

GUMUZ VERB MORPHOLOGY

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents the analysis of Gumuz verb morphology. The paper consists of four parts. The first part presents a brief description of the language, the people, the review of the literature along with the objective and method of the study. The second part deals with the phonology of Gumuz, in which 39 consonant and 5 vowel phonemes are identified. The syllable structure, the clusters, the suprasegmental phoneme, tone, are discussed. The morphophonological processes that the affixes under go are also presented.

The third part of the paper is concerned with the verb inflections of the categories person, number, tense, aspect, mood and polarity. In this section several prefixes and suffixes are identified and described. It was found out that all forms of verbs are regular, except the verb to be. The fourth part summarizes what has been discussed in the preceding sections.

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DEFINITIONS OF DIACRITIC MARKS AND SYMBOLS

1. ʔ glottalized consonant
2. R uvular fricative
3. / high tone
4. \ low tone
5. / phonological environment
6. — a position in the environment
7. → becomes or rewritten as
8. + morpheme boundary
9. # word boundary
10. Imp. imperative
11. Plur. plural
12. Prest present
13. Fut. future
14. sth. something
15. lit. literally
16. [] morphological feature matrix
17. ∅ zero morpheme
18. RED. reduplication
19. vl. voiceless
20. vd. voiced
21. eject. ejective

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Language and the People

Gumuz is one of the Ethiopian koman languages, under the Nilo-Saharan phylum, spoken in the Western part of Ethiopia, that is in some parts of Wellega, Gojjam and Gondar along the Sudan border.

Gumuz has local dialects of which Saysay, Kokit, Disoha and Jammaa are some, spoken by various clans.

The area of the Gumuz people extends from near Metemma on the Sudan Border, southward through Begemidir and Gojjam and across the Blue Nile into the Didessa valley as far as the Lekemt Gimbi road. (Bender, 1975:62).

The Gumuz people migrated from Gojjam into Wellega, for different reasons they were taken as tenants and slaves, and then started to leave Gojjam because of high taxes and conflict with Amharas, Arabs, Agaw, Buoro (Shinasha) and Zala (Bender, 1981:81).

The Gumuz people are known as Gumis, Ganza, meaning "elders". The name "Gumuz" seems to be unknown to the Didessa valley clans, instead they are known as Baga meaning "people" and the language bagatse lit meaning (people-ear). On the other hand the most common name used by outsiders is sanqilla, meaning "very black", a term used for any dark coloured skin.

1.2. The Literature

Most of the materials written on Gumuz focus on the Gumuz people and their culture. There are very few publications written on the language. The materials on the people, culture and language are the following:

Tucker A.N. and Bryan M.A., point out the areas where the Gumuz language is spoken, in "The Non-Bantu Languages of North Eastern Africa" (with a supplement on the Non-Bantu languages of Southern Africa), written in 1956.

The second book written in the same year by Ernesta Cerulli, "Peoples of South-West Ethiopia and its borderland", focuses on the origin of Gumuz, their history, tradition, economy and political system.

James Wendy in his book Kwanimpa "The making of the Uduk. An ethnographic study of survival in the Sudan Ethiopian Borderlands", when mentioning the common marriage system among the Koman people, talks about the number of Gumuz people, their location and the cultural similarity between Gumuz and Uduk, Komo and Shita. He points out the way marriages are arranged and that these marriage arrangements are major political matters, both as a cause of hostilities and a means of peace making.

Bender in "The Non-Semitic languages of Ethiopia", under the title "The literature on koman characteristics" says that the consideration of Gumuz as one of the koman languages is questionable. And comparisons of personal pronouns among Komo, Shita, Buldit, Uduk, Kwama, and Gumuz are presented. Based on these comparisons he says that Gumuz is either very deviant or not a member of the above mentioned languages at all.

The same author in "The Eastern edge of the Sahel Ethiopian NiloSahelians", mentions the division of Ethiopian peoples historical and cultural classification.

James Wendy in "Notes on the Gumuz, their culture, history and survival", mentions that Western Shanqilla includes the Gumuz people, and describes the kinds of weapons they used to resist the Abyssinian incursions and to attack the Agaws. He talks about the Gumuz speaking people who claimed to have a relationship with Funj nobility of Sennar, and the ancient connection between the Gumuz and the Nile valley. He also mentions the people, the language and its dialects, the areas spoken in, the complex nature and difficulty of the language for a foreigner.

Irwin Lee in "Some Saysay sentence Patterns", gives lists of pronouns, paradigms of verbs classified into types, in the present, past and future tense forms. Conjugations of jussive, imperative and negative forms of some verbs are presented.

M.L. Bender in "Peoples and Cultures of the Ethio-Sudan Borderlands", identifies the list of names by which the Gumuz people call themselves, and the names given to them by others. He mentions the number of Gumuz people living in Wellega and other places. He lists the number of clans, the way these clans are divided into subgroups and the different names of these subclans. He also mentions the way these people migrated from Wellega, and the reasons for their migration from Gojjam. The type of marriage system these people entertain, their religion, the crops they plant, the domestic animals found and their staple diet are also described.

"The Ethiopian Nilo-Saharan", another book by M.L. Bender, mentions the areas where the Gumuz language is spoken, the total number of speakers and clans, and the legend about the dispersal of these clans. The different names of the Gumuz people are identified. The author points out that very little has been done on this language, and gives list of words of one of the dialects of Gumuz, known as Saysay.

"Gumuz :a sketch of grammar and lexicon" by the above author is the first material in which some works on the Phonology, Morphology, Syntax and Semantics of the Gumuz language are shown. In the first part the nomenclature is given.

In Wallmark Patrick's book, "The basic occupation of the Say": "A Nilotic tribe of Northern Wellega", the villages of the Say, the people, their religion and popular belief are mentioned.

"A Phonology of Gumuz", written in 1983 by Aster Zewdie, describes the segmental, suprasegmental phonemes and their allophones and the structure of the syllable patterns. Finally it pinpoints some of the problems that need further study.

The most relevant material related to the present study is the B.A thesis by Behailu Abebe, entitled, "A Brief Morphological Study of Nouns, Verbs and the Structure of Simple Sentences in Gumuz". The writer's

objective was to describe the structure of the simple sentences, but he includes the morphology of nouns and verbs needed for his analysis. The morphological part contains some parts of inflections, and properties of verbs. He describes the structure of the verb and identifies the person, number, tense and aspect affixes. The difference between Behailu's and the present study is the type of affixes identified.

Peter Unseth has written two papers on Gumuz of which the first one is "The Dialect Survey and Morphological Notes". This paper contains the location, history and reports on intelligibility. The purpose of the study, according to the author, is to determine the kind of languages spoken in the Blue Nile Valley along the Wellega shore, and to make intelligibility tests among the Gumuz groups. He describes the procedure used to make these tests. Finally, the semantic shifts of some Gumuz words and the fact that Gumuz has retained the K-prefix (moveable K) found in all Nilo-Saharan languages, are mentioned.

The second work is entitled "Selected aspects of Gumuz phonology", in which a description of labio-velar stops, tone, syllabic nasals and glottal stops are presented. The data are based on the Gumuz dialect spoken in the village of Sirba, Mendi Wereda, Gimbi Awraja, Wellega.

The latest material written on the Gumuz language is by Henning Uzar, under the title "Studies in Gumuz: Sese Phonology and TMA system" in topics in Nilo-Sharan linguistics edited by M.L. Bender. It is based on the dialect of Gumuz known as Sese spoken in Wellega. The study consists of two parts, the first concerned with the phonology and the second with the morphology of Gumuz. Minimal pairs of the consonants and vowels are presented. Thus 34 phonemic consonants and 5 vowels have been identified. Furthermore the syllable patterns, the word, and the word order are also analysed. In the morphological part, Uzar compares his findings with those of Irwin Lee concerning the number of tenses Gumuz verbs have, and the division of the verb types. He says that Gumuz verbs distinguish between the future, the present past, and remote past tense forms. He points out that aspect has two forms: the

perfective and continuous, and that mood has the imperative, the jussive, the conditional and Irreal negative forms. The findings of Uzar are quite different from those of the present study. The main reason is that the data on which the present study is based, are from a different dialect which is spoken around Gojjam province, Metekel Awraja.

1.3. The Present Study

The main objective of the present study is to analyse and describe the structure of Gumuz verbs.

This study deals with the verb inflections, and the morphophonological processes that the affixes undergo.

The method employed to achieve the objective of the research is by eliciting data based on Welmer's list, other verb paradigms and sentences. Then the structure of the verbs is analyzed.

Although the present study is limited to the analysis and description of the structure of Gumuz verbs, it seems to be necessary to mention something about morphology in general.

Morphology is the study of the structure of words. It was sometimes attached to the syntactic component and sometimes to the phonological component and thus was ignored for a long time within generative framework. Certain phenomena were found outside the domains of the syntactic and phonological component and these phenomena had to be put into the morphological component, and thereby led to the recognition of morphology as an independent entity (Aronoff, 1976:4-6).

From the review of the literature it is obvious that very little has been done on this subject. Furthermore the position of Gumuz as koman even as a Nilo-Saharan language is questionable. Thus this study may be significant in contributing to the knowledge of the morphology of Gumuz. The results of this study can serve as a means of clarifying the classification of Nilo-Saharan languages in general and Gumuz in particular.

2. A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF GUMUZ PHONOLOGY

In this part of the paper, the charts of consonant and vowel phonemes, the syllable structures as well as a description of the consonant clusters, the suprasegmentals and the morphophonological processes are presented. The purpose is to facilitate the understanding of inflectional processes. Gumuz has thirty nine consonants and five vowel phonemes.

2.1. Consonant Phonemes

The consonant phonemes consist of twelve stops, two implosives, nine fricatives seven affricates, five nasals, one lateral, one flap and two glides. These are shown in the following chart.

I. CONSONANT CHART

	Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Post-Palatal	Velar	Labio-Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops vl. Vd. eject.	p b		t d t̥			k g ḳ	kʷ gʷ ḳʷ		ʔ
Implosive	ɓ		ɗ						
Fricative. vl vd		f	s z	ʃ ʒ			Xʷ	x R	h
Affricate vl vd eject			ts t̥s	tʃ tʃ̥	tʃʰ tʃ̥ʰ				
Nasal	m		n	ɲ		ŋ	ŋʷ		
Lateral			l						
Flap			r						
Semivowel	w			y					

II. VOWEL CHART

2.2. The Vowel Phonemes

Gumuz has five contrasting vowel phonemes, these are i,u,e,o and a.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

The central low vowel has three allophones [a], [] and [t] the status of these vowels was not clear in the phonology and was left open for other researchers to solve the problem. But in the morphology, the status of these vowels has become clearer. The environments of these sounds are indicated in the morphopnology part.

2.3. The Syllable Structure

In Gumuz there are close as well as open syllables. The types of the syllable patterns and their examples are presented as follows.

Syllable Types	Examples	Gloss
CV	[te]	'tear'
C ₁ VC ₂	[koś]	'stab'
C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃	[ʔinz]	'fry'

2.4. The Consonant clusters

In most of the clusters, one of the members is a resonant. There are very few clusters that consist of combinations of obstruents alone. In Gumuz two affricates or an affricate plus a resonant, or an affricate plus a fricative, or an affricate plus a stop are not allowed to form clusters.

2.5. Suprasegmentals

Consonant and vowel length are not phonemic. What is important is tone, and this will be discussed in the next section.

2.5.1. Tone

Tone plays a significant role in the Gumuz language. The term "tone" (linguistic) refers to a particular way in which pitch is utilized in language. (Gandour, 1978 :41)

There are two contrasting register tones, high and low.

Tone conveys lexical as well as morphological meanings of words. As a result of this, the Gumuz language can be considered to be a tone language. Welmers, says that "a tone language is a language in which both pitch phonemes and segmental phonemes enter into the composition of at least some morphemes (Welmers, 1959: 80).

According to the data analysed, the tone bearing units are the vowels and every vowel carries tone.

Since tone is important in this language, the study discusses a) lexical tones which bring about contrast of meaning of lexical items and b) "morphological tone". Therefore words with different lexical tones, and words with morphological tone will be presented, consecutively.

2.5.1.1. Words With Different Tone Patterns

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. /d ^í / 'little' | 4. /x ^ò r ^á / - 'snake' |
| 2. / ^á y ^á / - 'water' | 5. /k ^á w ^á / - 'dog' |
| 3. /d ^ù w ^à / - 'child' | 6. /m ^à n ^z i ^{yá} / - 'wet' |
| | 7. /k ^á ç ^á / - 'basket' |

2.5.1.2. Words that contrast in lexical meanings

In Gumuz, the lexical meanings of certain words are different because the tone levels are different. This is seen in the following contrasting words which have different tone levels.

- | | | |
|---|-----|---|
| 1. /b ^í y ^à / - 'pus' | vs. | /b ^í y ^á / - 'neck' |
| 2. /m ^á s ^à / - 'god' | vs | /m ^á s ^á / - 'to eat' |

The above minimal pairs with a high low and low high tones have been observed.

2.5.1.3. Words that Contrast in Morphological Meanings

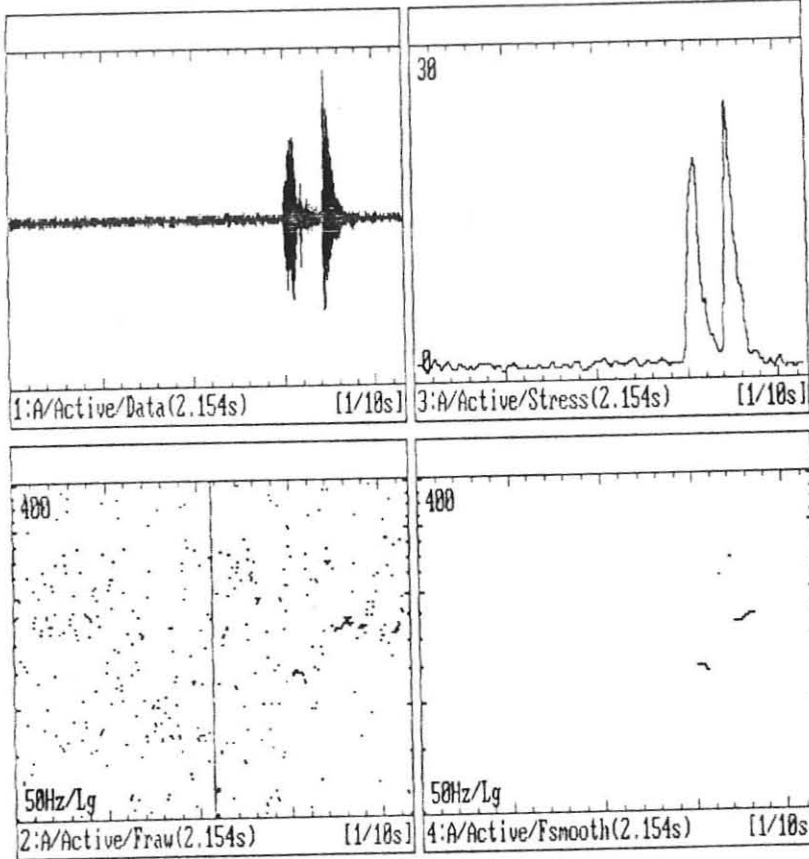
Gumuz verbs are concatenations of different morphemes and each of these morphemes carries tone. The morphemes that carry tone are the roots and the affixes. Tone in the morphology of Gumuz is significant in distinguishing between 1) the infinitive and the 3rd person singular future tense form and 2) adjectives and verbals, like the following.

- | | | | |
|----|----------------------|-----|---------------------------|
| a. | /màsá/ - 'to eat' | vs | /màsà/ - 'he will eat' |
| b. | /máfá/ - 'to drink' | vs | /máfà/ - 'he will drink' |
| c. | /mòyá/ - 'to go' | vs. | /mòyà/ - 'he will go' |
| d. | /mábačá/ - 'to hit' | vs. | /mábačà/ - 'he will hit' |
| e. | /màtayá/ 'to send' | vs. | /màtayà/ - 'he will send' |
| f. | /mágiká/ - 'to push' | vs. | /mágokà/ - 'he will push' |

In the above examples, it is observed that the assignment of one tone level on a particular morpheme determines the morphological meanings of words. Therefore tone can also be considered as one of the morphemic units to form Gumuz verbs.

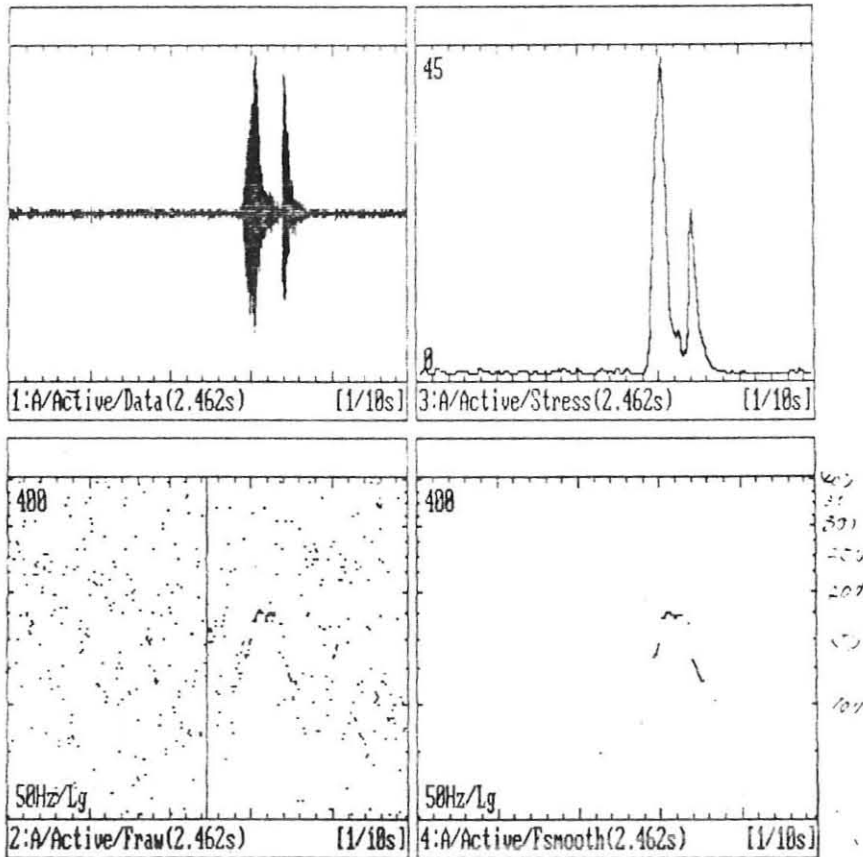
Based on the above words it can be said that the basic tone patterns in verbs are low high and high low. Since the obligatory contour principle of autosegmental phonology says that if two identical tones come next to each other they will be collapsed automatically into one "segment" (Van der Hulst and Smith;1983:8). Therefore the words with HLL or LLH and etc... will be reduced to HL or LH, respectively.

The "F Smooth" diagrams produced by the computer are attached on the next page.

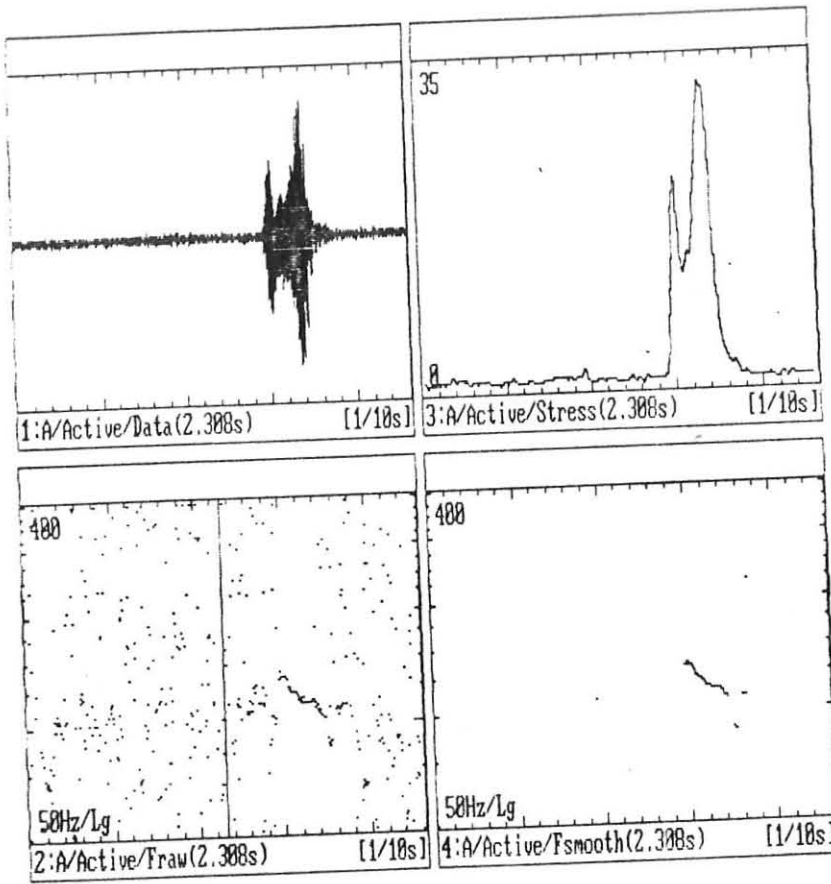


/masa/ - 'to eat'

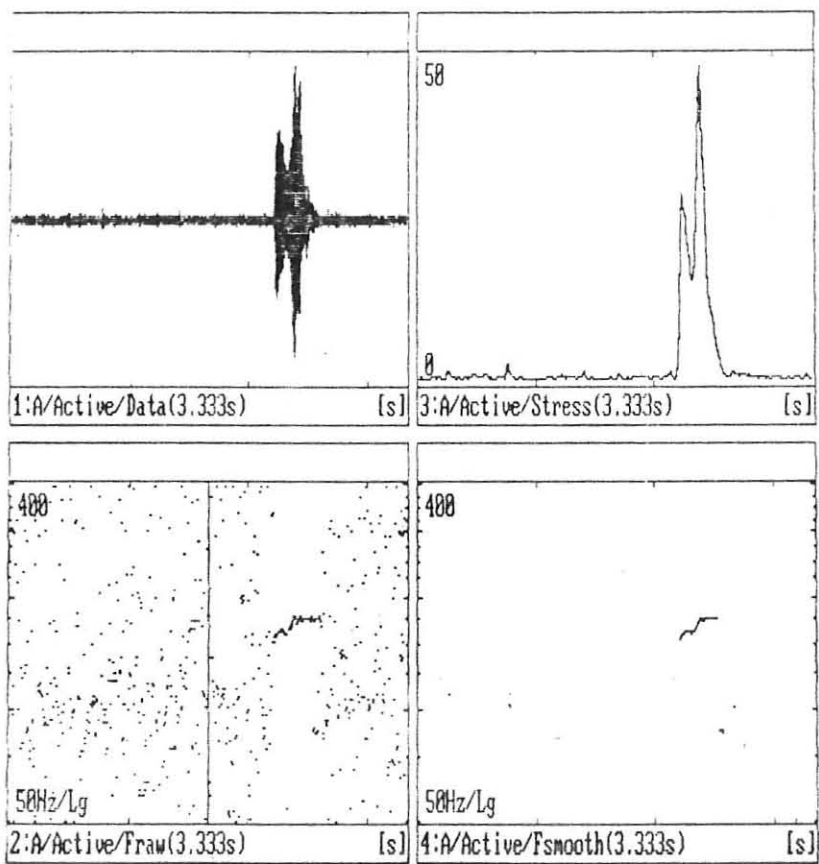
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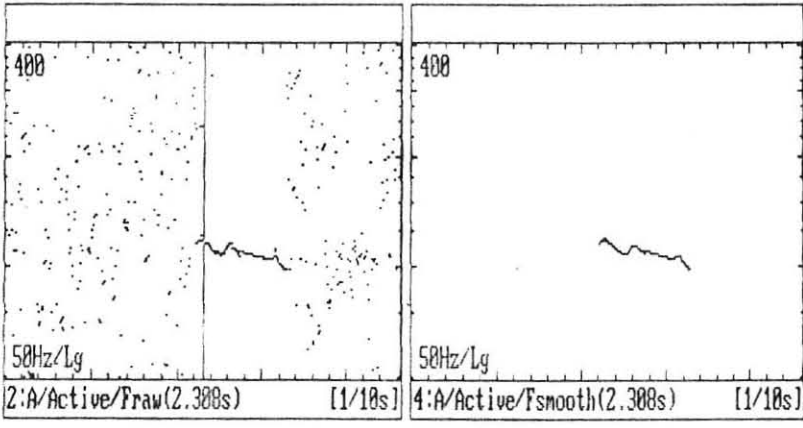
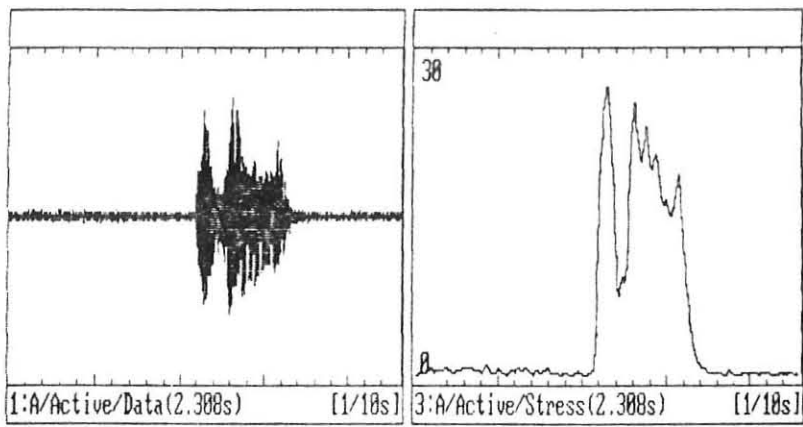
/masa/ - 'he will eat'



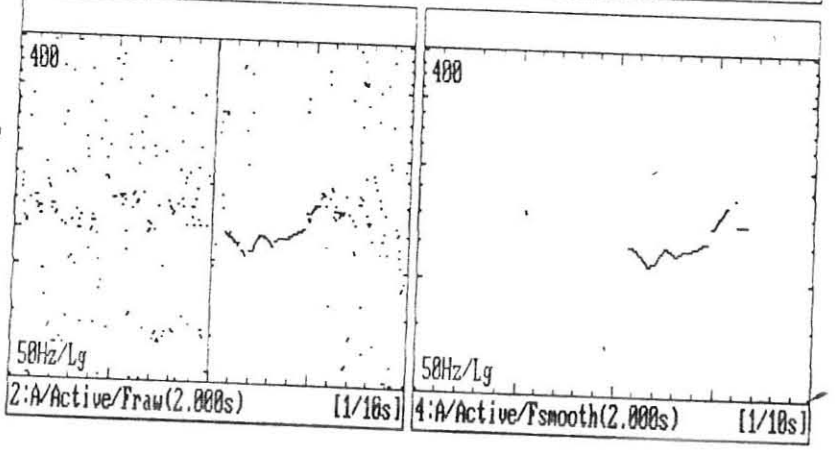
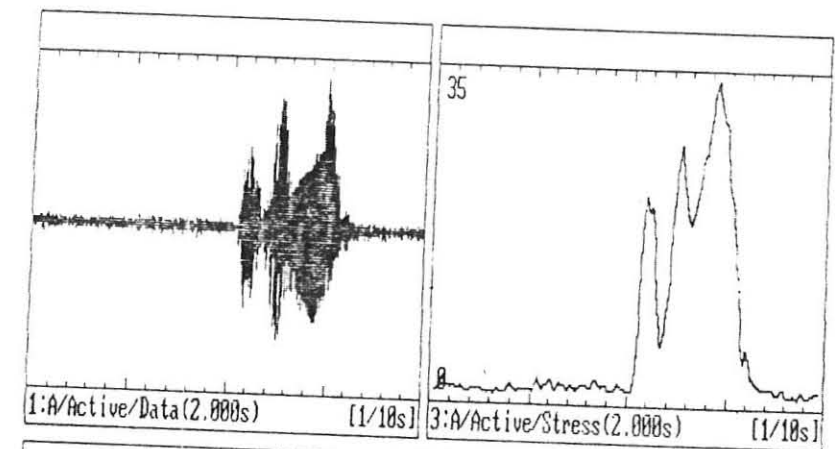
161ya/- 'neck'



161ya/- 'pus'



mázammá - to become tall



mázammá - 'tall'

2.6. Morphophonological Processes

There are some morphophonemic changes caused by inflectional morphemes. These are vowel deletion, epenthesis, assimilation and metathesis.

2.6.1. Final Vowel Deletion

Gumuz verbs end in vowels, and mostly with the central vowel /a/, which is deleted in the conjugation of the first person singular and third person singular and plural past and future tense form.

Root	Affixes + Root	Surface	'Gloss'
sa	Underlying		
	/d-á-rá-sá/	[d-ɾ-rʰs]	'I ate'
	/d-á-sá/	[d-ɾ-s]	'he/she ate'
	/d-a-sásá/	[d-ɾ-sʰs]	'they ate'
	/d-à-dè-sá/	[d-ɾ-dè-s]	'he/she will eat'
	/d-à-dè-sásá/	[d-ɾ-dè-sʰs]	'they will eat'
gika	/d-á-rá-gíká/	[d-ɾ-rʰgík]	'I pushed'
	/d-a-gíká/	[d-ɾ-gík]	'he/she pushed'
	/d-á-gígíká/	[d-ɾ-gígík]	'they pushed'
	/d-à-dè-gíká/	[d-ɾ-dègík]	'he/she will push'
	/d-à-dè-gígíká/	[d-ɾ-dègígík]	'they will push'

The rule that deletes the final vowel /a/ at the end of a verb boundary can be written as:-

$$a \longrightarrow \emptyset \left/ \begin{array}{l} - \\ \neq \end{array} \right.$$

2.6.2. Epenthesis

When the verb root with initial consonant is attached to the prefix /m-/ the epenthetic vowel /e/ is inserted between the verb root and the prefix /m-/.

Root	Affix + Root	underlying	surface	'Gloss'
fa	m + fa	mfa	ṃfa	'He will drink'
sa	m + sa	msa	ṃsa	'He will eat'
ʔefac̣ʔa	m + ʔefac̣ʔa	m)efac̣ʔa	ṃ)efac̣ʔa	'He will wash'
guša	m + guša	mtguša	ṃtguša	'He will dance'

The rule that inserts the epenthetic vowel between the prefix /m/ and the verb root can be written as:

$$m \longrightarrow ṃ / [- \text{bilabial}] \text{ CV root}$$

2.6.3. Prothesis

When the verb root with initial bilabial consonant is attached to the prefix /m-/ prothesis takes place.

Root	Affix + Root	Underlying	Surface	'Gloss'
pita	m + pita	mpita	ṭmpita	'to lie'
bača	m + bača	ṃbača	ṭṃbača	'to heat'
beya	m + beya	mbeya	ṭmbeya	'to fall'

The rule that attaches the vowel /ṭ/ to the prefix /m-/ is written as:

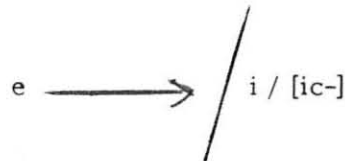
$$m \longrightarrow ṃ / [+ \text{bilabial}] \text{ CV root}$$

2.6.4 Vowel Assimilation

The vowel of the second affix that marks the future tense assimilates the plural marker morpheme /i/ in the conjugation of the first and second person plural forms. The future tense marker is the broken affix /dde/.

underlying	surface	
/di-dè-sà-kù/	[d-i-dì-sà̀kù]	'we will eat'(incl.)
/d-i-dè-sà-l/	[dì-dì-sà̀]	'we will eat'(excl)
/d-i-dè-sà-č/	[d-i-dì-sà̀č]	'you will eat'(pl.)

The rule that changes the front central vowel /e/ to the front high vowel /i/ is written as:



2.6.5. The change of /a/ to /t/

The suffix /a/ which is attached to the verb root is changed to /t/, when followed by the morphemes /-gw/, and /-j/

underling	Surface	
/bàrasàgwa/	[bà̀rə̀stgwa]	'I am eating'
/sà̀ja/	[stʃà̀]	'eat'
/macà̀jác/	[mɔ̀tɔ̀tjác]	'you will give (pl)

The rule that changes /a/ to /t/ is written as

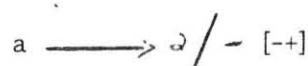


2.6.6. The Change of /a/to /ə/

The suffix /a/ which is attached to the verb root is changed to /ə/ when attached to other morphemes.

underlying	surface	
/dásam/	[dásə̀m]	'you ate'
/dísál/	[dísə̀l]	'we ate'
/disáč/	[disə̀č]	'you ate' (pl)
/masà̀sa/	[mɔ̀tsə̀s]	'they will eat'

The rule that changes /a/ to /ə/ in other morpheme boundaries is written as:

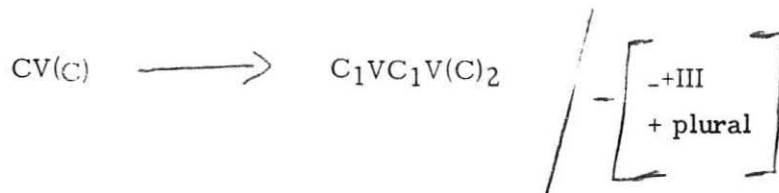


2.6.7. Reduplication

In Gumuz reduplication is used as one of the plural markers. The first consonant or syllable of the verb root is reduplicated to indicate the third person plural form.

Underlying	surface	
/dásásá/	/dásás/	'they ate'
/màsásà/	/màsás/	'they will eat'
/dàtétéya/	/dàtétéy/	'they feared'

The rule of reduplication can be written as



3. VERB INFLECTION

Gumuz verb inflections are specified for the categories person, number, tense, aspect, mood and polarity. These categories communicate grammatical meanings which are represented by a bundle of morphological features, such as: [\pm plural], [\pm past], [\pm I, or \pm II or \pm III] person... etc (Jensen, 1990:5)

The analysis of this study is based on six hundred Gumuz verbs, and has been observed that all verbs, without regard to the number of syllables they consisted, follow regular pattern except the verb to be. So to avoid redundancy the verb 'eat' /s-/ is presented throughout.

In Gumuz inflectional categories such as person, number tense, aspect, mood and polarity are shown by prefixes and suffixes, as discussed below.

3.1 Person

The category "person" distinguishes speaker (1st person) addressee (2nd person) and non-participant 3rd person and, between inclusive (speaker + addressee plus perhaps others) and exclusive (speaker + others, excluding addressee) forms. (Anderson, 1985:197.) Gumuz verbs distinguish between first, second and third person singular and plural. In addition there are the first person inclusive and exclusive forms. The inclusive form stands for speaker plus addressee plus others, while the exclusive form stands for speaker plus addressee, excluding others.

The person marker morphemes are the following:

	[-plural]	[+plural]
person	[+I] - /ra-/	[+I] - /-ku/ (inclusive)
	[+II] - /-m/	[+I] - /-l/ (exclusive)
		[+II] - /-č'/
	[+III] - /ø/	[+III] - /ø/

The first person singular has two allomorphs /ra- / and /-dāʔ /, which are in complementary distribution. /ra-/ occurs in the conjugation of the past tense, and the imperfective and perfective aspects, /-dāʔ/ occurs in the future and jussive conjugations.

The environments of the occurrences of /ra-/ and /-dāʔ/ are shown as follows:

1. /ra-/ [+I, -plural] / $\left[\begin{array}{l} [+ \text{ past}] - \\ [+ \text{ perfective}] - \end{array} \right]$

- Ex. a. /dárágik/ - 'I ate'
 b. /bàrasàgwa/ - 'I am eating'
 c. /bàrasàgwána/ - 'I was eating'

2. /-dāʔ/ [+ I, - plural] - / $\left[\begin{array}{l} [+ \text{ future}] - \\ [- \text{ Imperative}] - \end{array} \right]$

- Ex. a. /māsádāʔ/ - 'I will eat'
 b. /tsádāʔ/ - 'let me go'

3.2. Number

Gumuz verbs distinguish between singular and plural. The distinction is shown in the following conjugation.

	[-plural]		[+plural]	
person	[+I] - /dárásá/	'I ate'	[+I] - /dísákù/	'we ate'(incl.)
	[+II] - /dásám/	'you ate'	[+I] - /dísál/	'we ate'(excl.)
	[+III] - /dàsá/	'he/she ate'	[+II] - /dísáč/	'you ate'
			[+III] - /dásásá/	'they ate'

Singularity is marked by the morpheme /a-/. The plural marker morpheme has four allomorphs. These are 1) /-i-/, /-gwa/, /-jʷa/ and reduplication 1) /-i-/ occurs in the conjugations of the first person inclusive and exclusive and the second person plural forms, 2) /-gwa/ occurs in the

conjugations of the first person inclusive in the future tense and jussive forms 3) /-y'a/ occurs in the conjugations of the second person future tense and imperative forms, and 4) reduplication of the first consonant or the first syllable of the verb root occurs in the conjugation of the third person plural forms.

3.3. Tense

Tense is a grammatical category of the verb expressing the time relationship of the action referred to. (Hartmann and stork, 1972:235) Gumuz verbs distinguish past and future tense forms. These are expressed morphologically by the use of different morphemes. Furthermore they can be expressed syntactically by the use of the adverbs of time.

The morphemes that distinguish between past and future tense forms are presented as follows:

3.3.1 Past tense

The past tense form of a verb expresses an action which is completed prior to the time of utterance. It is marked by the morpheme /d-/, which is shown in the following conjugation based on the verb root /s-/ meaning 'eat'.

	[-plural]		[+plural]	
Person	[+I] - /dárásá/	'I ate'	[+I] - /disákù/	'we ate' (inclusive)
	[+II] - /dásám/	'you ate'	[+I] - /disál/	'we ate' (exclusive)
	[+III] - /dásá/	'he/she ate'	[+II] - /disáč/	'you ate'
			[+III] - /dásásá/	'they ate'

A verb in Gumuz consists of three affixes and a verb root. The first affix is marked with the past tense, the second with number and the third one with person.

Table 1 gives the summary of markers in the past tense conjugation.

Person	Past tense marker	number marker	person marker	verb Root	Suffix	person marker
[-plural]						
[+I]	d-	-a-	ra	s-	a	-
[+II]	d-	-a-		s-	a	-m
[+III]	d-	-a-		s-	a	∅
[+plural]						
[+I]	d-	-i-		s-	a	-ku
[+I]	d-	-i-		s-	a	-l
[+II]	d-	-i-		s-	a	-č
[+III]	d-	-a+RED.		s-	a	∅

TABLE I. SUMMARY OF THE TENSE CONJUGATION.

The negative conjugation based on the verb root /s-/ are as follows:-

[-plural]	
Person	[+I] - /àrāsànáǵòwá/ 'I did not eat'
	[+II] - /àsànáǵòwòm/ 'Your did nt eat'
	[+III] - /àsànáǵò/ 'He/she did not eat'

[+plural]	
	[+I] - /ìsànáǵòkù/ 'We did not eat'
	[+I] - /ìsànáǵòl/ 'We did not eat'
	[+II] - /ìsànáǵòčy/ 'You did not eat'
	[+III] - /àsàsànáǵò/ 'They did not eat'

In the conjugation of the negative form of the past tense, the past tense marker morpheme /d-/ is deleted, and the perfect marker morpheme /-na/ is attached to the verb root and is followed by the negative marker morpheme /-ǵò/.

Table II gives the summary of markers in the past tense negative conjugation.

Person	Past Marker	Number Marker	Person Marker	Vert Root	Suffix	Peyeit Marker	Negative Marker	Person Marker
[-plural]								
[+I]	-	a	ra-	s	-a	na	-ɔgo	-
[+II]	-	a	-	s	-a	na	-ɔgo	-m
[+III]	-	a	-	s	-a	na	-ɔgo	-ɸ
[+Plural]								
[+I]	-	i	-	s	-a	na	-ɔgo	-ku
[+I]	-	i	-	s	-a	na	-ɔgo	-l
[+II]	-	i	-	s	-a	na	-ɔgo	-č
[+III]	-	a+RED	s	-a	a	-	-ɔgo	ɸ

TABLE II. SUMMARY OF THE NEGATIVE CONJUGATION IN THE PAST TENSE.

3.3.2 Future tense

Future tense expresses an action which will take place at some future point in time (Hartmann and stork, 1972:92).

Gumuz verbs have two forms of the future tense which are in free variation. The first form is marked by the prefix /ma-/ and the second one is marked by the discontinuous affixes /d-de/.

The conjugations of these forms are presented as follows:

	-plural		[+ plural]	
person	[+I]-/màsádaʔ/	I will eat	[+I]-/màsəgwàku/	'we will eat'
	[+II]-/màsám/	you will eat	[+I] /màsələl/	'we will eat'
	[+III]-/màsá/	he/she will eat	[+II] /màsàj'áč/	'you will eat'
			[+III] /màsàsà/	'they will eat'

Table III- gives the summary of markers in the above conjugation.

Person	future marker	verb root	Suffix	number marker	person marker
[-plural]					
[+I]	ma-	s	-a		-da?
[+II]	ma-	s	-a		-m
[+III]	ma-	s	-a		∅
[+plural]					
[+I]	ma-	s	a-	-g ^w a-	-ku
[+I]	ma-	s	-a	-l-	-l
[+II]	ma-	s	-a	ʒʷ	-ɕ
[+III]	ma-	s	-a	RED	∅

TABLE III SUMMARY OF THE FUTURE TENSE CONJUGATION.

The future tense form of a verb consists of three affixes and the verb root. The first affix is marked with the future tense, the second with number and the third with person.

The negative conjugation based on the verb root /s/ are as follows:

[-Plural]		'Gloss'
Person	[+I] - /mása ^á ǎǎǎgòwá/	'I will not eat'
	[+II] - /másaǎǎgòm/	'You will not eat'
	[+III] - /másaǎgò/	'He/she will not eat'
[+Plural]		
	[+I] - mäsáǎǎgòkù	'We will not eat'
	[+I] - mäsáǎǎgòl	'We will not eat'
	[+II] - mäsáǎǎǎgòɕ	'You will not eat'
	[+III] - mäsáǎǎǎgò	'They will not eat'

The negative is expressed by adding the negative marker morpheme /-ɔgo/ between the positive form of the future and the person markers.

The conjugation of the second form of the future is presented as follows:

		[+ Future]	
		[-plural]	[+ plural]
person	[+I]-/dàràdèsá/	'I will eat'	[+I]-/dìdìsàkù/ 'we will eat (incl)
	[+II]-/dádèsám/	'you will eat'	[+I]-/dìdìsàl/- 'we will eat' (excl)
	[+III]-/dàdèsá/	'he/she will eat'	[+II]-/dìdìsáč / 'you will eat'
			[+III]-/dàdèsásá/ 'they will eat'

The verb root /s/ 'eat' is prefixed by the future tense marker /d- de/ and suffixed by the person marker morphemes.

Table IV. gives the summary of markers in the above conjugation.

Person	Marker	Future Marker	Number Marker	Person Marker	Future Root	Verb Suffix	Person Marker
[-plural]							
[+I]	d-	-a-	ra-	de	-s	-a	-
[+II]	d-	-a-		de	-s	-a	-m
[+III]	d	-a-		de	-s	-a	∅
[+plural]							
[+I]	d-	-i-		di-	-s	-a	ku
[+I]	d-	-i-		di-	-s	-a	l
[+II]	d	-i-		di-	-s	-a	č
[+III]	d	a+RED.		de	-s	-a	∅

TABLE IV. SUMMARY OF THE POSITIVE CONJUGATION.

The second form of the future tense consists of five affixes and the verb root. The first and fourth affixes are marked with future tense, the second with numbers the third and the fifth with person.

The Negative Conjugation is presented as follows:

	[-Plural]		
Person	[+I] - /ardəsə̀gòwá/		'I will not eat'
	[+II] - /àdèsə̀gòwàm/		'You will not eat'
	[+III] - /àdèsə̀gò/		'He/she will not eat'
	[+plural]		
	[+I] - /idisàgòwoku/		'We will not eat'
	[+I] - /idisàgòwol/		'We will eat'
	[+II] - /idisàgòwàč/		'You will eat'
	[+III] - /adesàsə̀gò/		'They will eat'

Table V. gives summary of the conjugation of the negative form.

Person	Future Marker	Number Marker	Person Marker	Future Marker	Verb Root	Suffix	Negative Marker	Person Marker
[-plural]								
[+I]	-	a-	ra	de-	-s	a	-ŋgo	-
[+II]	-	a-		de-	-s	a	-ŋgo	-m
[+III]	-	a-		de-	-s	a	-ŋgo	∅
[+plural]								
[+I]	-	i-		di-	-s	a	-ŋgo	-ku
[+I]	-	i-		di-	-s	a	-ŋgo	-l
[+II]	-	i-		di-	-s	a	-ŋgo	-č
[+III]	-	a+RED.		se-	-s	a	-ŋgo	∅

TABLE V. SUMMARY OF THE NEGATIVE CONJUGATION.

The negative form is expressed by attaching the negative marker morpheme /ɔgo/ to the verb root. The first future tense marker morpheme /d-/ of the positive is deleted.

3.4. Aspect

Aspect in Gumuz has two forms: the imperfective and the perfective. The imperfective indicates that an action is not completed, while the perfective indicates an action which was in progress and is completed before the present time.

The imperfective aspect consists of the present progressive marker morpheme /b-gw/, plus the perfect marker morpheme /-na/.

The conjugation of both the imperfective and perfective aspects are shown as follows;

3.4.1 Imperfective Aspect

	[plural]	'Gloss'
person	[+I]/bàrasàgwa/	'I am eating'
	[+II]/básàgwòm/	'you are eating'
	[+III]/básàgwa/	'he/she is eating'
	[+plural]	
	[+I]/bisàgwakú/	'we are eating'
	[+I]-/bisàgwal/	'we are eating'
	[+II]-/bisàgwač/	'you are eating'
	[+III]-/bàsàsàgwa/	'they are eating'

The verb root is prefixed by the present marker morpheme /b-/ and suffixed by the progressive marker morpheme /-gwa/.

Table VI gives the summary of markers of the above conjugation.

Person	present	number marker	person marker	verb root	suffix	progressive marker	person marker
[+I,-plur]	b-	a	ra-	-s	a	gwa	-
[+II,-plur]	b-	a		-s	a	gwa	m
[+III,-plur]	b-	a		-s	a	gwa	∅
[+I,+plur]	b-	i		-s	a	gwa	ku
[+I,+plur]	b-	i		-s	a	gwa	l
[+II,+plur]	b-	i		-s	a	gwa	ɛ
[+III,+plur]	b	-a+RED.		-s	a	gwa	∅

TABLE VI SUMMARY OF THE IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT CONJUGATION.

The imperfective aspect form of a Gumuz verb consists of five affixes and the verb root. The first and the fourth affixes are marked with the +present and progressive marker morphemes, the second with number, the third and the fifth with person.

The perfective form is shown in the following conjugation:

3.4.2. Perfective Aspect

	[-plural]	'Gloss'
person	[+I]-/bàràságwáná/	'I was eating'
	[+II]-/bàságwánám/	'you were eating'
	[+III]-/báságwáná/	'he/she was eating'
	[+plural]	
	[+I]-/bìságwánákù/	'we were eating' (inclusive)
	[+I]-/bìságwánàl/	'we were eating' (exclusive)
	[+II]-/bìságwánàć/	'you were eating'
	[+III]-/bàsáságwánà/	'they were eating'

The verb root is prefixed by the present marker morphemes /b-/and suffixed by the progressive marker /-gwa/, plus the perfect marker morpheme /na/.

Table VII- gives the summary of markers of the above conjugation.

person	Present	number marker	person marker	verb root	suffix	progressive marker	perfect marker	person marker
[-plural]								
[+I]	b-	a	ra	-s	a	-gwa	-na	
[+II]	b-	a		-s	a	-gwa	-na	m
[+III]	b-	a		-s	a	-gwa	-na	∅
[+plural]								
[+I]	b-	i		-s	a	-gwa	-na	-ku
[+I]	b-	i		-s	a	-gwa	-na	-l
[+II]	b-	i		-s	a	-gwa	-na	č
[+III]	b-	-a+RED.		-s	a	gwa	-na	∅

TABLE VII SUMMARY OF THE PERFECTIVE CONJUGATION.

The perfective form of a Gumuz verb consists of six affixes and the verb root. The first and fourth affixes are marked with the present tense and the progressive, the second with number, the third and sixth with person, and the fifth with the perfective.

In the last few pages, it has been pointed out that time in Gumuz can also be expressed syntactically, by the use of the adverbs of time. So some examples are presented as follows:

- past tense
1. d-á-rá-s nàmagàzìj̃
+past -pl. +I eat yesterday
'I ate yesterday'
 2. d-á-rá-s nìjìb̃
+ past-pl +I -eat last time
'I ate last time'

- | | | |
|--------|----|---|
| Future | 3. | d-á-rá-f nìgìzán
+ past-pl +I drink last year
'I drank last year' |
| | 4. | má-sá-dá' kí'çímá'gù
+future-eat-+I,-pl. tomorrow
'I will eat tomorrow' |
| | 5. | d-à-rà-dé-s kíçímá'gù
+fut-pl +I +fut-eat to-morrow
'I will eat tomorrow' |
| | 6. | má-sá-dá' kàm'pókú
+fut-eat-+I,-pl. next year |
| | 7. | d-à-rà-dé-s kàm'pókú
+fut-pl+I +fut-eat next year
'I will eat next year' |

3.5. Mood

Mood is a distinction in verb forms which expresses a speaker's attitude to what he is saying (Hartmann :1972 144).

The category mood has four forms in the Gumuz language. These are imperative, jussive, indicative and interrogative.

3.5.1. Imperative

The imperative form of a verb expresses a command given to the second person singular and plural forms. The plural form is marked for number and person, while the singular form is not marked by any affix or tone.

The singular and plural imperative forms are shown in the following conjugations.

		[+Imperative]	
	[-plural]		[+plural]
person	[+II]-/sá/	'eat'	[+II]-/sájá/ 'eat'
	[+II]-/č á/-	'give'	[+II]-/čájá/ 'give'
	[+II]/zìj' /-	'sleep'	[+II]-/zìj'já/ 'sleep'

The form of imperative of a Gumuz verb consists of the verb root and the verbal affix marked with number, either singular or plural.

Negative

[-plural]

Person [+II] - /masá'gò/	'You won't eat'
[+II] - /máçá'gò/	'You won't give'
[+II] - /mázi'já'gò/	'You won't sleep'

[+plural]

[+II] - /masá'já'gò/	'You won't eat'
[+II] - /máçá'já'gò/	'You won't give'
[+II] - /mázi'jija'gò/	'You won't sleep'

In Gumuz, the imperative negative is expressed in the future tense form. The future tense marker morpheme /ma-/ is attached to the imperative form of the verb, and then the negative marker morpheme /-gò/ is suffixed to it.

3.5.2 Jussive

Jussive is used to express command or request for the first and third person singular and plural. The feature [-imperative] is assigned to the jussive, in order to distinguish it from the imperative.

The conjugation of the Jussive forms is presented as follows:

[-imperative]

	[-plural]	
person	[+I]-/sádá'/-	'let me eat'
	-/tsádá' /-	'let me go'
	-/parádá' /-	'let me fly'
	[+plural]	
	[+I]- /ságwá'/-	'let us eat' (inclusive)
	[+I]-/salál'/-	'let us eat' (exclusive)
	[+I] - /tságwá'/-	'let us go' (inclusive)
	[+I] - /tsalál'/-	'let us go' (exclusive)
	[+I] - /parágwá'/-	'let us fly' (inclusive)
	[+I] - /paralál'/-	'let us fly' (exclusive)

The first person singular and plural jussive forms consist of the verb stem plus the person marker morphemes. But the case of the third person singular and plural jussive form is different, which is attached to the verb stem and is prefixed by the jussive marker morpheme. And plurality is indicated by the reduplication of the first syllable of the verb root. In both forms of jussives, tense is unmarked.

The 1st person jussive form of a Gumuz verb consists of the verb root plus an affix which is marked with both person and number.

In Gumuz, the 1st person jussive form is not negativized.

The jussive forms of the 3rd person singular and plural are shown in the following examples:

	[-plural]		[+plural]
person	[+III]-/nà-s/	'let him eat'	[+III]-/nasás/- 'let them eat'
	/nà-ts/	'let him go'	-/nàtsáts/- 'let them go'
	/nà-pàr/	'let him fly'	-/nàpàpàr/ 'let them fly'

When the third person jussive marker morpheme /na-/ is attached to the verb root, the final vowels of the verb root are deleted.

The 3rd person negative jussive form is shown as follows:-

Negative

[-plural]

Person	[+III] - /másaǵò/	He/she will not eat'
	[+III] - /mátsáǵò/	'He/she will not go'
	[+III] - /máparáǵò/	'He/she will not fly'

[+plural]

	[+III] - /másásáǵò/	'They will not eat'
	[+III] - /mátsátsáǵò/	'They will not go'
	[+III] - /máparáparáǵò/	'They will not fly'

Negative in the 3rd person jussive form is expressed in the future tense. It is indicated by attaching the negative marker morpheme /ɔgo/to the infinitive form of the verb.

3.5.3. Indicative

The verbs in the past, future, present perfect and imperfect aspect forms are all in the indicative mood.

3.5.4. Interrogative

Gumuz is an SVO language, but when a statement is changed to a question form the order changes to VSO.

In Gumuz interrogation is expressed in the past and in the future tense form. The informant has also given the present form, but it seemed doubtful. Therefore it was not included.

The forms of the interrogative mood are shown in the following examples.

Ques 1. áwè áberrá
 came aberra
 did aberra come?

Ans. à: dāwé
 yes came he
 yes he came.

Ques. 2 móyáy áberrá
 will come aberra
 will aberra come?

Ans. à: dādèwé
 yes will come he
 yes, he will come

Ques 3. às Tomás ɔ̀ gá
ate thomas food
did Thomas eat food?

Ans. à: dàs
yes ate he
yes he ate

Quest. 4 mááy / Tomás ɔ̀ gá
will eat Thomas food
will Thomas eat food?

Ans. à: dàdès
yes will eat
yes he will eat

In order to express interrogation, the SVO word order is changed to VSO. In case of interrogation in the past tense form, the past tense marker morpheme /d-/is deleted, and in the future tense form of interrogation the suffix /y/ is attached to the future tense form of the verb.

4. CONCLUSION

Gumuz is a highly inflected and a tone language. Although these facts made the language very difficult to deal with, it has been tried to analyze and describe the morphology of the verbs as presented in the different sections of the paper.

The first part dealt with the description of the people, the language, the literature, the purpose of the study and the methods used.

Although the main purpose of the present research is to analyze and describe the morphology of Gumuz verbs the second part dealt with the presentation of the phonology of Gumuz, in order to facilitate the understanding of the pronunciation of the inflectional affixes. Thus the consonant and vowel phonemes of the Gumuz language were shown in charts. The syllable patterns, the structures of clusters, the suprasegmental phoneme tone and the morphological processes are presented. Tone is lexically as well as morphologically significant.

The third part treats the inflectional affixes, that mark the categories person, number, tense, aspect and mood. The affixes are all bound morphemes. Some are prefixes and some are suffixes. The markers that have been identified are presented as follows:

1. The person marker morphemes are written in the order first, second, third person singular and their plural forms, these are /ra-/, /-m/, /∅/, /-ku/, /-l/, /-č/ and /∅/ respectively.
2. Singular and plural markers are /-a-/, /-i-/, /-gwa/, /-ʃa/ and reduplication.
3. Past and Future tense morphemes are /d-/, /m-/ and /d-de/.
4. The perfect and imperfect aspect markers are /b-gwa/ and /b-gwa-na/.
5. The first person singular and plural jussive forms are expressed by attaching person and number marker morphemes to the verb root. And

the second person singular is expressed by the basic form of the verb, while in the plural the number marker morpheme is attached to the verb root. The third person singular and plural jussive forms are indicated by the prefix /na-/.

6. Negation is indicated by the morpheme /-ɔgo/, which is attached to the **verb root**.

It has been discovered that Gumuz verbs bear more than one inflectional affix which occur in the order, tense, number, person and the verb root. The morphemes that mark the different categories were summarized in tables.

These are the findings in which the researcher has been able to come across. It is hoped that this study can be a basis for future research.

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that the thesis is my original work and all sources of material used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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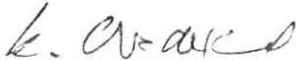
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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as a University advisor.

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