1994), for example, mentions that there is semantic relationship between arguments (NPs) and predicates (verbs), or syntactic relationship between subjects and verbs in sentences. Arguments differ in their semantic relation with predicates for which they serve as agents, patients, indirect recipient, etc of actions they show. In syntactic structures, these are realized as subjects (Nominative), direct objects (accusative) and indirect objects.

⁷ Plural nouns formed by using the reduplicating */-aCä/* can drop their final [ä] instead of inserting the semivowel [y] as [mīštata-i] and [borara-i] can be alternant forms of [mīštata-yi] and [borara-yi].

Languages employ different strategies to mark grammatical case. Palmer(1994) has identified word-order, as in English, inflections, as in Latin (Comrie 1981) and agreement phenomena, as in Amharic (Hetzron 1970c), and Tigrinya (Palmer 1994). He has also categorized them as basic means of grammatical case markings, to which are added prepositions, as alternative means of showing cases in some other languages. The later is identified as semantic case, as prepositions are used to assign various cases.

Goggot distinguishes among a syntactic, a morphological and a number of semantic cases. The syntactic case is reflected in the nominative, and the morphological, in some aspects of the possessive genitive. All the remaining cases are assigned by prepositions, and hence fall under the semantic case category. The following sub-sections present a detailed discussion on each.

2.1.3.1 Nominative

Nominative (NOM) case refers to the form that a noun or a pronoun has when it assumes the syntactic role of subject. Thus, according to Comrie (1981), it can be described as being the case for the subject NP.

In Goggot, the nominative case is marked by a zero /Ø/ morpheme. One possible evidence is that there is no formal difference between nouns or pronouns assuming syntactic position of subject and their corresponding citation forms. It identified by the subject licensing affix in the verb. The examples in (7) illustrate this.

- 7 (a) **ät'e** sar yī-biya-ω
 sheep grass 3ms - eat - 3ms + MVM⁸+IMPRF
 '(A) sheep eats grass.'
- (b) **ab** iğ - ih^ωan yī - ωä?-o
 father son-his, 3ms-hit-3ms+MVM+IMPRF
 'A father hits his son.'
- (c) **ünštāt - i** gīlalīf- n – äma
 women - DEF. tall-COPULA -3fpl
 'The women are tall'
- (d) **habte** močä ef- ä-m
 Habtie journey go - 3mss- MVM+PRF
 'Habte went (out) for a journey.'
- (e) **üfnäš** äf^ωat säčč-ät-I
 Elifnesh milk drink - 3fss - MVM+PRF
 'Elifnesh drank milk'
- (f) **k^ωa** bet ef-o-
 he house go - 3ms + MVM+PRF
 'He went home'
- (g) **ünña** ahu nī - bäsa - nä
 we soon 1pl - come - 1pl
 'We (will) come soon.'
- (h) **anä** bet ef-ku-m
 I house go-1sg-MVM
 'I went to house'

The common nouns in (7a-c), the proper nouns in (7d-e) and the pronouns in (7f-h) play the syntactic role of subject. These nouns and pronouns show no formal differences compared to

⁸ Observe the verb morphology section for the discussion on Main verb markers and their different realizations.

their citation or absolute forms. However, they are licensed as subjects by the subject pronominal suffixes in the verb Morphology. For instance, /-äma/, in (7c), /-ät/, in (7e), /nī ---nä/, in (7g) and /-ku/ in (7h) identify the nouns and the pronouns as syntactic subjects (see chapter 4 for details).

2.1.3.2 Possessive genitive

In languages where grammatical relations are marked by inflections, the genitive case refers to the form a noun phrase takes when expressing relations of possession, source, time, etc. The genitive types can therefore be of possessive, source, temporal, instrumental, purpose or locative.

In Goggot, some part of the possessive genitive is expressed by attaching possessive pronoun suffixes to the possessed nouns. That means, the morphological shape of the possessed noun changes to mark the possessive genitive case. Goggot has ten different possessive suffix pronouns. The following table presents these suffixes.

Singular	Examples	Gloss	Plural	Examples	Gloss
1 - (ä)ňňä	bora- ňňä	‘my ox’	- (i)na	bora- na	‘our ox’
2 m. - aha	bora- ha	‘your ox’	-ahm	bora- hm	‘your ox’
f. - aš	bora- š	‘your ox’	-ahma	bora- hma	‘your ox’
3 m. -kut(a)	bora- hut(a)	‘his ox’	-kännäm	bora- hännäm	‘their ox’
f. -kit(a)	bora- hit(a)	‘her ox’	- kännäma	bora- hännäma	‘their ox’

Table (1) The possessive suffix pronouns of Goggot.

All the possessive suffixes in table one are attached to possessed nouns. Possessed nouns which end in vowels delete their vowels before attaching suffixes beginning in vowels. But, this process does not occur when there is permissible vowel sequence as in (/gobbe/ + /-aš/ → **gobbeaš**, 'your (fs) brother') In addition, the initial sound [k] of the third person possessive suffixes changes to [h] when it is preceded by a noun ending in a vowel. Observe the examples in (11), too.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 8 | (a) anä bet - äñña ef-ku
I house-my go – 1ss
'I went to my house.' | (c) en - aš lĩ? – n
eye - your (fs) big - COPULA
'Your eyes are big.' |
| | (b) k ^y a ij-kita wässäd - ät
she child - her take-3fs
'She took her child away.' | (d) bora-hinnäm an – äžžim
ox - their (m) NEG - see + PAST
'They (m) did not see their ox.' |

The expressions written in **bold** are nouns with possessive-genitive suffixes. As indicated above, the initial sound [k] of the third person plural suffix /kinnäm/ has changed to [h] in (8d) as it occurs between vowels.

2.1.3.3 *Semantic case*

This refers to a case assigned by ad positions (prepositions and/or postpositions), and not by inflections. Ad positions assign different cases to nouns or pronouns. In other words, they are used as a substitute for inflectional case-markers (Palmer, 1994; Crystal, 1997). For example, the preposition /of/ is used as an alternative means of showing the genitive case in English, as it replaces [the boy's / the boys'] by forming the prepositional phrases [of the boy] and [of the boys], respectively.

Goggot does not have independent forms or inflections to express many of the genitive cases, the accusative, the dative (the case for an indirect object NP), the allative (the case for an NP expressing motion 'to' 'or towards ' a place), the ablative (the case for an NP expressing 'movement away from a place/ source'), the locative (the case for an NP expressing the location of an entity or action), the instrumental (the case for an NP expressing the semantic concept of 'means' or 'instrument'),etc. In stead, it uses prepositions or a combination of pre- and post - positions.⁹There are three prepositions namely /**yä-**/, 'to/for/of' /**tä-**/, 'toward/' 'with', and /**bä-**/, 'from' /'in/' 'at/' /'with/' 'by', which assign a number of semantic cases to NPs. The latter two i.e. /**tä-**/ and /**bä-**/, can occur compounded with other post-positional elements.

1 /Yä-/

The particle /**yä-**/, which has a prepositional status, is used to assign various semantic cases to NPs, to which it is attached. It assigns cases such as the genitive, the accusative, the dative, the benefactive, etc. Consider the discussion given in the following few paragraphs.

When the preposition /**yä-**/, 'of' is attached to a possessor noun, it reflects a possessive genitive meaning (i.e. 'of NP'). Consider the examples in (9) and (10) below.

9 (a) **y-anä bora**
of - I ox
'My ox.'

(b) **yä - hünäma močča**
of - they (f) way
'their (f) way'

(c) **yä -m^oa bora abässa-xä?**
of - who ox bring - 2ms+ PAST
'Whose ox did you bring?'

10 (a) **yä - bora - yi kärr**
of - ox - DEF horn
'horn of the ox'

(b) **yä - järä bale**
of - chicken feather
'feather of a chicken'

(c) **y-ättäm - äñña waga**
of - sister - my money
'my sister's money.'

⁹ This feature of case-marking is also attested in other Northern Gurage Cluster (Leslau, 1968, 1981) and is claimed to be a common feature of Gunnän Gurage languages (Hetzron, 1977).

In all the cases, the preposition /yä-/, ‘of’ is used to replace the role played by possessive pronoun suffixes. It is prefixed to personal pronouns in (9a,b), indefinite pronouns in (9c), and nouns in (10 a,b,c). As shown in (10c), both the particle /yä / and the possessive suffixes can also be attached to a noun to express double genitive. In (9a) and (10c), the [ä] of /yä-/ deletes before a vowel.

The other genitive types, i.e source, temporal, instrumental, purpose, and locative are also assigned by the preposition /yä-/. However, the meaning of this preposition varies according to the genitive types. That means, /yä-/ has different meanings. Compare the examples in (11),(2),(13) (14) and (15)

- | | | | | |
|----|-----|---|-----|--|
| 11 | (a) | y-ät'e bäsär
of - sheep meat
'meat of sheep' | (b) | yä - sïre dabbo
of -wheat bread
'bread made from wheat' |
| 12 | (a) | yä -t'äbit'ät - i gunïs
of - morning - DEF food
'the morning's food' | (b) | yä - wït'ätmānag-i moččä
of - Monday - DEF journey
'the Monday's journey' |
| 13 | (a) | yä – bïrč'ïko ïga
in - glass water
'water in a glass' | (b) | yä - dobbi t'affi
from/at - Dobbi teff
'teff brought from Dobbi.' |
| 14 | (a) | y - ïga bïrč'ïko
for - water glass
'a glass (used) for water.' | (b) | yä - gunïs lemat
for - food plate
'a plate (used) for food' |
| 15 | (a) | yä – bet äč'č'ä
for - house wood
'wood for constructing a house' | (b) | y- ärša bora
for - ploughing (n) ox
'(an) ox used for ploughing' |

In all the cases above, /yä-/ is used to assign various genitive cases to NPs. It assigns a source genitive in (11); temporal genitive in (12); locative genitive (in/at) in (13); instrumental genitive in (14) and purpose genitive in (15). From this, we can understand that /yä-/ has different meanings arising from the semantics of the each genitive type. And this in turn implies the semantic motivation behind many of the genitive constructions, and the role of /yä-/ as case assigner.¹⁰

In a transitive construction, there are two noun phrases which play the semantic role of an agent and a patient. In syntactic terms, **agent** is associated with **subject**, and **patient** with **object**. According to Comrie (1981), in languages where grammatical roles are marked through inflections, the **accusative case** is described as being the case for the **direct object**.

In Goggot, there is no inflection means of marking the accusative case. In stead, the preposition /yä/, 'to' is used to assign this case to nouns. But the preposition may or may not appear overtly, as it is governed by the semantic and the morphological feature of the NPs to which it is attached. Compare the examples in (16), (17) and (18).

- 16 (a) **anä äf^oat säč'č' - ähu - m**
 I milk drink - 1sg-MVM + PRF
 'I drank milk.'
- (b) **anä - äf^oat-i sä č'č' - ähu - n - m**
 I milk - DEF drink - 1ss - OBJ - MVM + PRF
 'I drank the milk.'
- (c) ***anä yä - f^oat sä č'č' - ähu - m**
 I to - milk drink - 1 ss - MVM + PRF
 'I drank milk.'
- (d) ***anä yä - f^oat-i sä č'č' - ähu - n - m**
 I to - milk - DEF drink - 1 ss - OBJ - MVM + PRF
 'I drank the milk.'

¹⁰ The feature observed in genitive case implies the role of /yä-/ as case-assigner and its treatment as one of the prepositions in Goggot. (See also section 2.1.3.4 below)

- 17 (a) **anä angačča ažž - ähu - m**
 I cat see - 1ss - MVM + PRF
 'I saw (a) cat.'
- (b) **anä y-angačča - yi ažž - ähu - n -im**
 I to-cat-DEF see -1ss-OBJ- MVM + PRF
 'I saw the cat.'
- (c) * **anä angačča - yi ažž - ähu - n -im**
 I cat - DEF see - 1 ss - OBJ - MVM + PRF
 'I saw the cat.'
- (d) ***anä y- angačča - yi ažž - ähu - m**
 I to - cat - DEF see - 1 ss - MVM + PRF
 'I saw the cat.'
- 18 (a) **k^oa yä - h^ya oäkək - ana - m**
 he to- she hit - 3fso - MVM + PRF
 'He hit her.'
- (b) **künnäma y-anä oäkək - äma - ññ**
 they(f) to-I hit-3fpl- 1plo
 'They (f) hit me.'
- (c). **anä yä - täsfanäš ažž - ähu - na**
 I to- Tesfanesh see - 1ss- 3fso
 'I saw Tesfanesh'
- (d) **k^ya yä - dämüssiss oäkək - at - u - t**
 She to - Demessess hit - 3fss- OBJ - MVM + PRF
 'She hit Demessess.'
- (e) * **künnäma anä oäkək - äma - ññ**
 they(f) I hit - 3fpl - 1so
 'They hit me.'
- (f) * **anä täsfanäš ažž-ähu - na**
 I Tesfanesh see - 1ss- 3fso
 'I saw Tesfanesh'

As exemplified in (16a) and (16b), inanimate nouns do not have overtly realizing / **yä**/. The overt realization / **yä**-/ would lead to ungrammaticality, as in (16c) and (16d). Similarly, the preposition / **yä**-/ does not appear with indefinite nouns, as in (17a). But definite animate nouns obligatorily prefix the particle / **yä**-/, as in (17b). Otherwise, the construction would be ungrammatical as in (17c) and (17d). Likewise, as the examples in (18a-d) show, preposition / **yä**-/ must be prefixed to proper names and pronouns, as they are inherently definite. In constructions where / **yä**-/ is not attached, the sentence will be ungrammatical, as in (18e) and (18f).

Generally, it is possible to conclude that animacy and definiteness that the preposition / **yä**-/ assigns the semantic role of a ‘patient’ to NPs. But its overt realization is determined by the animacy and definiteness of the NPs, to which it is attached. The preposition / **yä**-/ overtly appears with NPs which are both [+ animate] and [+ definite]. In addition, in all the correct constructions, the agreement markers on verbs are also crucial.

In Goggot, the preposition / **yä**-/, ‘to/for’ also assigns the dative case and a range of meanings similar to it to NPs. Observe the examples in (19).

- 19 (a) iğ - i **yä - giyä** bäsär abä
 boy - DEF to - dog meat give + 3mss
 'The boy gave meat to (a) dog.'
- (b) anä **y - ab - äñña** bora sïrrä - hu-m
 I for-father - my ox buy - 1ss +MVM
 'I bought (an) ox for my father'
- (c) k^oa **yä -h^ya** waga ab - ä - na
 he to - she money give - 3mss-3fso
 'He gave money to her'
- (d) anä **yä - yïrgu** ĩga abässa - hu - no
 I for - yïrgu water bring - 1ss - 3mso+MVM
 'I brought water for Yïrgu.'

As illustrated above, common nouns as in (19a, b), proper names, as in (19d) and pronouns, as in (19c) take the preposition /yä-/ as a prefix so that they assume the role of an indirect object.

In constructions where the particle /yä-/ is not attached, sentences will be ungrammatical as in (20) below.

- 20 (a) ***k^oa k^ya waga abä – na**
 he she money give + 3ms – 3fs + PRF
 ?'He gave her money.'
- (b) ***anä yirgu igga abässa - hu – no**
 I Yirgu water bring – 1ss – OBJ + 3ms + PRF
 ?'I brought water for Yirgu.'
- (c) ***ij-i giyä bäsär abä – n**
 boy – DEF dog meat give – 3ms – OBJ + PRF
 ?'The boy gave meat to (a) dog'

As illustrated above, the particle /yä-/ is not attached to the pronouns and nouns assuming an indirect object role. Thus, they are ungrammatical. To make the sentences grammatical, the nouns and pronouns assuming an indirect object have to either attach the particle /yä-/ or be dropped altogether, as they can be recalled from the pronominal suffixes in the verb morphology.

One may consider /yä-/ as a homophony showing the accusative, dative and genitive cases. But its prepositional status can be verified with the following arguments. First, it is difficult to identify the grammatical case (syntactic) role of a particular noun or pronoun by looking at only /yä-/ as the case may be genitive, accusative, or dative. In order to determine which case is assigned by /yä-/, one has to consider the semantic role of the whole NP with reference to the verb(predicate) it patterns.

Second, there is no unique feature which distinguishes /yä-/ from other prepositions in the language. It is prefixed to nouns and pronouns forming a prepositional phrase, and like the prepositions /tä-/ , /bä-/ , etc, it has multiple functions of showing, genitive, dative, and accusative cases.

Third, it is also possible to prove the prepositional status of /yä-/ with evidence from related languages. As the examples in (21) illustrate, /yä-/ is similar in function and meaning with the /lä-/ of Amharic and the /lä-/ or /nä-/ of Kistane (see Hetzron (1977, 1970c).

- 21
- | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|--|
| | <u>Kistane</u> | | <u>Goggot:</u> |
| (a) | lä - bayy - i abb
to - boy - the give + 3sgm
'Give it to the boy' | (e) | yä-tikä - yi äbbit
to - boy - the I + IMPRF + give -OBJ
'I will give it to the boy' |
| (b) | *bayy-i abb | (f) | *tikä-yi äbbit
'I will give (someone) the child' |
| (c) | nä - ab - idäh äbb-it
to- + IMPRF + give + OBJ
'I will give it to your father' | | <u>Amharic</u> |
| (d) | *ab-idäh äbbit | (g) | lä-lijj-u sit't'äw
to-boy-the give + 3smo+ IMPRF
'Give something to the boy' |
| | | (h) | *lijj-u sit't'äw |

In the examples above, /lä-/ , /nä-/ and /yä-/ are used to mark semantic roles. The nouns or pronouns to which these forms are attached function as objects of prepositions. In constructions where these prepositions are deleted, the sentences are either vague as in (21h), or ungrammatical as in (21b,d) or have a different meaning as in (21f). In addition, there is alternation between sounds such as [l], [y], [n] and [r] in Gunnän Gurage languages, in general and in Northern Gurage languages, in particular. Hetzron (1972:157) argues that historically /-nn-/ was /-ll-/ in Goggot, Muher, and Masqan, as exemplified in (/bälla/ of Soddo Vs. /bänna/, 'to eat' of Goggot, Muher and Masqan). The same is true of the /bärra/ of Eža.

In addition, the imperative forms of **/bälla/** in Soddo and **/bänna/** in Muher and Goggot are **/būla/** and **/biya/**, respectively. All these show the alternation between **/l~n~r~y/** in certain contexts. This strongly suggests that **/yä-/** is a preposition.

2. /tä..... (et)/

The compound **/tä..... (et)/** assigns the allative case, which expresses motion 'to' or 'towards' a place. Observe the examples in (22)

- 22 (a) iğ - i **tä - gänn** - (et) ef-o
 boy-DEF to - village go - 3ms + MVM
 'The boy went to (a) village.'
- (b) güridad - i **t- an - et** lakkäm
 girls - the to - I send + 3pl + IMPR
 Send the girls to me.'
- (c) abbäbbäč **tä - bätäskiyan - et** t-efu
 bebech to - church 3fs - go + IMPRF
 'Abebech will go to church.'
- (d) mïss - i **tä - butajira - et** bäss - o
 man - DEF to-Butajira - his come - 3ms + MVM
 'The man came to Butajira.'

As illustrated above, the discontinuous morpheme **/tä- ----et/** is used to express the allative case. As exemplified in (22a), it is possible to delete the second element of the compound i.e./-et/ unless we want to dispel the meaning of directionality. In (22b), the [ä] of the prefix **/tä-/** and the pronoun **/anä-/** is deleted to avoid impermissible vowel sequences.

3. /tä- ----ge/

The discontinuous morpheme **/tä- ----ge/** is used to express the commutative case, the case of accompaniment. Observe the examples in (23)

- 23 (a) ättäm - äñña **tä - miss - i ge** efä – t
 sister - my (COM) - man - DEF go - 3fs
 'My sister went with the man.'
- (b) ij-i **t-anä ge** yībiya-w
 boy - DEF (COM) - I 3ms + eat + MVM+IMPRF
 'The boy will eat with me.'

4. /bä -/

The preposition /bä-/ is used to show the ablative, expressing the case of movement away from a place/ source. The preposition is attached to the nouns which refers to point of departure.

Observe the examples in (24)

- 24 (a) k^ya **b-awasa** bäss – at
 she from - Awasa come - 3fs
 'She came from Awasa.'
- (b) tük - äñña **bä – tīmirt – bet** täzibär-o
 father - my from - school – house return + 3ms + MVM
 'My child returned from school.'

The preposition /bä-/ compounded with optional post positional elements such as /wīssīt't'/, 'inside, /lalä-/,'top'; and /morä-/,'near' serves as an expression of the locative case. Observe the examples in (25).

- 25 (a) tükä - yi **bä - bet (wīssīt't')** waga wāanna-m
 boy - DEF in - house inside money put - MVM+PRF
 'The boy put money in (a) house'
- (b) k^ya **bä - färāz (lalä)** tonna - t - ïm
 she on - horse (top) sit - 3fs - MVM
 'She sat on (a) horse.'

- (c) zi bora-ñña **bä - gäññ** asrä - n - ït
 this ox - my at - village 1sg+ sell - 3mso - MVM
 'I (will) sell this ox of mine at (a) village.'
- (d) bet - i **b - äddiyä** morä - n
 house - DEF (LOC) - river near - COPULA
 'The house is near a river.'

The preposition /**bä-**/, occurring with the optional post-positions /**wissit't'**/and /**lalä**/,as in (25a,b), has a multiple of meanings. The meaning difference arises from the specific meanings of the post-positions. The post positions are added to ensure a more precise localization. In (25d), the post-position /**morä** / is an obligatory part of the construction and is used to dispel any ambiguity posed by the use of the preposition /**bä-**/ only.

The same preposition /**bä-**/, having the meaning 'by' or 'with' is used to express the semantic concept of means or instrument as in the examples in (26).

- 26 (a) gärad - i äj - ïhita **bä - gälod** ärrät'ä - t - u
 girl - DEF hand - her with - knife cut - 3fss - 3mso
 'The girl cut her hand with (a) knife'
- (b) k^oa yä - giyä -yi **b-ïmmañña** wäkkä-n
 he Acc - dog - DEF with - stone hit + 3mss - 3mso
 'He hit the dog with (a) stone.'
- (c) **b- äj - ïhuta** kirro
 with - hand - his dig + 3mss
 'He dag (the ground) with his hand.'

To sum up, the case marking system of Goggot is highly correlated with semantic rather than syntactic notions. Only the nominative and few instances of the genitive cases are syntactic and morphological, respectively. In all the rest, ad-positions and agreement markers play the central

role in showing relationships between arguments and predicates. Hence, the syntactic role of an NP is mainly determined by its semantic contribution to the whole phrase or clause, as the NP has a case assigned by prepositions.

Generally, it is possible to conclude that Goggot shows strong similarity in its noun inflections with Soddo than it does with Western Gurage languages including Muher.¹¹ ¹¹ Goggot and Soddo use the suffix **/-očč/** and **/-aCä/** to mark plurality. But except in a few instances of partial reduplication in kinship terms, there are no plural marking morphemes in Muher and Eža. In addition, Soddo and Goggot use **/-i/**, as a definite marker against the **/-we/** of Muher and Eža. In terms of case-marking, there is, however, a considerable similarity than difference. In all the Gunnän Gurage languages, prepositions are used to assign various semantic cases. There can be certain differences in the type of preposition or ad position used. For instance, **/bä-/** is used in Soddo and Goggot as against **/tä-/** of Muher and Eža to assign the ablative case to NPs.

¹¹ For a detailed description of ,see Leslau (1968,1981);Hetzron(1977);Fisseha(1985) and Tsehay(2001)

2.2 Derivation

Goggot nouns also show certain derivational properties. There are a few nominal patterns and nominalizing morphemes. Many of these patterns and morphemes are shared with Amharic (Hailu, 1967) and other Gurage languages such as Kistane (Alemayehu, 2000), and Muher (Leslau, 1981). The next section presents derived nominals of Goggot in detail.

2.2.1 *Infinitival nominals*

In Goggot, infinitival nominals are formed by prefixing the nominalizer /wä-/ to jussive or imperative stems. Observe the examples in (27).

	Verb-stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
27 (a)	sič'	'drink'	wä-sič'	'to drink'
(b)	tona	'sit'	wä-tona	'to sit'
(c)	biya	'eat'	wä-biya	'to eat'
(d)	tägäde	'sleep'	wä-gäde	'to sleep'
(e)	äž	'see'	wä-ž	'to see'

In all the examples, /wä-/ is prefixed to imperative stems to derive the infinitivals. Some of such nominals are not results of simple prefixation, as they involve certain phonological processes. For example, in (27 d), the reflexive marker /tä-/ is deleted before the morpheme /wä-/. Similarly, where a stem begins in a vowel as in (27e), it drops its initial vowel following /wä-/.

2.2.2 Abstract nominals

Goggot has two classes of derived abstract nominals designating different situations or state of being.

One class of abstract noun is derived by suffixing the nominilizing morpheme / **-(i)nnät**/ to nouns or adjectives as in the following examples.

1. Abstract nominals from nouns

	Base	Gloss	Derived Nominal	Gloss
28 (a)	mīšt	'woman'	mīšt-innät	'womanhood'
(b)	gämmiya	'male'	gämmiya-nnät	'maleness'
(c)	tikä	'boy'	tikä-nnät	'boyhood'
(d)	mīss	'man'	mīss-innät	'manhood'
(e)	säb	'human'	säb-innät	'humanity'

2. Abstract nominals from nouns

(f)	mena	'generous'	mena-nnät	'generosity'
(g)	gälif	'tall'	gälif-innät	'tallness'
(h)	lī?	'big'	lī?- innät	'bigness'
(i)	t'if ^w a	'bad'	t'if ^w ä-nnät	'badness'

As exemplified in (28a-e), some abstract nominals are derived by suffixing /**-nnät**/ to nouns.

The same morpheme is suffixed to adjectives, as in (28f-i), to derive the same type of nominals.

Where the base ends in a consonant, the epenthetic vowel [i] is inserted between the base and the derivational suffix, as in (28a, d, e, g, h). All the derived abstract nominals above designate the notion “ the fact of being what the base noun or adjective” refers to.

The other class of abstract nouns is derived from verbs following the pattern similar to the one in Amharic (Hailu, 1967). This class has a nominal pattern characterized by /-i/ after the first radical and the suffix /-t/. Observe the examples in (29).

	Stem	Gloss	Derived normal	Gloss
29	(a) mäkka-	'trouble'	mik-at	'problem'
	(b) kočä	'fear'	kuč-at	'fear(n)'
	(c) daʔo	'laugh'	daʔ-ot	'laughter'
	(d) gärra	'santiate'	gär-at	'santiation'

All the derived nominals in (29) have /-t/ as a suffix. In addition, the vowel after the first radical is /-i-/ except in (29b, c), where we find /-u-/ and /-a-/. The exception could be explained by change in the aspectual vowel /-ä-/, resulting from consonantal reduction (see section 4.1.1.).

2.2.3 Agentive nominals

In majority of the cases, as in other Gurage clusters, Goggot uses relativized verbs to express what agentive nominals refer to. However, there are few instances where the vowel /-i/ after the last radical, as in Amharic, characterizes this nominal. Observe the examples in (30).

	Verb stem	Gloss	Agentive nominal	Gloss
30	(a) fäč'č'ä	'grind'	fäč'č'-i-tta	'female miller'
	(b) seffä	'sew'	säff-i-tta	'tailoress'

As illustrated above, the agentive marking morpheme /-i-/ occurs after the ultimate radical and before the gender marking morpheme /-tta/. As stated above, this process is less productive in the language.

In conclusion, Goggot does not have distinctively recognizable morphemes or patterns for many of the agentive, instrumental, manner, process and result nominals. It instead uses relativized verb forms, which are possibly treated in the domain of syntax.

So far, attempt has been made to describe both the inflectional and derivational properties of Goggot nouns. In my discussion of inflection, I have identified the morphemes for number and definiteness and described the case-marking system of Goggot. In my discussion of nominal derivations, I have included infinitival nominals, abstract nominals and few examples from agentive nominals. The description has been strengthened by citing evidences from other related languages or clusters.

Chapter Three

PRONOUNS

Introduction

The pronouns could have been treated along with nouns. However, I have found the separate treatment of each more convincing for the following reasons. First, pronouns have different subdivisions which deserve separate treatment. For example, independent personal pronouns should be analysed for their internal structure. Secondly, though they share much categorial membership, nouns and pronouns do not behave completely the same way. Third there are different classes of pronouns behaving differently.

3.1 Personal Pronouns

Goggot personal pronouns exist in two forms: independent and suffixal. The suffixal pronouns are further classified into possessive pronoun suffixes, subject pronoun suffixes and object pronoun suffixes. The possessive suffixes are attached to nouns, whereas the object and subject pronouns are suffixes on verbs (See section 4.2.2. for the discussion on subject and object pronominal suffixes).

3.1.1 Independent personal pronouns

Goggot has ten different independent personal pronouns, which can further be classified into three persons (1st, 2nd and 3rd), two numbers (singular and plural), and two genders (masculine and feminine).

Table (1) presents the absolute forms of the independent personal pronouns.

	Singular	Plural
1.	anä	ĩňña
2m.	Aha/ahä	ahm
f.	aš	ahma
3m.	k ^w a	kinnäm ^(w)
f.	k ^y a	kinnäma

Table (1): Independent Personal Pronouns

The second person masculine singular forms /**aha**/ and /**ahä**/ are free variants. The labialized [ɔ] of the third masculine plural vocalizes to [u] when followed by another morpheme beginning in a consonant. For example, /**kinnäm**^o/ appears as /**kinnämu**/ when it is followed by the copula /**ttün**/ 'be', as in **kinnämu-ttün-äm**^o, 'It is they ...!'

The second and third person plural forms have a social deictic function as they are also second and third person polite forms, respectively. Similarly, the third person masculine and feminine singular forms have deictic functions (See section 3.2.).

The independent personal pronouns mentioned above are morphologically complex. They can further be analysed for the grammatical categories of person, number and gender.

Each independent pronoun has a bound base constituting the first, second and third persons. The first person is identified by the base /**?an-**/, the second by /**?ah-**/, and the third by /**k-**/. Observe the underlined forms in table (2).

	Singular	Plural
1.	<u>ʔan</u> -ä	<u>ʔin</u> -ya
2m.	<u>ʔah</u> -a	<u>ʔah</u> -m
f.	<u>ʔah</u> -i	<u>ʔah</u> -ma
3m.	<u>k</u> -ua	<u>k</u> -nnäm ^o
f.	<u>k</u> - ia	<u>k</u> - nnäma

Table (2): Person Marking Morphemes

The underlined forms in the table above are person markers. But, the first person plural surfaces as /ʔiñña/ as a result of a phonological process that changes [a] to [i] and [n] to [ñ] due to dissimilation and palatalization effects of the number marking /ya/. Similarly, as it will be discussed later, the second person singular feminine form surfaces as /ʔaš/ due to the same palatalization effect of the gender marker /i/.

In the independent pronouns, singularity is unmarked. Whereas Plurality is marked in three different ways: by /-ya/ in the first, /m/ in the second and /-näm/ in the third person. It is possible to trace the formal relationship among these allomorphs. First, there is alternation between [n] and [y] in some domains of the language. One possible evidence is the alternation between [n] and [y] in [bänna (perf)→biya (Imper.)], 'eat', and also in dative or genitive constructions like [nä - ab~ yä-ab], 'to/of father'. Hetzron (1972, 1977) also has discovered the alternations between /l~n~y/ as a common feature of Goggot, Muher and Masqan.

Secondly, in Muher (Leslau, 1968), one of the Northern Gurage languages, /nä/ is identified as a collective plural marker as in [bora], 'ox' → [nä bora], 'oxen'. Thus, it is possible to conclude that the variation in the plural marking can be explained by combining evidence internal to the language and evidence from related languages.

Goggot independent pronouns show contrast between masculine and feminine in the second and third persons. The masculine is indicated by a zero morpheme, while the feminine by two allomorphs: */-i/* and */-a/*. */i/* occurs in the singular and */-a/* in the plural forms of both the second and third persons. Compare the following forms.

	Singular	Plural
2 m.	?aha	?ahm
f..	?ah-i	?ahm-a
3 m.	kua	kinnäm
f.	k-i-a	kinnäm-a

Table (3) Gender Markers

As illustrated in the data, the feminine is expressed by */-i/* in the second and third singular and by */-a/* in the second and third plural.

Certain phonological processes take place. First, in most of the cases, the gender markers seem to occupy the absolute final position except in 3fs. The exception can be explained by positing */kai/* as underlying form and by concluding that this form surfaces as */k^ya/* as a result of the palatalization effect of */i/*. Second, in the 2fs, the vowel */-a/* after the base */?ah/* is dropped to avoid impermissible vowel sequence. And this process is followed by palatalization, which changes */h/* to [š].

Generally, the person, number and gender markers in Goggot independent pronouns can be summarized as in table (4) below.

		Absolute form	Person marker	Number	Gender
Singular	1	?anä	?an-	Ø	-
	2m.	?aha/ä	?ah-	Ø	Ø

	f.	?aš	?ah-	Ø	-i
	3m.	k ^o a	k-(a)	Ø	Ø
Plural	f.	k ^y a	k-(a)	Ø	-i
	1	?iñña	?in-	-ya	-
	2m.	?ahm	?ah-	-m	Ø
	f.	?ahma	?ah-	-m	-a
	3m.	k-nnäm ^o	k-	näm	Ø
	f.	k-nnäma	k-	näm	-a

Table (4): The internal structure of personal pronouns

3.1.2 Possessive suffix pronouns

For each independent personal pronoun, there is a corresponding possessive suffix pronoun.

There is also strong resemblance between the two forms. Compare the forms in table (5) with the ones listed in table (1) above.

	Singular	Plural
1.	-äñña	-na
2m.	-aha	-ahm
f.	-aš	-ahma
3m.	-hut(a)	-kinnäm
f.	-hit (a)	-kinnäma

Table (5) Possessive suffix pronouns

As illustrated above, except for first singular and plural, and the third singular, the possessive suffix forms are identical with their corresponding independent forms. The suffix pronouns are used to express possessive genitive and to derive reflexive pronouns (see 2.1. 3.3 and 3.3).

3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Like the other Northern Gurage languages¹, Goggot distinguishes between three different space deixis: /**zi**/, 'this/ these', /**za**/, 'that/those' and /**k^oa**/ or /**k^ya**/, 'that/those (near the listener).

/**zi**/ refers to objects or persons, which are near the speaker. It is equivalent in function to the Amharic /**yih**/, 'this' or /**innäzi**/, 'these' (Getachew, 1967), except for lack of number distinctions, as the same form is used to refer to both singular and plural (eg. [**zi bora**], 'this ox', [**zi borarä**], 'these oxen'). It is also used regardless of gender distinction (eg. [**zi ig**], 'this boy' and [**zi gärad**], 'this girl'). When using this demonstrative, as in Amharic and English, the relative distance between the hearer and the objects will not be considered.

/**za**/, on the other hand, is used to refer to persons or objects which are relatively further away from both the speaker and the hearer. It is equivalent in function to the Amharic /**ya**/, 'that' and /**innäziya**/, 'those' except for lack of number distinction, as the same form is used to refer to both singular and plural entities (eg. [**za bora**], 'that ox'; [**za borarä**], 'those oxen'). Like /**zi**/, it is used regardless of gender distinction. When using this demonstrative pronoun, as in Amharic, the relative distance between the hearer and the persons or objects is as important as the distance between the speaker and the persons or the objects.

The third person pronoun forms such as /**k^oa**/, 'he' and /**k^ya**/, 'she' are used to refer to persons or objects which are far away from the speaker, but near the hearer. That means, unlike the case in English, the relative distance between the hearer and the objects is as important as the distance

¹ Leslau (1968: 11; 1981:13) has identified only two pronouns for the other two Northern Gurage Languages. /**zi**/, 'this' and /**za**/, 'that' for Soddo, and /**zi~ziy~zim**/, 'this' and /**zax**/, 'that', for Muher. But I have discovered that the forms identified for Goggot, are also used by Soddo and Muher speakers.

between the speaker and the objects. These two forms have much in common with the Amharic /*issu*/, /*is^oa*/ and /*innässu*/.

/*k^oa*/ is used to refer to singular masculine as in [*k^oa ig*], ‘that boy’ and plural masculine and feminine as in [*k^oa denga*], ‘those boys’ and [*k^oa gired*], ‘those girls’, respectively. However, /*k^ya*/ is used to refer to only a feminine singular entity.

Generally, it is possible to conclude that the demonstrative pronouns of Goggot do not show any inflectional property as they don’t show any formal change to mark number or gender.² In the domain of derivation, the demonstrative pronouns /*zi*/ and /*za*/ are used to derive word classes such as adverbs (see section 5.2.2 below).

3.3 Reflexive pronouns

The reflexive pronouns of Goggot are identified by the morpheme /*ras*/, which, literally, means ‘head’ to which are attached possessive suffixes to render the meaning ‘one self’. Observe the formation of these pronouns in the following table.

	Linguistic form	Gloss
Singular	1. ras - äñña	lit. ‘head-my’/‘myself’
	2m. ras-ahä	‘head-your’/‘yourself’
	f. ras - aš	‘head-your’/‘yourself’
	3m. ras – ihut(a)	‘head-him’/‘himself’
	f. ras – ihit(a)	‘head-her’/‘herself’
	Plural	1. ras - ina
2m. ras - ahm		‘head-your’/‘yourselves’
f. ras - ahma		‘head-your’/‘yourselves’
3m. ras - ihännäm		‘head-them’/‘themselves’
f. ras - ihännäma		‘head-them’/‘themselves’

Table (6): Reflexive pronouns of Goggot

² One of my informants was infrequently using /*nä*/ as a prefix to the demonstrative pronouns /*zi*/ and /*za*/. It seems that it is a collective plural marker, equivalent to the Amharic /*innä*/, as in /*innä-ziya*/, ‘those’. The same morpheme is used as a collective plural marker in Muher nouns and demonstratives. (eg. /*nä-bora-we*/, ‘the oxen’; /*nä-za bora*/, ‘those oxen’.)

As observed in the table, the possessive pronoun suffixes are attached to the head word /**ras**/ to form the reflexive pronouns of the language. Where there is a cluster of consonants, [i] is inserted as an epenthetic vowel. The third person singular suffixes /-**hut(a)**/ and /-**hit(a)**/ can occur with or without the final vowel, as they are free variants.

3.4 Indefinite pronouns

The indefinite pronouns of Goggot exist in two forms; some pronouns are single morphemes, and other are combinations of morphemes.

/**att**/ 'one/some' is one of the indefinite pronouns with a single morpheme. It inflects for the grammatical categories of definiteness, and number. Compare the pairs of forms in (1), (2), and (3) below.

Form	Gloss
1. a. att	'some /one'
b. att-i	'the one '
2. a. att-att	'some/each (in distributional sense)
b. att-att-i	'each one (DEF.)/some(DEF)'
3. a. att-ihinnäm	'one (of them) (m)'
b. att-ihinnäma	'one (of them) (f)'
c. att-att-ihinnäm	'some (of them) (m)'
d. att -att- ihinnäma	'some (of them) (f)'

As illustrated in (1) and (2), the indefinite pronoun /**att**/, 'one /some ' is made definite by attaching the suffix /-**i**/ or by using the third person plural forms / **kinnäm**/, ' they (m)' and

/kinnäma/, 'they (f)'. Of course, the latter case is used when we want to single out one from a given group.

The indefinite pronoun **/att/** reduplicates itself and derive **/att att/** to mark plurality in the distributional sense. The data in (3) express the meaning 'one' or 'some' provided that there is a particular group to be referred to in mind.

The other indefinite pronouns are made up of two or more morphemes or they exist as a compound. Hence, the constituents of these indefinite pronouns can be free or bound. Among the indefinite pronouns falling under this category include **[att-?e]**, 'something'; **[att-ïm-?e]**, 'nothing'; **[mann ïm]**, 'anyone/none'; **[mann ïm-?e]**, 'anything' and **[att-ïm säb]**, 'nobody'.

The indefinite pronoun **/att-?e/** is made up of the indefinite pronoun **/att/**, 'one/some' and a bound morpheme **/-?e/**, 'thing'. The indefinite pronoun **/att-m-?e/**, 'nothing' is made up of the free morphemes **/att/**, 'one' and two bound morphemes **/-m-/**, 'no/any' and **/?e/**, 'thing'. Similarly, the indefinite pronoun **/mannïm?e/** is made up of the free morpheme **/man/**, 'who' and the bound morphemes **/-m-/**, 'no/any' and **/-?e/**, 'thing'. The indefinite pronoun **/attïmsäb/**, 'nobody' is, however, a compound consisting of two independent forms **/attïm/**, 'no one' and **/säb/**, 'body'. The former can further be analyzed into **/att /**, 'one' and **/-m/**, 'no'.

From the analysis, we can understand that the morpheme **/-m/** is a suffixal element in negative indefinite pronouns. The vowel **[ï]** before **[-m]** is an epenthesis used to break impermissible consonantal cluster.

3.5 Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns of Goggot include /**ma(n)**/, 'who'; /**mī?e**/, 'what'; /**māčä**/, 'when'; /**ett-i**/, 'which one'; /**ette**/, 'where' and the phrase /**yä-mī?e**/, 'why' .

All the interrogative pronouns except /**yä-mī?e**/ can be analyzed at the level of morphology. /**ma(n)**/ is used to ask question about people, /**mī?e**/, about things, /**etti**/, about things or people from a given group, / **māčä**/, about time and /**ette**/, about place.

When we examine the internal structure of the interrogative pronouns, many of them are a combination of different morphemes . For example, the interrogative word /**mī?e**/, 'what' seems to be made up of the question marker /**m-**/, 'what' and the bound form /**-?e**/, 'thing'. Thus, / **mī?e**/ can literally mean 'what thing'. Similarly, the prepositional phrase /**yä-mī-?e**/ can be interpreted as 'for what thing'.

Some kind of conclusion can also be drawn from the formal similarities observed between /**ma(n)**/, 'who' and /**mī?e**/, 'what' on the one hand, and among the indefinite pronoun /**att**/, 'one' and the interrogative pronouns /**ett-e**/, 'where' and /**ett-i**/, 'which one' on the other. Thus, the prefix /**m-**/ and the suffix /**-e**/ can be identified as interrogative markers. As a result, /**ma(n)**/, /**mī?e**/ and /**ett-e**/ can literally be interpreted as 'what person', 'what thing' and 'what one place' , respectively. However, because some of the interrogative pronouns are also found in other Semitic languages such as Amharic, evidences have to be sought at cross -linguistic level so that the conclusion made would be more plausible.

Generally, it is possible to conclude that Goggot has only five types of pronouns that can be discussed at the level of morphology. These include personal, reflexive, indefinite and interrogative pronouns. Some of these pronouns consists of more than a single morpheme. From inflectional point of view, we observe little morphology in Goggot pronouns. Except the independent personal and indefinite pronouns, the other pronoun types do not show any inflection for number. In addition, indefinite pronouns do inflect for definiteness. We have also seen the derivational properties manifested in reflexive, indefinite and interrogative pronouns.

Chapter Four

VERBS

Introduction

Like the other Ethio-Semitic Languages-such as Amharic (Taddesse, 1972; Baye, 1995) and Gurage languages (Leslau, 1992), Goggot has a complex verbal structure made up of roots, an aspectual vowel, an epenthetic vowel and pronominal affixes. The roots consist of consonants and convey the central meaning of stems. The vowels which are inserted within the roots convey grammatical categories such as aspect, tense and mood. In this chapter, we will examine both the inflectional and derivational properties of Goggot verbs.

4.1 Verb Roots

Goggot verb roots consist of consonants ranging from one to five. Thus, a verb root in Goggot, can be classified as mono-radical, bi-radical, tri-radical, quadri-radical and quinqi-radical. The following table presents examples from each group.

Verb class	Radicals	Example	Gloss
Mono - radical	š-	šam	'search'
	-f-	efäm	'go'
Bi-radical	č-t	č'otä	'work'
	k-r	kerräm	'dig'
	w-ć	oäkćam	'hit'
	b-n	bännam	'eat'
Tri-radical	g-f-r	gäffäräm	'leave'
	m-r-t'	mirrät'äm	'select/elect'
	m-r-?	mirrä?äm	'bless'
	š-k-t	šakkätäm	'make'
	g-d-y	(tä) gäddiyäm	'sleep'
Quadri-radical	b-r-g-g	bürägägäm	'get startled'
	s-n-z-r	sinäzzäräm	'stretch'
	s-n-b-t	sinäbbätäm	'stay'
	t'-b-l-l	t'ibäläläm	'roll up'
Quinqi-radical	-n-k-b-l-l	tänkibaläläm	'roll down'
	-n-k-b-l-l	ankibaläläm	'roll down'
	-n-ć-l-ć-l	tänqiläqäläm	'get restless'

Table (1) Verb classes

The perfective verb forms consist of roots made up of radicals, and the aspectual vowel /-ä-/. Some of the tri-radical such as /g-d-y/ and quinquiradical such as /n-k-b-l-l/ and /n-q-l-q-l/ do not stand without a preceding transitivizer /a-/ or reflectivizer /tä-/. That means, the stems without these prefixes are bound.

The above classification of Goggot verbs into mono-radical, bi-radical, tri-radical, etc is made in terms of the number of consonants observed at surface level. But, underlyingly, they seem to exist only as tri-radical verbs. Thus, verb roots with mono-and bi-radicals are results of the process called consonantal reduction, and those with more than three radicals are results of internally or externally added radicals. Similar features are identified in Amharic verbal system (See Baye, 1998)

4.1.1 Root Reduction

The mono-and bi-radical verbs discussed in (4.1), result from the reduction of two or one weak consonant(s) from the corresponding underlying form. One possible evidence would be that unlike verbs such as *sbr, which is basically tri-radical, the mon- and bi-radical verbs show change in the melody of the aspect marker /ä/. For example, the perfective aspect marker /ä-ä/ are found distributed throughout the root, as in [gäffäräm], ‘leave’; [mirrätäm], ‘select’; [šäkkätäm], ‘do’ etc. But, in mono-radicals such as [šam], ‘search’; [efäm], ‘go’ and [beam], ‘say’ and bi-radicals such as [čotäm], ‘work’ [kerräm], ‘dig’; [mäkkam], ‘trouble’ and [bännam], ‘eat’, there is change in the quality of the aspect marker at the point where the consonant is lost.

Thus, it is possible to conclude that the mono- and bi-radical verbs discussed above have roots with the following underlying radicals.

Surface root		Example	Gloss	Roots (at underlying level)
mono-	š	šam	‘search’	s-y-?
	f	efäm	‘go’	y-y-f
	b	beam	‘say’	b-y-?
bi-	č-t	čotäm	‘work’	č'-ω-t
	k-r	kerräm	‘dig’	k-y-r
	w-ć	ωäććam	‘hit’	ω-ć-?
	b-n	bännam	‘eat’	b-n-?

Table (2) Underlying representation

As observed in table (2), the mono-radical verbs show the change of the aspectual vowel [ä] into [a], as in [šam], into [e], as in [efäm] and into [ea], as in [beam]. The change is triggered by the loss of ultimate glottal sound [ʔ], as in [šam], two contiguous [y]'s, as in [efäm] and penultimate [y] and ultimate [ʔ], as in [beam]. In [šam], the penultimate radical [y] palatalizes the initial radical [s] and then deletes.

Similarly, in the bi-radical verbs, the aspectual vowel [ä] changes into [o], [e] and [a] to compensate the deletion of /ω/ in [č'otäm], /y/ in [kerräm], /ʔ/ in [mäććam] and [ωäććam]. From this we can understand that the mono- and bi-radical verbs have a tri-radical representation at the underlying level. The radicals reduced at surface level are either the semi-vowels [w] and [y] or the glottal sound [ʔ].

4.1.2 Root Extension

The verb roots with more than three consonants at surface level are derived from the underlining forms by adding one or two consonants. Quadriradicals such as **[bīrāgāgā]**, ‘be startled’ and **[t’ībāllālām]**, ‘roll’ are derived from the potential root **/*brg/** and **/*tbl/** by reduplicating their ultimate radical, respectively. Similarly, the quadriradical verbs such as **[sīnāzzārām]**, ‘stretch out’ and **[sīnābbātām]**, ‘stay long’ are derived by inserting a new radical **/-n-/** into the potential root **/*szzr/** and **/*sbt/**.

The quinquiradicals are also results of root extension. The root extension process involves the insertion of extra radical and reduplication of the penult or ultimate radical. The quinquiradicals listed above result from the insertion of a new radical **[-n]** and the reduplication of the last radical as in **[tānkībalālām]**, ‘roll’ and **[ankībalālām]**, ‘caused to roll’ and the penult radical, as in **[tānqūlāqālām]**, ‘get restless’. In these verbs, **/tā-/** and **/a-/** are prefixes added to express a reflexive and a transitive meaning, respectively. One possible evidence for the insertion of **[-n-]** is that, it does not appear in deverbal forms such as **[qūlqūl]** and **[kīblīl]** as in composite verb such as **[qūlqūl beam]**, ‘get restless’ and **[kīblīl beam]**, ‘get rolled’, respectively. In all the examples, **[i]** is inserted to break impermissible consonant clusters word medially.

Generally, though Goggot verbs have radicals /consonants/ ranging from one to five at surface level, there are only three consonants at underlying level. The roots which are with less and more than the number of the underlining radicals are results of either root reduction or extension.

4.2 Verb Types

The different verb classes discussed above can be further categorized into different types based on vowel melody after the first radical, and on the gemination and non-gemination of the second radical. The following table presents the possible verb types in tri-radical roots.

Type	Root	Perfect	Imperfect	Jussive	Gloss
A.	g-f-r	gäffäräm	yīgäfr	yägfür	'leave'
B.	m-z-n	mäzzänäm	yīmezzīn	yämäzzīn	'weigh'
C.	m-r-?	mirrä? äm	yīmerrī?	yīmerrī?	'bless'

Table (3) verb types

As can be observed from the examples in the table above, the second radical of the stem geminates in the perfective for all the three types. But unlike in type A, type B has a geminated second radical in the imperfective and jussive conjugations. And type C verbs have a vowel melody different from the [-ä-] of type A and type B in the perfective and imperfective forms.

These types are however lexical items and cannot be explained by citing justifications from the nature of the radical or from the meaning of the verb itself. But their mentioning is important to identify certain phonological processes happening during inflections and derivations.

4.3 Main Verb Markers

In Goggot, as in other Northern Gurage languages, independent-affirmative indicative uses a morphological means that distinguishes it from subordinate, negative and non-indicative (eg. jussive, imperative, etc) constructions. Two sets of the suffixes are used for this purpose: /-m/, in perfective verb conjugation, and the suffix /-n~i~u~t/, in perfective and imperfective conjugations. Hetzron (1968) identifies both as main verb markers and uses, especially the latter, to classify the Outer South Ethiopic languages into n-group (*Gafat-Soddo and Goggot) and the tt-group (Western Gurage Languages and Muher) (See Goldenberg (1968) and Hetzron (1968, 1972)).

He also identifies the suffix **/-m/** as a marker of a "present perfect" aspect both in Soddo and Goggot, unlike the case in Muher, where **/m/** serves only as a past marker only. In the present study also, it has been identified that the perfect verb form with the suffix **/-m/** occurs only in independent - affirmative indicative constructions. Observe the conjugation for the verb **[efä]**, 'go' below

(1)

	Singular	Gloss		Plural	Gloss
1	ef-ku-m	'I went'	1	ef-nä-m	'We went'
2m.	ef-kä-m	'You went'	2m.	ef-kīmu-m	'You went'
f.	ef-š-īm	'You went'	f.	ef-kīma-m	'You went'
3m.	ef-ä - m	'He went'	3m.	ef-mu-m	'They went'
f.	ef-ä-tt-īm	'She went'	f.	ef-ma-m	'They went'

As can be seen from the paradigm in (1), the suffix **/-m/** is attached to a perfective verb form. It occupies the absolute final position. As claimed by Hetzron (1968), the suffix **/-m/** does not occur in a subordinate, negative or non-indicative constructions. Observe the forms in bold below.

- 2 (a) **bä - bässa - hä** nī - gīnaññ -īno
 if - come - 2mss + PRF 1pl - meet - 1 pl + MVM + IMPRF
 'If you come, we will meet'
- (b) anä attīm-?e **am-biya -hu**
 I no - thing NEG - eat - 1sg + PRF
 'I did not eat anything.'
- (c) (k^oa) **yä - biya**
 he 3mss - eat + Jussive
 'Let him eat.'

As shown above, none of the three verb conjugations take the main verb marker **/-m/**. This is because the verbs in (2a) and (2b) appear in subordinate and negative forms. The one in (2c) occurs in jussive form.

As stated already, the other set of main verb markers includes the allomorph **/-n/**, **/-u/**, **/-i/** and

/-t/. Hetzron (1972) has attempted to reconstruct **/-n/** as a representative morpheme. He did this on the basis of both synchronic and diachronic studies (pp. 157 ff). Like the case in **/-m/**, these markers take the absolute final position and occur in main verbs only. Compare the conjugations for the word **/č^oätä-/**, 'work' below.

Affirmative Indicative

	Perfect	Imperfect	Relative imperfect	Negative imperfect
3(a) sg. 1.	čot - ik ^o - i -	áčot - u	áčot	an- čot
(b) 2m.	čot -ik - o -	tī- čot-u	tīčot	at-tīčot
(c) f.	čot - iš-īn	tī-čoč-i-n	tīčot	at-tīčoč
(d) 3m.	čot - o	yī -čot - u	yīčot	ay-yīčot
(e) f.	čot-ät -i	tī-čot-i	tīčot	at-tīčot
(f) pl 1.	čot - īn-o	nī- čot-n-o	nī- čot-īnä	an-nīčotīnä
(g) 2m.	čot - ikīmu-n	tī- čot-mu-n	tī- čot-īm ^o	at-tīčotīm ^o
(h) f.	čot - ikīma - n	tī- čot - ma-n	tī- čot - īma	at-tī čotīma
(i) 3m.	čot - īmu - n	yī- čot-mu-n	yī- čot-īm ^o .	ay-yīčotīm ^o .
(j) f.	čot - īma - n	yī- čot-ma-n	yī- čot-īma	ay-yīčotīma

As illustrated in the paradigms above, the verbs in the affirmative indicative form take one of the main verb markers **/-u/**, **/-n/** or **/-i/**. The selection of one of the allomorphs seem to be determined by the persons of the subject and by the persons of the object, and by the benefactive and malefactive markers, as they intervene between the verb stems and the markers under consideration (see section 4.3.2)¹. There are also phonological processes such as devocalization, dissimilation, palatalization, fricativization, etc. Observe the conjugation below.

Singular			Plural		
4 (a)	1	bässa - h ^o i	(f)	1	bässa -no
(b)	2m.	bässa - ho	(g)	2m.	bässa - hmu -n
(c)	f.	bässa - š - īn	(h)	f.	bässa - hma -n
(d)	3m	bäss - o	(i)	3m.	bässa - mu -n
(e)	f	bässa - t - t	(j)	f.	bässa - ma -n

¹ Godenberg (1968) has identified that, in Soddo, the distribution of the main verb markers is determined by the person of the verb and of the complement pronouns (both object and mediate suffixes).

The verb root **/b-s-?/**, 'come', which surfaces as **[bässa-]**² in the perfect aspect, attaches the subject pronominal suffixes before the main verb marking allomorph **/-n/**, **/-u/** and **/-t/**. However, in some of the cases, the pronominal suffixes identified in data (4) above appear with modifications. For instance, in the first singular, the vowel **[u]** of the pronominal suffix **/-ku/** dissimilates the main verb marker **/-u/** to **[i]** and then devocalizes itself to **[o]**. Similarly, the ultimate vowel **[o]** of the second masculine singular, the third masculine singular and the first person plural conjugations is a merger between the vowel **[ä]** and **[u]**. That means, the **[ä]** of **[-kä]** and **[-nä]**, and the third masculine singular merges with the main verb marker **/-u-/** to form the sound **[o]**³. As exemplified in the 1sng, 2ms, 2mpl, 3fpl, the initial sound **[k]** changes to **[h]** after a verb stem ending in a vowel. The **[-š]** of the 2fs results from the palatalization effect of the gender marker **[i]** on the second person marker **[h]**.

Like the main verb marker **/-m/**, these main verb markers do not appear in subordinate and negative constructions. Observe the examples in (5) and (6).

- Subordinate**
- 5(a). **ä-čot** innanä k^oa bäss-a
 1s-work while he come-3mss+MVM+PRF
 'While I was working, he came.'
- (b) **ä - čot - ĩm** if - u
 1sg - work - GERN 1sg-go-MVM+IMPRF
 'Having worked, I will go.'

- Negative**
- 6(a) anä attim **an-čot - ĩku**
 I nothing NEG-do-1sg
 'I did not do anything.'
- (b) k^ya attim - ?e **at-ti - čot**
 she no - thing NEG - 3fss - work
 'She does not work any thing.'

As shown above, the verb forms do not carry any of the main verb markers, as they do not function as main verbs of clauses, in (5a,b) and do not express an affirmative meaning in (6a,b).

² As already discussed in(4.1.1), there is a process of root-reduction and change of the melody of the aspect marker, i.e. **[ä]** changes to **[a]** because of the reduced radical.

³ Hetzron (1972:159) has identified **[o]** as a merger between **[ä]** and **[-u]** in Northern Gurage group.

But unlike the suggestion made by Hetrzon, Goggot speakers do not use */-m/* to express a present perfect meaning. The form is rather used as alternative form for other perfective constructions with n-group suffixes. Thus, for a Goggot speaker, the expressions */ef-ä-m/*, and */ef-o/* mean 'He went'. In the latter case, [o] is the fusion of the 3ms marker [ä] and the main verb marking allomorph [u].

4.4 Inflections

Goggot verbs can be analysed for the grammatical categories of aspect, tense, mood and agreement phenomena. The discussion starts from agreement suffixes, as they occupy the most peripheral position next to the main verb markers.

4.4.1 Pronominal affixes

There is an agreement established between subject NPs, object NPs and verbs. Such a relationship is expressed by sets of pronominal affixes indicating person, number and gender. The pronominal affixes are either suffixes only or a combination of prefixes and suffixes, based on the aspect/tense of the verb. In addition, verbs also carry prepositional⁴ suffixes, which mark benefactive and malefactive relationships. In the following few subsections, we will examine pronominal affixes.

4.4.1.1 Subject pronominal affixes

The subject pronominal affixes are divided into two on the basis of the aspect/tense and mood of the verb.

A. Perfective

⁴ Leslau (1968, 1981) identifies the benefactive and malefactive markers in verbs as prepositional suffixes, for they are equivalent in function to prepositions on NPs.

In the perfective aspect, the subject pronominal affixes occur as suffixes. Thus, a verb in the perfective aspect consists of a stem, the aspect marking vowel /ä/, a pronominal suffix, and a main verb marker. The following verb conjugations show the subject pronominal suffixes.

Singular		Gloss	Plural		Gloss
7 (a)	1 ef-ku-m	'I went'	(f)	1. ef-n ä-m	'We went'
(b)	2m. ef -k- ä-m	'You went'	(g)	2m. ef - kīmu-m	'You went'
(c)	f. ef - š-īm	'You went'	(h)	f. ef - kīma-m	'You went'
(d)	3m. ef- ä -m	'He went'	(i)	3m. ef - mu - m	'They went'
(e)	f. ef- ät -īm	'She went'	(j)	f. ef - ma - m	'They went'

As exemplified above, the verb /ef-/, 'go' is in the perfective conjugation, and carries the main verb marker /-m/. All the forms intervening between the verb stem /ef-/ and the main verb marker /-m/ are subject pronominal suffixes. Thus, under the singular conjugations, /ku/ identifies the first person, /-kä/, the second masculine, /-š/, the second feminine, /- ä/, the third masculine, and /-(ä)t/, the third feminine. Similarly, in the plural conjugations, /-nä/ identifies the first person, /-k(i)m^o/, the second masculine, /-k(i)ma/, the second feminine, /-m^o/, the third masculine, and /-ma/, the third feminine. However, the labialized semi-vowel [ʷ] of /-k(i)m^o/ and of /-m^o/ vocalizes to [u] before a morpheme beginning in consonantal sound. The [u] in the second and third masculine plural are instances of this.

In some of the cases, a single pronominal affix can refer to different grammatical categories. For example, in the perfective verb conjugation, /-ä/ of [ef-ä-m] represents the grammatical categories of person, number and gender at the same time. But most of the pronominal suffixes can be further analysed for the grammatical categories of person, number and gender. The following table presents the results of the analysis for such categories.

	Subject pronominal suffixes	Person	Number	Gender
Singular	1	-ku	-	-
	2m.	-kä	-k	Ø
	f.	-š	-k	i
	3m.	-ä	-	-
	f.	-(ä)t	-	-
	Plural	1	-nä	-
2m.		-k(ĩ)m ^o	-k	-m
f.		-k(ĩ)ma	-k	-m
3m.		-m ^o	Ø	-m
f.		-ma	Ø	-m

Table (4) Person, number and gender markers

So far, we have seen how the subject pronominal suffixes manifest themselves in the perfective verb paradigms. Now, we will see the subject pronominal suffixes in the imperfective (present and future) and jussive verb paradigms.

B. Imperfective

			Gloss	
Singular	1	ĩ – bäs-a ω	ĩ-bäs-o ‘I (will) come’	
	2m.	tĩ – bäs-a ω	tĩ-bäs-o ‘You (will) come’	
	f.	tĩ - beš -i - n	or	‘You (will) come’
	3m.	yĩ – bäs-a ω	yĩ - bäs-o	‘He (will) come’
	f.	tĩ – bäs-a ω	tĩ - bäs-o	‘She (will) come’
	Plural	1	nĩ-bäs-a ω /nĩ-bäsa-nä	nĩ - bäs-o ‘We (will) come’
2m.		tĩ - bäsä - mu - n	‘You (will) come’	
f.		tĩ - bäsä - ma - n	‘You (will) come’	
3m.		yĩ - bäsä - mu - n	‘They (will) come’	
f.		yĩ - bäsä - ma - n	‘They (will) come’	

Table (5) Subject pronoun Suffixes in the imperfective

Like in the perfective verb conjugation, the imperfective verb conjugation of the stem /bäsä-/, ‘come’ ends with the main verb marker /-u/ or /-n/. However, /-u/ devocalizes to [o] after a vowel or merges with the stem final vowel [ä] to form [o]. The forms observed in 1st sing and plural, 2nd masc. singular, and 3rd singular can be cited as illustrative examples. In both cases,

the phonological processes (i.e. devocalization and merger) are triggered by impermissible vowel sequences.

Unlike in the perfective conjugations, the markers identifying the subject NPs occur as prefixes or as a discontinuous morpheme (prefixes plus suffixes). As illustrated by the forms in bold, except the second feminine, all singular subject NPs are identified by prefixes only. But, the plural subject NPs have a number or/and a gender marking morpheme as a suffix, in addition to the prefixal person markers. This feature can also be attested using other verb stems. Observe the forms in the following conjugations.

	Singular	Gloss		Plural	Gloss
8. 1	ĩ - säbr - u	'I break'	1	nĩ - säbr - n - o	'We break'
2m.	tĩ - säbr - u	'You break'	2m.	tĩ - säbr - mu - n	'You break'
f.	tĩ - sebr - i - n	'You break'	f.	tĩ - säbr - ma - n	'You break'
3m.	yĩ - säbr - u	'He breaks'	3m.	yĩ - säbr - mu - n	'They break'
f.	tĩ - säbr - i	'She breaks'	f.	yĩ - säbr - ma - n	'They break'
9. 1	Ø -asr - o	'I sell'	1	n - asr n- o	'We sell'
2m.	t - asr - o	'You sell'	2m.	t - asrä - mu - n	'You sell'
f.	t - asr - i - n	'You sell'	f.	t - asrä - ma - n	'You sell'
3m.	y - asr - o	'He sells'	3m.	y - asrä - mu - n	'They sell'
f.	t - asr - o	'She sells'	f.	t - asrä - ma - n	'They sell'

Like in the previous data, both conjugations are made up of a prefix, a root with aspectual and epenthetic vowels, a suffix (if any), and a main verb marker.

C. Jussive

In jussive constructions, the nature and distribution of the subject NPs markers is similar to the ones identified in the imperfective conjugations. Observe the conjugations for the verb stems /efä-/, 'go', /bänna/, 'eat' and /säččä-/, 'drink'.

Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
-----------------	--------------	---------------	--------------

	1	n - ef	'Let me go'	1	n - ef - nä	'Let us go'
10	3m.	y - ef	'Let him go'	3m	y - ef - m ^o	'Let them go'
	f.	t-ef	'Let her go'	f.	y - ef - ma	'Let them go'
	1	nĩ - biya	'Let me eat'	1	nĩ - biya - nä	'Let us eat'
11	3m	yä - biya	'Let him eat'	3m	yä - biyä - m ^o	'Let them eat'
	f	tĩ - biya	'Let her eat'	f	yä - biyä - ma	'Let them eat'
	1	nĩ - sč'	'Let me drink'	1	nĩ - sč' - nä	'Let us drink'
12	3m	yä - sč	'Let him drink'	3m	yä - sč'-im ^o	'Let them drink'
	f	tĩ - sč'	'Let her drink'	f	yä - sč' - ĩma	'Let them drink'

As illustrated in all the conjugations, the prefix /n-/ identifies the first singular, /y-/ , 3 ms, and /t-/ , 3fs. And similarly, the discontinuous morpheme /n---nä/, /y ---m^o/, and /y---ma/, respectively identifies the first, the third masculine and third feminine plural forms. [ĩ] is an epenthetic vowel inserted to break consonantal cluster at word initial position. But, as shown in 3ms, 3mpl and 3fpl, the person marker [y] dissimilates /ĩ/ and changes it to [ä].

Generally, the subject agreement markers of a perfective, an imperfective, and a jussive verb stem show more similarities than differences. And the degree of similarity is high in the imperfective and jussive constructions. The following table summarizes the subject NP affixes in the perfective, imperfective and jussive conjugations.

		Perfective	Imperfective	Jussive
Singular	1	-ku	(ĩ)aw/u	n-
	2m	-kä	t.....aw/u	-
	f	-š	t.....i	-
	3m	- ä	y....aw/u	y-
	f	- ät	t.....aw/u	t-
	1	-nä	n.....nä	n....nä
Plural	2m	-k ĩ m ^w	t.....m ^w	-
	f	-k ĩ ma	t.....ma	-
	3m	-m ^w	y.....m ^w	y....m ^w
	f	-ma	y.....ma	y....ma

Table (6) Subject NP affixes

4.4.1.2 Complement pronominal suffixes

Complement relations are expressed by verbal affixes, in addition to the prepositions and post-positions discussed under the nominal case-marking system. Three sets of complement pronoun suffixes, namely **object**, **benefactive** and **malefactive** can be identified.

In his attempt to explain the nature of main verb 'markers in Northern Guraage, Hetzron (1972) provides list of object pronominal suffixes. He has also classified the suffixes into light and heavy, following the categorization made by Polotsky (1938:160-162)⁵. Below are lists of suffixes identified in the perfective and imperfective verb paradigms by Hetzron (1972).

		Light		Heavy
		Perfective	Imperfective	
Singular	1.	-e	-e	-ññ
	2m.	-nnihä	-hä	-kkä
	f.	-nniš	-š	-kk ^y
	3m.	-nn/-u	-:	-y/-ω
Plural	f.	-nna/-ωa	-:a	-ya/-ωa
	1	-nä	-änä	-nnä
	2m.	-nnihmu	-hmu	-kkīmu
	f.	-nnihma	-hma	-kkīma
	3m.	-nnāmu	-:āmu	-yāmu/-ωāmu
	f.	-nnāma	-:āma	-yāma/ωāma

Table (7) Object NP suffixes

Hetzron (1972) states that, the selection of the heavy or the light object suffixes is governed by the person of the subject. Though his description is not supported by illustrative examples from Goggot, he claims that, in constructions where the person of subjects is plural, the heavy suffixes will be selected. When the subject is 2ms or 3ms, the object suffixes chosen will be light. However, when the subject is a first person or a third person feminine singular, the choice

⁵ See Hetzron (1972: 160 ff)

of a heavy or a light suffix depends on both the person of the complement and the aspect of the verb. When the subject is a first person singular, a perfective verb form selects the heavy suffixes for the third person complements. But, only light suffixes are chosen in the imperfective constructions. Similarly, in a perfective verb form, where the subject is 3fs, /-u/ and /-**o**a/ will be selected for 3ms and 3fs objects, respectively. For the other persons, only the light suffixes are used both in the perfective and imperfective constructions.

In the present study, almost identical results are obtained. This can be confirmed by taking 3ms, 3fs, 3fpl, 1pl and 2ms as subjects, both in the perfective and imperfective verb conjugations.

Observe the examples in (13) and (14).

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>13(a) k^oa y -anä ažž - Ø - e-m
 he Acc - I see - 3mss -1so-MVM
 'He saw me.'</p> | <p>14 (a) aha y -anä oäkkä-h-e
 you(ms) Acc-I hit - 2mss - 1so
 'You hit me.'</p> |
| <p>(b) k^oa y-aha ažž-ä-nnühä-m
 he Acc - you(ms) see -3mss-2mso-MVM
 'He saw you (ms).'</p> | <p>(b) k^ya yä - h^oa oäkkä-t-u
 She Acc-he hit - 3mfss - 3mso
 'She hit him.'</p> |
| <p>(c) k^oa y - aš ažž-ä-nniš-üm
 he Acc - you (fs) see - 3mss- 2fso-MVM
 'He saw you (fs).'</p> | <p>(c) k^ya yä - h^ya oäkkä-tt-ïoa
 She Acc - she hit - 3fss - 3fso
 'She hit her'</p> |
| <p>(d) k^oa yä - h^oa ažž-ä-nn-üm
 he Acc - he see - 3mss - 3mso-MVM
 'He saw him'</p> | <p>(d) aha y-üñña oäkkä-hä-nnä
 you Acc - we hit - 2mss - 1plo
 'You hit us.'</p> |
| <p>(e) k^oa yä - h^ya ažž-ä-nna
 he Acc - she see - 3mss - 3fso
 'He saw her.'</p> | <p>(e) aha yä - hünäm^o oäkkä-hä-nnämu
 you Acc - they (m) hit - 2mss - 3mplo
 'You hit them (m).'</p> |
| <p>(f) k^oa y - üñña ažž-ä-näm
 he Acc - we see - 3mss - 1plo-MVM
 'He saw us.'</p> | <p>(f) aha yä - hünäma oäkkä-hä-nnäma
 you Acc- they (f) hit-2mss-3fplo
 'You hit them (f).'</p> |
| <p>(g) k^oa y - ahm^o ažž - ä- nnihmu-m
 he Acc - you (mpl) see - 3mss.-2mpl-MVM
 'He saw you (mpl).'</p> | <p>(g) k^ya y-ahm^o oäkkä - tt- ihmu
 she Acc-you (mpl) hit - 3fss - 2mplo
 'She hit you (mpl).'</p> |

- (h) k^oa y - ahma **ažž - ä- nnihma-m**
 he Acc- you (fpl) see - 3mss - 2fplo- MVM
 'He saw you (fpl).'
- (i) k^oa yä - hännäm^o **ažž - ä- nnämu-m**
 he Acc - they (m) see - 3mss - 3mplo-MVM
 'He saw them (m).'
- (j) k^oa yä - hännäma **ažž - ä- nnäma**
 he Acc- they (f) see - 3mss - 3fplo- MVM
 'He saw them (f).'

- (h) k^ya y-ahma **oäkkä - tt -ihma**
 she Acc - you (fpl) hit - 3fss - 2fplo
 'She hit you (fpl).'
- (i) k^ya y-aha **oäkkä - tt -ihä**
 she Acc - you (ms) hit - 3fss - 2mso
 'She hit you (ms).'
- (j) k^ya y-aš **oäkkä - tt -iš**
 she Acc-you (fs) hit-3fs - 2fso
 'She hit you (fs).'

As can be seen from the verb paradigms in bold, the perfective verb /ažž-/, 'see' and /oäkkä -/, 'hit' carry object marking suffixes. These suffixes occupy the position after the subject agreement markers. The object markers identified here are similar to the ones identified as 'light' by Hetzron (1972). As already stated, the morphological shapes of the object suffixes are determined by the persons of the subject and the aspect of the verb. Observe the forms identified for the 3mso and 3fso in (13d,e) and (14b,c) above, and compare the whole data in (13) and (14) with ones in (15) and (16), below.

- 15(a) k^oa ya-anä **yī-oä? - e**
 he acc - I 3mss - hit - 1so + IMPRF
 'He (will) hit me.'
- (b) k^oa y-aha **yī-oä?a-hä**
 he acc - you(ms) 3mss-hit-2mso+IMRFF
 'He (will) hit you (ms).'
- (c) k^oa y-aš **yī-oä?a-š**
 he acc-you(fs) 3mss-hit-2fso+IMPRF
 'He (will) hit you (fs).'
- (d) k^oa y-h^oä **yī-oä?a-Ø**
 he acc-he 3mss-hit-3mso+IMPRF
 'He (will) hit him'
- (e) k^oa yä-h^oä **yī-oä?-:a**
 he acc- he 3mss- hit -3fso + IMPRF
 'He (will) hit her.'
- (f) k^oa y-šňň **yī-oä?a-nä**
 he acc-we 3mss-hit-1plo
 'He (will) hit us.'

- 16(a) kännäm^o y-anä **oäkkä - mu -ňň**
 they(m) acc-I hit-3mpls - 1so
 'They hit me.'
- (b) kännäm^o y-aha **oäkkä - mu -kkä**
 they(m) acc-you(ms) hit-3mspls-2mso
 'They hit you (ms).'
- (c) kännäm^o y-aš **oäkkä - mu -čč**
 they(m) acc-you(fs) hit-3mpls-2fso
 'They hit you (fs).'
- (d) kännäm^o yä- h^oa **oäkkä - mu -y**
 they(m) acc-he hit-3mpls-3mso
 'They hit him.'
- (e) kännäm^o yä- h^ya **oäkkä - mu -oä**
 they(m) acc-he hit-3mpls-3mso
 'They hit him.'
- (f) kännäm^o y- šňňa **oäkkä - mu -nnä**
 they (m) acc-we hit-3mpls-1plo
 'They hit us.'

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(g) k^oa y-ahm yī-ōä?-hm^o
 he acc-you(mpl) 3mss-hit-2mplo+IMPRF
 'He (will) hit you (mpl).'</p> | <p>(g) kīnnäm^o y- ahm ōäkkä - mu -kkīmu
 they(m) acc-you(mpl) hit-3mpls-3mplo
 'They hit you (mpl).'</p> |
| <p>(h) k^oa y-ahma yī-ōä?a-hma
 he acc-you (fpl) 3mss-hit-2fplo
 'He (will) hit you (fpl).'</p> | <p>(h) kīnnäm^o y- ahma ōäkkä - mu -kkīma
 they(m) acc-you(fm) hit-3mpls-2fplo
 'They (m) him you (fm).'</p> |
| <p>(i) k^oa yä-hīnnäm^o yī-ōä?a-nnäm^o
 he acc-they(m) 3mss-hit-3mplo+IMPRF
 'He (will) hit them (m).'</p> | <p>(i) kīnnäm^o yä- hīnnäm^o ōäkkä - mu -yāmu
 they(m) acc-they(m) hit-3mpls-3mplo
 'They(m) hit them(m);.'</p> |
| <p>(j) k^oa yä-hīnnäm^o yī-ōä?a-nnāma
 he acc-they(f) 3mss-hit-3fplo+IMPRF
 'He(will) hit them(f).'</p> | <p>(j) kīnnäm^o yä- hīnnāma ōäkkä - mu -yāma
 they(m) acc-they(f) hit-3mpl-3fplo
 'They(m) hit them(f).'</p> |

The object suffixes in the imperfective conjugation of the root /ω-ĕ-?/ correspond to the ones identified as light by Hetzron. And the ones in the perfective conjugation match with the heavy suffixes. However, unlike the suggestion made by Hetzron, when the subject is 3ms, the object suffixes of 3mpl and 3fpl are /-nnäm^o/ and /-nnāma/, both in the perfective and imperfective. In addition, the object suffix of 2fs surfaces as /-čč/, rather than as /-kk^y/. That means, there is a process of palatalization, as the [+high] feature of [y] changes [kk] to [čč].

Generally, both the 'light' and 'heavy' suffixes occupy the peripheral position. These suffixes are used to recall the NPs taking the object position, and their morphological shapes are determined by the persons of the subject NPs, especially in the perfective verb conjugation.

In addition to the subject and object pronominal affixes, Goggot verbs also carry markers which express a benefactive and a malefactive relationship. The benefactive relationship is expressed by the suffix /-n~-nn/, and the malefactive by the suffix /-b~bb/. The selection of the geminate or the non-geminate allomorphs is determined by the nature of the object pronominal suffixes.

Compare the examples in (17) and (18).

- 17(a) k^ya y-anä ĩga **abässa-ttinn-i**
she for-I water bring-3fss-BEN-1so
'She brought water for me.'
- (b) k^ya y-aha ĩga **abässa-tt-ĭn-kä**
she for-you(ms) water bring - 3fss-BEN-2mso
'She brought water for you.'
- (c) k^ya y-aš ĩga **abässa-tt-ĭn-š**
She for-you water bring -3fss-BEN-2fso
'She brought water for you (fs).'
- (d) k^ya yä-h^oa ĩga **abässa-tt-no**
She for-he water bring -3fss-BEN+3mso
'She brought water for him.'
- (e) k^ya yä-h^ya ĩga **abässa-tt-na**
she for-she water bring -3fss-BEN+3fso
'She brought water for her.'
- (f) k^oa ĩga **abässa-Ø-nn-i**
he water bring -3mss-BEN-1plo
'He brought water for us.'
- (g) k^oa ĩga **abässa-Ø-nn-kkümu**
he water bring -3mss-BEN-2mplo
'He brought water for you (mpl).'
- (h) künnäm^o ĩga **abässä-mu-nn-ĭkkümu**
they water bring -3mfs-BEN-2mplo
'They brought water for you(mpl).'
- (j) aha ĩga **abässa-hä- nn -ĭkkäm^o**
you(ms) water bring -2mss-BEN-3mplo
'You brought water for them.'

As illustrated above, the benefactive marker /n~nn/ is used with 'light' or 'heavy' suffixes, which recall NPs functioning as beneficiaries of the action. The malefactive relation is expressed in a similar way except for putting /b~bb/ in place of /n~nn/. Observe the examples in (18).

- 18.(a). k^ya b-anä **oäññä -tt - ĩbi**
she on-I cry - 3fss - MAL+1so +PRF
'She cried on me.'
- (b) anä bä - h^oa **oäññä -hu-bo**
I on-he cry - 1ss - MAL+3mso+PRF
'I cried on him.'
- (c) k^oa bä-hünnäm^o **oäññä - ä -bbä-m^o**
he on-they (m) cry -3ms-MAL-3mplo+PRF
'He cried on them.'
- (d) aha b-üñña **oäññä- h -b-ünä**
you on-we cry - 2mss - MAL - 1plo+PRF
'You cried on us.'
- (e) aš bä - h^ya **oäññä- š -ĭbb-a**
you(fs) on-she cry -2fs-MAL-3fso+PRF
'You (fs) cried on her.'

As exemplified above, the malefactive meaning is expressed by prepositional suffix pronoun /b~bb/⁶. In addition, both the benefactive and malefactive markers occur between the subject marking suffixes and the suffixes identifying the indirect receiver of the action.

Generally, it is possible to conclude that Goggot verbs carry four types of pronominal suffixes - subject, object, benefactive and malefactive. The latter two occur with the object marking suffixes. According to the study made on Soddo (Leslau, 1968), on Muxer (Leslau, 1981) and on Northern Gurage languages (Hetzron, 1968, 1972), there is a strong similarity in the pronominal suffixes and prefixes expressing the relation between subject and complement NPs and predicates. However, the benefactive meaning is expressed by /l~ll/ in Soddo, against the /n~nn/, in Goggot and Muher. The difference can be accounted by the historical sound change among /l~n~r/ in Northern Gurage languages.⁷

Generally, it is possible to conclude that Goggot verb conjugation system has basic elements such as 'roots', (i.e 'thematic' base-forms), inflectional formatives (pronominal suffixes and prefixes) and main verb markers.⁸

4.4.2 Aspect, Tense ,Mood

Goggot verbs assume different forms to express various aspect/tense and mood distinctions. The variation is indicated by varying consonantal and vowel patterning, and by using auxiliaries and gerundive forms. In the following sub sections, we examine the various morphological shapes used to express aspect/ tense and mood

⁶ Leslau (1968) identifies the benefactive and malefactive marking suffixes as prepositional suffix pronouns.

⁷ See the discussion on case-marking again (2.1.3).

⁸ The same elements take part in the formation of Kistane verb conjugations (Goldenberg, 1968:92-93).

4.4.2.1 Aspect/ Tense

Aspect and tense are two of the grammatical categories of verbs. Aspect is concerned with the action of the verb, its beginning, continuance, and completion. Hence, it is, for example, used to categorize actions into progressive vs. non- progressive (Palmer 1987); or into perfective vs. imperfective, habitual vs. continuous, etc. (Comrie, 1995). Tense, on the other hand, is concerned with the localization of time through verbs (Comrie, 1981). Thus, in terms of tense, forms of verbs can be classified into past, present, future, etc.

Goggot verbs show a clear aspectual distinction between the perfective and the imperfective, and a temporal distinction between past and non-past. There is also overlap between tense and aspect, as all of the non- past constructions fall under the imperfective category, and all, but the non- progressive, past constructions, under the perfective. Hence, the discussion of tense can be subsumed under aspect.

4.4.2.1.1 *The perfective*

A perfective form of a tri-radical Goggot verb has a morphological shape of C₁VC₂C₂VC₃- plus pronominal suffixes and/or main verb markers. 'V' stands for the aspectual vowel [ä] and 'C', for the radicals. However, in roots where one of the radicals is deleted at surface level, the melody of the aspectual vowel will be changed, and if the deleted radical is a penultimate one, then the rule of gemination fails to apply. Observe the examples below.

Underlying root	Perfective form	Gloss
19.(a) s-b-r	säbbär -ä-m	'He broke.'
(b) g-f-r	gäffär -o	'He abandoned.'
(c) č-ω-t	čot -ä-m	'He worked.'
(d) y-y-f	ef -ä-m	'He went.'
(e) b-n-?	bänn -am	'He ate.'
(f) b-s-?	bass -aω	'He came.'

As exemplified in (19a, b), the perfective conjugation has the pattern **c₁äc₂äc₃-**, where the aspect marker [ä] distributes throughout the root, and the penult radical geminates. The same is true in (19 e,f) except for the deletion of the ultimate radical. However, in examples (19c) and (19d), the penult radical deletes and the gemination rule fails to apply. In addition, the melody of the aspectual vowel [-ä-] has been changed to [-o-], as in (19c) and to [e], as in (19d).

In all the examples, the perfective verb form carries a person marker and a main verb marker as a suffix. The main verb marker can be **/-m/** or **/-n~-u~i/**. In some instances, however, the person marker may be found fused with the main verb marker, as in (19b) and with the vowel of the stem, as in (19e,f). In addition, the main verb marker **/-u/** devocalizes to **[-ø]** after the stem vowel [a].

According to Comrie (1995:4), the perfective aspect looks at the action of a verb as a single whole, without with out considering the various separate phases that make up the action. His actual words run:” *The perfective looks at the situation from outside, without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation.*”

On the basis of the above definition, only two of the past tense forms, the simple and the remote past tenses, fall under the perfective verb category. Observe the discussion in the following paragraphs.

Goggot verbs mark the simple past tense using a perfective verb form with or without the suffix **/-m/**⁹. Observe the examples below.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>20(a) k^oa ef-ä -m
 he go-3ms-MVM+PRF
 'He went.'</p> | <p>(e) k^oa ef-o
 he go-3ms+MVM
 'He went.'</p> |
| <p>(b) k^ya bässa-tt-üm
 she come-3fs-MVM + PRF
 'She came.'</p> | <p>(f) k^ya bässa-tt-im
 she come-3fs-MVM
 'She came.'</p> |
| <p>(c) anä ärša gäffär - ku - m
 I farming give up-1sg-MVM
 'I gave up farming.'</p> | <p>(g) anä ärša gäffär - k^oi
 I farming give up - 1sg+MVM
 'I gave up farming.'</p> |
| <p>(d) aš kirr-äš - ün
 you(fs) dig-2fss-MVM+PRF
 'You (fs) dag.'</p> | <p>(h) aš kirr-äš - ün
 you(fs) dig-2fs-MVM
 'You dag.'</p> |

As illustrated above, verb stems in perfective conjugation are used to express the simple past tense. The verb form with **/-m/**, as in (20 a-d) and without **/-m/** as in (20e,f) are used in free variation. (See section (4.3.1)). According to the claim made by Hetzron (1968, 1972), the perfective verb form with suffix **/-m/** has a present perfect meaning. However, in my study, I have found out that Goggot speakers do not make such a distinction. The perfective form **/-m/** is frequently used as a more formal way of expressing past action. The suffix **/-m/** has nothing to do with relating actions on different time scale. In addition, it serves as a discourse marker like the **/n/** group suffixes. Moreover, unlike the case in English, this form is used with a specific time expression in the past, but not with a present time adverb. Compare the examples below.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>21(a) k^oa tamäñña ef-ä-m
 he yesterday go-3mss-MVM+PRF
 'He went yesterday.'</p> | <p>(b) ? k^oa ahu ef-ä-m
 (c) ? k^oa ahu bässa-m</p> |
|---|--|

⁹ See section (4.3.1) for the claim made by Hetzron as to the function of a perfective verb form with **/-m/**.

As illustrated in (21a), the perfective verb form with the suffix **/-m/** can be used with a past time expression **/tamäñña/**, 'yesterday'. But, when a present time expression **/ahu/**, 'now' is added, as in (21b,c), the construction will be unacceptable

The past perfect (or remote past) tense is, however, indicated by combining a perfective verb form with the auxiliary verb **/bannä/**, 'he/it was'. Look at the examples below.

- 22 (a) **k^oa zayät ef - ä - m bann-ä**
 he there go - 3mss - MVM + PRF AUX + PAST - 3ms
 'He had gone there.'
- (b) **anä zayät t-äsäla daris - i kärräš - im bann-ä**
 I there Sub - 1sg - arrive dance - DEF begin - MVM+PRF AUX+PAST-3ms
 'When I arrive there, the dance had already begun.'
- (c) **anä t-ef k^oa tonna - Ø - m bann-o**
 I when – leave he sit + PRF AUX +PAST – 3ms
 'When I went, he had been sitting.'

As the examples in (22) show, the remote past tense is expressed by combining a perfective verb with **/-m/** and the auxiliary verb **/ba(nnä)/**. There is no semantic or syntactic reason in the selection of **/bannä/** or its clipped form **/ba/**. They are rather free variants. In constructions where the suffix **/-m/** is deleted or attached to a negative verb stem, the sentences will be ungrammatical as in the following constructions.

- 23 (a) * **k^oa efä ba (nnä)** 'He had gone'
 (b) * **k^oa tonna ba (nnä)** 'He had been sitting'
 (c) * **k^oa zayät an-ef-ä-m ba (nnä)** 'He had not gone there'

As indicated by the astrices, the sentences in (23) are ungrammatical. The ungrammaticality of (23a) and (23b) implies that, the remote past tense cannot be formed without the main verb marker **/-m/**. Similarly, the ungrammaticality of (25c) implies that, the suffix **/-m/** is in complementary distribution with the negative marking prefix **/an-/**, 'not'. All these prove the function of **/m/** as a discourse marker.

4. 4.2.1.2 Imperfective

The imperfective form of a tri-radical Goggot verb has a morphological shape or **-c₁äc₂c₃-**. However in roots where the penult radical is deleted or altered in some way, the melody of the aspect marking vowel **[-ä-]** changes. Observe the examples in (24).

	Underlying roots	Imperfective form	Gloss
24. (a)	m-r-t'	yī- märt -u	'He selects.'
(b)	g-f-r	nī- gäfr -n-o	'We(will) abandon.'
(c)	b-s-?	yī- bäs -aω	'He(will)come.'
(d)	b-n-?	tī- bey -aω	'She (will) eat.'
(e)	č-ω-t	yī- čot -u	'He (will) work.'

As illustrated above, unlike in the perfective, there is no gemination of penult radical, and the penult and ultimate radicals are not separated by a vowel. In addition, the pronominal markers occur as a discontinuous morpheme (as prefix plus suffix). Of course, like in the perfective conjugation, main verb marking allomorphs occupy the absolute final position and interact with the vowel of the stem as in (24c,d) or with vowels of the pronominal affixes, as in (24b). As stated above, the aspectual vowel **[ä]** after the first radical changes **[e]** and **[o]**, as a result of consonantal alternation, as in (24d) and deletion, as in (24e).

According to Comrie (1995), the imperfectivity is characterized by an explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation. Unlike the perfective, he says,

✚ *"The imperfective looks at the situation from inside, and as such is crucially concerned with the internal structure of the situation, since it can both look backwards towards the start of the situation, and look forwards to the end of the situation, and indeed is equally appropriate if the situation is one that lasts through all time, without any beginning and without any end."* (1995:4)

On the basis of the about definition, all the non- past tense forms and the progressive forms fall under this conceptual category.

The simple imperfective verb form in Goggot is multiply ambiguous between the present and the future, on one hand, and between the habitual and the continuous, on the other. Observe the examples in (25)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 25 (a) k^oa yï - bäsä - w
he 3mss - come-MVM-IMPRF
'He will come/ He comes.' | (b) anä ï - baya - w
I 1sg - eat - MVM + IMPRF
'I(will) eat/ I am eating.' |
|---|---|

As illustrated in (25 a,b), the imperfective verb forms / **yï-bäsä-w**/ and / **ï-beya-w**/ are ambiguous between the present and future meanings, and between the progressive and the habitual meanings, hence, the speaker has to use periphrastic means such as the gerundive form / **ezzäm**/, 'having held', or 'adverbial specifications', as indicated below. Compare the examples in (26) and (27)

26(a) **k^oa ahu yī – bäs-aø**
he now 3ms - come- MVM + IMPRF
'He comes now.'

(b) **k^oa ïnnim ge yī – bäs-o**
he always 3ms-come+MVM
'He always comes.'

27 (a) **k^oa nägä yī-bäs-o**
he tomorrow 3mss-come+MVM
'He will come tomorrow.'

(b) **aha bä - bäsä -xä enqä anä Ø - ef-u**
you SUB - come - 2ms after I 1sg - go - MVM
'I will go after you come back.'

As illustrated in (26), the adverbs /**ahu**/, 'now' and /**ïnnimge**/, 'always' are used to indicate that the action is a present one. Similarly, the adverb /**nägä**/, 'tomorrow' and the adverbial subordinate clause /**bä-bässaxä enqä**/, 'after you come back,' in (27) indicates that the main verb in a simple future sense.

It is also difficult to determine whether the sentence /**k^oa yī-čot-u**/ means 'He works' or 'He is working.' So, Goggot speakers use the gerundive form /**ezz-ä-m**/, 'having held' to express that the action is progressive. Observe the examples below.

28(a) **anä ezz-ku-m ĩ - čot-u**
I hold - 1sg - GERN + PRF 1sg - work - MVM+IMPRF
'I am working.'

(b) **ïj-i ezz-ä-m y-ars-u**
boy-DEF hold - 3ms - GERN+PRF 3ms-Plough-MVM
'The boy is ploughing.'

(c) **künnäm^o ezz-ïmu-m yī - beyä - mu - n**
they hold-3mpl GERN+PRF 3m- eat - 3mpl-MVM+IMPRF
'They are eating.'

As evident from the examples above, the gerundive form **/ezzäm/** 'having held' complements the imperfective verb form so that the whole construction will have a present progressive meaning. In all the three sentences, the **/-m/** of **/ezzäm/** is gerundive marker and functions as a conjunctive. In addition, the gerundive form **/ezz-ä/** carries appropriate person markers **/-ku/**, as in (28a), **/-ä/**, as in (28 b), and **/-mu/**, as in (28c).

Goggot speakers also use an imperfective verb form and the copula **/ ttin/**, 'be' to express future, especially of a near one. Observe the examples in (29)

- 29 a. k^wa **yī-bäsa- ttin**
 he 3ms – come- COPULA
 'He is going to come'
- b. tük-i ø-efä- ttin
 boy-Def 3ms –go- COPULA
 'The boy is about to go.'

The other aspectual category falling under the imperfective is expressed by a past progressive verb form. It is made up of an imperfective verb form plus the auxiliary verb **/ bannä/**, 'he /it was--' or with its clipped form **/ba/**. However, this form is also ambiguous between the habitual and the progressive. Observe the examples below.

- 30(a) k^oa **yī-čot bannä**
 he 3mss- work + IMPRF AUX + PAST+3ms
 'He was working.'
- (b) anä t-ažž-ın k^oa **yī-säč'ba**
 I when - see- 3mso+PRF he 3mss-drink+IMPRF AUX+PAST
 'When I saw him, he was drinking.'
- (c) k^ya (ezz-ätī-m) **tī-čot ba**
 she (hold-3ms-GERN) 3mss-work AUX+PAST
 'She was working.'

As illustrated above, the compounds /yĭ-čot ba (nnä)/ in (30a,b) and / tĭ-čot ba(nnä) /, as in (30c) are used to express past progressive meaning. However, unless it is made clear through context, the compound form alone is ambiguous between past progressive and past habitual. Hence, the sentence in (30a) can mean either 'He was working' or 'He used to work.' However, the sentences in (30b) and (30c) are disambiguated by the subordinate clause /tažžin/, 'When I saw him, and the gerundive verb form /ezzäm/, 'having held', respectively.

In general, it is possible to conclude that the various aspectual and temporal distinctions are specified by periphrastic means such as auxiliary verbs, gerundive forms, and by various 'adverbial specifications' of time. In addition, unlike the suggestion made by Hetzron (1972), Goggot speakers do not use an aspectual form which relates a past action with a present. The suffix /-m/ in perfective verb form functions as a discourse marker; like the /n/group suffixes, it marks an independent- affirmative indicative clause

4.4.2.2 Mood

Goggot distinguishes between the jussive and imperative mood. It uses various consonantal and vowel patterning as a means. The other mood categories are explained at sentence level. Thus, the following two subsections address the jussive and the imperative mood.

4.4.2.2.1 Jussive

The jussive mood is used to express an indirect command or permission in the first and third person singular and plural. Like an imperfective verb form, it attaches person markers as prefixes. In addition, like the aspectual forms, it is expressed by various consonantal and vowel patterning than by affixes. Observe the following table for the affirmative jussive construction.

<u>Verb roots</u>	*sbr, 'break'	*gfr, 'give up'	*čot 'work'	*bn?, 'eat'
31 1sg	nī - sbūr	nī-gfūr	nī-čūt	nī - bīya
1pl	nī-sbūr-nā	nī - gfūr -nā	nī-čūt-nā	nī-bīya-nā
3ms	yā-sbūr	yā - gfūr	yā-čūt	yā-bīya
3fs	tī - sbūr	tī - gfūr	tī-čūt	tī-bīya
3mpl	yā-sbūr-īm ^o	yā-gfūr-m ^o	yā-čūt-īm ^o	yā-bīyām ^o
3fpl.	yā-sbūr-īma	yā-gfūr-ma	yā-čūt-īma	yā-bīyāma

As can be seen from the tri-radical roots such as */*sbr/* and */*gfr/*, the jussive form has the pattern */-ccīc/*. In roots where the penult radical is deleted, as in */*čot/*, the epenthetic vowel [i] fails to appear. In roots where the ultimate consonant is deleted, as in */*bn? /*, the epenthetic vowel [i] appears between the first and the second radical of the roots. As stated already, the person markers (i.e */n-/*, in 1sing and 1pl, */t-/*, in 3fs, and */y-/*, in 3ms, 3mpl, 3fpl) occur as prefixes. In plural persons, there are, of course, suffixal number and gender markers. [ä], after the person marker */y-/*, and [i], after */t-/* and */n-/* are epenthetic vowels inserted to break consonantal clusters at a syllable initial position. The following sentences can be illustrative examples for an affirmative jussive form.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 32(a) ärša nī - gfūr
farming 1sg-give up + Jussive
'Let me give up farming.' | (b) ωä-žž tī-gfūr
watching 3fs-give up + Jussive
'Let her give up watching.' |
|---|---|

The negative jussive is formed by prefixing the negative marking prefix */at-/* to a corresponding affirmative form. Compare the examples in (33) with the ones discussed in (32).

- | | | | |
|------------|---------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 33 (a) 1sg | an-nī-sbūr | Lit. Neg-1sg-break+Jussive | 'Let me not break.' |
| (b) 1pl | an-nī-sbūr-nā | Neg-1pl-break-1pl+Jussive | 'Let us not break.' |
| (c) 3ms | ay-yī-sbūr | Neg-3ms-break+Jussive | 'Let him not break.' |
| (d) 3fs | at-tī-sbūr | Neg-3fs-break+Jussive | 'Let her not break.' |
| (e) 3mpl | ay-yī-sbūr-mu | Neg-3mpl-break-3mpl+Jussive | 'Let them not break.' |
| (f) 3fpl | ay-yī-sbūr-ma | Neg-3fpl-break-3fpl+Jussive | 'Let them not break.' |

As illustrated above, the negative jussive has a form similar to the affirmative ones, except for the negative marker /**at-**/, 'not'. In addition, the [t] of the negative marker /**at-**/ assimilates to the person markers. For example, [t] changes to [y], as in (33c, e, f) and to [n], as in (33a, b).

4.4.2.2 Imperative

In Goggot, unlike the citation forms of verbs in general, an imperative verb form lack geminated consonants and aspectual markers. Observe the illustrations in (34).

Verb root	2ms	2fs	2mpl	2fpl	Gloss
34(a) g-f-r	gīfr	gīfer	gīfr-īm ^o	gīfr-īma	'give up'
(b) s-b-r	sībr	sīber	sībr-īm ^o	sībr-īma	'break'
(c) b-n-?	biya	biyā	bīyā-m ^o	bīy-āma	'eat'
(d) č-ω-t	čut	čuč	cut-īm ^o	čut-īma	'work'

As illustrated above, the tri-radical verbs have the pattern **c₁īc₂c₃** like an imperative stem form, except in 2fs, where an underlying gender marking /i/ affects the pattern ([t]->[č]/ --- i) . The effect is observed in roots which delete one of their consonants at the surface level. This gender marker also has a fronting or a palatalization effect on the preceding vowels, as in (34c) or consonants, as in (34d). In roots where one of the consonants is deleted, as in (34c,d), the melody of the epenthetic vowel will be changed.

The negative imperative is formed by prefixing /**at-**/ to an affirmative imperative form. Look at the sentence examples in (35).

- 35(a) tīmmürt bet **at - gīfr**
 school house NEG-give up+2ms+IMP
 'Don't stop going to school.'
- (b) bā - zi bet **at - bīyā**
 in-this house NEG-eat+2fs
 'Don't eat in this house.'
- (c) att-īm ?e **at - ūžž-īm^o**
 nothing NEG-see-2mpl
 'Don't see anything.'

As illustrated above, the morpheme /at-/ is invariably used to express negation. Unlike the case we observed in negative jussive forms, there is no assimilation of [t] of /at/, as there are no overtly realizing person markers.

So far, we have examined the inflectional properties of Goggot verbs. In the discussion, we have seen verb roots, verb types, main verb markers, pronominal affixes, and how aspect, tense and mood are expressed in the language. Thus, the following section will be devoted to the discussion of the derivational properties of Goggot verbs.

4.5 Derivation

Goggot has various derived verb stems. The derived stems have verbs as bases and express meanings such as passive voice, frequentative, causative, reciprocal, causative of reciprocity and adjunctive. The derivation process involves prefixation, reduplication or the combination of these. Suffixation is not used as a means of deriving verb stems.

4.5.1 *Passive*

As in other Ethio-Semitic languages such as Amharic (Leslau 1995, Baye, 1998), Muher (Leslau, 1981), and Soddo (Leslau, 1968), Goggot adds the morpheme /tä-/¹⁰ to transitive verb stems to express the passive voice. Observe the examples in (36).

36(a) k⁰a t'if⁰ä -xäm **tä-wäkk-am**

¹⁰ The same morpheme /tä-/ functions as a reflexive marker in intransitive verbs /t-aqqem/, 'get sick'; /tä- nkibaläläm/, 'rolled'; /tä-gäddeäm/, 'sleep'. Some verbs do not occur freely without the prefix /tä-/. The last two examples (i.e. **tänkibaläläm** and **tägäddeäm**) are a case in point.

he bad - like PASS-hit+3ms-MVM+PRF
'He was hit badly.'

(b) äččä-yi **tä-säbbär-o**
wood-DEF PASS-break-3ms+MVM+PRF
'The wood was broken.'

(c) k^ya **t-ažž-ät-üm**
she PASS - see - 3fs-MVM+PRF
'She was seen.'

(d) iňňä **tä-mirrä?-nä-m**
we PASS-bless-1pl-MVM+PRF
'We were blessed.'

As the forms in bold show, the morpheme /tä-/ is prefixed to transitive verb stems to express the passive voice. The person of the undergoer of the action is indicated by the suffixes on the verbs. But there is no overtly realizing affix which identifies the person of the agent. In verb stems beginning with vowel, as in (36c), the [ä] of the prefix /tä-/ is deleted to avoid an impermissible vowel sequence.

However, there is extensive use of impersonal passive forms of the type 'One says' to convey the passive voice meaning. It is used with the perfective, imperfective, jussive, and imperative forms. Observe the conjugations in the table and the sentential examples below it.

	Basic root	Gloss	Perfective	Imperfective	Jussive
37	(a) č-ω-t	'work'	čočč-i-m	yī-čoč-i-t	yä-čuč -i
	(b) s-?-r	'buy'	sīr-e-m	yī-sīr-e-t	yä-sīr-e
	(c) m-r-t'	'elect'	märräč-i-m	yī-märč'-i-t	yä-mürč'-i
	(d) b-n-?	'eat'	bänn-e-m	yī-b ^o iy-e-t	yä-bī?-øe
	(e) ω-k-?	'hit'	ωäkkī-øe-m	yī-øä?-øe-t	yä-øī?-e
	(f) s-t'-y	'drink'	säčč i-m	yī-säčč-i-t	yä-sič'-i

Table (4) Impersonal passive form

As illustrated in the conjugations, the person of the undergoer of the action is expressed by a zero morpheme in the perfective, and by /yĩ---ä/, 'a third masculine singular' in the imperfective and jussive. The suffix /-e/ is an impersonal marker. But it changes to /-i/ after a palatal consonant, as in (37a, c, f) or insert the semivowel [ɰ] after stems which delete their final consonant or after the glottal sound [ʔ], as in (37 d,e). See the sentential examples below.

- 38(a) tĩfɰä xäm **ɰä́kĩ** - **ɰe**-ma-m
 bad-like hit-IMPASS-3fpl-MVM+PRF
 'They(f) were hit badly.'
- (b) bäsär-i **bänn-e-t**
 meat-DEF eat-IMPASS - MVM + PRF
 'The meat was eaten.'
- (c) ĩga - yi **yĩ-säč'-i-t**
 water - DEF 3ms-drink - IMPASS-MVM+ IMPRF
 'The water will be drunk.'
- (d) ahu **yĩ-märč'-i-hmu**
 soon 3ms-elect-IMPASS-2mpl-MVM+IMPRF
 'You (mpl) will be elected soon.'

As illustrated by the forms in bold, the impersonal passive form carries the impersonal passive marker /e~i/ and main verb marker /m~t/, in the perfective, and /t~n/, in the imperfective. The person of the undergoer of the action is indicated by a suffix in the perfective aspect, as in (38a), and by a discontinuous morpheme in the imperfective, as in (38d). As in passive verb stems with /tä-/ , the person of the doer is unspecified.

4.5.2 Causative

In Goggot, the causative stems are formed by attaching /at-/ as prefix to verb stems. Observe the examples in (39)

	Verb	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
38 (a)	ωääñ o	'cry'	atī -ωääñ o	'He caused someone (to) cry.'
(b)	kerro	'dig'	atī- kerro	'He caused someone (to) dig.'
(c)	mirrä?o	'bless'	atī- mirrä?o	'He caused someone (to) bless.'
(d)	säbbäro	'break'	as- säbbäro	'He caused someone (to) break.'
(e)	čoto	'work'	ač- čoto	'He caused someone (to) work.'
(f)	sīro	'buy'	as- sīro	'He caused someone (to) buy.'

As illustrated in (38), /at-/ is prefixed to a transitive or an intransitive verb stem to express a causative meaning. The [t] of /at-/ assimilates to the initial sounds of the stem if it is an alveolar or a palatal fricative sound. Observe the data in (39 d,e,f)

However in stems with a reciprocal or a reflexive meaning, the [t] of the causative marker is deleted. Compare the examples in (40) with the ones discussed in (38).

	Stem	Gloss	Causative	Gloss
40(a)	qät't'äro	'kill'	a-qqat'äro	'caused others to kill each other.'
(b)	säkkäro	'get drunk'	a- säkkäro	'caused someone be drunk.'
(c)	bättäto	'get wide'	a-bättäto	'caused something be wide.'

As illustrated above, /a-/ is used to express the causative of an intransitive verb, as in (40 b,c) and of a reflexive-reciprocal, as in (40a). The gemination of the initial consonant in /a-qqät't'äro/ results from the assimilation of effect of the underlying reflexive marker; i.e /at+tä-qät't'äro/ → /a-qqät't'äro/.

4.5.3 *Frequentative /Intensive*

The frequentative or intensive meaning of an action is expressed by reduplicating the penultimate radical of the stem. Observe the examples in (41).

Basic root	Verbs in the perfective aspect	Gloss	Frequentative verb form	'Gloss'
41 a. m-r-?	mirrä?o	'blessed'	mürarä?o	'He blessed again and again'
b. ω-k-?	ωä k kam	'hit'	ωi?a?am	'He hit repeatedly.'
c. s-b-r	säbbäro	'broke'	sübbabäro	'He broke (sth) into pieces.'
d. q-b-?	qäbbam	'smeared'	qübbabam	'He smeared again and again.'

As illustrated in (41), the frequentative verb stem is formed by reduplicating the penultimate radical. The process also involves change in the melody of the aspectual marker vowel[ä].

4.5.4 Reciprocal

The reciprocal verb stem is formed by adding the morpheme /tä-/ to a verb stem with a C₁aC₂C₂ (VC₃) pattern. Observe the examples in (42).

Basic root	Verb stems imperfect	Gloss	Reciprocal stem	Gloss
42 a. ?-z-y	ažžäm	'see'	tä-žazži-mum	'They saw each other.'
b. n-k-s	näkkäsäm	'bite'	tä-nakkäs-imum	'They bite each other.'
c. q-t'-r	qät't'äräm	'kill'	tä-qat't'är-imum	'They killed each other.'

As illustrated above, the verb stems which prefix /tä-/ satisfies the C₁aC₂C₂(VC₃) pattern regardless of the verb types they belong. As shown in (42a), the prefix /tä-/ can be added to a stem which reduplicates its radical to satisfy the C₁aC₂C₂ (VC₃) pattern.

4.5.5 Causative of reciprocity

The causative of reciprocity applies to a transitive verb stem. It is formed by prefixing the causative marker /at-/ to a reciprocal verb stem. However, the reciprocal marker /tä-/ is deleted during derivation. Observe the examples in (43).

Reciprocal verb stem	Gloss	Causative of Reciprocity	Gloss
43 a. tä-qat't'äym ^w	'They killed each other.'	atī-qat't'äyā	'He caused others to kill each other.'
b. tä-nakkäsīnā	'We bite each other.'	atī-nakkäsānā	'He caused us to bite each other.'
c. tä-žazžänā	'We saw each other.'	atī-žazžänā	'He caused us to see each other.'
d. tä-ᵛakkanā	'We hit each other.'	atī-ᵛakkanā	'He caused us hit each other.'

As exemplified in (43), the stem of the causative of reciprocity is the sum of the causative marker /at-, the reciprocal marker /tä/ and a verb with C₁aC₂C₂ (VC₃) pattern. But, /tä-/ does not realize at surface level. One evidence for its presence at underlying level would be that it blocks the assimilation process between the [t] of /at-/ and a palatal fricative sound [ž], as in (43c).

4.5.6 The Adjutative

The adjutative verb stem is formed by prefixing /at-/ to a transitive and an intransitive verb stem which has a C₁aC₂C₂(VC₃) pattern. Thus, especially in the former case, its surface representation is ambiguous between the adjutative and the causative of reciprocity. Observe the examples in (44).

Verb stem	Gloss	Adjutative form	Gloss
------------------	--------------	------------------------	--------------

44. a.	č'ǎňňäm	'give birth'	ač'č'aňňä	'helped someone to give birth.'
b.	kerräm	'dig'	atī-karr-e	'helped me to dig.'
c.	säbbäro	'break.'	as-sabbär-e	'helped me to break.'
d.	bännam	'eat.'	atī-bann-e	'helped me to eat.'

As exemplified above, the adjutative verb stem is formed by prefixing /at-/ to a stem with a **C₁aC₂C₂ (VC₃)** pattern. The assimilation of the [t] of /at/ to the initial palatal sound strengthens the claim made in (4.5.2), and indirectly proves the underlying difference between the causative of reciprocity and the adjutative. The final vowel /-e/ in (44b,c,d) marks the first person singular object form.

In a nutshell, Goggot employs three different prefixes /a-/, /at-/, and /tä-/, various consonantal and vowel patterning, and the process of reduplication to derive different verb stems.

Generally, Goggot verbs have complex internal structure. From inflectional point of view, they are loaded with grammatical information such as aspect, mood, person, number, gender, etc., and semantic information such as benefactive and maletactive. At the derivational level, various stems are derived from basic forms through the processes of prefixation and reduplication.

Chapter Five

ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS

Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the discussion of the morphology of Goggot adjectives and adverbs. Adjectives and adverbs are treated under the same chapter for two reasons. First, unlike nouns and verbs, they exhibit a very few morphological properties, and hence take a little space. Secondly, they show a similar syntactic property, as they occur in phrases where nouns and verbs are heads.

5.1 Adjectives

Goggot adjectives are of simple or derived type. The simple adjectives describe dimension, physical property, human propensity, color, age, etc. Observe the list in (1) below.

1. Form	Gloss	Form	Gloss
li?	'big'	bišša	'red'
innīs	'small'	mena	'kind, generous'
gāwwa	'foolish'	fāyya	'good'
äbbur	'mean'		

Most of the derived adjectives have nouns as a base. There are also adjectives which are derived from verbs and from other adjectives. The derivation process can be seen at the level of syntax or morphology (see section 5.1.2 below).

5.1.1 Inflection

Goggot adjectives are more alike with nouns in their inflectional properties. Like nouns, they do not inflect for the grammatical category of gender or person. Hence, the adjective /**gälif**/, 'tall' can be used to modify a masculine noun, as in / **gälif müss**/, 'a tall man' or a feminine noun, as in / **gälif mışt**/, 'a tall woman' without changing its form.

However, they show agreement with nouns in terms of number and definiteness. However the definite marker found on adjectives belongs to the noun they pattern with or they stand for.

In many of the cases, Goggot adjectives show plurality by the process of partial reduplication.

Observe the examples in (2).

		Singular		Plural	
		Form	Gloss	Form	Gloss
2	a.	gälif	'tall'	gälilif	'tall(pl)'
	b.	tif ⁰ ur	'black'	tif ⁰ a ⁰ ur	'black(pl)'
	c.	kısın	'small'	kısısın	'small(pl)'
	d.	tif ⁰ ä	'bad'	tif ⁰ afä	'bad(pl)'
	e.	fäyya	'good'	fäyyay	'good(pl)'

As illustrated above, the adjectives reduplicate their penultimate consonant, as in (2a, c) and final consonant, as in (2b, d) to express plurality. The variation in the reduplicated consonants stems from the nature of the root. In bi-radical roots, as in (2d, e), the second radical is reduplicated. In tri-radical adjectives as in (2a, b, c), the penult radical will be reduplicated.

There are also adjectives which take the plural marking morpheme /-očč/ as the examples in (3).

Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
3 a. zängäräññä	'trouble maker'	zängäräññočč	'trouble makers'
b. mäläññä	'tacticfull'	mäläññočč	'tacticful (pl)'
c. kočätam	'fearful '	kočätamočč	'fearful (pl)'
d. k'ärt'ama	'due proportion'	k'ärt'amočč	'due proportionate(pl)'

It seems that the plural marking /-očč/ is predominantly used in derived adjectives. This may stem from the property of the derived forms, as they can fall under the category of a noun or an adjective.

Like nouns, Goggot adjectives take the definite marker /-i/: (1) when they modify a definite noun, and (2) when they assume the role of the noun they modify. Observe the examples in (4).

Indefinite	Gloss	Definite	Gloss
4a. gurz	'old'	qurz-i	'the old one'
b. gül'itf	'tall (pl)'	qül'itf – i	'the tall ones'
c. kíšis'in	'small (pl).'	kíšis'in – i	'the small ones.'

As illustrated above, the adjectives attach the morpheme /-i-/ to mark definitiveness¹

¹ In syntactic constructions where the modified nouns are deleted, the adjectives take a definite marker to express a definite object or person that could be referred to by the deleted noun. But, in an NP, both the adjective and the noun cannot be marked for definiteness at the same time, as (*kíšis'in-i dengia - yi', 'the small boys' and [*qurz-i mišt--i], 'the old woman' are ungrammatical. It seems that definiteness is not an inherent property of adjectives.

5.1.2 Derivation

Goggot employs both syntactic and morphological means to derive adjectives. At the level morphology, for example, different suffixes are used to derive adjectives from nouns².

Some adjectives are derived from nouns by suffixing the morpheme /-**äññä**/ with or without the insertion of a consonant sound such as [t] or [r]. The distribution of the allomorphs is governed by phonological reasons. Observe the examples in (5).

Noun	Gloss	Derived adjective	Gloss
5 a. zānga	'trouble'	zāngäräññä	'trouble marker'
b. ?akák	'honesty'	?akákätäññä	'honest'
c. mäla	'tactic'	mälätäññä	'tactic full'
d. ker	'peace'	kerätäññä	'One who is peaceful'
e. ?anot	'sickness'	?anotätäññä	'One who is sick'
f. mür?at	'blessing'	mür?ottätäññä	'One who is blessed'
g. t'om	'fasting'	t'om-äññä	'One who fasts'
h. qim	'grudge'	qim-äññä	'One with grudge'
i. sädib	'curs/insult'	sädib ^o -äññä	'One who is cursed.'

As shown above, all the derived adjectives use nouns as a base and suffix the morpheme /-**äññä**/. However, some adjectives a velar or alveolar final consonant insert [t] or [r], on the basis of the nature of radical of the base. Like the derived adjectives in Amharic (Hailu, 1967) some of these adjectives also fall under the category of nouns.

² Goggot uses / **yä**-/with a time or place adverb, as in [**yä-dīrā**], 'of the old time,' and [**yännän**], 'of the top' to express adjectivization. In addition, it uses relativized verb forms such as [**yī rāz**] as in [**yī rāz äč'č'ä**], 'wood which is heavy.'

Some other adjectives are derived by suffixing the morpheme **/-ama/** to nouns. Observe the examples in (6).

	Stem	Gloss	Derived adjective	Gloss
6. a.	līm	'good complexion'	līmama	'one with good complexion'
b.	kārt'	'due proportion'	kārt'-ama	'due proportionate'
c.	oḡä	'gossip'	oḡ-ama	'One who is gossipy.'
d.	mälk	'appearance'	mälk-ama	'beautiful.'

Nouns which end in a vowel sound, as in (**/ojä/**, 'gossip') delete their final vowels before the suffix **/-ama/**. The vowel deletion attributes to impermissible vowel cluster.

Like the case in Amharic, there are still adjectives which are derived by suffixing the morpheme **/-am/** to nouns. Observe the examples in (7).

	Nouns	Gloss	Adjectives	'Gloss'
7. a.	kočät	'fear'	koččät-am	'fearfull'
b.	wänet	'sleep'	wännet-am	'sleepy'
c.	g ^o ärärä	'throat'	g ^o ärär-am	'one who eats much'

All the adjectives in (7) are formed by suffixing **/-am/** to a noun base. In stems ending in a vowel, as in (7c), the final vowel of the stem deletes to avoid impermissible vowel sequence. Unlike the derived forms in (5) and (6) above these forms primarily fall under the category of an adjective.

5.2 Adverbs

Goggot has a few simple, but many derived adverbs falling under different adverbial categories such as time, place, frequency manner, etc. There is no difference in syntactic value between the simple and the derived ones³.

Most of the simple adverbs functionally fall under the category of time adverb. Observe the list of words in (8)

	Form	Gloss		Form	Gloss
8	a. ahu	'now, soon, immediately, etc.'		c. nǎgǎ	'tomorrow'
	b. äk ^o a	'today'		d. ift	'before'
	b. tamǎňña	'yesterday'		e. enqǎ	'later, after'

As indicated in the gloss, most of the adverbs in (8) convey a multiple of meanings that could be determined by contexts.

5.2.1 Inflection

Unlike the other word classes, Goggot adverbs do not inflect for any kind of grammatical categories.

5.2.2 Derivation

As mentioned above, most of the adverbs of Goggot are derived. The derivation process involves both affixation and compounding.

³ Except for the inherent semantic differences, there is no syntactic difference between the simple adverb /**ahu**/, 'now' and the derived adverb / **innim -ge**/, 'always'.

Some place adverbs are derived by attaching the morpheme */-ät/* or */-yät/* to demonstrative pronouns and indefinite pronouns. Observe the forms in (9).

	Form	Gloss	Form	Gloss
9	a. att-ät	'somewhere'	a. za-yät	'there'
	b. mannim-ät	'anywhere'	b. zi - yät	'here'
	c. innim-ät	'everywhere'		

As shown in (9), */- ät/*, which is a place marker, is attached to the indefinite pronouns, as in (9a,b,c) and to demonstrative pronouns, as in (9d,e) to form different place adverbs. The semi-vowel [y] in (9 d, e) is inserted to break impermissible vowel cluster.

Some of the manner adverbs of Goggot are derived by attaching the bound morpheme */-xäm/*, 'like' to the demonstrative pronouns */ zi/*, 'this' and */za/*, 'that'. Observe the examples in (10).

	Demo. Pronoun / Adjectives	Gloss	Adverbs	Gloss
10	a. zi	'this'	zi-xäm	'like this'
	b. za	'that'	za-xäm	'like that'

There are also manner adverbials which exist as compound forms. The compound is formed by combining stems such as */ dīg/*, 'slow' and */ ämm/*, 'quite' with the special verb⁴ */beam/*, 'say'.

Observe the examples in (11).

	Adverbs	Gloss
11	a. dīg-beam	'slowly'
	b. ämm-beam	'quietly'
	c. gakk-beam	'straight away (off)'

⁴ Verbs which have morphosyntactic properties and deviate from general pattern. Compare the nature and function of */beam/*, 'say' with the Amharic */ allä/* (Baye, 1995).

As can be understood from the examples in (11), the adverbial meaning of the compound comes from the stem forms, and functional features such as tense, and AGRs. come from the inflections on the special verb **/beam/**.

Certain frequency and time adverbials are derived by combining the bound form **/-ge/**, 'time' with indefinite pronouns such as **/innim/**, 'all' / **att/**, 'one' and **att att/**, 'some'. Observe the forms in (12).

	Adverbs	Gloss
12 a.	innim -ge	'always'
b.	att-ge	'once'
c.	att-att-ge	'sometimes'

In conclusion, it has been identified that Goggot has a few simple, but a number of derived adjectives and adverbs. The adjectives are more alike nouns, as they inflect for the grammatical categories of number and definiteness. Adverbs, on other hand, show no inflectional properties. From derivational point of view, it has been indicated that a number of morphemes are used to derive adjectives from nouns, and adverbs from word classes such as pronouns, prepositions, verbs or other adverbs.

Chapter Six

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we will try to recapitulate the major points discussed in the preceding chapters, on the morphology of Goggot.

The aim of this study is to give a base-line description of the morphology of Goggot, one of the Gurage clusters. The study focuses both on the inflectional and derivational properties of nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. The actual description is organized in four chapters (two to five).

As the discussion in chapter two shows, Goggot nouns inflect for the grammatical categories of number and definiteness. Singularity is morphologically unmarked, but plurality is expressed in two ways: by using the suffixes /-očč/ and /aCä/. Definiteness is expressed by the suffix /-í/. In addition, it has been stated that case-marking is predominately prepositional. It is also argued for the prepositional status of the particle / yä-/, by citing evidences internal to the language and from other related languages. Regarding derivational properties nouns, morphemes that are used to derive infinitival, abstract and agentive nominals from nouns or other word classes are identified. It has been also stated that the language uses phrases, instead of morphological means, to derive other nominal types.

In chapter three, an attempt is made to analyse the internal structure of Goggot personal, indefinite, reflexive and interrogative pronouns. From inflectional point of view, we have

observed that there is little morphology in Goggot pronouns. As true in nouns, case is expressed by prepositions. In addition, except for the few instances in independent personal and indefinite pronouns, there are no morphological means to distinguish number.

Regarding the morphology of verbs, it has been stated that Goggot has a complex verb structure, consisting of radicals, aspectual vowels and pronominal affixes. As discussed throughout chapter four, Goggot verbs employ various consonantal and vowel patterning to express the grammatical categories of aspect, tense and mood.

In the discussion, it has been indicated that Goggot distinguishes between two aspectual forms (perfective vs. imperfective) and two temporal forms (past Vs. non-past). In addition it has been stated that there is overlap between aspect and tense, as the past and the non-past forms have the shape of a perfective and an imperatival verb form, respectively.

Goggot verbs assume a particular morphological shape to distinguish between these aspectual/tense forms. Hence, a tri-radical verb has the pattern / C₁äC₂C₂äC₃-/ in the perfective, and / -C₁äC₂C₃./, in the imperfective. The other temporal/aspectual distinctions such as the remote past, the present and past progressives, etc are expressed by either combining a periphrastic means such as the auxiliary/**bannä**/, 'there was', the gerundive form /**ezzäm**/, 'having held' with a perfective and an imperfective verb forms or by using 'adverbial specifications'.

Concerning agreement phenomena, we have observed that the distribution subject and object pronominal affixes varies according to the aspect of the verbs. This is especially true of the subject affixes, since they occur as a discontinuous morpheme (Prefix plus suffix) in an

imperfective verb form, but only as a suffix in a perfective verb form. In addition, it has been identified that the pronominal suffixes occur after verb stems, but before a main verb marker (if any).

Regarding mood, it has been stated that there are two morphologically recognized mood categories, namely the jussive and the imperative. The jussive has / -C₁īC₂īC₃/ verb pattern and a pronominal as prefix, whereas the imperative has the pattern / C₁īC₂C₃/ with a pronominal as a suffix.

Concerning the derivation of verbs, it has been stated that Goggot has verb stems for the meanings such as passive, impersonal passive, causative, reciprocal causative of reciprocity, and adjectival. These verb stems derived by combining prefixes such as /a/, /tā-/ and /at-/ with various consonantal and vowel patterns, and the process of reduplication.

In our discussion of adjectives and adverbs, it has been stated that adjectives behave like nouns, as they inflect for number and definiteness. They show plurality predominately by the process called partial reduplication, and suffix /-ī / to mark definiteness. However, unlike adjectives, Goggot adverbs don't show any inflectional property. Concerning derivation, it has been observed that Goggot uses suffixes such as /-āññä/, /-am/ and /-ama/ to derive adjectives from nouns. In relation to adverbs, we have seen the role of the bound morphemes /-ge/, /-ät/ and /-xäm/ and the special composite verbs such as /dīg beam/, 'slowly'. It has also been remarked,

as a foot note, that relativized verb forms of Goggot are used as expressions of time and place adverbs and certain adjectives.¹

Generally, it is possible to conclude that Goggot shows morphological features much similar to the ones observed in Kĩstane and Muher. Hence, though it is difficult to determine its status as a dialect or a separate language, Hetzron's classification of Goggot as member of the Northern Gurage along with Kĩstane and Muher still seems plausible.

¹ This feature is also attested in Amharic (Getahun, 1995).

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