

The Language of Headlines in Amharic Newspapers

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*In Memory of my mother Beletu, my sister Abeba &
my brother Wondim*

ABSTRACT

This study constitutes a linguistic account of newspaper language, an aspect of media language. There are only few studies that investigated the language of the media at depth though language is at the heart of media communication (Aitchison & Diana 2003: 1). Likewise, a linguistic study of newspapers has not got any attention in Ethiopia. This study was, thus, set out to explore prominent linguistic properties that characterize the language of Amharic newspapers by taking headlines, as a case in focus.

The analysis was made on 1852 news headlines collected from four Amharic newspapers, namely *addis admas*, *addis nəgər*, *addis zəmən* and *riportər*, which were selected based on their high circulation rate and coverage of wider topics. The data were collected from these newspapers on randomly chosen issues for four months between March 2008 and October 2008 G.C. A simple frequency analysis was made to discern some potential patterns in the frequency of occurrences of the headlines. Thereafter, the observed linguistic data were described and explained using a combination of stylistic approach, Accessibility Theory, audience design and an evaluative language framework.

Headlines in the Amharic newspapers demonstrate certain grammatical features. Names with different formats are predominantly employed to refer to news actors in news headlines. This usage violates the Accessibility Theory which stipulates the use of the most explicit referring expressions text-initially. The use of lower and high accessibility markers instead of the lowest accessibility markers in headlines may be motivated by the need to get the attention of readers and to prompt them to read the rest of the news story.

Constituents, which are obligatory for the production of a well-formed and acceptable sentence, are omitted in news headlines. Most of the ellipses cannot be easily recovered either from the situational or structural contexts. The use of such unorthodox grammatical structures may be associated with the respective newspapers' desire to enhance the relevance of the news stories for their readers, and hence increasing their readership and attract advertisers, which are their sources of income. Most of the conventional and complex structures found in the headlines of the Amharic broadsheet newspapers, however, tend to meet the ideational function.

Another feature of the headlines is that the perfective aspect is predominantly used to express actions, events or processes which are completed, implying non-recency in the news stories. Headline writers resort to other tenses and aspectual categories in response to some pragmatic factors, such as to entertain an additional voice in the text (heteroglossic situation) and to make the action relevant to the readers (interpersonal function).

Basic-level vocabulary occurs with high frequency across the four Amharic newspapers' headlines. Occurring in the headlines also include overtly emotive vocabulary items, words with strong phonic effects that form alliteration and rhyme, shortened forms of phrases in the forms of abbreviations, acronyms and blends, low-level items and borrowed words. Specifically, the borrowings in the headlines do not only occur owing to cultural differences between the donor languages and Amharic but also due to stylistic factors.

In all the declarative headlines, a punctuating point (:) marking the ending of a clause is virtually non-existent though interrogative headlines are marked by a question mark, and quotation marks are regularly used to indicate attributed material. Such usages are associated with the need to save space and to enhance pace in reading the headlines.

The headlines of the Amharic newspapers contain evaluative terms which indicate the opinions or attitudes of the respective journalists or the newspapers. It proved that news reports, which have been widely described as 'faceless' are subjective and impartial.

Based on the degree and extent of adopting some or all of these features at the levels of grammar lexicon and semantics, the four Amharic newspapers were categorized into two. Accordingly, *addis zəməṇ* and *riportər* demonstrate features of a broadsheet newspaper, while *addis nəgər* and *addis admas* exhibit the characteristics of a tabloid newspaper. There are, however, certain overlapping features in these newspapers. Evaluations along the lines of negativity and expectedness, which are supposed to feature more in tabloids, are dominantly found in *addis zəməṇ* and *reporter*, respectively. The use of more full clause headlines, which are normally the attribute of a broadsheet newspaper, are observed in *addis admas* that demonstrates more features of a tabloid. In using these linguistic patterns in their headlines, the Amharic newspapers are accommodating and responding to the language habits of their respective readership, which is what Bell (1984:159) called audience design.

The study would be a contribution to our general understanding of linguistic variation which is induced by situational factors, such as medium and function. It also benefits the existing practice of headline crafting and language pedagogy.

On the basis of the data analysis and the conclusions drawn, two issues pertinent to the Amharic newspapers in question require attention. Firstly, longer words and expressions as well as reportive passives and needless repetitions that commonly occur in the headlines of *addis zəməṇ* and *riportər* do not only affect clarity but also their sincerity. These newspapers should, therefore, give serious attention to this concern so as to enhance intelligibility in the headlines and to improve the credibility of the newspapers. Secondly, loanwords are overriding, particularly in *addis admas* and *addis nəgər*. As this hinders quick comprehension, efforts should primarily be made to exploit the linguistic resources available in Amharic not only to avoid core borrowings but also to make up new words at least for some of the cultural borrowings.

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List of Abbreviations, Acronyms and Symbols

1	first person
1S	first person singular
1P	first person plural
3	third person
3P	third person plural
3MS	third person masculine singular
3FS	third person feminine singular
AA	addis admas
ACC	Accusative
ADJ	Adjective
AN	addis nəgər
APPL	Applicative
AZ	addis zəmən
AUX	Auxiliary
CAUS	Causative
COMP	Complementizer
COND	Conditional
COP	Copula
CM	Clause marker
CNV	Converb
DEF	Definiteness
E.C	Ethiopian calendar
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
FOC	Focus
G.C	Gregorian calendar
GEN	Genitive
INF	Infinitive
INT	Intention
IPFV	Imperfective

LNK	Linker
NEG	Negative
NMLZ	Nominalizer
OBJ	Object
PASS	Passive
PL	Plural
POL	Polite
POSS	Possessive
PRES	Present
PROG	Progressive
Q	Question
Re	Reporter
REL	Relative
SUB	Subject
UDJ	Unity for Democracy and Justice
Ø	zero or omission
< >	grapheme
>	becomes
→	becomes or goes
*	ungrammatical structure
...	missing elements

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

Language is one of the major components in which the mass media interact with the society. Media can be regarded as highly influential on linguistic and ideological levels, and have therefore been approached both theoretically and empirically from many different perspectives (Fest 2016: 65). Playing a crucial role in the media, language in the media is generally characterized by specific environments, functions and structures (Perrin 2013a: 57). Specifically, journalistic language has its own characteristics that differentiate it from the ‘common core’, a range of linguistic features found in all varieties of a language. These ‘common core’ features of a language include its basic rules or word order, word formation and its high frequency vocabulary (Crystal & Davy 1969).

Until recently, research into the functions of language in the mass media has been conducted almost by all branches of linguistics, namely sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, cognitive linguistics, etc. Media linguistics, however, has emerged recently as a new branch of language studies to account for the language of media. Media linguistics is a sub-discipline of applied linguistics, and it deals with a distinctive field of language use (Perrin 2013a: 57). It studies how language is used in the media, and its focal point, similar to conversation analysis and sociolinguistics, lies in the use of language in actual communicative situations. The term media linguistics has been formed by analogy with a whole set of similar terms, used to denote new academic disciplines formed at the junction of several fields of research, such as sociolinguistics, ethnolinguistics, media psychology and media economics. Here, the term media include television, radio, newspapers, periodicals and websites that reach large audiences.

There is a great variation in the form and style of media texts, for each medium has its own ‘language’ or ‘grammar’ that works to convey meaning in a unique way. That is, “each medium—whether it is a newspaper, radio, television or the Internet—will have unique medium characteristics, due to the unique nature of each medium and to the manner in which its audience consumes the message of each medium” (Fang 1991: 2).

Newspapers are taken as one of the most popular and widespread examples of public written language (Fest 2016: 76). They serve three major functions in a society, namely informing, educating and entertaining the reader, and language is employed to achieve all these functions (Richardson 2007: 13). This is mainly because most of what is written in a newspaper is transmitted through the medium of language. Following this, newspaper language belongs to the written text and therefore works on a visual or graphological level, unlike to the oral text which operates at aural or phonological level. The language of newspapers entails several linguistic features which make it to be recognized as a particular variety or style (Crystal & Davy 1969: 17). These include a system of interrelated lexical, phrasal, grammatical and semantic means serving the purpose of informing, instructing and entertaining the audience in a specific way. A similar view is also found in Bell (1991: 71) who reflected that “It is not uncommon to find different linguistic choices and structures used in reporting news and events in newspapers.

More specifically, in any newspaper, headlines have the highest readership in any written text (Khodabandeh 2007a: 2; Mårdh 1980: 1). Moreover, a headline constitutes a distinctive type of text containing a range of functions that affects its shape, content and structure (Reah 1980: 12). The specific forms and structures of headlines may also result from typographic restrictions (Mårdh 1980: 15). Accordingly, news headlines, particularly, have their own special grammar and vocabulary (Swan 2016: 291), and these are shared internationally (Kniffka 1980: 32).

Amharic is a well-described Semitic language (Meyer 2011b: 1178), and there is a body of research on its variation induced by geographical origin (cf. Zelalem 2007; Appleyard 2003a; Hailu et al. 1976; Habtemariam 1973). There is, however, a lack of studies which accounts for variations that occur due to situational factors. The present study is an attempt to fill in this gap by specifying and describing the prominent linguistic properties that characterize the language of newspapers by taking headlines as a case in focus.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Language use in media in general and in newspapers in particular differs from the way in which it is used in other domains (Perrin 2013a: 57-58). More precisely, the language of newspapers is a distinct variety as it has linguistic features that distinguish it from other varieties. It is part of the larger variety of media language in one hand and it is part of the variety of written language

on the other hand (Jucker 1992: 25). For instance, Biber et al. (1999) identified the language of newspapers as one of the four major registers¹ in the English language, along with spoken conversation, academic writing and fiction. What is printed in a newspaper or written by a journalist, however, is not going to be linguistically homogenous. Different newspapers target different types of audiences and use distinct language. That is, the different language style of tabloid and broadsheet newspapers is due to the different readership of the two papers (Crystal & Davy 1969: 33; Fowler 1991: 4). The language of newspapers has attracted the attention of many scholars, especially applied linguists and sociolinguists who are usually interested in language and its variation. There are four crucial, practical and principled reasons for this interest (Bell 1995: 23; Bell 1991: 3).

- i. The media provide an easily accessible source of data for linguistic research and language teaching.
- ii. The media are important linguistic institutions. The media influence the way language is used in a society and reflect the users' attitudes.
- iii. The ways in which the media use language are interesting linguistically in their own right.
For instance, how different newspapers use words to quickly inform their readers?
- iv. The media are essential institutions in a society. They are crucial presenters of culture, politics, and social life, shaping as well as reflecting how these are formed and expressed.

The different linguistic choices and structures peculiar to newspapers can be found in different sections of a newspaper, such as news reports, features, advertisements, and editorials. Of these sections of a newspaper, a distinctive news reporting style is found in 'hard' news², which is the object of this study (Bell 1991: 4; Ljung 2000: 132). Overall, the language of newspaper can be characterized in terms of the syntactic structures of sentences, lexical choices and semantic interpretations. Such kinds of features, however, received little attention in mass communication research as the focus is more to the process of production and reception of mass media outputs. Moreover, much of the research on media language is limited in scope since the emphasis is on one or two aspects of it (Bednarek 2006: 12). In Ethiopia too, the available studies on media

¹ There exists terminological variation in referring to the notion related to situational use of language. While Biber et al. (1999) employ the term *register*, Crystal & Davy (1969) use the term *style*.

² 'Hard' news refers to a recent event or incident which has of regional, local, national or international interest.

focus on analyzing its content and readers'/viewers' satisfactions using journalism and/or communication frameworks. Though there are some studies on media language, their focus rests on the sociopolitical significance of the grammatical structures than on the nature of the grammatical structures as such. As Bell (1995: 31) indicated, "Language structure below the level of the sentence—syntax and phonology—has received considerably less attention than the discourse level of media language." For instance, Mesfin Awoke's (2006) article on *Presuppositions in news discourse in English newspapers in Ethiopia* is conceptualized under Critical Discourse Analysis. It particularly addresses the types of knowledge that journalists presuppose and their ideological implications, paying attention to the macro level aspects of the English language. A linguistically motivated analysis of the different aspects of Amharic newspapers is, to my knowledge, almost non-existent. Observing this gap in the study of Amharic, Meyer (2011: 1180) calls for the need to explore the variety of Amharic used by occupational groups, while Shimelis & Binyam (2009: 80), in their review of Ethiopian Linguistics scholarship at the dawn of the 21st century, underlined the importance of engaging in multidisciplinary and applied areas. The purpose of this study is, thus, to address this significant gap in the study of Amharic by investigating the linguistic properties of news headlines, which embody a specific domain of language use by journalists, in Amharic newspapers. As noted in Crystal & Davy 1969: 180), headlines constitute a separate study in themselves as they are radically different from the rest of newspaper reporting.

When newspaper language becomes the subject of a linguistic investigation, it is done either using just one newspaper, or by comparing two different newspapers, usually a broadsheet paper and a tabloid (Jucker 1992: 3). This study, hence, explored the linguistic features which are typical of news headlines in four Amharic newspapers. This is mainly because the news genre, together with advertising, is common to all the primary media of mass communication, and nearly all daily media have news column (Bell 1991: 4). The different linguistic aspects of these newspapers' headlines were identified, described and then explained using a combination of specific linguistic approaches and theories.

Specifically, the study is geared towards answering the following questions:

1. Which referring expressions are commonly employed in headlines to refer to news actors?
2. Are there lexical and grammatical features which are specific to headlines?

3. Is there an element of subjectivity in news headlines? How are evaluative meanings expressed linguistically?
4. To what extent the Amharic newspapers differ in terms of the linguistic features they adopt in their headlines?

1.3 Objectives of the study

The general objective of this study is to investigate the linguistic properties that characterize news headlines in Amharic newspapers. The specific objectives are to:

1. describe the linguistic resources headline writers employ to refer to individuals in headlines
2. describe the conventional lexical and grammatical features of news headlines
3. explore the linguistic means that headline writers use to express their own opinions, views or beliefs in news headlines
4. categorize the Amharic newspapers on the basis of the salient linguistic make-ups they display in their respective headlines.

1.4 Significance of the study

This study is a contribution to our understanding of linguistic variation which is induced by situational factors. More specifically, it shows how Amharic functions in headlines of newspapers, indicating its range of variations and the situational factors that constrain it. The findings which emerged from this study can primarily be of use to linguists working in many areas, namely lexicography, syntax and semantics. For instance, lexicographers will know the kinds of words common to this text type. It also informs syntacticians about the types of grammatical units which are omitted in headlines without affecting comprehension. Moreover, semanticists will get information regarding the expression of emotive meaning. Secondly, it benefits language pedagogy, i.e. a coherent understanding of a text, among other things, depends on an awareness of its style, i.e. knowledge of lexical, grammatical, semantic and/or pragmatic features that underlie it. Related to this is that stylistic analysis of this kind adds to the developments of new kind of literacy. Once readers are aware of the techniques in news headlines, they can apply them in future to other texts (Lambrou & Alan 2014: 518). Thirdly, the study has implications for journalistic practices since it exhibits the linguistic strategies that headline writers can apply to enhance the news values of the reported events. Research into

evaluation, for instance, helps in identifying and knowing how different types of values are linguistically expressed (Bednarek & Caple 2012:78). Lastly, this study can spur further research on the language of advertising, editorial or lead in Amharic or any other Ethiopian language(s).

1.5 Scope of the study

This study is concerned with identifying and describing prominent linguistic properties that mark news headlines in Amharic newspapers. The use of photographs and other visual features that occur in headlines were, thus, not considered. This study is limited to the headlines of only ‘hard’ news though there are various genres in a newspaper which include editorial, commentary, opinion, letter (to the editor), review, obituary, personal advertisement (classified), commercial advertisement, etc. This is mainly because ‘hard’ news exhibits a much stronger categorical status than the other kinds of newspaper genres (Bell 1991: 4; Ljung 2000: 132). The thesis also focused on the narrow (microstyle) categories which are limited to a sentence or below it, i.e. excluding broad stylistic variations (or aspects of macrostyle) which are the concerns of critical discourse analysts, ethnographers and so forth.

1.6 Limitations of the study

The study has faced some shortcomings. Firstly, linguistic stylistics does not have a sound and generally accepted methodological as well as theoretical framework (Jucker 1992). So as to deal with this limitation, I employed a conceptual framework, consisting of the combinations of audience design, the parameter-based approach for evaluation and the stylistic approach. In so doing, it was possible to compensate the weakness of one model or approach by the strength of another. Another limitation is that *addis neger*, which is one of the sampled Amharic newspapers for this study, was shutdown in December 2009 G.C so that it was difficult to access information pertinent to it. Thirdly, except for *addis admas* and *riportar*, the selected Amharic newspapers have no Internet versions (which can be downloaded and converted to a word document that can ease the analysis). Even *addis admas* and *riportar* have begun Internet versions very recently, so this forced the data processing to be done manually. This did not only consume much time and energy, but it did also slightly affect the accuracy of the results. Some caution was, however, taken to make such effects very minimal.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter discusses three main components: review of relevant literature, review of previous works and a conceptual framework. The review of relevant literature section presents a discussion of fundamental issues related generally to language variation and media stylistics, which serve as a foundation to this study. The second section deals with research works specifically pertinent to the language of newspaper and its news headline. This mainly focuses on those works that involve the linguistic properties of newspapers in general and news headlines in particular. The conceptual framework which appears last offers theories, models and approaches as well as their relationships which serve as a basis for describing, interpreting and explaining the different aspects of the headline language observed in the data.

2.1 Review of Relevant Literature

2.1.1 Perspectives on language: Formalists versus variationists

Language could be analyzed as a formal system of different elements, namely sounds, words, phrases and sentences. Chomsky (1995) noted that linguistics should be concerned with features which are common to all languages, that is, Universal Grammar (UG) and the UG has to detach itself from the diversity of human languages. Hence, the focus is on the abstract system that separates human language from other forms of communication and the existence of variation in language is considered to be irregular and unsystematic.

On the other hand, sociolinguists contend that language exists in context, dependent on the speaker who is using it and dependent on where it is used and why. It studies the various ways in which social structure and linguistic structure come in contact, which include personal, stylistic, social, cultural and sociological (Tagliamonte 2006: 3). Similarly, Spolsky (1998: 4) posited, “For the sociolinguist, the most important variety is that a language—any language—is full of systematic variation, variation that can only be accounted for by appealing, outside language, to socially relevant forces and facts.” The basic difference between variationist sociolinguists and formal linguists, thus, lies in the notion of inherent variability (Meyerhoff 2006: 37). While formal linguists study the structure of sentences independent of their context (independent of

who is speaking or writing and to whom, independent of what has preceded and what will follow and independent of the setting, topic and purposes of the discourse), sociolinguists investigate language as it is embedded into social and situational contexts (Biber & Finegan 1994: v). Following this, the formalists' views of language are generally criticized for detaching language from context of use. As to García & Wei (2014), such views position the discipline of linguistics against linguistic diversity, which shows how language functions.

Avoiding the normal hostility of such academic debate, Spolsky stressed the various complementary roles that the different approaches play in the study of language, and put forward the following (Spolsky 1998: 5-6):

The formal linguist pursues an autonomous universal system, significant elements of which are to be explained by the very design and structure of the human brain. The psycholinguist asks how such a system works and how it can be learned or lost. The sociolinguist asks how it is used, in a living and complex speech community. Just as the formal linguist and psycholinguist focus their attention on the language as a system with universal features, so the sociolinguist looks at the complex connections between the variations within a language and matching variations in the social groups that use it.

This quote indicates the presence of a kind of division of labor in Linguistics, for it is such a broad field of study. Linguistics is viewed as comprising of different subfields that deal with various aspects of language. The study of language structure focuses on the formal properties of language that include phonetics and phonology, morphology, syntax as well as semantics. Psycholinguistics deals with the psychology of language acquisition and use; applied linguistics helps in real world situations like language teaching using linguistic knowledge; sociolinguistics is concerned with language use and historical linguistics deals with language change over time, and so on.

2.1.2 Variationist sociolinguistics

Generally, language use in a society is the major concern of sociolinguistics. The study of language use is connected to the study of linguistic variation (Biber & Conrad 2009: 253). The language we use in everyday living is remarkably varied. There is considerable variation and that

speakers make constant use of the many different options available to them (Wardhaugh 2006: 4-5). Noone speaks the same way all the time, and people constantly exploit the subtlety of the languages they speak for a wide variety of purposes. That is, the same person sometimes uses one variant and other times the other variant depending on different factors (Meyerhoff 2006: 10). For a long time, linguists described variations of this kind as instances of free variation, that is, the choice of variables was uncontrolled and insignificant. By free they meant that there were no clear linguistic constraints which predict when you get one variant instead of another, so free essentially meant unconstrained. The recognition of variation, however, implies that human language is heterogeneous and according to Tagliamonte (2006: 6-7), this heterogeneity is orderly as well as patterned, as the following quote demonstrates:

Heterogeneity is essentially the observation that language varies. Speakers have more than one way to say more or less the same thing. Linguistic variation encompasses an entire continuum of choices ranging from the choice between English or French, for example, to the choice between different constructions, different morphological affixes, right down to the minute micro-linguistic level where there are subtle differences in the pronunciation of individual vowels and consonants. Furthermore, heterogeneity is not random but patterned. It reflects order and structure within the grammar. Variation analysis aims to characterize the nature of this complex system. The choices speakers make among alternative linguistic means to communicate the same information often conveys important extra-linguistic information.

For linguists, free variation and the idiolect served as garbage cans, for the choice of the variables was uncontrolled and without significance until sociolinguistics made such variation a central concern. With regard to this, Meyerhoff (2006: 10) indicated that "...assuming that a linguist's job is to account for as much of the diversity of human language as possible, then they can be seen as abducting a lot of their responsibility if they consign aspects of a language to a black box called free variation."

Since the 1960s, however, sociolinguists have collected considerable evidence showing that variability in a speaker can be induced by non-linguistic factors (things external to the linguistic system) as well as by linguistic factors (Meyerhoff 2006: 10). Specifically, sociolinguists have shown that a lot of what appears to be free variation can be accounted for if linguists take social factors into account as well as linguistic factors. Variation is always more or less constrained by

some factors relevant to the context in which a speaker is using his/her language. Thus, the central issue with which sociolinguistics is concerned is the existence and nature of regularly patterned variation in language and the role of social factors in accounting for this regularity patterns (Spolsky 1998: 22-23). It is also noted that the existence of patterned variation in language makes it possible to identify ourselves and others as belonging to certain groups.

In sum, variation analysis is the area of sociolinguistics which takes as a starting point the rules of grammar and then studies the point at which these rules come in contact with a society. Then, sociolinguistics is all about variation and searching for socially relevant explanations for regular patterns of variation in language (Tagliamonte 2006: 4).

2.1.2.1 Types of variation

In sociolinguistics, there are two major factors which give rise to linguistic variation: linguistic factors and extra-linguistic factors. Linguistic factors, according to Bell (1984: 145), can be phonological, morphological and syntactic which affect the choice of one variable over another as in *wes'side* where the glottal stop is employed to break a sequence of consonants, but in *westend* it is hindered as /t/ is followed by a vowel. Extra-linguistic factors appear in two forms: "social" and "stylistic" axes. While the former denotes interspeaker variation which arises due to geographical, social, historical factors, the latter axis refers to the intraspeaker or stylistic variation (Bell 1984: 145).

2.1.2.1.1 Social variation

People who speak what they think the same language has different words for the same thing or different pronunciations for the same word (Spolsky 1998: 27). The first exploitation of this difference is attested in The Bible. In the book of Judges (12: 4-6), there is the story of a struggle between the Gileadites and the Ephraimites. After the battle, the Gileadites made use of the different pronunciation of the Ephraimites (who uttered a small river *sibboleth* rather than *shibboleth*) to identify the enemy. For Bell (1984: 145), social variation represents differences between the speeches of different speakers. It shows that linguistic variation correlates with variation in a speaker's class, gender, socio-economic status and social network. Accordingly, as to Spolsky (1998: 7), "...any user of language is constantly responding to and signaling social information".

2.1.2.1.2 Stylistic variation

Unlike the social variation which denotes differences between the speeches of different speakers, stylistic variation represents differences within the speech of a single speaker (Bell 1984: 145). A style is a variety that is established on the basis of non-linguistic features that distinguish the speech produced by the same speaker on different occasions (Jucker 1992: 23). That is, the concept of style represents the range of variation within the speech of an individual speaker. For Spolsky (1998: 31), there are issues of variations within individual speakers; carefully recorded speeches of an individual have shown patterned variation in the utterance of a single phoneme, in the choice of words as well as in grammar. Hence, intraspeaker variation refers to differences in the way a single person speaks at different times or with different people. This is variation according to uses rather than to the users and the combination of such intraspeaker variations are called stylistic variation (Jucker 1992: 23).

Bell (1984: 158) showed the presence of style-shift which is similar to a bilingual switching between languages. That is, a monolingual speaker's act of style shifting depends on a linguistic variable being used differently among speakers in the community. In view of this, if an individual speaker controls different dialects or languages, they are "styles" for him/her. The stylistic variation has always been of vital importance in sociolinguistic studies because, as Jucker (1992: 26) posited, "It is only the interplay of the social variation with the stylistic variation that can reveal patterns of language change in progress."

In his style axiom, Bell (1984) noted that for a variable to be a subject of style shift in the speech of one speaker, there has to be variation between speakers in a community. That is, if a variable has no interspeaker variation, it will have no intraspeaker variation. Three types of situations whereby the style axiom (principle) is at work are provided in the quote below (Bell 1984: 157-8).

First, in language acquisition, children learn the linguistic range they hear from speakers in their environment. Children first acquire the vernacular through contact with family and peers. Second, the acquisition process is reversed in language death. As the range of interlocutors is reduced to intimates only, speakers lose the styles appropriate to interaction with strangers and become mono-stylistic. Style ranges, politeness strategies and grammatical systems diminish and decay as the language ceases to be used

with persons who would reciprocate such forms. Thus, in both language learning and loss, the degree of intraspeaker variation is a response to and a result of the range of interspeaker variation in the immediate community. The third situation illuminates monolingual style shift by analogy with bilingual behavior.

Some researchers consider style as if it were an independent, quantifiable variable just like age, geographic origin or class which causes the linguistic variation. This is a result of misrepresentation of style and hence Bell (1984:158) criticized this as “To say that an individual speaker’s language varies according to style is to say merely that a speaker’s language varies period. Language does not co-vary with style, rather style is itself one axis of sociolinguistic variation.” That is to say, the linguistic code should not be confused with extra-linguistic factors that affect the code. Just as the social axis is correlated with certain extra-linguistic factors like age, gender and economic-status, the “style” axis should be correlated with independent variables.

Intraspeaker variation results from the intrinsic variability that exists in the grammars of languages (Meyerhoff 2006: 17). The recognition of stylistic levels as being appropriate to specific social situations is against normativism, which considers all variation as incorrect and bad (Spolsky 1998: 33). That is, the concept of style applies to what de Saussure and Chomsky called *parole* and *performance*, respectively in which both terms denoting instances of actual language (Jucker 1992: 1). A stylistic investigation is, therefore, addressed primarily to the “problem of uncovering some of the regularity underlying such variation and the seeming unorderliness of the E-language or performance” (Jucker 1992: 2). Compared to the social variation, however, the stylistic axis or variation has not been the subject of many of studies since the focus is on social variation (Biber & Conrad 2009: 264; Bell 1984; Jucker 1992).

2.1.2.2 The notion of style

The notion of style entails multiple senses. It has a wide—not to say confusing—currency in many seemingly disparate linguistic frameworks, and it is one of those terms that has even wider currency outside the confines of linguistics (Jucker 1992: 1). It also exists as an everyday term with imprecise meanings. In their seminal work, *Investigating English Style*, Crystal & Davy (1969: 9-11), identified four commonly occurring senses of the term style.

- i. Style may refer to some or all of the language habits of one person as in Shakespeare's style(s) or the style of James Joyce. This sense usually refers to a selection of language habits, the occasional linguistic idiosyncracies which characterize an individual's uniqueness. Here, the focus would be on those features in a person's expression which are particularly unusual or original, for studying all a person's speech and writing habits is usually impractical.
- ii. Style may refer to some or all of the language habits shared by a group of people at one time, or over a period of time, as when we talk about the style of the Augustin poets, the style of Old English 'heroic' poetry, the style in which civil service forms are written, etc.
- iii. Style also refers to the effectiveness of a mode of expression. This is especially implied by such popular definitions of style as 'saying the right thing in the most effective way' or clear or refined style. Crystal & Davy (1969: 11) criticised this sense as lacking descriptivity and objectivity, for there is no emphasis on the formal characteristics of the language used.
- iv. Style refers solely to literary language. Style has long been associated primarily or exclusively with literature as a characteristic of 'good', 'effective' or 'beautiful' writing. In this view, Stylistics does not concern itself with uses of language outside literature. Besides, such conception of style entails a sense of evaluation.

Though the term has such manifold senses, the more technical senses of style are taken in linguistics. Accordingly, of the four senses of style, the first two are considered under the linguistic approach to style. The other two senses are not what stylistics takes style to be. Stylistics, as to Jeffries & Dan (2010: 1), is a sub-discipline of linguistics (applied linguistics) that is concerned with the systematic analysis of style in language and how this can vary according to such factors as genre, audience, purpose, context, historical period or author. This dissertation works on style associated with a particular genre, i.e. newspaper, the focus being on those linguistic features which are peculiar to it. A linguistic feature is defined as "any bit of speech or writing which a person can single out from the general flow of language and discuss-a particular word, part of a word, sequence of words, or way of uttering a word" (Crystal & Davy 1969: 11). A feature becomes significant for a stylistic analysis when it is confined to a limited number of social contexts in terms of its occurrence. Any formal feature which differs in its density from one text or discourse to another (which can be an implicit norm or explicit as in a corpus) may be considered as a style marker (Jucker 1992: 2).

2.1.2.3 Style and other varieties

In dealing with the many varieties of a language, one of the problems we face is a terminological one; for instance, dialect, style, register, and so on; all refer to varieties of language. Spolsky (1998: 34) maintained that dialects, styles and registers, as they are represented here are ways of labeling varieties of language. The starting point of our classification is the linguistic variation, which attempts to explain by associating it with a specific set of social features.

Two kinds of linguistic variations are usually identified. The first one is linguistic variations according to users. Following this, a dialect refers to language varieties which are associated with groups of users (as determined by geographic region, social class, gender, education, etc.). Another is linguistic variations according to use which is labeled register or style depending on the framework one is working with. Hence, register is a variety of language which is viewed with respect to its context of use (Biber & Finegan 1994: 4). Correspondingly, for Romaine (1994: 20) registers are concerned with variation in language induced by uses rather than users. A register involves considerations of the situation or context of use and it is usually marked by the use of special vocabulary. Apart from these, it entails the purpose, subject matter and context of the message and the relationship between participants. Accordingly, "Register is a recognizable language variety in which its syntax and vocabulary have emerged and been shaped in response to these sorts of external conditioning factors" (Romaine 1994: 64).

On the other hand, Spolsky (1998: 33) indentified three sets of variations: dialect, style and register. In discussing these terminologies, Spolsky worked in the reverse direction, however: first classifying the social situations, and then labeling the variety that is suitable for it, as it is given in the following quote:

Dialect concerns with variations that are located regionally or socially. Style refers to differences in degree of formality. A third set of variations is concerned with the special variety (or register) especially marked by a special set of vocabulary (technical terminology) associated with a profession or occupation or other defined social group and forming part of its jargon or in-group variety. People who work at a particular trade or occupation develop new terms for few concepts. Phrases like hacking and surfing the net have no obvious meaning to those who are [do] not keep up with the computer revolution. Terms like a sticky wicket and hit for a six are understood best by

people with some experience of cricket. A specialized jargon serves not just to label new and needed concepts but to establish bonds between members of the in-group and enforce boundaries for outsiders. If you cannot understand my jargon, you do not belong to my group.

As can be seen from above, the non-linguistic features that are used in delineating varieties are categorized and served as labels for the resultant varieties. There is no general consensus concerning the use of register and style in the literature. Style is presented above as it is essentially different from register, which is a special variety marked by a set of vocabulary confined to a certain profession or other defined social groups. A register has a very restricted meaning as it refers only to occupational varieties, such as law or sport. On the other hand, Biber & Conrad (2009: 18) claimed that “the style perspective is similar to the register perspective in that it considers the typical linguistic features associated with a collection of text samples from a variety. The two perspectives differ only in their interpretation, i.e. in reasons for the observed linguistic patterns.” Jucker (1992: 25), however, argued that there is no need to distinguish the two types of variety (style and register) since the former term can include all the features assumed under both of them. It is not the aim of this thesis to resolve these varied definitions of the terms. The term style is employed in this thesis, for it encompasses those issues which are also dealt under register.

2.1.2.4 Challenges in studying style

Despite its importance, it is only in the late 1970s that large-scale quantitative work which centers style has begun (Bell 1984: 183). Style is the major focus in the study of sociolinguistic variation, but it has not been given the required attention. Eckert & Rickford (2001: 1) noted that “in spite of the centrality of style, the concerted attention that has been paid to the relation of variation to social categorization and configurations has not been equaled by any continuous focus on style.” More specifically, Biber & Finegan (1994: 5-6) presented a combination of several factors for the neglect of variation according to use (register/style) in linguistics in general and in sociolinguistics in particular.

1. The widespread view among linguists, which states that spoken language is the basic or “true” form of language: This view has been modified by many sociolinguists to the idea that

conversation is the basic form of language, but still variation in written forms is highly marginalized as it is considered to be derivative from the “basic” spoken language.

2. The belief that analysis of written varieties is a literary concern rather than a linguistic one. The analysis of genre, register and style is seen as relating to written varieties and hence as based on literary and rhetorical interests instead of linguistic ones.

3. A concern, among some linguists, with the linguistic variable as the primary analytical construct, which has restricted the scope of much analysis to semantically neutral phonological variants.

4. The lack of a paradigmatic or even a dominant, methodological and theoretical framework for the analysis of styles or registers.

5. The claim that “style” variation derives from “social dialect” variation, held by some linguists because the range of variability associated with “style” is believed to be smaller than the one we find in social variation.

2.1.3 Media stylistics

Media provide a medium for communication between senders and receivers or recipients and are a form of channel to present content, that is, information (Tabbert 2016: 2). The media refer to the press (newspaper and magazine), radio, television and now it includes the World Wide Web. With regard to the purposes of the media, Leitner (1998: 129) pointed out informing, entertaining and educating, as the major functions of media. Given stylistics is concerned with the analysis of distinctive expressions in language, a linguistic analysis of media discourse is often described as media stylistics, which is a sub-field of stylistics (Lambrou & Alan 2014: 503). The major aim of media stylistics is investigating particular individual texts with the goal of identifying the pervasive features that characterize a given text type (Lambrou & Alan 2014: 506). Media language has received much more attention from the field of linguistics as it has been found to be highly influencing on its recipients and therefore also to reflect linguistic characteristics of target groups and audiences (Fest 2016: 72).

The analysis of media texts is based on the assumption that every single text has a style as it contains formal properties which can be compared with those found in other texts (Jucker 1992: 12). A stylistic analysis, then, will try to single out those features that help to distinguish the texts

under comparison. For instance, one particular feature may occur in only one text and absent in the other, or it may occur with a frequency that is appreciably different from one text to the other. Specifically, a style may be characterized by a pattern of recurrent selections from the inventory of optional features of a language. According to Winter (1969: 3), “Various types of selections can be found, such as a complete exclusion of an optional element, obligatory inclusion of a feature optional elsewhere and varying degrees of inclusion of a specific variant without complete elimination of competing features.”

In linguistics, it is generally agreed that style is a comparative concept in that it describes some relevant differences between a text or a discourse and some other texts or discourses; or, in some methodological frameworks, the comparison may be with some kind of explicit or implicit norm (Jucker 1992: 1).

2.1.4 The language of newspaper

A newspaper is a publication containing news stories, advertisements, commentaries, obituaries, etc. Newspapers are the oldest mass medium, that is, they developed long before radio and television and are found in many societies though the forms vary (Fest 2016: 80). A newspaper’s role is finding out a newsworthy event or action and quickly transmitting it to readers in an impartial and objective way (Cole & Harcup 2010: 3). In general, newspapers have three main purposes (intentions), which are best served by articles in different sections. As to Lüger (1983: 18), newspapers inform through ‘hard’ news, features, reports and interviews; they express opinions through leaders and commentaries, and they entertain using reviews and stories.

Any act of language use exhibits certain linguistic features that can be correlated with some extra-linguistic factors (Crystal & Davy 1969: 11). This conception of style can be extended to identify and talk about, for instance, a style of a particular newspaper like *The Guardian* (Tabbert 2016: 20). We may speak about the style of a newspaper or even about the style of the media to refer to the totality of (characteristic) textual structure of a language user, of a text or of a set of these, but these features are not homogeneous. “Occasionally, a story is of equal interest to both a tabloid and non-tabloid newspaper, but the language which is used by the tabloid in the telling of the story is explicitly different from the language used in the broadsheet.” (Begnall 1993). Likewise, Leitner (1998: 131) noted that the discourse in which content is couched has

been defined as a public idiom, and it is not and cannot be homogenous. What is more, each medium creates its own version. That is, the language employed will be the newspaper's own version of the language of the public to whom it is principally addressed, creating separate styles. A newspaper's style can, thus, be defined as having a combination of lexical, phrasal, grammatical and semantic means which serve the purpose of informing, entertaining and educating the reader. Style is created in this language use domain by employing special grammar, lexis and semantics.

2.1.5 Types of newspapers

We can distinguish between popular press and the quality press, also traditionally called the tabloids (*The Daily Mail*, *The Daily Express*, *The Daily Mirror*, *The Star*, *The Sun*) and the broadsheets (*The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Times*, *The Financial Times*) (Bednarek 2006: 13). It is truism that the popular press and the quality press differ in a number of areas, both linguistically and non-linguistically. Jucker (1992: 48-58) maintained that the two types of newspapers are not only different in content wise but they also differ in terms of presentation, i.e. language, style, which is the object of the present study.

2.1.5.1 The quality newspapers (Broadsheets)

Broadsheets are named after the larger format they were originally printed in. The quality newspapers are also known as "heavies" and they usually deal with home and overseas news, with detailed and extensive coverage of sports and cultural events. Besides, they also carry financial reports, travel news as well as book and film reviews (Bignell 2002: 89). For Bednarek (2006: 13), since the broadsheet newspapers address different readerships compared to the popular newspapers, they are distinct both in language and content. Similarly, Busá (2014: 34) viewed broadsheets as targeting the educated middle-class audience, and carrying less sensationalist and celebrity material. By contrast, broadsheets make a less strong visual impact on the audience by using smaller images, smaller headlines, more text and more formal language because they are seeking to appeal to a readership with higher education than the tabloid audience. The common features of the language of broadsheets include longer and complete sentences, less misspellings, and no contrastive stress (Bignell 2002: 90). Generally, 'authority', 'formality' and 'seriousness' are features of language use that separate broadsheets from the tabloids.

2.1.5.2 The popular press (Tabloids)

The popular press or the “populards” are also known as tabloids as they are smaller in size, i.e. they constitute half the size of a broadsheet. Compared to the broadsheets, the tabloids cover less political issues and focus more on human interest stories (Bednarek 2006: 13). They also differ in quantity, design, typography, the use of photographs and other visual techniques as well as the language. More specifically, as to Bignell (2002: 89), “Language use in tabloids is orally based and connotes familiarity, camaraderie and entertainingness.” Likewise, the language of a tabloid is much more colloquial than that of the quality papers; they are written in casual, informal language, with extensive use of slang (Busá 2014:35). Bagnall (1993:24) stated that the language of tabloids in general is a special language, which is called “popspeak”, while Cole & Harcup (2010:22) labeled it ‘tabloidese’. With regard to the specific linguistic aspects of tabloids, Bignell (2002:89) stressed the presence of a restricted set of vocabulary and sentence structure, deliberate misspellings, slang words, first names or nicknames, contractions, alliteration, idioms and contrastive stress through letter format to name but a few.

Most modern newspapers are in one of three sizes:

- i. Broadsheets: Being 600 mm by 380 mm (23 1/2 by 15 inches), broadsheets are generally associated with more intellectual newspapers although a trend towards “compact” newspapers is changing this as in *Daily Telegraph* and *Financial Times*.
- ii. Tabloids: They are half the size of broadsheets at 380 mm by 300 mm (15 by 11 3/4 inches) and often perceived as sensationalist in terms of content in contrast to broadsheets. For example, *The Sun*, *New York Post*, *The Globe*, etc.
- iii. Berliner (Midi): It is 470 mm (18 1/2 by 12 1/4 inches) in size and used by European newspapers, such as *La Monde* in France, *La Stampa* in Italy, *El País* in Spain and since 12 September 2005, *The Guardian*, in the United Kingdom.

Apart from tabloid and broadsheet formats, we find compacts, that is, a broadsheet newspaper published in a tabloid format. Some tabloid format papers use phrases such as “broadsheet quality in a tabloid format” in an attempt to distinguish themselves from their ‘tabloid’ reputation. A number of national newspapers previously broadsheet, such as *The Independent* and *The Times*, have recently turned tabloid, though calling themselves the more respectable

compacts (Keeble 2006: 268). Compact refers to a tabloid's version of former broadsheet newspaper, as in *The Independent* and *The Times*.

2.1.6 Constraints in newspaper

There are a range of factors affecting newspaper and the language it uses. These factors are related to the medium as well as the requirements it has to fulfill.

Firstly, understanding the news (language) requires understanding the complexity of the process of news making, the relationship between the news authors and the news readers and how news is delivered to its audience (Cotter 2010: 23). In news-making, nothing is left to chance. As Busá (2014: x) pointed out, "... every aspect of a news story—topic relevance, text size, ordering of events, number of details, level of formality, visual structure of the text—is carefully planned and the choice made depends on both the communicative goal being pursued and the socio-cultural values that are assumed to be shared with the audience".

The presence of a multiple sender is one of the characteristics of news reporting; at least three people involve in the communication of news: journalist, copy editor and newscaster (Bell 1982: 154; Busá 2014: 17). With regard to this, Bell (1991: 38-42) asserted, "A newspaper byline is no guarantee of authorship; news is regarded as the product of organizational structures and professional practices." It is not the case that readers view the journalist as an individual, as the key of a news story (Goffman 1981: 144). Instead, the readers perceive the newspaper as an institution which is the ultimate source of the information they are reading, but the journalists are only adhering to the rules and regulations of their employer, i.e. the newspaper. Similarly, the addressee in media communication is not known; it is rather imagined or expected (Bell 1991: 92; Crystal & Davy 1969: 174). Information with regard to the readers' knowledge, beliefs, norms, values, etc. is therefore assumed, not certainly known.

Secondly, as a type of written discourse, newspaper has to meet the general conditions of written text and hence it is usually restricted to a formal communication style. That is, colloquial, spoken language is inappropriate, and certain features of orality are accepted only within quotations (Cotter 2001: 424).

Moreover, it is affected by time and space constraints. Deadlines, for instance, require quick writing and editing and to deal with this, certain syntactic structures and lexicalization are

routinized to some extent as in using fixed patterns of sentences. Space constraint requires a condensed writing style which is reflected in avoiding repetitions as well as packing sentences and phrases with much information using relative clauses and nominalizations (Bednarek 2006: 15). Specifics of printing and layout also contribute in influencing the language of newspapers.

Furthermore, it is controlled by the possible topics of news discourse, such as national politics, international politics, military affairs, social life, violence, disasters, sports, arts, science, and human interest. The variation of topics within news from disaster to finance to sports, for instance, may well be an influence on news style, but the influence is minimal compared to the other factors (Bednarek 2006: 16; Bell 1982).

2.1.7 News as a genre of newspaper

A commonly occurring definition for news is the one attributed to Arthur McEwan, the newspaper editor, who viewed it as anything that makes a reader say “Gee whizz” (Boyd-Barrett 1994: 3). Additionally, Busá (2014: 13) considered news stories as texts which are produced to report about new information and are conveyed through different channels, such as print, electronic or Internet to a mass audience. At the beginning of the 20th century, English newspapers began to distinguish between news and comments, that is, between reporting events as they occur and commenting on and reinterpreting these events from a particular subjective point of view (van Dijk 1984: 124). As to Almutairi (2014: 97), this opinion/fact division gave rise to different journalistic genres, namely news story (or ‘hard’ news) and feature articles (soft news), editorials (or leading articles), Op-Ed, commentaries and columns. However, in most cases the boundaries between hard news and soft news are not clear cut (Tuchman 1978).

Nevertheless, it is possible to discern certain distinction between ‘hard’ news and ‘soft’ news. For Busá (2014: 37), for instance, ‘hard’ news includes stories concerning events that have just happened or about to happen. Though ‘hard’ news often deals with catastrophic or life-threatening events, such as crimes, wars and disasters, it can also simply deal with politics and economics as in the results of recent elections, significant public statements, new tax laws and so on. It is ‘hard’ news that fills most of newspapers’ first pages and hence it has the highest status in newspapers. Typically, a ‘hard-news’ story provides an account of the facts as well as the reasons and implications for the readership. In ‘soft’ news, Keeble (2006: 109) argued, though the news element is still strong and prominent at or near the opening, it is treated in a light way.

Normally, 'soft' news are stories on art, sports, life style and celebrities and focus on entertainment in contrast to 'hard' news which covers catastrophic or life-threatening events, politics, economics, crime and so on (Bell 1991: 14). While 'hard' news is linked to notions of accuracy, objectivity, neutrality, in conveying information, 'soft' news is associated with entertaining the reader. Moreover, 'soft' news gives a journalist greater freedom in terms of shape, style and expression, which can be lighter and more personal (Bell 1994; Reah 1998). The language of 'hard' news reporting is different from the languages of feature stories, advertising, editorials, and other genres of a newspaper (Richardson 2007: 8). In hard news reporting, for instance, "description, analysis, comment and subjective 'I' of the reporter are either excluded or included only briefly" (Keeble 2006: 109).

An overall 'frame of understanding' influences the choice of content, sources and the language used in news reporting, yet good reporting aims to be objective and emphasize on facts, not interpretations (Keeble 2006: 125). This means, journalists need to report information that is true and avoid political ideology and partisanship. They should also refrain from conveying personal feelings (or opinions) and prejudices. When writing their news stories, reporters should be invisible to their readers and refrain from expressing personal views and opinions, and one of the ways to do this is by using an impersonal style (Busá 2014: 73).

2.1.8 The structure of news stories

A news story can be structured in different ways, which is also an aspect of style. As to Busá (2014:62), several structures are available that help reporters shape the story into a logical, well-organized unit that can be understood by the reader. In most cases, however, the type of structure chosen to tell a given story is dependent on the story. Some of the strategies employed to structure news stories include inverted pyramid, narrative storytelling and the hourglass. The inverted pyramid is, however, the most commonly used style by journalists to organize and share information effectively. A brief discussion of this strategy and its advantages as well as disadvantages is presented below.

As stated in Cotter (2010: 26), "...once a reporter has done her reporting, the story is composed according to a hierarchy of elements, that is, the most important detail comes first; the others follow in descending order." This results in a shape of an inverted pyramid. The inverted

pyramid is the form that best expresses the elements of urgency in reporting (Busá 2014: 62). It is based on the idea that the elements of a story should be arranged in decreasing order of importance, i.e. the most important elements appear at the top and then the less important ones as in background information occur below.

A news story has to answer some or all of the 5 wh and H questions, such as who?, what?, when?, why?, where? and how? (Keeble 2006: 111). The inverted pyramid has two advantages. It provides readers with the crucial elements of a story quickly and clearly so that they can swiftly decide whether they should continue reading it or not. It also serves the needs of the newspaper editors, that is, they can edit news stories beginning from below and hence without loss of significant information if they are arranged in inverted pyramid.

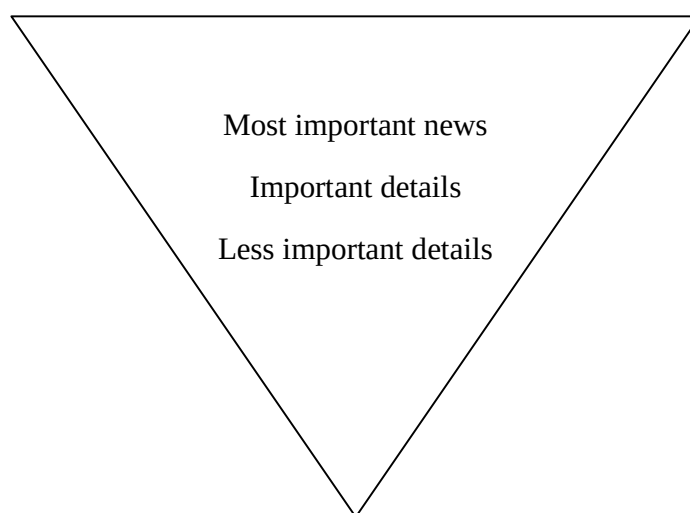


Fig. 1 A schematic representation of the inverted pyramid story structure (Busá 2014: 63)

One of the disadvantages associated with the ‘inverted pyramid’ is that it does not encourage readers to read beyond the first part of the article. This is mainly because as the story progresses, the information contained becomes less and less important.

News story texts are normally structured into four parts that serve different purposes; these are the headline, byline, lead and body copy (Busá 2014: 80). Since this study mainly focuses on the language of headline, other parts of news stories are not considered here. What follows is a discussion of the nature, language and functions of news headline as it occurs in newspapers.

2.1.9 News headline

Headlines are one of the most important components of a news story and hence receive attention from a wide range of disciplines including linguistics. One particular focus of study within the print media has been on newspaper discourse (Reah 1998), including newspaper headlines (Aitchson 2007; Biber 2003; Crystal & Davy 1969; O'Donnell & Todd 1980).

Earlier linguists, particularly Sapir (1921) and Jespersen (1924) made remarks regarding the special techniques used in headlines. Their discussion, however, was very brief since they viewed this aspect of language as secondary or derivative to spoken form of language, which they considered it to be “basic” or primary.

Other linguists, namely Fries (1952) and Firth (1935) gave attention to ‘*headlinese*’ in their respective works and viewed it as a form of language which is different from the norm in certain respects. For instance, this form of language is marked by the absence of function words, such as articles, auxiliary verbs, conjunctions, etc., which signal grammatical relations within a clause. A more extreme version of this observation is seen in Straumann (1935). In his seminal work on the language of newspaper headlines, Straumann (1935) regarded ‘*headlinese*’ as a distinct variety of language which is different from the common core. After identifying a set of linguistic features, such as the use of the present tense for past events, the omission of articles and auxiliary verbs, the use of the present tense for upcoming events, and the preference for active voice, Straumann (1935) claimed that such usages merit the application of the term dialect. Though the linguistic properties mentioned are the characteristics of headlines, they are not determined by the users’ geographical origin, social class or gender. Therefore, the use of the term dialect is not appropriate as it wrongly ascribe the source of the variation. The special language usage we observe in headlines emanates from the factors associated with the communicative purpose as well as the context of use, and such variation belongs to the stylistic axis of variation, not to the social axis.

In another study, Halliday (1967) claimed that headlines and other display languages (which occur in telegrams, book-titles, advertisements, recipes, catalogues, etc.) have their own ‘economy grammar’, which arises due to the purpose of the communication and the associated need for brevity. Likewise, Mårdh (1980), in his work titled, *Headlinese: on the Grammar of*

English Front Page Headlines, identified and described a set of typical linguistic features that separate headlines from the common core of English. As to Mårdh, "...the language used in headlines, whatever its linguistic form, is referred to as 'headlines' and the element *-ese* denotes a peculiar style as in *legalese*, *officialesse*, *telegraphese* and *journalese* " (Mårdh 1980: 13). Moreover, *headlines* is considered to be an independent sub-genre as it possesses a definable set of linguistic properties (Bednarek & Caple 2012: 100-104).

News headlines serve some crucial functions in a newspaper. The primary function of news headlines is to give a summary of the content of news stories (Bell 1991; Van Dijk 1988a: 53). Another function of news headlines is evoking interest in the readership to read the news story in question or to buy the newspaper (Mårdh 1980: 15; Bell 1991: 189; White 2011: 97; Ungerer 2000: 48). That is, it attracts the attention of readers and prompts them to read the news story which accompanies the headlines. With regard to this, Dor (2003: 696) stressed, "Newspaper headlines are relevance optimizers; they are designed to optimize the relevance of their stories for the readers." While the former indicates a referential function of headlines, the latter signals interpersonal function. In order to achieve these essential functions of news headlines, journalists employ a range of linguistic devices ranging from phonic (graphitic) to grammatical as well as semantic. Such devices produce a text which deviates from the more conventional use of the language in question to a greater or lesser degree (White 2011: 98).

The language of headlines is "special and has its own characteristics on the lexical, syntactic and rhetorical levels for its brevity, attractiveness and clarity" (Reah 1998: 16). The form of headlines employs certain conventional devices which are described in the works of Crystal & Davy 1969; Quirk et al. 1985; Biber et al. 1999; Huddleston & Pullum 2002. Some of these prominent features are presented below:

- i. In headlines, the simple present tense is employed to refer to events or actions which are already completed (Quirk et al. 1985: 183; O'Donnell & Todd 1980: 89-90; Biber et al. 1999; Huddleston & Pullum 2002; Swan 2016: 292; Chovanec 2014: 123)
- ii. Grammatical words, such as articles and the verb *be* are regularly omitted since they have low information value (Reah 1998: 19; Mårdh 1980: 12; Turner 1972: 12; Perfetti et al. 1987: 692)
- iii. Headlines commonly contain grammatical units lower than a sentence. Such fragmented headlines arise out of ellipsis, i.e. omitting either subjects or verbs or both for the sake of

brevity (Mårdh 1980: 12; Swan 2016: 292; Verdnok 2002: 2; Chin & Tsou 1997)

iv. Noun phrases in headlines are characterized by the presence of heavy modification.

Specifically, two or more nouns are used in sequence in which nouns earlier in the string modify those that follow (Mårdh 1980: 12; Swan 2016: 292).

v. The language of headlines has its own relatively exclusive set of vocabulary items which fulfills the requirements of the headline. Mostly, such words are short, attention-getting and effective (O'Donnell & Todd 1980: 90; Reah 1998: 16).

vi. A colon (:) is often used to separate the subject of a headline from what is said about it (Swan 2016: 292).

Research on headlines reveals the presence of regularity across languages with regard to their shapes and functions (Keeble 1994: 186). There tends to be a shared conventional grammar of headlines in the newspapers of almost all languages with certain differences in the way these linguistic structures are used (Kniffka 1980). It is, thus, hoped to find similar structures and properties in the headlines of the Amharic newspapers, but there could also be deviations that may arise out of cultural specificities.

2.2 Review of previous works

This part of the thesis presents a review of the research works that have so far been conducted regarding the language of newspapers in general and headlines in particular. Specifically, it focuses on the dominant methods employed in the studies and the findings obtained by the application of the respective methodologies.

Within the available literature, there is a wide variation with respect to the scope, the linguistic framework (or method) employed, and the explanatory objective as well as procedures followed in the study. The previous works reviewed for this thesis are categorized into three based on the dominant approach or method each study employed for analyzing the different aspects of newspaper language. These are stylistic, sociolinguistic and evaluative meaning studies. A brief discussion of each of these studies vis-à-vis its results is presented below. It does not present each of the individual studies, but the discussion focuses on the typical studies of the groups outlined above.

2.2.1 Stylistic studies

Most stylistic studies attempt to discover certain salient features of lexis or grammatical structure which act as markers of a journalistic language. The most classic studies are Tuchman (1978), Pape & Featherstone (2005), Crystal & Davy (1969) and Jucker (1992). Stylistic studies search for features in the lexico-grammar, punctuation and graphology, which serve to distinguish news reporting from other styles of language.

Crystal & Davy (1969) set out to determine whether there is any linguistic basis to the belief in ‘journalese’ (the ‘language’ of journalists) as a distinctive style of English. They confined themselves to the language of news reporting (in contrast to features, editorials, reviews, etc), and concluded that there is not one but a number of ‘journalese’ depending up on the medium as well as the purpose it serves. They describe and explain the features in newspapers by employing stylistic parameters. By analyzing two articles drawn from a tabloid (*Daily Express*) and a broadsheet newspaper (*The Times*), they noted various common lexico-grammatical features. Their major findings are presented below (Crystal & Davy 1969: 178-186).

1. News texts use commas less frequently compared to the common core. The reason for this is so as to avoid disturbing the pace of reading.
2. Quotation marks are recurrently used to indicate attributed material and to draw attention to individual items. According to the authors, indicating genuiness and immediacy are the reasons behind the frequent use of quotation marks.
3. A certain preference for alliteration as in *depressing downpour* and *humble human*. Such use gives orality feature to the language of newspapers.
4. Normal subject position may be reversed in the context of quotations. For instance, ...*said Dr Mason* instead of *Dr Mason said*... That is, verbs of speaking, such as say, declare or explain are often inverted with the subject.
5. Adverbs are frequently placed at the front of the sentence. This is motivated by the need of journalists to create variety within a given sentence, and this gives energy and momentum to the news text.
6. The news texts feature much more complex pre and post modification in the nominal group. Such usages are meant to pack much information and to add color to the news text.

Crystal & Davy (1969) relate the linguistic features they identified to their non-linguistic contexts. The variation that exists is clearly seen as a result of the journalists adapting their language to the targeted audience. The disparity in the two newspapers studied is explained by reference to the different audiences assumed by the concerned newspapers. In spite of the lack of explicit information on the respective audiences of *The Times* and the *Daily Express*, Crystal & Davy (1969) anticipated an audience design framework (Jucker 1992). The usage, which they found in the two newspapers' language, was compared with what they termed the "normal usage" (Crystal & Davy 1969: 91).

Another stylistic study is Carter's (1988) which concentrated on features of the vocabulary in British newspaper language by analysing a home news article taken from the *Daily Mail*. Carter argued, "Newspaper reports should ideally report the facts in as core a vocabulary as possible" (1988: 10). Core words tend to have antonyms; they are less collocationally restricted; they are more basic in that they are regularly used to define non-core words; they carry less emotive meaning, and are less discourse or register specific as well as they are often superordinates rather than hyponyms (Carter 1980: 9). Using this as a benchmark, Carter (1988) analysed a front page article of the *Daily Mail* which reads as:

NEIL KINNOCK, just elected Labour's youngest leader at 41, saw an old party tide threaten to swamp his new beginning last night (Daily Mail, 8 October 1983)

Accordingly, Carter (1988) found a fair number of non-core words which are either obviously formal or informal and evaluate aspects of actions, propositions or people negatively. Such non-core vocabulary items included among others *snub*, *ducking*, *row*, *buttonholing*, *posing*, and *trendy*. These non core vocabulary items in turn show the presence of subjectivity in the news report which is supposed to be objective and impartial.

Carter (1988) did not use another corpus to compare the language used in his data. Aspects of the vocabulary found in the news story were seen as a deviation from an implicit norm. It is true that news is mainly reported using core vocabulary items, but Carter's (1988) rejection of non-core vocabulary in this genre is unsubstantiated. This is chiefly because though they are less frequent, non-core vocabulary items are used in reporting about people, events or issues.

2.2.2 Sociolinguistic studies

Sociolinguistic analyses of news style are concerned to discover lexico-grammatical reflexes of social categories such as class. These are sociolinguistic studies which seek to correlate variation in some syntactic feature with social categories as in class. Noted works in this area include Bell (1991), Ryden (1975) and Jucker (1992). Here, a brief review of the works of Jucker (1992) and Bell (1991) that deal with variation in noun phrase structure is presented. Jucker (1992: 207-208) has explored the differences in the style of down-market, mid-market and up-market newspapers as a reflex of the class-based readership profiles of their target audiences. Jucker (1992) investigated variation in what he called ‘noun phrase-name appositions’, nominal groups which include both a proper name and some descriptive material, which are used to identify news actors in terms of their vocation or some other social category. The variation he explored is exemplified by the following:

1. Mr. Harry Goodman, the self-made multimillionaire (postposed descriptive appositive)
2. The self-made multimillionaire, Mr. Harry Goodman (preposed descriptive appositive)
3. Self-made multimillionaire, Mr. Harry Goodman (preposed descriptive appositive with zero article)

“The appositions stratify very clearly according to the three categories of newspapers.” (Jucker 1992: 208). That is, the down-markets strongly prefer preposed appositives with zero articles (number 3 above); the up-markets prefer postposed appositives (number 1 above); the mid-markets prefer the preposed form (number 2 above) but do so less consistently than the down-markets. Jucker (1992), however, offered little by way of analysis of the functionality of such preferences. This may be due to the objective of his research, that is, the study is limited only to demonstrating the linguistic reflexes of social categories. He proposed that the preposed form featured in the down-market lends the nominal group a title-like flavor and thus enhances the perceived importance of the people for whom it is used. Jucker’s (1992) study dealt with the linguistic choices which, at some level of intentionality within the journalistic compositional process, are directed at accommodating or positioning the text with respect to an intended audience.

2.2.3 Evaluation studies

Traditionally it is assumed that news reports are objective, neutral, impartial and balanced. Biber & Finegan (1989: 108) considered the cluster that includes press reportage ‘faceless’, that is, this cluster is marked by the relative absence of all affective and evidential stance features. Studies on evaluation in the press, however, began to challenge the traditional assumptions of the objectivity of news discourse.

In her work titled, *Evaluation on media discourse*, Bednarek (2006) treated the expression of opinion through language in news discourse. She posed two significant questions: how do news writers express their opinions about the events, people and situations they report on? Do tabloid news writers really express more opinion than broadsheet news writers and do these two types of newspapers differ in terms of how they express opinion? In order to answer these questions systematically, Bednarek (2006: 4) developed a method that is different from those which are so far available.

Bednarek (2006) formed a corpus which consisted of 100 news articles taken from the British national newspapers: five broadsheets (*The Financial Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Times*, *The Daily Telegraph*) and five tabloids (*The Sun*, *The Star*, *The Daily Mail*, *The Daily Mirror*, *The Daily Express*). She produced a 70,000 word corpus consisting of 100 broadsheet and tabloid news stories. As a result of the empirical study, Bednarek (2006) identified fourteen parameters in the two sub corpora (Broadsheet and tabloid), which include evaluations of comprehensibility, (not) possible/necessary, importance, emotivity, expectedness, reliability, evidentiality, style, and mental states.

The empirical analysis showed a distinctive evaluative style of the tabloids and the broadsheets despite a variation between individual newspapers. While the broadsheets are characterized by mitigation and negation, the tabloids are characterized by emotivity, unexpectedness and references to emotion. The broadsheets also contain fewer evaluations than the tabloids. The analysis also demonstrated that “...even the hard news item is not ‘faceless’; it instead exhibits a large number of evaluators.” (Bednarek 2006: 203).

2.2.4 Studies on Amharic newspapers

There are some fragmented studies on the distribution of loanwords in Amharic daily newspapers. In their articles, Abraham (1963) and Bender (1971) analyzed loanwords that recur in Amharic daily newspaper in terms of their source, their grammatical and semantic categories. After identifying the loanwords in the Amharic daily newspapers, they quantified them using quantitative method as illustrated in the following tables.

i. Amount of loanwords in newspapers

The tables below (table 1 and 2) provide a summary of the number of loanwords in percentage and the source languages, respectively.

Table 1 Summary: Percentages of loanwords

No	Items analyzed	Abraham (1963)	Bender (1971)
1	Sample data taken	28 issues	6 issues
2	Words identified	210,000	45, 000
3	Loanwords	631	151

Table 2 Distribution of loanwords by source language

Rank	Language	Abraham	Bender
1	English	51%	44%
2	French	25%	28%
3	Italian	4%	7%

ii. Grammatical categories

Bender (1971) claimed that 90% of the loanwords are nouns. Only two verbs have been identified; these are *kəssərə* ‘lose’ and *rəbbəfə* ‘disturb’ and both are taken from Arabic. These verbs fit easily into the Amharic verbal conjugation (coming from a related language with a similar verbal system). Hence, it is not surprising to see many Amharic speakers considering these verbs as native to Amharic. Three adjectives have also been identified; these are *zəməṇawī* ‘modern’ (Arabic), *intərnaʃinal* (English) and *naʃinal* (English). The first one, that is, *zəməṇawī* is formed by an Amharic derivational process from a borrowed Arabic noun, *zəməṇ* ‘year, period’.

It seems that Bender (1971) overlooked the fact that both the verb *rəbbəʃə* ‘disturb’ and the adjective *zəməṇawi* ‘modern’ are common to all Semitic languages (cf. Etymological Dictionary of Semitic languages). Hence, they are not borrowed words. The remaining items are titles, some of which may also be used as nouns.

iii. Semantic categories

Abraham (1963) pointed out that loanwords fall into several major semantic classes: law, economics, technology, etc. Most of these classes can be correlated with language sources. For instance, transportation and communication terms were taken from French in the days of the building of the Addis Ababa-Djibouti railroad (prior to 1914). Higher education terms from English began to enter Amharic since around 1960, in the early years of Haileselassie I University. In some cases, the choice of category seems somewhat arbitrary; for instance, “automobile” as a product of technology or as a transportation term, and the word “plan” as a governmental or technical term.

These two studies provide a good description of the loanwords in the daily Amharic newspapers. They have, however, certain shortcomings. Firstly, they did not discuss pattern borrowings which involve blending and loan translation (calque). The two studies did not also make a discussion on phonological as well as morphological adaptations that the loanwords underwent when they integrate into Amharic. Moreover, other linguistic features of the daily newspaper, namely graphology, grammar and semantics were ignored, and hence these studies may not constitute a media stylistic study in its strict sense.

In summary, there are several studies on various aspects of journalistic texts. Nevertheless, there is a shortage of literature dedicated to providing systematic, theoretically motivated and data-driven accounts of the generic structure and distinctiveness of the language of news headlines. The available literature varies widely with respect to the scope, the framework (or method) employed, and the explanatory objective and procedure followed in the study. The previous works reviewed here, therefore, have been categorized mainly into three areas: stylistic, (correlational) sociolinguistic and evaluative language studies. Many studies employ a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods though most confined to only qualitative.

2.3 Conceptual framework

A linguistic investigation of style has to answer three basic questions (Bell 2001). The first one is locating differences in style (i.e. the choices *this way* instead of *that way*). Secondly, it has to answer the *how* question, i.e. establishing regularities and patterns in the stylistic variation. Then, it has to answer the *why* question, i.e. a search for explanations. In searching for explanations, Spolsky (1998: 40) remarked, “The explanatory power of correlations appears good, but correlation and causation are not the same things. We obtain a more powerful account of what is involved in linguistic variations as in stylistic variation if we add social and psychological factors.” These include factors, such as attitude and accommodation, which can be considered as the underlying causes for the observed variations.

However, “... no over-arching model or unified theory has been established so far for analyzing stylistic variation” (Biber & Finegan 1994: 6). Different scholars designed various models and approaches to account for stylistic variation. In this thesis, the stylistic and parameter-based evaluation approaches were employed so as to establish the linguistic features of news headlines in the Amharic newspapers. Hence, the audience design model, together with the two approaches, formed the conceptual framework that accounted for the stylistic features in the selected Amharic newspapers’ news headlines. The following section provides a discussion of the basic tenets of each of these approaches and model as well as their relative power in describing and explaining stylistic properties in newspaper language.

2.3.1 Audience Design

Bell (1984) proposed audience design based on his observation of newscasters in New Zealand public broadcasting where two radio stations (one private and the other public) broadcasting from the same studio. The two radio stations used the same staff and the newscasters shifted their style depending on which radio station was on air. Bell has observed that how intervocalic /t/, has been realized either as the 'standard' [t] or as the 'non-standard' flap, by the same New Zealand newsreaders, according to whether they were broadcasting for national radio or community radio. Since topics were held constant and because the activity was the same, Bell assumed that the newscasters were adjusting their speech to the norms of the two different radio audiences. That is to say, the newscasters adapted their speech to their respective audiences. Based on this observation, Bell (1984) developed the model “audience design” with the aim to

account for variation in media language. Specifically, “Journalists, whether on television, radio or in the print media, adapt their language to their target audiences.” (Jucker 1992: 32).

Eckert & Rickford (2001: 4) maintained that Bell (1984) followed up early studies (e.g. Coupland 1980; Bell 1977) with focused research that put audience at the center of stylistic production. Meyerhoff (2006) also opined that audience design model was derived from accommodation theory, and elaborated this in the following quote:

The New Zealand sociolinguist, Allan Bell, refined Giles’s insight on [the theory of] accommodation and tailored it more directly to the predictive and explanatory interest of sociolinguists. Moreover, he saw its applicability beyond face-to-face interaction and argued that it would even account for phonological variation in radio broadcasts where announcers have no single or immediate addressees and he called his broader framework for analyzing variation, audience design, which is a variationist version of speech accommodation theory. (Meyerhoff 2006: 29).

Audience design proposed that intra-speaker variation arises because speakers are paying attention to who they are addressing or who might be listening to or overhearing them, and modifying their speech accordingly. The speaker, consciously or not, chooses a stylistic level appropriate for the audience he/she wishes to address (Spolsky 1998: 41). This model assumes that speakers/writers adjust their speech/writing primarily towards that of their audience in order to express solidarity or intimacy with them or conversely away from their audience’s speech in order to express distance.

Journalism is an ‘exercise in audience design’ (Bell 1984:145). This perspective implies that, the language of newspapers, for instance, has always presented what will sell to audience and language is employed so as to achieve this commercial end. Following this, “Newspapers have therefore always attempted to fit into the tastes of their readerships and to seek ways to echo these within their own idiom, thereby reconstructing the ‘original’ audience in the process.” (Conboy 2010:2).

There are cases in which speakers do not have direct feedback from their audience and in the absence of such cues, reinterpret the situation by choosing a particular style, that is, initiative speaker variation (Bell 1991: 161). Here, speakers may shift styles not in response to their

environment but in order to alter the existing situation themselves through initiative language use.

All media language is initiative style design. It creates the relationship between communicator and audience, rather than responding to an existing relationship. This holds supremely for radio, where announcers rely solely on their speech to project whatever relationship they have with the audience. Their style draws its effect from the norms of use such a style is addressed to in face-to-face interaction (Bell 1984: 192).

Initiative style-shifting seems to be pervasive and important as well. It is possible to see all style-shifting as initiative rather than responsive since speakers are projecting their own identity, not just responding to how others view them. Initiative style-shifts are explained as cases of referee design, i.e. the use of features associated with a referee group by a speaker who wants to identify with that group.

The audience is, at one level, simply the people who hear the speaker's utterances, yet the role is by no means passive. Speakers are subject to their audience, dependent on its good will, responsive to audience response. It is that responsiveness which informs a speaker's style design (Bell 1984: 161). Stylistic variations are considered as responsive when they represent in some way a reaction to the speech of the audience.

The audience design has some limitations and these are presented below.

- a) It focused on audience attributes rather than linguistic features, so it has difficulty in explaining why some variables appear to be more salient for style-shifting than others.
- b) The model is one-dimensional and tries to repackage apparently different reasons for style-shifting (topic, setting, etc.) as sub-cases of its major dimension (audience).
- c) Though it focuses on speakers' desire to achieve solidarity with audience members, it overlooks the fact that this can be done by a variety of linguistic means—including speech that is not convergent but rather divergent.

2.3.2 The stylistic approach

Linguistic stylistics deals with the distinctive varieties of language with reference to the style of non-literary texts. Stylistics is an approach to style and hence it tries to establish principles that account for the particular choices speakers (or writers) or social groups make in their use of language. It is fundamentally based on comparing frequencies of features in a given corpus. Every single text has formal properties that can be compared with those from other texts and thus a stylistic analysis singles out those features that help to distinguish the texts under comparison. One particular feature may occur in only one text and not in the other, or it may appear with a frequency that is appreciably different from one text to the other. Comparing frequencies of features in a given corpus can also take place with an explicit, or sometimes implicit norm corpus (Jucker 1992: 11-12).

Linguistic stylistics displays multiple levels of analysis related to the various language study domains, namely lexicon, morphology, syntax, semantics and discourse. In addition to this, stylistics, like sociolinguistics, tries to correlate the realizations of linguistic elements with their contexts of use (Jucker 1992). A stylistic analysis entails some interrelated steps and Crystal & Davy (1969: 10) provided the following comprehensive description of such stylistic analysis below.

The aim of stylistics is to analyse language habits with the main purpose of identifying, from the general mass of linguistic features common to English as used on every conceivable occasion, those features which are restricted to certain kinds of social context; to explain, where possible, why such features have been used, as opposed to other alternatives; and to classify their function in the social context.

The first step in any stylistic analysis must be an intuitive one. The stylistician notices a linguistic feature which s/he feels to be stylistically significant and will know what to do with his/her observations once they are made. This step is the stylistician's main competence: s/he is able to interrelate his/her observations within the framework of some theory and thus piece together any general pattern of linguistic variation which may exist. This is where the objectivity claimed for stylistics comes in, not in the initial step, which is a wholly subjective (though, one trusts) informed decision. Overall, "The stylistician, ideally, knows three things which linguistically untrained people do not." (Crystal & Davy 1969: 12);

- i. He/she is aware of the kind of structure language generally has and the features which deviate from it as well as which of these can be significant for a stylistic investigation.
- ii. He/she is aware of the kind of social variation which linguistic features can be correlated with.
- iii. He/she is familiar with the techniques of putting these features down on a paper in a way that can show their internal patterning to a maximal effect.

There are two basic principles which help us to identify the more important stylistic features in a text. The more important stylistic feature in a text thus will be: (a) that which occurs more frequently within the variety in question and (b) that which is shared less by other varieties (Crystal & Davy 1969: 21).

The general aims of stylistic analysis involves taking the object of study which is a particular piece of language or text and then discussing it in terms of a number of interrelated levels of description. At each level, we are studying one aspect of the way in which language is organized. We shall be distinguishing phonetic/graphetic, phonological/graphological, grammatical, lexical and semantic levels. Moreover, we need to quantify the use of language in a text, grading the stylistic feature in terms of the extent to which they characterize a variety as a whole. The frequency of a feature, as Enkvist (1973: 23) stressed, has to be seen in relation to the length of the text so that we should talk about in terms of density, that is to say the frequency of a feature within a well-defined stretch of text. The length of the text may be defined in number of pages of printed text, for instance, or in number of running words, or any other operational measurement for the length of a text (Jucker 1992: 12). Furthermore, stylistics may not be content to have found style markers that occur with distinct densities in different contexts, without going on to ask about the motivation of these markers and about how they are used strategically within a given context (Jucker 1992:20). Hence, we attempt to make descriptive and explanatory statements of a more general nature (Crystal & Davy 1969: 22).

2.3.3 The framework for evaluation

Evaluation is a generic term for the expression of a speaker or writer's attitude or opinion about the entities, actions or propositions that he/she is talking or writing about (Hunston & Thompson 2000: 5). The linguistic means that are used for evaluations are called evaluators, and the study of evaluative language is important for a number of reasons: "first, evaluation expresses the

speaker's or writer's opinion and thus reflects the value system of that person and their community. It also constructs and maintains relations between the speaker or writer and hearer or reader. Besides, evaluation organizes the discourse in question." (Hunston 2011: 3).

Within linguistics, speaker opinion is known by various terms: evaluation, appraisal and stance; various branches of linguistics deal with it in different ways. This thesis, however, employed the parameter-based approach to evaluation introduced by Bednarek (2006). There are two reasons for using this approach: firstly, the parameter-based approach is broader than the other approaches, which deal with only one or two aspects of evaluations. In contrast, Bednarek's (2006: 42) model includes not only evaluations of propositions, but also accommodates evaluations concerning all kinds of aspects: participants, processes, circumstances, events, actions, entities and states of affairs. Secondly, compared with the other approaches, such as stance and appraisal, this model shows more flexibility as it is open-ended and hence the parameters can be combined to express complex evaluations.

Bednarek (2006: 3-4; 2010: 19-26) identified the following 'sets of values' as evaluative parameters which she assumed that speakers/writers can evaluate aspects of the world as:

1. Good or bad (the parameter of EMOTIVITY)
2. Important or unimportant (the parameter of IMPORTANCE)
3. Expected or unexpected (the parameter of EXPECTEDNESS)
4. Comprehensible or incomprehensible (the parameter of COMPREHENSIBILITY)
5. (Not) possible (the parameter of POSSIBILITY)
6. (Not) necessary (the parameter of NECESSITY)
7. Reliable or unreliable (the parameter of RELIABILITY)
8. Genuine or fake (the parameter of GENUINNESS)

The evaluative parameters given above are referred to as "core in the sense that they are related to the evaluative qualities ascribed to the entities, situations or propositions that are evaluated. These parameters involve evaluative scales with two poles, but also potential intermediate stages between them" (Bednarek 2006: 42). Non core evaluative parameters, on the other hand, do not evaluate scales as such and do not indicate the same kind of qualitative evaluation of entities, situations, or propositions as core evaluative parameters do. Peripheral evaluative parameters

occur in evaluative stretches of text and can be related to evaluation in a variety of ways and encompass the following: evaluations of CAUSALITY, EVIDENTIALITY, MENTAL STATE, and STYLE (Bednarek 2006: 53-56).

In this study, a combination of the stylistic and the evaluative parameter approaches was employed to explore the linguistic features typical of the sampled Amharic newspapers' news headlines. Besides, these approaches try to relate the features of linguistic production to the wider, non-linguistic context in which they occur. The audience design was also used so as to account for the stylistic variation observed in the news headlines. As Jucker (1992: 20) pointed out, "a carefully eclectic approach to the language of newspapers can provide insights which a more dogmatic approach employing one single point of view could not do". Using a combination of these approaches can also help to offset the weakness of one model by the strength of another.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Researching into the language of news involves the sampling, collecting and analysis of a dataset according to a particular set of criteria (Bednarek & Caple 2012: 19). Accordingly, this section presents a general discussion of the methodology employed in this study for taking and processing data. It, specifically, describes the procedures followed for drawing appropriate sample from the data source and gathering relevant data for the study. It also explains how the linguistic data were analyzed as well as the findings were obtained.

3.1 Data sources, Target population and Sampling

Research on media language tends to be naturally applied; thus, it must always work on authentic texts (Bell 1995: 33). The data for this study come from genuine texts in newspapers which are produced for the purpose of communicating timely information.

Decision in three areas is required in an analysis of any aspect of media language (Bell 1991: 12), and these are summarized below:

- i. The outlets: the publications, radio stations, etc. (carrier of content)
- ii. The genres: news, features, advertising, editorial, etc. (type of media content)
- iii. The outputs: specific newscasts, programs, and the time periods to be covered (and the days to be sampled within that period)

On the basis of this, newspapers formed the outlets in this study. Newspapers in Ethiopia are generally produced in both local languages, such as Amharic, Afan Oromo and Tigrigna and foreign languages like English and Arabic. Nevertheless, only Amharic newspapers constituted the target population of this study, for many newspapers use it to reach a large audience. They target Amharic because it is the working language of the Federal Government of Ethiopia (FDRE 1994), and functions as the *lingua franca* nearly in all Ethiopian towns (Meyer & Richter 2003: 40; Girma 2009: ix). Audience type or size (e.g. daily newspapers with elite readerships or with high circulations), which is one of the typical criteria for choosing outlets for investigation (Bell 1991: 18), and the newspapers' area of focus were employed to select samples from the available Amharic newspapers. As a result, four Amharic newspapers, namely *addis admas*, *addis nəgər*,

addis zəmān and *riportər* were selected as they focus on socio-political as well as economic issues and simultaneously demonstrated higher circulation rates. All these Amharic newspapers had circulations higher than ten thousand in 2008 G.C (see Table 3).

Newspaper language has often been the subject of linguistic investigations, either using just one newspaper (e.g. Carter 1988) or comparing two different newspapers usually a broadsheet paper and a tabloid (e.g. Crystal & Davy 1969; Wallace 1977; Mårdh 1980). Following Jucker's (1992), the present study adopted a more comprehensive view as it covered four Amharic newspapers which include a daily (*addis zəmān*), weeklies (*addis admas* and *addis nəgər*) and a bi-weekly (*riportər*).

The genre in which the investigation focused on was 'hard' news, which refers to reports of accidents, conflicts, crimes, announcements, discoveries and other events which have occurred or come to light since the previous issue of a newspaper, as it is the place where a distinctive news style will be found if anywhere (Bell 1991: 4). Moreover, this is the most common newspaper genre that appears almost in every newspaper, and hence it ensures the greatest possible comparability within the texts taken from the newspapers (Jucker 1992: 3).

The outputs covered all news headlines in the four selected Amharic newspapers issued in 2008 G.C. This period was chosen due to the availability of information about the circulation rates and areas of coverage of the newspapers which served as a basis for drawing the samples. Besides, this period marks the emergence of the Ethiopian press afresh after the media shutdown following the infamous 2005 election. In representing a year of 'hard' news, samples were taken from every second week issue of the chosen newspapers for consecutive four months between March 2008 and October 2008. This sampling procedure helps in avoiding consecutive weekdays that can skew the media content (Bell 1991: 22). Though *addis zəmān* and *riportər* are daily and bi-weekly newspapers, respectively (while all the others are weeklies), only one issue per week was taken for analysis so as to avoid over representation in the sample frame. Besides, samples were taken for these two newspapers only from weekdays, for the outputs on Saturdays and Sundays differ in major ways from those published on weekdays (Ljung 2000: 132). The Sunday *riportər*, for instance, allots over 70 percent of its total 72 to 80 pages for advertising while its Wednesday's edition assigns about 45 percent of space for advertising in its 32 pages (Zewge

2010: 61). This is an indicative of the fact that different kinds of content are carried on different days of the week, reflecting weekly cycles of activity (Bell 1991:22).

Table 3 Types, ownerships & circulation rates of newspapers issued in 2008³

No	Name	Language	Period	Ownership	One-time Average Circulation
1	Addis Zemen	Amharic	Daily	Government	10.700
2	The Ethiopian Herald	English	Daily	Government	8000
3	Barissa	Oromifa	Daily	Government	17.200
4	Al-Alem	Arabic	Daily	Government	5.000
5	Reporter	Amharic	Bi-weekly	Private	11.900
6	The Reporter	English	Weekly	Private	2.500
7	Addis Admas	Amharic	Weekly	Private	23.000
8	Addis Neger ⁴	Amharic	Weekly	Private	20.000
9	Awramba Times	Amharic	Weekly	Private	6.500
10	Mesenazeria	Amharic	Weekly	Private	4.000
11	Google	Amharic	Weekly	Private	2.000
12	Negadras	Amharic	Weekly	Private	2.000
13	Fitih	Amharic	Weekly	Private	2.000
14	Sendek	Amharic	Weekly	Private	1.700
15	Ethio Channel	Amharic	Bi-weekly	Private	4.000
16	Hidassie	Amharic	Bi-monthly	Government	20.500
17	Haleta	Amharic	Bi-monthly	Mass Media Training Institute	1.300
18	The Daily Monitor	English	Daily	Private	1.715
19	The Sub Saharan Informer	English	Weekly	Private	1.400
20	Seven Days Up-Date	English	Weekly	Private	300
21	Press Digest	English	Weekly	Private	282

3.2 Data collection

In this study, the focus of data collection is entirely on newspapers, which basically served as the main sources of linguistic data. News headlines which are produced by journalists in reporting about events, people or actions were gathered from the selected Amharic newspapers. These news headlines amounted to 1852 and served as the basis for analysis. Data were taken from

³ This is taken from Ethiopian Broadcast Authority (2008 G.C).

⁴ Addis Neger ceased publication after its December 6, 2009 G.C issue.

other sections of the newspapers (e.g. from the lead⁵ or body copy) only when it is necessary to compare the distributional behavior of a certain linguistic feature in different parts of a newspaper. By focusing on the sentence or structures below it, linguistic data were collected at the levels of lexicon, grammar and meaning from the sampled news headlines.

3.3 Data analysis

After the data were collected, they were organized, processed (which included coding and phonetically transcribing the linguistic data) and then analyzed. The units of analysis were the linguistic features⁶ in the headlines which are manifested at the levels of vocabulary, grammar and meaning. To identify the linguistic properties which are typical of news headlines, a quantitative method was applied to determine how much or how many there is or are of a particular linguistic feature. The numerical data which were obtained through the quantitative method were analyzed primarily using simple descriptive statistics so as to establish some potential patterns or indications in the dataset. These included among other things determining the stylistic choices that newswriters use, counting their frequencies by category and representing the results in tables. This is to determine the pervasive (distributed throughout the texts under investigation) and frequent (occurring more commonly in the target texts than in other texts) linguistic features in the dataset.

When the sampled newspapers found reporting on the same issues (which was often the case as newspapers usually report on newsworthy events), their reporting was compared to clearly see the different stylistic coloring each newspaper throws over the stories (Crystal & Davy 1969: 173). Such a procedure also helps to minimize the circumstances that affect variation. Moreover, it helps to establish a comparable set of texts and simultaneously it ensures that a topic which is central to a society was chosen (a topic that is covered in all newspapers seem to be most significant) (Bednarek 2006:5).

Following the identification of the stylistic features at the levels of grammar, vocabulary and semantics and/or pragmatics as well as determining their frequency positions, these linguistic elements were described and explained using the conceptual framework given under § 2.3.

⁵ It is the opening paragraph of a news story and answers some or all of the five wh-questions.

⁶ Linguistic features are understood in this thesis as language properties related to vocabulary, grammar, semantics and/or pragmatics that characterize the language of newspapers.

CHAPTER FOUR

REFERRING EXPRESSIONS IN NEWS HEADLINES

This chapter describes the linguistic strategies that journalists employ to name and identify human referents for their addressees. In any spoken or written texts, an addresser uses referring expressions which he/she thinks enable the addressee to identify the entities mentioned in the text (Kronrod & Orit 2001: 683; Dik 1989: 111; Yoshida 2008: 21). Newspapers are mostly about people and their actions, and they employ a variety of linguistic means to refer to them (Jucker 1996: 373). This section explored the forms, distributional patterns and functions of referring expressions mainly in news headlines. Comparison was, then, made with those referring expressions found in the leads and body parts of the news stories, with the aim of establishing, from a linguistic point of view, the specific referential style of the Amharic news texts.

4.1 Types of referring expressions in news headlines

The headline in a newspaper serves as a hook to attract readers to pick up the paper or pause at a particular page (Smith & Michael 2013: 70-71; Mardh 1980: 15). For news actors are capable of influencing the newsworthiness of an event, they usually appear in the headlines of newspapers. A variety of referring expressions is employed in newspaper headlines to refer to these news actors. Table 4 summarizes the type and frequency of referring expressions.

Table 4 Referring expressions in news headlines

Types of referring expressions	Frequency in four Amharic newspapers			
	<i>addis admas</i>	<i>addis nəgər</i>	<i>addis zəmən</i>	<i>riportər</i>
Apposition	3 (6.122%)	7 (12.727%)	19 (27.536%)	22 (40%)
Definite description	12 (24.489%)	19 (34.545%)	11 (15.942%)	3 (5.454%)
Name	34 (69.387%)	29 (52.727%)	39 (56.521%)	30 (54.545%)
Total	49	55	69	55

Name, definite description and apposition are the expressions commonly employed with different degrees to refer to news actors in the headlines of the four Amharic newspapers. Name is the most preferred referring expression in four of the Amharic newspapers. The four Amharic newspapers, however, vary in the extent of using the other two referring expressions. While *addis admas* and *addis nəgər* prefer definite descriptions, *addis zəmən* and *riportər* prefer appositions.

4.1.1 Name as a referring expression

All of the four Amharic newspapers prefer using name so as to refer to news actors in their respective news headlines. Though “Amharic names carry meaning and are transparent” (Zelalem 2003: 183), in this thesis, I have considered only their referential function, for the primary function of personal names is to identify their bearers or help us to talk about the named individual (Saeed 1997: 27). In Amharic, a full name contains a given name (usually the name given to an individual during birth by his/her parents) followed by the biological father’s name. These two, together, form a “binominal”, a two-name system, which is used to identify a particular individual (Mesfin 2010: 4; Zelalem 2003: 182). In this thesis, the “binominal” is taken as a full name, and a partial name is considered either as a given name or a last name (for foreign news actors). Table 5 presents a summary of the different name formats in the headlines of the four Amharic newspapers.

Table 5 Distribution of name formats in news headlines

Name formats	Frequency in four Amharic newspapers			
	<i>addis admas</i>	<i>addis nəgər</i>	<i>addis zəmən</i>	<i>riportər</i>
Given name only	11 (32.352%)	13 (44.827%)	3 (7.692%)	5 (16.666%)
Full name	7 (20.588%)	3 (10.344%)	21 (53.846%)	6 (20%)
Surname only	9 (26.470%)	3 (10.344%)	1 (2.564%)	8 (26.666%)
T/H + given name	2 (5.882%)	4 (13.793%)	5 (12.820%)	1 (3.333%)
T/H + surname	0 (%)	0 (%)	2 (5.128 %)	0 (0%)
T/H + full name	2 (5.882%)	3 (10.344%)	7 (17.948%)	8 (26.666%)
Nickname	3 (8.823%)	3 (10.344%)	0 (0%)	2 (6.666%)
Total	34	29	39	30

4.1.1.1 Full name

When we compare the four Amharic newspapers in terms of the name formats they employ in their headlines, the following general patterns emerge. In *addis zāmān* and *riportār*, the name format T/H + full name tends to be the preferred means of referent identification as it accounts respectively 17.948% and 26.666% of the entire name formats. Equally predominant name formats are full name in *addis zāmān* and surname only in *riportār*. In the two newspapers, these name formats indicate reference to the individuals that appeared in the headlines. The name formats, especially T/H + full name and full name only are employed when the addressee is assumed to be not familiar with the person(s) referred to in the news headline. The following examples illustrate the use of a full name with or without an honorific or a title in the headlines of *addis zāmān* and *riportār*. Each of the full names is preceded either by a title or an honorific except (1g).

(1) a. <i>profesər t'iru səw təfərɾa</i>	‘professor Tirusew Tefera’	(AZ 17.01.2001)
b. <i>doktər nəgaso gidada</i>	‘doctor Negaso Gidadda’	(Re 24.09.2000)
c. <i>prezidant girma wəldə gijorgis</i>	‘president Girma W/Giorgis’	(AZ 28.10.2000)
d. <i>ato lidətu ajalew</i>	‘Ato Lidetu Ayalew’	(Re 4.12.2000)
e. <i>ato addisu ləggəssə</i>	‘Ato Addisu Legesse’	(AZ 17.12.2000)
f. <i>wəjzəro mis'ılal hajlə sılassie</i>	‘W/ro Miselal Haile Selassie’	(Re 24.09.2000)
g. <i>tewodros kassahun</i>	‘Tewodros Kassahun’	(Re 9.02.2001)

The examples given from (1a) to (1g), consist of full names. All the full names except (1g) are preceded either by a title or an honorific. For instance, in (1a), the element *profesər*, is a title indicating the highest academic rank in university academia. The referent’s name is *Tirusew* and *Tefera*, being his father’s name. Similarly, in (1d), the full name, *Lidetu Ayalew*, is preceded by *ato* ‘Mr’, which is an honorific, expressing respect for the person specified, and *Ayalew*, a patronymic (one that indicating whose son he is). A title for women is found in (1f) in which the item *wəjzəro* (usually abbreviated as *w/ro*) ‘Mrs’ is used before the name of the woman, i.e. *Mitselal*, indicating that she is married. Note also in passing that unlike the naming tradition (system) in the Western culture, Ethiopian women maintain their own names when they get married. In this example, the concerned woman’s name is *Mitselal*, and *Haile Silassie* is the name of her father, not her husband’s name.

These full names with or without titles or honorifics specify referents outside the text (referents that are generally inaccessible). It is indicated above that *addis zəmən* and *riportər* dominantly employ full name and full name with a title or an honorific, respectively when they mention news actors for the first time, that is, when they make exophoric references.

4.1.1.2 Partial name

The given name only, a partial name, is the most preferred means of labelling news actors in *addis admas* and *addis nəgər*, which respectively have registered 32.352 and 44.827 percent of the name formats in their headlines. As a partial name, given names provide less information about the human entities that appeared in the newspapers' headlines. Due to this, they are usually used when the addresser assumes the referent is known by the audience. Unless the addressee is somehow familiar with the referent, it would be difficult for him/her to unambiguously identify it using only a partial name (i.e the given name, in this case).

A given referent may have a higher status in a given society as in being a professor, or an elderly person, but if close relationship is presupposed, the individual may be addressed by using a given name only. Taking the Ethiopian context, using only an individual's name (with the exclusion of his/her father's name) indicates familiarity and intimacy with the individual. Conversely, the use of an individual's name with a patronymic and a title/an honorific strongly indicates the formality of the situation. It may also signal the less familiarity of the referent to the addressee. This pattern of using either of the partial names and full names for different situations is more or less similar to the Western culture, where given names are often used in informal situations but surnames with a title in formal situations. Following this, it would be unreasonable, especially for *addis admas* to use both a news actor's name only for local news actors and a surname for foreign news actors for exactly similar purposes, i.e. for introducing referents in the headlines. If the purpose was to signal familiarity or intimacy for the foreign news actors, first names would have been used just like the newspaper does for local news actors. It appears, however, in *addis admas* Amharic newspaper that surnames⁷ are used as if they were given names or as equivalents to given names. We cannot see this discrepancy, for instance, in *riportər* where surnames, together with T/H + full names, form 53.332 percent of the name formats in its headlines. Here,

⁷ The occurrence of such surnames in the Amharic news headlines added additional layer to the analysis, so it may require a separate study.

these name formats indicate formality and respect for both foreign and local news actors respectively, though the degrees of formality show minor variation. The contradiction observed in *addis admas* in using the two partial names may arise from the headline writers' lack of appraisal on the differences in naming traditions and practices of the Western and the Ethiopian cultures.

The surname, which is the other partial name format in the data set, constituted 26.666 percent of the referentials in the headlines of *riportər*. These surnames are exclusively employed for foreign news actors, for individuals in Ethiopia are never addressed using only their fathers' name. They are not preceded either by a title or an honorific. The following surnames are employed in *riportər*'s headlines to refer to foreign news actors.

(2) a. <i>mugabe</i>	'Mugabe'	(Re 27.07.2000)
b. <i>prezidant buf</i>	'president Bush'	(Re 5.08.2000)
c. <i>mandella</i>	'Mandela'	(Re 3.09.2000)
d. <i>albəʃir</i>	'Albeshir'	(Re 20.11.2000)

The individuals mentioned above are foreign news actors, and hence they are referred in their respective last names. In (2a), for instance, *Robert Gabriel Mugabe* is referred to using only his last name or family name by leaving out the given name (*Robert*) and the middle name (*Gabriel*). Similarly, in (2b), *George Walker Bush*, is addressed in the headline by using only the last name, i.e *Bush*, and this is the only individual addressed with a title in the data.

Names or name types can be indicative of the kinds of relations that exist between speaker and referent or the addressee and the referent. In view of this, surnames are often used in formal situations and they indicate respect towards the person being addressed. The examples given from (2a) to (2d) above show the news actors are presented through a more formal means of referring, for they are presidents of their respective countries. Under normal circumstances, titles should precede surnames when a formal way of addressing referents is assumed. In this regard, the instances observed in *riportər* Amharic newspaper lack titles or honorifics before a surname except (2b).

4.1.1.3 Nicknames

Nicknames are found only in the three Amharic newspapers, namely *addis admas*, *addis nəgər* and *riportər*. While a relatively higher occurrence of nickname is observed in *addis nəgər* and *addis admas*, it is virtually absent in *addis zəməñ*. Nicknames express a far more intimacy and familiarity than first names do. In (3) below, the nickname *tedi afro* is attributed to *Tewodros Kassahun*, a renowned singer in Ethiopia. The first part of this nickname, *tedi*, is formed by shortening his given name, i.e. *tedi* < *Tewodros*, and the other element of this nickname, *afro*, is an addition to the person's shortened name, yielding a nickname.

(3) *tedi afro ... wədə zon ammist tə-məlləs-ə* (AN 03.12.2000)

Tedi Afro ... to zone five PASS-return.PFV-3MS

‘Tedy Afro was returned to zone five’

However, the meaning of the added element, *afro*, is not clear. It seems that this is used to express his music style by likening it with the Afro-Beat music style of the Nigerian superstar Fela Anikulapo-Kuti. The nickname, *tedi afro*, is popularly used by his fans as a means of expressing endearment and affection to the singer *Tewodros Kassahun*, and the newspapers also reflect this usage.

In addition to name, journalists employ other referentials to designate news actors in their headlines. As it is shown in table 4, these are definite descriptions and appositions of different kinds. These two naming strategies are briefly discussed below.

4.1.2 Definite descriptions

Definite descriptions are preferred as a strategy of referring news actors in the headlines of *addis nəgər* and *addis admas*. Consider the following definite descriptions which occur in the headlines of *addis nəgər* Amharic newspaper.

(3) a. *jə-anwar məsgid⁸ imam* (AN 10.01.2001)

GEN-Anwar mosque prayer

‘one who leads worshippers in prayer in Anwar mosque ...’

⁸ In *jə amarijña məzgəbə k’alat* ‘Dictionary of Amharic’, *imam* is defined as a scholar in a muslim religion; one who leads worshippers in prayer.

- b. *jə-addis abəba polis mikittil komi/inər* (AN 8.02.2001)
 GEN-Addis Abeba police deputy commissioner
 ‘Addis Abeba’s police deputy commissioner’
- c. *jə-tedi afro t’əbəqa* (AN 30.09.2000)
 GEN-Tedy Afro lawyer
 ‘Tedy Afro’s lawyer’
- d. *jə-addis abəba junivərsiti prezidant* (AN 17.12.2000)
 GEN-Addis Abeba university president
 ‘Addis Abeba University’s president’
- e. *his’an-at-n dəfiro-all jə-tə-bb-al-ə-w lidz...* (AN 10.01.2001)
 child-PL-ACC rape.CNV.3MS-AUX GEN-PASS-APPL-say.PFV-3MS.SUB-3MS.OBJ boy
 ‘The one who was said to have raped children ...’

In the examples (3a-e), most of the news actors are referred to by using definite descriptions, not by their names. These definite descriptions are basically noun phrases. The definiteness of their heads is established by the NP-internal modifiers. Specifically, the head nouns in (3a), (3b), (3c), (3d) and (3e) are specified by genitive and relative constructions. In (3a), for instance, the referent is described as *jə-anwar məsgid imam* ‘one who leads prayers in the Anwar mosque’; in (3b) as *jə-addis abəba polis mikittil komi/inər* ‘Addis Abeba’s police deputy commissioner’; in (3c), as *jə-tedi afro t’əbəqa* ‘Tedy Afro’s lawyer’; and in (3d), as *jə-addis abəba univərsiti prezidant* ‘Addis Ababa University’s president’. The modifiers define the individuals in terms of their respective public roles, such as a prayer in a specific mosque in (3a), a deputy police commissioner in a specific place in (3b), a lawyer of a specified person in (3c); and a president of a specified place (university) in (3d). The same definiteness effect is established in (22e) by using a relative construction, a complex modification. That is, the structure *his’an-at-n dəfiro-all jə-tə-balə-w (lidz)* ‘the boy who was said to have raped children’ describes the individual in terms of his action using the relative construction.

Under normal circumstances, the kinds of definite descriptions discussed above are used in referring to a previously mentioned entity. Given their initial appearance in headlines, however, they would be less clear in designating the news actors though they are moderately modified. Such referring expressions do not help the audience much in picking out unique referents,

particularly in exophoric referencing. For these expressions do not sufficiently narrow down the set of potential referents, they tend to refer more than one entity or individual. For instance, in the expression, *jə-addis abəba junivərsiti prezidant* ‘Addis Ababa University’s president’, anyone who was/is the president of Addis Ababa University, can fit into this description. This is mainly because the nominal expression does not reinforce enough to clearly individuate the referent. Hence, instead of such definite descriptions, the addressees may prefer proper names with a modifier in initial positions. It seems, however, that the journalists in *addis nəgər* and *addis admas* exploit this as a strategy to grab the attention of the addressees (also new customers) as well as to prompt them to read the rest of the news story, especially the lead where the identities of the concerned news actors are given clearly through a personal name or a combination of name and definite description.

4.1.3 Appositions

Unlike the referentials discussed earlier, appositions provide the most explicit description of the concerned news actors. Such appositions are a major means of identifying individuals in headlines of *addis zəmən* and *riportər* next to name. These are a combination of proper nouns and noun phrases, as the following examples demonstrate.

(4) a. *jə-maraton jə-kibrewəsən baləbet hajle g/silasse...* (AZ 17.01.2001)

GEN-marathon GEN-record owner/holder Haile g/silasse...

‘marathon’s record holder Haile G/Silassie...’

b. *jə-maraton budn-u wanna asəltən fəmbəl zəlāləm dəsta...* (Re 20.11.2000)

GEN-marathon team-DEF main coach Shambel Zelalem Desta...

‘The marathon team’s main coach Shambel Zelalem Desta...’

The examples in (4a) and (4b) are noun phrase name appositions in which the descriptive appositives are preposed to the name appositives. Appearing before the name appositives, the descriptive appositives give information which is relevant to identify the identity of the persons in question. For instance, in (4a), the news actor Haile G/Silassie is described as a holder of Marathon’s record. Similarly, in (4b), to identify the less known individual named Shambel Zelalem Desta, the descriptive appositive *jə-maraton budn-u wanna asəltən* ‘the marathon team’s main coach’ is employed. This element adds descriptive information which is important

to identify the named individual. A detailed description of appositions including their types as well as functions is given under § 4.2.1.

4.1.4 Accessibility levels of referring expressions

Proper names (whether partial or full) are the dominant means of referring news actors in the headlines of the four Amharic newspapers. For they refer to less accessible referents, proper names are generally considered as low accessibility markers. Low accessibility markers are usually wordier, less vague, and less reduced, and hence they help to successfully retrieve less accessible entities (Ariel 1990). The addressee can, therefore, identify a given referent using such lexically rich and less ambiguous information.

Nevertheless, proper names differ in their respective levels of accessibility. Full names contain more lexical information and are rigid-designators as they refer to an entity fairly clearly in potentially ambiguous contexts. Accordingly, a full name retrieves less accessible referents than a given name, a single last name or a nickname. In this stretch of accessibility levels (Fig 2), full names are lower accessibility markers, so do definite descriptions. Last names occupy an intermediate position in the accessibility hierarchy, for family names are used in formal situations and are more rigid designators than first names in the Western cultures. Given names are short (lexically less rich) and ambiguous (less rigid designator), and hence they are high accessibility markers. In addition to their brevity, the uses of nicknames presuppose more familiarity and intimacy than given names do; therefore, nicknames are further higher in the accessibility hierarchy. The levels of accessibility of low accessibility markers employed in the four Amharic newspapers has the following pattern:

Apposition > Full name > Definite description > Last name > Given name > Nickname

Fig 2 Accessibility levels of referring expressions in headlines

The above accessibility hierarchy shows that apposition is the lowest accessibility marker, while full names and definite descriptions are lower accessibility markers than last names. It also displays that nicknames have higher accessibility than given names though both fall on the same accessibility level, i.e. high. On the basis of this, the four Amharic newspapers can be divided

into two. While *addis zəməṇ* and *riportər* depend on lower accessibility markers in their headlines, *addis admas* and *addis nəgər* rely more on high accessibility markers.

4.2 Referring expressions in the lead

News stories have a distinctive structure which is different from other stories, such as narratives, fairy tales, and fictions (Jucker 1996: 378; Bell 1991). In a typical news story structure, the lead follows the headline, which briefly highlights the main issue of the news story. The lead, however, provides the addressee with a summary of the news in a condensed paragraph format. In so doing, it describes the individual(s) in the news story. This section discusses the forms, distributions, and functions of the referring expressions which are typical of the lead. The purpose is to compare and contrast the referring expressions occurring in this section with those occurring in the headlines, which is the object of this study.

Table 6 Summary of referring expressions in the lead

Types of referring expressions	Frequency in four Amharic newspapers			
	<i>addis admas</i>	<i>addis nəgər</i>	<i>addis zəməṇ</i>	<i>riportər</i>
Apposition	30 (61.224%)	31 (51.666%)	57 (83.823%)	39 (70.909%)
Definite description	2 (4.081%)	5 (8.333%)	7 (10.294%)	1 (1.818%)
Descriptive label	3 (6.122%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Name	14 (28.571%)	24 (40%)	4 (5.882%)	15 (27.272%)
Total	49	60	68	55

From the quantitative information given in table 6, one overriding pattern of referential expressions surfaces in the lead of the four Amharic newspapers. This referring expression is referred to as apposition and has the form: modifier + name (name + modifier also occurs in very few cases). Names appear as the second important means of identifying news actors in the lead except in *addis zəməṇ*, which rather employs definite descriptions. This behavior of *addis zəməṇ* is understandable given the fact that it overwhelmingly uses full name in its headlines (cf. § 4.1.1.1), and it resorts to definite descriptions as a secondary means of labeling news actors in

the lead. What follows is a discussion of appositions which are the most prominent referring expression in the leads of the four Amharic newspapers.

4.2.1 Apposition and its types in the lead

The apposition constructions which have occurred in the lead part of the four Amharic newspapers are all noun phrase name appositions. Within such constructions, names such as Dr Kebede Alemu, are referred to as name appositives, whereas elements such as Chairman of the Department of Linguistics, are descriptive appositives (Jucker 1992: 80). Occurring in the lead of the news stories, these apposition constructions provide the maximal descriptions of the news actors.

The noun phrase name appositions obtained in the four Amharic newspapers can generally be categorized into three: apposition type *a*, *b* and *c*. In apposition type *a*, the descriptive appositives precede the name appositives. In this apposition type, the descriptive appositives contain determinative elements that show either definiteness or genitive case or both. In apposition type *b*, the name appositives again follow the descriptive appositives, which usually appear with no determinative elements. In type *c*, the descriptive appositives are postposed unlike the appositions type *a* and *b* in which the descriptive appositives are preposed.

Table 7 Apposition types in the lead

Noun phrase name apposition types	Frequency in four Amharic newspapers			
	<i>addis admas</i>	<i>addis nəgər</i>	<i>addis zəmən</i>	<i>riportər</i>
Type a	23 (76.666%)	20 (64.516%)	36 (63.157%)	27 (69.230%)
Type b	7 (23.333%)	11 (35.483%)	18 (31.578%)	10 (25.641%)
Type c	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (5.263%)	2 (5.128%)
Total	30	31	57	39

4.2.1.1 Noun phrase name apposition type a

Appositions in which the descriptive appositive is determined either by articles or genitive constructions, or both occur quite frequently in the Amharic newspapers under study (see table

7). The following examples show the use of noun phrase name appositions in Amharic news texts.

- (5) a. *jə-pop muzik'a kokəb-wa madona...* (AZ 6.08.2000)
 GEN-pop music star-3FS.DEF Madona...
 'the pop music star Madona...'
- b. *jə-haja ammist amət-wa wət't'at melor getatffəw...* (AZ 05.12.2000)
 GEN-twenty five year-3FS.DEF youth Melor Getachew...
 'the twenty-five year old youth Melor Getachew ...'
- c. *jə-killil-u riʔis-ə məstədadir ato abadula gəməda...* (AZ 07.10.2000)
 GEN-region-DEF head-LNK administration Ato Abadula Gameda ...
 'the region's administrator Ato Abadula Gameda' (lit. head of the region's administration)
- d. *jə-k'ədmo-w jə-lajberija prezidant fərlis telər...* (Re 07.07.2000)
 GEN-former-DEF GEN-Liberia president Charles Teler ...
 'Liberia's former president Charles Teler ...'
- e. *jə-parti-w jə-higg ammakari ato təfomə wəldə hawarjat...* (Re 27.07.2000)
 GEN-party-DEF GEN-law advisor Ato Teshome Wolde Hawarjat ...
 'the party's legal advisor Ato Teshome Wolde Hawaryat ...'
- f. *jə-somaliya-w t'ək'laj minister nur hasən husen...* (Re 6.11.2000)
 GEN-Somalia-DEF prime minister Nur Hassen Husen ...
 'the Somalia's prime minister Nur Hassən Husen ...'
- g. *jə-amerika-w prezidant dʒordʒ buʃ...* (Re 9.02.2001)
 GEN-Amerika-DEF president George Bush...
 'the America's president George Bush...'
- h. *jə-hagər fimagille-w ato dəbəle dəmi...* (AA 20.07.2000)
 GEN-country elderly (person)-DEF Ato Debele Demi ...
 'the elder arbitrator Ato Debele Demi' (lit. the country's elderly person Ato Debele Demi)

Each of the constructions from (5a) to (5h) contains two elements: descriptive appositives and name appositives whereby the former precedes the latter. In the descriptive appositives of the examples given from (5a) to (5h), the definite markers are attached not to the head nouns but to the genitive constructions that modify the heads of the descriptive appositives. Let us take two

examples and illustrate the case. For instance, in (5c), the definite marker *-u* is attached to the item *killil* ‘region’ in the phrase *jə-killil-u*, making it ‘the region’; with the rest of the phrase *jə-killil-u riʔisə məstədadir*, it yields the meaning ‘head of the region’ (lit. head of the region’s administration). In this example, the definiteness indicates that the reference of the item *killil* ‘region’ is shared both by the addresser and the addressee. That is, this reference is specific in that the addresser and the addressee share this piece of information, and hence the readers can uniquely identify it. If we compare this construction with an articleless but similar construction as in *jə-killil riʔisə məstədadir* ‘head of a region’, the referent becomes general, and a person who is a head of a region elsewhere can fit into this description. The second appositive, *ato abadula gəməda* ‘Mr Abadula Gameda’, is more specific than the first appositive. This name appositive has exophoric reference, i.e. it signals a real-world referent. Having heard this name before (through general knowledge), some readers may identify the individual. The information as to the referent’s being the head of this specific region, however, comes only from the linguistic context (anaphoric reference through the definite marker).

Similarly, in (5e), the phrase *jə-parti-w* in the descriptive appositive is determined by the definite marking morpheme *-w*. Following this, the entire descriptive appositive reads as *jə-parti-w jə-higg ammakari* ‘the party’s legal advisor’. This implies that the referent of this noun phrase is familiar to the reader because it may have been previously mentioned and hence it is familiar to the reader, that is, the writer and the reader share this knowledge. The name apposition, *Mr Teshome Woldehawaryat*, has unique reference, which ensures the identifiability of the individual in question. Proper names such as this generally designate unique referents and this aligns them with definites. Thus, in this case, the two appositives are equally specific.

Including the definite article in a noun phrase is not the only way of making definite reference to some entity (Payne 1997: 263). There are several other kinds of noun phrase modifiers which appear either to express the inclusiveness of the referent or to indicate that the referent is identifiable. A noun phrase in a genitive case or a possessive pronoun as the determinative element has the same effect as the definite article (Lyons 1999; Hawkins 1978).

Following this, the preposed descriptive appositives in (5a) - (5h) are determined by genitive constructions, which trigger a definite interpretation. In genitive constructions, one noun phrase

is made subordinate to the other; the noun phrase which is attached with *jə*-is normally subordinate to the second noun phrase, serving as the head of the entire construction. Such genitive constructions convey a variety of asymmetric semantic dependencies within the nominals in addition to meanings, such as ownership, kinship and body part relations. For instance, *jə-pop muzik'a kokəb-wa* 'pop music's star', in (5a), shows a kind of *carrier of property* relationship between *jə-pop muzik'a* 'pop music's' and *kokəb* 'star'. Likewise, (5b) indicates age relations; (5e) reveals disposal relations; (5d) signals temporal relations; (5c), (5f) and (5g) mark locative relations; and (5h) shows social relations. The definiteness of the descriptive appositives in these examples stemmed from the anchoring function of these subordinate elements, which serve as reference points for the identification of the head's referents (Hawkin 1978: 231; Haspelmath 1999b: 227; Lyons 1999: 15; Jucker 1992: 223). That is to say, in opting to use a genitive (possessive) expression, news text producers tell their audience how they identify the referent they intend.

The aforementioned descriptive appositives are, therefore, specific as their respective referents are premodified or determined in terms of their anchoring functions, such as *carrier of property*, *temporal relations*, *locative relations*, *disposal relations* and *social relations*. These noun phrase-internal determinative elements can establish a pragmatic set of entities shared by both the writer and the reader and consequently, the audience can unambiguously identify the given referent(s). Thus, the genitive constructions in the descriptive appositives of the above examples together with the attached definite marking morphemes make the referents locatable (identifiable) and unique simultaneously. In combination with the postposed name appositives, these definite descriptive appositives help the addressee to uniquely identify the intended referents. For the name appositives usually denote unique referents, the two appositives (the descriptive and the name) are equally specific in apposition type *a*.

When we see the structure of names within the name appositions, all of the name appositions contain full names except (5a), which has a partial name. Some of the full names are preceded by honorifics or titles; others do not. For instance, the name appositions in (5c), (5e) and (5h) are preceded by the honorific *ato* 'Mr'. The news actor in (5a) is such a renowned figure in the music industry that using a full name seems needless. This is why she is introduced only by her first name, i.e. Madona while her full name is Madona Louise Ciccone. If seen individually, the

name appositions refer to the news actors exophorically (i.e. real-world referent), whereas the descriptive appositives have an endophoric reference since they are definite descriptions. The two appositives in combination try to make a referent as specific and identifiable as possible for the audience.

A variety of apposition type *a* occurs when an adjective precedes the descriptive appositive which contains the genitive determinative elements. Consider the following examples:

- (6) a. *tawak'i-w jə-muzik'a ak'ənk'ənn tewodros kasahun* (AN 6.07.2000)
 famous-DEF GEN-music singer Tewodros Kassahun
 'the famous singer Tewodros Kassahun'
- b. *zinənnə-wa jə-holiwud film təwanaj andžəlina džoli* (Re 04.12.2000)
 famous-3FS.DEF GEN-Hollywood film actor Angelina Joli
 'the famous Hollywood film actor Angelina Joli'
- c. *addis-u jə-rusija prezidant dimitri medvedev* (AZ 16.09.2000)
 new-DEF GEN-Russia president Dimitri Medvedev
 'the new Russian president Dimitri Medvedev'
- d. *fərənsa-wi-w jə-libb wələd dərsi dʒon mari gustaveli* (AZ 1.02.2001)
 France-NMLZ-DEF GEN-heart born writer John Mari Gustaveli
 'the French novel writer John Mari Gustaveli'

In examples, (6a) to (6d), the descriptive appositives are preceded by the adjectives *tawak'i-w*, *zinənnə-wa*, *addis-u* and *fərənsa-wi-w*, respectively. These adjectives modify the entire descriptive appositive. The definite marker is attached to these adjectives and hence induces definiteness to the entire descriptive appositive. In (6a), for instance, -w is attached to the adjective *tawak'i*, yielding the meaning 'the famous'. This definiteness is also transferred to the structure *jə-muzik'a ak'ənk'ənn* 'singer, soloist' (lit. music's singer). Therefore, this signals that the news actor denoted by the appositive is familiar to both the writers and readers. Similarly, the adjectives in (6b), *zinənnə-wa* 'the famous', in (6c), *addisu* 'the new', and *fərənsawiw* 'the French' in (6d) are definite. This suggests that the referents are assumed to be clear to the audience as well as the producer. This may be based on the linguistic context or based on general knowledge. More specifically, the use of the definite morpheme directs the addressee to the referent of the noun phrase by indicating that this referent is familiar to the addressee as well as

the addresser. Hence, the purpose of the definite articles is making definite reference to the individuals mentioned or to indicate the referent is identifiable. The combination of definite markers with proper names helps to clearly individuate the referent.

4.2.1.2 Noun phrase name apposition type b

Apposition type *b* is the second dominant noun phrase name apposition in the lead of the four Amharic newspapers. The examples given below show the structure and function of apposition type *b* in the Amharic news texts.

- (7) a. *t'ək'laḵ minister mälləs zenawi...* (AZ 20.07.2000)
 prime minister Meles Zenawi...
 'Prime Minister Meles Zenawi...'
- b. *indḵinər hajlu ḵawul...* (AA 12.11.2000)
 engineer Hailu Shawul...
 'Engineer Hailu Shawul...'
- c. *artist tewədros kasahun...* (Re19.08.2000)
 artist Tewodros Kassahun...
 'Artist Tewodros Kassahun...'
- d. *senatər barak obama...* (AN 22.02.2001)
 senator Barak Obama...
 'Senator Barak Obama...'
- e. *muzik'-əḵḵa tina tərənər...* (AZ 10.09.2000)
 music-NOMLZ Tina Turner...
 'Singer Tina Turner...'
- f. *mənəkusit wəlatəmarjam t'igabu...* (AN 20.07.2000)
 nun Weletemaryam Tigabu...
 'Nun Weletemaryam Tigabu...'
- g. *daḵḵa liḵul gəbirəmarjam ...* (AN 19.11.2000)
 judge Leul Gebremaryam...
 'Judge Leul Gebremaryam...'

The descriptive appositives from (7a) to (7d) contain neither determinative elements nor titles/honorifics. In these examples, the items, such as *t'ək'laj minister* 'prime minister' in (7a), *indžinər* 'a person who designs and builds structures and machines' in (7b), *artist* 'a person who involves in creative works' in (7c), and *senatər* 'a member of a senate (US)' in (7d), appear before the name appositives and are used as if they were titles. These elements are not titles or honorifics but they are just ordinary nouns. As an ordinary noun, such nouns can occur with honorifics. For instance, in (7a), the honorific *ato* 'Mr', can be used after the descriptive appositive, resulting in the structure *t'ək'laj minister ato mälləs zenawi* 'Prime Minister Mr Meles Zenawi'. Likewise, in (7b), the descriptive appositive *indžinər* can be preceded by the honorific, say, *doktər* 'doctor', which gives the structure *doktər indžinər hajlu šawul* 'Doctor engineer Hailu Shawul'. However, titles do not allow an honorific either to precede or follow them.

Apposition type *b* does not provide as much information as apposition types *a* and *c* do. In addition, this apposition type cannot easily be differentiated from the noun phrases preceded either by a title or an honorific.

In all of the above examples of apposition type *b*, the two appositives (the descriptive and the name appositives) belong to the same general syntactic class, i.e. both are noun phrases. In (7a), for instance, *t'ək'laj minister* 'prime minister', in (7f), *mənəkusit* 'nun' and in (7g), *daŋŋa* 'judge' are all noun phrases, so do the corresponding names, such as *Meles Zenawi*, *Weletemaryam Tigabu* and *Leul Gebremaryam*, respectively. In addition to this, the appositions illustrated above are considered as partials, for only one of the appositives can be omitted without affecting the grammaticality of the sentences. It seems that only the descriptive appositives are omissible without making the sentences ungrammatical. If we omit the name appositives in the following examples⁹, the acceptability of the sentences would be questionable.

- (8) a. *t'ək'laj minister ... məgləŋ'a sət't'-u*
 prime minister ... statement give.PFV-3P (POL.)
 'Prime Minister delivers a statement'

⁹ These are my hypothetical examples to show that apposition type *b* is partial, and only the name cannot be dropped which gives restrictive information.

b. *indžinər nigiggir adərrəg-ə*
 engineer speech make.PFV-3MS
 ‘Engineer made a speech’

c. *senatər kenija-n gobəjn-ə*
 senator Kenya-ACC visit.PFV-3MS
 ‘Senator has visited Kenya’

d. *mənəkusit səw gəddəl-u*
 nun man Kill.PFV-3P (POL.)
 ‘A nun killed a man’

e. *dəjnə bijjane sət’t’-u*
 judge verdict give.PFV-3P (POL.)
 ‘A judge gave verdict on the presented crime charge’

Though the forms of the above sentences are correct, the meaning they intend to convey is not far from vague. The descriptive appositives occurrence as the subjects of these sentences may have caused this problem. In apposition type *b*, these descriptive appositives have a definer role so that they require a noun phrase that can be defined. The syntactically subordinate role of these appositives, thus, contributed considerably to the inaccessibility of the above sentences.

Conversely, the name appositives in apposition type *b* are restrictive, for they provide a dependent information unit which cannot be separated from the entire apposition. Accordingly, the omission of the descriptive appositive does not lead to the ungrammaticality of the sentences. The following sentences are acceptable though the descriptive appositives are omitted.

(9) a. *məlləs zenawi ... məgləf’a sət’t’-u*
 Meles Zenawi ...statement give.PFV-3P (POL.)
 ‘Meles Zenawi delivered a statement’

b. *hajlu fawul nigiggir adərrəg-ə*
 Hailu Shawul speech make.PFV-3MS
 ‘Hailu Shawul made a speech’

c. *barak obama kenija-n gobəjn-ə*
 Barak Obama Kenya-ACC visit.PFV-3MS
 ‘Barak Obama visited Kenya’

d. *wələtəmarjam t'igabu səw gəddəl-u*
 Weletemaryam Tigabu man kill.PFV-3P (POL.)

‘Weletemaryam Tigabu killed a man’

e. *liʔul gəbirəmarjam bijjane sət't'-u*
 Leul Gebremaryam verdict give.PFV-3P (POL.)

‘Leul Gebremaryam gave verdict [on a given charge]’

These examples show that the descriptive appositives are dropped, but the sentences do remain acceptable. This indicates that the descriptive appositives provide independent information which only adds extra information to the name appositions. The omission of such information does not affect the grammaticality and the acceptability of the sentences in which it is a part.

4.2.1.3 Noun phrase name appositions type c

In apposition type c, the name appositives are preposed to the descriptive appositives. It is limited only to *addis zəməṇ* and *riportər* Amharic newspapers. In *addis nəgər* and *addis admas*, however, preposed name appositives are virtually non-existent. Consider the following examples:

(10) a. *ato səndək'u ariʔaja jə-itjop'p'ija elektirik hajl* (AZ 6.07.2000)

Mr Sendeku Areaya GEN-Ethiopia electric power

korporefn jə-hizb ginijunnət sira askijadʒ

corporation GEN-public relations work manager

‘Mr Sendeku Areaya the Ethiopian Electric Power Corporation’s public relations manager’

b. *wəjzəro mis'ilal hajləsilase jə-hewan-wa raʔij* (Re 24.09.2000)

Mrs Metsial hajleselasse GEN-Eve-DEF vision

jə-k'ədmo jə-ihadeg set-otf tagaj mabər lik'amənbər

GEN-former GEN-EPRDF woman-PL fighter association chairwoman

‘Mrs Metsilal Hayleselasse Chairwoman of Eve’s vision of former EPRDF’s Women Fighters Association’

c. *doktər wəldaj amha jə-itjop'p'ija ikonoms* (Re 20.11.2000)

doctor Welday Amha GEN-Ethiopia economics

baləmuja-wofʃ mabər prezidant

expert-PL association president

‘Dr Welday Amha Ethiopian Economic Experts Association President’

In the examples (10a) – (10c), the name appositives are followed by descriptive appositives. The descriptive appositives seem to provide further information about the names. That is, the descriptive appositives provide readers with information pertinent to the public roles or responsibilities of the individuals mentioned. In (10a), for instance, the preposed name appositive, *Mr Sendeku Areaya*, is described in terms of his public role, i.e. *jə-itjop'p'ija elektirik hajl korporefn jə-hizb ginijjunət sira askijadɿ* ‘Ethiopian Electric Power Corporation’s public relations manager’. This later part provides the audience with information which is important to identify the referent, i.e. *Mr Sendeku Areaya*. In these examples, the descriptive appositives try to indicate a unique reference to the individuals in question, for a shared pragmatic set is established in the descriptive appositives through NP internal modifiers. As a result, such information helps to claim for the identifiability and uniqueness of the referents (or the news actors). The absence of a consistently used punctuation mark (in this case, *nət'əla sərəz* ⋮) makes the relationship between the two appositions fuzzy so that the non-restrictive function of the postposed descriptive appositives is not clear.

The small number of postposed descriptive appositives may be ascribed to the ordering restrictions that Amharic puts on components in its noun phrase, that is, the qualifier typically precedes the nominals (modifier-noun). This feature might have been only just emerging in the time frame in which the data were drawn for this study. The data were gathered from the 2000-2001 E.C editions’ of the sampled Amharic newspapers, that is, before twelve years. Currently (in 2012 E.C), as to my observation, the phenomenon of descriptive appositives following the name appositives, has become almost a norm, especially in *riportər* and *addis zəmən* Amharic newspapers. Look at the following examples extracted from the 2012 editions of *riportər*:

(i) *ato gafaw jətwalə ⋮ jə-makro ikonomi-nna jə-fajnans gudaj-offif baləmuja* (Re 30.06.2012)

Mr Gashaw Yetwale ⋮ GEN-macro economy-and GEN-finance issue-PL expert

‘Mr Gashaw Yetwale, Expert of Macroeconomy and Financial Issues’

(ii) *wəjzəro zəlʔaləm fissiha ⋮ jə-irfo medikal laboratorɨ manadɿŋɨŋ dajrektər* (Re 8.06.2012)

Mrs Zelalem Fiseha ⋮ GEN-ferment medical laboratory managing director

‘Mrs Zelalem Fiseha, Ferment’s Medical Laboratory Managing Director’

The Amharic *nät'əla sərəz* (፤), which marks off the descriptive appositives from the name appositives, is consistently employed in the examples given under (i) and (ii). The use of this punctuation makes the relationship between the two appositives in each of the instances clear. In (i), for instance, the postposed descriptive appositive provides non-restrictive information about the name appositive, and this is known based on the punctuation mark used.

Generally, three different apposition types (*a*, *b* and *c*) are identified and discussed accordingly. In apposition type *a*, the descriptive appositives are made definite by the use of definite marking morphemes and genitive constructions simultaneously. As a result, each of the appositives in apposition type *a* is specific and hence refers to a unique individual together with the name appositives. Besides, when an adjective occurs within the descriptive appositives of apposition type *b*, the definite marker is attached to the adjective and it precedes the genitive construction. The adjective, which is marked with definiteness, modifies the entire genitive construction. However, semantically it is essentially the same with apposition type *a*. Apposition type *b* occurs with ordinary nouns. This apposition type is neither determined by NP internal modifiers that establish a shared pragmatic set nor by definite marking morphemes. In apposition type *c*, the name appositives are preposed to the descriptive appositives. The descriptive appositives just like apposition type *a* are modified by NP internal modifiers. However, the descriptive appositives in apposition type *c*, are not marked with definite markers. As a result, these descriptive appositives may not be as specific and unique as the appositives in apposition type *a*.

4.2.2 Accessibility levels of appositions

The above discussion shows that the most frequently and consistently used referring expression across the four Amharic newspapers' leads is noun phrase name apposition. Occurring with the format modifier + name (also name + modifier), it presents the most explicit descriptions of the the concerned news actors. Such most explicit descriptions help the audience or the addressee to clearly identify or distinguish referents. For they try to retrieve information from general knowledge, name appositions with descriptive appositions are the lowest accessibility markers. Noun phrase name appositions contain more lexical items necessary for full retrieval of the referents. Low accessibility markers are employed when a referent is less (least) accessible or these markers refer to entities currently not in working memory. As Ariel (1988: 73-74) asserted, the less accessible it is, the Lower Accessibility Marker chosen; a combination of a proper name

and definite description (no matter in which order) is the Lowest Accessibility Marker. The most explicit descriptions that the addressee receives from these markers enable him/her to effectively and clearly identify referents.

4.3 Referring expressions in the body part

The body part of a news story supplies additional information which explains how the story happened. This section discusses the expressions that news writers use to refer to the different participants in the body copy, and these are then compared with those occurring in headlines. Participants in a news story are referred to in the body part mainly by proper names of different formats. This is evidenced in the high occurrence of names in all of the four Amharic newspapers under investigation (see table 8).

Table 8 Referring expressions in the body

Types of referring expressions	Frequency in four Amharic newspapers			
	<i>addis admas</i>	<i>addis nəgər</i>	<i>addis zəmən</i>	<i>riportər</i>
Apposition	4 (8.163%)	2 (3.389%)	15 (21.739%)	2 (3.636%)
Definite description	15 (30.612%)	18 (30.508%)	22 (31.884%)	14 (25.454%)
Name	30 (61.224%)	39 (66.101%)	32 (46.376%)	39 (70.909%)
Total	49	59	69	55

A moderate percentage of definite descriptions is also observed in each of these Amharic newspapers. This usage is, especially sensible given the fact that the body part follows the lead, which gives a thorough description of the news actors. After such full descriptions, it is normal to use definite descriptions or proforms. It is also important here to consider the different name formats that commonly occur in the body part of news stories (see table 9).

Table 9 Type and distribution of name formats in the body

Name formats	Frequency in four Amharic newspapers			
	<i>addis admas</i>	<i>addis nəgər</i>	<i>addis zəmən</i>	<i>riportər</i>
Given name only	8 (26.666%)	8 (20.512%)	8 (25%)	6 (15.384%)
Full name	11 (36.666%)	2 (5.128%)	6 (18.75%)	2 (5.128%)
Nickname	2 (6.666%)	5 (12.820%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Surname only	5 (16.666%)	7 (17.948%)	7 (21.875%)	8 (20.512%)
T/H + given name	4 (13.333%)	13 (33.333%)	6 (18.75%)	21 (53.846%)
T/H + full name	0 (0%)	4 (10.256%)	5 (15.625%)	0 (0%)
T/H + surname	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (5.128%)
Total	30	39	32	39

Though name is the most widespread referring expression in the body part of the news stories, the individual newspapers greatly vary in their use of the name formats. On the one hand, *addis nəgər* and *riportər* prefer T/H + given name format in this position, and *addis zəmən* prefers only given name. On the other hand, *addis admas* depends on full name to refer to individuals in the body part. The higher occurrence of T/H + given name in this position in *addis nəgər* and *riportər* may be attributed to the fact that it is not the first mention of the given referent. The news actors have already been explicitly described in the lead, so when these referents appear again in the article proper, their description level should normally be less. Such less explicit descriptions are provided in the four Amharic newspapers through name formats, such as (T/H) + given name and full name with no descriptive details at all. *Addis admas* newspaper's preference for fuller name in the body part may show the news writer's intention to remind the addressee who the referent is, for repeated references by full name increase the likelihood that an item will be stored in long-term memory (Kintsch 1970).

In addition to these typical name formats of the body part, nicknames, given names only and surnames only are also used, though less dominantly. The occurrence of nicknames seems to be limited to two Amharic newspapers: *addis nəgər* and *addis admas*. *Addis admas* employs given name only and surname only as a second means of addressing news actors in the body.

Interestingly, surnames which are normally used in formal situations are equated with given names which indicate informality of the situation and closeness in referring to local news actors. This consolidates the point which was made on the previous discussion (§ 4.1.1.2) that this newspaper does not distinguish the different situations and the associated functions in using given names and surnames. Now, let us see the accessibility levels of these referring expressions within the accessibility hierarchy.

In terms of the ways in which news stories are structured, the body part appears last. (T/H) + given name is the most preferred referring expression that the three Amharic newspapers employ in the body parts of their news texts except *addis admas* which uses a full name in this position. Though given name alone is a high accessibility marker, using it in combination with T/H makes it a bit longer and a respectful means of addressing, which together put it in a low accessibility level category. The full name employed in *addis admas* is obviously a low accessibility marker. Hence, the article proper in the Amharic newspapers is generally characterized more by low accessibility markers having a differentiation within it.

4.4 Referring expressions vis-à-vis Accessibility Theory

The discussion presented under § 4.1 generally seems to suggest that the referring expressions differ according to the position they occupy within a news story. The referring expressions used in headlines are different from the ones that are used in the lead as well as in the body. In headlines, names are by far the most frequently employed expressions to refer to news actors though the individual newspapers vary in terms of the name formats they prefer.

In headlines, *addis zəməṇ* and *riportər* identify referents using lower accessibility markers, while *addis nəgər* and *addis admas* use low accessibility markers for a similar purpose. The lead is normally occupied by noun phrase name apposition, which is the lowest accessibility marker. This format provides the audience with the most explicit information that helps them to unambiguously identify a certain news actor. It is commonly and consistently employed across the leads of the four Amharic newspapers. Given names with or without titles or honorifics regularly occur in the article proper of the three Amharic newspapers with the exception of *addis admas*, which rather uses full name. Figure 2 demonstrates the typical structure of news stories

and the corresponding referring expression(s) identified in each of the three parts of the news stories.

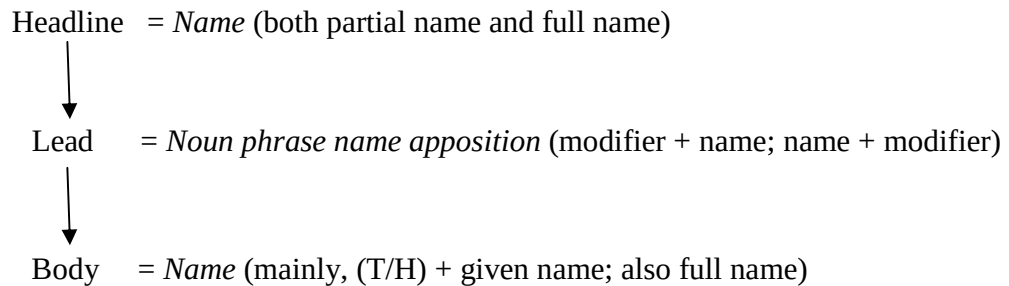


Fig. 3 Typical structure of news & the corresponding referring expression(s)

Though minor variations do exist, the accessibility levels of the referring expressions identified in the Amharic newspapers' headlines, lead and body appear as follows:

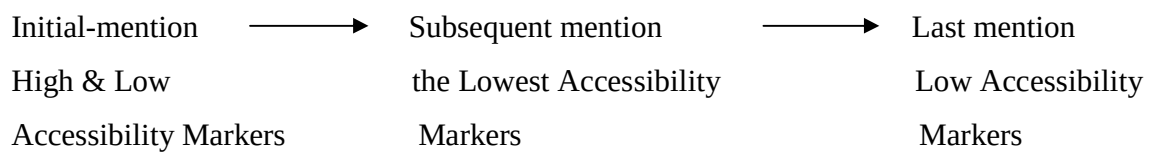


Fig.4 Referring expressions *vis-à-vis* their levels of accessibility in Amharic news stories

The distributions of most of the referring expressions identified in news stories and their respective functions thereof, however, deviate from what the Accessibility Theory predicts. A text typically begins with a full description of an individual, preferably through a combination of full name and definite description; then, change to the individual's name alone, and afterwards a pronoun (Jucker 1996: 378; Ariel 1990: 74).

In the headlines, low accessibility markers are used to refer to news actors, though there are some variations among the individual Amharic newspapers. Names alone whether it is partial or full does not provide the necessary description to identify relatively unknown news actors like criminals or victims. Even for known news actors, such as political figures, celebrities or officials, a description that can show the newsworthiness of the individuals needs to be presented, and this is done evidently through lexically rich descriptions, such as appositions.

Such maximally explicit descriptions about news actors, however, occur not in first-mention (i.e. headlines) but in subsequent mention, in the lead part of news stories.

The overwhelming majority of explicit descriptions occur in the lead part of news stories. This contradicts with the accessibility theory which predicts such descriptions to be restricted to the first retrieval only. More precisely, the referring expressions in the lead take the form noun phrase name appositions. These appositions are the lowest accessibility markers, for they provide the audience with the most explicit information that helps them to unambiguously identify a certain news actor.

The body part appears last in terms of the way news stories are structured. Accordingly, it is expected that the referring expressions in this position to be the highest accessibility markers. However, proforms, such as pronouns never occur in the last mentions. The article proper is normally dominated by name formats, namely (T/H) + given name and full name, which are basically low accessibility markers.

All these deviations show that accessibility considerations do not entirely determine referential forms in news texts. Such deviations may be attributed to the medium (the way newspaper organizes events) and its function: economy of space and purpose. More precisely, headlines in newspapers need to be crisp, catchy and simultaneously informative. This forces journalists, for instance, to employ referential forms which are lower and even at times high Accessibility Markers, such as the news actors' partial names. Such referring expressions are less wordy, less rigid, but less informative. Hence, the accessibility theory is here violated so as to achieve these special effects as in grabbing the attention of the addressee (also potential customers) and prompting them to keep on reading the rest of the news text. In their headlines, *addis admas* and *addis nəgər*, for instance, prefer given names only, which is a more economical means of identifying news actors. That is, these newspapers grab the attention of their addressees and prompt them to continue reading the news story. Concurrently, by using only given names of the individuals, they keep their respective headlines crisp and hence save space. On the other hand, *addis zəməən* and *riportər* achieve the purpose of identifying news actors in their headlines through full names, which are longer and take relatively much space.

4.5 Summary

This chapter was set out to explore the linguistic means that news text producers (journalists) employ to name and identify news actors in their news headlines, the overall goal being to establish the referential style of news headlines. For this end, textual data were drawn from the news texts of the four Amharic newspapers, namely *addis admas*, *addis nəgər*, *addis zəmən* and *riportər*. Different types of referring expressions were first identified in the different sections of news stories and then quantified using simple descriptive statistics so as to find out potential patterns in their frequency of occurrences. Next, the forms of the referring expressions, their distributional patterns as well as their functions were described and explained as they occur in the headlines, leads and body parts of the sampled news texts using the linguistic stylistic approach and The Accessibility Theory. Specifically, by applying the Accessibility Theory, it was possible to measure the accessibility levels of the referring expressions and to explicate their respective distributions vis-à-vis their functions at different parts of the news texts. Finally, the referring expressions found in headlines were compared with those occurring in the lead and body parts of the news stories to pinpoint some possible differences and similarities between them which in turn help to determine the referential forms exclusive to the headlines.

The most widespread referring expressions across the four Amharic newspapers are appositions and names though other expressions like definite descriptions also occur. The findings also indicated that the occurrences of referring expressions correlate with the parts of news stories. Journalists most commonly employ names with different formats to lead their addressees to identify referents in headlines. Appositions of different types are preferred in the lead, while names commonly occur in the body. Moreover, these referential forms hold different levels of accessibility and most of these show discrepancy with the accessibility hierarchies specified in the Accessibility Theory. It predicts the most explicit description of human entities to appear in a first-mention and then proforms to surface in subsequent mentions. In the Amharic newspapers, however, names having high and low accessibility levels appear in first-mention, i.e. in headlines and last mention (body part), whereas the lowest accessibility markers occur in a subsequent mention i.e. in the lead. The individual Amharic newspapers, however, vary with regard to the levels of the accessibility markers they adopt, especially in their news headlines. While *addis admas* and *addis nəgər*, employ partial names, which are relatively high accessibility markers, *addis zəmən* and *riportər* use full names, which are low accessibility markers. Another variation

among the four Amharic newspapers resides in the name formats they employ in their respective headlines. Nicknames appear as a means of referring news actors in *addis admas* and *addis nəgər*, but these are virtually non-existent in *addis zəmən* and *riportər*. The use of nicknames in headlines indicates an instance of informality in *addis admas* and *addis nəgər*, and conversely, its absence in *addis zəmən* and *riportər* can be associated with formality and seriousness.

The violation of accessibility considerations, especially in news headlines may be associated with the headline writers' intention to achieve some special effects (Ariel 1990). The newspapers in their headlines employ low and high accessibility markers instead of the lowest accessibility markers mainly because of their desire to be crisp (economic factor) and catchy (readership profile factor) simultaneously. This especially works for *addis admas* and *addis nəgər* which heavily depend on partial names, which are high accessibility markers, to identify referents in their headlines.

There are three types of appositions held in the hands of journalists to refer to news actors, especially in the lead part of their news stories. Their choice of one apposition type over another is stylistic, all other things being equal. Though apposition type *b* is considered as “typical of journalistic style in British and American press” (Quirk et al. 1985: 1305), or specifically in down-market papers (Jucker 1992: 80), this construction is not much exploited in Amharic newspapers. However, it indicates that a noun-noun sequence is prominent in Amharic as it is used in the press. Instead, apposition type *a* is the most exploited strategy in almost all of the four Amharic newspapers. This may be attributed to two factors: firstly, this construction has the linguistic resources which enable journalists to compress large amounts of information, especially compared to apposition type *b*; secondly, in apposition type *a*, definiteness is triggered both by definite markers and NP internal modifiers so that the descriptive appositives are highly specific and can refer to individuals unambiguously. In apposition type *c*, the postposed position is occupied by the descriptive appositive. The unusual nature of this construction in Amharic might have contributed for the small occurrence of apposition type *c*. A categorical difference among the four Amharic newspapers was also discerned in the apposition types they use in the lead part of their news stories. Apposition type *c* occurs only in *addis zəmən* and *riportər*, whereas this apposition type does not occur at all in *addis admas* and *addis nəgər*.

CHAPTER FIVE

LEXICAL AND GRAMMATICAL PROPERTIES OF HEADLINES

This chapter discusses linguistic features pertinent to lexis and grammar that characterize the language of Amharic newspapers' news headlines. For this end, it deals with a range of grammatical topics in relations to their distributions and functions in headlines. These mainly include noun phrase complexity and distribution, clause types, commonly used voice types, and time expressions. In addition, it discusses vocabulary items which commonly occur in headlines. Specifically, issues related to basic and low-level vocabularies, types of borrowed words, reasons for borrowing as well as their distributions in the individual Amharic newspapers are considered.

5.1 Lexis in news headlines

The choice of a lexical material in a genre is influenced by the purpose of the genre itself (Fenech 1978: 158). For instance, there is a lexicon that fulfills the requirements of news headlines, i.e. to attract readers and to quickly impart information. So as to effectively achieve these functions, certain types of words seem to be commonly employed in news headlines. Short, attractive and efficient words are often preferred by news headline writers (Reah 1998: 16; O'Donnell & Loreto 1980: 90), and such set of vocabulary items is somehow limited to this text type and the function it serves. This section, thus, deals with the choice of specific words in news headlines, their distribution as well as their functions.

5.1.1 Words chosen for their sound effects

Generally, newspaper headlines are only written and printed. Hence, their language cannot normally be studied in terms of phonology. Nevertheless, some auditory effects can be found in headlines (Crystal & Davy 1969: 180; Reah 1998: 18). That is, certain phonetic devices are used in newspaper headlines to make them appealing and memorable to the news story. The following headlines illustrate cases of alliteration, the use of the same letters (or sounds) at the beginning of words that are close together.

- (1) a. *mə-limat inna mə-rab-n min al-ləjajja-fəw?* (AN 30.9.2000)
INF-growth and INF-hunger-ACC what NEG-detach-3P?
'What differentiates, to develop from to hunger?'

b. “*jə-rak’ə-w*” *jə-rik’ət* *timhirt* (AN 8.2.2001)

REL-distant-DEF GEN-distance education

‘The inaccessible distance education’ (lit. ‘the distant distance education’)

c. *səlam a-dəfiraʃ-ojʃf-u* *səlam as-kəbari-wojʃf* (AA 30.9.2000)

peace CAUS-disrupt-PL-DEF peace CAUS-keep-PL

‘The peace disruptors peace keepers’

d. *jə-“nafk’ot” m-abk’ija-w* *naʃʃək’ə-jɲ* (AN 10.1.2001)

GEN-yearning INF-ending-DEF yearn-POSS.1S

‘I yearn the end of “yearn” ’

As the above data show, the words in the news headlines are chosen for their phonic effect. In (1a), for instance, the two verbal nouns, *məlmət* ‘to develop’ and *mərab* ‘to be hungry’, begin with the same letter (sound), which is <m> (/m/). Accordingly, their initial sounds do alliterate. Similarly, in (1b), *jə-* is employed in the first phrase as a relative marker, but in the second phrase it marks a genitive case. The two morphemes in the two phrases have the same phonics, which is an instance of alliteration. The news headline in (1c) has two phrases which begin with the same word *səlam* ‘peace’. Additionally, the causative markers *a-* and *as-* in the two contrasting linguistic items have the same vowel sound.

Another sound (graphitic) feature that commonly occurs in the Amharic newspapers’ headlines is rhyme. We say two or more words rhyme when they have the same last sound or letter. Consider the following examples:

(2) a. *martin luter bə-k’əjjəs-ə* *obama gəsəggəs-ə* (AN 19.11.2000)

Martin Luther by-sketch.PFV-3MS Obama march.PFV-3MS

‘By [what] Martin Luther laidout, Obama marched’

b. “*jə-tə-k’əddəs-ə*” *sirk’ot lə-iwk’ət* *abijot?* (AN 5.2.2000)

REL-PASS-sanctify.PFV-3MS theft to-knowledge revolution?

‘A sanctified theft to knowledge revolution?’

c. *addis-u jə-gazet*¹⁰ -*ənən-offf muzijəm* - “*niwzijəm*” *tə-bb-al-ə* (AA 18.8.2000)

new-DEF GEN-newspaper-NMLZ-PL museum - newseum PASS-APPL-say.PFV-3MS

‘The new journalists’ museum is named- newseum’

d. *jə-itjop’p’ija ikonomi mit’ inna mat’* (AN 18.8.2000)

GEN-Ethiopia economy labor pains and mire

‘the (labor) pains and mire of Ethiopia’s economy’

The headlines given above contain two or more words that are similar in their terminal letters or sounds. In (2a), *k’əjjəs* ‘sketch’ is a rhyme for *gəsəggəs* ‘move rapidly’; in (2b), the three words, *sirk’ot* ‘theft’, (*lə*) *iwk’ət* ‘knowledge’ and *abijot* ‘revolution’, rhyme together. Again, the items *muzijəm* ‘museum’ and *niwzijəm* ‘newmuseum’ in (2c) end with the same consonant sound /m/. Finally, in (2d), the two short words *mit’* ‘pain’ and *mat’* ‘mire’ do not only rhyme in their last sounds /t’/ but also they alliterate as they begin with the same letter <m> or sound.

Unlike the examples given in (3a-d), in some news headlines rhyming occurs in a situation that involves two different languages. In these news headlines of the Amharic newspapers, English words were involved—hence—code-switching. In such situations, the Amharic words are made to rhyme with the English words and phrases as the following examples demonstrate.

(3) a. *kə-libs sifet iskə ril istet*¹¹ (AA 22.2.2001)

from-dress sewing up to real estate

‘from dress sewing up to real estate’

b. *wərḥ-awi haset bə-fəratən gaz lajt* (AN 3.12.2000)

month-ADJ joy at-sheraton gas light

‘a monthly joy at Sheraton gas light’

c. *k’iniḏḏit*¹² *inna tiping point* (AA 24.1.2001)

Unity and tipping point

‘Unity [party] and [its] tipping point’

¹⁰ In the word *gazet’a* ‘newspaper’, the last sound *a* is elided due to its occurrence with *ə* in the suffix *ənən*, which forms an agentive marker in Amharic.

¹¹ Here, the epenthetic vowel *i* is inserted at the beginning of the English word ‘estate’, for Amharic does not allow consonant cluster word-initially.

¹² *k’iniḏḏit* ‘unity’ is the shortened form of an opposition political party in Ethiopia. The full form is Unity for Justice and Democracy

d. *kis* *bə-kis*
 pocket by-kiss
 ‘Kiss by pocket’

(AN 10.1.2001)

In (3a), *sifet* ‘sewing’ is the given word and the following English word *ril istet* ‘real estate’ is employed to rhyme with it. In (3b), the Amharic word *haset* ‘joy’ does rhyme with the English word *lajt* ‘light’, for they end with /t/. In similar vein, the two items, i.e. *tiping point* in (3c) and *kis* in (3d), which are obviously English terms, appeared with the Amharic words *k’iniḏḏit* ‘unity’ and *kis* ‘pocket’, respectively. In (3c), for instance, the last letter or sound of the Amharic word *k’iniḏḏit* ‘unity’ is similar with the English term *tiping point*, for they end with /t/. Similarly, in (3d), the English word *kiss* is a rhyme for the Amharic word *kis* ‘pocket’. These indicate that the two phonetic devices, i.e. alliteration and rhyme, do not only occur intralingually but also they operate interlingually. Of the two sound features, rhyme occurs more commonly than alliteration. Moreover, such sound effects are limited only to *addis admas* and *addis nəgər* Amharic newspapers.

Overall, both alliteration and rhyme are aspects of sound system and hence their use here provides musical quality to the news headlines. In addition to making reading the headlines enjoyable and pleasing, alliteration and rhyme serve as a mnemonic device, i.e. they facilitate memorability. The sound effects that result from alliteration and rhyme serve as an attention-getting device to the respective newspapers, for they possess catchiness (striking and memorable) quality. Accordingly, these devices give the news headlines an extra impetus, which also characterizes this text type.

5.1.2 Amount of words per headline

The following table shows the average number of words per news headline in the four Amharic newspapers. The least number of words per headline is found in *addis nəgər*, while *addis admas* contains less number of words per a news headline (table 10). In *addis zəməṇ* and *riportər*, more words per news headlines are found, while *addis zəməṇ* make-up the highest percentage. This sets off the four Amharic newspapers into two. In *addis zəməṇ* and *riportər*, news headlines are written using a higher number of words, for they have large spaces.

Table 10 Distribution of words per headlines

Length of news headlines	Frequency in four Amharic newspapers			
	<i>addis admas</i>	<i>addis nəgər</i>	<i>addis zəmən</i>	<i>riportər</i>
Total number of headlines	186	329	746	591
Total number of words in headlines	942	1,542	6,368	3,825
Average no of words in a headline	5.064%	4.686%	8.536%	6.472%

On the other hand, *addis nəgər* and *addis admas* are shorter in size and hence they face more space restriction than *addis zəmən* and *riportər*. Consequently, they make use of less number of words in their headlines. Another reason for using less number of words in these two newspapers is associated with the need to appeal their readers. Moreover, news headlines in *addis nəgər* and *addis admas* are written in large bold letters and this again requires the use of less number of words.

5.1.3 Basic-level and low-level terms

Basic-level terms include those lexical items which are frequently used and easily understood by the average readers, and hence they are the characteristic of ordinary language (Robescu 2008: 69). In *addis nəgər* and *addis admas*, short and simple words are commonly employed in their headlines that report on latest events or actions. Such words help the audience to swiftly read news stories and to comprehend them effortlessly. These newspapers also prefer active verbs to their passive counter-parts (see table 32). The frequent occurrence of such brief and punchy words, thus, may have contributed to the shortness of the headlines in *addis nəgər* and *addis admas*. Consider the following headlines containing basic-level words:

- (4) a. *jə-redijo inna televizīn fʾərətə affənafi-wotfʾ t-awwək'-u* (AN 10.1.2001)
 GEN-radio and television tender winner-PL PASS-know.PFV-3P
 'Winners of the radio and television tender became public'
- b. *tīmhirt minister jə-tekīnik inna moja laj jə-karikuləm* (AN 24.1.2001)
 education minister GEN-technique and craft on GEN-curriculum
ləwwt' a-dərrəg-ə
 change CAUS-make.PFV-3MS
 'Education minister made change on the curriculum of technique and craft education'

c. *jə-botsiwana embasi lə-itjop'p'ija*¹³ *wj-an hakim-offf* (AN 8.2.2001)

GEN-Botswana embassy for-Ethiopia-ADJ-PL physician-PL

jə-awət't'a-w-n jə-sira mastawək'ija sərrəz-ə

REL-issue-3MS.OBJ-ACC GEN-work notice cancel.PFV-3MS

'Botswana's embassy canceled the vacant position that it issued for Ethiopia physicians'

d. *and milijon bir lə-mə-af'f'ibərbər jə-mokkər-u tə-jaz-u* (AA 6.7.2000)

one million birr to-INF-deceive GEN-try-3P PASS-catch.PFV-3P

'Those who tried to deceive one million birr are caught'

e. *zərəfa j-aggallət'-u jə-hagər fimagille* (AA 20.7.2000)

robbery REL-expose.PFV-3MS (POL.) GEN-country elderly

zaŋŋfa dərrəsə-bb-afəw

threat happen.PFV-APPL-3P (POL.)

'An arbitrate old man who exposed robbery received threat'

f. *asra simmint lidz-offf jə-afərr-u-t dims'-awi arrəf-u* (AA 4.8.2000)

eighteen child-PL REL-produce.PFV-DEF-3MS.OBJ voice-ADJ rest.PFV-3MS (POL.)

'The singer who produced eighteen children passed away'

The above news headlines contain some shorter words instead of their longer equivalents. For instance, in (4a) *tawwək'u* is preferred to *jifa tədərrəgu* '...were made official', a two-word equivalent. In (4b), the element *ləwwt* 'change' is employed though the context requires the word *maŋŋa/aqa* 'amendment, modification'. This is so because the later is lengthier than the former. Similarly, in (4c), the item *hakim* 'physician', is chosen instead of the two-word equivalent *jəhikminna baləmuja* 'physician' (lit. 'of medicine, expert'); in (4d), *təjazu* 'are caught' is preferred to *bək'ut'it'i sir wallu* 'are put under arrest'. The item *zaŋŋfa* in (4e) is chosen instead of *masfərarija*, in which both of the terms mean the same thing, 'threat'. Finally, in (4f), the word *arrəfu* 'he (pol.) died' (lit. 'he (POL.) rested' expresses the deceasing of the person using a litot, expressing the speaker's sympathy. This linguistic item is shorter than the other Amharic expression *hiwətafəw alləfə* 'he (POL.) passed away', which again expresses the death euphemistically.

¹³ The vowel *a* is omitted for a sequence of like vowels needs to be reduced to one (Anbessa & Grover 2007: 35).

Overall, these two Amharic newspapers tend to rely on shorter words in their respective news headlines. In addition to making the news headlines catchy and direct, short words contribute in saving space, thereby making the newspapers compact. Given that *addis admas* and *addis nāgār* are small in size and hence face space restrictions, the preference for such basic-level words enable them to be economical in reading time and space.

On the other hand, low-level terms appear to be commonly found in *addis zāmān* and *riportār* Amharic newspapers. As table 10 shows, longer headlines are frequent in *addis zāmān* and *riportār*, respectively. These two newspapers contain expressions, such as technical terms, passive constructions and at times needless words and these lead to the presence of lengthy news headlines. Consider the examples under table 11 in which longer terms are preferred to their shorter equivalents. These are excerpts from the news headlines of *addis zāmān* and *riportār*.

Table 11 Longer expressions in *addis zāmān* and *riportār*

5	Longer expressions	Shorter equivalents	Source
a	<i>jə-biddir agəlglot tə-sət't'-ə</i> GEN-credit service PASS-give.PFV-3MS 'credit service was given'	<i>biddir tə-sət't'-ə</i> credit PASS-give.PFV-3MS 'credit was given'	Re 19/2000
b	<i>bə-mot indi-k'at'a tə-wəssən-ə</i> by-death COMP-punish PASS-decide.PFV-3MS 'It was decided that he shall be punished by death'	<i>mot tə-fərrəd-ə-bb-ət</i> death PASS-verdict.PFV-3MS-APPL-3MS.SUB 'he was sentenced to death'	Re 8.10.2000
c	<i>jə-musina wəndzəl</i> GEN-corruption crime 'crime of corruption'	<i>musina</i> 'corruption'	AZ 20.7.2000
d	<i>jə-wagga nīrət fīggir</i> GEN-price escalation problem 'a price escalation problem'	<i>jə-wagga nīrət</i> GEN-price escalation 'price's escalation'	AZ 20.7.2000
e	<i>...bə-k'ut'it'ir sir wall-u</i> by-inspection inside stay.PFV-3PL '...they were put under control'	<i>...tə-jazz-u</i> ...PASS-grab.PFV-3PL '...they were caught'	Re 20.11.2000
f	<i>jə-arrat səw-offf hiwət aləf-ə</i> GEN-four man-PL life pass.PFV-3MS 'four people's life passed away'	<i>arrat səw-offf mot-u</i> four man-PL die.PFV-3PL 'four people died'	AZ 19.11.2000
g	<i>alama-n kə-gibb lə-madirəs</i> objective-ACC from-goal to-reach 'to succeed' (lit. 'to reach the objective to goal')	<i>alama-n lə-masakat</i> objective-ACC to-achieve 'to succeed' (lit. to achieve the objective)	AZ 16.9.2000

h	<i>gabfifa-fəw-n fəs'am-u</i> marriage-POSS.3PL-ACC fulfill.PFV-3PL 'they performed their marriage'	<i>tə-gabb-u</i> PASS-enter.PFV-3PL 'they married' (lit. 'they entered')	Re 4.12.2000
i	<i>simim-innət laj tə-dərrəs-ə</i> agree-NMLZ on PASS-arrive.PFV-3MS 'an agreement was reached'	<i>tə-simamm-u</i> PASS-agree.PFV-3PL 'they agreed'	Re 24.9.2000

The examples in table 11 contain linguistic elements that contribute little or nothing to the meanings of the news headlines. For instance, in (5a), *agəlglot* 'service' and in (5c) *wəndəḷ* 'crime' and *fīgḡir* 'problem' in (5d) are needless words since the terms *biddir* 'credit', *musina* 'corruption' and *nirət* 'escalation' involve the meanings, such as *service*, *crime* and *problem*, respectively. That is, *biddir* 'credit' is one of the services that a bank provides; *musina* 'corruption' entails illegal behavior or act which by definition is a crime, and *nirət* 'escalation' is a problem in itself as it is an instance of inflation. In (5f), a two word expression that also involves a genitive marker *jə...hiwət aləfə* '...life's passed away' is preferred to the one word *motu* '... died'. In this case, while the first involves litotes, which connotes the death positively by expressing sympathy, the latter appears to be direct and neutral. Instead of the more action oriented and direct verbs like *təgabbu* 'they married one another' and *təsimammu* 'they agreed', the more indirect and lengthy constructions *gabfifa-fəw-n fəs'am-u* 'they accomplished their marriage' and *simiminnət laj tədərrəsə* 'an agreement was reached' are employed, respectively in (5h) and (5i). These latter constructions are not only longer but also are indirect and awkward. The presence of such constructions with high proportion in news headlines may affect the readers' interest and hinder their understanding of the event being reported. Overall, such usages affect the clarity of the information conveyed (as they do not help readers to see the point). This might indicate an absence of sincerity or genuineness on the part of the journalists.

In their news headlines, *addis nəḡər* and *addis admas* showed occasional occurrences of technical words. A relatively high proportion of technical vocabularies is, however, found in *addis zəməṇ* and *riportər* besides the wide-spread occurrences of basic-level terms. Many of the technical terms are borrowed, which are discussed in detail under § 5.1.1.6. Here are some instances of technical vocabularies as they occur mainly in *riportər* and *addis zəməṇ*.

low-level words	gloss	source
(6) a. <i>t'innat</i>	'study, research'	(Re 27.7.2000)
b. <i>dirdir</i>	'negotiation, terms'	(Re 5.8.2000)
c. <i>bijin</i>	'verdict, decision'	(Re 19.8.2000)
d. <i>jigibayn</i>	'appeal, plea'	(AN 19.11.2000)
e. <i>jə-wagga gi/bət</i>	'price's inflation'	(AZ 20.7.2000)
f. <i>biher biheresəb</i>	'nation nationality'	(AZ 16.9.2000)
g. <i>imam</i>	'leader'	(AN 10.1.2001)
h. <i>jə-taʃʃif-iynna-w mikir bet</i>	'the lower parliament'	(AZ 6.7.2000)

Low-level terms, mostly, refer to specialized concepts in different disciplines, and they are the characteristics of a specialized language. Comprehending such technical words requires readers to be familiar with the area of the given field. Accordingly, such words are used less widely, and are confined to a limited group of audience. For instance, the term *t'innat* in (6a) is a technical word dominantly used among academia to refer to a scientific inquiry into a problem. While the term *dirdir* 'negotiation' in (6b) is widely used in international relations and businesses, the words *bijin* 'verdict' in (6c) and *jigibayn* 'appeal' in (6d) commonly occur in legal profession and practices. The expression *jətaʃʃif-iynna-w mikir bet* 'the lower parliament' in (6h) and *biher biheresəboʃʃif* 'nation nationalities' in (6f) appear in government systems that are associated with a certain political ideology. The item (*jə-wagga gi/bət* 'price inflation' given in (6e) seems an ordinary and common vocabulary, but it is one of the technical terms in economics. It may be the case that this term has become a general service word due to its frequent use. Finally, the word *imam* in (6g) is a borrowing from the Arabic word *imām*, which refers to the leader of a Muslim religious service. Thus, it is a religious jargon as it is limited to a Muslim religion community.

If these terms are used in the right contexts, i.e. among professionals in the specific fields, they are appropriate in enhancing communication and intelligibility. Otherwise, the use of such technical terms may result in incomprehensibility, making the sharing and receiving of news or information difficult when they are used for general audience. Many of the technical terms in these newspapers are borrowed words. Various names and concepts in the news reports are expressed using words borrowed mainly from English and Ge'ez (discussed in detail under §

5.1.6). The borrowings are of different types: direct and indirect. Consider the following instances of low-level terms borrowed into Amharic to express technical issues.

<i>borrowed terms</i>	<i>source words</i>	<i>newspaper</i>
(7) a. <i>senet</i>	senate	(Re 7.7.2000)
b. <i>invəstimēt</i>	investment	(Re 19.8.2000)
c. <i>konfedereʃn</i>	confederation	(Re 19.8.2000)
d. <i>jə-migb k'əws</i>	food crisis	(Re 3.9.2000)
e. <i>awdə t'innat</i>	conference	(AZ 6.7.2000)
f. <i>i-səbiʔwi</i>	inhumane	(AZ 17.1.2001)
g. <i>senatər</i>	senator	(AZ 20.7.2000)

In the examples above, all are direct borrowings except (7d), (7e) and (7f). The examples in (7e) and (7f) are Ge'ez based creations in which the parts *awd* 'place' and *i-səb* 'against man' are Ge'ez items while the rest are Amharic. The element *jə-migb k'əws* in (7d) is calqued from the English expression *food crisis*.

The high proportion of such technical vocabularies (including the borrowed words) in news headlines may affect the interest and comprehension of some segments of readers. One may argue that newspaper readers are competent enough to deal with the technicalities of the words, but the occurrence of these words along with the borrowings in large portion would cause frustration among some segments of the literates.

5.1.4 Abbreviations, acronyms and blends

Press reports in general and news headlines in particular employ shortened forms of words and phrases. Specifically, abbreviations and acronyms of various kinds occur in the Amharic news headlines so as to make longer words or expressions shorter. Hence, these two devices serve in the Amharic newspapers as important means of economizing space in news headlines. Since space is so limited for the headline writer, any contraction is an advantage. Here are some of the shortened words for complex expressions as used in the Amharic newspapers' news headlines.

Table 12 Acronyms and abbreviations in news headlines

Short form	Full forms	Gloss	Newspaper
8a. <i>isəməgu</i>	<i>jə-itjop'p'ija səb-awi məbit-offf</i> GEN-Ethiopia man-ADJ right-PL <i>gubaʔe</i> council	Ethiopian Human Rights Council	AA12.11.2000
b. <i>təməd</i>	<i>jə-təbabərut mængist-at diridžit</i> GEN-be united government-PL union	United Nations	Re 5.8.2000
c. <i>aaju</i>	<i>jə-addis ababa junivərsiti</i> GEN-Addis Ababa university	Addis Ababa University	AN17.12.2000
d. <i>igad</i>	<i>jə-misrak' afrika jə-limat</i> GEN-East Africa GEN-development <i>bəjin-ə mængist-at baləsilt'an</i> decide-LNK government-PL authority	Intergovernmental Authority on Development	AZ 3.1.2001
e. <i>ajemef</i>	<i>jə-aləm jə-gənzəb diridžit</i> GEN-world GEN-money organization	International Monetary Fund	AZ 15.02.2001
f. <i>isəmakə</i>	<i>jə-itjop'p'ija səra-təjja mahibər-at</i> GEN-Ethiopia work-ADJ union-PL <i>konfederefn</i> confederation	Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions	Re 21.7.2000
g. <i>džinad</i>	<i>jə-džimila nigd akkəfaffaj</i> GEN-wholesale trade distributor <i>diridžit</i> organization	A Wholesale Trade Distributor Organization	AZ 7.10.2001
h. <i>faʔo</i>	<i>jə-təbabərut mængist-at fud</i> GEN-be united government-PL food <i>inna irfa diridžit</i> and agriculture organization	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations	AZ 1.2.2001
i. <i>neto</i>	<i>jə-səmen atilantik jə-t'or</i> GEN-North Atlantic GEN-army <i>k'alkidan diridžit</i> Treaty Organization	North Atlantic Treaty Organization	AZ 1.2.2001
j. <i>junesko</i>	<i>junajtid nefn edžukefnal sajntifik-nna</i> <i>kəlfəral organajzefn</i>	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization	AZ 17.1.2001
k. <i>məjad</i>	<i>mængistawi j-al-hon-u</i> government-ADJ REL-NEG-be.PFV-3P <i>diridžit-offf</i> organization-PL	Non-governmental Organizations	AN 2.9.2000

l. <i>effajvi</i>	<i>human imjunodəfi/ənsi vajrəs</i>	Human Immuno-deficiency Virus	Re 7.7.2000
m. <i>aj.pi.jo</i>	<i>intərparlijaməntari juniən</i>	Inter-parliamentary Union	Re 19.8.2000
n. <i>opek</i>	<i>ʔaləm ak'əf jə-nədadz laki</i> World GEN-petroleum exporting <i>hagər-at hibrət</i> country-PL union	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries	Re 8.10.2000
o. <i>məiad</i>	<i>məlaw itjop'p'ija and-innət diridʒit</i> all Ethiopia one-NMLZ organization	All Ethiopians Unity Organization	Re 22.10.2000
p.ju.es.ajdi	<i>jə-amerika jə-limat diridʒit</i> GEN-America GEN-growth organization	United States Agency for International Development	Re 22.11.2000
q. <i>okisfam</i>	<i>jə-okisford jə-rihab ifojta komite</i> GEN-Oxford GEN-famine relief committee	Oxford Committee for Famine Relief	Re 20.11.2000
r. <i>fifa</i>	<i>ʔaləm ak'əf jə-igir kʷas mabəbər</i> international GEN-leg ball association	Fédération Internationale de Football Association	Re 18.12.2000

Each of the acronyms and abbreviations given from (8a) to (8r) stands for the longer phrases presented in front of them. They serve as a means of shortening words by taking the initial letters of each of the words that constitute a complex expression. Most of these phrases are names of institutions, associations and organizations, which are either national or international. The two devices, however, vary in terms of the techniques they apply for pronouncing the shortened forms. In acronyms, the initial letters together form words that can be pronounced as regular words. Accordingly, the items in (8d, i, j, k, n, q and r) are acronyms as they are pronounceable letters of the words or phrases they stand for, so they behave like normal words. The term *məngistawi jalhonu diridʒitoʃf* ‘Non-governmental organizations’ in (8k) is reduced to its initial letters *mə, ja* and *di*, which can be pronounced as *məjad*—hence—an acronym. Except for (8k), the other acronyms are English-based, i.e. they are directly borrowed from English acronyms.

The rest of the examples in the above data are abbreviations since the shortened forms do not form pronounceable words. In (8a), for instance, the item *isəməgu* is formed by taking the initial letters of the multi-word expression *jə-itjop'p'ija səbʔwi məbitoʃf gubaʔe* ‘Ethiopian Human Rights’ Assembly’, which is the name of a national organization. Each of the letters in the shortened word *isəməgu* is pronounced separately as *i.sə.mə.gu*. Likewise, in (8b), the

abbreviated word *təməd*, which is formed from the initial components of the phrase *jätəbabərut mængistat diridžit* ‘United Nations’, cannot be pronounced like other Amharic words. The letters in *təməd* rather sounded separately. Just like the acronyms, most of the abbreviations are direct borrowings from English except for (8a), (8f), (8g) and (8o).

In other cases, abbreviations occur with slashes to indicate the part that was omitted. Consider the following examples:

abbreviation	full form	gloss	source
(9) a. <i>t’ə/mi</i>	<i>t’əkilaj minister</i>	‘Prime Minister’	(AA 24.12.2000)
b. <i>jə-i/o/ko</i>	<i>jə-itjop’p’ija olompik komite</i>	‘Ethiopian Olympic Committee’	(Re 7.7.2000)

In certain other cases, abbreviations in news headlines occur by taking non-initial letters of the words that constitute a phrase or a longer expression. Consider the following instances:

abbreviation	full forms	gloss	source
(10) a. <i>i/r</i>	<i>indžinər</i>	‘engineer’	(AA 30.9.2000)
b. <i>do/r</i>	<i>doktər</i>	‘doctor’	(AN 18.8.2000)
c. <i>t’ə/mi/r</i>	<i>t’əkilaj minister</i>	‘Prime Minister’	(Re 18.12.2000)

Though abbreviations normally occur by taking initial letters, the words from (10a) to (10c) are formed by combining their first and last letters. In these abbreviations, slashes are employed to show that reduction has taken place.

Another way of shortening longer words or phrases in news headlines is achieved by means of blending. It combines usually two words into one, deleting material from one or both of the source words (Plag 2003: 122). In the headlines, it occurs by dropping a part of a word or a phrase, and connecting it with another word, which remains unaffected. This is especially used in showing the relationship between two countries, as the following examples demonstrate.

(11) a. <i>itjo-ertira</i>	‘Ethio-Eritrea’	(AA 4.8.2000)
b. <i>itjo-t’alijan</i>	‘Ethio-Italian’	(AN 17.12.2000)
c. <i>itjo-kenija</i>	‘Ethio-Kenya’	(Re 6.11.2000)
d. <i>itjo-iran</i>	‘Ethio-Iran’	(Re 25.1.2001)

e. <i>afro-arəb</i>	‘Afro-Areb’	(AZ 6.7.2000)
f. <i>itjo-dʒaz</i>	‘Ethio-Jazz’	(AN 2.10.2000)

As can be seen from the above data, the second syllable of the names of the countries appeared first is eliminated. For instance, in *itjo-* (11a) and *afro-* (11e), their last syllables *p’p’ija* and *ika* are dropped, respectively. Moreover, in this shortening procedure, a small hyphen, which is referred to in Amharic as *niḡus f’irət* (-), is employed to join or link up the names of the two countries in question.

All of the acronyms, abbreviations and blends discussed above entail a loss of certain linguistic material, but the surviving elements can express the same meaning as the source expressions. Hence, the preference for using such shortened forms of words and phrases generally indicates the news headline writers’ quest for brevity (economy of expression). In fact, some of the acronyms and abbreviations employed in the news headlines appear to be common and hence understandable right away. Certain other shortened forms do not, however, seem to be immediately recognizable and understandable by the majority of readers. Such use of unfamiliar acronyms and abbreviations may lead to misunderstanding. Avoiding unexplained acronyms or spelling out such acronyms and abbreviations on first use would enhance comprehension. In so doing, it would be possible to match brevity with comprehension.

5.1.5 Emotive vocabulary

News headlines contain certain words that show the view points, attitudes or feelings about the news actors, events or propositions. Such elements make news reports subjective and personal. Since a separate discussion of evaluative meaning is given in chapter six, here, we briefly discuss only some loaded words in Amharic newspapers’ news headlines. Consider the following cases:

- (12) a. *lə-səfari arso addər-offf... biddir tə-sət’t’-ə* (AZ 18.8.2000)
 to-settler plough.CNV.3MS spend night-PL ... credit PASS-give.PFV-3MS
 ‘Credit was given to settler farmers’
- b. *k’iddus giworgis kə-bunna ji-faləm-all-u* (AZ 1.2.2001)
 saint George from-coffee 3MS.IPFV-fight-AUX-3P
 ‘Saint George fights with (Ethiopian) Coffee’

c. *jə-addis abəba set-offf mahbər məri kə-silt'an-afɣəw* (AN 22.2.2001)

GEN-Addis Ababa woman-PL association leader from-authority-POSS.3P (POL.)

tə-wəggəd-u

PASS-topple.PFV-3P (POL.)

‘Addis Abebba’s women Association leader was toppled from power’

The news headlines from (12a) through (12c) contain emotive words, which indicate strong connotations of a speaker/writer. In (12a), the adjective *səfari* (from *səffərə* ‘encamp, settle’) which means ‘settler’ carries a strong negative connotation towards the people directed at, i.e. *arso addəroff* ‘farmers’. The term is used pejoratively here as it indicates the use of force to take land. The use of the word *filmija* ‘war, struggle’ in (12b) brings the images of violence and suffering that are associated with war. Similarly, the passive verb *təwəggədu* in (12c) ‘discarded, toppled’, has a more negative meaning than *tənəssu* ‘lifted from power’, for it connotes the use of force in removing the news actor from her authority.

5.1.6 Borrowed words

There are two main strategies for the introduction of new words, namely borrowing from other languages and the coining of new words, i.e. the process of word formation (Schendl 2001: 25). Accordingly, borrowing is an important means by which languages accumulate their lexicon as it contributes to the neologism processes in a language. Borrowing is one of the linguistic phenomena that occur when two or more languages come in contact, and as Winford (2003: 43), it involves the reproduction of some aspects of the donor¹⁴ language. Borrowings do not only occur in spoken texts, but they also take place in written texts as in newspapers, magazines, and other written forms of communication. More specifically, newspapers play a crucial role in generating neologisms, especially by popularizing new lexical items (Bauer 1983). One way of doing or achieving this is by borrowing words from other languages.

The newspapers investigated here depend heavily on the Amharic’s stock of vocabulary in their news headlines. Nevertheless, an important portion of borrowed words is also employed in these newspapers’ headlines to impart information on latest events and happenings. The analysis of borrowing helps to understand the types and motivations of loanwords in news reporting as well as to understand the influence of other languages (both local and foreign) on the Amharic

¹⁴ A donor or a source language refers to a language from which a word may be borrowed.

language in general. Table 13 shows the proportion of borrowing in the news headlines of the Amharic newspapers.

Table 13 Proportion of borrowing in headlines

Words in news headlines	Frequency in four Amharic newspapers			
	<i>addis admas</i>	<i>addis nəgər</i>	<i>addis zəmən</i>	<i>riportər</i>
Borrowed words	146 (15.49%)	215 (13.94%)	699 (10.97%)	503 (13.15%)
Total number of words	942	1542	6368	3825

Each of the four Amharic newspapers employs a good number of borrowed words in its headlines. A relatively higher proportion of these borrowings is found mainly in *addis admas* and slightly in *addis nəgər* (table 13). Conversely, a fairly small proportion of borrowed words is observed, especially in *addis zəmən* and to a lesser extent in *riportər*.

5.1.6.1 Types of borrowing

On the basis of the techniques employed (degree of formal adherence to the model of the source language), the borrowed words in the Amharic newspapers' news headlines are categorized into loanshifts, loanwords as well as loanblends, and their respective frequency of occurrences is given in table 14 below.

Table 14 Types of borrowing in headlines

Borrowing types	Frequency in four Amharic newspapers			
	<i>addis admas</i>	<i>addis nəgər</i>	<i>addis zəmən</i>	<i>riportər</i>
Loanwords	130 (89.049%)	195 (90.697%)	555 (79.399%)	423 (84.095%)
Loanblends	6 (4.109%)	6 (2.790%)	64 (9.155%)	34 (6.759%)
Loanshifts	10 (6.849%)	14 (6.511%)	80 (11.444%)	46 (9.145%)
Total	146	215	699	503

The quantitative information in table 14 suggests the presence of a marked difference among the four Amharic newspapers in terms of the borrowing types they adopt in their respective news headlines. Loanblends and loanshifts are exceedingly higher in *addis zəmən* and *riportər* than in

addis admas and *addis nəgər*. In the latter two newspapers, however, loanwords are enormously higher in their news headlines, accounting for nearly ninety percent of the entire borrowings.

5.1.6.1.1 Loanwords

Loanwords normally refer to those items taken directly from the source languages into Amharic, the recipient¹⁵ language. In a loanword, the whole form-meaning is directly copied from the source language(s). Such transliterated loanwords are frequent in all of the four Amharic newspapers' news headlines, but they surpass, especially in *addis admas* and *addis nəgər*. This indicates the far deeper influence other languages put on the Amharic language in general, and table 15 below presents some of the direct borrowings in news headlines along with their probable sources.

In the instances of borrowing presented in table 15 below, both their meanings and phonemic shapes are imported. These loanwords are foreign in terms of both their forms and meanings. For instance, the items *robot* and *gugul* are borrowed words and they denote the meanings 'machine' and 'a search engine', respectively. Besides, these items appear to be directly imported from the source language as they are similar to the model language. This applies also to the majority of the loanwords given below (table 15) excepting some loans that show a more or less substitution of the borrowing language's phonemes.

¹⁵ A recipient language is the one which receives a borrowed word, morpheme or pattern.

Table 15 Loanwords in Amharic newspapers' headlines

Loanwords	Source words	Newspaper	Probable source language
<i>robot</i>	robot	AA 12.11.2000	English
<i>gugul</i>	google	AA 12.11.2000	English
<i>elekitrik</i>	electricity	Re 7.7.2000	English
<i>misaʔel</i>	missile	Re 27.7.2000	English
<i>kompiwtər</i>	computer	AZ 28.10.2000	English
<i>tekinolođi</i>	technology	AA 6.7.2000	English
<i>awtobus</i>	omni bus	Re 5.8.2000	English
<i>məkanik</i>	mechanic	Re 5.8.2000	English
<i>konfedereʃn</i>	confederation	Re 19.8.2000	English
<i>siminto</i>	cement	Re 7.7.2000	English
<i>bank</i>	bank	Re 7.7.2000	English
<i>sajins</i>	science	Re 3.9.2000	English
<i>kīlinik</i>	clinic	Re 4.12.2000	English
<i>industiri</i>	industry	Re 4.12.2000	English
<i>bomb</i>	bomb	Re 18.12.2000	English
<i>prodʒəkt</i>	project	Re 6.11.2000	English
<i>netwərk</i>	network	AN 8.2.2001	English
<i>mobajil</i>	mobile	AN 8.2.2001	English
<i>intərnet</i>	internet	AN 20.7.2000	English
<i>faks</i>	fax	AN 19.11.2000	English
<i>korporeʃn</i>	corporation	AZ 20.7.2000	English
<i>seftinet program</i>	safety net program	AZ 18.8.2000	English
<i>dimokirasi</i>	democracy	AZ 5.11.2000	English

i. Loanword adaptations

The source words of loanwords often have phonological, orthographic, morphological and syntactic properties in the donor language that do not fit into the system of the borrowing

language (Haspelmath 2009a: 42). In such situations, the loanwords adapt to the system of the borrowing language at these different levels.

a) Phonological adaptations

Since we are dealing with written texts, there are little phonological adaptations, but the following phonological features, have been observed in the loanwords that appeared in the Amharic news headlines.

Table 16 Phonological/orthographic modifications of loanwords

(13)	Source words	Amharic	Modification	Newspaper
a.	music /mju:zik/	muzik'a	/j/ > /Ø/, /k/ > /k'a/	AA 10.1.2001
b.	airplane /eərplein/	ajroplan	/Ø/ > /ajro/, /ei/ > /a/	AA 4.8.2000
c.	airplane /eərplein/	awroplan	/Ø/ > /awro/, /ei/ > /a/	AZ 6.7.2000
d.	missile /mɪsail/	misaʔel	/i/ > /e/, /Ø/ > /ʔ/	Re 27.7.2000
e.	auto-bus /autobəs/	awtobis	/au/ > /aw/, /ə/ > /i/	Re 5.8.2000
f.	ciment /sɪ'ment/	siminto	/e/ > /i/, /Ø/ > /o/	Re 7.7.2000
g.	sample /sæmpl/	samipl	/æ/ > /a/	Re 3.9.2000
h.	automobile /automobil/	awtomobil	/au/ > /aw/	AN 4.8.2000
i.	contraband /kɒntrəbænd/	kontiroband	/v/, /ə/ > /o/, /Ø/ > /i/	Re 20.11.2000
j.	industry /ɪn'dʌstri/	industiri	/ɪ/ > /i/, /ʌ/ > /u/, /Ø/ > /i/	AN 4.8.2000
k.	motorcycle /məʊtə(r)saɪkl/	motər sajkil	/əu/ > /o/, /aɪ/ > /aj/, /Ø/ > /i/	AA 6.7.2000
l.	comedian /kəmi:diən/	komedijan	/ə/ > /o/, /i:/ > /e/, /iə/ > /ija/	AA 10.1.2001
m.	bicycle /baɪsaɪkl/	biskilet	/aɪ/ > /i/, /ɪ/ > /Ø/, /ə/ > /i/, /Ø/ > /et/	AZ 1.2.2001
n.	filing /faɪlɪŋ/	/fajling/	/aɪ/ > /aj/, /ɪŋ/ > /ng/	AN 8.2.2001
o.	ethanol /eθənɒl/	/itanol/	/e/ > /i/, /θ/ > /t/, /ə/ > /a/, /v/ > /o/	AA 26.11.2000

As it can be seen in table 16, certain sounds of English do not exist in Amharic; hence, words that contain such sounds undergo phonological adaptations. That is, such vowel and consonant sounds are modified to meet the phonotactics of Amharic. For instance, the Amharic phonotactics does not allow the coming together of two vowels (diphthongs), thus, it changes one of the vowels into a semivowel as in (13b), (13c) in which /eə/ becomes either /aj/ or /aw/, and in (13k) and (13l), where /əu/ becomes a single vowel /o/ as well as /iə/ becomes /ija/, respectively. Besides, the English schwa sound /ə/ usually becomes either /i/ as in (13e) and /o/ as in (13i) and (13l). In (13g), the spreading vowel /æ/ is replaced by /a/. In (13j), likewise, the conical vowel of English /ʌ/ is overtaken by the Amharic /u/. The Amharic /ng/ is used in place of the English /ŋ/ in (13n). As a result, these sounds of the source language appear or sound like Amharic. Finally, the interdental sound /θ/ in (13o) which is very common in English becomes /t/ in Amharic.

b) Morphological adaptations

Certain loanwords reflect some morphological features of Amharic. Amharic morphemes that indicate number (plural), noun and adjective are employed in the following loanwords.

(14) a. <i>trafik-offif</i> traffic police-PL	‘traffic officers’	(AA 6.7.2000)
b. <i>motər sajkil-offif</i> motor cycle-PL	‘motor cycles’	(AA 6.7.2000)
c. <i>muzik’-əŋna</i> music-NMLZ	‘singer’	(AA 6.7.2000)
d. <i>boks-əŋna</i> boks-NMLZ	‘boxer’	(AA 12.11.2000)
e. <i>sajins-awi</i> science-ADJ	‘scientific’	(Re 3.9.2000)

The English word *traffic police* is used in Amharic in its reduced form, i.e. *trafik* (14a), and this surviving element refers to the entire meaning of the unreduced term, that is, ‘police force that controls traffic and its regulations’. The term traffic police is treated as a collective noun in the source language and hence it can take either a plural or a singular verb depending on the context in which it occurs. In the Amharic language, however, it functions like other nouns, i.e. it takes a

plural marking morpheme when it refers two or more traffic police officers. As a result, the Amharic plural morpheme *-offy* is attached to the word *trafik* as in *trafik-offy* ‘traffics’ just to mean ‘traffic officers’. In referring to a single traffic police, Amharic uses either the element *and* ‘one’ or simply the word *trafik* ‘a traffic police’. Similarly, in (14b), the loanword *motar sajkil* has adopted the Amharic plural marker and becomes *motar sajkil-offy* ‘motorcycles’. Another morphological adaptation of the source languages is observed in the mechanism of marking agent nouns. That is, in (14c) and (14d) the agentive noun marker *-(ə)ɲna* is attached to the nouns *muzik’a* and *boks* as in *muzik’əɲna* and *boksəɲna* to mean ‘singer, musician’ and ‘boxer’, respectively. Finally, the loanword *sajins* ‘science’ which is basically a noun has taken the Amharic adjectivizing morpheme *-awi* and becomes *sajinsawi* ‘scientific’, an adjective.

The loanwords given from (14a) to (14e) are sometimes referred to as hybrids (Haugen 1950: 214), for they imported only a part of the phonetic shapes of the respective words. In all the examples, while the stems are directly taken from the source language, the suffixed inflectional and derivational morphemes belong to Amharic.

A great many other loanwords tend to retain the morphological features of the respective donor languages, however. Consider the following examples:

- | | | |
|--------------------------|---|----------------|
| (15) a. <i>komed-jan</i> | ‘one who makes jokes’ | (AA 10.1.2001) |
| comedi-NMLZ | | |
| b. <i>art-ist</i> | ‘someone who does creative works’ | (Re 24.9.2000) |
| art-NMLZ | | |
| c. <i>fajl-ing</i> | ‘activity of putting documents into a system’ | (AN 8.2.2001) |
| file-NMLZ | | |

As can be observed from the above examples, the loanwords have preserved morphemes marking nominalization and agentive functions. In (15a) and (15b), for instance, the morphemes *-an* and *-ist* are used to refer to a person who practices *joke* and *art*, respectively. The *-ing* in the loanword *fajl* makes the word a noun, indicating the meaning ‘process of, condition of’. Together with the word *fajl*, it gives the meaning ‘the process of putting files properly’.

5.1.6.1.2 Loanblends

Overall, loanblends constitute a small amount of loanwords that occur in the news headlines of the Amharic newspapers. These borrowings involve both native¹⁶ and borrowed material. That is, loanblends are formed by combining a portion of a borrowed material with a segment from the Amharic material. In our case, news headline writers created words or terms by slotting in an Amharic morpheme on part of the donor language. Table 17 shows some of the Amharic and English based loanblends as occurring in the Amharic news headlines.

Table 17 Loanblends in Amharic newspapers' headlines

(16) Loanblends	Borrowed material	Native material	Gloss	Newspaper
a. <i>jəfajinans k'əws</i>	<i>fajinans</i> 'finance'	<i>k'əws</i> 'crisis'	'financial crisis'	AA 10.1.2001
b. <i>jəikonomi k'əws</i>	<i>ikonomi</i> 'economy'	<i>k'əws</i> 'crisis'	'economic crisis'	AA24.1.2001
c. <i>jədijalasis maʔikəl</i>	<i>dijalasis</i> 'dialysis'	<i>maʔikəl</i> 'center'	'dialysis center'	Re 8.10.2000
d. <i>jəpolətika mædrək</i>	<i>polətika</i> 'politics'	<i>mædrək</i> 'platform'	'political platform'	Re20.11.2000
e. <i>jətele¹⁷ agəlgilot</i>	'telecomm- unication'	<i>agəlgilot</i> 'service'	'tele's service'	AN 30.9.2000
f. <i>jəpres nəś'annət</i>	<i>pres</i> 'press'	<i>nəś'annət</i> 'freedom'	'press freedom'	AN 5.11.2000
g. <i>jəpolis azzaz</i>	<i>polis</i> 'police'	<i>azzaz</i> 'commander'	'police's commander'	AZ 3.12.2000
h. <i>jəsivil tək'wamat</i>	<i>sivil</i> 'civil'	<i>tək'wamat</i> 'centers'	'civil centers'	AZ 3.1.2001

All of the hybrids given from (16a) to (16h) are phrasal constructions, which are formed by using the Amharic pattern though words in the phrase are borrowings. In (16a), for instance, *fajinans* is a material borrowing from English *finance*, and the element *k'əws* is a native Amharic word meaning 'confusion'. Here, the genitive marker *jə-* is attached to the first substantive (*jəfajinans*

¹⁶ A native word is technically equivalent to "non-loanword", a word for which we have no knowledge that it was borrowed (Haspelmath 2009a: 38).

¹⁷ *tele* is an abbreviated form of telecommunication.

‘of finance’), which describes the second substantive, i.e. the head-noun (*k’əws* ‘confusion’). Similarly, in (16b), *jə-ikonomi k’əws*, the element *ikonomi* ‘economy’ is a direct borrowing from English, and the head-noun, *k’əws* ‘confusion’, is an Amharic word. In this loanblending, the item *jəfajinans* ‘financial’ modifies the head-noun *k’əws* ‘confusion’; thus, specifies the type of *k’əws* ‘confusion’, i.e. ‘financial crisis’. The extension of meaning from ‘confusion’ to ‘crisis’ observed in the word *k’əws* is discussed under § 5.1.6.1.3. Again, in (16c), the first element *dijalisis* ‘dialysis’, which is imported from English, is attached with *jə-*, and formed the phrase with the Amharic word *maʔikəl* ‘center’. These hybrids are not only formed by directly borrowing (material borrowing) words from other languages but also by borrowing the structure of compounding (pattern borrowing). In the news headlines that contain these phrasal constructions, however, there seems to be a tendency of using the genitive morpheme *jə-* flexibly and at times dropping it altogether. Consider the following examples:

- (17) a. *məngəd-ofɣf baləsilt’an* (Re 19.8.2000)
 road-PL authority
 ‘Roads Authority’
- b. *teknik inna moja timhirt* (AN 24.1.2001)
 technique and craft education
 ‘Technique and Craft Education’
- c. *mastawək’ija minister* (AZ 3.12.2000)
 information minister
 ‘Ministry of Information’
- d. *sərat-əɣɣa inna mahibər-awi minister* (Re 21.7.2000)
 work-NMLZ and association-ADJ minister
 ‘Labour and Social Minister’
- e. *olompik budin-aɣɣin* (AN 3.12.2000)
 Olympic team-POSS.1P
 ‘Our Olympic team’

Each of the examples given from (17a) to (17e) is formed by combining two nouns. The genitive morpheme *jə-* is dropped mainly in the names of organizations or institutions as the above data demonstrate. For instance, the constructions given in (17a), (17c) and (17d) are titles of

organizations. Such dropping of the genitive marker may show the desire to be brief and simple in calling/uttering these institutions, for its presence makes the genitive construction a little bit superfluous. Such avoiding of the genitive morpheme may result in making the phrasal expressions lexicalized compounds (Abinet 2016: 115; Takkele 2000: 49). It is also observed that this genitive marker is not used strictly across the headlines of the four Amharic newspapers. Even the same newspaper presents news headlines that contain compound nouns with or without *jə-*. Such flexibility in the use of this morpheme may indicate an intermediary stage which eventually leads Amharic into losing the genitive morpheme altogether in the future.

Other loanblends are formed from local languages only: Ge'ez and Amharic (see table 18). In this case, compound words are formed mainly by using the Ge'ez model of compounding.

Table 18 Ge'ez based loanblends in Amharic newspapers' headlines

18.Loanblends	native element 1	native element 2	Gloss	Newspaper
a. <i>k'al-ə məhalla</i>	<i>k'al</i> 'word'	<i>məhalla</i> 'oath'	'pledge of alligiance'	AZ 18.8.2000
b. <i>riʔis-ə məstəddadīr</i>	<i>riʔis</i> 'head'	<i>məstəddadīr</i> 'administration'	'head of an administration'	AZ 16.9.2000
c. <i>af-ə gubaʔe</i>	<i>af</i> 'mouth'	<i>gubaʔe</i> 'assembly'	'spokesman'	AZ 16.9.2000
d. <i>s'ər-ə ʃibbir</i>	<i>s'ər</i> 'anti-'	<i>ʃibbir</i> 'terror'	'anti terror'	AZ 16.9.2000
e. <i>kifil-ə t'orr</i>	<i>kifil</i> 'part'	<i>t'or</i> 'army'	'division (army unit)'	Re 8.10.2000
f. <i>məʃənk'il-ə mənɣist</i>	<i>məʃənk'il-</i> 'to coup'	<i>mənɣist</i> 'government'	'coup d'état'	Re 4.12.2000
g. <i>higg-ə mənɣist</i>	<i>higg</i> 'law'	<i>mənɣist</i> 'government'	'constitution'	Re 4.12.2000
h. <i>bet-ə imnət</i>	<i>bet</i> 'house'	<i>imnət</i> 'faith'	'church or mosque'	AN 2.9.2000
i. <i>s'ər-ə mussina</i>	<i>s'ər</i> 'anti-'	<i>mussina</i> 'corruption'	'anti corruption'	AN 19.11.2000
j. <i>sin-ə migbar</i>	<i>sin</i> 'beauty'	<i>migbar</i> 'behavior'	'good deeds'; 'ethical behavior'	AN 2.9.2000
k. <i>məkan-ə k'irs</i>	<i>məkan</i> 'place'	<i>k'irs</i> 'heritage'	'place of heritage'	Re 7.7.2000
l. <i>təraf-ə mirt</i>	<i>təraf</i> 'remains'	<i>mirt</i> 'product'	'residue'	AZ 7.10.2000

The compounds given (18a) through (18l) are formed based on the compound word formation model of Ge'ez, which is a typical case of structural or pattern borrowing. While most of the words are Amharic, there are some items that belong to Ge'ez. In this construct state, the linker -ə occurs between the two nouns that form the compound. In (18a), for instance, the compound word *k'alə məhalla* is formed by joining the two nouns *k'al* 'word' and *məhalla* 'oath' using the linker -ə. Here, both the words *k'al* 'word' and *məhalla* 'oath' are Amharic, but the linker, which occurs in the middle, and the pattern are of Ge'ez. However, in other compounds, one of the substantives of the compounds is Ge'ez. For example, in the compound words given under (18b), (18d), and (18j), the substantives *riʔis* 'head', *s'ər* 'anti-' and *sin* 'beauty' belong to Ge'ez, whereas the second radical elements are of Amharic. This shows that in such compounds both words and structures are borrowed.

5.1.6.1.3 Loanshifts

Loanshifts is the second most important type of borrowing in the headlines of the Amharic newspapers (see table 14), and it includes both loan translations (calques) and semantic (meaning) extensions. Unlike loanwords and loanblends, where form-meaning and form as well as pattern are copied, respectively, in loanshifts only the meaning component is copied. This can further be divided into semantic extensions and loan translations in which the words in the base language conform to the words or their combination in the source language in terms of meaning. Each of these loanshift types is discussed below.

i. Loan translations or calques

Here, words are literally translated from the donor language(s) to Amharic. Such calques are abundant in Ethiopian daily newspapers (Kozicki 2017: 66). Overall, the examples presented in table 19 below, involve semantic translation excluding phonetic matching or copying the forms of the source words. Instead, they entail "rearranging words in the base language along a pattern provided by the other and thus create a new meaning" (Romaine 1995: 57).

As can be seen from table 19, two or more Amharic morphemes are combined on the model of the combination of their English equivalents. The following table contains instances of loan translations as they occur in the headlines of the Amharic newspapers.

Table 19 Loan translations in Amharic newspapers' headlines

(19)	Calques	Gloss	Source language	Newspaper
a.	<i>jə-ato mələs astədaddər</i> GEN-Mr Meles administration	'Mr Meles' administration'	English	AA 10.1.2001; also in AN
b.	<i>t'ik'ur gəbija</i> 'black' 'market'	'black market'	English	Re 7.7.2000
c.	<i>jə-məgənaŋŋa bizuh-an</i> GEN-communication many-PL	'mass communication'	English	Re 3.9.2000
d.	<i>t'ena-mma ginijju-nnət</i> health-ADJ relations-NMLZ	'healthy relation'	English	AZ 6.7.2000
e.	<i>jə-wuŋ'ŋ' minizarre</i> GEN-foreign currency	'foreign currency'	English	AZ 6.7.2000
f.	<i>arəŋ'wade abijot</i> 'green' 'revolution'	'green revolution'	English	AZ 7.10.2000
g.	<i>amaraŋ'ŋ' jə-hajil min'ŋ'ŋ'</i> alternative GEN-energy source	'alternative energy source'	English	Re 27.7.2000

In (19a), the Amharic expression, *jəʔato mələs astədaddər* 'Ato Meles' administration' is an exact calque of the English construction which is normally used to express the executive branch of a given president as in *Mr Bush's/Obama's administration*. All the linguistic elements (*jə-*, *ato*, *mələs* and *astədaddər*) are of Amharic origin, but these are arranged in a way to meet the meaning expressed in the English equivalent. Of course, the genitive construction in Amharic is a very common means of expressing a range of meanings, such as possession, body-part relations, kinship relations, etc. Nevertheless, using these words with the genitive construction pattern to describe meaning of the above kind is not common in Amharic, and hence it is modeled on English. In the Ethiopian context, this is expressed using the word *kabine* 'of ministers' as in *jəʔato mələs* 'the cabinet of Meles'. Note also in passing that this calque is limited only to *addis admas* and *addis nəgər*. The structure *jəməgənaŋŋa bizuhan* in (19c) is a loan translation from the English expression *mass communication*, where the item *bizuhan* equates with *mass*, while (*jə*) *məgənaŋŋa* with *communication*. The transposed structure *jəbizuhan məgənaŋŋa* 'mass communication' (lit. 'of mass communication') is also common in

Amharic. The English expression itself is based on the Latin words *medium* ‘middle, between’ and *communicatio* (nominative) ‘a making common, imparting, communicating’. Though both the constituents and the entire compound structure are of Amharic, the meaning created in such combination is new. In (19d), the English expression ‘*healthy relationship*’ is directly translated into Amharic as *t’enamma ginijjunnat*, whereby the item *t’enamma* denotes ‘healthy’ and *ginijjunnat* ‘relationship’. The English bound morphemes, namely –y and –ship are translated into Amharic as –ma and –nnat, which are adjectivizers and abstract noun markers, respectively. In (19e), likewise, *jəwufʃ minizarre* is calqued from the English expression ‘*foreign currency*’, in which *jəwufʃ* represents ‘of foreign’ and *minizarre* stands for ‘exchange’. In its entirety this Amharic structure, *jəwufʃ minizarre* designates the meaning ‘foreign exchange’. Another instance of loan translation is given under (19f) in which the Amharic expression *arəŋwade abijot* is a straightforward translation from the English term ‘green revolution’. While the word *green* is originally English, *revolution* is a borrowing from Latin *revolutionem* (nominative *revolutio*) which generally mean ‘instance of great change in affairs’. Hence, the English expression ‘green revolution’ has extended the meaning of revolution to refer to ‘the great increase in production of food grains’. In Amharic, the English word *green* is translated as *arəŋwade* and revolution as *abijot*; these two, in combination, provide the meaning ‘green revolution’.

ii. Semantic loans

Semantic borrowing occurs when a preexisting word, morpheme or phrase restricts, extends or shifts its meaning to adopt the meaning of a similar word in the donor language. It may or may not closely follow the form or organization of the original. These resemble with semantic extension which refers to an indigenous word which extends its meaning to match the meanings its foreign equivalents has (Grzega 2003: 273).

(20) a. *jə-musinna* *wəndʒəl* (Re 19.8.2000)

GEN-corruption crime
‘crime of corruption’

b. *limat-awi* *məŋgist* (AN 4.8.2000)

development-ADJ government
‘developmental government’

c. <i>jə-mikikkir</i>	<i>mədrək</i>	(AN 5.11.2000)
GEN-consultation	platform	
'consultation platform'		
d. <i>jə-gibijit</i>	<i>siriʔat</i>	(AZ 6.7.2000)
GEN-marketing	principle	
'Marketing principle'		
e. <i>jə-migib</i>	<i>k'əws</i>	(Re 3.9.2000)
GEN-food	crisis	
'food crisis'		
f. <i>jə-hajil</i>	<i>k'əws</i>	(AN 19.11.2000)
GEN-energy	crisis	
'energy crisis'		

The above data generally demonstrate semantic borrowing in which the meanings of the Amharic terms are modified on the model of the source language equivalents. In (20a), for instance, the word *musinna* was meant 'beauty of complexion', and now it has extended its meaning to correspond to the meaning of the English word 'corruption'. Similarly, in (20b), both the words *limatawi* and *məngist* are known to the Amharic speakers, but it was not used in the sense of 'developmental government'. The Amharic word *mədrək* in *jə-mikikkir mədrək* in (20c), which normally means 'platform, stage', has come to mean 'an opportunity to voice one's view'. In (20d), the item *siriʔat* 'principle, order', is extended to refer to similar senses but in a different domain, as in *jə-gibijit siriʔat* 'principle of marketing'. The word *k'əws* in Amharic generally means 'confusion, be at fault', but in (20e) and (20f), it has extended to have the meaning 'crisis', as in the English terms '*food crisis*' and '*energy crisis*', respectively. As a result, the word's semantic field has been extended to include the meaning 'difficulty or danger'.

5.1.6.2 Reasons for borrowing

Different factors may contribute to the borrowings taking place in different languages. The following two factors, however, are identified as the causes for the borrowings in the Amharic newspapers' headlines. These are stylistic and cultural factors.

5.1.6.2.1 Cultural factor

There are a range of concepts in science, technology as well as politics and administration which appear to be new to the culture of the Amharic language users. In order to designate such cultural issues pertinent to other languages, Amharic, like other languages, borrows some terms. The borrowings, thus, result from the need to name new events, actions, ideas, and objects in fields related to science, technology, communication, politics, sport, etc. for which Amharic lacks equivalents. Accordingly, borrowing in such situations appears to be necessary and as such it is referred to as “loanwords by necessity” (Haspelmath 2009a: 46; Weinreich 1953: 56).

In the Amharic newspapers, when headline writers face news stories containing issues that range from science and technology to administration and politics as well as sports, they mostly resort to borrowing. In order to express concepts, objects, events, or processes pertinent to these semantic fields, borrowing seems to serve as a practical solution to the problem they encounter (absence of equivalents in Amharic).

Headline writers in the four Amharic newspapers opted for borrowing instead of inventing new words to express those new concepts, processes or events. This is especially more apparent in *addis admas* and *addis nəgər*, which directly import foreign words extensively. Some aspects of creativity are observed rather in *addis zəməñ* and *riportər* as they employ loanblending and loanshifts, which demonstrate partial and complete morphemic substitutions, respectively.

All the borrowings in the Amharic newspapers are not, however, caused by a gap in the Amharic lexicon. Borrowing words from other languages may also be motivated by stylistic factor, which is discussed below.

5.1.6.2.2 Stylistic factor

There are many vocabulary items borrowed in the headlines of the four newspapers while their equivalents are available in Amharic. The choice of loanwords over their Amharic equivalents may be associated with factors, such as economy of expression (or space) and prestige, which are generally referred to as stylistic factors.

Table 20 below displays borrowings that occur due to economy of expression, i.e. for the sake of brevity. Though there are words in Amharic for the concepts, objects or processes mentioned in

the news headlines, the journalists opted for loanwords since the borrowed terms seem shorter and terser than the Amharic equivalents.

Table 20 Borrowings for economy of expression

(21)Loanwords	Source words	Newspaper	Amharic equivalents	Gloss
a. <i>hospital</i>	hospital	Re 6.11.2000	<i>hakim bet</i>	‘hospital’ lit. ‘house of physician’
b. <i>iskolar/fip</i>	scholarship	AN 24.1.2001	<i>jətimhirt iddil</i>	‘scholarship’ lit. ‘fortune of education’
c. <i>ikonomi</i>	economy	AN 8.2.2000	<i>jəmit’ane habt</i>	‘economy’ lit. ‘of economy wealth’
d. <i>konodomini-jəm</i>	condominium	AN 8.2.2001	<i>jəgara mənoriya bet</i>	‘condominium’ lit. ‘house for living together’
e. <i>prəs</i>	press	Re 8.10.2000	<i>jəhitimət wut’et</i>	‘press’ lit. ‘results of printing’
f. <i>artist</i>	artist	Re 24.9.2000	<i>jəkinətibəb baləmuja</i>	‘expert of art’
g. <i>bilbord</i>	billboard	AZ 6.7.2000	<i>jəmastawək’ija səleda</i>	‘billboard’
h. <i>konsərt</i>	concert	AA 24.1.2001	<i>jəmuzik’a dīgs</i>	‘feast of music’
i. <i>dijaspora</i>	diaspora	Re 7.7.2000	<i>tiwīldə itjop’p’ija</i>	‘of Ethiopian origin’

The data from (21a) – (21i) illustrate the preference of one foreign word to a two or more word equivalents found in Amharic. For instance, in (21a), the one-word loanword *hospital* is preferred to the two-word Amharic term *hakim bet* ‘hospital’ (lit. ‘house of physician’). In (21b), the loanword *iskolar/fip*¹⁸ is employed instead of the two-word Amharic equivalent *jətimhirt iddil*

¹⁸ Here, *i* is an epenthetic vowel which is used to break off the consonant cluster /sk/ word-initially.

‘scholarship’ (lit.‘fortune of education’). A similar explanation works for the rest of the borrowings in table 21.

Economy of expression and the need for semantic precision may have contributed to the use of loanwords over their Amharic equivalents. The Amharic equivalents comprise of two or more words for a concept, a process or an object which can be expressed using just a single word in the donor languages. These loanwords can contribute to using space economically, for they are terser than their Amharic equivalents and hence occupy little space in the news headlines. Though the Amharic expressions are capable of replacing the loanwords, they usually occur in the forms of paraphrases that show features of semantic imprecision. The choice of these loanwords over the Amharic equivalents can, therefore, be attributed to the desire to achieve precision, which is an element of crafting effective headlines. Of the four Amharic newspapers, these tendencies are particularly high, as table 21 shows, in *addis admas* and *addis nəgər*. Since these are smaller newspapers, the precise loanwords help to avoid their problem of space. Moreover, the longer paraphrases that Amharic can possibly use in place of the expressions in the source languages require more processing time and energy, which is against the principle of least effort.

In other cases, news headline writers employ borrowed words not because the equivalents in Amharic are longer expressions (as discussed above) but because they ascribe higher prestige to the loanwords than their Amharic counterparts. This is mainly because the available Amharic equivalents are semantically precise and structurally adequate enough to function as the borrowed words. Accordingly, there is entirely no need for borrowing these words. Table 21 shows appropriate Amharic equivalents in the right column for the loanwords given in the left column.

Table 21 Borrowings in the presence of apt Amharic equivalents

(22)Loanwords	Source word	Newspaper	Amharic equivalents	Gloss
a. <i>taks</i>	tax	Re 19.8.2000	<i>gibir</i>	‘tribute’
b. <i>zon</i>	zone	Re 5.8.2000	<i>k’at’ana</i>	‘district’
c. <i>aktar</i>	actor	Re 23.2.2000	<i>təwanaj</i>	‘actor’
d. <i>turist</i>	tourist	Re 8.10.2000	<i>g’obiñni</i>	‘tourists’
e. <i>oprefin</i>	operation	Re 8.10.2000	<i>zəməfffa</i>	‘operation’
f. <i>institute</i>	institute	AZ 6.7.2000	<i>tək’wam</i>	‘institute’
g. <i>riport</i>	report	Re 24.9.2000	<i>zəgəba</i>	‘report’
h. <i>wərkfop</i>	workshop	Re 8.10.2000	<i>guba?e</i>	‘workshop’
i. <i>tiransiport</i>	transport	AN 20.7.2000	<i>məg’ag’aza</i>	‘transport’
j. <i>stiratedži</i> ¹⁹	strategy	AN 2.9.2000	<i>silt</i>	‘strategy’
k. <i>kapital</i>	capital	AZ 20.7.2000	<i>wərrət</i>	‘capital’
l. <i>spes</i>	space	AZ 16.9.2000	<i>hiwa; t’ərəf</i>	‘space’
m. <i>simpozijəm</i>	symposium	AZ 16.9.2000	<i>guba?e</i>	‘conference’
n. <i>inərdži</i>	energy	AZ 28.10.2000	<i>gulbət</i>	‘energy’

In all of the examples given under table 21, the loanwords replaced the existing Amharic words. Many of these Amharic words are as short as their source word counterparts. In terms of meaning, the Amharic words precisely denote the events, actions or processes expressed in the source language words. Surprisingly, in terms of brevity, as the above data show, the overwhelming majority of the Amharic equivalents are shorter than the loanwords. Specifically, the borrowed words given from (22b) to (22m) are longer than their Amharic equivalents. Besides, in (22a) and (22n), the Amharic words have the same length as the loanwords, i.e. both words contain four letters. In both cases the meanings of the words remain more or less the same.

¹⁹ The Amharic phonotactics does not allow the coming together of two consonants at word-initial position. If this occurs, Amharic speakers invariably insert the epenthetic /i/ to break the consonant cluster. This does not, however, happen in loanwords as in 22 (j) and 22 (l).

The use of such loanwords in the presence of such Amharic equivalents, thus, might have stemmed from the positive values that the news headline writers place on the source languages. The loanwords may invoke an image of modern and sophisticated style that appeal to the Amharic newspapers' readers and lead to popularity to the newspaper(s) concerned. This indicates that the source languages' communities have power and prestige which influence the journalists to borrow the words. Thus, the direction of borrowing is mainly from English to Amharic, for English enjoys high prestige in Ethiopian society as it is considered a requirement for personal and professional development. Such English influenced borrowings might be associated with the international nature of news production and dissemination, which is influenced by Anglo-American traditions. The news headline writers' employ the loanwords so as to show that they are part of this tradition (of journalistic practice), which is reflected in Kniffka (1980) who thinks that aspects of the news grammar and vocabulary are shared internationally. As a result, the Amharic newspapers, as seen in the above data, extensively contribute to the introduction of foreign words and then make transition to everyday language (Tranter 1997).

5.1.6.3 Borrowability hierarchy

Any element in a language can be borrowed, but it varies across different word classes. Most of the loanwords in the Amharic newspapers are content words, and no item was borrowed from closed-class words. Nouns constitute the overwhelming majority of the loanwords in the Amharic newspapers' news headlines. The primary motivation for such borrowing is to extend the referential potential in the news headlines, for reference is established mainly through nouns (van Hout & Pieter 1994: 42). In addition to this, news headline writers make stylistic choices using such nouns (or naming). In times of covering the same events, different newspapers attempt to appeal their readers in terms of their presentation, and naming of events by various ways is one of such presentations.

Moreover, lexical items from different semantic domains have shown difference in their borrowability. Specifically, nouns related to science, technology, politics, entertainment (sport, music, poetry and theater), and administration are borrowed more frequently than words from the other semantic domains. Nouns are followed by other content words, such as verbs and adjectives which respectively name processes and attributes.

5.1.6.4 Effects of borrowing

Borrowing words from other languages is generally necessary in situations of cultural differences. Borrowings taking place in such a situation may enrich the Amharic lexicon. Some of the recommendations to curb and at times the efforts observed to resist the use of foreign loanwords in the Amharic newspapers may, thus, hinder the vocabulary development of Amharic. On the contrary, an extensive occurrence of loanwords in national newspapers might affect the subtleties of the existing Amharic words especially in the case of stylistic borrowings. In such situations, there may be a need to minimize loanwords in general and avoid unnecessary borrowings (which occur in the presence of Amharic equivalents), particularly in *addis admas* and *addis nəgər*. This is suggested in the belief that the presence of extensive loanwords in news headlines may also require more processing time and energy, which goes against the goal of headline crafting.

The other two Amharic newspapers *addis zəməñ* and *riportər* rely more on semantic and pattern borrowing than direct borrowing. In their efforts to avoid direct borrowings and create new structures as well as meanings, they use the morphological resources of Ge'ez in addition to Amharic. Using such strategies, it becomes possible for these newspapers to name concepts ranging from science and technology as well as politics to economy.

5.2 Grammatical properties of headlines

In this section grammatical features that do commonly occur in the headlines of the four Amharic newspapers' headlines are identified and described. Most of the grammatical structures found in the headlines of the Amharic newspapers are the same, but they do differ in terms of their frequency of occurrences mainly in each of the newspapers. Hence, these features are quantified and discussed.

5.2.1 Noun phrase complexity in headlines

Structural complexity of noun phrases (hereafter NPs), in this context, is understood as the amount and depth of modification within an NP (Schilk & Steffen 2016: 59). In deciding the complexity of the noun phrases, a combination of a linear (length) and a hierarchical structure (type of modification) is employed. The NPs that occur in subject-positions are compared against those that occur in non-subject-positions in terms of their structure and types of modifier they

contain. The existence of a systematic relation between NP types and their respective syntactic positions is, then, examined. To this end, the linguistic analysis in this part is restricted only to the structures and functions of the NPs in different positions within clause structures. Accordingly, two types of NPs have been identified and presented below.

5.2.1.1 ‘Light’ noun phrases in headlines

The classification of NPs into ‘light’ and ‘heavy’ was based on the parameters used in Aarts (1971: 281-282), Ni (2003: 159) and Jucker (1992: 252). Accordingly, ‘light’ NPs include names, pronouns and nouns, which are neither pre-nor postmodified except by a determiner, whereas ‘heavy’ items entail those NPs modified by one or more concatenated modifiers. In table 10, the NPs in subject-position are quantified and put in juxtaposition for comparative purposes in the four Amharic newspapers, and it shows the association between ‘light’ and ‘heavy’ NPs in subject-positions.

Table 22 Distribution of NPs in subject-position

Types of NPs in Subject-position	Frequency across four Amharic newspapers			
	<i>addis nəgər</i>	<i>addis admas</i>	<i>addis zəməṇ</i>	<i>riportər</i>
‘Light’ NPs	88 (55%)	96 (58.53%)	350 (53.27%)	299 (52.73%)
‘Heavy’ NPs	72 (45%)	68 (41.46%)	307 (46.72%)	268 (47.26%)
Total	160	164	657	567

In all of the four Amharic newspapers, ‘light’ NPs dominantly take the subject-position. ‘Heavy’ NPs, however, constitute fewer amounts of the NPs in this position. This difference in figures provides evidence for the correlation between subject-position and structural ‘lightness’ of the NPs. In each of the newspapers presented in table 22, the ‘light’ NPs in subject-position have shown at least a five percent difference from the complex NP counter-parts in the same position. The ‘light’ NPs in *riportər* and *addis zəməṇ*, for instance, demonstrated a 5 and 7 percent difference with the ‘heavy’ NPs, respectively. Likewise, the ‘heavy’ NPs in *addis nəgər* and *addis admas* are respectively 10 and 17 percent lower than the ‘light’ NPs in similar position.

This indicates that the association of ‘light’ NPs and the subject-position in *addis nəgər* and *addis admas* is considerably higher than the similar association that exists in *riportər* and *addis zəmən*.

The ‘light’ NPs in subject-position occur in different forms, namely names (people, places or objects), unmodified nouns as well as nouns modified only by a determiner. The relative frequency and distribution of these ‘light’ NP types in subject-position is given under table 23.

Table 23 Distribution of ‘light’ NP types

‘Light’ NP types in subject-position	frequency	percentages
Proper nouns (Names)	358	42%
Unmodified nouns	227	27%
Nouns specified by a determiner	248	29%
Total	833	----

The following section presents a discussion of these ‘light’ NP types as they occur in subject-position using examples from the sampled Amharic newspapers’ news headlines. Before this discussion, consider the occurrences of these ‘light’ NP types in the four Amharic newspapers. The table below presents a summary of the distribution of these ‘light’ NP types.

Table 24 ‘Light’ NPs in subject-position

Types of ‘light’ NPs	Distribution in four Amharic newspapers			
	<i>addis nəgər</i>	<i>addis admas</i>	<i>addis zəmən</i>	<i>riportər</i>
Proper nouns	45 (51%)	43 (44%)	130 (53%)	140 (46%)
Unmodified nouns	29 (32%)	37 (38%)	104 (29%)	57 (19%)
Nouns specified by determiners only	14 (15%)	16 (16%)	116 (33%)	102 (34%)
Total	88	96	350	299

5.2.1.1.1 Proper nouns (names)

One of the ways in which ‘light’ NPs are realized in subject-position is through names. Proper nouns, as shown in table 23, are by far the most pervasive of the ‘light’ NPs that occur as subjects of clauses or sentences, and they are followed by nouns modified only by a determiner. In the four Amharic newspapers, proper names quite frequently occur in the subject-position (see table 24). Proper names just like other nouns play roles either as subjects or objects within a sentence. In the following news headlines, proper nouns occupy the subject-position.

- (23) a. *abunə p’awlos jə-kuriftu rizort məznajna* (AN 19.11. 2000)

title (of a bishop) P’awlos GEN-Kuriftu resort entertainment

abal n-əffəw tə-bb-all-ə

member PRE.COP-3PL (POL.) PASS-APP-say.PFV-3MS

‘It was said that Bishop Pawlos is a member of the Kuriftu Resort Entertainment’

- b. *k’ənənisa bəqəllə bə-’afrika atiletiks fampijona mə-sələf-u* (AZ 18.8.2000)

Kenenisa Bekele in-Africa athletics champion INF-make-line-POSS.3MS

j-at’t’ərat’ir-all

3MS-doubtful.IPFV-AUX

‘Kenenisa Bekele’s participation in Africa’s Athletics Champion is doubtful’

- c. *mugabe biyyə-ffəw-n tə-wədaddər-u* (Re 8.10.2000)

Mugabe alone-3P (POL.)-ACC PASS-compete.PFV-3P (POL.)

‘Mugabe contested alone [in the election]’

- d. *atilet hajle bə-bedging ijj-a-wəzaggab-ə nə-w* (AA 12.11.2000)

athlete Haile in-Beijing PROG-CAUS-muddle.PFV-3MS PRES.COP-3MS

Athlete Haile is causing muddle in Beijing’

- e. *t’əqlaj minister mələs zenawi jə-ʔajna liʔuk-an budin-n ...* (AZ 18.8.2000)

prime minister Meles Zenawi GEN-China delegate-PL group-ACC

‘Prime Minister Meles Zenawi ... with China’s delegation team’

- f. *madona tə-fomm-əff* (Re 7.7.2000)

Madona PASS-appoint.PFV-3FS

‘Madona was appointed’

g. *buʃ a-ʃʃʹəqatʃʹaqi-w-n jə-koppi rajt higg a-sʹəddəq-u* (Re 9.2.2001)

Buʃ CAUS-controversi-DEF-ACC GEN-copy right law CAUS-approved.PFV-3P (POL.)

‘Bush approved the controversial copyright law’

h. *nəgaso gidada kə-mənorija-tʃəw indi-ləqq-u t-azzəz-u* (AN 21.10.2000)

Negasso Gidada from-residence-POSS.3PL (POL.) COMP-leave-3PL (POL.) PASS-order.PFV-3P (POL.)

‘Negasso Gidada was ordered so as to leave his residence’

i. *prezidant girma jə-gana-na jə-turk ambasadə-r-oʃʃʹ-n ...* (AZ 20.7.2000)

president Girma GEN-Ghana-and GEN-Turk ambassador-PL-ACC ...

‘President Girma ... to ambassadors of Ghana and Turkey’

In the data given from (23a) to (23i), the subjects of the clauses or sentences are specific individuals. These are prominent or famous individuals as they are political leaders, actors, singers and athletes. Many of these are celebrities for being political leaders, not only in Ethiopia but also in different parts of the world. For instance, the proper noun *Meles Zenawi* in (23e) was the former Prime Minister of Ethiopia. Again, *Mugabe* (Robert), in (23c), in (23g), *Buʃ* (George), in (23i), *Negasso Gidada* and in (23j), *Girma* (Wolde Giorgis), were in their order presidents of Zimbabwe, America, and Ethiopia. Similarly, *abunə Pawlos*, who was a well-known person for his being a religious leader in Ethiopian Orthodox Church, takes the subject-position in (23a). Moreover, in (23f), *Madona*, a singer, and in (23b) and (23d), successful Ethiopian athletes, namely *Kenenisa Bekələ* and *Haile* (Gebreselassie) appeared in the subject-positions. As the data show, the names of prominent individuals in various walks of life, such as in the entertainment industry, sport, politics, and religion, largely occupy the subject-position.

Proper names given in the examples above project features like definiteness, specificity and semantic singularity. Hence, they are mostly referred as inherently definite-specific. For instance, definiteness is associated with the obvious property of uniqueness and being familiar with the hearer (reader) in a given situation. As a result, given the news reporting context, the average readership of the newspapers seems to be specific and familiar with the names, such as *Meles Zenawi* and *Haile Gebreselassie*.

Names of places also quite frequently occur in the data. Specifically, nouns denoting countries or cities and continents appeared as the subjects of clauses as the following examples show.

- (24) a. *afganistan atlet-wa-n at't'-əff* (AN 5.11.2000)
 Afganistan atlet-POSS.3FS-ACC lose.PFV-3FS
 'Afganistan lost her athlete'
- b. *amerika iran-n as-t'anəqqəq-əff* (AZ 5.11.2000)
 America Iran-ACC CAUS-warn.PFV-3FS
 'America warned Iran'
- c. *biritanija lə-ʔatlet-oʻff-wa qidmə mirməra t-adərg-all-əff* (AN 5.11.2000)
 Britania to-athlete-PL-POSS.3FS pre test 3FS-do.IPFV-AUX-3FS
 'Britannia carries out pretest for her athletes'
- d. *itjop'p'ija ... irdata aqəjən-əff* (RI 23.2.2001)
 Ethiopia ... aid find.PFV-3FS
 'Ethiopia found ... aid'
- e. *afrika jə-migib waga "sunami" j-asəga-t-all* (AA 4.8.2001)
 Africa GEN-food price "tsunami" 3FS-worry.IPFV-3FS-AUX
 Africa is apprehensive of high food price'
- f. *addis abəba jə-ʔaləm bahr-ə hassab gubaʔe-n t-astənaggid-aləff* (Re 24.9.2000)
 Addis Abeba GEN-world ocean-LNK idea conference-ACC 3FS-host.IFV-3FS
 'Addis Ababa is about to host a conference on the world's calendar computations'
- g. *awroppa ajjər laj mobajl silk-n mə-t'əqəm fəqqəd-əff* (AA 4.8.2000)
 Europa air on mobile phone-ACC INF-use allow.PFV-3FS
 'Europe allowed using mobile phone [while] on air'

The name *itjop'p'ija* 'Ethiopia' occurred several times in the data, and this may indicate the effect of proximity in news reporting which dictates that reports about local events get more coverage than even the bigger happenings elsewhere (in distant places). The names of places presented above are connected to the expression of definiteness as they uniquely identify the referent of the NP in question. Closely connected with place names are names of specific organizations, such as political parties, companies or institutions. The following examples show names which refer to specific institutions (political parties, universities, etc.) occurring as subjects of clauses.

- (25) a. *juniti junivərsiti aksijon li-fət'* *nə-w* (AN 24.1.2001)
 unity university share INT.3MS-sell.IPFV PRES.COP-3MS
 'Unity University intends to sell share'
- b. *zəmən bank sira dʒəmmər-ə* (AA 24.1.2001)
 Zemen Bank work start.PFV-3MS
 'Zemen Bank started work'
- c. *bə-fəmpijons lig liverpul arsənal-n ji-gət'im-all* (Re 7.7.2000)
 in-champions league Liverpool Arsenal-ACC 3MS-face.IPFV-AUX
 'Liverpool faces Arsenal in champion's league'
- d. *hibrət kə-mirf'a-w ras-u-n aɣəlləl-ə* (AN 4.8.2000)
 solidarity from-election-DEF head-POSS.3MS-ACC CAUS-withdraw.PFV-3MS
 'Solidarity [party] withdrew itself from the election'
- e. *hamas bə-gaza sirt' jə-təkus aqum hassab a-qərrəb-ə* (AZ 18.8.2000)
 Hamas in-Gaza strip GEN-fire cease idea CAUS-propose.PFV-3MS
 'Hamas put forward a cease fire proposal in Gaza strip'
- f. *andinnət parti bəqirbu t'əqilalla gubaʔe li-t'əra nə-w* (AA 20.7.2000)
 solidarity party shortly general assembly INT.3MS-call.IPFV PRES.COP-3MS
 'Union Party intends to call a general assembly shortly'

In (25a), *juniti junivərsiti* 'Unity University', in (25b), *zəmən bank* 'Zemen Bank' and in (25f), *andinnət parti* 'Unity Party' are proper names in which each contains two nouns. For instance, in (25a), *juniti* and *junivərsiti* as well as *zəmən* and *bank* in (25b), are two nouns that constitute the proper names in question. However, *liverpul* 'Liverpool' (25c) and *hibrət* 'solidarity' (25d), each contains a single proper noun. These proper nouns, which are the subjects in (25c) and (25d), designate football clubs and a political party, respectively. They uniquely identify the referents in each of the NPs given above.

Names (of specific individuals, organizations, places or objects) are generally categorized as definite NPs as they are used to identify single individuals, places or things. Hence, using definite markers becomes unnecessary for proper nouns, for they are already definite in terms of both extent and identity to the audience. In addition, due to the absence of complex internal

structure in them, names are considered syntactically simplex. As a result, these two features: simplicity and definiteness, make ‘light’ NPs ideal targets for reporters in subject-position.

5.2.1.1.2 Nouns specified by determiners only

These constitute the second most frequent ‘light’ NP types that occupy the subject-position in the four Amharic newspapers (cf. table 23). Determiners express a wide range of grammatical information about a noun including quantity or number, definiteness, possession and location or position (as proximal-distal). In this thesis, determiners are not included in the premodifiers’ category which encompasses only adjectives, relative clauses, genitive constructions and nouns. Consider the following examples in which the subjects of the clauses contain determiners that express a range of grammatical information.

- (26) a. *sost mato awtobis-offif agar wust’ gabb-u* (Re 5.8.2000)
 three hundred bus-PL country inside enter-PFV-3PL
 ‘Three hundred buses entered into the country’
- b. *bə-trafik bə-qən and səw ji-mot-all* (AA 4.8.2000)
 by traffic by-day one person 3MS-die.IPFV-AUX
 ‘One person per day dies by traffic [accident]’
- c. *and kuntal bək’k’ollo bə-ʃ’ərata səbatt mato zət’ənn birr tə-ʃət’-ə* (Re 8.10.2000)
 one 100 kilos maize by-tender seven hundred nine birr PASS-sell.PFV-3MS
 ‘One hundred kilos of maize was sold by seven hundred nine birr on tender’
- d. *sost-u jə-gəbi məsrija bet-offif assira aratt bilijon birr səbəssəb-u* (Re 3.9.2000)
 three-DEF GEN-revenue office-PL from-fourteen billion birr collect.PFV-3P
 ‘The three revenue offices collected fourteen billion birr’
- e. *məhbər-u ...simimm-innət tə-ʃərrəm-ə* (AZ 3.1.2001)
 association-DEF ... agree-NMLZ PASS-sign each other.PFV-3MS
 ‘The association signed an agreement...’
- f. *maʔkəl-u jə-ruz zirrija-woffif laj jə-mirimmir sira* (AZ 1.2.2001)
 center-DEF GEN-rice offspring-PL on GEN-research work
ijjə-akkahed-ə nə-w
 PROG-undertake.PFV-3MS COP.PRES-3MS
 ‘The center is undertaking research work on rice offsprings’

g. *təwanajt-wa wadə televizin tiwanna tə-məlləs-əffif* (AA 12.11.2000)

actress-POSS.DEF to television acting PASS-return.PFV-3FS

‘The actress returned to television acting’

h. *gəbərə-w misaʔel-n lə-birət mə-qət’qəff’a-nnət a-wal-ə* (Re 5.8.2000)

farmer-DEF missile-ACC for-steel INF-working metal-NMLZ CAUS-spend.PFV-3MS

‘The farmer employed the missile for blacksmith purpose’

In the news headlines given from (26a) to (26c), the subjects are preceded by determiners, which are numerals that specify the quantities in the entities indicated in each of the NPs serving as subjects. In (26a), for instance, *sost məto* ‘three hundred’ is a determiner which indicates the quantity of the noun *awtobisoffif* ‘buses’. Similarly, in (26b) and (26c), the subjects *səw* ‘person’ and *bək’k’ollo* ‘maize’ are qualified in terms of number by the same specifier, that is, *and* ‘one’, as in ‘one person’ and ‘one quintal (100 kilos)’, respectively. These determiners indicate a particular number or quantity. Hence, by giving a particular figure or amount, these cardinal numbers answer questions, such as ‘how many’ and ‘how much’.

In the other news headlines, especially (26d) through (26h), each of the nouns serving as a subject of the headlines is determined by an article. That is, the Amharic definite marking morpheme, *–u* is attached to the nouns: *mahbər* ‘association’ (26f), *maʔikəl* ‘center’ (26g) and *–wa* to the noun *təwanajt* ‘actress’ (26h). As a result, these nouns become definite or known, as in *mahbər-u* ‘the association’ (26f), *maʔikəl-u* ‘the center’ (26g) and *təwanaj-it-wa* ‘the actress’ (26h). The determiner here, therefore, has a definitizing function, and without the definite marker, these nouns remain general or unspecific. The reference of the noun phrase in the subject position in (26e) is determined in terms of both quantity and definiteness. Here, in *sost-u*, while *sost* indicates the amount, i.e. three, *–u* shows that the noun phrase is definite, yielding the meaning ‘the three’. The two determiners (i.e. the quantity and the definiteness), together, determine the entire phrase, that is, *jə-gəbi məsrija betoffif* ‘revenue offices’. The noun phrase *gəbərə-w*, which is the subject of the clause in (26i), is definite as the morpheme *–w*, is attached to *gəbərə* ‘farmer’. As a result, it becomes *gəbərə-w* ‘the farmer’.

The numerals in Amharic can also assume an ordinal form. The ordinal numbers, which are formed by suffixing *–ənnə* on numerals, are important elements to establish the correct referent, by giving the position in a sequence of elements as the example below illustrates.

(27) *jə-itjo-dʒibuti assira siddistəŋna jə-gara dinbər komifn sibsəba ...* (AZ 1.9.2000)

GEN-Ethio-Djiouti sixteenth GEN-joint border commission meeting ...

‘The sixteenth Ethio-Djiouti’s joint border commission meeting ...’

The determiners discussed above are generally used to clarify the referential and quantificational range of the nouns which occurred as subjects of the clauses in the news headlines. As seen from the discussion, NPs which are specified by a determiner become somehow specific in terms of number (quantity) and reference or both to the audience.

The proportion of nouns specified by determiners only is higher than the unmodified nouns in *addis zəməŋ* and *riportər*. In *addis nəgər* and *addis admas*, however, nouns specified by determiners only constituted a smaller proportion than the unmodified nouns. This may imply that there is a tendency of more determiner avoidance in *addis nəgər* and *addis admas* than there is in *addis zəməŋ* and *riportər*. Generally, the retention of functional categories in the Amharic newspapers’ headlines contradicts with the headline crafting practiced elsewhere, that is, omitting the less informative elements (De Lange 2008: 66; Mårdh 1980: 113) and what the journalism handbooks suggest, for instance, in *headlinese* articles are elided (Arnold 1969: 93).

The determiner drop in headlines is usually ascribed to typographical restrictions and the need for minimal processing time for information. Headline writers strive for a minimal processing time per unit of information and this leads to the omission of functional elements as they require a higher processing per unit of information (De Lange 2008: 236; Dor 2003: 705). Normally, in using a definite NP, a speaker/a writer assumes that the reference is known to the hearer/reader. Nevertheless, this is not the case in the Amharic newspapers in question. Looking at only the headlines, readers cannot clearly identify the entities signaled by the definitized NPs. A reader, for instance, without reading the first paragraph of the news report, cannot uniquely identify the association or union stated in (26e). Similarly, the individuals and the institution given in (26f), (26g) and (26i) are not identifiable to the reader though the definite marker /-u/ with its allomorphic variant /-w/ is used with the respective NPs. This is mainly because the referents are neither previously mentioned (as they occur text-initially), nor do they form part of the knowledge of the readers (in many of the instances). If familiarity and the associated identifiability are not the case in using the definite NPs, then this may only be a means of structuring and presenting information in the headlines. Such usage may, thus, indicate the

headline writers' attempt to present the given information first (in the headline) and then relate it with the new information. Occurring enormously, especially in *addis zəməən* and *riportər*, determiner retention appears to be an important attribute of these newspapers' headlines.

5.2.1.1.3 Unmodified nouns

Nouns which are not premodified also occur in subject-position though they constitute the least percentage (27%) of the entire 'light' NPs in this position (cf. table 23). Noun types included in this category are collective noun, abstract noun and concrete noun. In the utterance, *wuḥa səw gəddəla* 'A dog killed a man', readers or hearers do not know, for instance, which dog the writer or the speaker is referring to unless they are provided with certain modifiers or an adequate context that help them to identify the dog mentioned in the utterance. In the following clauses, the NPs acting as subjects occurred with no modifier.

- (28) a. ...*bank jə-ʔekisport fəqad sət't'-ə* (AZ 3.1.2001)
 ...bank GEN-export license give.PFV-3MS
 '...Bank gave export license ...'
- b. *məngist jə-ʔand milijon juro digaf agənn-ə* (Re 7.7.2000)
 government GEN-one million euro support find.PFV-3MS
 'Government got a one million euro support'
- c. ...*lə-hamsa hulətt diridzəz-it-offf-na gilləsəb-offf məret tə-fəqqəd-ə* (Re 27.7.2000)
 ...for-fifty two organization-PL-and individual-PL land PASS-allow.PFV-3MS
 '... land was permitted for fifty two organizations and individuals'
- d. *bə-tedi afro kiss jə-miskkir-offf-n qal fird bet addammət'-ə* (Re 27.7.2000)
 in-Tedi Afro charge GEN-witness-PL-ACC word justice house hear.PFV-3MS
 'Law court heard the witnesses' word in Tedy Afro's charge'
- e. ... *lə-təkəssət-ə-w dirq irdatə tə-t'əjjəq-ə* (Re 3.9. 2000)
 ...for-REL-happen.PFV-3MS.SBJ-3MS.OBJ drought aid PASS-request.PFV-3MS
 'Aid was requested for the drought that occurred ...'
- f. *nəggade-wofff bə-bank-offf awadəz laj* (Re 8.10.2000)
 trader-PL on-bank-PL proclamation on
qirret-atfəw-n as-səmm-u
 grievance-POSS.3PL-ACC CAUS.hear.PFV-3PL

‘Traders voiced their grievance on the drafted proclamation of banks’

g. *polis bə-’olmært laj mirməra akkahed-ə* (Re 6.11.2000)

police by-Olmært on investigation undertake.PFV-3MS

‘Police undertook investigation on Olmært’

h. *kek jə-’inqulal alərdə-n j-aswəggid-all tə-bb-all-ə* (AA 12.11.2000)

cake GEN-egg allergy-ACC 3MS-avoid.IPFV-AUX PASS-APPL-say.PFV-3MS

‘It was said that cake avoids allergy induced by egg’

i. *t’ef²⁰ bə-’intərnət ijə-tə-ʔəbəʔʔəb-ə nə-w* (AA 20.7.2000)

t’ef on-internet PROG-PASS-sell excessively.PFV-3MS COP.PRESE-3MS

‘Tef is being excessively sold via the internet’

j. *bə-moqadiʔo wiggija agəraʔʔ-ə* (AA 18.8.2001)

in-Moqadiʔo war relapse.PFV-3MS

‘War relapsed in Moqadisho’

Though unmodified nouns come in a variety of forms, the overwhelming majority of these nouns seem to be common or generic nouns. To mention just a few, the nouns, *bank* (28a), *məngist* ‘government’ (28b), *məret* ‘land’ (28c), and *fird bet* ‘tribunal’ (28d) are common nouns. Closely connected with this is that many of the common nouns are concrete albeit there exists few nouns that designate abstract entities. Specifically, the nouns that are given in (28b), *məngist* ‘government’, in (28e) *irdat* ‘donation’ and in (28j) *wiggija* ‘war’, are abstract nouns occupying the subject-position. However, many of the nouns discussed in this section (unmodified nouns) denote the things, objects, and places in a generic way and simultaneously they are concrete nouns. This implies that reporters attempt to make the unmodified and the undetermined nouns as concrete as possible so that the readership could get clear information about an event or an issue they are reporting about. In times of using generic nouns in subject-position, many of these nouns denote events or objects which are concrete.

Table 24 shows that names of specific individuals and places constitute a substantial portion of the simple nouns that occur in the subject-positions of the four Amharic newspapers. Such nouns mainly include celebrities or famous people from different walks of life (sport, wealth, entertainment, etc.) and names of places or countries. It broadly shows that the expressions that

²⁰ *t’ef* is edible plant cultivated in Ethiopia.

dominantly occur in subject position are NPs with the exclusion of personal pronouns. Personal pronouns, which are positioned higher on the Animacy hierarchy, do not occur in subject position at all. This may be due to the fact that they are endophoric markers, that is, pronouns refer to entities in the linguistic context. The most dominant NPs that occupy the subject position are proper names in which personal names (humans) outrank place or object names (non-human). Generic nouns (especially the names of inanimate entities), are the least in occurring in the subject position. It follows, then, that proper names including both humans and non-humans take the intermediate position (between personal pronouns and common nouns) within the Animacy Hierarchy. These NPs generally refer to exophoric entities (i.e persons, things or objects outside the text) and hence they invoke Encyclopedic Knowledge.

The presence of features associated with specificity, definiteness, and concreteness to one degree or another, relates the three categories of NPs discussed under this section (proper nouns, NPs specified by determiners only and unmodified NPs) together. That is, proper names, NPs that are specified by a determiner as well as unmodified NPs that appeared in subject-positions tend to be definite-specific. Such NPs then tend to create known or familiar entities or events in the mindset of the newspapers' readership and the issue would be intelligible to a wide range of readers.

Generally, the correlation between the subject-position and structural 'lightness' may be attributed to the news reporters' aim of achieving economy both in terms of language and space. Using proper nouns can provide readers with the necessary linguistic resources to clearly identify persons, places or institutions mentioned in the news story (i.e meeting identification purpose). Secondly, nouns specified by determiners only and unmodified nouns occupy little space in newspapers (as compared to nouns modified by an adjective, a relative clause, a noun or a combination of these) and hence they try to save space (which is expensive in newspaper).

5.2.1.2 'Heavy' noun phrases in headlines

Though 'heavy' NPs are present in subject-position, they are more dominant in non-subject-position (cf. table 22). The heads of NPs can be modified by a wide range of elements that either precede or follow it. Amharic is a language with the adjective preceding the noun except in the word *hulu* 'all', which comes either preceding or following a noun as in *səw hulu* 'man all', or *hulu səw* 'all man'. Noun phrases can potentially carry very heavy informational loads which are

expressed through a multiplicity of modifiers. Table 25 compares the distribution of ‘heavy’ NPs in subject and non-subject-positions.

Table 25 Noun phrase types in non-subject position

Types of NPs in non-subject-position	Frequency of NPs in four Amharic newspapers			
	<i>addis zəməṇ</i>	<i>addis admas</i>	<i>addis nəgər</i>	<i>riportər</i>
‘Heavy’ NPs	416 (80%)	94 (64%)	108 (61%)	281 (63%)
‘Light’ NPs	99 (19%)	51 (35%)	67 (38%)	163 (36%)
Total	515	145	175	444

‘Heavy’ NPs are extensively more frequent in non-subject-positions, while only one-third of the ‘light’ NPs occur in this position. The majority of the noun phrases in non-subject positions of clauses are modified by one or more modifiers, namely adjectives, relative clauses, nouns and genitive constructions.

The head of an NP in Amharic is preceded by the determiner and the premodifier slots that qualify it (Leslau 2000: 153; Kapeliuk 1994: 87; Baye 2000: 240-43). The focus in this section is, however, on qualifiers in premodifier slots, for such modifiers tend to create ‘heavy’ NPs within the news headlines. We also consider the ‘heavy’ NPs in terms of the components (premodifiers) that constitute them and their functions within the NPs. The most common ways of noun modifications as seen in the Amharic newspapers’ headlines are presented in table 26.

Table 26 Modifier types and their distribution in headlines

Modifier types in non-subject position	Distribution	Percentages
Adjective	218	23.85%
Relative clause	314	34.35%
Noun	42	4.59%
Genitive construction	340	37.19%
Total	914	100%

As table 26 shows, four grammatical devices, namely attributive adjectives, genitive constructions, relative clauses and nouns are employed to modify NPs. Of these modifier types, the most dominant ones are genitive constructions and relativized verbs, followed by adjectives, while nouns constitute a very small percentage. The distribution of each of these modifiers in each of the four Amharic newspapers is summarized in table 27 below.

Table 27 Premodifiers in news headlines

Modifier types in non-subject-position	Distribution in four Amharic newspapers			
	<i>addis zəməṇ</i>	<i>addis admas</i>	<i>addis nəgər</i>	<i>riportər</i>
Adjectives	89 (20.64%)	30 (31.91%)	32 (29.62%)	67 (23.84%)
Relative clauses	131 (30.39%)	28 (29.78%)	33 (30.55%)	122 (43.41%)
Nouns	10 (2.32%)	10 (10.63%)	14 (12.96%)	8 (2.84%)
Genitive constructions	201 (46.63%)	26 (27.65%)	29 (26.85%)	84 (29.89%)
Total	431	94	108	281

This quantitative information, supplemented with qualitative information, is discussed below using examples from the headlines of the Amharic newspapers.

5.2.1.2.1 Adjectives

The category adjective denotes quality or attribute, and the most frequent grammatical function that adjectives have is modifying NPs. Adjectives can be of attributive or predicative and the latter type is not considered in this discussion. The adjectives treated here are those that modify the attributes or qualities of nouns and/or those that give more information about what the noun or pronoun refers to.

The adjectives observed in the Amharic newspapers' news headlines are both primary (original) and derived, and the former are quite few, but recurrent in the data. The frequency of these adjectives shows a marked variation in the four Amharic newspapers (cf. table 27). A high percentage of adjectives is observed in *addis admas* and *addis nəgər*, which registered 31.91 and 29.62 percent, respectively. The lesser as well as the least distribution of adjectives is found in their order in *riportər* (23.84%) and *addis zəməṇ* (20.64%). Based on this distribution of adjectives, it is possible to divide these Amharic newspapers into two. For they employ more

adjective modifiers in non-subject-position, *addis admas* and *addis nəgər* form one category, whereas *riportər* and *addis zəmən* make up another category, for they use relatively less amount of adjectives; instead, they dominantly employ the genitive construction and relativized verbs for modifying nouns. This categorization further implies that *riportər* and *addis zəmən* seem more serious in their reporting about people and events, while *addis admas* and *addis nəgər* appear to be more evaluative in reporting news stories. This is mainly because premodifiers which are farther away from the head denote subjective, relativistic as well as context-sensitive properties. Moreover, the presence of more structurally complex modifiers in the headlines of *riportər* (e.g. relative clauses) and *addis zəmən* (e.g. genitive construction) is an indicative of the informational focus of these newspapers (cf. Ni 2003: 163).

In the following headlines of Amharic newspapers, primary adjectives describe the NPs which occur in the non-subject-position.

- (29) a. *jə-ʒamerika hakim-ofɣf bə-ras dəsta nəs'a hikminna sət't'-u* (AA 18.8.2000)
 GEN-America physician-PL in-Ras Desta free medical care give.PFV-3PL
 'America's physicians gave free medical treatment in Ras Desta'
- b. *t'irunəf dibaba addis tarik sər-aɣɣf* (AZ 17.12.2000)
 Tirunesh Dibaba new history make.PFV-3FS
 'Tirunesh Dibaba made a new history'
- c. *milinijəm s'ihfət bet tillilq iqqid-ofɣf-u-n ...* (Re 9.2.2001)
 milinijəm writing house big (pl.) plan-PL-POSS.DEF-ACC ...
 'Millennium office its big plans...'
- d. *tirrafik-ofɣf addis-ofɣf-u-n motər sajkil-ofɣf* (AA 6.7.2000)
 traffic-PL new-PL-POSS.DEF-ACC motor cycle-PL
 'The traffic police ... the new motor cycles'
- e. *jə-tirrafik polis-ofɣf t'iru s'əbaj ... aqqədd-u* (Re18.12.2000)
 GEN-traffic police-PL good behavior ... plan.PFV-3PL
 'The traffic police men planned to show good behavior'

f. *zuma bə nəfʃʃ dəbub afrika-wj²¹-an²² ...tə-gərrəm-u* (Re 20.11.2000)

Zuma by white south Africa-ADJ-PL ...PASS-surprise.PFV-3P (POL.)

‘Zuma was surprised by white South Africans ...’

The primary adjectives in (29a) through (29f) modify the NPs that follow them. In (29a), the adjective, *nəs’a* ‘free’ describes the noun *hikiminna* ‘medical treatment’ in that the medical treatment is available without charge. Similarly, in (29b) and (29c), the adjectives *addis* ‘new’ and *tililli* ‘big (pl.)’ appeared before the nouns *tarik* ‘history’ and *iqqidoŋŋ* ‘plans’, respectively, and provide descriptive information about them. Specifically, the two adjectives *addis* ‘new’ and *tililli* ‘big (pl.)’ qualify the nouns respectively in terms of quality and size. In (29c), *tililli* ‘big (pl.)’, by repeating its consonant sound (*l*), it describes the size of the modified noun (*iqqidoŋŋ* ‘plans’). While *t’iru* ‘good’ in (29e) modifies *s’əbaj* ‘behavior’, *nəfʃʃ* ‘white’ modifies the noun *dəbub afrikawjan* ‘South Africans’ in (29f). These adjectives, such as *addis* ‘new’, *tili* ‘big’, *t’iru* ‘good’ and *nəfʃʃ* ‘white’, which occur recurrently in the data, belong to what Dixon 1977 as well as Welmer & Welmer 1969 considered as ‘true adjectives’ including their pairs of antonyms in their discussion of universal traits of adjectives.

Other adjectives that occur in the data are derivations from other parts of speech using some morphological formatives, namely *–awi*, *–ijña*, *–am/–amma*, and by inserting vowels within the roots or stems of nouns and verbs. Consider the derived adjectives in the following examples taken from the Amharic news headlines.

(30) a. *jə-tinbaho industri-w-na holiwid kəffitəŋna ginijunnət ...* (AA 24.2.2001)

GEN-cigarette industry-DEF-and Hollywood high relationship ...

‘The cigarette industry and Hollywood’s ... high relationship’

b. *jə-wəlləd-u innat-ofŋ bəqi inqilf ...* (Re 7.7.2000)

REL-bearchild.PFV-DEF mother-PL enough sleep ...

‘Mothers who gave birth ... enough sleep’

c. *nasa gizuf-u-n jə-hiwa robot təgbar laj li-jawl nə-w* (AA 6.7.2000)

Nasa large-DEF-ACC GEN-space robot function on INT-spend.IPFV COP.PRES-3MS

‘Nasa intends to begin to apply the large space robot’

²¹ In Amharic, the morpheme *–awi* is used to derive adjectives from nouns, which show class. In this example, while /a/ is elided to avoid the coming together of two vowels, the /i/ of *–awi* becomes /j/ before /a/.

²² It is a Ge’ez plural marking morpheme, but some Amharic words, especially those loaned from Ge’ez use it.

- d. *zəɾəŋŋ-innət jə-'igir kʷas asaffari gəs's'-ta nə-w* (Re 9.2. 2001)
 ethnic-NMLZ GEN-football embarrassing image-NMLZ COP.PRESE-3MS
 'Ethnicity is football's embarrassing face'
- e. *and-innət lə-fitih-na lə-dimokrasi məsraffif guba'e-w-n t'ərr-a* (AN 2.9.2000)
 one-NMLZ for-justice-and for-democracy founding assembly-POSS.DEF-ACC call.PFV-3MS
 'Unity for Democracy and Justice called for its founding assembly'
- f. *mikir bet-u amət-awi mədəb-əŋŋa sibsəba zare ji-dzəmir-all* (AZ 5.11.2000)
 advice house-DEF year-ADJ regular-NMLZ meeting today 3MS-start.IPFV-AUX
 'The council will begin [its] yearly regular meeting today'
- g. *bəʔal-u ... məlkam agat'ami mə-fit'ər-u tə-gəlləs'-ə* (AZ 20.7.2000)
 holiday-DEF ... good opportunity INF-create.IPFV-3MS-SUB PASS-reveal.PFV-3MS
 'It was revealed that the holiday created a good opportunity ...'
- h. *jə-itjo-dzibuti dinbər komifn t'əqami wissane-wofff as-alləf-ə* (AZ 1.9.2000)
 GEN-Ethio-Djibouti border commission important decisions-PL CAUS-pass.PFV-3MS
 'The Ethio-Djibouti border commission passed important decisions'
- i. *itjop'p'ija-wj-an set atilet-offf... asdənnaqi wit't'et as-məzəggəb-u* (AZ 7.10.2000)
 Ethiopian-ADJ-PL woman athlete-PL ... impressive result CAUS-register.PFV-3PL
 'Ethiopian woman athletes registered an impressive result ...'

In (30a), the adjective *kəffitəŋŋa* 'high' is formed by adding the morpheme *-əŋŋa* on the noun *kəffita* which means 'height (of a mountain), elevation'. This adjective appeared before the noun *giniŋpunnət* 'relationship' and shows its degree, that is, *kəffitəŋŋa* 'high'. In (30b) and (30h) the derived adjectives *bəqi* 'enough' and *t'əqami* 'useful' describe the nouns *inqilf* 'sleep' and *wissanewofff* 'decisions', respectively. The element *gizuf* in (30c) emanated from the root *g-z-f* by adding the vowel /u/ in the penultimate position. This yields the adjectives *gizuf* 'large'. In this case, the vowel /i/, which appeared next to the first consonant, is an epenthetic one, inserted to break down the consonant cluster at the initial position of the word. Here, *gizuf* 'large' modifies the genitive construction *jə-hiwa robot* 'a space robot'. The nouns *gəs's'ta* 'image' in (30d) and *wit't'et* 'result' in (30i) occurred in the non-subject position and preceded by modifying elements. The adjective *asdənnaqi* 'impressive' qualifies *wit't'et* 'result' and *asaffari* 'embarrassing, shameful' modifies *gəs's'ta* 'image'. Similarly, in (30e), the noun *guba'e*

‘assembly’ is modified by the element *məsiraff* ‘founding’, indicating the kind or purpose of the assembly. The adjective *amətawi* in (30f) is derived from the noun *amət* ‘year’ using the adjectivizing morpheme *-awi* which makes the meaning ‘yearly’. In the context in which this adjective occurs, it specifies the noun *sibsəba* ‘meeting’ in terms of the time in which it takes place, that is, *amətawi... sibsəba* ‘a yearly meeting’. In (30g), the adjective *məlkam* is formed by adding the morpheme *-am* from the noun *məlk* ‘form, looks’ and provides the meaning ‘good look, nice look’. Appearing together with the other adjective, i.e. *aggat’ami* ‘opportunity’, it describes the verbal noun *məfit’ər* ‘to create’.

Adjectives may also come immediately before *jə*-constructions whether it is a relative clause or a genitive one, and seem to modify the entire constructions. For instance, the adjectives, *tilliq-u-n* ‘the big (one)’ and *addis* ‘new’ in (31a) and (31b) below, appeared before the *jə*-constructions: *jə-goddana laj ruŋ’ŋ’a* ‘road running’, and *jəʔaləm kibirə wosən* ‘world’s record’, respectively. These two adjectives, thus, modify not one of the elements of the constructions, but the entire *jə*-constructions.

- (31) a. *itjop’p’ija bə-ʔafrika tillq-u-n jə-goddana laj ruŋ’ŋ’a ...* (Re 3.9.2000)
 Ethiopia in-Africa great-DEF-ACC GEN-road on running ...
 ‘Ethiopia ... the greatest road running in Africa’
- b. *dire tuni addis jə-ʔaləm kibirə wosən as-məzəgəb-əŋŋ* (AZ 7.10.2000)
 Dire Tunī new GEN-world record CAUS-register.PFV-3FS
 ‘Dire Tunī registered a new world record’
- c. *siḡa dəwe-na tibi wan-əŋna jə-t’ena ŋiḡiroŋŋ n-atfəw ...* (Re 27.7.2000)
 leprosy-and TB main-ADJ GEN-health problems COP.PRES-3PL ...
 ‘...leprosy and TB (tuberculosis) are the main health problems’
- d. *buŋ af’əqaŋ’aqi-w-n jə-koppi rajt hiḡḡ a-s’əddəq-u* (Re 9.2.2001)
 Buŋ controversial-DEF-ACC GEN-copy right law CAUS-approve.PFV-3P (POL.)
 ‘Bush approved the controversial copy right law’
- e. *ḡinbot 7²³ addis-u-n jə-mikikkir mədirək bə-məḡiləŋ’a-w təŋŋ-ə* (AN 5.11.2000)
 ḡinbot 7 new-DEF-ACC GEN-discussion platform by-statement-POSS.DEF criticize.PFV-3MS
 ‘ḡinbot 7 in its statement criticised the new consultation platform’

²³ *ḡinbot 7* lit. ‘May 7’ is a name of an opposing political party in Ethiopia.

f. *daŋŋ-wofff k'əjj lə-ləbbəs-u təwodadari-wofff ...* (AA 12.11.2000)
 judge-PL red to-REL-dress.PFV-3PL.OBJ contestant-PL ...
 'Judges to contestants who dressed red...'

Similarly, in (31c) – (31e), the different adjectives, such as *wanəŋna* 'main, principal', *aŋ'əqaŋ'əqi* 'controversial' and *addis* 'new' appeared, respectively before the following *jə*-constructions: *jə-t'ena ffigiroff* 'of health problems', *jə-kopirajt hig* 'of copyright law' and *jə-mikikir mədirək* 'of consultation platform'. The occurrence of the adjectives right before *jə*-is an indication of the fact that they modify the entire structure. In (31f), the adjective *k'əjj* 'red' preceded a relative clause and hence qualifies it in terms of the color of the dress that the contestants wore. Note also in passing that in the relative clause, *k'əjj lə-ləbbəs-u təwodadariwofff* 'to contestants who dressed red', the prefix *jə*-is omitted due to the presence of the preposition *lə*- 'to'. All these adjectives modify the *jə*-constructions in their entirety, with no exclusion of one substantive over another. In so doing, an adjective often occurs before a substantive it modifies.

5.2.1.2.2 The relative clause as a modifier

Adjectives are few in number in Amharic and the language employs other mechanisms, namely relative clauses and genitive constructions to modify NPs (Kapeliuk 1994: 67; Baye 2000). Though relative forms have various functions, only their adjectival functions are considered in this thesis. That is, it discusses how relative clauses, which are the second most dominant modification strategy in the data set (see table 27), express attributive information in Amharic news headlines. Specifically, the *riportər* uses the relative clause more frequently than the other three Amharic newspapers as an important means of modifying NPs. Relativized verbs have roughly a similar frequency of occurrence in *addis zəməŋ*, *addis nəgər* and *addis admas* (cf. table 27). Consider the following examples in which relative clauses provide attributive information to the nouns that follow them.

(32) a. *buŋ bə-iraq laj bə²⁴-jaz-u-t aq'am tə-təff-u* (Re 5.8.2000)
 Buŋ by-Iraq on by-REL-hold.PFV-3PL (POL.)-3MS.OBJ stand PASS-criticize.PFV-3PL (POL.)
 'Bush was criticized for the position that he held on Iraq's case'

²⁴ Here, the relative marker *jə*-is omitted due to the presence of the preposition *bə*-.

- b. *diaspora-w bə-agər limat lay jəmm-j-adərg-ə-w inqisiqqase* (Re 4.12.2000)
diaspora-DEF in-country growth on REL-3MS-make.IPFV-3MS-3MS.OBJ activity
'The Diaspora's activity in country's development...'
- c. *parlama-w itjop'p'ija j-allə-bb-at-n idda a-j-awwq-imm* (AA 20.7.2000)
parliament-DEF ethiopia REL-exist-APPL-3FS.OBJ-ACC debt NEG-3MS-know.IPFV-CM
'The parliament does not know the debt that Ethiopia owes...'
- d. *mandela kə-itjop'p'ija jə-hed-ə sit'ota tə-bərəkət-ə-ll-atfəw* (Re 4.1.2001)
mandela from-Ethiopia REL-go.PFV present PASS-offer.PFV-3MS-APPL-3P (POL.)
'A present that was sent from Ethiopia was offered to Mandela'
- e. *itjop'p'ija lə-wiɸ'ɸ' gəbija jəmm-ta-qərbə-w bunna ...* (Re 7.7.2000)
Ethiopia to-foreign market REL-3FS-present.IPFV-3MS.OBJ coffee ...
'Coffee which Ethiopia presents to the foreign market ...'
- f. *mugabe miʔirab-awj-an bə-zimbabwe laj jə-t'al-u-t-n ma'iqəb...* (AZ 17.1.2001)
Mugabe Western-ADJ-PL on-Zimbabwe on REL-impose.PFV-3PL-3MS.OBJ-ACC sanction
'Mugabe ... the sanction the Westerners imposed upon Zimbabwe...'
- g. *təqawwami-woɸɸ' təsfa jə-q'ərrət'-u-bb-ət mirɸ'a ...* (Re 5.8.2000)
opposition-PL hope REL-cut-3PL-APPL-3MS.OBJ election ...
'an election in which opposition[parties] lost their hope...'

In the above data, all the elements that preceded the NPs in non-subject-position are relative clauses, and these clauses carry out adjectival function. That is, the relative verbs qualify the following NPs. In (32a), the element ...*bə-jazu-t* (from *bə-jə-jazu-t*), is a relative clause (from *bəjəjazut*) qualifying the subsequent noun *aq'am* 'stand, position'. In (32b) and (32e), the imperfective forms *jəmm-j-adərg-ə-w* 'that it makes' and *jəmm-ta-qərbə-w* 'that it offers' describe the objects *inqisiqqase* 'activity' and *bunna* 'coffee', respectively. The suffix *-w* in the relative structures shows agreement with the objects *inqisiqqase* 'activity' and *bunna* 'coffee'. Similarly, the relativized verbs in (32c), (32d), (32f) and (32g) qualify the nouns *idda* 'debt', *sit'ota* 'present', *ma'iqəb* 'sanction', and *mirɸ'a* 'election'.

In the two basic relative verb forms observed above, i.e. the perfect form and the simple imperfect form, that show whether an action is completed or not, is not the major concern. Both

the perfect and the imperfect forms of the verbs perform adjectival function, that is, these forms are used to describe the referent of a subsequent noun.

5.2.1.2.3 Genitive construction as a modifier

Constituting 37 percent of the entire modifiers in the news headlines, the genitive construction forms the most frequent means of modifying nouns in non-subject-position (cf. table 26). As table 27 shows, for *addis zəməṇ* newspaper, the genitive construction is a substantial mechanism of modifying another noun. The genitive construction is also an important means of noun modification in *riportər* as it constitutes 29.89% of the modifiers (cf. table 27). This shows that *addis zəməṇ* and *riportər* heavily rely on genitive construction to qualify nouns in non-subject-position.

Unlike a possessive construction (which shows B belongs to A in a *jə*-AB construction), the genitive construction frequently functions as a qualifier. It involves some semantic relation between a noun phrase and a noun. The particular relation between a noun and an NP is determined based on the semantics of the words involved and based on the given context, for instance, from the order of the nouns within the genitive construction. The following news headlines illustrate the adjectival function of the genitive construction in non-subject position.

- (33) a. *addis-u bəḍḡət kəffitəṇṇa jə-mit't'ane habt idḡət lə-m-as-qət't'əl...* (AZ 5.11.2000)
 new-DEF budget high GEN-economy wealth growth to-INF-CAUS-continue ...
 'The new budget ...to sustain the high economic growth'
- b. *kəṭəm-offf jə-məggəbəjaja ma'ikəl-at sira li-ḡəmmir-u nə-w* (Re 27.7.2000)
 city-PL GEN-commercial center-PL work INT-start.IPFV-3PL COP.PRES-3MS
 'Cities intend to begin work on commercial centers'
- c. *addis-offf-u midbas-offf jə-tarif qinnaḡ jə-adərg-all-u* (AN 5.11.2000)
 new-PL-DEF midbus-PL GEN-fixed price reduction REL-make.IPFV-AUX-3PL
 'The new midbuses will make reduction on the fixed price'
- d. *jə-addis abəba junivərsiti lə-aratt miḡur-an jə-profesər-innət* (AZ 18.8.2000)
 GEN-addis abəba university to-four intellectual-PL GEN-professor-NMLZ
ma'irəḡ sət't'-ə
 rank give.PFV-3MS
 'Addis Abeba University promoted four intellectuals into a professorship rank'

- e. *ginbot səbatt ... j-aq^wam mægiləʃʃ'a a-wət't'-a* (AN 5.11.2000)
 Ginbot seven ... GEN-stand (position) statement CAUS.go out.PFV-3MS
 'Ginbot Seven issued a statement showing its position (stand)'
- f. *jə-riportər wanna azzəgaddɔ̌ jə-gidijja mukərə tədərrəg-ə-bb-ət* (Re 23.2.2001)
 GEN-reporter principal editor GEN-killing attempt make.PFV-3MS-APPL-3MS.SBJ
 'An attempt of killing was made on the Reporter [newspaper's] principal editor'
- g. *sigara maʃʃəs jə-tidar g^wadd-əɲna-n lə-strok jə-agalit'-all* (AA12.11.2000)
 cigar smoking GEN-marriage comrade-ADJ-ACC to-stroke REL-expose.IPFV-AUX
 'Smoking cigarette exposes a marriage partner to stroke'

Each of the above examples contains substantives marked with the genitive particle *jə-* that serves as the modifier to a following substantive, i.e. a head. In (33a), for instance, *jə-mit'ane habt idgət*, is a structure which contains two substantives: *mit'ane habt* 'Economics' and *idgət* 'growth', which are a compound noun and a noun respectively. The second substantive, *idgət* 'growth' is the head of this structure and *mit'ane habt* 'Economics' is the first component to which the *jə*-particle is attached. Accordingly, *mit'ane habt* 'economics' acts as a modifier and hence specifies the meaning of *idgət* 'growth' as in 'economic growth'. In so doing, it indicates the type of *idgət* 'growth' mentioned in the head noun, which is an economic one. In (33b), there are three substantives: *məggəbəjaja* 'a place where transaction takes place', *maʔikəlat* 'centers' and *sira* 'work' forming the structure *jə-ABC* and all of these components are nouns. The substantive *məggəbəjaja* is a verbal noun in which *mə-* is prefixed to *gəbəja* 'market' and the place marking morpheme *-ija* is suffixed to it, yielding the element *məggəbəjaja* 'a place where a transaction takes place'. The genitive marker *jə-* is prefixed to the first substantive *məggəbəjaja* as in *jə-məggəbəjaja* 'of a transaction' and specifies the following noun *maʔikəlat* 'centers' in terms of the purpose of the centers. This construction, *jə-məggəbəjaja maʔikəlat* 'commercial centers', further modifies *sira* 'work'. Specifically, it specifies the sort of job/work the report is referring to. This gives the following structure:

33 (b) [[*jə-məggəbəjaja maʔikəlat*] *sira*] but not [*jə-məggəbəjaja* [*maʔikəlat sira*]]

Without this attributive information, the meaning of the headword *sira* 'work, job' would be unclear. Similarly, in (33c) the head noun *qinaʃ* 'reduction' is specified by *jətariff* 'of a fixed price' in which the item *tariff*, a noun, is a loan word from English. There are two nouns in

(33d): *profesərinnaṭ* ‘professorship’ and *maʔirəg* ‘rank’. The item *profesərinnaṭ* ‘professorship’ is derived from the noun *profesər* ‘professor’ by attaching the Amharic abstract noun marker –*nnat*. Again, the particle *jə–* is prefixed to *profesərinnaṭ* ‘professorship’ and hence it specifies the meaning of the head noun *maʔirəg* ‘rank’, in terms of the type of rank in the academic hierarchy. In (33e), the function of the noun *jaqʷam* (from <*jə-aqʷam*) is adding attribution to the other noun *məgləfʷa* ‘statement, announcement’. As a result, the meaning of the head noun *məgləfʷa* ‘statement, announcement’, is restricted only to a statement of position (stand). The noun *mukkəra* ‘attempt’ in (33f) potentially can refer to any effort to do something, but the genitive construction, *jəgidijja* ‘of killing’, specifies it as an attempt of killing. Finally, in (33g), the element, *jətidar* ‘of marriage’ describes the noun *gʷaddəŋna* ‘friend, partner’. The noun *gʷaddəŋna* appears very general in terms of its meaning, so the presence of *jətidar* limits the reference only to marriage, that is, ‘marriage partner’.

All of the substantives that occur in the genitive constructions discussed above are nouns in terms of their syntactic category. However, they function as adjectives, for they qualify a following noun.

As premodifiers, the genitive constructions demonstrated two basic features. Firstly, they occur in prehead position, i.e. being close to the head noun. Compared to the other descriptive adjectives in the premodifier position, the modifiers nearest to the head are most objective as they entail the least adjectival and most nominal modifiers. Besides, they function as classifiers. Appearing in the prehead position, these elements specify a subset of the possible referents of the head noun. That is, classifiers restrict the denotational scope of the head noun unlike the descriptive adjectives that occur elsewhere within the premodifier slot and usually have evaluative sense.

5.2.1.2.4 Nouns as a modifier

Nouns also qualify other nouns though they form only the smallest (4%) proportions of the entire modifiers in the data set (cf. table 26). Noun modifiers specify particular aspects or features of a head noun, such as type, material, and so on. In English, *university* in *university education* is a noun but its function is adjectival, that is, specifying the type of schooling mentioned in the head noun (i.e education). Nouns as modifiers are the least employed in *addis zəman* and *riportər*,

which in combination constitutes 5.16 percent. By contrast, these noun-noun modifiers are higher in *addis nəgər* and *addis admas* as they form 12.96 and 10.63 percent, respectively (cf. table 26). Consider the following examples in which nouns serve as modifiers of noun phrases.

- (34) a. *məngist nəgade set-offf-n ... tə-t'əjjəq-ə* (Re 4.1.2001)
 government trader female-PL-ACC ... PASS-request.PFV-3MS
 'Government was asked ...female traders'
- b. *aliŋja kis lə-ɟəmis bond film madʒəbija muzik'a sərr-aŋf* (AA 10.1.2001)
 Alicia Keys to-James Bond movie accompanying music work.PFV-3FS
 'Alicia Keys made background music to James Bond's movie'
- c. *and t'inat wənd lidʒ-offf laj wəsib-awi t'iqat ...* (AA 18.8.2001)
 one study male child-PL on sex-ADJ assault ...
 'A study ... sexual assault on male children...'

In the above data, the news headlines from (34a) to (34c), contain nouns that directly modify another noun (a head noun) in a non-subject-position. For instance, in (34a), the noun *nəgade* 'trader' straight forwardly modifies *setofff* 'women', which is the head noun. Accordingly, it describes the head noun *setofff* 'women' into a particular type, i.e women who are traders. In (34b), the element *madʒəbija muzik'a* 'accompanying music', appears to be a syntactic compound in which its meaning is predictable from the meanings of the component parts, for the first noun is specifying the second noun. Here, *madʒəbija* is a verbal noun (from *mə-aɟəb-ija*) indicating also a means with the suffix *-ija*, giving the meaning 'a means to accompany'. When it comes preceding the other noun *muzik'a* 'music', it specifies the meaning of the head, that is, *madʒəbija muzik'a* 'accompanying music'. Here, *muzik'a* 'music' could be of various types, such as religious music, children's music, work music, etc. The use of the word *madʒəbija*, therefore, restricts it into a particular type, i.e. music in a film and such music plays in the background during a scene. The head-noun, *lidʒofff* 'children', in (34c), is specified by another noun *wənd* 'male' and its reference is restricted only to children who are male which is to the exclusion of females.

Noun modifiers typically appear close to the head, i.e. in prehead position, preceding all other premodifiers. Appearing adjacent to the head noun, they function as classifiers. That is, they are used to divide people or things into particular groups, types or classes. Furthermore, unlike other

premodifiers, especially adjectives, noun modifiers are not gradable (i.e. they are not used in comparative and superlative forms). For instance, the following structures: noun modifiers with *bət'am* 'very' are unacceptable in Amharic.

Table 28 Noun modifiers and their gradable status

Structures	Gloss
(35) a. <i>*bət'am nəgade setofff</i>	'very merchant women'
b. <i>*bət'am set atiletoff</i>	'very women athletes'
c. <i>*bət'am maḏəbija muziqa</i>	'a very accompanying music'
d. <i>*bət'am wənd lidzoff</i>	'very male children'

The structures in table 16 are unacceptable, for the noun modifiers are non-gradable unlike pure adjectives. The qualities in these noun modifiers are not expressed at different levels. Structures with no markers of gradability are, however, acceptable, as the following counter-parts illustrate:

- (36) a. *nəgade setofff* 'merchant women'
b. *set atiletoff* 'women athletes'
c. *maḏəbija muziqa* 'accompanying music'
d. *wənd lidzoff* 'male children'

This is evidence to believe that noun-noun modifiers are classifying adjectives. Accordingly, they show similarity with the genitive constructions discussed under § 5.2.1.2.3 in terms of structure and function. Structurally, the first element, which occupies the prehead slot, depends on the second (i.e. a head-noun). As indicated earlier, the function of the genitive noun is restricting the denotation of the head-noun. Similarly, noun modifiers are used to specify the type of the head noun.

Nevertheless, compared to the genitive constructions which are more dominant in *addis zəməñ* and *riportər*, noun modifiers are short in terms of their size and do not take much space in the newspapers. The relatively higher occurrences of noun-noun modifiers in *addis nəgər* and *addis admas* can, thus, be associated with their smaller size. The noun-noun sequence (noun as

modifying another noun), however, more frequently and prominently occur before proper nouns just like titles (cf. apposition type *b* § 4.2.1.2).

5.2.2 Order of modifiers within a noun phrase

Generally, as an OV language, Amharic has the order dependent-head. When two or more dependents (modifiers) come together, they seem to show certain tendencies. Firstly, primary adjectives precede derived adjectives, as the following news headlines illustrate:

(37) a. *jih jəwah haɣər wəddad hizb ...* (AN 24.1.2001)

this kind country lover people ...

‘this kind, patriotic people’

b. *tallallaq-ottf-u itjop’p’ija-wj-an atilet-ottf ...* (Re 3.9.2000)

great-PL-DEF Ethiopian-ADJ-PL athlete-PL ...

‘The great Ethiopian athletes ...’

In (37a), the head noun *hizb* ‘people’ is modified by two adjectives. The element *jəwah* ‘kind’, which is a primary adjective, preceded the derived adjective *haɣər wəddad* ‘patriotic’. The item *wəddad* ‘patriotic’ is derived from the root *w-d-d* ‘like, love’ by inserting the vowel /ə/ after the first consonant and /a/ in the penultimate position, which yields *wəddad* ‘lover’. Similarly, in (37b), the two adjectives *tallallaqottf* ‘the big ones’ and *itjop’p’ijawjan* ‘Ethiopians’ describes the same noun, i.e. *atiletottf* ‘athletes’. In this case, the derived adjective *itjop’p’ijawjan* ‘Ethiopians’ follows the non-derived adjective *tallallaqottf* ‘the big ones’. This also indicates the presence of the so-called big-fronting in Amharic, as adjectives denoting the ‘bigness’ of an entity (but not usually denoting little) appearing in front position, i.e. before all other adjectives.

Secondly, nominal modifiers appear close to the head noun. That is, modifiers such as nouns and denominal adjectives occur in prehead position, whereas adjectives occur further away. Consider the following examples:

(38) a. *bə-somaliya kəffitəjjna səbi-awi qəws anzabo-all* (Re 6.11.2000)

on-Somaliya high human-ADJ crisis hover.CNV.3MS-AUX

‘A high human (rights) crisis has lingered on Somaliya’

- b. *tawwaqi kenija-wj-an atilet-offf bə-addis abəba ...* (Re 5.8.2000)
 known Kenya-ADJ-PL athlete-PL in-Addis Abeba ...
 ‘Known Kenyan athletes ...in Addis Ababa’
- c. *itjop’p’ija-wj-an set atilet-offf bə-assir fi metir ...* (AZ 7.10.2000)
 Ethiopia-ADJ-PL female athlete-PL in-ten thousand meter ...
 ‘Female Ethiopians’ athletes in ten thousand meter...’
- d. *amerika bə-’itjop’p’ija iwnət-əyyə dimokrasiawi sir’at...* (AN 19.11.2000)
 America in-Ethiopia genuine-ADJ democratic system ...
 ‘America in Ethiopia ... a genuine democratic system in’

In (38a), there are two denominal adjectives that modify the noun *qəws* ‘crisis’. These are *kəffitəyyə* ‘high’ and *səbi?awi* ‘humane’. While *kəffitəyyə* ‘high’ is an adjective indicating size (or extent, degree) in this particular context, *səbi?awi* ‘human’ specifies type and hence a classifier. Accordingly, it occurs close to the head noun providing the sequence *[[kəffitəyyə] [səbi?awi qəws]]*. In (38b), though both *tawwaqi* ‘famous’ and *kenijawjan* ‘Kenyans’ are derived adjectives modifying the noun *atilet-offf* ‘athletes’, the noun *kenijawjan* ‘Kenyans’, which indicates provenance, occur close to the head-noun. In contrast, as (38c) shows, the denominal adjective *itjop’p’ijawjan* ‘Ethiopians’, go farther from the head when there is a noun serving an adjectival function as in *set* ‘woman’. Hence, the prehead position is occupied by the noun *set* ‘woman, female’, which indicates that the more nominal an entity, the more closer it would become to the head. In the example given under (38d), a quality marking adjective *iwnətəyyə* ‘genuine’ preceded another derived adjective marking origin, i.e. *dimokrasiawwi* ‘democratic’, which shows the following pattern: QUALITY > PROVENANCE > HEAD-NOUN.

Relative clauses in Amharic are prenominal, i.e. they precede the noun they modify. When they occur with other premodifiers that qualify the same noun, relative clauses usually precede them except determiners, as the following examples illustrate.

- (39) a. *addis-u bədgət j-allə-w-n kəffitəyyə* (AZ 5.11.2000)
 new-the budget REL-exist.PFV-3MS.OBJ-ACC high
jə-mit’t’ane habt idgət ...
 GEN-economy wealth growth ...
 ‘The new budget the existing economic growth’

- b. *s'ihfət bet-u jəmmi-j-akkənawn-ə-w-n* (AZ 1.9.2000)
 office house-DEF REL-3MS-discharge.PFV-3MS.SUB-3MS.OBJ-ACC
səbi-awi təgbar ...
 human-ADJ duty ...
 'The office ... humanitarian duty that it discharges'
- c. *zərəfa j-aggallətt'-u jə-hagər fimagille ...* (AA 20.7.2000)
 robbery REL-expose.PFV-3PL (POL.) GEN-country old man ...
 'An arbitrator who exposed robbery...'
- d. *jə-tə-q^warrət'-ə-w jə-milinijum wanf'a ...* (Re 19.8.2000)
 REL-PASS-interrupt.PFV-3MS-DEF GEN-millennium cup ...
 'The interrupted Millennium's Cup ...'

In both (39a) and (39b), an adjective and a relative clause come together, and the order is the former follows the latter. In (39a), for instance, the relativized verb *jalləwn* (from *jə-allə-w-n*) 'that exists' and the adjective *kəffitənnə* 'high' qualify the same noun, i.e. *idgət* 'growth' whereby the former comes preceding the later. Note also that, the genitive construction *jəmit'ane habt* 'of economic wealth', which acts as a classifier here, appeared after the adjective. Again, in (39b), the adjective follows the relative clause. That is, the derived adjective *səbi'awi* 'human', follows *jəmmijakkənawnəwn* 'that it undertakes', which is a relative clause. Both the adjective and the relative clause qualify the noun *təgbar* 'duty'.

Nevertheless, when there is a determiner which indicates such features as number, possession, distance (proximal-distal) or definiteness, it precedes any modifier whether an adjective or a *jə*-constructions (relative and genitive).

Generally, when multiple modifiers occur before a noun, headlines seem to prefer certain sequences, which determine the relative order of premodifiers as the following schema shows:

RELATIVE > ADJECTIVE > GENITIVE/NOUN > HEAD-NOUN

The elements in the premodifier position function as optional modifiers to the head-noun in noun phrases, but they have also the potential for expansion. This tendency reflects that modifiers that provide descriptive information about the noun occur before classifiers. That is, nominal groups (genitives, denominal adjectives and nouns) whose function is to subclassify the referent of the

head-word occur in prehead position (i.e close to the head-noun). Moreover, determiners which establish the referential and quantificational range of a head-noun appear first, i.e. they are the furthest from the head. In the following excerpt of news headlines, a determiner, a relative clause, an adjective, and a genitive construction occur in their respective order.

(40) *haja and bə-qirb jə-təq^waq^wam-u adaddis jə-fəmmaf-ofɸ* (AZ 7.10.2000)

twenty one by-recent REL-establish.PFV-3PL new ones GEN-consumer-PL

hibrət sira mabbar-at ...

union work association-PL ...

‘A recently established twenty-one new Consumers’ Union Work Associations...’

The adjective ordering restriction observed in the news headlines may generally be explained in terms of degree of subjectivity (after Hetzron 1978), which states that premodifiers closest to the head are those most concerned with properties that are (relatively) inherent in the head of the NP, visually observable and objectively recognizable or accessible. Conversely, “premodifiers further away from the head are those most concerned with what is relatively a matter of opinion, imposed on the head by the observer, not visually observed and only subjectively assessable” (Quirk et. al. 1985: 1341). This may adequately account for the order of such string of premodifiers since the explanation combines aspects of morphology and syntax, semantics as well as discourse functions.

Moreover, in a context in which a newspaper’s aim is to accurately and quickly impart information about an event or action (referential communication), this explanation becomes more appropriate. That is, establishing the reference of the head-noun initially at the prehead position (nominal construction) helps readers/listeners to instantly grasp the issue being reported. This is done by putting modifiers with properties (relatively) inherent in the head of the NP, visually observable and objectively recognizable, close to the head. Modifiers which are concerned with opinion, imposed on the head by the observer (less objective) are put far away from the head, for they play little role in establishing the reference of an entity.

5.2.3 Forms and structures of headlines

This section specifies and discusses some of the important linguistic properties that characterize the news headlines of the Amharic newspapers in terms of their structural components as well as functions.

Table 29 News headline types in Amharic newspapers

Headline types	Distribution in four Amharic newspapers			
	<i>addis admas</i>	<i>addis nəgər</i>	<i>addis zəmən</i>	<i>riportər</i>
Full clause headline	167 (89.784%)	192 (58.358%)	656 (87.935%)	526 (89.001%)
Minor clause headline	19 (10.215%)	137 (41.641%)	90 (12.064%)	65 (10.998%)
Total	186	329	746	591

5.2.3.1 Full clause headlines and their types

Different sentence types occur in Amharic newspapers' news headlines, and these are categorized in terms of their forms and functions. Based on their forms, for instance, the news headlines have been divided into minor and full clause headlines. This division is particularly based on the presence and absence of grammatical components or elements that constitute a well-formed sentence. Table 29 summarizes the proportion of these news headlines types in the Amharic newspapers.

In *addis admas*, *addis zəmən* and *riportər*, full sentence headlines account for nearly ninety percent of the headlines in the data set (table 29). The occurrences of minor clause headlines in these three newspapers are considerably low, which is less than fifteen percent. These Amharic newspapers produce their news headlines using grammatical constructions that encompass both action and participant. Having included the essential requirements of a sentence, these headlines convey complete information about a newsworthy event. The full sentence headlines, especially in *addis zəmən* and *riportər* are longer and hence they appear to be less striking and less attractive to read. They are not different from those of ordinary, non-headline language. On the contrary, the news headlines in *addis nəgər* and *addis admas* are short and punchy. In addition to being appealing to their readers, these precise news headlines save space in the newspapers concerned. Table 30 shows the types of full sentence headlines along with their distribution in

the four Amharic newspapers. Then, it is followed by a discussion of each of these headline types in terms of their structures and functions.

Table 30 Sentence types in news headlines

sentence types	Frequency in four Amharic newspapers			
	<i>addis admas</i>	<i>addis nəgər</i>	<i>addis zəmən</i>	<i>riportər</i>
Statements	155 (92.814%)	146 (76.041%)	654 (99.695%)	513 (97.528%)
Questions	8 (4.790%)	40 (20.833%)	2 (0.304%)	13 (2.471%)
Exclamations	4 (2.395%)	6 (3.125%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Total	167	192	656	526

5.2.3.1.1 Declarative headlines

Statements pass on or convey information, and news headlines in a statement format meet the main function of headline writing, i.e. informing the reader what the text that follows is about.

The vast majority of the headlines in the Amharic newspapers are of declarative type (table 30). This headline type is dominantly occurred in all of the four Amharic newspapers though it covered almost hundred percent of the headlines in *addis zəmən* and *riportər*. The declarative statements can appear in either positive or negative form, but in the data set the former is quite dominant. The following news headlines are statements as they convey information on newsworthy events.

(41) a. *baləsilt'an-u jə-gil bank-offj-n wək'k'əs-ə* (Re 6.11.2000)

official-DEF GEN-private bank-PL-ACC blame-PFV.3MS

'The official criticised private banks'

b. *bə-addis kətəma²⁵ hulət jə²⁶sat adəga-wojfi dərrəs-u* (AZ 18.8.2000)

in-addis ketema two GEN-fire accident-PL happen-PFV-3PL

'Two fire accidents happened in addis ketema'

c. *jə-dʒəms bond məkina hajk' wust' t'əllək'-əjfi* (AA 18.8.2000)

GEN-James Bond car lake inside sink.PFV-3FS

'James Bond's car sank in a lake'

²⁵ *addis ketema* is an administrative division in Addis Ababa city.

²⁶ When two vowels *ə* and *i* come together, *i* is elided

d. *jə-dərg*²⁷ *baləsilt'an-at* *t'əbək'-off* *lə-ŋilot* *abet* (AN 2.9.2000)

GEN-derg official-PL lawyer-PL to-law court yes

li-lu *nə-w*

INT.3P-say.IPFV COP.PRES-3MS

'The Derg [regime] officials' lawyers intends to appeal to the law court'

The news headlines, which are given from (41a) to (41d), express different kinds of state-of-affairs, events and actions. However, these declarative news headlines are not marked by a punctuation mark that signals the end of the statements. That is, four dots (:), which normally marks the end of a sentence in Amharic written texts, does not exist in the declarative news headlines at all. The avoidance of this punctuation point in the news headlines may be associated with space restrictions in the newspapers. The journalists' desire to avoid disruption in the tempo of reading could be another factor for leaving out this punctuation mark. Readers can, then, move their eyes to the rest of the news article and continue reading.

Declarative headlines can be of two types: passive and active headline depending on the voice type they employ. As table 31 shows, active headlines predominate over the passive headlines.

Table 31 Summary of voice types in declarative news headlines

Voice type	Frequency in four Amharic newspapers			
	<i>addis admas</i>	<i>addis nəgər</i>	<i>addis zəmən</i>	<i>riportər</i>
Active	133 (79.64%)	158 (82.29%)	454 (69.20%)	407 (77.37%)
Passive	34 (20.35%)	34 (17.70%)	202 (30.79%)	119 (22.62%)
Total	167	192	656	526

The use of either an active or passive in headlines does not change the facts reported, but it has effects on the focus of the news stories (as it indicates how an action is viewed) and economy of space in newspapers. Given news is often about people or other actors doing things, the active voice appears to be the most appropriate grammatical means to express such situations. In active headlines, the actor is placed first and the action follows. This creates news headlines that highlight events or actions in a short and simple manner, which also attract readers. This is why

²⁷ It is a military regime which stays in power in Ethiopia from 1974-1991 G.C.

most of the news headlines in the four Amharic newspapers are written in active voice format, but the distribution is not similar across the Amharic newspapers. Of the four newspapers, active constructions are higher in the news headlines of *addis nāgər* and *addis admas*, while more passive constructions are found in *addis zəmən* and *riportər* (cf. table 31). Moreover, as table 31 demonstrates, the smallest passive headlines are registered in *addis nāgər*, followed by *addis admas*. In passive headlines, the subject becomes the patient or the recipient of the action indicated by the verb. This construction results in longer as well as complex structure. Consider the following passive headlines:

- (42) a. *jə-dolar mə-mənzərija suk'-offf bə-polis tə-zəgg-u* (AA 6.7.2000)
 GEN-dollar INF-exchange place shop-PL by-police PASS-close.PFV-3PL
 'Dollar exchanging shops were closed by police'
- b. *jə-mirus' jə-olompik gədil bə-t'irunəf tə-dəggəm-ə* (Re 18.12.2000)
 GEN-Mirus GEN-Olympic miracle by-Tirunesh PASS-happen again.PFV-3MS
 'Mirus's Olympic miracle was repeated by Tirunesh'
- c. *lə-məḏəmərija gize libb bə-t'ik'ur tə-kəffət-ə* (Re 18.12.2000)
 for-first time heart by-black PASS-open.PFV-3MS
 'For the first time, heart was opened by black'
- d. *jə-biher-awi jə-səw sərraq' insisat m-arrabija zədə maʔikəl* (Re 7.7.2000)
 GEN-nation-ADJ GEN-man made animal INF-breeding method center
bə-komiʃin-u tə-mərrəmər-ə
 by-commission-DEF PASS-inspect.PFV-3MS
 'The National Center for Man-made Animal Breeding was inspected by the commission'
- e. *bə-biddir jə-təgəzz-a jə-bʷanbʷa ik'a bə-ḏibuti wədəb tə-wərrəs-ə* (Re 18.12.2000)
 in-credit REL-be.buy.PFV GEN-plumb object by-Djibouti port PASS-confiscate.PFV-3MS
 'Plumb object bought in credit was confiscated by Djibouti's port'

In the above headlines, the agents are expressed using by-phrases. Though the by-phrases are optional elements and there exists space constraint in headlines, the headline writers opted for maintaining them. This implies that the agents are as important as the topics for understanding the news story. Occuring right before the passive verbs, the by-phrases indicate the person, organization or thing responsible for the actions mentioned in the news headlines. Accordingly,

the agents in the above news headlines include *bəpolis* ‘by police’ in (42a), *bət’irunəf* ‘by Tirunesh’ in (42b), *bət’ik’ur* ‘by black’ in (42c), and *bəkomif/n-u* ‘by the commission’ in (42d), and *bəǧibuti wədəb* ‘by Djibouti’s port’. Though these agents occur towards the end of the headlines, they convey crucial information pertinent to the roles the individuals, authorities or governments play in the actions expressed in the passive verbs. Besides, these by-phrases give new information, for they are end-focused, emphasizing the elements (by-phrases) occurring at last. In this situation, space, as well as brevity, in the headlines is sacrificed for the sake of providing important information. This results in longer and tedious news headlines. In many headlines, however, the agents are omitted, as the following examples demonstrate.

- (43) a. *“jə-bahir bər” film mastawək’ija bə-televiziŋ* (AN 18.8.2000)
 GEN-sea gate movie advertisement on-television
ind-aj-təlalləf t-aggəd-ə
 COMP-NEG-transmit.IPFV PASS-block.PFV-3MS
 ‘Advertisement of “jəbaher bər” movie was blocked from transmission on television’
- b. *nəgaso gidada kə-mənorija-fəw ... indi-lək’-u* (AN 21.10.2000)
 Negaso Gidada from-living place-POSS.3MS (POL.) COMP-leave.IPFV-3MS (POL.)
t-azəzz-u
 PASS-order.PFV-3MS (POL.)
 ‘Negaso Gidada was ordered so as to leave his house’
- c. *bə-itjop’p’ija lə-təkəssət-ə-w dirk’ irdata tə-t’əjjək’-ə* (Re 5.8.2000)
 in-Ethiopia for-happen.PFV-3MS-DEF drought aid PASS-request.PFV-3MS
 ‘Aid was requested for the drought that happened in Ethiopia’
- d. *bə-wiŋ’f’ k’wank’wa lə-misəra²⁸ ef em²⁹ fək’ad tə-sət’t’-ə* (Re 8.10.2000)
 in-outside language to-work FM license PASS-give.PFV-3MS
 ‘License was given to an FM that works [transmits] in a foreign language’
- e. *bə-somaliya bə-məto jəmmi-k’ot’ər-u itjop’p’ija-wj-an tə-godd-u* (AA 4.8.2000)
 in-Somaliya by-hundred REL-count.IPFV-3P Ethiopia-ADJ-PL PASS-hurt.PFV-3P
 ‘Hundreds of Ethiopians were hurt in Somaliya’

²⁸ There is omission of the relative imperfect due to the presence of the preposition *lə-*.

²⁹ *ef em* (FM) stands for Frequency Modulation, which is a radio broadcasting system.

f. *his'an jə-dəffər-ə* *haja amət tə-fərrəd-ə-bb-ət* (AA 12.11.2000)

baby REL-rape.PFV-3MS.SUB twenty year PASS-sentence.PFV-3MS-APPL-3MS

‘Twenty year was sentenced to the one who raped a baby’

g. *jə-tək'awami-woff' jə-mirf'a k'isk'asa s'ihuf bə-midija* (Re 7.7.2000)

GEN-opposition-PL GEN-election inciting writing in-media

ind-aj-k'ərib tədərrəg-ə

COMP-NEG-present.IPFV make.PFV-3MS

‘Oppositions’ writing for the election campaign was made not to be presented in media’

h. *burundi bə-tə-kəffət-ə-w* *təkus hamsa səw-off'f tə-gəddəl-u* (Re 5.8.2000)

Brundi by-PASS-open.PFV-3MS-OBJ shooting fifty man-PL PASS-die.PFV-3PL

‘Fifty men were died in a shooting opened in Brundi’

i. *bə-borəna zon ... bə-fiḥ jəmmi-k'ot'ər-u tə-fənək'k'əl-u* (AN 2.9.2000)

in-Borena area ... by-thousand REL-count.IPFV-3P PASS-displace.PFV-3PL

‘Thousands of [people] were displaced in Borena area’

The headlines given (43a) through (43i) appear to report mainly on unpleasant as well as dramatic events. For this reason, the by-phrases that indicate agents have been omitted. In (43c), (43d) and (43f), the agents are omitted, for they are retrievable from the given contexts. In (43c), for instance, the agent is government; it is this body that takes responsibility to the drought happened in the country and devise ways of fixing it, as in requesting for aid or donation from countries and global organizations. In (43d), the omitted agent is *The Ethiopian Broadcast Authority*, which is accountable for granting license to media outlets. In (43f), the agent is omitted because it is just obvious. From the context, especially from the item *təfərrədəbbət* ‘it was sentenced’, we know that the agent is court, which is expressed in Amharic as *bəfird bet* ‘court’ (lit. ‘justice house’). Hence, mentioning this appears to be unnecessary since it can be easily deduced from the given contexts (both general and linguistic). By omitting these by-phrases, it would be possible to emphasize on the events or actions in news stories in one hand, and save valuable space in newspapers on the other hand. In addition to giving due attention to the topics by bringing it to the subject position, the above passive constructions make the headlines short as they avoid irrelevant information. The shorter the headlines, the more attractive they would become for readers. The omission of the agents does not intervene with

communication, i.e. understanding the information given, for the omitted agents can be predicted from the contexts.

In the headlines given under (43a), (43b), (43e), (43g), (43h) and (43i), however, the headline writers do not seem want to mention the agents. In these headlines, by using agentless passives, the identity of the agents is obscured. In (43a), for instance, a governmental institution (probably the Ministry of Information) may be the agent for blocking this information, but the news headline suppressed it. Again, in (43b), the news actor *Negaso Gidada* lives in a government-owned house given to him as a privilege for serving the country as a head of the state. However, due to the political differences he held with the incumbent government and resigning from power as a result, he was forced to leave the house. Hence, it is the incumbent government or its branches responsible for this action, but the newspaper does not reveal this. Similarly, in (43g), a government organ is responsible for denying media coverage to the opposition parties' election campaign writing. The headlines in (43h) and (43i), likewise, avoided mentioning the agents for the actions mentioned; as a result, we do not know who killed the fifty people in (43h) and the responsible individuals or groups who displaced the people in (43i).

In some of the headlines written in passive voice, the absence of the agents cannot be worked out or guessed from the given contexts. In such headlines, the individual actions are made to be invisible. Such passive constructions are based on the verb *al-* 'say', whose passive becomes *tə-bbalə* 'it was said', as the following examples show:

(44) a. *higgə wət't' as-dəwwaj-ojff tə-bəraktəw-all tə-bb-al-ə* (AA 26.11.2000)

law out CAUS-bell-ringer-PL PASS-abundant.CNV.3P-AUX PASS-APPL-say.PFV-3MS

'It was said that illegal telecom operators have become plenty'

b. *jə-rusija t'or kə-dʒordʒija gar wiggija dʒəmmiro-all tə-bb-al-ə* (Re 4.12.2000)

GEN-Russia army from-Georgia with battle start.CNV.3MS-AUX PASS-APPL-say.PFV-3MS

'It was said that Russia's army has begun battle with Georgia'

c. *jə-gənzəb gəbəja k'əws-u kə-sunami³⁰ gar ji-məsassəl-all* (AZ 15.2.2000)

GEN-money market crisis-DEF from-tsunami with 3MS-resemble.IPFV-AUX

³⁰ *sunami* is a loanword *tsunami* 'a great sea wave', but it is written based on its pronunciation, by omitting the initial /t/ consonant sound.

tə-bb-al-ə

PASS-APPL-say.PFV-3MS

‘It was said that the monetary market crisis resembles to tsunami’

If we strip off the passive verb *tə-balə* ‘it was said’, in (44a) through (44c), the headlines remain meaningful. These news headlines do not give clue as to the individual, group or institution responsible for the pieces of information mentioned in these headlines. In addition to *tə-balə* ‘it was said’, other Amharic reporting verbs, such as *gəlləs’ə* ‘he expressed’, *t’ək’k’omə* ‘he pointed out’, *t’əjjək’ə* ‘he asked’, *nəggərə* ‘he spoke’, and *amələkkətə* ‘he showed’ are employed. Consider the following headlines:

(45) a. *təff’əmmari jə-migib irdatā asfəllagi mə-hon-u tə-gəlləs’-ə* (Re 20.11.2000)

additional GEN-food aid necessary INF-be.PFV-3MS PASS-reveal.PFV-3MS

‘The necessity of additional food aid was revealed’

b. *set-offf bə-mirf’a-w mə-satəf ind-aləb-afəw tə-t’ək’k’om-ə* (AZ 6.7.2000)

woman-PL by-election-DEF INF-take part COMP-have to-3P PASS-inform on.PFV-3MS

‘It was indicated that women have to participate in the election’

c. *jə-sport maʔikəl-u bə-t’irunəf dibaba sim indi-səjjəm tə-t’əjjək’-ə* (Re 25.1.2000)

GEN-sport center-DEF by-Tirunesh Dibaba name COMP-designate PASS-ask.PFV-3MS

‘It was asked to name the sport’s center after Tirunesh Dibaba’

d. *jə-bedʒing olompik bə-məgənəjjə bizuh-an fəfan kə-atens-u* (AZ 17.12.2000)

GEN-Beijing Olympic in-mass medium-PL coverage from-Athens-DEF

ində-mmi-bəlt’ tə-nəggər-ə

COMP-REL-better.IPFV PASS-tell.PFV-3MS

‘It was told that the the Beijing Olympic is better than the Athens in mass media coverage’

e. *jə-agər-offf-u tibibir afirika-n ində-imm-j-at’ənakkir* (AZ 6.7.2000)

GEN-country-PL-DEF cooperation Africa-ACC COMP-REL-strength.IPFV

tə-mələkkət-ə

PASS-notice.PFV-3MS

‘It was pointed out that the countries’ cooperation will strengthen Africa’

The passive verbs that occur in the above examples (45a) to (45e) do not indicate the agents responsible for the statements made in each of the headlines. Normally, the passive voice is used

to highlight the patient and its affectedness. However, in these passive verbs such affectedness feature is not observed. They instead demonstrate a distinctive sense in news reporting, i.e. they just serve as a means of reporting on events or actions (Desalegn 2019: 56), and hence they are normally referred to as reportive passives (Ørsnes 2013: 315). Structurally, these reportive-passive verbs are regularly preceded either by relative clauses or verbal nouns.

Moreover, the headline writers provide a very general attribution which does not mention a specific individual or institution that can be held responsible for the given pieces of information. Such passive constructions appear to distance the actions or statements from any identifiable source. Occurring mainly in *addis zəməṇ* and *riportər*, these passive structures imply the headline writers' effort to sound more impersonal and objective in presenting news stories to their readership. That is, they seem to detach themselves from the stories they are reporting, trying to be as objective and impartial as academic writers do.

5.2.3.1.2 Interrogative headlines

Though clauses with interrogative structure occur in headlines, they constitute a very small percentage of the entire headlines. Higher occurrences of interrogative headlines are found, especially in *addis nəgər* (20.833%), followed by *addis admas* (4.790%). In *addis zəməṇ*, question headlines are almost non-existent, while in *riportər* such headlines represent only 2.471%. The former two newspapers employ questions that form an alternative means of imparting news in headlines, being particularly prominent in *addis nəgər*.

Interrogative headlines appear in two forms: yes/no questions, which are answerable by just yes or no, and information questions, which seek for specific information, employing question words, such as 'who', 'what', 'how', 'when', etc. Questions that expect or require yes/no answers appear in different forms. In the following examples, the headlines contain neither question words nor question particles. The question mark put at the end of these headlines signal they are just questions or interrogative headlines.

- (46) a. *intərnet bə-wəsib lik'-innət itjop'p'ija-wj-an-n* (AA 12.11.2000)
 internet in-sex rude-NMLZ Ethiopia-ADJ-PL-ACC
 ijj-abbəlaʃʃ-ə nə-w?
 PROG-corrupt-PRF.3MS COP.PRES-3MS
 'Is internet corrupting Ethiopians in rude sex?'

b. *mələs kə-somaliya jə-məwufʼʼa stratədʒi all-afʼʼəw?* (AN 2.9.2000)

Meles from-Somaliya GEN-exit strategy exist-PRF.3MS (POL.)

‘[Does] Meles has an exit strategy form Somaliya?’

c. *jihʼʼəf agər afrika-wi-t na-t?* (AN 18.08.2000)

this country Africa-ADJ-3FS COP.PRES-3FS

‘Is this an African country?’

Other yes/no questions are formed by adding the suffix *–ni* on the verb. Consider the following examples:

(47) a. *ihadeg jəmmi-ləw-n jahil nə-w-ni?* (AN 10.01.2001)

EPRDF RE-say.IPFV-ACC extent COP.PRES-3MS-Q

‘Does EPRDF act as it says’ (lit. ‘Is EPRDF what it says’)

b. *kʼətʼtʼaj-u tiwlidd mə-nor ji-ʼʼil-all-ni?* (AN 4.08.2000)

next-DEF generation INF-exist 3P-be able-AUX-Q

‘Can the next generation able to survive?’

c. *benitez livərpul-n wədə wantʼʼa jəmmi-məls-u n-afʼʼəw-ni?* (AN 22.02.2001)

Benitez Liverpool-ACC towards cup RE-turn.IPFV-3MS (POL.) COP.PRES-3MS (POL.)-Q

‘Is Benitez [the man] that bring Liverpool back to winning ways?’ (lit. ‘Is Benitez a coach that bring Liverpool back to cups’)

The headlines given in (47a) through (47c) are formed by adding the suffix *–ni* on the respective verbs. For instance, in (47a), *–ni* is placed on the copula *nə-*, in (47b) on the modal auxiliary *ji-ʼʼil-all-*, and in (47c), again on the copula *nə-* ‘be’. This feature is limited only to one Amharic newspaper, that is, *addis nəgər*.

Few yes/no questions are also formed in the following way.

(48) a. *bə-zimbabwe digami mirʼʼa ji-kahed ji-hon?* (Re 3.9.2000)

in-Zimbabwe again election 3MS-take place 3MS-may

‘May election take place in Zimbabwe again?’

b. *jə-wəl stiret kʼəws lə-ʒagər bet səw-offʼʼ-mm ji-tərf ji-hon?* (AN 8.2.2001)

GEN-Wall Street crisis for-country house man-PL-FOC 3MS-be.left 3MS-may

‘May the crisis in Wall Street affect people in home country [Ethiopia]’

c. *bunn*³¹-*aŋŋin* *bə-məŋʼərrə/a-wa səʔat laj ji-hon?* (AN 18.8.2000)
 coffee-POSS.3PL in-INF-last-DEF time on 3MS-may
 ‘May our coffee in its last hour?’

Each of the headlines presented above is ended with the auxiliary *ji-hon*, which questions the certainty of the given propositions. In (48a), for instance, it questions whether an election can take place again in Zembabwe or not. Similarly, the headline in (48c), inquires as to the said football club is in critical time using the auxiliary *ji-hon* followed by a question mark.

The majority of the interrogative headlines are, however, those that seek specific information—hence—information questions. These essentially occur with question words of different types as the following examples show.

(49) a. *jə-mikikkir-u* *məngəd wədet jə-amərr-all?* (Re 6.11.2000)
 GEN-consultation-DEF journey where REL-head.IPFV-AUX
 ‘Where is the consultation journey heading?’

b. *his’an-at-u-n* *inkilf jə-nəss-aŋŋəw mindn nə-w?* (AA 24.1.2001)
 child-PL-DEF-ACC sleep REL-not let-3PL what COP.PRES-3MS
 ‘What is that which deprive the children of sleep?’

c. *jə-parlama abal-at min si-sərr-u kərrəm-u?* (AN 10.1.2001)
 GEN-parlama memer-PL what 3P-work.PFV-3P spend summer-3PL
 ‘How did parliament members spend the summer?’ (lit. ‘What were parliament members doing spending summer’)

d. *ato mələs kə-parlama ləmin t’əff-u?* (AN 21.10.2000)
 mr Meles from-parliament why disappear.PFV-3MS (POL.)
 ‘Why did Mr Meles disappear from the parlama?’

e. *rusija bə-fəwwaf-u hidnik jət ti-dərs-aləŋŋ?* (AN 18.8.2000)
 Russia by-healer-DEF Hidnik where 3FS-arrive.IPFV-3FS-Q
 ‘Where does Russia will arrive with the healer Hidnik?’

In the above headlines, question words appeared before verbs. In so doing, they convert the declarative structures into questions. These headlines ask specific questions, such as *wədet* ‘to

³¹ *bunna* ‘coffee’ in this context denotes a football club in Ethiopia.

where’ in (49a), *mindn* ‘what’ in (49b), *min* ‘what’ in (49c), *ləmin* ‘why’ in (49d) and *jət* ‘where’ in (49e). As it can be seen from the data, each of the interrogative headlines is marked with a question mark.

Normally, questions are posed when an addresser seeks an answer from the addressee. In newspaper headlines, however, this is not the case. In this language use context, questions are posed not necessarily to get replies from the audience. Instead, they are meant just to initiate the curiosity of the readers and to motivate them to read the news story, which is usually the answer to the question posed. In addition to this, questions provide newspapers a dimension of variety in terms of presenting important information to their audience. Given that most of the news headlines are statements, the presence of questions either in yes/no forms or using question words, creates another strategy to the headline writers. Headlines formulated in the forms of questions are less conventional in headline writing and such forms are used for the sake of variety. Two Amharic newspapers exploiting this strategy are *addis nəgər*, to a greater extent and *addis admas*, to a certain extent.

The use of interrogative headlines, thus, has splitted the four Amharic newspapers into two. The smaller Amharic newspapers use more interrogative sentences in their headlines, whereas the bigger newspapers (*addis zəməñ* and *riportər*) rely more on statements (or declarative headlines).

5.2.3.2 Minor (clause) headlines

The term minor clause is used here to refer to sentences whose parts are ellipted. Such minor clauses are one of the features of ‘block language’. Headlines of newspapers belong to such ‘block language’ as they contain ellipted linguistic elements (Quirk et al. 1985: 845; Biber et al. 1999: 263).

Minor clause headlines occur in all of the Amharic newspapers, but their proportion is markedly lower than the full clause headlines (cf. table 29). This result somehow contradicts with the headline writing conventions practiced elsewhere; for instance, in English, headlines are not always complete sentences (Swan 2016: 292). A notable exception among the Amharic newspaper is, however, found in *addis nəgər* in which more than one third of its headlines is minor sentence of some kind. A substantially higher proportion of omission of grammatical items is found in *addis nəgər*, which amounts to 41.64 percent, and this figure is greater than the

combined omissions found in the three Amharic newspapers, that is, 33.277 percent. Minor clause headlines occur in two forms in the Amharic newspapers' headlines: through omission of certain grammatical elements and using just phrases.

The following section discusses the kinds of grammatical elements that are often omitted in the Amharic newspapers' headlines, and hence yield minor clause headline.

5.2.3.2.1 Verbal ellipsis

Ellipsis of the verbal type is concerned with omissions of auxiliaries, lexical verbs, modal verbs or the entire verb phrase. The most commonly occurring verbal ellipses in the headlines of the Amharic newspapers are presented below.

i. Lexical verb omission

The different actions in sentences are indicated normally through lexical verbs. In the subsequent headlines, reporting verbs are omitted. In these headlines, the reporting of the quoted materials is, thus, overtly signaled only by quotation marks.

- (50) a. “*fiḡgar al-təkəssat-ə-mm*” *t’ək’laj ministir mələs zenawi* (AN 3.11.20000)

“famine NEG-occur.PFV.3MS-CM prime minister Meles Zenawi

‘ “Famine did not occur” Prime Minister Meles Zenawi” ’

- b. “*bə-k’indzɔɣit*³² *parti sim fəft’ ijjə-tə-sarra nə-w*” (Re 21.8.2000)

“in-unity party name fraud PROG-PASS-work COP.PRESE-3MS

ato təfomə wəldəhawaryat

Ato Teshome WoldeHawaryat

‘ “Fraud is being made in the name of unity party” Ato Teshome WoldeHawaryat’

- c. “*jə-biher-awi budin-u jə-teknik komite hizb-u-n*” (AZ 7.10.2000)

“GEN-nation-ADJ team-DEF GEN-technique committee people-DEF-ACC

jik’irta ji-t’əjik” *gazet’ənn-offf*

apology 3MS-request.IPFV journalist-PL

‘ “The national team’s technique committee has to ask the people for apology” Journalists’

³² *k’indzɔɣit* ‘unity’ is the shortened form of a name of an opposition political party; its full name is Unity for Justice and Democracy.

- d. “*bə-ʔitjop’p’ija jə-polətika wit’rət ji-babas-all*” *zə ikonomist* (Re 9.2.2001)
 “in-Ethiopia GEN-poletics tension 3MS.worse.IPFV-AUX” the Economist
 ‘ “Political tension will be worsened in Ethiopia” The Economist’
- e. “*bə-təʔikərkari jəmmi-dərs-ə-w-n*” *gudat* (AZ 28.10.2000)
 “by-vehicle REL-happen.IPFV-3MS.SUB-3MS.OBJ-ACC damage
lə-mə-k’ənnəs jə-hullum t’irət j-asfəlig-all” *prezidant girma wəldəgiwərgis*
 to-INF-reduce GEN-all effort 3MS-necessitate.IPFV-AUX president Girma Wolegiworgis
 ‘ “All [people’s] effort is necessary to reduce the damage caused by vehicles” President
 Girma weldegiworgis

The headlines above (50a) to (50e) show the direct words of the respective news actors. The words of the news actors in these headlines are marked off by the Amharic *timirtə t’ik’s* ‘quotation marks’ (or inverted commas). In all of these headlines, the reported clauses appeared first and then followed by the reporting clauses, which contain the people (individuals) who attributed the pieces of information in the clauses. That is, the subjects are in postposition position, which is in contrast to the normal word order in Amharic. Though these headlines are in a direct speech format, they are marked by the absence of reporting verbs, such as *alə* ‘he said’, *galləs’ə* ‘he expressed’, *tənaggərə* ‘he spoke’, etc. In (50a), for instance, the reporting verb *al-u* ‘he said (POL.)’ is ellipited, and this elided verb is retrieved using knowledge of the grammatical structure of Amharic (structural recoverability). Within these headlines, where the subjects are postpositioned, the omitted verbs of speaking can presumably be retrieved in the position right after the quoted material as (51a) shows. That is, the verb *al-u* ‘he (pol.) said’ appeared before the subject, which is in a postposition. This analysis is strengthened by the recent tendency observed in Amharic electronic media in which verbs (of speaking) are placed before subjects.

- (51) a. “*ʔiɣar al-tə-kəssətə-mm*” *al-u* *t’ək’laj ministir mələs zenawi*
 “famine NEG-PASS-appear-CM” say.PFV-3MS (POL) prime minister Meles Zenawi
 ‘Prime Minister Meles Zenawi said, “Famine did not occur” ’

If this analysis is correct, headlines are assuming a reversed word order, i.e. VS instead of the normal SV pattern. This in turn indicates influence from the Western media (especially American and British) where the normal subject and verb order is reversed in the context of quotation.

Besides, such placement of reported clauses and the attributions enables the news headline writers to focalize the new information as it takes the front position, while the relatively old information comes last.

In addition to attribution verbs, other types of main verbs are also left out in Amharic newspapers' headlines. Consider the following examples:

- (52) a. *somaliya wust' iskəmətfə?* (AA 16.9.2000)
 Somalia inside up to when?
 'Inside Somalia up to when?'
- b. *jə-ʔitjop'p'ija ikonomi wadə mat'* (AN 18.8.2000)
 GEN-Ethiopia economy into mire
 'Ethiopia's economy into mire?'
- c. *jə-siminto it'rət indəgəna* (Re 7.1.2001)
 GEN-cement shortage again
 'Shortage of cement again'
- d. *tedi afiro bə-misikkir-offf fit* (AN 16.9.2000)
 Tedi Afro in-witness-PL face
 'Tedi Afro in face of witnesses'
- e. *jə-ʔitjop'p'ija budin lə-bedging olompik* (AA 12.11.2000)
 GEN-Ethiopia team for-Beijing Olympic
 'Ethiopian team for Beijing Olympic'
- f. *jə-aləm muzijəm-offf k'an bə-addis abəba* (AA 16.9.2000)
 GEN-world museum-PL day in-Addis Ababa
 'A world's Museum Day in Addis Ababa'
- g. *jə-afiro-arəb wət'at-offf liʔuk-an bə-kampala* (AZ 6.9.2000)
 GEN-Afro-Arab youth-PL delegate-PL in-Kampala
 'Afro-Arab's youths delegates in Kampala'

The structures given from (52a) to (52g) are minor headlines, for verbs that mainly indicate actions are omitted. For instance, main verbs are ellipted in the interrogative headlines in (52a) and (52b). In (52a), a verb is not the only ellipted material; the subject is also omitted. If we consider the situation, i.e. the extralinguistic context, it is possible to retrieve the subject of this

headline. The exophoric reference, which is omitted from the subject position, is the noun *itjop’p’ija* ‘Ethiopia’. The elided verb in this headline seems to be *ti-k’ojj-aləffj* ‘she stays’. After recovering these ellipted materials, the headline appears as follows:

- (53) a. *itjop’p’ija somaliya wust’ iskə məfə ti-k’ojj-aləffj?*
 Ethiopia Somaliya inside upto when 3FS-stay.IPFV-3FS
 ‘When will Ethiopia leave Somalia?’ (lit. ‘Upto when Ethiopia stays in Somalia?’)

In headlines (52b), (52e) and (52g), a verbal group that indicates a progressive aspect seems to be missing. The headline in (52b), for instance, contains a subject and a prepositional phrase *wədə mat* ‘into mire’, which lacks a verb that specifically indicate the destination. Hence, elements such as *ijjə-hedə nəw* ‘it is going/moving’ can complete this headline. It is possible for readers to recover the elliptical elements by applying their knowledge about the structure of Amharic. In (52c) and (52d), the possible ellipted verbs are the passive forms of the verbs *kəssətə* and *nəggərə*, i.e. *tə-kəssətə* ‘was occurred’ and *tə-nagərə* ‘did speak’. In (52e), the missing verb is *ḍəmmərə* ‘started’, which requires a complement like *zigidḍit* ‘preparation’. In (52f), the omitted verb could be *ji-kəbər-all* ‘it will be celebrated’. Generally, readers are assumed to have the potential not only to grasp the missing elements but also the capability to recover them using their knowledge of the structure of Amharic as well as the contexts. Moreover, linking verbs, which join a subject of a sentence with a word, phrase or clause that gives some information about the subject, are ellipted in headlines. Consider the following examples in which the Amharic present auxiliary *nə-* ‘be’ is omitted.

- (54) a. *kopa koka kola lə-ḥitjop’p’ija igir kʷas məsarət məftihe* (AN 20.7.2000)
 Kopa³³ coka cola for- Ethiopia foot ball foundation solution
 ‘Coca-Cola Cup a solution for Ethiopian football foundation’
 b. *jə-ḥaksum hawult jə-ḥitjo-it’aliya məlkam ginju-nnət təmsalet* (AZ 3.1.2001)
 GEN-Aksum statue GEN-Ethio-Italiya good relation-NMLZ exemplary
 ‘The Axsum statue an exemplary [for] Ethio-Italia’s good relation’
 c. *jə-ḥinərḍi-w zərḥ t’irət lə-hagər-itu idḡət məsarət...* (AZ 28.10.2000)
 GEN-energy-DEF sector effort for-country-DEF (f) development base ...
 ‘The effort of the energy sector ...a base for the country’s development’

³³ *kopa* is a Spanish word for ‘cup’.

d. *jə-gibs' k'irreta "p'ap'p'as-u ləmin ji-fətəf-all-u?"* (AA 4.8.2000)

GEN-Egypt grievance "bishop-DEF why 3MS-search.IPFV-AUX-3P (POL.)"

'Egypt's grievance "Why the bishop will be searched?"

The examples (54a) to (54d) contain news headlines in which auxiliary verbs are ellipped. As a result, the ideas in each of the headlines remained hanging on the air. In all of these headlines, the ellipped item seems to be *nəw*, which is a present copula in Amharic. In (54a), for example, the subject is *kopa koka kola* 'Coca-Cola Cup' and *məftihe* 'solution' is a word providing information about it. These two linguistic elements, however, are not connected due to the omission of a linking verb, i.e. *nəw*. This copula often follows a complement (which tells some information about the subject) and occupies the final position in clauses—hence—final ellipsis. Similarly, the omitted element in the rest of the examples, that is, in (54b), (54c) and (54d), is the element *nəw*.

5.2.3.2 Nominal ellipsis

Nouns do carry content and convey a significant piece of information within a sentence by serving either as an actor or a patient. However, nouns can also get omitted in newspaper headlines. The following headlines illustrate the omission of head-nouns within noun phrases.

(55) a. *his'an-wa-n jə-dəffər-ə ... tə-fərrəd-ə-bb-ət* (AA 16.9.2000)

baby girl-DEF-ACC REL-rape.PFV-3MS.SUB ... PASS-put verdict.PFV-3MS.SUB-APPL-OBJ

'The rapist is charged'

b. *lə-kifijja s-il jə-isat adəga ja-dərrəs-ə-w* (Re 5.8.2000)

for-payment when-say.IPFV.3MS GEN-fire accident RE-reach-3MS.PFV-DEF

tə-k'ət't'-a

PASS-punish.PFV-3MS

'The one who caused fire accident for the sake of payment was punished'

c. *bə-mussina wəndəɣəl jə-tə-t'ərət't'ər-u* (AZ 2.11.2000)

by-corruption crime REL-PASS-suspect.PFV-3PL

bə-k'ut'it't'ir sir wal-u

by-control under spend time.PFV-3PL

'Those who were suspected of a corruption crime were put under control'

d. *daŋŋa-wa-n li-zərf jə-mokkər-ə tə-fərrəd-ə-bb-ət* (AA 4.8.2000)

judge-DEF-ACC INT-rob.IPFV REL-try.PFV-3MS PASS-put verdict.PFV-3MS-APPL-OBJ

‘Verdict was made on one who tried to rob the female judge’

e. *talallak’-off-ə itjop’p’ija-wj-an holand bə-mmi-dərag-əw* (Re 3.9.2000)

great-PL-DEF Ethiopia-ADJ-PL Holland in-REL- under take.IPFV-3MS.OBJ

assir fih metir li-gənaŋŋ-u nə-w

ten thousand meter INT-meet.IPFV-3P COP.PRES-3MS

‘The great Ethiopians to meet in ten thousand meter that will be held in Holland’

In all of the examples given above (55a) through (55e), the noun phrases in the subject-position contain relative clauses. These relative clauses are supposed to modify the head-nouns. The head-nouns are, however, left out and the news headlines remained headless. As a result, the relative clauses remain hinged on air with no noun to modify. In (55a), for instance, the element *his’anwan jədəffərə* ‘the one who raped the baby girl’, is left with no overt head-noun that the relative clause can modify. Similarly, in (55b), the head-noun, which the relative clause *jəʔisat adəga jadərrəsəw* ‘the one who caused fire accident’ modifies, is absent. All in all, in these headlines, the ellipited head-nouns are individual(s) who are responsible for the crimes or the bad things mentioned in the relative constructions. Following this, the use of such constructions in these contexts conceals the identity of the agents. Using the agreement affixes, which are attached to the relative verbs, it may be possible to recover the head-nouns. Nevertheless, such efforts result in only partial information that cannot help to establish the identity or reference of the given head-nouns. In (55a) and (55b), for instance, based on the agreement suffix attached to the relative verbs *jədəffərə* and *jadərrəsəw*, respectively, the head-nouns can be guessed as relating to 3MS. On similar vein, in (55c), the head-noun is related to a third-person plural entity. By taking the situational contexts into account, we may still speculate about the identity of the head-nouns. For instance, the head-noun in (55a) can possibly be *giləsəb* ‘an individual’; in (55b), *jədiriɖɖɖitu seratəŋŋa* ‘the organization’s worker’ and in (55c), *baləsilt’anoŋŋ* ‘officials’. These are just generic nouns which do not refer to specific individuals and hence can not establish the correct referents of these nouns. As a result, as it can be observed in the glossing of the above data, it is only possible to name the agents using indefinite pronouns, such as ‘one’ in (55a), (55b) and (55e), and as ‘those’ in (55d), which make the people responsible for the bad actions reported in these headlines invisible.

There are also cases in which the omission of a head-noun can easily be recovered from the context (either linguistic or situational).

(56) a. *addis nəgər jīgbaŋŋ ti-t'əjk'-aləff* (AN 3.12.2000)

Addis Neger appeal 3FS-request.IPFV-3FS

'Addis Neger will appeal [to the court]'

In this headline, the noun *gazet'a* 'newspaper' is ellipted, but the surviving term expresses the meaning of the unellipted one. Normally, *addis nəgər* is the name or the title of the newspaper as in *addis nəgər gazet'a* 'Addis neger newspaper' (lit. 'New issue newspaper'). After the omission of *gazet'a* 'newspaper', the surviving element *addis nəgər* denotes the entire name probably by contiguity.

5.2.3.2.3 Adposition ellipsis

Generally, in newspaper headlines, function words, namely determiners, articles, auxiliary verbs and prepositions are almost invariably omitted. In Amharic newspapers' headlines, however, only a few function words are left out. Adposition (pre-and postpositions) whose primary function is to show relations, i.e. to link constituents is avoided in headlines. In the following examples, the postposition *wust'* 'inside' is elided and the omission is indicated by Ø.

(57) a. *somaliya Ø ta-git-əw jə-nəbbər-u hulət* (Re 4.12.2000)

Somalia Ø PASS-take-DEF REL-COP.PAST-3PL two

t'alijan-awj-an tə-lək'k'ək'-u

Italia-ADJ-PL PASS-release.PFV-3PL

'Two Italians who were held in custody Ø Somalia were released'

b. *burundi Ø bə-tə-kəffət-əw təkus hamsa səw-off* (Re 3.9.2000)

Burundi Ø by-PASS-open-DEF shooting fifty man-PL

tə-gəddəl-u

PASS-kill.PFV-3PL

'Fifty people died by the shooting Ø Burundi'

c. *talallak'-off-u itjop'p'ija-wj-an holand Ø bə-jəmmi-dərrəg-ə-w* (Re 3.9.2000)

great-PL-DEF Ethiopia-ADJ-PL Holland Ø by-REL-make.PFV-3MS-3MS.OBJ

assir fih metir li-gənaŋŋ-u nə-w

ten thousand meter INT-meet.IPFV-3P COP.PRES-3MS

'The great Ethiopians [athlets] to meet in ten thousand meter [race] Ø Holland'

The postposition *wust* ‘inside’ is omitted in (57a) and (57b) after the subjects *somaliya* ‘Somalia’ and *brundi* ‘Brundi’, respectively. In (57c), this same element or *laj* ‘on’ is avoided after the country name *holand* ‘Holland’.

Other grammatical elements ellipped from the headlines of Amharic newspapers are prepositional phrases. Consider the following examples:

- (58) a. *sost-u jə-holiwid gʷadəŋnam-offɪf Ø li-təwɪn-u nə-w* (AA 22.2.2001)
 Three-DEF GEN-Hollywood friend-PL Ø INT-act.IPFV-3P COP.PRES-3MS
 ‘The three Holliwood friends are to peroform/act Ø’
- b. *jə-məkakkələŋna-w misrakʼ baləhəbt-offɪf Ø ijja-mətʼtʼ-u nə-w* (Re 6.11.2000)
 GEN-middle-DEF east rich-PL Ø PROG-come.PFV-3PL COP.PRES-3MS
 ‘The Middle East rich men are coming Ø’
- c. *jə-siwidin mənɣist j-asira and milijon dolar irdata Ø sətʼtʼ-ə* (AZ 19.11.2000)
 GEN-Swiden government GEN-eleven million dollar aid Ø give.PFV-3MS
 ‘Swedish government gave a donation of eleven million dollar Ø’

In (58a), the missing element is the prepositional phrase *bəgara* ‘together’, which should have been placed before the prospective aspect *litəwɪnu nəw* ‘they are going to act (in a movie)’. The presence of the prepositional phrase *bəgara* ‘together’, qualifies the compound verb. This adverbial function (or information) is particularly important in the newsworthiness of this headline. That is, from the headline we know that the three friends are already actors in Hollywood, and the information in the compound verb, that is, they are going to act, therefore, cannot be a newsworthy story. What is newsworthy rather is the three friends’ intention or plan to take part in a movie together in the near future. This particular piece of information is conveyed by the prepositional phrase *bəgara* ‘together’, which is omitted from the headline. The non-elliptical counterpart of this headline appears as follows:

sost-u jə-holiwid gʷadəŋnam-offɪf bəgara li-təwɪn-u nə-w
 ‘The three Hollywood friends are going to play in a movie together’

Again, in (58b), the main verb *ijja-mətʼtʼ-u nəw* ‘they are coming’, grammatically requires the presence of a prepositional phrase that indicate place, which is obviously ellipped in this

headline. From the context, it is possible to recover it, and the element *wadə itjop’p’ija* ‘to Ethiopia’ can fill in this void. In the headline given under (58c), the verb *sət’t’-ə* ‘he gave’, requires three arguments, i.e. the giver, the thing to be given and the receiver. In this headline, while the two arguments (the giver and the thing given) are present, the receiver is not mentioned. The omission of this element is of course recoverable from the context by applying situational recoverability and the ellipted element is *lə-itjop’p’ija* ‘to Ethiopia’, which is a prepositional phrase.

Overall, the ellpted items in the above headlines are not obligatory elements in the Amharic grammar. Hence, their omissions does not cause ambiguity or comprehension problem, but they give partial information in headlines. For instance, in (58b) and (58c), readers do not know *where* the mentioned news actors are heading and *to whom* the donation was given, respectively. The addition of the prepositional phrase *bəgara* ‘together’ in (58a) makes this headline clearer and hence its newsworthy feature becomes apparent.

5.2.3.2.4 Phrases

Other headlines in the Amharic newspapers consist of noun phrases with no verb or any other grammatical items necessary for the completeness of a sentence. Such phrases appear in the forms of nominal and prepositional phrase headlines, and they are discussed below.

i. Nominal headlines

Other headlines consist of noun phrases with no verb, and can be referred to as nominal headlines. The head is the only obligatory element in such nominal headlines, but it can be qualified by different types of modifiers. These modifiers normally add descriptive information to the head-noun, and they often restrict its reference (Quirk et al. 1985: 65). Consider the following headlines from the Amharic newspapers:

- (59) a. *k’iniḍḍit-nna tiping pojnt* (AA 24.1.2001)
 Unity-and tipping point
 ‘Unity[for Democracy and Justice] and tipping point’
- b. *awəzzagabi-w “bajo fijul”* (Re 4.1.2001)
 controvercial-DEF “bio fuel”
 ‘the controversial “bio fuel” ’

c. *iddilə bis-u jə-lotəri affənnafi* (AZ 8.2.2001)

unfortune -DEF GEN-lotteri winner

‘the unfortunate lottery winner’

d. *jə-məḍḍəmərija-wa set jə-parti məri* (AN 21.10.2000)

GEN-first-DEF female GEN-party leader

‘the first female party leader’

The verb phrases in the headlines (59a) to (59d) are ellipped and hence result in phrases which are nominal. In (59a), for instance, the nominal headline occurs in the form of bare nouns which are joined by the coordinating conjunction *-nna* ‘and’ (also *inna*). In this headline, the conjunction links words from two languages: Amharic (*k’iniḍḍit* ‘unity’ (lit. ‘coordination’) and English (*tiping pojnt*). In the rest of the headlines, (59b) to (59d), the nominals are modified by different qualifiers. For instance, the nominals in (59b), (59c) and (59d) are qualified by the elements *awəzzagabiw* ‘the controversial’, *iddiləbisu* ‘the unfortunate’ and *jəməḍḍəmərijawa set* ‘the first woman’, respectively. The qualifier in (59a) *awəzzagabi* ‘controversial’ is an adjective, while the one used in (59b), i.e. *iddiləbis* ‘unfortunate’ is a compound noun, which is formed by blending the Amharic noun *iddil* ‘fortune’ with the Ge’ez verb form *bis* meaning ‘without’. The linguistic element which modifies the head-noun in (59d), *jəməḍḍəmərijawa set* ‘the first woman’, is a genitive construction.

Nominal headlines can occur with modifiers, and these modifiers follow in some headlines the head-nouns. Though Amharic is a head-final language, and hence modifiers of different kinds are placed before the head noun, some instances of postmodification seem to appear in the headlines of the Amharic newspapers. These postmodification-like structures occur in some headlines as a result of the omission of mainly a copula. Consider the following headlines:

(60) a. *“zə itjop’p’ija” tammaññ-u jə-?itjop’p’ija gazet’a* (AN 16.9.2000)

“the Ethiopia” faithful-DEF GEN-Ethiopia newspaper

‘ “the Ethiopia”, the faithful Ethiopian newspaper’

b. *“agər-e-n al-rəssa-mm” jə-niwaj dəbəbə konsərt* (AN 16.9.2000)

“country-POSS.1S-ACC NEG-forget-CM” GEN-Neway Debebe concert

‘ “I donot forget my country” Neway Debebe’s concert

c. *napolijon bonaparti ilf-offif-n jə-rəttə bə-and* (AZ 16.9.2000)

Napoleon Bonaparte innumerable-PL-ACC REL-win.PFV by-one

jə-təfənnəf-ə dʒəgna

REL-be.defeat.PFV-3MS hero

‘Napoleon Bonaparte, the one who defeated innumerable [people] [and] defeated by one’

d. *denmark jə-aləm dəst-ənnə-wa agər* (AZ 28.10.2000)

Denmark GEN-world happy-NMLZ-POSS.DEF country

‘Denmark, the world’s happiest country’

In (60a), *tammənn-u jə-ʔitjop’p’ija gazet’a* ‘the faithful Ethiopian newspaper’, is an appositive modifying “*zə itjop’p’ija*”, which is the name of the newspaper and serving as the head-noun in this headline. Normally, this modifying element should have occurred being preposed to the head-noun, that is, “*zə itjop’p’ija*”, yielding the structure *tammənn-u jə-ʔitjop’p’ija gazet’a* “*zə itjop’p’ija*” ‘the faithful Ethiopian newspaper, *the Ethiopia*’. Similarly, in (60b), the genitive construction *jəniwaj dəbəbə konsərt* ‘Neway Debebe’s concert’, which serves as a qualifier, appeared following “*agər-e-n al-rəssa-mm*”, the head-noun. This shows that a descriptive appositive occurs following a head-noun, i.e. in postmodifier position—hence—an instance of postmodification. Here, the head-noun, *agər-e-n al-rəssa-mm* ‘I do not forget my country’, is basically the name (title) of the concert as well as his album. In (60d), the omission of the auxiliary verb *na-t* (< *nəat*), makes the complement *jə-aləm dəst-ənnə-wa agər* ‘the world’s happiest country’, to act like a postmodifier to the head-noun that precedes it. More specifically, this element provides readers with some descriptive or additional information about *Denmark*, which is a proper noun. Such role of the complement appears to be the concomitant of the omission of the copula *nat*.

In certain nominal headlines, journalists employ a series of modifiers so as to compress much information into little space. Such a sequence of qualifiers includes both the complex constructions (relative and genitive) and adjectives. As a result, interpreting or understanding such headlines quickly becomes difficult or challenging. Here are few of such headlines.

- (61) a. *bə-məsərət idgət-u tə-t'ək'k'ami jəmmi-hon-ə-w* (AZ 17.1.2001)
 by-foundation development-DEF PASS-benefit.PFV REL-be.IPFV-3MS.SUB-3MS.OBJ
bifɣf-əɣɣa jə-seramik fabrika
 only-ADJ GEN-ceramic factory
 'the only ceramic factory that will be benefited [from] the foundation growth'
- b. *wanɣ'a-wotɣf-n ijɣ-ajɣ-ə j-alləf-ə-w* (AZ 28.10.2000)
 cup-PL-ACC PROG-see.PFV-3MS REL-pass.PFV-3MS.SUB-3MS.OBJ
idil-ə bis-u majkil balak
 fortune-LNK without-DEF Michael Ballack
 'the unfortunate Michael Ballack who missed cups under his eyes'
- c. *bə-sawdi arəbija jə-ras-^wa-n tarik jə-sərr-afɣf* (AZ 17.1.2001)
 in-Saudi Arabia GEN-head-3FS.POSS-ACC history REL-work.PFV-3FS
birtu set
 strong woman
 'a strong woman who made her own history in Saudi Arabia'
- d. *addis-u jə-afrika məri-wotɣf silt* (AA 16.9.2000)
 new-DEF GEN-Africa leader-PL strategy
 'the new strategy of African leaders'

Each of the headlines given (61a) to (61d) contains two or more qualifiers. Such sequences of modifiers within nominal headlines pose some difficulty in understanding or interpreting the news story.

Certain genitive constructions in nominal headlines can also be a source of ambiguity. Consider the following examples:

- (62) a. *jə-tewodiros tadəssə zimmīta* (AN 30.9.2000)
 GEN-Tewodros Tadesse silence
 'Tewodros Tadesse's silence'
- b. *jə-gazet'əɣɣ-otɣf jə-kiss samint* (AN 3.12.2000)
 GEN-journalist-PL GEN-charge week
 'the journalists' charge week'

c. *jə-lidz-afəw-n* *lidz bə-səlam jə-tə-gəlalggəl-u* (AZ 17.12.2000)
 GEN-child-3MS (POL.)-ACC child in-peace REL-PASS-give brth.PFV-3FS (POL.)
jə-silsa and amət-ˈa *azawint*
 GEN-sixty one year-POSS.3FS elder
 ‘A sixty-year-old elderly who gave birth to her grandchild’

The genitive construction in (62a) indicates the silence of Tewodros Tadesse who is the news actor in this headline. The element *zimmita* ‘silence’, however, is not an attribute to the news actor. When we closely examine this structure, we find that some elements have been omitted. Specifically, the head-noun, which is qualified by the item *zimmita* ‘silence’, is absent that is *albəm*—a collection of recordings issued as a single item on CD. The omission of this head-noun makes the headline as if it were telling about the news actor’s attribute, i.e. *zimmita* ‘silence’. Nevertheless, it is the name or title of the news actor’s album and the non-elliptical counterpart appears as follows:

jə-tewodros tadəssə zimmita albəm
 GEN-Tewodros Tadesse silence album
 ‘Tewodros Tadesse’s album named/titled silence’

In (62b), one can get the impression that there is a week which is assigned by a court for charging journalists only. The form of the genitive construction suggests this aspect of meaning by stating that the said week is exclusive to charging journalists. The context, however, gives clue to the correct interpretation of the intended meaning in this construction. In the stated week, many journalists from various media appeared unusually before the court. Hence, the expression *jəgazet’ənjnoff jəkiss samint* ‘journalists’ charging week’ is employed just to emphasize this topping list of journalists’ appearing before the court in a single week (hyperbolic!). The headline in (62c) conveys a vague and at times conflicting information about the news actor. Initially, the structure tells us that a sixty-one-year-old woman gave birth but it also states that it is a grandchild to the said woman. The pieces of information that can clarify this contradictory headline can only be found when one reads the entire news article. That is, the said woman is so old (sixty-one-year-old) that she cannot bear a child. Strangely, of course, this elderly woman gave birth to a child and this is news. Under normal circumstances, at this age, the woman in the news is expected to see a grandchild, not to give birth to her own child.

Overall, such indeterminacy of meaning arises partly from the headline writers' desire to be concise and save space which result in the ellipsis of some essential elements of a fullfledged headline. The headline writers' desire to attract the attention of their readers and to prompt them to read the news stories that accompany the headlines also leads to the use of contradictory-like and vague meanings in headlines.

ii. Prepositional phrases as headlines

Still in some headlines both subjects and verbs are omitted, and hence the remaining elements form or constitute a kind of prepositional phrase. Consider the following examples:

- (63) a. *bə-məkʃəʃa-w wazema* (AN 24.1.2001)
in-opening-DEF eve
'In the eve of opening'
- b. *kə-ʔəʃʃənnafi-nnət mənɣəd-offʃ and-u* (AN 20.7.2000)
from-win-NMLZ way-PL one-DEF
'one from the winning ways'
- c. *bə-t'igab məhal rəhab* (AN 3.12.2000)
in-satiety/plenty middle hunger
'hunger in middle of plenty'
- d. *wədə hijaw tarik* (AN 17.12.2000)
to immortal history
'to an immortal history'

The headlines (63a) to (63d) are prepositional phrases and they appear to be the extreme forms of ellipsis, for both subjects and verbs are left out. Since a subject and a verb are two obligatory components of the Amharic grammar, the remaining structures convey very little meaning about an event, action or state being reported. Specifically, such headlines do not tell information about the participants and the actions, which are essential components of a news story. Representing both initial and final ellipsis, these headlines are confined only to *addis nəgər* Amharic newspaper. While the omission of verbs is a final ellipsis (a verb usually appears at the end of clauses in Amharic), the omission of subjects represents initial ellipsis. Though it is still possible

for readers to supply the missing grammatical elements, the task would be huge enough to frustrate them.

The occurrence of such fragmentary grammatical components might indicate informality in this written style. The absence of sentence-initial noun phrase material, for instance, indexes informality and colloquialism, as in a friendly as well as a personal communication (Ferguson 1983: 157).

5.2.4 Tense in headlines

Time is a universal and non-linguistic concept or notion. Considering time as a line on which is located in the present moment, past, present and future can be described on a referential level (Quirk et al. 1985: 175). That is, anything ahead of the present moment is in the future, and any thing behind it is in the past.

Tense is a grammatical expression of time-references for actions, events, processes or states. Semantically, tense is a deictic category that relates an action or state with a reference point, which is often the moment of speech; three subdivisions can be derived from this: present, past and future (Meyer 2015: 2; Meyer & Lutz 2016: 7). Amharic has a binary tense system: past and non-past, which comprises of present and future time-references. A simple inventory of the tense that commonly occurs in the headlines of the Amharic newspapers provides the following figures (table 32).

Table 32 Summary of tense in headlines

Tense & aspect	Frequency in four Amharic newspapers			
	<i>addis admas</i>	<i>addis nəgər</i>	<i>addis zəmən</i>	<i>riportər</i>
Non-past	32 (19.161%)	69 (35.937%)	92 (14.024%)	116 (22.053%)
Total	167	192	656	526

It is the auxiliaries that express the two tenses in Amharic: past and present. While *nəw* and *all* express the present tense, *nəbbər* is used to show past (Girma & Ronny 2001: 153; Baye 2006: 197). As table 31 shows, the non-past tense is employed highly in *addis nəgər*, followed by

riportər and *addis admas*. The smallest occurrence of the non-past tense is found notably in *addis zəmən*.

Non-past which combines both simple present and simple future occurs in the headlines. It expresses an unfinished action, event or state, and its meaning may either be future or present (Anbessa & Grover 2006: 56). In Amharic, present and future are expressed by the same structure, so context and time adverbs are used to clear out the intent of the author or the speaker.

5.2.4.1 Simple present tense

The simple present tense is not the default or the unmarked tense in the Amharic newspapers' headlines, but it occurs with a good frequency in certain contexts. The presence of heteroglossia, for instance, seems to trigger the use of this tense, as the following headlines demonstrate.

- (64) a. “*bə-itjop’p’ija rəhab jəllə-mm*” *t’ək’ilaj minister mələs* (Re 4.12.2000)
 “in-Ethiopia famine exist.PRES.NEG-CM” Prime Minister Meles
 ‘ “There is not famine in Ethiopia” Prime Minister Meles’
- b. “*ertira jə-parlama abal-at məbit t’af agər-əff*” (Re 19.8.2000)
 Eriteria GEN-parlama member-PL right violator country-PL
məkakkəl wannəjjə-wa na-t” (*aj.pi.ju*³⁴)
 among chief-DEF COP.PRES-3FS
 ‘ “Among the countries that violate the parliament members’ right, Eriteria is the main one” (I.P.U)’
- c. “*wədə primijər lig-u jəmm-i-məlləs-ə-w lə-arsənal* (AZ 18.8.2000)
 to premier league-DEF REL-1S-return.IPFV-3MS.SUB-DEF to-Arsenal
kə-tə-səlləf-ku biyyəfa nə-w” *tijəri henri*
 COND-PASS-form a line.PFV-1S only COP.PRES-3MS” Thierry Henry
 ‘ “I only come to the Premier League if I play for Arsenal” Thierry Henry’
- d. “*wədə itjop’p’ija jə-mət’t’-an-əw bə-itjop’p’ija higg*” (Re 5.8.2000)
 “to Ethiopia REL-come.PFV-1P-1P.SUB by-Ethiopia law
lə-məsrat təsmamtən nə-w” *linoli hajdro*
 to-work we agreed upon COP.PRES-3MS”
 ‘ “We agreed to work by the Ethiopian law when we came to Ethiopia” Linoli Haydro

³⁴ It is an acronym for Inter-Parliamentary Union (የብይን ፓርላማንቶች ህብረት)

e. “*midija-w lə-agər idgət wannəjjə-w k’ulf nə-w*” (Re 6.11.2000)

“media-DEF to-country development principal-DEF key COP.PRES-3MS

jə-ganaw prezidant dʒon kufor

GEN-Ghana President John Kufor

‘ “The media is the principal key for a country’s development” Ghana’s President John Kufor

The auxiliary *nə-* that appeared in the headlines in (64b), (64c), (64d) and (64e) expresses simple present tense. Occurring with different suffixes, it specifies subjects in the above affirmative headlines. For instance, in (64b), the copula *na-t* (< *nə-at*) indicates a 3FS subject, whereas *nə-w* in (64c), (64d) and (64e) shows a 3MS subject. The auxiliary *all-*, which provides a present existential reading, occurs only occasionally in headlines. In the headline given under (64a), however, *jəllə-*, which is the negative of *allə* occurs. The element *jəllə-*, which is a suppletive form, negates the present verb of existence, i.e. *allə*. Such occurrences of simple present tense in news headlines contradict or break the convention of the Amharic’s headline writing that almost dictates the use of the perfective aspect (see § 5.2.5.1). The use of the present tense in the Amharic news headlines, therefore, requires some special interpretation, for it is the marked tense. One possible explanation for this is associated with heteroglossia, the introduction of other voices within a text. That is, the involvement of two or more voices in a text, as the above examples show, the voices of the journalists and the news actors, whose views are enclosed by inverted commas. Access to other voices in news headlines provides an opportunity to discontinue the conventions and turns to tenses other than the convention (Chovanec 2014: 145). The presence of heteroglossia, in the examples given from (64a) to (64e), therefore, triggers the use of the simple present tense instead of the conventional perfective aspect with the past meaning in Amharic. Specifically, the inverted commas in those headlines have the function of suspending the operation of the headline conventions applicable to the institutional voice of the newspaper (Chovanec 2005b: 78). This in turn gives the headlines a recency quality which is one of the basic criteria of newsworthiness.

In other contexts, the simple present tense is used in headlines to express present states. In the following headlines, the auxiliary verbs signal present tense.

- (65) a. *jə-kolfe k'əranijo kiɸl-ə kətəma jə-limat kiniwwin* (AZ 1.9.2000)
 GEN-Kolfe Calvary part-LNK city GEN-development achievement
kə-lel³⁵-off jə-tə/əɸə nə-w
 from-other-PL REL-be better COP.PRESE-3MS
 'Kolfe Keraniyo's development achievement is better than the others'
- b. *jə-itjop'p'ija mənɡəd-off baləsilt'an jə-nədəɸ* (Re 5.8.2000)
 GEN-Ethiopia road-PL authority GEN-fuel
at't'ək'ək'əm lə-sirk'ot jə-təɡallət'ə nə-w
 way of using for-theft REL-be exposed COP.PRES-3MS
 'The Ethiopian Road Authority's way of using fuel is exposed to theft'
- c. *bərəha-ma-nnət-n lə-məkkəlakəl zəlak'i limat asfəllagi nə-w* (Re 8.10.2000)
 desert-ADJ-NMLZ-ACC to-protect sustained growth necessary COP.PRES-3MS
 'To protect desertification, sustained growth is necessary'
- d. *itjop'p'ija-wj-an siddət-əjɸn-off ... bə-sik'aj laj na-ɸɸəw* (Re 9.2.2001)
 Ethiopia-ADJ-PL immigration-ADJ-PL ... in-agony on COP.PRES-3PL
 'Ethiopian immigrants are in agony ...'

The headlines (65a) through (65d) place the actions, events or states in a present situation. This is shown by the auxiliary *nəw* 'be' from (65a) to (65c) for 3MS and by *naɸɸəw* in (65d) for 3P. It is not possible to say that these headlines describe actions, processes and events that took place or the states held in the past using simple present tense for showing recency. Instead, they are just describing present states or situations.

5.2.4.2 Simple future

In Amharic headlines, simple future tense also occurs, but it is comparatively less important than references to past time. This tense is used when a news headline expresses events, actions or processes that will begin and end in future.

- (66) a. *jə-tallak'-u ruɸɸ'a bə-itjop'p'ija tiket ɸijjaɸ sənno ji-ɸɸəmmər-all* (AN 24.1.2001)
 GEN-great-DEF running in-Ethiopia ticket sale Monday 3MS-start.IPFV-AUX
 'The Great Run in Ethiopia will begin [on] Monday'

³⁵ The vowel *a* in the word *lela* 'other' is omitted due to the presence of another vowel *o* in the plural marker *-off*.

b. *jə-ʔimiro t'ena k'an bə-məʃʃ'i-w arb ji-kəbər-all* (AA 24.1.2001)

GEN-mind health day in-coming-DEF Friday 3MS-celebrate.IPFV-AUX

'A Mind's Health Day will be celebrated in the coming Friday'

c. *tewodiros kassahun maksəʃno fird bet ji-k'ərba-ll* (AA 18.8.2000)

Tewodros Kassahun Tuesday justice house 3MS-present.IPFV-AUX

'Tewodros Kassahun will be presented [before] court on Tuesday'

d. *jə-ləndən marathon zare ji-kahed-all* (Re 5.8.2000)

GEN-London Marathon today 3MS-hold.IPFV-AUX

'The London Marathon will be held today'

e. *jə-itjop'p'ija spes sosajti sost-əʃna-w gubaʔe zare ji-kahed-all* (AZ 16.9.2000)

GEN-Ethiopia space society three-ADJ-DEF assembly today 3MS-hold.IPFV-AUX

'The third Ethiopian Space Society's assembly will be held today'

Basically, the headlines (66a) through (66e) indicate actions, events or processes taking place in the future. Each of the news headlines uses a main verb containing subject prefixes and an auxiliary which is attached to this main verb. Such a verb form expresses uncompleted actions or events, which could encompass both present and future time. Neither the verb forms nor the auxiliaries in non-past express the uncompleted action or state. The presence of time adverbials, however, makes this verb structure to exclusively mark future events. The verb form *jidəmməral* in (66a), for instance, the main verb is prefixed by *ji-*, an agreement marker, and suffixed by the auxiliary *-all*, giving the meaning 'it (will) begin(s)'. It is instead the presence of the time adverbial *səʃno* 'Monday' that indicates the action mentioned in this news headline happens in the future. Understanding *səʃno* 'Monday' as a future time, stemmed particularly from its relation with the date of publication of the source newspaper, i.e. *addis nəgər*, which is published on Saturday, and hence two days after the issue date is definitely a future time. Hence, readers can identify whether such structure in a headline refers to future time or present tense using either time adverbials or working out from the context. In headline (66b), the time adverbial is *arb* 'Friday' which is specified by the prepositional phrase *bəməʃʃ'i-w* 'in the coming', yielding the meaning 'in the coming Friday'. In (66c) and (66d), the nouns *maksəʃno* 'Tuesday' and *zare* 'today' function as time adverbials indicating future time. Taking the time of publication of these newspapers as anchorage, anything happening after the issues is a future event or action. The encoding of futurity in these headlines shows that newspapers do not only

present information about stories that have already happened, but they also make predictions and provide information about upcoming events that are planned (Chovanec 2014: 146).

5.2.5 Aspect in headlines

Aspect indicates whether an action is completed or unfinished, and it does not explicitly refer to time as tense does; the two canonical aspectual types are perfective and imperfective (Girma & Ronny 2001: 144; Baye 2006: 197). Unlike tense, aspect is a non-deictic category, but it signifies the speaker's view on a verbal event, that is, showing whether an action is completed or not. Table 32 below gives a précis of aspectual categories that occur in headlines.

Table 33 Aspectual categories in headlines

Aspectual categories	Frequency in four Amharic newspapers			
	<i>addis admas</i>	<i>addis nəgər</i>	<i>addis zəmən</i>	<i>riportər</i>
Perfective	92 (70.769%)	84 (68.292%)	458 (81.205%)	331 (80.731%)
Completive	19 (14.615%)	21 (17.073%)	36 (6.382%)	23 (5.609%)
Prospective	9 (6.923%)	11 (8.943%)	10 (1.773%)	30 (7.317%)
Progressive	10 (7.692%)	7 (5.691%)	60 (10.638%)	26 (6.341%)
Total	130	123	564	410

5.2.5.1 Perfective

The perfective aspect emphasizes “the inherent (potential) boundaries of an event, in which the past meaning is semantically implied” (Meyer & Lutz 2016: 8). It is also indicated in Maslov (1988: 63) that both tense and aspect categories are closely related to time concepts as they exemplify the linguistic encoding of time. Though this aspectual type is consistently found across the four newspapers, it is particularly higher respectively in *addis zəmən* and *riportər* than in *addis admas* and *addis nəgər*. The auxiliary verb *nəbbər*, which is normally used to express actions, states or events that took place in the past, is completely unknown in the Amharic headlines. The headline writers exploit the semantically implied pastness feature of the perfective aspect to report about actions, events or states which happened sometime ago. The perfective aspect appears to be the unmarked time category in the Amharic headlines.

The general convention in crafting headlines is to use the present tense though the actions or events are clearly happened in the past (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 130; Quirk et al. 1985: 181; Biber et al. 1999; Chovanec 2003b: 84). The simple present in headlines is, thus, the unmarked tense in referring to events or actions which occur at some point in the past. On the contrary, the past tense is the marked tense as it is used in news headlines less commonly and hence its occurrence requires a special interpretation (Chovanec 2003b: 84; Bednarek & Caple 2012: 103). In Amharic newspapers' headlines, however, the reverse occurs. That is, the perfective with the past meaning prevails over the non-past and hence it is the unmarked time category. Hence, the perfective aspect appears to be the default time expression in the Amharic newspapers' headlines. Consider the following headlines:

- (66) a. *kabe affənafi-wofɣ-n fəlləm-ə* (AA 12.11.2000)
 Kabe winner-PL-ACC award.PFV-3MS
 'Kabe awarded the winners'
- b. *zəmən bank sira dʒəmmər-ə* (AA 24.1.2001)
 zemen bank work begin.PFV-3MS
 'Zemen Bank begins work'
- c. *fəl itjop'p'ija aksijon-u-n ... fət't'-ə* (AN 5.11.2000)
 Shell Ethiopia share-DEF-ACC ... sell.PFV-3MS
 'Shell Ethiopia sold its share'
- d. *jə-kulalit himum-an k'ut'ir fʔəmmər-ə* (Re 7.7.2000)
 GEN-kidney sick-PL number increase.PFV-3MS
 'The number of kidney patients increased'
- e. *addis jā-bunna nigd məlləjja milikkīt jifa hon-ə* (Re 3.9.2000)
 new GEN-coffee trade characteristics mark official become.PFV-3MS
 'A new trade mark for coffee became official'
- f. *jə-dəbub afrika addis-u prezidant k'al-ə məhalla fəs's'am-u* (AZ 17.1.2001)
 GEN-south Africa new-DEF president word-LNK oath perform.PFV-3P (POL.)
 'The new South African president performed an oath of office'

In Amharic, a completed event, action, or state is expressed by a structure consisting of a special stem plus subject suffixes. Though proper simple past marking auxiliaries are not used, the

perfective aspect with a past meaning is employed in the Amharic headlines. In the above data, the examples (66a) through (66f) contain verbs that do not only indicate the completion of the actions but they also specify pastness though implicitly. For instance, in (66a), the verb, *fallama* ‘awarded’ is from the root *f-l-m* ‘award’, and the form *fallama* denotes the completion of the action of promoting (i.e. the winners indicated in the headline) and also as it happened sometime ago. Similarly, the headline given in (66b) refers to the bank’s beginning of service, which is completed. Specifically, the verb *džammara* ‘began’ again implies as the bank’s service began earlier. This verb is derived from the root *dž-m-r* ‘start’ by supplying the vowel /ə/ in the consonant radicals and by geminating the penultimate consonant. The last vowel, /ə/ indicates a third person singular masculine entity.

Generally, adverbials of time occur occasionally in the news headlines except in the non-past tense where they help to distinguish future tense from the simple present tense. All of the headlines given above are characterized by the absence of time adverbials. The avoidance of time adverbials makes sense here; otherwise, ‘pastness’ would be marked twice in the news headline, yielding redundancy. Time adverbials are optional in headline construction as ‘participant’ and ‘event’ are the minimal constituents of a news headline. Moreover, their absence in news headlines may be attributed to the fact that it is possible to infer the temporal domain of the reported events both from the tense as well as from the publication time of the concerned newspaper (e.g. *addis zəman* is a daily Amharic newspaper and it is understood that the action or the event occurred a day ago, i.e. yesterday).

The use of simple past (in terms of meaning) for past actions is an indicative of a normal situation of semantic correspondence. This is probably due to the strong focus that the headline writers place on the ideational function of headlines, i.e. informing readers about past events, and avoiding other functions, such as interpersonal dimensions. Accordingly, headlines in the Amharic newspapers are characterized by such features as the semantic content of the relevant headline outweighs other functions that gear towards increasing the relevance of the story to the readers, for instance, the interpersonal function (Chovanec 2014:149).

5.2.5.2 Completive

The completive aspect, a derivative of the perfective, occurs less frequently in headlines (cf. table 32). It constitutes a relatively higher percentages in *addis nəgər* and *addis admas*, which accounts for 20 and 17.11 percents, respectively compared to the combined completive aspect found in *addis zəmən* and *riportər*, which is 11.989 percent. The converb in Amharic is formed by combining a main verb with an auxiliary-verb suffix based on the verb of presence; the resulting main-verb converb expresses approximately a ‘present-perfect’, a past event with still-present effects (Anbessa & Grover 2007: 61; Meyer 2015: 7; Baye 2006). The ‘current relevance’ meaning of the completive aspect is significant in the context of news reporting, for it enables the headline writer to refer to the past time on the one hand, and to indicate a direct relevance for the present time by keeping the present-time status of the event. This implies that *addis nəgər* and *addis admas*, which have a better distribution of completive aspect, present headlines not only ideationally (locating the actions in past time) but also interpersonally (enhancing relevance to the readers). Being the marked aspect in headlines, the completive aspect is employed in the following two situations: to emphasize on the current relevance of actions or events and to introduce additional voice in the headline. In the following headlines, the verbs are in the present perfect form and hence emphasize on the present time-status of the actions.

- (67) a. *bə-dəbub killil jə-wəba wərrər/ijən kə-sost* (AZ 1.9.2000)
 in-Debub region GEN-malaria plague from-three
amət-at wədih k’ənsə-all
 year-PL since decrease.CNV.3MS-AUX
 ‘Malaria plague has declined in Debub region since the last three years’
- b. *bə-borəna bə-təkəssət-ə-w dīrk’ siddist səw-offf motəw-all* (AN 6.7.2000)
 in-Borena by-be appear.PFV-3MS-DEF drought six man-PL death.CNV.3P-AUX
 ‘Six men have died of drought in Borena’
- c. *jə-itjop’p’ija ajər mængəd ... jə-mængəd awtar-offf* (AZ 5.11.2000)
 GEN-Ethiopia air road ... GEN-road network-PL
ijjə-ff’əmmər-u mət’t’itəw-all
 PROG-increase.PFV-3P come.CNV.3P-AUX
 ‘Ethiopian Airlines’ road networks have increased...’

d. *jə-itjop'p'ija ajər mængəd jə-bərərə məsmər-u-n k'ənsə-all* (Re 8.10.2000)

GEN-Ethiopia air lines GEN-flight line-DEF-ACC decrease.CNV.3MS-AUX

'Ethiopian Airlines has decreased its flight lines'

e. *jə-somaliya gudaj asassabi hono-all* (AA 20.7.2000)

GEN-Somalia issue alarming become.CNV.3MS-AUX

'Somalia's situation has become alarming'

In the above headlines, the completive aspect is employed to show developments or tendency over time. The headlines in (67a) and (67c), report on the change of some situations, contrasting the past with the present. Headline (67a), for instance, compares the malaria epidemic which existed before three years with the one happening at present time (during publication of this newspaper's issue, i.e. 1.9.2000). Consequently, in the present situation (now), it is reduced or becomes less. Likewise, the headline given in (67c) shows an increament trend in Ethiopian Airline's *jəmængəd awtaroff* 'road networks'. The news headlines given under (67b), (67d) and (67e) indicate completed actions or events, but they appear to emphasize on the result, especially in the present situation. The consequence in (67b), for instance, may be that the Ethiopian Airlines is not getting as many revenues as it used to or there are some countries to which it is not making flights. In (67e), it is basically reported that the situation in Somalia was alarming, but the condition is the same now (at the time of reporting).

Another domain in which the completive aspect is employed instead of the perfective is observed in heteroglossic situation, i.e. the introduction of non-authorial voice in the headlines. Consider the following examples:

(68) a. "*jə-somaliya gudaj təsfa ask'orraff' hono-all*" *wuff'ff* (Re18.12.2000)

GEN-Somalia issue hope hopeless become.CNV.3MS-AUX foreign

gudaj minister

affair minister

'Somalia's situation has become hopeless' Foreign Affair Minister

b. "*jə-set tagaj-offff bə-t'ək'ilaj minister mələs nigiggir*" (Re 24.9.2000)

GEN-female militant-PL by-prime minister Meles speech

k'ir təsəŋntəw-all" *w/ro mis'ilal h/silasse*

to be disappoint.CNV-3P -AUX" w/ro Misilal H/Selassie

'Women militants feel disappointed by the Prime Minister's speech'

c. *kristiano ronaldo* “*barija huṇṇ-allə-hu*” *ji-l-all* (AN 5.11.2000)

Christiano Ronaldo “slave become.CNV-AUX-1S 3MS-say.IPFV-AUX

Christiano Ronaldo “I have become a slave” says

d. “*kə-səba siddist fi bəlaṣ itjop’p’ija-wj-an wədə arəb agər-offif*” (Re 27.7.2000)

from-seventy six thousand above Ethiopia-ADJ-PL to Arab country-PL

hedəw-all” sər-ra-təṇṇa-nna mahbər-awi minister

go.CNV.3P-AUX” work-ADJ-and social-ADJ Minister

‘More than six thousand Ethiopians have gone to Arabic countries’ Labour and Social Minister

e. “*lə-sost wər-at ... jalə-fith təgulallfə-allə-hu*” *tedi afiro* (AN 5.11.2000)

for-three month-PL ...without-justice mistreat.CNV.1S-AUX-1S Teddy Afro

‘For three months, I have been mistreated without justice’ Teddy Afro

In their attempt to provide an accurate account of a story, headline writers employ direct quotation, containing the words of news actors, such as an eyewitness. The headlines given from (68a) to (68e) contain the direct quotes of some news actors, which shows the presence of another voice that provides the utterance. In such introduction of an external voice, headline writers employ a completive aspect. As a result, the headlines in each of the above examples convey a present perfect meaning, i.e. the state happened in the past but has relevance to the present situation. On top of this, the completive aspect indicates the interpersonal facet of such news headlines. If there was not an external voice, i.e. if it was produced by the authorial voice only, the perfective aspect would have been used in the above headlines.

The use of the completive aspect in these two situations, thus, breaks the seemingly convention of headline crafting in the Amharic newspapers, i.e. using the perfective aspect which emphasizes the past meaning.

5.2.5.3 Progressive and prospective aspects

Generally, the imperfective aspect underlines the ongoing phase following the initial point or preceding the end point of an event. As a derivative of imperfective aspect, prospective and progressive, express actions or events which are yet completed.

The frequency occurrence of prospective and progressive aspectual categories is less than the completive one in *addis admas* and *addis nəgər* (cf. table 32). This may be ascribed to their greater length, i.e. prospective and progressive aspects make up valuable space in headlines. This is mainly because each of these temporal categories contains two verbs: an auxiliary or copular and a main verb, which is preceded by a prefix. Another reason, especially for the low frequency of the progressive form has to do with the scope of the duration of the action or state. While the progressive aspect covers a limited duration of an action, the completive one is characterized by its unlimited duration as it shows an action took place a while ago but extended to the present situation. This situation enables the headline writers to use the non progressive aspect over the progressive aspect. Consider the following headlines which contain (different) aspects of progressive:

- (69) a. *atilet hajile bə-bedžing olompik ijjə-awwəzaggəb-ə* *nə-w* (AA 12.11.2000)
 athlet Haile in-Beijing Olympic PROG-cause controversy.PFV-3MS COP.PRES-3MS
 ‘Athlete Haile is causing controversy in Beijing Olympic’
- b. *asəbot gədam ijjə-tək’at’əl-ə* *nə-w* (AN 20.7.2000)
 Asebot monastery PROG-burn.PFV-3MS COP.PRES-3MS
 ‘Asebot Monastery is burning’
- c. *t’ef bə-təmət’t’at’ənn waga ijjə-tə-kəfaffəl-ə* *nə-w* (Re 19.8.2000)
 Tef in-proportionate price PROG-PASS-divided.PFV-3MS COP.PRES-3MS
 ‘Tef is being in wholesale in proportionate price’
- d. *jə-mobajil netwərk-offj ijjə-tə-zəragg-u* *nə-w* (Re 9.2.2001)
 GEN-mobie network-PL PROG-PASS-install.PFV-3P COP.PRES-3MS
 ‘Mobile networks are being installed’

The headlines given from (69a) to (69d) are progressive aspects of the durative non-conclusive type. They denote activities or events which are incomplete or unfinished, and the events in each of the headlines do not result in a change of state. In (69a), the structure ...*ijjə-awwəzaggəbə nəw* ‘...is causing controversy’ is a progressive verb, and denotes an activity which is on going, i.e. incomplete. This type of progressive aspect has no goal or end-point, and—hence—non-conclusive. Similarly, the headline in (69e) has no agent (as it does not tell the doer of the action) and the progressive form ...*ijjətəzəraggu nəw* ‘...are being installed’ has no goal or end-point.

That is, it shows the action is going on, but does not reveal a change of state. Contrary to these progressive situations, the following headlines show change or state in their progressive forms.

- (70) a. *zər-ənn-innət jə-igir k^was asaffari gəs's'ta ijjə-hon-ə nə-w* (Re 9.2.2001)
 race-ADJ-NMLZ GEN-foot ball shameful image PROG-become.PFV COP.PRES-3MS
 ‘Racism is becoming a shameful image of football’
- b. *jə-primijər lig-u widdir wədə rəbfa ijjə-təzawwər-ə nə-w* (Re 7.7. 2000)
 GEN-Primier League-DEF tournament into disorder PROG-transform.PFV-3MS COP.PRES-3MS
 ‘The Premier League’s tournament is transforming into disorder’
- c. *...kə-assir hektar bəlaḡ məret bə-məsno ijjə-ləma nə-w* (AZ 18.8.2000)
 ...from-ten hektar above earth by-irrigation PROG-develop.PFV-3MS COP.PRES-3MS
 ‘More than ten hektar land is being developed by irrigation’
- d. *bə-k'irk'os kifl-ə kətəma...jə-gara bet-otfif ijjə-tə-gənəbb-u nə-w* (AZ 6.7.2000)
 in-Kirkos part-LNK city ...GEN-common house-PL PROG-PASS-build.PFV-3P COP.PRES-3MS
 ‘Condominiums are being built in Kirkos sub-city’

The verbs in the headlines given from (70a) to (70d) are progressive aspect of durative conclusive type. This is mainly because the actions are going to be completed and also bring a change of state. For instance, in (70a), *zərənninnət* ‘racism’, is in the process or course of becoming football’s shameful face. In (70b), the on going action has a goal that is *disorder*. The change of states which will take place in (70c) and (70d) are *development* and *built condominium houses*, respectively.

Prospective is one of the derivatives of imperfective aspect. It can be described as relative future: the action is /was/ will be expected to take place a moment that follows the referent point; the reference point itself can be in past, present or future. The prospective aspect expresses intention to do something, which is less common in headlines. This is evidenced by its small occurrence in the four newspapers amounting to 24.956 percent. A relatively higher and the least frequency of the prospective aspect is observed in *addis nəgər*, and *addis zəməən*, respectively (table 32). The headlines given below refer to a future plan or arrangement.

- (71) a. *bə-his'an-at laj tikurət j-adərrəg-ə wijiɨjɨt* (Re 27.7.2000)
 by-baby-PL on emphasis REL-make.PFV-3MS discussion
li-kahed nə-w
 INT.3MS-hold.IPFV COP.PRES-3MS
 'A discussion that emphasizes on children is about to take place'
- b. *jə-budizm junivərsiti bə-hind li-kəfət nə-w* (AA 6.7.2001)
 GEN-Buddhism university in-Hindi INT.3MS-open.IPFV COP.PRES-3MS
 'A Buddhism University is to open in Hindi'
- c. *itjop'p'ija ...jə-limat diɨgaf li-tagəɨɨ nə-w* (Re 3.9.2000)
 Ethiopia ... GEN-development support INT.3FS-obtain.IPFV COP.PRES-3MS
 'Ethiopia ...is to obtain development support'
- d. *bə-dərg baləsiltan-at laj jə-kasa tiɨjake li-k'ərb nə-w* (AN 22.2.2001)
 on-Derg authority-PL on GEN-restitution question INT.3MS-present.IPFV COP.PRES-3MS
 'A question of restitution is to be presented on Derg authorities'
- e. *amerika jə-set-offɨ profesɨnal iɨɨr kʷas lig li-ti-dzəmir nə-w* (AZ 17.1.2001)
 America GEN-woman-PL professional foot ball league INT-3FS-start.IPFV COP.PRES-3MS
 'America is to start women's professional football league'

The examples given from (71a) to (71e) express actions or events, which are going to be accomplished in the near future. In (71a), for instance, the structure ...*likahed nəw* '...to take place' contains the prefixes *li-* and *ji-*, in which the former marks intention and the latter shows person (agreement affix), and present tense is indicated by the auxiliary *nə-* 'be'. In line with this, the intended action in (71b), is the 'opening of a Buddhism University', and in (71c) 'obtaining development support'. As it can be seen from these examples, the prospective aspect occurs only with the simple present tense in the Amharic headlines.

5.2.6 Punctuations in headlines

Amharic uses few familiar punctuation marks, which belong to the Ethiopic script, but over time it imported some punctuation marks of Western origin (Appleyard 1995: 98). Here is a discussion of a few Amharic punctuation marks which have specific functions in headlines.

5.2.6.1 The use of *nät'əla sərəz* (፤)

Normally, in Amharic *nät'əla sərəz* (፤) marks a weak pause, which is equivalent to the English comma. In the Amharic news headlines, this punctuation mark is employed to separate news points. These news points show independent thoughts, as the following example (72a) demonstrate:

(72) a. *bə-ʔirak' jə-ʔirs bərs wiggija-w k'ət't'il-o-all ፤ bə-bagdad səʔat* (AA 20.7.2000)

in-Iraq GEN-each other war-DEF continue.CNV.3MS-AUX ፤ in-Bagdad time

illafi t-awwəḍḍə

curfew PASS-decree.PFV-3MS

'The civil war in Iraq has continued, curfew was decreed in Bahgdad'

c. *itjop'p'ija ፤ somaliya ፤ rəhab* (AA 24.12.2000)

Ethiopia, Somalya, hunger

'Ethiopia, Somalya, hunger'

In normal Amharic usage, *dirrib sərəz* which is equivalent to the English semi-colon would have been appropriately employed in (72a). In this news reporting situation, however, *nät'əla sərəz* (፤) is used to join the two news items which represent two independent clauses. In (72b), *nät'əla sərəz* (፤) is used in place of a coordinating conjunction. That is, the punctuation mark before the last word should have been replaced by the Amharic coordinating conjunction *inna* 'and'.

5.2.6.2 The use of *f'irət* (-)

The punctuation mark *f'irət* (-) is one of the signs of Western origins used in Modern Amharic (Appleyard 1995: 98). It is equivalent to the hyphen of English, and has different functions. In news headlines, *f'irət* (-) replaces a reporting verb, as the following examples illustrate.

(73) a. *jə-səba səbatt-u ajnət rəhab li-kəsət* (AA 14.10.2000)

GEN-seventy seven-DEF kind hunger INT.3MS-happen.IPFV

ji-f'il-all - konsərn

3MS-can.IPFV-AUX - Concern

'The seventy seven's kind of hunger can happen [again]' - Concern³⁶

³⁶ This is the shortened form of Concern Worldwide, a non-government organization working in Ethiopia.

b. *səʔat-e jə-təfal-ə iskə-hon-ə dirəs mə-mərət'* (AN 19.11.2000)

time-POSS.1S GEN-be.better-3MS upto-become.PFV-3MS as far as INF-select

aləb-ijj - bək'ana daba

should-1S - Bekana Daba

'Since I have better time [record], I have to be selected' - Bekana Daba (lit. As far as I have a better, I have to be selected')

c. ... *bizu gif tə-fəs'imo-bb-ijj-all - atlet bizunəf* (AN 19.11.2000)

... much injustice PASS-happen.CNV.3MS-APPL-1S-AUX - athlet Bizunesh

'...much injustice has been done to me' - Athlet Bizunesh

d. *jə-itjo-ertira t'or-innət li-k'əsək'əs ji-ʔil-all - təməd* (AA 4.8.2000)

GEN-Ethio-Eritrea war-NMLZ INT.3MS-initiate.IPFV 3MS.can.IPF-AUX - təməd

'Ethio-Eritrean war can be initiated' - UN

The news headlines given from (73a) to (73d) contain attributions though the attributed clauses are not surrounded by inverted commas. That is, these headlines show quoted material or information and state the source of the information (or who said it). The quoted material or information in the above headlines (73a), (73b), (73c) and (73d) are attributed to Concern [Worldwide Ethiopia], Bekana Daba, Athlet Bizunesh, and UN respectively. Coming before the names of attributors, the hyphen (-) indicates or tells what a person or an organization said, without quoting their exact words. That is, *ʔirət* (-) is used in place of the Amharic attributive or reporting verbs, such as *alə* 'he said', *gəlləs'ə* 'he expressed', *asawwək'ə* 'he informed' and so on. Substituting the attributive verbs by *ʔirət* (-) may contribute to economizing space in newspaper headlines. In English newspaper headlines, this function is achieved by a colon (:), not by a hyphen.

The hyphen, however, omitted when the quoted material is enclosed by inverted commas. Consider the following examples:

(74) a. "*jə-wiha it'irət gət'imon-all*" *nəwari-wofʔ* Re 19.8.2000

"GEN- water shortage face.CNV.1P-AUX resident-PL

"We faced shortage of water" Residents

- b. “*jə-tələjjə nəgər lə-mə-adræg mokirən-all*” *jə-teik faiv dajrektər* AZ 5.11.2000
 “GEN-different thing to-INF-do try.CNV.1P-AUX” GEN-take five director
 ‘ “We have tried to do different things” ’ the director of Take Five
- c. “*bə-itjop’p’ija rəhab jəllə-mm*” *t’ək’ilaj minister mələs* Re 4.12.2000
 “in-Ethiopia famine exist.PRES.NEG-CM” Prime Minister Meles
 ‘ “There is no famine in Ethiopia” Prime Minister Meles’

The headlines given from (74a) to (74c) use neither a punctuation mark that separates the quoted materials from the attributors, nor is there a reporting verb indicating the source to which the information is attributed to. The omission of the *ʃ’irət* (-) in this context may be ascribed to the journalists’ desire to avoid a sequence of punctuation marks which affects the pace of reading (Headlines are meant for quick reading). This implies that in Amharic newspaper headlines *ʃ’irət* (-) and *tiʔimmirtə t’iqs* (“ ”) are in a complementary distribution.

There are also other functions of *ʃ’irət* (hyphen) in news headlines. Coming after a word or a phrase, it introduces an explanation. Consider the following examples:

- (75) a. *jə-t’ə/mi mələs məs’haf - jə-haja amət-at ik’k’id* (AA 12.11.2000)
 GEN-P/M Meles book - GEN-twenty year-PL plan
 ‘Prime Minister Meles’ book - a plan/project of twenty years’
- b. *səlam-nna fiṭih - jə-polətika israjn-offʃ honəw-all!* (AA 26.11.2000)
 peace-and justice - GEN-politics prisoner-PL become.CNV.3P-AUX
 ‘Peace and justice - have become political prisoners!’
- c. *jə-ʔafrika polətika - jə-bozanne-woffʃ jə-sira mə-fələg-ija* (AA 24.1.2001)
 GEN-Africa politics - GEN-idle-PL GEN-job INF-search-place
 ‘African politics - a place of searching job for idles’
- d. *jə-ʔafrika k’ənd - təwagi k’ənd-offʃ* (Re 18.12.2000)
 GEN-Africa horn - fighter horn-PL
 ‘African horn - fighter horns’
- e. *fik’ir indəgəna - norwej inna itjop’p’ija* (AN 24.1.2001)
 love anew - Norway and Ethiopia
 ‘Love again - Norway and Ethiopia’

f. *girizat - zare-mm jə-bərkatta set-offf fətəna* (AZ 6.7.2000)

circumcision - today-FOC GEN-many female-PL test

‘Circumcision - many women’s problem even today’

g. *kiliopatra - jə-najil nigist* (AA 5.13.2000)

Cleopatra - GEN-Nile queen

‘Cleopatra - queen of Nile’

h. *ḡordḡ istman - kamera-n lə-hulu j-adarəss-ə* (AA 5.13.2000)

George Eastman - camera-ACC to-all REL-reach.PFV-3MS

‘George Eastman - who reached the camera to all’

In most of the news headlines given above, the hyphen or *fʿirət* is used to clarify the relationship of words and phrases. More specifically, the elements after the hyphen explain the words or phrases that precede it. In (75a), for example, the hyphen is followed by the element *jəhaja amətat ik’k’id*, which is an explanation to the book written by the Prime Minister. This linguistic element explains the book as containing the writer’s or the Prime Minister’s plan for the coming twenty years. Similarly, in (75h), the item *jənajil nigist* ‘Nile’s queen’ describes who Cleopatra is appearing after the hyphen. The hyphen in headline (75e), introduces illustration as Norway and Ethiopia are presented as examples of *fik’ir indəgəna* ‘love again’, for they renewed their relationship after their relations got sore for sometime.

In some of the news headlines, the Amharic *fʿirət* is used simply as a means of making a pause. For instance, in (75b), the element which comes after the hyphen is a predicate, containing an object and a verb, while the element before the punctuation mark is a subject, i.e. *səlam-nna fitih* ‘peace and justice’. Here, the Amharic *fʿirət* has no any function except emphasizing or focalizing, especially ‘peace and justice’ which are core values for the proper functioning and sustaining of a society.

As it is shown in the above discussion, in newspaper headlines, Amharic employs *fʿirət* (-) for two distinct purposes: to separate the subject of a headline from a quoted material and to add an explanation or amplifying information.

5.3 Summary

The major purpose of this chapter was to outline and to discuss some of the linguistic properties that characterize the headlines of the Amharic newspapers. For this effect, it discussed the formal features of the headlines in terms of the following main components: noun phrase complexity, lexis, tense usage, minor clauses, voice types and punctuation marks.

The analysis showed a systematic correlation between NP types and their syntactic position. The correlation holds between subject-exponents and structural ‘lightness’ on the one hand and non-subject-exponents and structural ‘heaviness’ on the other hand. Simple NPs occur in subject positions, whereas heavy NPs occupy non-subject-positions. NPs in subject-position are mainly realized through proper names, nouns qualified by determiners only and unmodified nouns. It seems, therefore, that animacy combined with topicality strongly influences the occurrence of simple NPs in the subject-position. In non-subject position, however, the majority of the NPs are preceded not only by adjectives but also by nouns, relative clauses, and genitive constructions. When multiple premodifiers qualify the same noun within a noun phrase, they demonstrate the following tendency: Descriptors > Classifiers > Head-Noun. The elements in prehead position are the most nominal modifiers. Preceding the classifiers are descriptive words that characterize the head noun in terms of quality, size, shape, color and origin.

There are certain words that seem to commonly occur in headlines and hence characterize this text type. The words in headlines are chosen to meet space restrictions, to get the attention of readers and to express some meaning types. Accordingly, abbreviations and acronyms, active verbs, short words, words having strong phonic effects, emotive vocabularies and loanwords commonly occur across the four Amharic newspapers’ headlines. Nevertheless, there are differences in the individual newspapers with regard to their preferences to these aspects of words. The types and techniques of borrowing vary from one newspaper to another. While loanwords are quite frequent in *addis admas* and *addis nəgər*, loanblends and loanshifts are dominant especially in *addis zəmən* and *riportər*. Loanwords are quite prominent in the headlines and these are not only borrowed to fill in lexical gaps in the Amharic language but also to achieve certain stylistic purposes, such as precision, brevity and vividness.

Headlines of the Amharic newspapers seem to have distinctive forms and structures influenced by a range of factors, such as functions and space constraints. In these newspapers, headlines are mainly written in a full clausal structure containing all the essential elements of a sentence. Minor clauses, in which certain grammatical items are omitted, also occur in the Amharic newspapers, especially in *addis nəgər*. The major ellipses kinds occurring in the headlines include verbal ellipsis, nominal ellipsis and adpositional ellipsis. Most of these ellipses cannot easily be recovered from the context. Less omission of function words is observed particularly in the headlines of *addis zəmən* and *riportər*. Moreover, headlines appear in the forms of phrases and dependant clauses. The use of interrogative headlines dissects the four Amharic newspapers into two. The smaller Amharic newspapers (AA and AN) use most interrogative sentences in their headlines. The bigger Amharic newspapers *addis zəmən* and *riportər* rely more on statements (or declarative headlines). Generally, in all news headlines in which most of them are complete clauses, a punctuating point marking the ending of a clause is virtually non-existent. It is obvious that punctuation marks serve various functions in written texts in general, especially in clarifying the meanings of phrases and clauses. However, in news headlines such punctuation marks are generally avoided. This might be associated with the specific purpose of news headlines, i.e. they are meant for quick reading. The presence of excessive punctuation marks may slow down the process of reading. In addition to this, the presence of the Amharic punctuation marks, such as four dots that end or conclude a clause take valuable space in headline position.

In the Amharic newspapers, headlines are predominantly written in a perfective aspect by emphasizing its past meaning, and time adverbials are rarely present. The auxiliary *nəbbər*, which is normally used to show past actions or events, does not occur in the headlines. The exception here is *addis nəgər*, which uses a decent proportion of the non-past tense in its headlines. The perfective aspect, which is the unmarked temporal category in headlines, is broken down in certain contexts. The use of the simple present tense and the completive aspect is particularly observed in heteroglossic situation, “the introduction of a non-authorial voice to the segment of a text. In such unaccessed voice, the headline conventions are loosened and need not be strictly followed” (Chovanec 2014: 156). As a result, instead of the perfective aspect, simple present as well as the completive aspect are employed. Another factor associated with using an unconventional aspectual category in headlines is the need to increase the newsworthiness of an

action or an event. There are also other marked aspectual categories that occur in headlines. These are progressive and prospective aspects which are derivatives of the imperfective that expresses events or actions which are not completed.

Certain punctuation marks serve specific functions in the Amharic newspaper headlines. A hyphen or *y'irət* (-) is generalized for two distinct functions: to separate the subject of a headline from a quoted material and to add an explanation or amplifying information.

CHAPTER SIX

EVALUATIVE MEANING IN NEWS HEADLINES

This chapter describes evaluative meaning in headlines. At first, it challenges the traditional view which holds that news reports are objective, that is, they are free from evaluation and other commentary categories (Biber & Finegan 1989: 108; Biber et al. 1999; Bell 1991: 189). Of all newspaper genres, the hard news displays the lowest degree of author intervention, for it is the most informative text type. A news report, as a highly informative text, depends extensively on the denotative meanings of words, phrases and clauses, providing readers with factual, non-involving reporting (Robescu 2008: 62). Accordingly, the analysis in this section is geared towards answering two questions: first, to what extent the Amharic newspapers express opinion in their news headlines? Second, how are evaluations expressed in the Amharic newspapers' headlines? In order to answer these questions, the sampled headlines were examined manually (close reading) for the possible presence of evaluative expressions. As a result, certain expressions having evaluative force have been identified, confirming the fact that news headlines are subjective and judgemental. Finally, the evaluative expressions were described and explained using the parameter-based framework for evaluative language introduced in Bednarek (2006) whose basic tenet is that there are different parameters along which speakers or writers evaluate whatever they see and hear.

6.1 Parameters of evaluative meaning

This approach postulates that there are different parameters along which speakers or writers evaluate whatever they see and hear. These parameters are of two types (core and peripheral evaluative parameters), but this thesis depends only on the core evaluative parameters, as they relate to evaluative qualities ascribed to the entities, situations or propositions that are evaluated, and involve evaluative scales (Bednarek 2006: 53). In deciding whether linguistic items are evaluative or not, *jə amariŋna məzgəbə k'alat* 'Dictionary of Amharic', prepared by the Ethiopian Languages Academy, was consulted. Besides, native speakers of Amharic were questioned about the evaluative force of the concerned linguistic expressions. Following Bednarek (2006: 9), those linguistic expressions, which the respondents are not clear about their evaluative status or give conflicting information regarding their evaluative force, were excluded.

Table 34 Summary of evaluative terms per headlines

	Frequency in four Amharic newspapers				
	<i>addis admas</i>	<i>addis nəgər</i>	<i>addis zəmən</i>	<i>riportər</i>	<i>total</i>
Headline count	186	329	746	591	1852
Evaluators	70 (7.683%)	152 (16.684%)	514 (56.421%)	175 (19.209%)	911
Percentages	37.634	46.200	68.900	29.610	49.190

As table 33 shows, 911 (49.190%) evaluative expressions were identified in the four Amharic newspapers' headlines. This obviously confirms the presence of evaluative language in news reports, which are supposed to be objective and impersonal. Though all of the Amharic newspapers contain evaluative expressions, the majority of them are found in *addis zəmən*, while the least evaluations are found in *riportər*. The following section; hence, presents a discussion of the types of evaluative expressions, their frequency of occurrences as well as their functions in news headlines, using examples from the headlines of the Amharic newspapers.

6.1.1 The parameter of emotivity

The parameter of emotivity is concerned with a speaker's or writer's evaluation of aspects of events as good (positive emotivity) and bad (negative emotivity). That is to say, emotivity refers to the newsworker's, news actor's or source's evaluation of events, actions, people or other evaluated entities as positive or negative, which also encompasses the expression of approval or disapproval, respectively. Constituting 50.823 percent of all the evaluations, emotivity forms the highest evaluation type in the headlines of the Amharic newspapers.

Table 35 Distribution of the parameter of emotivity

Newspaper	Emotivity Types		Total occurrences
	Positive	Negative	
<i>addis admas</i>	18 (41.860%)	25 (58.139%)	43 (63.235%)
<i>addis nəgər</i>	25 (31.25%)	55 (68.755)	80 (52.631%)
<i>addis zəmən</i>	231(82.5%)	29 (10.357%)	280 (54.794%)
<i>riportər</i>	38 (63.333%)	22 (36.666%)	60 (34.285%)
Total	312	131	463

Emotivity occurs highly almost in all the Amharic newspapers' news headlines except in *riportər*, which demonstrates relatively the least evaluation in this parameter (Table 34). Within the emotivity parameter, negative emotivity is higher than the positive emotivity, especially in *addis nəgər* and *addis admas*. In the other two newspapers, i.e. *addis zəmən* and *riportər*, conversely, positive emotivity is higher than its negative counterparts.

6.1.1.1 Negative emotivity

The highest proportion of negative emotivity is found respectively in *addis nəgər* and *addis admas*. While *addis zəmən* shows the least evaluation in negative emotivity, *riportər* demonstrates some decent distribution of negative emotivity in its headlines. *Addis nəgər* and *addis admas* evaluate actions and propositions in headlines more along a negative line than a positive line.

Generally, evaluations of emotivity contribute to the newsworthiness of a given story. It, specifically, contributes to the news value of negativity in which bad situations such as damage, injury or death, make disasters and accidents newsworthy. The high occurrences of negative emotivity in *addis admas* and *addis nəgər* can, therefore, be explained by reference to the news value of negativity, which enhances the interpersonal dimension of headlines. In addition to evaluating people, events or situations as bad, negative emotivity expresses criticism or disapproval. Consider the following headlines that illustrate negative emotivity.

(1) a. *bə-misrak' godzdam zon godzdi limad-awi dirgit-offif lə-mək'ənnəs...*(AZ 20.7.2000)

in-east gojjam area harmful habit-ADJ action-PL to-reduce

'In East Gojjam area to reduce harmful habitual actions...'

b. *lə-səfari arso adər-offif biddir tə-sət't'-ə* (AZ 18.8.2000)

to-settler plough.CNV.3MS one who spent-PL credit PASS-give.PFV-3MS

'Credit was given for settler farmers'

c. *zərəjji-nnət jə-igir k^was asaffari gəs's'-ta nə-w* (Re 9.2.2000)

race-NMLZ GEN-foot ball shameful face-NMLZ COP.PRES-3MS

'Racism is a shameful image of football'

- d. *wantʃa-woffʃ-n* *ijj-ajj-ə*³⁷ *j-alləf-ə-w*³⁸ (AZ 28.10.2000)
 cup-PL-ACC PROG-see.PFV-3MS REL-pass.PFV-3MS.SUB-3MS.OBJ
iddl-ə bis-u *maikl balak*
 luck-LNK without-DEF Michael Ballack
 ‘the unfortunate Michael Ballack who nearly misses cups’ (lit. ‘the unlucky Michael Ballack who passes seeing cups’)
- e. *dibbita* *jə-tə-ʃʻan-at* *agər ...* (AN 21.10.2000)
 depression REL-PASS-load.PFV-3FS country ...
 ‘a country which is loaded with depression’

All of the underlined elements given from (1a) to (1e) explicitly indicate negative connotations about the propositions, actions or events they describe. The element *godʒdʒi* ‘harmful’ in (1a), for instance, describes the noun phrase *limadawi dirgitoffʃ* ‘habitual actions’ as bad—hence—negative emotivity. In (1b), the item *səfari* ‘settler’ seems to have a neutral meaning as it refers to people who settle in a new place, but it has also a strong negative connotation to the people it addresses. In this particular example, the term is directed at *arso adəroffʃ* ‘farmers’ and describes them as immigrants, which distances the people concerned, and connotes the idea of being illegal. Similarly, in (1c) *zərənninnət* ‘racism’ is described as *asaffari* ‘shameful’; and in (1d), the news actor, Michael Ballack, is labeled as *iddlə bis* ‘unlucky’. All of these instances contain one or two elements of negative emotivity, such as disapproval and unfavourable. In (1e), the item *dibbita jətəʃʻanat* ‘one who is under depression’, is employed to describe the noun *agər* ‘country’, which according to the context, referring to Ethiopia. This is a metaphorical expression as it attributes the situation of being under depression (a state of feeling) to an inanimate object, i.e. Ethiopia. More importantly, it evaluates the situation of Ethiopia as bad (negative) since being under depression involves sadness and inactivity.

6.1.1.2 Positive emotivity

Headlines in *addis zəmən* and *riportər* evaluate actions, processes and news actors more on a positive dimension than the negative one. Contrastively, *addis nəgər* evaluates events, people, actions or situations in its headlines as negative, which is evidenced by the smallest proportion of

³⁷ In *ijjajjə*, the vowel *ə* is elided as it comes preceding the high vowel *a*.

³⁸ In *jaləfəw*, again, the vowel *ə* is elided as it comes preceding the high vowel *a*.

positive emotivity it demonstrates in its headlines. Positive emotivity, in general, represents events, people, actions or situations as good and with approval. Consider the following examples:

(2) a. *lā-tekiniḱ inna muja silt'əna mirt' jə-asərrar zədə-wofff...* (AZ 15.12.2000)
for-technique and craft training best GEN-working method-PL ...

'Best working methods for technique and craft training...'

b. *lā-oromija killil zəməṇ-awī adma bətaṇṇ məkīn-offf tə-gəzz-u* (AN 17.12.2000)
for-oromija region period-ADJ strike one that disperses car-PL PASS-buy.PFV-3P

'Modern cars that disperse strike were bought for Oromiya region'

c. *jə-amerika hakim-offf bə-ras dəsta nəs'a hikminna sət't'-u* (AA 18.8.2000)
GEN-amerika doctor-PL in-ras desta free of charge medical treatment give.PFV-3P

'American doctors gave a free medical treatment in Ras Desta [hospital]'

Some words and phrases tend to spin positive connotation on the events, propositions or actions being reported. In (2a), for example, the adjective *mirt'* 'best' is employed to describe the genitive construction *jəʔasərrar zədewofff* 'working methods' and hence shows the methods are outstanding. Here, *mirt'* 'best' is an evaluative term as it is comparative (contrasts the item described with others) and value-laden (contains dimension of approval). Similarly, in (2b) and (2c), the underlined linguistic elements evaluate emotivity in the headlines along the line of positivity. In (2b), *zəməṇawī* 'modern' appraises the specified cars as up-to-date and, thus, good. In (2c) *nəs'a* 'free' indicate an aspect of praise (which is a feature of positive emotivity) since the doctors sacrifice their time, expertise and labour to provide medical treatment for patients with charging nothing.

The above instances of emotivity (both positive and negative) are expressed through more explicit lexical items. Most of the lexical items which indicate the act of evaluating in the above data are adjectives, such as *addis* 'new', *mirt'* 'best', *zəməṇawī* 'modern', and so on. However, other linguistic items also perform this function. The linguistic elements like *bədəsta* 'with happiness' which is a prepositional phrase, and the verbal noun *məṇad* 'to dismantle', as in *higgə mənḡistun məṇad* 'to dismantling the constitution', evaluate state-of-affairs as positive and negative, respectively though these are not adjectives.

6.2 The parameter of comprehensibility

Evaluations of comprehensibility have to do with the degree to which journalists, news actors or sources evaluate entities, situations, states-of-affair, or statements in headlines as being within or outside the grasp of their understanding. This understanding results in either vagueness or explicitness. Evaluating something as explicit would mean the thing is more easily comprehensible, whereas vagueness indicates less easily comprehensible. Forming only 3.402 percent of the evaluators in the data, this is one of the less important evaluation types in the Amharic newspapers.

Table 36 Comprehensibility in headlines

Newspaper	Frequency in four Amharic newspapers		
	Comprehensibility	Incomprehensibility	Total occurrences
<i>addis admas</i>	1	2	3
<i>addis nəgər</i>	2	6	8
<i>addis zəmən</i>	4	0	4
<i>riportər</i>	8	8	16
Total	15	16	31

Generally, the frequency of occurrences of the comprehensibility parameter does not show much difference. However, some differences are observed in the individual newspapers. As table 35 shows, *addis zəmən* does not evaluate actions, events or sources as vague or less easily comprehensible at all. Conversely, *addis nəgər* appears to be the direct opposite of *addis zəmən* as it appraises much more on incomprehensibility line than comprehensibility. A balanced distribution of the parameter of comprehensibility is found in *riportər*.

6.2.1 Comprehensibility: incomprehensible

Evaluating something as incomprehensible involves vagueness, making a certain proposition or event less easily intelligible. Consider the following examples that contain linguistic elements indicating aspects of comprehensibility: incomprehensibility.

- (3) a. *ato amarə arəgawi b-al-t-awwək'-u* *səw-offf tə-dəbəddəb-ə* (AN 22.1.2001)
 mr Amare Aregawi by-NEG-PASS-know.PFV-3P.OBJ man-PL PASS-beat.PFV-3MS
 'Mr Amare Aregawi was beaten by unknown people'

b. *səm-aṯṯaw andi-gəḷəs' j-al-fəlləg-u səw-offṯ...* (AN 2.9.20000)

name-POSS.3P REL-reveal REL-NEG-want.PFV-DEF man-PL ...

‘people who do not want their names revealed...’

c. *jə-itjop'p'ija olompik komite jə-ṯillimat məsfərt-u gils's' ajdəllə-m* (Re 24.9.2000)

GEN-ethiopia Olympic committee GEN-reward criterion-DEF clear COP.NEG-CM

‘The Ethiopian Olympic committee’s criterion for rewarding is not clear’

d. *parlama-w itjop'p'ija j-allə-bb-at-n ida al-j-awk'im* ... (AA 20.7.2000)

parliament-DEF ethiopia REL-exist.PFV-APPL-3FS-ACC debt NEG-3MS-know.IPFV...

‘The parliament does not know the debt Ethiopia has (incurred)...’

All the headlines given above show some elements of incomprehensibility, that is, inexplicability. In (3a), the item *baltawwək'u* ‘by unknown’ specifies the noun *səw-offṯ* ‘men’ yielding the meaning by unknown men or people. Hence, the headline writer evaluates the people who attacked the news actor are not within the range of his/her knowledge. The item that indicates evaluation of incomprehensibility in (3b) is the phrase *səmaṯṯaw andigəḷəs' jal-fəlləgu səw-offṯ* ‘people who do not want their names revealed’. In this case, again, the names of people who are the source of information remained hidden, and it is not known to the newspaper readers. Similarly, in (3c), the element *gils's' ajdəllə-m* ‘it is not clear’ evaluates the given criterion as lacking clarity and it is thus inexplicable. In (3d), the journalist appraised the parliament as not aware of the debt that Ethiopia owes. This is mainly manifested in the phrase *jalləbbatn ida ajawk'im* ‘it does not know her [the country’s] debt’.

The linguistic elements identified above refer to states-of-affairs, which are not clearly known to us and therefore remain mysterious to the concerned newspaper readers. By presenting events, situations or actions as mysterious, reporters appeal to their readers; hence, inexplicability serves as a strategy to attract newspaper readers. This is mainly because the evaluations of comprehensibility: incomprehensible may result in a negative evaluation of the news actors and states-of-affairs concerned. Hence, it is related to the news value of negativity. Of the four Amharic newspapers, this is particularly true for *reportər* and *addis nəgər*. *Addis zəməñ* does not use this strategy at all, while *addis admas* employs it only to a certain extent.

6.2.2 Comprehensibility: comprehensible

The parameter of comprehensibility: comprehensible has to do with the degree to which journalists, news actors, or sources evaluate entities, situations, states-of-affair, or statements in stories as being within the grasp of their understanding. The following news headlines contain linguistic items that evaluate aspects of the news stories as clear and comprehensible.

- (4) a. *jə-amerika-nna jə-ʃajna ɡiniɲnunnət ɡils'-innət-n* (AZ 3.12.2000)

GEN-america-and GEN-china relationship clear-NMLZ-ACC

jə-tə-labbəs-ə nə-w

REL-PASS-dress.PFV-3MS COP.PRES-3MS

‘America’s and China’s relationship is based on transparency’

- b. *jə-itjop’p’ija ambasadər silə polisij ləwt’-u fiɲf sət’t’-u* (Re 24.9.2000)

GEN-ethiopia ambassador about policy change-DEF clue give.PFV-3P (POL.)

‘The Ethiopian ambassador gave clue about the policy change’

- c. *nəf’f’ sirk’ot bə-kətəma-wa tə-bərakto-all* (AN 2.9.2000)

white theft in-city-DEF.3FS PASS-plenty.CNV.3MS-AUX

‘Clear theft has become enormous in the city’ (lit. ‘White theft has become enormous in the city’)

- d. *jə-niw dʒərsi-wa set-əɲɲa adari muzik’-əɲɲa* (AA 24.1.2001)

GEN-new jersey-POSS.DEF woman-NMLZ one who spends night music-NMLZ

mə-hon-wa jifa hon-ə

INF-be.PFV-DEF.3FS official become.PFV-3MS

‘The New Jersey’s singer being a prostitute has become official’

In (4a), the phrase *ɡils’innətn jətəlabbəsa* ‘transparent’ (lit. ‘that dressed clarity’) evaluates the given proposition as plain or not hidden; thus, can easily be understandable. Again, in (4b), the noun *fiɲf* ‘clue, hint’ provides a piece of information about the given state-of-affair, i.e. the change in policy. This piece of information can, however, lead to the solution of a problem or a mystery. An Amharic metaphorical expression that qualifies the kind of theft is employed in (4c). That is, the expression *nəf’f’ sirk’ot* ‘obvious theft’ judges the theft as it is made openly and straight forwardly. Similarly, in (4d), the linguistic item *jifa* ‘public’ as in *jifa honə* ‘becomes public’ appraises the given proposition as known by everyone.

6.3 The parameter of expectedness

Generally, this evaluative parameter involves the speaker's /writer's evaluations of aspects of the situations or events in news stories as more or less expected or unexpected. In this study, four sub-values of the parameter of expectedness have been identified, but this evaluation type constitutes only 4.171 percent of the entire evaluations in the headlines. Table 36 presents the summary of this parameter along with its sub-values: expected, unexpected, contrast as well as compare and contrast.

Table 37 Parameter of expectedness and its sub-values in headlines

Newspaper	Frequency in four Amharic newspapers				
	Expected	Unexpected	Contrast	Compare & contrast	Total occurrences
<i>addis admas</i>	2	0	0	2	4
<i>addis nəgər</i>	2	1	5	0	8
<i>addis zəmən</i>	4	5	0	6	15
<i>riportər</i>	2	1	4	4	11
Total	10	7	9	12	38

Among the four Amharic newspapers, a relatively higher proportion of evaluation along the expected parameter is found in *addis zəmən*, followed by *riportər* (Table 36). Specifically, while *addis zəmən* prefers to evaluate more along the sub-values: compare and contrast, unexpected and expected, *riportər* does this more on two sub-values: contrast as well as compare and contrast. A striking difference exists between *addis zəmən* in one hand, and *addis nəgər* and *addis admas*, on the other hand. Moreover, while *addis nəgər* prefers evaluating aspects of news stories based on a contrast sub-value, *addis zəmən* does not employ this strategy at all; instead, it uses the compare and contrast sub-value, which is unknown in *addis nəgər* headlines.

6.3.1 Expectedness: expected

The expectedness: expected sub-value of the evaluative parameter of expectedness highly occurs in *addis zəmən* though it also exists in the other Amharic newspapers. Look at the following headlines which contain evaluations along this dimension.

- (5) a. *komi/īnār-u hizb-u ində wətrəw kə-polis gon* (Re 7.7.2000)
 commissioner-DEF people-DEF COMP usual with-polis beside
indi-k'om as-assəb-u
 COMP-stand CAUS-remind.PFV-3P (POL.)
 'The commissioner reminded the people to stand beside the police'
- b. *musinna bə-agərit-u jə-tə-ləmməd-ə təgbar hono-all* (AN 24.1.2001)
 corruption in-country-DEF.3FS REL-PASS-customary.PFV-3MS practice become.CNV.3MS-AUX
 'Corruption has become a customary practice in the country'
- c. *ijjə-t'all-ə j-allə-w mādəb-əḥḥa zinab ji-k'ət'il-all* (AZ 19.11.2000)
 PROG-fall.PFV-3MS REL-exist.PFV-DEF class-NMLZ rain 3MS-continue.IPFV-AUX
 'The existing regular rain fall will continue'

The headlines given above contain linguistic expressions that evaluate the given actions and states-of-affairs along the line of expectedness: expected. In (5a), for instance, the element *ində wətrəw* 'as usual' indicates routiness or familiarity of the action mentioned in the headline, i.e. standing beside to the police. The expression *jətaləmmədə* 'something which is customary' evaluates the action of corruption as a normal practice in the country.

6.3.2 Expectedness: unexpected

The sub-value of expectedness: unexpected evaluates aspects of the news story as less expected or unprecedented. In the data set, *addis zəməḥn* shows a relatively higher distribution this sub-value. While expectedness: unexpected barely occurs in *addis nəgər* and *riportər* (one instance in each), it does not occur at all in *addis admas*. Now, consider the following examples extracted from the Amharic newspapers' headlines.

- (6) a. *mo farah b-al-tə-t'əbbək'-ə huneta aff'ənnəf-ə* (AN 24.1.2001)
 Mo Farah in-NEG-PASS-expect.PFV-3MS situation win.PFV-3MS
 'Mo Farah won in an unexpected situation'
- b. *bə-bedging olompik bə-maraton asgərrami wut't'et tə-mə-zəggəb-ə* (AZ 28.10.2000)
 in-Beijing Olympic in-marathon surprising result PASS-INF-register.PFV-3MS
 'In Beijing, an astonishing result was registered in marathon'

c. *jə-itjop'p'ija ajjar mængəd bə-tarik-u j-al-gət't'am-ə-w* (AN 2.9.2000)

GEN-ethiopia air route in-history-DEF REL-NEG-encounter.PFV-3MS.SUB.-3MS.OBJ

fīgīgir gət't'amə-w

problem encounter.PFV-3MS.SUB

'Ethiopian Airlines encountered a problem which it did not face before'

The headlines given above contain linguistic elements that evaluate aspects of the news reports along the line of expectedness: unexpected. In (6a), for instance, the expression *baltət'əbbək'ə huneta* 'in an unexpected situation' describes the way the news actor won the race as a surprising act, which entails an element of unexpectedness. In (6b), likewise, the linguistic element *asgərrami* 'surprising' has been used in qualifying the result as amazing or astonishing, which by definition involves judgement on the basis of unexpectedness. The relative clause, *bətariku jalgət't'aməw* 'that it did not face in its history' in (6c), specifies the Ethiopian Airline's problem as something which this institution did not encounter before. Qualifying something as it did not happen before indicates evaluating the thing as unexpected and unusual. Hence, all the linguistic expressions discussed here typically demonstrate an unexpected dimension, for they evaluate the situations, actions or propositions as unusual, strange and unprecedented.

The sub-value expectedness: unexpected links to the news value of unexpectedness, which indicates that unpredictable events are more newsworthy than the routine ones. Following this, it is possible that the evaluation of expectedness: unexpected sub-value is used to increase the newsworthiness of an event. More specifically, the linguistic items, such as *baltə-t'əbbək'ə huneta* 'in an unexpected situation' in (6a), *asgərrami* 'surprising, astonishing' in (6b) as well as *bətariku jalgət't'aməw* 'something that it did not face in its history' in (6c), serve in the Amharic headlines to increase the newsworthiness of the reported events by appealing to the news value of unexpectedness.

The three Amharic newspapers, namely *addis admas*, *riportər* and *addis nəgər* contribute less for the newsworthiness of the reported events in terms of the news value of expectedness: unexpected in their headlines.

6.3.3 Expectedness: contrast

The parameter of expectedness: contrast sub-value is concerned with evaluations of aspects of events as opposing to expectations. Accordingly, it also relates to the news value of unexpectedness, albeit in a more inexplicit way, since it is mostly expressed by conjuncts and subordinators (cf. Bednarek 2006:85). The following headline consists of a subordinator that indicates evaluation along the expectedness: contrast dimension.

- (7) a. *atilet-offif-u akurtaw-nn-all federefin-u gin al-j-mat'in-m* (AN 17.12.2000)
athlet-PL-PL proud.CNV.3P-1P-AUX federation-DEF but NEG-3MS-appropriate-CM
'The athletes made us proud, but the federation is not fitting'

The news headline in (7a) shows a noticeable discrepancy between the two ideas. These are being proud on what the athletes achieved on the one hand and the unfitting of the federation that administers the athletics sport on the other hand. This difference is shown by the Amharic conjunct *gin* 'but'.

6.3.4 Expectedness: compare and contrast

Expectation: compare and contrast sub-value is used to refer to discrepancies that arise from what listeners/readers would expect to be the case. Consider the following examples:

- (8) a. *andimm t'ankarra takawami parti jallā-mm* (Re 18.12.2000)
noone strong opposition party NEG.exist.3MS-CM
'There is not a single strong opposition [political] party'
- b. *biff-ənnā-w boks-ənnā getafəw molla ...* (AA 12.11.2000)
lone-NMLZ-DEF box-NMLZ getachew molla ...
'The only boxer Getachew Molla...'
- c. *bə-addis abəba mikir bet biff-ənnā-wa jə-tək'awami parti abal* (Re 20.11.2000)
in-addis abeba advice house only-NMLZ-DEF.3FS GEN-opposition party member
'the only [female] opposition party member in Addis Abeba's council'

The linguistic item *andimm* 'noone' in (8a) evaluates the proposition along the expectedness parameter. Currently, there are plenty of opposition political parties in Ethiopia, and it is normal to expect at least one or two opposition parties that could possibly be strong. Contrary to this

expectation, the statement in (8a) posited that there is no a single strong opposition party. This piece of information is expressed through the lexical item *andimm* ‘noone’ which is further strengthened by the negation *jəlləm* ‘there is no’. Similarly, in (8b), the element *biffəṇṇaw* describes the given news actor as *the only one* boxer. Again, *biffəṇṇaw* ‘the only one’ shows deviation from what is commonly expected. Likewise, (8c), contains an instance of concession in that we normally expect the presence of women in Addis Abeba city’s council (given women represent a considerable number in the city), but unfortunately there is *only one* woman in the city’s council.

6.4 The parameter of importance

Evaluations along the parameter of importance involve relevance, worth and significance in aspects of the world. The parameter of importance is the second most important evaluation scheme as it constitutes 24.478 percent of the entire evaluators employed in the four Amharic newspapers’ headlines.

Table 38 The parameter of importance in headlines

Newspaper	Distribution in four Amharic newspapers		
	Important	Unimportant	Total occurrences
<i>addis admas</i>	8 (66.666%)	2 (16.666%)	12 (17.647%)
<i>addis nəgər</i>	21(70%)	9 (30%)	30 (19.736%)
<i>addis zəmən</i>	126 (94.736%)	7 (5.263%)	133 (26.027%)
<i>riportər</i>	42 (87.5%)	6 (12.5%)	48 (27.428%)
Total	197	24	223

6.4.1 The parameter of importance: important

The overwhelming majority of the evaluations in the four Amharic newspapers is along the parameter of importance: important (see table 37). Specifically, most of the evaluations along the line of importance: important are found in *addis zəmən* and *riportər*, respectively. In contrast, a relatively lesser and least evaluations along this meaning dimension are observed respectively in *addis nəgər* and *addis admas*. Consider the following headlines:

- (9) a. *jə-angola-w prezidant agər-aʃfəw jə-ʔafrika* (AZ 4.12.2000)
 GEN-angola-DEF president country-POS.3MS (POL.) GEN-africa
təmissalet lə-madrəg alləm-u
 exemplary to-make dream.PFV-3MS (POL.)
 ‘The Angola’s president dreamed to make his country an exemplary for Africa’
- b. *jə-mirus’ jə-olompik gədil bə-t’irunəf tə-dəggəm-ə* (Re 18.12.2000)
 GEN-mirus GEN-Olympic miracle by-terunesh PASS-repeat.PFV-3MS
 ‘Olympic’s miracle of Mirus was repeated by Tirunesh’
- c. *juniti jə-məɖəmmərija-w jə-gill junivərsiti hon-ə* (AA 26.11.2000)
 unity GEN-first-DEF GEN-private university become.PFV-3MS
 ‘Unity University became the first private university’
- d. *jə-budin-aʃfɪn jə-məɖəmmərija inna wəssən irmiɖɖa ...* (AN 2.9.2000)
 GEN-team-POS.1P GEN-first and crucial move ...
 ‘Our team’s first and crucial move...’
- e. *jə-səndək’alama k’an bə-miliniyəm-u mə-kəbbər tarik-awi* (AZ 28.10.2000)
 GEN-flag day in-millennium-DEF INF-celebrate history-ADJ
agatami nə-w
 incident COP.PRES-3MS
 ‘The celebration of a flag day during the millennium is a historic incident’

Each of the headlines in the above data contains linguistic resources that evaluate the significance of events, news actors, situations, etc. The lexical item *təmissalet* ‘exemplary’ in (9a), for instance, indicates the news actor’s (the president of Angola) evaluation of the proposition making Angola a model for other African countries. A model country is so good that other countries imitates or follows it, which shows evaluation on the basis of importance: important. The expressions, such as *gədil* ‘miracle’ in (9b), *jəməɖəmmərija* ‘the first one’ in (9c), *wəssən* ‘crucial’ in (9d), and *tarikawi* ‘historic’, show the importance or significance of the achievements, the actions or events mentioned in the headlines. More specifically, in (9b), the headline writer described what the news actor Tirunesh achieved in the Olympic as *gədil* ‘miracle’ (an exceptional and extraordinary accomplishment), and this is an aspect of evaluation along the importance: important sub-value. In (9c), the transforming of the said private

institution into a private university is described by the headline writer as the first in its type using the Amharic genitive construction *jəmədʒammərijaw* ‘of the first’. In so doing, it also indicates the worth of the university concerned. The element *wəssan* ‘crucial’ in (9d) shows how important the move is. In (9e), the adjective *tarikawi* ‘historic’ is employed to underline the usefulness of the mentioned incident in history. These evaluative terms indicate notions, such as influence, significance, worth and others associated with the importance dimension of meaning.

Evaluation along the line of importance: important may be related to relevance, a news value which posits that news has to be relevant or important for a newspaper reader. Hence, *addis zəman* and *riportər* use this strategy so as to enrich the news values of their headlines in terms of relevance. On the contrary, *addis nəgər* and *addis admas* depend less on the parameter of importance: important to increase the news value of their headlines.

6.4.2 The parameter of importance: unimportant

The evaluation of importance: unimportant has a very low frequency of occurrences in the data (Table 37). A fairly higher degree of occurrences in this sub-value is observed respectively in *addis nəgər* and *addis admas*. The discussion is, therefore, brief, confined to those few instances.

- (10) a. *bə-t’ik’it atilet-offʃ j-ək’omə federeʃn ...* (Re 18.12.2000)
 by-few athlet-PL REL-stand federation ...
 ‘A federation which stands by few athletes...’
- b. *ihadeg jə-anəstəŋna siket-offʃ-u sələba ijə-hon-ə nə-w* (AN 10.1.2001)
 EPRDF GEN-small success-PL-DEF victim PROG-become.PFV COP.PRES-3MS
 ‘EPRDF is becoming a victim of its small successes’
- c. *jə-televiziŋ fək’ad j-al-ə-bizu k’idmə huneta ji-sət’* (AN 20.7.2000)
 GEN-television license REL-NEG-much prior condition 3MS-give.IPFV
 ‘Television license has to be given without much precondition’
- d. *bə-misrak’ godʒəzəm zon godʒi limad-awi dirgit-offʃ ...* (AZ 20.7.2000)
 in-east gojjam area harmful habit-ADJ action-PL ...
 ‘In East Gojjam area, harmful habitual actions...’

In the headline given under (10a), the prepositional phrase *bət’ik’it*, which signals smallness in number, has been used to evaluate the structuring and functioning of the said institution, i.e. the

Athletics Federation. In this context, this linguistic item implies that the federation relies on a very limited number of athletes, and lack of replacements for them. Hence, *bət'ik'it* 'small, little' involves an aspect of importance: unimportant. Again, the adjective *anəstəŋna* 'lesser, scanty' in (10b), modifies the next noun, i.e. *siketoff* 'successes'. It rates the stated achievement as minor and not a significant one, and this is further strengthened by the word *sələba* as in *sələba ijjəhonə nəw* 'it is becoming a victim', which contradicts with being successful. The evaluation appears to indicate that, a government, that normally has the responsibility to do a lot of bigger things, should not be satisfied in small successes. Similarly, in (10c), the headline writer evaluates the existing preconditions to get television license as an unimportant and hence called for to reduce such conditions by using the Amharic phrase *jaləbizu k'idmə huneta* 'with no much preconditions'. Finally, the habitual practices in Eastern part of Gojjam are evaluated as negative and hence are not important. This example also indicates that the sub-value importance: unimportant is related to the negative emotivity, for something which brings negative emotivity is irrelevant and insignificant.

6.5 The parameter of necessity

The parameter of necessity deals with the *deontic*, from Greek meaning 'duty' modality. Specifically, this parameter values how necessary or unnecessary a situation, an entity or a proposition appears to be. This evaluation type has a modest distribution across the four Amharic newspapers' headlines. Table 38 provides a summary of the distribution of the parameter of necessity in Amharic newspapers, and followed by a discussion of the forms as well as their functions in headlines.

Table 39 The parameter of necessity in headlines

Newspaper	Frequency in four Amharic newspapers		
	Necessary	Not necessary	Total occurrence
<i>addis admas</i>	0	1	1
<i>addis nəgər</i>	3	1	4
<i>addis zəmən</i>	30	0	30
<i>riportər</i>	14	1	15
Total	47	3	50

The parameter of necessity has the smallest occurrences in the entire data as it accounts only 3.028% of the entire evaluations identified in this study. One possible reason Bednarek (2006:110) suggested for the low occurrence of necessity (including possibility) is that newspapers usually aim at objectivity in their news stories and subjective (evaluative) modality seems easily recognizable by readers as non-objective. This also applies to tabloids which are known in using much opinion.

6.5.1 The parameter of necessity: necessary

Evaluations along the necessity: necessary sub-value are higher in *addis zəməən* and *riportər*, respectively. While *addis nəgər* shows only three instances, *addis admas* does not evaluate aspects of the news stories along this parameter. Consider the following headlines that show evaluation along the necessity: necessary line.

- (11) a. *zinab-nna s'əhaj j-al-bəggər-ə*³⁹-w *hizb fəllimat* (Re 8.10.2000)

Rain-and sun REL-NEG-give in.3MS-DEF people reward

ji-gəbbaw-all

3MS-enter.CNV.3MS-AUX

‘The people who resisted sun and rain have to be rewarded’

- b. *səʔat-e jə-təfall-ə iskə hon-ə dīrəs mə-mərrət* (AN 5.11.2000)

time-POSS.1S GEN-better.PFV-3MS upto be.PFV-3MS until INF-elect.PFV

allə-bb-ijən -bək'ana daba

exist-APPL-1S.SUB -bekana daba

‘As far as I have a better record, I have to be elected’ - Bekana Daba

- c. *waga-w b-aj-rəgagga inkwan nəgade-w mə-rəgaggat* (Re 5.8.2000)

price-DEF COND-NEG-calm down even merchant-DEF INF-calm down

ji-nor-bb-ət-all

3P-exist-APPL-3MS.OBJ-AUX

‘Even if the price can not be calm down, the merchant has to be calm down’

- d. *t'əfər-tənn-offi set jizəw mə-hed allə-bb-afifəw* (AZ 17.12.2000)

space-NMLZ-PL woman having hold.CNV.3P INF-go exist-APPL-3P.SUB

‘Astronauts have to travel with woman’

³⁹ The element *bəggərə*, which is ungrammatical in Amharic, is a result of the elision of *tə-* in the fuller form *tə-bəggərə* ‘he gave in’, due to the introduction of the relative marker *jə-*.

In headline (11a), necessity is indicated on the basis of the word *tagabba* ‘be-necessary’. The necessity to reward the people mentioned arises from the given conditions surrounding this proposal, i.e. being defiant to the sunny and at times rainy weather. The evaluation on necessity or obligation observed in (11b) is expressed through *-nor-*, which is the imperfective variant of the existential auxiliary *all-*‘exist’. Specifically, the headline writer underlined the necessity of being calm down for the traders. In (11c), the modal feature of necessity is expressed using the applicative suffix *-bb-*. Again, here, the journalist appraised the requirement or appropriateness of having woman when astronauts make spaceflights.

6.5.2 Necessity: unnecessary

In all the four Amharic newspapers, evaluation along the line of necessity: unnecessary is considerably small; no evaluator of unnecessary occurs in *addis zəməən* (Table 8). In this sub-value of the parameter of necessity, headline writers’ evaluate aspects of events or situations as needless, as the following headlines demonstrate.

- (12) a. *agər-at bə-nədadz gudaj mə-dənagət’ al-j-nor-bb-afjəw-m opek* (Re 8.10.2000)
country-PL by-fuel issue INF-terrified NEG-3MS-exist-APPL-3P-CM opek
‘Countries should not be terrified by fuel issue’ opek⁴⁰
- b. *addis-u amət bə-maʔik’əb tagit-ən jə- jəmm-ni-nor-bb-ət* (AN 17.12.2000)
new-DEF year by-embargo be-sequestered REL-REL-1P-live-APPL-3MS
mə-hon jəllbbətim
INF-be it should not be
‘The new year should not be a year that we live being sequestered in embargo’
- c. *jəmmaf-u bə-nəgade-wojəf mə-ʔibərbər al-j-gəbbaw-m* (AA 12.11.2000)
consumer-DEF by-merchant-PL INF-deceive NEG-3MS-enter.IPFV-3MS-CM
‘The consumer should not be deceived by merchants’

The different aspects of events, situations or actions stated in the headlines (12a) to (12c) are evaluated as unnecessary. Specifically, the applicative suffix *-bb-*, which appeared in all of the above examples, expresses the modal aspect of necessity. The introduction of the negative marker, especially in (12a) and (12c), make the necessity to become unnecessary. In (12a), this is realized through the structure *ajnorbbafjəwim* ‘they must not...’ and in (12c) as *ajgəbbawim*

⁴⁰ Opek is an acronym for Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries.

with the meaning ‘...should not have to’. Finally, in (12b), *jəllbbətim* ‘...should not be’ is employed to mark the unnecessary dimension of the proposition stated in the headline. This form is the negative of *alləbbət* ‘it has to...’.

6.6 The parameter of genuiness

The parameter of genuiness shows a headline writers’ evaluation of the authenticity of a proposition and an entity or entities. Through epistemic modality, speakers/writers express their judgment about the factual status of a proposition. Table 39 demonstrates the distribution of the parameter of genuiness and its sub-values in the Amharic newspapers.

Table 40 The parameter of genuiness and its sub-values in headlines

Newspaper	Frequency in four Amharic newspapers		
	Genuine	Fake	Total occurrences
<i>addis admas</i>	0	2	2
<i>addis nəgər</i>	1	11	12
<i>addis zəmən</i>	9	10	19
<i>riportər</i>	1	10	11
Total	11	33	44

Evaluation on the basis of genuiness is highly found in *addis zəmən*. A moderate distribution of this evaluative parameter is found in *addis nəgər* and *riportər*. In *addis admas*, the parameter of genuiness barely occurs in its headlines. Headline writers evaluate aspects of the reported events as real (genuine) or artificial (fake). The following section discusses each of these two sub-values of the parameter of genuiness using relevant examples from the Amharic newspapers.

6.6.1 Genuiness: genuine

This sub-value of genuiness deals with how true, real or authentic a proposition or an entity is. The following examples show linguistic items that evaluate reported events as real or genuine.

- (13) a. *jordanos jə-aləm agər ak’k’waraɸʃ ʃampiona-n inkən jə-lləf* (AZ 15.2.2001)
 yordanos GEN-world country crossing champion-ACC flaw REL-less
lə-m-adrəg ijə-sərr-afɸ nə-w
 to-INF-make.IPFV PROG-work.PFV-3FS COP.PRES-3MS
 ‘Yordanos is working to make World Country’s Crossing Champion flawless’

b. *mar-nna jə-mar wut'et-offf-n wadə awropa lə-mə-lak jəmmi-rəda* (Re 7.7.2000)

honey-and GEN-honey product-PL-ACC to Europe to-INF-send REL-support.IPFV

iwnət-əṇṇa m-arrəgagəf'a təgəṇṇ-ə

truth-ADJ INF-confirmation be find.PFV-3MS

‘A truthful confirmation that can help to export honey and its products to Europe was found’

c. *jə-libb polətika lə-afrika agər-at* (AN 22.2.2001)

GEN-heart politics for-african country-PL ...

‘A genuine politics for African countries...’ (lit. ‘A heart’s politics for African countries’)

All these headlines contain linguistic expressions that belong to the genuineness: genuine sub-value of the parameter of genuineness. In (13a), for instance, the phrase *inkən jəlləf* ‘flawless’ evaluates the preparation of the champion as perfect. Again, in (13b), the adjective *iwnətəṇṇa* ‘truthful’ highlights the genuineness of the proposition in the headline by connoting to correctness: correct and factual. The use of the element *jəlibb* to describe politics appears to metaphorically denote the genuineness of the politics that the headline writer seems to suggest for African countries.

6.6.2 Genuineness: fake

This sub-value refers to the evaluation of the ‘fakeness’ of entities, actions or statements. Specifically, in headlines newswriters evaluate aspects of their news stories as artificial. Consider the following headlines:

(14) a. *jə-amnəsti intərnaʃnal zəgəba kə-iwnət jə-rak'-ə nə-w* (AZ 18.8.2000)

GEN-amnesty international report from-truth GEN-far.PFV-3MS COP.PRES-3MS

‘Amnesty International’s report is far from truth’

b. *and nət'ib hulət milion dolar kə-t'ik'ur gəbija tə-jazz-ə* (Re 7.7.2000)

one point two million dollar from-black market PASS-catch.PFV-3MS

‘One point two million dollar was caught from black market’

c. *tedi afro kopi j-adərrəg-atfəw zema-woffif mə-bizat ffilota-w-n* (AN 6.7.2000)

tedi afro copy REL-mak.PFV-3P melody-PL INF-plenty ability-DEF-ACC

at'əjajak'i adirgot-all

questionable make.CNV.3MS-AUX

‘The enormous number of the melodies that Tedi Afro copied has made his ability to be questionable’

d. *jə-afrika məri-woffif mis's'ət-awi mə-təbabbər* (AN 5.11.2000)

GEN-africa leader-PL irony-ADJ INF-cooperate ...

‘African leaders’ ironical cooperation....’

In the headline given under (14a), Amnesty International’s report is qualified as *kə-iwnət jərak’ə* ‘far from truth’. Hence, this phrase appraises the report as false, implying evaluation in terms of genuineness: fake sub-value. In (14b), the item *t’ik’ur* is employed to refer to the market as in *t’ik’ur gəbija* ‘black market’. That is, the market is evaluated as not genuine, and truthful. Likewise, in (14c), the lack of originality and hence authenticity of Tedi Afro’s songs is expressed by the phrase *kopi jadərrəgəfəw zemawoffif* ‘the melodies that he (Tedi Afro) copied’. Here, the word *copy* entails not only lacking originality but also the sense of artificiality. Another instance of evaluation along the genuineness: fake line is the one that is given under (14d) in which the adjective *mis’s’ətawi* ‘ironical’ is used in evaluating the proposition in the headline as sarcastic, that is, reliability: not genuine.

Evaluations along the genuineness: fake dimension are associated with a negative sense and this relates to the parameter of emotivity (emotivity: negative). For instance, the qualifier in (14c), *mis’s’ətawi* ‘sarcastic’, labels the African leaders’ cooperation as *mis’s’ətawi* ‘sarcastic’. This again invokes negative emotivity, for the headline writer is expressing his/her disapproval towards the proposition.

6.7 The parameter of reliability

Evaluations of reliability are connected to epistemic modality rather than deontic modality. Hence, matters of certainty, confidence and likelihood are aspects of reliability. It, specifically, indicates evaluations of how likely it is that future events will happen. Reliability normally involves different degrees or levels ranging from high to low. In the Amharic newspapers’ headlines, it forms the least evaluation type as it constitutes 0.878 percent.

Table 41 The parameter of reliability and its sub-values

Newspaper	Frequency in four Amharic newspapers		
	High	Low	Total occurrences
<i>addis admas</i>	0	1	1
<i>addis nəgər</i>	0	0	0
<i>addis zəmən</i>	2	1	3
<i>riportər</i>	0	4	4
Total	2	6	8

Generally, the Amharic newspapers refrain from predicting likelihood of future events. As a result, as table (40), shows, there are very few occurrences of this evaluative parameter in the Amharic newspapers. However, it appears that relatively *riportər* and *addis zəmən* evaluate actions, or states-of-affairs along this parameter. The parameter of reliability hardly occurs in *addis admas* and *addis nəgər*. The following headlines from the Amharic newspapers indicate future happenings with different levels of likelihood.

(15) a. *niwaj dəbābā jə-konsərt məgbija waga anəs-təŋŋa ji-hon-all al-ə* (AA 18.8.2000)

neway debebe GEN-consert entrance price small-ADJ 3P-may-AUX say.PFV-3MS

‘Neway Debebe said that entrance fee for the concert will be small’

b. *təs’i?ino-n m-a/ənəf jə-ŋall-u akal gudat-əŋŋa set-otf* (AZ 1.2.2001)

influence-ACC INF-win REL-able.PFV-3P body hurt-ADJ woman-PL

minalbat wut’et-amma ji-hon-all-u

perhaps result-ADJ 3P-may-AUX-3P

‘Disabled women who overcame influence may perhaps be successful’

In (15a), the future certainty is expressed by the modal *-hon-*‘become’, in which the prefix *ji-* marks subject, whereas the suffix *-all*, serving as an existential auxiliary. Compared with (15a), the headline in (15b) shows a lower level of certainty of the given state-of-affair. That is, becoming successful seems unlikely for disabled women and this is specially indicated by the adverb *minalbat* ‘perhaps’.

6.8 The parameter of possibility

The parameter of possibility, like the parameter of necessity, concerned with the concept of modality (deontic and dynamic). It particularly indicates a speaker's/writer's descriptions of the status of events or states-of-affairs as possible and not possible. This evaluation parameter also involves scales that range from the highest to the lowest degrees of possibility. It forms the third important evaluation type in the headlines following emotivity and importance, respectively. This implies that the Amharic newspapers overtly evaluate states-of-affairs as possible or not, which are easily detected by readers. Table 41 below displays the distribution of the parameter of possibility in the headlines of the Amharic newspapers.

Table 42 The parameter of possibility in headlines

Newspaper	Frequency in four Amharic newspapers		
	Possible	Not possible	Total occurrences
<i>addis admas</i>	3	1	4
<i>addis nəgər</i>	7	3	10
<i>addis zəmən</i>	30	0	30
<i>riportər</i>	3	7	10
Total	43	11	54

Evaluating aspects of events or actions in headlines on the basis of possibility appears to be more common in *addis zəmən* than the other Amharic newspapers, especially *addis admas* which does not employ this evaluation scheme at all. The following part deals with the occurrences of the evaluations of (not) possible in the newspapers' headlines and explains their functions in news stories.

6.8.1 Possibility: not possible

This sub-value of the possibility parameter evaluates things as it is impossible to do them. In this evaluative parameter *addis zəmən* and *riportər* demonstrate contrasting behavior. In the former newspaper, the sub-value possibility: not possible, does not virtually exist, whereas in the latter it is found relatively with high frequency. Only one instance of possibility: not possible is found in *addis admas*, while fewer cases are registered in *addis nəgər*. Consider the following examples:

(16) a. *argoba-wofff bə-məngist tək'wam-at bə-k'irbbət* (Re 4.12.2000)

argoba-PL in-government institution-PL in-nearness

məgəlggəl al-ʃal-u-mm

to get service NEG-can-3P-CM

'Argobas can not access services in their proximity from government institutions'

b. *bə-adəga-w jə-tə-godd-u səw-offf-n kut'ir* (AN 22.2.2001)

by-accident-DEF REL-PASS-damage-DEF man-PL-ACC number

m-awək' al-tə-ʃal-ə-mm

INF-know NEG-PASS-can.PFV-3MS-CM

'It was not possible to know the number of people affected by the accident'

The headlines given under (16a) and (16b) contain linguistic expressions that indicate degrees of impossibility of the actions. In Amharic, the auxiliary *ʃal*-‘can/be able’ normally signals possibility. In both (16a) and (16b), this auxiliary is preceded by the negative marker *al*-, resulting in *al-ʃal-u-mm* ‘they can not’ and *al-tə-ʃal-ə-m* ‘it was not possible’, respectively. Thus, accessing services in proximity from government institutions in (16a) is described as something impossible. Similarly, the degree of possibility of knowing the number of the victims in (16b) is rated as not possible.

6.8.2 The parameter of possibility: possible

There are certain linguistic means to express the possibility of happening of events that are not yet completed. Of the four Amharic newspapers, *addis zəməṇ* employs more evaluations of the possibility: possible sub-value, followed by *riportər*. The other two Amharic newspapers, however, seem to refrain themselves from evaluating happenings along this sub-value. Consider the following headlines:

(17) a. *jə-itjo-ertira t'orinnət li-k'əsək'əs ji-ʃil-all -təməd* (AA 4.8.2000)

GEN-ethio-ertira war 3MS-stir up.IPFV 3MS-can-AUX -təməd

'The Ethio-Eritrea war may recur' -UN

b. *bə-assir abal-at betə imnət m-ak'k'wək'wam ji-ʃal-all* (AN 2.9.2000)

by-ten member-PL house faith INF-establish 3MS-be able-AUX

'It is possible to establish a church by ten members'

c. *bə-k'ət't'aj-u mirɣ'a m-əffənəf ji-ɣil-u ji-hon-all* (AZ 17.1.2001)
in-next-DEF election INF-win 3PL-can-3PL 3PL-may-AUX
‘[They] may probably win in the next election’

The degree of possibility of the action, that is, the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea to happen again is expressed in (17a) through the structure *ji-ɣil-all* ‘it can be possible’. The reading of the entire structure is that it is possible that a war between the two countries re-emerges. This evaluation of the possibility of the war to become real is made by UN. The possibility expressed in (17c) is slightly different as it shows a cline. The linguistic element *ji-hon-all*, combined with *-ɣil-* ‘can’, lowers slightly the possibility of winning the election.

Table 42 summarizes the eight evaluative parameters in the Amharic newspapers’ headlines. It also shows the distribution of each of the evaluative type in the four Amharic newspapers.

Table 43 Summary of evaluation types in Amharic newspapers’ headlines

Evaluation types	<i>addis admas</i>	<i>addis nəgər</i>	<i>addis zəmən</i>	<i>riportər</i>	<i>Total</i>
Emotivity	43 (61.428%)	80 (52.631%)	280 (54.474%)	60 (34.285%)	463
Comprehensibility	3 (4.285%)	8 (5.263%)	4 (0.778%)	16 (9.142%)	31
Expectedness	4 (5.714%)	8 (5.263%)	15 (2.918%)	11 (6.285%)	38
Importance	12 (17.142%)	30 (19.736%)	133 (26.027%)	48 (27.428%)	223
Necessity	1 (1.428%)	4 (2.631%)	30 (5.836%)	15 (8.571%)	50
Genuiness	2 (2.857%)	12 (7.894%)	19 (3.696%)	11 (6.285%)	44
Reliability	1 (1.428%)	0	3 (0.583%)	4 (2.285%)	8
Possibility	4 (5.714%)	10 (6.578%)	30 (5.836%)	10 (5.714%)	54
Total	70	152	514	175	911

6.9 Summary

The main aim of this chapter was to examine evaluative language in the headlines of the Amharic newspapers. The analysis was made based on 1852 headlines of ‘hard’ news collected from these newspapers’. The distribution of evaluative expressions in the headlines was quantified to establish the extent to which each newspaper employed them. Then, the evaluators were described and explained using the framework of evaluation developed by Bednarek (2006).

The analysis identified 911 evaluative expressions along eight core evaluative parameters that the headline writers apply to evaluate aspects of the reported events, actions, propositions or states-of-affairs. These include the parameters of emotivity, comprehensibility, importance, expectedness, (not) necessity, (not) possibility, genuineness and reliability. This finding, hence, confirmed that ‘hard’ news which is usually described as objective and ‘faceless’ (Biber & Finegan 1989:108; Robescu 2008: 59) is rather impartial and subjective.

Of the eight evaluative parameters, emotivity is by far the most dominant evaluative strategy in the headlines, followed by the parameters of importance and possibility, respectively. Surprisingly, emotivity and expectedness, which are considered as features of tabloid newspapers, are highly found in *addis zəməṇ*. Similarly, *riportər* employs expectedness frequently in its headlines.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The goal of this study was to identify, describe and explain the linguistic patterns in headlines by taking Amharic newspapers as a case in focus. The analysis was made based on 1852 headlines of ‘hard’ news collected from four carefully selected Amharic newspapers for four months between March 2008 and October 2008 G.C. A simple frequency analysis was made on the quantitative data to discern potential patterns in their frequency of occurrences in the respective newspapers’ headlines. Thereafter, the observed linguistic data were described and explained using a combination of specific linguistic approaches and theories, namely the linguistic stylistic approach, Accessibility Theory, audience design and an evaluative language framework. The analysis identified mainly three linguistic levels that characterize the headlines: lexical, grammatical and semantic.

In headlines, names with different formats are found to be the most frequently employed expressions to refer to news actors. Being low and high accessibility markers, these name formats provide the audience with less explicit information about the news actors and hence they contradict with the Accessibility Theory which dictates that an initial act of referring in any given text has to be maximally explicit and later references can be pronominals. This violation of the accessibility hierarchy in headlines may be associated with two factors: economic (the headline writers’ desire to be brief and save space) and readership (to catch the readers’ interest). An apposition, which gives the most explicit description of a news actor, occurs not text-initially but within a news text, following a headline. Though apposition type *b* is considered as a distinctive feature of news texts, especially in British and American press (Jucker 1992; Quirk et al. 1985: 1305), apposition type *a* is the most exploited strategy in almost all of the four Amharic newspapers. This may be attributed to this construction’s high potential in compressing large amounts of information, especially compared to apposition type *b*.

A systematic correlation exists between NP types and their syntactic positions in headlines. Simple NPs occur in subject-positions, whereas complex NPs occupy non-subject-positions. It seems that animacy combined with topicality strongly influences the occurrence of more simple NPs in the subject-position. In non-subject position, however, the majority of the NPs are

modified either by one or a combination of qualifiers, such as adjectives, nouns, relative clauses or genitive constructions. When multiple premodifiers qualify the same noun within a noun phrase, they demonstrate the following tendency: Descriptors > Classifiers > Head-Noun. The juxtaposition of two nouns to qualify a head-noun may indicate the emergence of a noun-noun sequence in Amharic.

The overwhelming majority of the headlines is produced in conventional sentence structure format, indicating that headlines in Amharic newspapers are written just like any other prose. Longer headlines are the characteristics of *addis zəməṇ* and *riportər*, while *addis nəgər* and *addis admas* depend more on shorter headlines. Declarative headlines appear to be the most frequently used headline type across the four Amharic newspapers. Nevertheless, questions are an important means of presenting information in the headlines of *addis nəgər* and *addis admas*; they also throw speculation or doubt on the issue being reported and hence appeal to the readers. Exclamatory headlines are limited only to *addis admas* and *addis nəgər*, implying that these two Amharic newspapers overtly express strong feelings, such as anger, surprise or excitement in their headlines (hence they invoke interest). Headlines in the active voice are extensively found in *addis admas* and *addis nəgər* than in *addis zəməṇ* and *riportər*. Specifically, the reporting-like passive verbs which are specific to *addis zəməṇ* and *riportər* make agents invisible as they do not reveal the identity of the person, groups or institutions to whom the sources can be attributed to.

Minor clause headlines that involve unorthodox structure occur dominantly in *addis nəgər* and marginally in the rest of the Amharic newspapers. Though such minor clauses seem quantitatively less compared to the full clause headlines, they are prominent in the newspapers as they greatly contribute in creating catchy headlines and saving valuable space in the news pages. The most commonly occurring omission types include verbal ellipsis, nominal ellipsis, adposition ellipsis and most of these cannot be unambiguously recovered using either contextual or structural information. The omission of verbs of speaking in the context of attribution showed a strong tendency towards change in Amharic word order. Overall, the ellipses may have resulted from space restrictions as well as the writers' desire to appeal readers through brief and compact headlines. Surprisingly, function words which are considered to be surplus in 'headlines' remain intact in Amharic newspapers. The Amharic newspapers, thus, tend to contain a less

degree of lexical words per a headline. This yields headlines with many purely functional words, making the news headlines lack ‘pithiness’ and less focus on content words.

In the Amharic newspapers’ headlines, the aspectual value takes precedence over the temporal reference in referring to the time in which the events took place. The perfective aspect is predominantly used to express actions, events or processes in headlines. This aspectual category emphasizes on the past meaning associated with the completed actions. This implies that in the Amharic newspapers, news headlines are a mere report of actions that have been completed, indicating non-recency of events. At times, headline writers resort to tenses and other aspectual categories, and this is motivated by some pragmatic factors. In heteroglossic situations, headline writers maintain the tense or aspect that a news actor employs. Another factor associated with using an unconventional temporal category in headlines is the need to enhance the newsworthiness of an action or an event. In *addis nəgər* and *addis admas*, for instance, the completive aspect is used so as to emphasize the current relevance meaning of the actions or events. In so doing, the headlines enhance the relevance of the news story to readers (an interpersonal function). In this context, the other two newspapers (*addis zəməñ* and *riportər*), however, prefer the progressive aspect (which takes valuable space as it is long) to the non-progressive one.

Certain types of words seem to be commonly employed in Amharic newspapers’ headlines. It is found that basic-level vocabulary occurs with high frequency across the four Amharic newspapers’ headlines. More specifically, *addis admas* and *addis nəgər* employ more basic-level terms (short and familiar words). These two newspapers are also characterized by the use of: an overtly emotive vocabulary, words for their sound effects as in alliteration and rhyme, active verbs and direct borrowings. Low-level words, which are manifested in the use of longer and complex terms as in passive verbs and technical vocabularies, commonly occur in *addis zəməñ* and *riportər*. They are also further characterized by relying more on pattern borrowings than direct borrowings.

In all of the declarative headlines, the punctuating point (:), which marks the ending of a clause in Amharic, is virtually non-existent. This might be associated with the specific purpose of headlines, i.e. they are meant for quick reading, and the presence of punctuation marks may slow

down the process of reading. The Amharic *fīrət* or hyphen serves two important functions in headlines: to separate the subject of a headline from the attributed material and to add amplifying information to a phrase or a clause. Elsewhere (especially in the English press), these two functions are served by a colon and an em dash, respectively. Moreover, *nət'əla sərəz* (፤) is used in place of the coordinating conjunction *inna* 'and'.

News reports have been widely described as 'faceless', i.e. they provide readers with factual and non-involving reporting, but the study confirmed that news headlines in the Amharic newspapers contain evaluative terms which indicate the opinions or attitudes of the respective journalists. The headlines evaluate actions, events or propositions along the values of emotivity, importance, possibility, comprehensibility, expectedness, genuineness, reliability and necessity. Surprisingly, emotivity and expectedness, which have strong evaluative force, are highly found in *addis zəmən*, and the latter frequently occurs in *riportər*'s headlines.

Overall, the aforementioned linguistic features ranging from lexis and grammar as well as semantics to punctuation marks characterize the language of Amharic news headlines. These linguistic properties arise in this text type to fulfill the specific purposes of the newspapers' headlines and to meet spatial constraints. In terms of the degree and extent of adopting some or all of these features, it is possible to categorize the Amharic newspapers into two. The use of low accessibility marking referentials, more longer headlines, full clauses, statements, more passive verbs and more longer modifiers (genitive and relative clauses) sets *addis zəmən* and *riportər* apart from *addis nəgər* and *addis admas* which depend more on high accessibility marking referentials, shorter headlines, a variety of headlines (declaratives, questions and exclamations), minor clauses (especially in *addis nəgər*), active verbs and shorter modifiers (adjectives and nouns). Lexically, *addis nəgər* and *addis admas* employ more basic-level words, exploit the phonetic features of words and direct borrowings, whereas *addis zəmən* and *riportər* use relatively more low-level terms (longer, complex and technical words), characterized by the absence of phonic features and the use of more indirect borrowings. As a result, *addis zəmən* and *riportər* demonstrate features of a broadsheet newspaper, while *addis nəgər* and *addis admas* exhibit the characteristics of a tabloid newspaper. In terms of using evaluative meaning, however, *addis zəmən* and *riportər* display an attribute of a tabloid since the former uses more evaluation along emotivity and expectedness values, and the latter does more on expectedness. The

differences in these two groups of Amharic newspapers can be attributed to their respective audience design strategy, i.e. the newspapers create their headlines so as to meet and reflect the language habits of their readers (Bell 1984:159; Crystal & Davy 1969: 33; Fowler 1991: 4). Similarly, through the use of emotive values, newspapers try to create a text which accommodates the opinions, attitudes and feelings of their readers (Bednarek 2006:203).

Given the influence of technology (as in online publication and other media platforms), and the Western media, the Amharic newspapers will continue to feature additional linguistic properties. This research would be a contribution to the study of functional varieties of Amharic, which are absent in the Amharic linguistics literature. The findings have also implications for journalism in that headline writers can apply the various linguistic strategies to one degree or another so as to enhance the interpersonal functions of their news headlines.

Further research that explores how language is used in such genres of newspapers as in advertising and editorial in Amharic or other Ethiopian languages would be illuminating. A comparative study on the linguistic make-up of such genres in two or three Ethiopian languages like Amharic, Oromo and Tigrinya would be revealing as well.

On the basis of the data analysis and the conclusions drawn, the following two issues require attention from the Amharic newspapers in question. Firstly, commonly occurring in *addis zəməṇ* and *riportər*, longer words and expressions as well as reportive passive constructions and needless repetitions heighten vagueness in their headlines. On top of this, these constructions appear to disguise some intentions of the journalists, i.e. a lack of sincerity, which can be extended to the newspapers as a whole. These newspapers should, therefore, give serious attention to this concern so as to enhance intelligibility in the headlines and to improve the credibility or prospect of the newspapers. Secondly, loanwords (that result from a direct copying of a source language's words) are overriding, particularly in *addis admas* and *addis nəgər*. This hinders some segments of readers from comprehending the headlines which are meant for swift understanding. In order to avoid this problem, attempts should primarily be made to exploit the linguistic resources available in Amharic not only to avoid core borrowings but also to make up new words at least for some of the cultural borrowings.

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Appendices

Appendix a: News headlines in the four Amharic newspapers

1. *kə-sira jə-təsənabət-u-t halafi ...* (AN 5.11.2000)
‘the head who was fired from [his] work....’
2. *senatər dʒəmis inhof ...* (AZ 20.7.2000)
‘senator James Inhof’ ...
3. *muzik’-əɲna tina tərənər* (AZ 10/09/2000)
‘Singer Tina Turner’
4. *artist tewodros kassahun* (Re19/08/2000)
‘Artist Tewodros Kassahun’
5. *aleks retu jə-rumanija tə-wələdʒ* (AZ 6/07/2000)
‘A Romanian born Alex Retu’
6. *jə-iskindrija-w p’ap’as inna jə-mənbərə k’idus mark’os* (AZ 4/8/2000)
patrijarik k’idus finoda salsawi
‘Saint Shinoda the third, Pop of Alexandaria and Patriarch of saint Mark’
7. *jə-addis abəba univərsiti prezidant profesər indrijas i/əte* (AN 19/11/2000)
‘Addis Ababa University’s President Professor Endryas Eshete’
8. *jə-wuɸ’ɸ gudaj minister ato sijum məsfən* (AZ, 18/8/2000)
‘Foreign Affair Minister Ato Siyoum Məsfən’
9. *jə-amerika t’or hajl azaɹɹ dʒənəral devid petrajus* (AZ 10/9/2000)
‘America’s army commander general David Petraus’
10. *jə-anwar məsgid imam fəh t’əha harun* (AN 10/1/2001)
‘Anwar mosque’s prayer leader sheh Teha Harun’
11. *jə-riportər gazet’t’a baləbet inna wanna azəgaɹɹ* (AN 22/2/2001)
ato amarə arəgawi
‘Reporter newspaper’s owner and Editor-in-chief Ato Amare Aregawi’
12. *doktər wəldaj amha jə-itjop’p’ija ikonoms* (Re 20/11/2000)
baləmuɹawoɸɸ mahibər prezidant
‘Dr Welday Amha, Ethiopian Economic Experts Association President’

13. *jə-oromo nəs'anət parti miktīl lik'amənbər jə-hon-u-t* (Re 8/10/2000)
ato asfaw tihune...
 'The Oromo's freedom party deputy chairman Ato Asfaw Tihune'
14. *jə-somaliya-w t'ək'ilaj minister nur hasən husen* (Re 6/12/2000)
 'the Somalia's Prime Minister Nur Hassen Husen'
15. *jə-amerika-w prezidant dʒordʒ buʃ* (Re 9/02/2001)
 'the America's president George Bush'
16. *ingliz-awi-w jə-ʃəlsi ammakqan frank lampard...* (AZ 6/07/2000)
 'Chelsea's English midfielder Frank Lampard...'
17. *jə-maraton jə-kibrewəsən baləbet hajle g/silasse...* (AZ 17/01/2001)
 'marathon's record holder Haile G/Silassie...'
18. *jə-aləm maraton balərikərd hajle g/silasse...* (Re 07/07/2000)
 'world's marathon record holder Haile G/Silassie...'
19. *jə-maraton budn-u wanna asəltan ʃambəl zəlāləm dəsta...* (Re 20/11/2000)
 'The marathon team's main coach Shambel Zelalem Desta...'
20. *addis-u jə-federeʃn-u ammərrar mikittīl prezidant* (Re 20/11/2000)
ato təkə asfaw...
 'the federation's new leadership deputy president Mr Teka Asfaw....'
21. *atilet k'anənisa bək'alə bə-ləndən maraton aʃənəff-ə* (AN 24/01/2001)
 'Athlet Kenenisa Bekele won in London marathon'
22. *asəlt'an sijum kəbədə haja sost təʃ'awayʃ-oʃʃʃ-n mərat't'-ə* (AA 20/07/2000)
 'Coach Siyum Kebede selected twenty three players.'
23. *instraktər ʃifəraw ifətu wədə daʃn-innət tə-məlləs-u* (AN 30/09/2000)
 'Instructor Sheferaw Eshetu returned to referring'
24. *atilet bə-ləndən maraton aʃənəff-ə* (AN 24/01/2001)
 'Athlet won in London marathon'
25. *asəlt'an haja sost təʃ'awayʃ-oʃʃʃ-n mərat't'-ə* (AA 20/07/2000)
 'Coach selected twenty three players'
26. *instraktər wədə daʃn-innət tə-məlləs-u* (AN 30/09/2000)
 'Instructor returned to referring'

27. *k'anənisa bək'alə bə-ləndən maraton a/ənəff-ə* (AN 24/01/2001)
 'Kenenisa Bekele won in London marathon'
28. *sijum kəbədə haja sost təf'awəf-offf-n mərət't'-ə* (AA 20/07/2000)
 'Siyum Kebede selected twenty three players'
29. *ʃifəraw ifətu wədə daŋŋ-innət tə-məlləs-u* (AN 30/09/2000)
 'Sheferaw Eshetu returned to referring'
30. *ato samson mələs jə-kəffa zon mikittil astədadari-nna* (AZ 01/02/2001)
jə-wət'at-offf-nna sport məmrija halafi...
 'Mr Samson Meles Deputy Administrator of Keffa's Zone as well as Head of Youths' and Sport Bureau'
31. *ato təkə asəffa jə-federe/n-u tə-k'əddami mikittil prezidant...* (Re 20/11/2000)
 'Mr Teka Aseffa the Federation's First Deputy President'
32. *jə-uganda-w prezidant jure museveni* (AA 20/07/2000)
 'the Uganda's president Yoweri Museveni'
33. *ʃərənsawi-w jə-lib wələd dərsi dʒin mari gustavli* (AZ 1/02/2001)
 'the French novel writer Jin Mari Gustavli' or 'Jin Mari Gustavli, the French novel writer'
34. *zinəŋŋa-wa jə-holiwud film təwanaj andʒəlina dʒoli* (Re 4/12/2000)
 'the famous Hollywood film actress Angelina Joli'
35. *tawak'i-wa dɪms'-awi-t ʃafɪ tadəssə* (AN 4/08/2000)
 'the famous singer Tchachi Tadesse'
36. *rəhabu wərrər/ŋŋ indajaskətɪl tə-səggito-all* (AA 12.11.2000)
 'It was feared that the famine may result in plague'
37. *bət'ik'ur anbəssa bəməbirat mək'ʷarət' ammišt tamamiwoffɪ motu* (AA 12.12.2000)
 'In Blacklion [hospital] five patients died due to light interruption'
38. *kabe lə-a/ənafiwoffɪ ʃəlləmə* (AA 12.12.2000)
 'Kabe awarded the winners'
39. *rəhabu wərrər/ŋŋ indajaskətɪl təsəgtʷall* (AA 12.12.2000)
 'It was feared that the famine may cause plague'
40. *jəjunivərsiti təmariwoffɪ kənuro wudinnet gar təfat't'it'əwall* (AA 12.12.2000)
 'University students have confronted with [high] cost of living'

41. *amerika bə-itjop'p'ija laj gulbətwa min jahil nəw?* (AA 12.12.2000)
 'How much is America's power on Ethiopia?'
 42. *jəfirafire ʃ'iimak'i ləsik^war bəʃʃita jagalit'all təbbalə* (AA 12.12.2000)
 'It was said that vegetable juice exposes to diabetes'
 43. *gugul jəhaja milijon dolar ʃillimat azəgaɖʒit^wall* (AA 12.12.2000)
 'Google has prepared a twenty million dollar award'
 44. *'meditefn' jə-edis məbabbasin jigətall* (AA 12.12.2000)
 'Meditation' curbs the worsening of [HIV] Aids'
 45. *sigara maʃʃəs jətidar guadənnan ləstirok jagalit'all* (AA 12.12.2000)
 'Smking cigarette exposes a marriage partner to stroke'
 46. *jə-itanol mididɖa bə-adis abəba litadəl nəw* (AA 26.12.2000)
 'An itanol stove is going to be distributed in Addis Ababa'
 47. *jə-ajt' mənɖa jəbaləhabtoʃʃ-in sira ijastəgg^wag^walə nəw* (AA 10.12.2000)
 'A herd of rat is interrupting the work of the rich'
 48. *jəkoledɖoʃʃ-in mərəɖɖa jəjazzə məs'haf tatəmə* (AA 10.12.2000)
 'A book that contains information about colleges was published'
 49. *anbəsa inna ɖib gudat adərrəs-u* (AA 10.12.2000)
 'Lion and hyena made damage'
 50. *jəbərlin maraton samint k'ərrə-w* (AA 10.12.2000)
 'A week is remaining for the Berlin Marathon'
 51. *jəfifa k'it'at jəsport betəsəb-u-n adənaggit^wall* (AA 10.12.2000)
 'FiFa's punishment has frightened the sport's family'
 52. *itjop'p'ija bədivi ti-məraləʃʃ* (AA 24.1.2001)
 'Ethiopia is leading in DV lottery'
 53. *holiwid inna boliwid bə-adma təwət't'irəwall* (AA 24.1.2001)
 'Hollywood and Bollywood have tightened in strike'
 54. *jə-olompik ɖəgnɖʃʃ bəʃillimat tənbaʃəbbəʃu* (AA 24.1.2001)
 'Heroes of Olympic were given awards generously'

55. *midbas inna minibas al-tat'at'amumm* (AA 6.7.2000)
 'Midbus and minibus were not reconciled'
56. *madona bərok end rol jəzinəjɲotʃʃ məzgəb səfərrəʃʃ* (AA 6.7.2000)
 'Madona got registered in the Rock and Roll of Fame'
57. *hizbu kəbəfitu bəbəllət'a ji-dəgɪfənnall* (AA 20.7.2000)
 'The people support us more than before'
58. *bə-aləmatʃʃ-in kə ammist məto miljon hizb bələj jəkulalit tamami nəw* (AA 20.7.2000)
 'In our world, more than five hundred million people are kidney patients'
59. *ʒərdʒ maikl jəmuzik'a konsərt li-jak'ərb nəw* (AA 20.7.2000)
 'George Michael is going to present music concert'
60. *bətirakoma mədhanit sost set-otʃʃ məmot-atʃʃəw-n nəwari-wotʃʃ tənagəru* (AA 4.8.2000)
 'Residents told the death of three women by trachoma's medication'
61. *bekam inna mowrinho bəgəbi ijjəmərɹu natʃʃəw* (AA 4.8.2000)
 'Becham and Morinho are leading in income'
62. *tedi afro bə-and sammint hulət gize f/bet k'ərrəbə* (AA 18.8.2000)
 'Teddi Afro appeared twice a week before the court'
63. *kanijə west inna iʃʃ'ɔjɲaw jəgəbiʃʃa ik'idaʃʃəwn sərrəzu* (AA 18.8.2000)
 'Kanye West and his fiancé canceled their marriage proposal'
64. *jətom kruz jəgudifəʃʃa lidʒ film sərra* (AA 18.8.2000)
 'Tom Cruze's adoptee made a movie'
65. *diplomasiawi protokol jəgarədəw gɪbgɪb* (AN 10.1.2001)
 'a fight which is curtailed by diplomatic protocol'
66. *takələn man jadɪnəwall?* (AN 10.1.2001)
 'Who will save Takele?'
67. *jəməngist digoma bəmənəsatu jənədəʒ waga ʃʃəmmərə* (AN 24.1.2001)
 'Fuel's price increased after the government's subsidy was removed'
68. *jədigri wəʃʃ'owotʃʃ* (AN 24.1.2001)
 'the mills of degree'

69. *tedi afro kähulät mätto and k'ənat bəhwala wusane jagəɲnall* (AN 8.2.2001)
 'Teddy Afro will get verdict after two hundred and one day'
70. *jətele jənetwərk mamawoɣɣf ɣiɣgɨr gət'imo-afɣfəwall* (AN 22.2.2001)
 'Tele's network towers have faced problems'
71. *afrika vətual junivərsiti sɨrawn ak'k'wərət'ə* (AN 6.7.2000)
 'Africa Virtual University stopped work'
72. *jə-itjop'p'ia mængist jəsəbawɨ məbit at'əbabbək' riport rikərd* (AN 20.7.2000)
 'Ethiopian government's human right protection report record'
73. *ijjasassak'ə jəwəsədən jə-ajər nibrət məzabat* (AN 4.8.2000)
 'the air pollution that took us with laugh'
74. *jəbarselona hulət aləm* (AN 4.8.2000)
 'Barcelona's two worlds'
75. *tikurət ləməsarətawɨ jə-ekonomi ɣiɣiroɣɣf* (AN 18.8.2000)
 'attention to fundamental economic problems'
76. *gɨləsəbun man gəddələɣɣfəw?* (AN 18.8.2000)
 'Who killed the individual?'
77. *jəpolətika təhadiso tintəna jəzənəgaw təwanaj* (AN 2.9.2000)
 'the actor who forgot the political reform's analysis'
78. *jə-itjop'p'ian tarik jəməstəmar t'at't'a* (AN 2.9.2000)
 'the trouble of teaching the history of Ethiopian'
79. *jəgənzəb polisi ɨrmidzawoɣɣf jəwaga gɨfɨbətɨn margəb jɨɣɣilalun?* (AN 2.9.2000)
 'Can the monetary policy measures lessen the price inflation?'
80. *jəməs'ahɨft gultotɣɣf bəfəgər godanawoɣɣf* (AN 2.9.2000)
 'bookshops in the streets of Sheger [Addis Ababa]'
81. *tedi afiro bəmiskiroɣɣf fit* (AN 2.9.2000)
 'Teddy Afro in front of [his] witnesses'
82. *jəɣəlsɨ girant k'əna jəsɔdərɨgall?* (AN 2.9.2000)
 'Can Chelsea's Grant lift up?'

83. *jəməndʒa fək'ad assət'at't' inna k'it'at laj maʃaʃa lidəræg nəw* (AN 30.9.2000)
 'A reform is going to make on the granting and punishment of driving license'
84. *gəzət'əʃnɪnnət agəren jawəkubbət sira* (AN 30.9.2000)
 'journalism, a profession which enables me know my country'
85. *jəbetə kiristijan sinə hins'a jəh'walijof guzo* (AN 30.9.2000)
 'a church's architecture a backward journey'
86. *rusija befəwəfu hidinik jət tidərsaləff?* (AN 30.9.2000)
 'Where can Russia reach with the healer (Guss) Hiddink?'
87. *obama bə-adis abəba* (AN 21.10.2000)
 'Obama in Addis Ababa'
88. *wit'a wɪrəd jəbəzzabbət jə-itjop'p'ija polətika* (AN 21.10.2000)
 'the Ethiopian politics which is full of ups and downs'
89. *bəbədʒət it'irət jəjunivərsitiwoʃf mɪgib ijətək'əjjərə nəw* (AN 21.10.2000)
 'Due to shortage of budget, the food in universities is changing'
90. *jə-oromo t'ijak'e mindin nəw* (AN 5.11.2000)
 'What's the question of the Oromo?'
91. *jə-oromo t'ijak'e baləfut hamsa amətat* (AN 5.11.2000)
 'Oromo's question in the past fifty years'
92. *jəpolətika partiwoʃf wədə ammakaj meda gəbbu!* (AN 5.11.2000)
 'The political parties entered into middle ground'
93. *amerikawjan sɪlə ato mələs astədaddər min jasibalu?* (AN 5.11.2000)
 'What do Americans' think about Mr Meles' administration?'
94. *wək'itun jagənazəbə adis tombola* (AN 5.11.2000)
 'a timely new tombola [lottery]'
95. *jə-ihadeg jəparlama abal bə-ingiliz t'igəʃnɪnnət t'əjjək'u* (AN 3.12.2000)
 'EPRDF's parliament member requested for asylum'
96. *mɪrʃ'a zət'ənna səbbat jidəgəmalin?* (AN 3.12.2000)
 'Will election 97 be repeated?'

97. *bət'igab məhal rəhab* (AN 3.12.2000)
'satisfaction in the middle of hunger'
98. *f'ink' jəwələdəw bikinnət* (AN 17.12.2000)
'an anxiety which is born out of misuse'
99. *jə-adis abəba junivərsiti pirezidant wədə siratfəw limələsu nəw* (AN 17.12.2000)
'Addis Ababa's president is going to return to his work'
100. *bə-at't'adafi tək'imat't' inna tiwikət wərərrfijən arrat səwojff mottu* (AN 17.12.2000)
'Four people died of an epidemic of diarrhea and vomiting'
101. *ləbahilawī jəgij'it afətət zədewojff təgəbi tikurət məst'ət* (AZ 20.7.2000)
indəmigəba təgəlləs'ə 'The necessity of giving the right attention to the traditional conflict resolution strategies was expressed'
102. *jətimihirt birow jəmamihiranin ak'imm ləmasadəg silt'əna ijjəsət't'ə nəw* (AZ 20.7.2000)
'The Education Office is giving training to teachers to enhance their capacity'
103. *bəpakistan bətəfət'ərə gij'it bərkata səwojff məgədələtəfəwn* (AZ 20.7.2000)
baləsilt'anat astawək'u
'Officials announced that many people died in a conflict that occurred in Pakistan'
104. *jəsəwinnət k'oda-nna wibət* (AZ 20.7.2000)
'body skin and beauty'
105. *jəsarkozi jək'ədimo baləbet bəniwjork təmojəru* (AZ 6.7.2000)
'Sarkozy's former wife from marriage in New York'
106. *bəsəmen gondər jəgət'ər kətəmojff jə-elekitirik hajl tət'ək'ami lihonu nəw* (AZ 6.7.2000)
'Rural cities in North Gondar are going to be beneficiaries of electric power'
107. *bəzonu jəpolətika diridjitojff jəmīrət'ujən k'isk'əsa ijjə-adəragu nəw* (AZ 6.7.2000)
'Political parties are making election campaigns in the zone'
108. *djanet dʒakisən inna jəsəmonu himəm'a* (AZ 6.7.2000)
'Janet Jackson and her recent sickness'
109. *mikir betu gibir nək gudəjojffin jəmmidasīs adis jəredio pirogram* (AZ 18.8.2000)
mədʒəmərun astawwək'ə
'The council announced the launching of a radio program about tax-like issues'
110. *bəmiʔirab bələsa wərəda jətəgənəbbaw timihirt bet lə-aqəlgilot bək'k'a* (AZ 18.8.2000)
'A school which was built in the Western Belesa province is ready to give service'

111. *itjop'p'ija ja-aldžarsu simiminnat indikabər ləs'ət'itaw* (AZ 4.8.2000)
mikir bet t'iri ak'ərrəbətfif
 'Ethiopia called for the respect of the Alger's agreement in the security council'
112. *bəsidama zon jəmirf'aw zigidždžit ijjətət'ənak'k'ək'ə nəw* (AZ 4.8.2000)
 'The election preparation in Sidama zone is being completed'
113. *afrika sajnawina teknolođiawi limat indəmmiasfəligat təgəlləs'ə* (AZ 4.8.2000)
 'It was expressed that Africa needs scientific and technological development'
114. *bənədadž waga laj if'imari indəmajdərəg təgəlləs'ə* (AZ 1.9.2000)
 'It was expressed that increasment on fuel price is not going to happen'
115. *komifnu jəbongana jədima sidətənnofyf mət'ələja t'abijawofyf* (AZ 1.9.2000)
məzəgadžətətfifəwn astawək'k'ə
 'The commission announced that the preparation of Bong's and Dima's refugee campus'
116. *diridžitu lədəse rifəral hospital jəhikimina məsarija bə-irdata sət't'ə* (AZ 1.9.2000)
 'The organization donated medical equipment to Dese Referral Hospital'
117. *mikir betu aratt awadžofyf-in as'əddək'ə* (AZ 1.9.2000)
 'The parliament approved four declarations'
118. *programu jəlaboratori məsarijawofyf-in bə-irdata sət't'ə* (AZ 16.9.2000)
 'The program donated laboratory equipments'
119. *limatna t'ibək'a lətəfət'iro habt* (AZ 16.9.2000)
 'development and protection to natural resources'
120. *təfəlamiw ariso addər aratt məto ariso addərofyf-in jəməsino* (AZ 16.9.2000)
tət'ək'ami adərrəgu
 'The awarded farmer made four hundred farmers beneficieries of irrigation'
121. *t'ək'ilaj ministir mələs zenawi kəsomalija jəfīgigig mənğist* (AZ 7.10.2000)
prezidant gar təwəjaju
 'Prime Minister Meles Zenawi discussed with Somali's transitional government'
122. *bəbərtənnə k'wank'wə məzgəbə k'alat tatəmmə* (AZ 7.10.2000)
 'A dictionary was published in Berta'
123. *t'ək'ilaj ministir mələs zenawi fumat sət't'u* (AZ 7.10.2000)
 'Prime Minister Meles Zenawi gave promotion'

124. *aləm ak’əf jəhibrət sira mahbərət k’ən təkəbbərə* (AZ 28.10.2000)
 ‘World Cooperative Work Associations’ Day was celebrated’
125. *jə-elekitrik sirɨf’it jəmmik’wərət’ibat k’ən k’ənnəsə* (AZ 28.10.2000)
 ‘The days that electric distribution interrupts decreased’
126. *set liɖɖ “jəwəlddəw” amerikawi* (AZ 28.10.2000)
 ‘the American who gave birth to a daughter’
127. *bə-isiraʔel parlama jə-isiraʔel itjop’p’ija jəwədadaɖzinnət komite tək’wak’wamə* (AZ 5.11.2000)
 ‘The Israel and Ethiopian’s friendship committee was set up in the Israeli parlama’
128. *bədəbark’ wərəda jəmət’ət’ wiha ɖinbata tət’ənək’ək’k’ə* (AZ 5.11.2000)
 ‘A drinkable water building was completed in Debark’
129. *bə-omomija k’wank’wanna sinək’al laj jatəkkoru t’inatofɨf ləwɨijijit k’ərrəbu* (AZ 5.11.2000)
 ‘Studies that focused on Afan Oromo and [its] folklore were presented for discussion’
130. *təɖibarawi jəɖiɨf’it məkəlalkəjanna afətət t’irət* (AZ 5.11.2000)
 ‘practical conflict protection and resolution effort’
131. *kubanjaw wədəwiɨf’ jəmmilikəwn jəwəba məkəlalkəja k’ibat mirt* (AZ 19.11.2000)
ləmasadəɖ ijɖəsərra nəw
 ‘The company is working to increase the malaria protection cream product that it exports’
132. *bəməkina adəga jə-aratt səwofɨf hiwət alləfə* (AZ 19.11.2000)
 ‘The life of four people passed due to car accident’
133. *diridɖitu bəsiraro jasɖənəbaɨfɨfəwn proɖɖəktoɨfɨf ləhibrətəsəbu asrəkəkəbə* (AZ 19.11.2000)
 ‘The organization gave the projects it built in Siraro to the society’
134. *lə-itjo-ertrija jədinibər wɨzgib məftihew jəwɨijijit mənigədofɨfɨn* (AZ 3.12.2000)
məkətəl məhonu təgəlləs’ə
 ‘It was expressed that the solution for Ethio-Eritrean border conflict is to follow the dialogue route’
135. *bəfɨrank fərt lədəbub kilil təwələɖɖofɨf gələs’a tədərɖəgə* (AZ 3.12.2000)
 ‘In Frankfurt, explanation was made to South Region born’
136. *laboratoriw jəzər t’irət fɨtəfa mədirəgun asstəwək’k’ə* (AZ 3.12.2000)
 ‘The laboratory announced that it conducted quality inspection on seed’
137. *bəsək’ot’a kətəma jətəsərraw asfalt mənigəd təmərrək’ə* (AZ 17.12.2000)
 ‘The asphalt road which was constructed in Sekota city was inaugurated’

138. *jəgambelanna jədəbub kililoŋf hulanətanawi tibibir* (AZ 17.12.2000)
 ‘a holistic cooperation between Gambella and Debub regions’
139. *səkaramoŋf ijandandaŋfəw hamsa bir tək’ət’t’u* (AZ 17.12.2000)
 ‘Drunkers fined fifty birr each’
140. *fəndi/anna jə-ingiliz sinima betoŋf* (AZ 17.12.2000)
 ‘popcorn and the English cinema houses’
141. *jəmiliniəm bəʔal akkəbabər bətəsaka huneta mət’ənak’ək’u təgəlləs’ə* (AZ 3.1.2001)
 ‘It was expressed that the ceremony of the Millinium was completed successfully’
142. *adis abəba wist’ bəhulum timihirt betoŋf timihirt tədžəmmərə* (AZ 3.1.2001)
 ‘In Addis Ababa, class was begun in all schools’
143. *mahiḅəru kə-aləm ak’əf jə-odit kubanija gar simiminnət təfərarəmə* (AZ 3.1.2001)
 ‘The association signed an agreement with an international odit company’
144. *jə-ingilizoŋf təsfa tiwo walkot* (AZ 3.1.2001)
 ‘Theo Walcot, the Englishes’ hope’
145. *jədəməra bəʔal bədīm’ət təkəbbərə* (AZ 17.1.2001)
 ‘The true cross holiday was celebrated warmly’
146. *bətimihirt limat zərf akuri witet təməzgib’wall* (AZ 17.1.2001)
 ‘A glorious result has been registered in education development sector’
147. *jətəʔalu jəmuz ziri jawoŋf jəmamirət zəde* (AZ 17.1.2001)
 ‘a production strategy for improved banana species’
148. *komiŋu jə-afrika hibrət ink’isk’asewoŋf bəmədəgəf laj nəw* (AZ 1.2.2001)
 ‘The commission is supporting the efforts of African Union’
149. *bəməkina adəga sost səwoŋf mottu* (AZ 1.2.2001)
 ‘Three persons died of car accident’
150. *mahḅəru kəvajrəsə gar ləminoru himuman təf’əmari mət’ələja assgənəba* (AZ 1.2.2001)
 ‘The association built an additional shelter for patients who live with the virus’
151. *jəlimat ik’idoŋf ləmasakat indəmmink’əsak’əsə jəsira halafiwoŋf gəlləs’u* (AZ 15.2.2001)
 ‘Officials expressed that they will make efforts to fulfill development plans’
152. *jə-amerika prezidantawi mirŋ’a kətəjazzələt gize assk’ədimo tədžəmmərə* (AZ 15.2.2001)
 ‘America’s presidential election started ahead of the schedule’

153. *bifənnaw zindəro agar alagənnəm* (AZ 15.2.2001)
 ‘the lonely monkey did not get a partner’
154. *bəkenija jət’ik’at sələba jəhonu setofɸ’k’ut’ir ijjəɸ’əmmərə nəw* (Re 7.7.2000)
 ‘The number of female victims of violence is increasing in Kenya’
155. *bizitaw təwəgid^wall* (Re 7.7.2000)
 ‘The confusion has been avoided’
156. *gansu jəmuzik’a budin wadə itjop’p’ija limət’a nəw* (Re 7.7.2000)
 ‘Gansu music team is to come to Ethiopia’
157. *sikk^war kəwiɸ’ɸ’ tagəzto məgibat jidzəmirall* (Re 27.7.2000)
 ‘Being bought abroad, sugar will begin to enter [to Ethiopia]
158. *gulo lə-amarəɸ’ jəhajl mīmɸ’ liwil nəw* (Re 27.7.2000)
 ‘Gulo is to be employed for alternative source of energy’
159. *bə-asira zət’ənn kətəmoɸɸ’jə-ak’im ginbata sirawoɸɸ’ijjətəkahedu nəw* (Re 27.7.2000)
 ‘Capacity building works are undertaking in nineteen cities’
160. *k’əzk’azaw mirɸ’a* (Re 5.8.2000)
 ‘the cold election’
161. *jə-anbəsa mekanikoɸɸ’alagibab kəsira tagəddin allu* (Re 5.8.2000)
 ‘Anbesa’s mechanics said that they were banned from job unnecessarily’
162. *bədimmət jətəzəggadzə buna ləɸijaɸ’ k’ərrəbə* (Re 5.8.2000)
 ‘Coffee prepared by a cat presented for market’
163. *kod sost minibasoɸɸ’bə-adis abəba indajəru təkəlləkəlu* (Re 19.8.2000)
 ‘Code 3 minibuses were forbidden from working in Addis Ababa’
164. *jə-investimənt jəgibr ifojta dənəb təɸəffalə* (Re 19.8.2000)
 ‘Grace [period] regulation of investment tax was improved’
165. *bə/ampijonaw jəhajl mək^warət’ ɸigir ajfət’ərm* (Re 19.8.2000)
 ‘Power interruption will not happen in the championship’
166. *jətəɸ’ibərbbərə jəkɪtibat masrəɸza jifət’all* (Re 3.9.2000)
 ‘Forgery vaccination document will be sold’
167. *jə-inərdzi zəɸifu bəhajl it’irət inna bə-ekisport mijnot məkakkəl* (Re 3.9.2000)
 ‘the energy sector in the middle of power shortage and export hope’

168. *jətababbərut mængistat ləbərma irdatə sət'tə* (Re 3.9.2000)
 'United Nations gave aid to Berma'
169. *ʃərif jə-isajasn təs'iʔino tək'awimo wədə dʒibuti heddu* (Re 24.9.2000)
 'Sherif, having opposed Isayas' influence, went to Dijibouti'
170. *inistitjutu afirikawijanin ijjə-assəllət'ənə nəw* (Re 24.9.2000)
 'The institute is training Africans'
171. *bəbaləsilt'anat k'ireta simu jətək'k'əjərə fərəs* (Re 24.9.2000)
 'a horse whose name changed due to officials' complaint'
172. *jə-adisu parti jə-imiperijal hotel sibišəba təkəlləkələ* (Re 8.10.2000)
 'The new party's meeting in Imperial Hotel was forbidden'
173. *jədīrk'u tət'əkiwoʃf k'ut'ir aratt nət'ib sidist milijon bələj honə* (Re 8.10.2000)
 'The number of people affected by the famine has become more than 4.6 million'
174. *səlamawiwa dʒibuti bət'ornət godana* (Re 8.10.2000)
 'the peaceful Dijibouti in war road'
175. *jə-adis abəba jəmængist sərətəʃnoʃf awadʒ jis'ədik'all* (Re 22.10.2000)
 'Addis Ababa's civil servants' proclamation will be approved'
176. *jəsudan jədinibər gudaj jəmængist akkahed tənək'k'əfə* (Re 22.10.2000)
 'The government's treatment of Sudan's border issue was criticized'
177. *gabīʃfə məfəs'əmaʃfəwn jəzənnəgut azawint* (Re 22.10.2000)
 'the old man who forgot that he had formed marriage'
178. *jəmikikiru mængəd wədət jamməral?* (Re 6.11.2000)
 'Where does the consultation road lead?'
179. *kətəma limat and milijon kuntal siminto bəʃ'ərətə ligəza nəw* (Re 6.11.2000)
 'City Development is about to buy one million kuntal cement in tender'
180. *jəlimat tibibiru aratt proʒəktəʃfīn təgibarawi madirəg dʒəmmərə* (Re 6.11.2000)
 'The development cooperation started making four projects practical'
181. *hospitalu indizəga t'ena t'ibək'a jastəllələfəw wisane bəf/bet tagəddə* (Re 20.11.2000)
 'The decision for the hospital to be closed passed by Health Care [Center]
 was banned by court'
182. *kəzaf fire bajo fijul təmərrətə* (Re 20.11.2000)
 'Biofuel was produced from a tree seed'

183. *jə-anbəsə awitobus məkanikoʃf k'ireta ak'k'ərrəbu* (Re 20.11.2000)
 'Anbessa bus' mechanics presented their complaints'
184. *jətedi afiro t'əbək'a təfəttu* (Re 4.12.2000)
 'Teddy Afro's lawyer was released [from prison]'
185. *bəkatolik timihirt betoʃfɪnna hospitaloʃf laj k'irreta k'ərrəbə* (Re 4.12.2000)
 'Complaint was presented on Catholic schools and hospitals'
186. *bəwərəʒilu jənədədʒ filəga jikahedal* (Re 4.12.2000)
 'A search for fuel will take place in Woreilu'
187. *təkəze hajl mamənʃət lidʒəmīr nəw* (Re 18.12.2000)
 'Tekeze is about to begin power generation'
188. *tadagiwoʃf bəmasadəgija diridʒitu laj k'irreta assəmmu* (Re 18.12.2000)
 'Youths sounded their voice on the adoption organization'
189. *tat'ak'iwoʃf jəsomalijan wədəb tək'ot'at'irənall allu* (Re 18.12.2000)
 'Gunmen said that they had controlled Somalia's harbour'
190. *jə-oromo bahil maʔikəl ləmasgənbət ʃ'ərətə wət't'a* (Re 4.1.2000)
 'Tender was released for the building of Oromo's culture center'
191. *jəbole matəmija diridʒit sərətəʃnoʃfɪnna manedʒimənt aləməgibabat təkərʷall* (Re 4.1.2000)
 'The disagreement between Bole's printing press workers and its managers has strained'
192. *wiʃa miskir hono k'ərrəbə* (Re 4.1.2000)
 'A dog appeared [in court] being a witness'
193. *jəsomalija kilil prezidant tənəssu* (Re 25.1.2000)
 'Somalia's region president was removed [from power]'
194. *jə-itjop'p'ija televiziŋ gimigəma dʒəmmərə* (Re 25.1.2000)
 'Ethiopian Television started evaluation'
195. *jəsport maʔikəlu bət'irunəʃ dibaba sim indisəjam tət'əjjək'ə* (Re 25.1.2000)
 'It was requested that the sport center to be named after Tirunesh Dibaba'
196. *afiri niknna tele jazzəgaɖʒut sibsəba bəməngist tizaz tagəddə* (Re 9.2.2000)
 'The meeting which was prepared by Afri Nik and tele was banned by government'
197. *kətəmoʃf wədə invəstəroʃf ijəmət't'u nəw* (Re 9.2.2000)
 'Cities are coming towards investors'

198. *bəkiros aləmajəhu sim betə məs'ahift təkəffətə* (Re 9.2.2000)
 'A library was opened in the name of Kiros Alemayehu'
199. *bədəse jəmət'ət' wiha fīgigir altəfəttam* (Re 23.2.2000)
 'A drinking water problem was not solved in Dessie'
200. *mistun ləfijaʃ' jak'ərrəbəw səw* (Re 23.2.2000)
 'the man who presented his wife for sale'
201. *jə-igir k^was federeʃn bəʃimgilina gudaj ləhulət təkəffələ* (Re 23.2.2000)
 'Football Federation divided into two on matters of arbitration'

Appendix b: Borrowed words in the four Amharic newspapers' headlines

S.no	Borrowed words	Gloss	Newspaper
1	<i>mirf'a bord</i>	'election board'	AA 12.11.2000
2	<i>junivərsiti</i>	'university'	AA 12.11.2000
3	<i>printər</i>	'printer'	AA 12.11.2000
4	<i>meditefn</i>	'meditation'	AA 12.11.2000
5	<i>kek</i>	'cake'	AA 12.11.2000
6	<i>kafe</i>	'café'	AA 26.11.2000
7	<i>lig</i>	'league'	AA 24.1.2001
8	<i>fampijons lig</i>	'shampions league'	AA 24.1.2001
9	<i>minibas</i>	'minibus'	AA 24.1.2001
10	<i>foping kart</i>	'shopping cart'	AA 24.1.2001
11	<i>postər</i>	'poster'	AA 24.1.2001
12	<i>egzibi/n</i>	'exhibition'	AA 24.1.2001
13	<i>sponsər</i>	'sponsor'	AA 24.1.2001
14	<i>flu</i>	'flu'	AA 24.1.2001
15	<i>tirakoma</i>	'trachoma'	AA 4.8.2000
16	<i>kansər</i>	'cancer'	AA 18.8.2000
17	<i>mobajl</i>	'mobile'	AA 4.8.2000
18	<i>alzihemər</i>	'alzheimer'	AA 18.8.2000
19	<i>polis</i>	'police'	AA 24.1.2001
20	<i>diplomasi</i>	'diplomacy'	AN 10.1.2001
21	<i>protokol</i>	'protocol'	AN 10.1.2001
22	<i>senet</i>	'senate'	AN 10.1.2001
23	<i>redijo</i>	'radio'	AN 10.1.2001
24	<i>televizn</i>	'television'	AN 10.1.2001
25	<i>parlama</i>	'parliament'	AN 10.1.2001
26	<i>rikərd</i>	'ricord'	AN 10.1.2001
27	<i>atiletiks</i>	'athletics'	AN 10.1.2001
28	<i>teknik</i>	'technique'	AN 24.1.2001

29	<i>karikuləm</i>	‘curriculum’	AN 24.1.2001
30	<i>diplomasi</i>	‘diplomacy’	AN 10.1.2001
31	<i>protokol</i>	‘protocol’	AN 10.1.2001
32	<i>senet</i>	‘senate’	AN 10.1.2001
33	<i>redijo</i>	‘radio’	AN 10.1.2001
34	<i>televizn</i>	‘television’	AN 10.1.2001
35	<i>parlama</i>	‘parliament’	AN 10.1.2001
36	<i>rikərd</i>	‘ricord’	AN 10.1.2001
37	<i>atiletiks</i>	‘athletics’	AN 10.1.2001
38	<i>teknik</i>	‘technique’	AN 24.1.2001
39	<i>karikuləm</i>	‘curriculum’	AN 24.1.2001
40	<i>digri</i>	‘degree’	AN 24.1.2001
51	<i>kiləb</i>	‘club’	AN 24.1.2001
52	<i>embasi</i>	‘embassy’	AN 8.2.2001
53	<i>komite</i>	‘committee’	AN 8.2.2001
54	<i>ingliz af</i>	‘English language’ (lit. ‘English mouth’)	AN 8.2.2001
55	<i>komişnər</i>	‘commissioner’	AN 8.2.2001
56	<i>prezidant</i>	‘president’	AN 22.2.2001
57	<i>şirs</i>	‘cheers’	AN 22.2.2001
58	<i>ambasadər</i>	‘ambassador’	AN 22.2.2001
59	<i>riport</i>	‘report’	AN 22.2.2001
60	<i>niwkilijər</i>	‘nuclear’	AN 22.2.2001
61	<i>minister</i>	‘minister’	AN 20.7.2000
62	<i>dimokrasi</i>	‘democracy’	AN 20.7.2000
63	<i>hijawan</i>	‘immortals’	AN 8.2.2001
64	<i>liʔuk</i>	‘envoy’	AN 4.8.2000
65	<i>limatawi mængist</i>	‘developmental government’	AN 4.8.2000
66	<i>fedəral</i>	‘federal’	AN 4.8.2000
67	<i>hotel</i>	‘hotel’	AN 4.8.2000

68	<i>təhadiso</i>	‘reform’	AN 2.9.2000
69	<i>ak’abijan higg</i>	‘lawyers’	AN 2.9.2000
70	<i>stratedži</i>	‘strategy’	AN 2.9.2000
71	<i>t’ək’laj minister</i>	‘Prime Minister’	AN 2.9.2000
72	<i>kəntiba</i>	‘mayor’	AN 2.9.2000
73	<i>polisi</i>	‘policy’	AN 2.9.2000
74	<i>pīrajvetajze/n</i>	‘privatization’	AN 2.9.2000
75	<i>i-midija</i>	‘e- media’	AN 2.9.2000
76	<i>tarif</i>	‘tariff’	AN 5.11.2000
77	<i>invəst</i>	‘invest’	AN 5.11.2000
78	<i>rizort</i>	‘resort’	AN 5.11.2000
79	<i>doktīret digri</i>	‘doctoral degree’	AN 17.12.2000
80	<i>hipokīratofjif</i>	‘hypocrites’	AN 17.12.2000
81	<i>hidase</i>	‘renaissance’	AN 17.12.2000
82	<i>odit</i>	‘audit’	AN 30.9.2000
83	<i>kontejnər</i>	‘container’	Re 7.7.2000
84	<i>jə-ekisport fək’ad</i>	‘export license’	Re 7.7.2000
85	<i>jəbahır tranzit</i>	‘sea transit’	Re 7.7.2000
86	<i>primijər lig</i>	‘Primier League’	Re 7.7.2000
87	<i>federefn</i>	‘federation’	Re 7.7.2000
88	<i>kubbanijja</i>	‘company’	Re 27.7.2000
89	<i>stadijəm</i>	‘stadium’	Re 27.7.2000
90	<i>konfederefn</i>	‘confederation’	Re 27.7.2000
91	<i>mədina</i>	‘city’	Re 27.7.2000
92	<i>miʔitə amət</i>	‘Century’	Re 5.8.2000
93	<i>betə israʔel</i>	‘Jewry’ (lit. ‘house of Israel’)	Re 5.8.2000
94	<i>ʃampiona</i>	‘shampion’	Re 5.8.2000
95	<i>sponsər</i>	‘sponsor’	Re 5.8.2000
96	<i>egzibit</i>	‘exhibit’	Re 19.8.2000
97	<i>jə-federal polis</i>	‘federal police’	Re 19.8.2000

98	<i>gibrə hajl</i>	‘task force’	Re 24.9.2000
99	<i>institijut</i>	‘institute’	Re 24.9.2000
100	<i>konstirakʃn</i>	‘construction’	Re 8.10.2000
101	<i>hiqə wet’ zɪwɪwwr</i>	‘illegal transfer’	Re 8.10.2000
102	<i>disiplin</i>	‘discipline’	Re 8.10.2000
103	<i>sinə təwaldo</i>	‘reproduction’	Re 8.10.2000
104	<i>pasport</i>	‘passport’	Re 22.10.2000
105	<i>turist qajd</i>	‘tourist guide’	Re 6.11.2000
106	<i>prodiwusər</i>	‘producer’	Re 6.11.2000
107	<i>edʒənsi</i>	‘agency’	Re 20.11.2000
108	<i>viza kard</i>	‘visa card’	Re 20.11.2000
109	<i>jənədadz fənd</i>	‘fuel fund’	Re 20.11.2000
110	<i>bajo fijul</i>	‘biofuel’	Re 20.11.2000
111	<i>hizbə wisane</i>	‘public descision’	Re 4.12.2000
112	<i>katolik</i>	‘Catholic’	Re 4.12.2000
113	<i>industiriwoʃf</i>	‘industries’	Re 4.12.2000
114	<i>kiliniq</i>	‘clinic’	Re 4.12.2000
115	<i>jəlaborator polisi</i>	‘laboratory policy’	Re 4.12.2000
116	<i>plen</i>	‘plane’	Re 4.12.2000
117	<i>jət’ut kansər</i>	‘breast cancer’	Re 18.12.2000
118	<i>bɪrand</i>	‘brand’	Re 18.12.2000
119	<i>jəbuʃ astədadzər</i>	‘the Bush administration’	Re 18.12.2000
120	<i>riʔisə fətahi</i>	‘chief examiner’	Re 18.12.2000
121	<i>apl</i>	‘apple’	Re 18.12.2000
122	<i>bajo itanol</i>	‘bioethanol’	Re 18.12.2000
123	<i>manedʒimənt</i>	‘management’	Re 18.12.2000
124	<i>biziha hiwət</i>	‘diversity’	Re 18.12.2000
125	<i>satəlajt</i>	‘satellite’	Re 18.12.2000
126	<i>sərvər</i>	‘server’	Re 18.12.2000
127	<i>kʷarantin</i>	‘quarantine’	Re 18.12.2000

128	<i>investər</i>	‘investor’	Re 18.12.2000
129	<i>awdā t’inat</i>	‘workshop’	Re 9.2.2001
130	<i>taksiwoʻff</i>	‘taxies’	Re 9.2.2001
131	<i>sinə kəwakəbt</i>	‘astronomy’	Re 9.2.2001
132	<i>betə mās’ihəft</i>	‘library’	Re 9.2.2001
133	<i>jəmobajl netwərkofʻf</i>	‘mobile networks’	Re 9.2.2001
134	<i>progiram</i>	‘program’	Re 9.2.2001
135	<i>metric ton</i>	‘metric ton’	Re 23.2.2001
136	<i>koken</i>	‘cocaine’	Re 23.2.2001
137	<i>opireʻn</i>	‘operation’	Re 23.2.2001
138	<i>marketing</i>	‘marketing’	Re 23.2.2001
139	<i>manadʒər</i>	‘manager’	Re 23.2.2001
140	<i>oditər</i>	‘auditor’	Re 8.10.2000
141	<i>ministir</i>	‘minister’	Re 20.11.2000
142	<i>halafinət wəsəddə</i>	‘took responsibility’	Re 18.12.2000
143	<i>oksidʒin</i>	‘oxygen’	Re 18.12.2000
144	<i>ambasadəroʻff</i>	‘ambassadors’	AZ 20.7.2000
145	<i>irmidʒawoʻff</i>	‘measures’	AZ 20.7.2000
146	<i>korpoʻreʻn</i>	‘corporation’	AZ 20.7.2000
147	<i>dihirə wəlīd</i>	‘postdelivery’	AZ 20.7.2000
148	<i>mədina</i>	‘city’	Re 27.7.2000
149	<i>dolar</i>	‘monetary unit of US’	Re 27.7.2000
150	<i>maʻn</i>	‘machine’	Re 19.8.2000
151	<i>biro</i>	‘bureau’	Re 19.8.2000
152	<i>profesərinnət</i>	‘professorship’	AZ 18.8.2000
153	<i>pakədʒ</i>	‘package’	AZ 1.9.2000
154	<i>rifəral</i>	‘referral’	AZ 1.9.2000

Appendix c: Front pages of the four Amharic newspapers

1. *addis nagar* (AN)



2. addis admas (AA)

TECHNICAL COLLECTION

የመለያየት ሰጠታ

የጥያቄው ዓይነት

የጥያቄው ቁጥር

የጥያቄው ቀን

አዲስ

የጥያቄው ዓይነት

የጥያቄው ቁጥር

የጥያቄው ቀን

የጥያቄው ዓይነት

የጥያቄው ቁጥር

የጥያቄው ቀን

«አዝቡ ከበፊቱ በበለጠ ይደግፈናል»

የጥያቄው ዓይነት

የጥያቄው ቁጥር

የጥያቄው ቀን

አዲስ

ሙሴቪኒ ኤርትራንና ኢትዮጵያን አደራድራለሁ አለ

አዲስ

በየመን ጸባ ጉድ አፈላ!

አዲስ

ዘረፋ ያጋለጡ የሀገር ሽማግሌ ዛቻ ደረሰባቸው

አዲስ

ፓርላማው ኢትዮጵያ ያለባትን ዕዳ አያውቅም ተባለ

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3. riportär (Re)

ፖርቶጋል

ኢንተርናሽናል ባንክ ኢ.ማ.
LION INTERNATIONAL BANK S.C

ኢትዮጵያ ፋይናንስ
የፋይናንስ አገልግሎት

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የምድር ባቡርና የነዳጅ ማስተላለፊያ ተቦ ለመዘርጋት ታቅዷል



በጋራው ሪፖርት
ዲግሪው የሚገኝ የመንግስት ልማት ድርጅቶች በ386.6 ሚሊዮን ብር ተሸጡ

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በፍርድ ቤት የሚገኝ የጽሑፍ ስራ ስራ

በፍርድ ቤት የሚገኝ የጽሑፍ ስራ ስራ

ወጋገን ባንክ (ኢ.ማ.)
Wegagen Bank, S.C

ወጋገን ባንክ የሰጠው ስራ

ወጋገን ባንክ የሰጠው ስራ

ዲ.ሜ.ሲ. ትራዲንግ
DMS Trading Pvt. Ltd. Company

የተለያዩ ማሳሪያ የሚገኝ ስራ ስራ

የተለያዩ ማሳሪያ የሚገኝ ስራ ስራ

ንግድ ባንክ ያቦደረው
ንግድ ባንክ ያቦደረው

ንግድ ባንክ ያቦደረው ስራ ስራ

ንግድ ባንክ ያቦደረው ስራ ስራ

Declaration of the Candidate

I, the undersigned, declare that this dissertation is my original work. It has not been presented for any academic study at any other university. All sources and materials used for this work are duly acknowledged.

Name: Yoseph Tizazu

Signature:

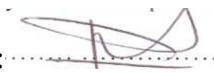
Date: June 28, 2021

Place: Addis Ababa University

Confirmation of the Advisors

I certify that this dissertation embodies the results of research carried out by the candidate under our supervision. It has been submitted for examination with my approval as university advisor.

Name of the advisor: Binyam Sisay (PhD) Name of the co- advisor: Samuel Handamo (PhD)

Signature: 

Date: January 23, 2021

Signature:

Date: January 25, 2021