

Addis Ababa University
College of Humanities, Language Studies,
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Department of Linguistics and Philology

A Grammar of Rayya Tigrinya

By
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**A Dissertation Presented to the Department of Linguistics and
Philology for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics**

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
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Advisor

Shimelis Mazengia (PhD)

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this dissertation entitled: *A Grammar of Raya Tigrinya* is my original work and has not been presented for any academic study in any other university, and all sources of materials used for this work have been duly acknowledged.

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This is to certify that the dissertation prepared by Niguss Weldezgu Mehari, entitled: *A Grammar of Raya Tigrinya* and presented for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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Abstract

This dissertation is concerned with describing the grammar of Rayya Tigrinya (RT), a variety of Tigrinya, a member of the northern Ethio-Semitic group. RT is spoken in the southern part of Tigray. Based on data gathered from native speakers of the variety and introspection, the dissertation describes the phonology, morphology and syntax of the language variety. The study has identified 36 consonants (twenty-nine phonemes and seven allophones) and six vowels in RT. It has been attested that no word begins with a vowel, and a sequence of consonants is not permitted at word-initial and final positions. Word medially, only a cluster of two consonants is permitted. The syllable structures are CV and CVC. Like Tigrinya, RT uses the Semitic root-and-pattern morphological system in word formation. Nominals in RT are inflected for number, gender, definiteness and case. The verb morphology is complex. Verbs are classified into Types A, B and C. The majority of the verbs are tri-radical; however, a significant number of quadri-radical verbs have also been identified. Besides, a few quinti-radical verbs have been encountered. Verbs are inflected for agreement, tense/aspect and mood. Phrase structures are right headed; however, NPs of possession and all PPs are left headed. The word order in RT is canonically SOV (Subject-Object-Verb). Two or more independent clauses can be conjoined into a complex sentence. The discontinuous morpheme *yə-...-y* is a negative marker in the language variety; verbs and nominals can be negated by this morpheme.

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Abbreviations and symbols

-	Morpheme boundary
*	Ungrammatical form
.	Indicates more than one morpheme
/	Alternative expression
//	Phonemic transcription
[]	Phonetic transcription
+	Plus
<	Changed from
>	Changes to
≈	Similar to
1	First person
1PL	First person plural
1SG	First person singular
2	Second person
2FPL	Second person feminine plural
2FSG	Second person feminine singular
2MPL	Second person masculine plural
2MSG	Second person masculine singular
3	Third person
3FPL	Third person feminine plural
3FSG	Third person feminine singular
Acc	Accusative case
Adj	Adjective
AdjP	Adjective phrase
Adv	Adverb
AdvP	Adverb phrase
Aju	Adjutative

Alv	Alveolar
Appx	Approximant
b/n	Between
BEN	Benefactive
Bil	Bilabial
c	Coda
C	Consonant
C ₁	First consonant in a cluster
C ₂	Second consonant in a cluster
C ₃	Third consonant in a cluster
C ₄	Fourth consonant in a cluster
Cau	Causative
cf.	Compare with
CNJ	Conjunction
CON	Converb
Cop	Copula
D	Dental
Dat	Dative
Dem	Demonstrative
Det	Determiner
Dis	Distal
DO	Direct object
DT	Direct
E.g.	Example
EP	Epenthesis
F	Feminine
Freq	Frequentative
FSG	Feminine singular

FUT	Future
Gen	Genitive
Glo	Glottal
IMP	Imperative
IMV	Imperfective
Inf	Inflectional
Inf.Pre	Inflectional prefix
Inf.Suf	Inflectional suffix
Ins	Instrumental
InsN	Instrumental noun
Int	Intransitive
Intr	Interrogative
IO	Indirect object
JUS	Jussive
Lab-D	Labio dental
Lab-Pos-Vel	Labio Post-velar
Lab-Vel	Labio velar
Loc	Locative
M	Masculin
Malf	Malfactive
Mar	Marker
MC	Main clause
MD	Middle verb
Mdr	Modifier
MSG	Masculine singular
MT	Mainstream Tigrinya
n	Necules
N	Noun

NEG	Negation
NP	Noun phrase
Nu	Numeral
O	Onset
Obj	Object
P	Preposition
Qat	Quantifier
Pal	Palatal
PAS	Passive
Phl	Pharyngeal
PL	Plural
PN	Proper noun
POS	Possession
PP	Prepositional phrase
Pre	Prefix
Pro	Pronoun
PRV	Perfective
REC	Reciprocal
Rel	Relativizer
Rev	Reflexive
RT	Rayya Tigrinya
Ry	Rhyme
Sub	Subject
SuC	Subordinate clause
SuCNJ	Subordinating conjunction
Suf	Suffix
UF	Underlying form
Uv	Post-velar

V	Verb
v	vowel
Vel	Velar
Voc	Vocative
VP	Verb phrase

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

Ethiopia is the home of various ethnic groups with various linguistic diversities. Most of the languages spoken in Ethiopia belong to the Afro-Asiatic super family. The Afro-Asiatic language phylum is usually subdivided into six families: Berber, Chadic, Egyptian, Semitic, Cushitic and Omotic (Tsehaye, 1979:1; Lipinski, 1997: 19; Shimelis, 2005:2; Motomichi, 2008:27). Out of the six families of Afro-Asiatic phylum, Semitic, Cushitic and Omotic are found in Ethiopia (Shimelis, 2005: 2). Lipinski (1997:81) points out that Ethio-Semitic [including the Semitic languages in Ethiopia and Eritrea] consists of a compact, readily defined and homogeneous linguistic family, consisting of Ge'ez, Tigre, Tigrinya, Amharic, Argobba, Harari, Gafat [extinct], and the Gurage cluster. Ge'ez, Tigre and Tigrinya constitute North Ethio-Semitic (Rose 1997:3-4).

Tigrinya is the third most widely spoken Semitic language next to Arabic and Amharic (Weninger, et al., 2011: 1153). Currently, Tigrinya is the official language of the state of Eritrea, and in Ethiopia, it is the official language of the Tigray region state.

Rayya Tigrinya, the subject of the present research, is a variety of the latter. This variety is being spoken in the Southern Zone of Tigray. This zone is also alternatively named as Rayya. The tree diagram below locates Rayya Tigrinya.

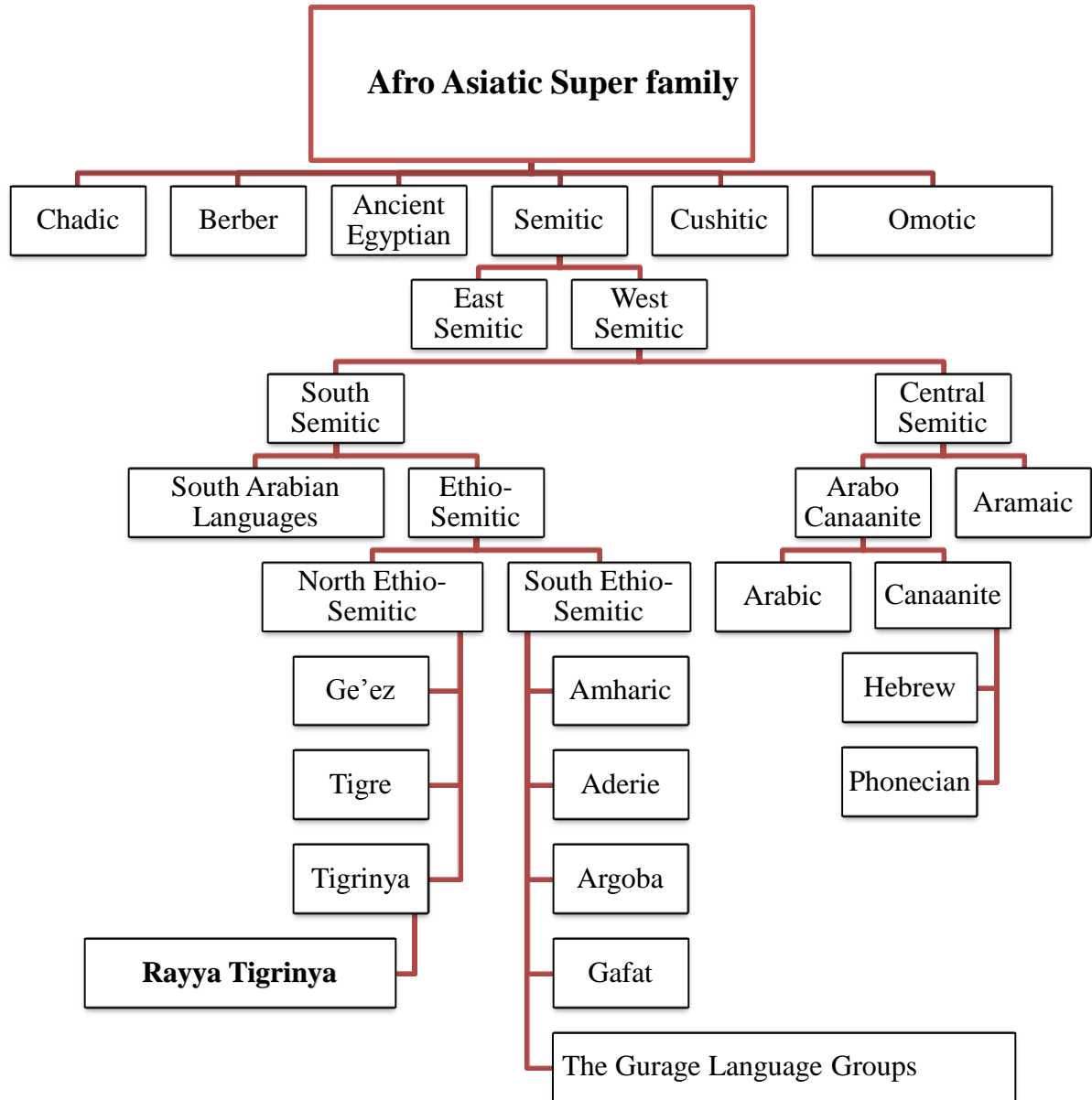


Figure 1: Rayya Tigrinya within the Semitic Family (Adopted from Lipinski, 1997:81)

Although there is no any detail study which has been done on the dialects of Tigrinya so far, varieties have been observed among its speakers. Bender et al. (1976:108) realizes that the varieties of Tigrinya are several, and they seem to differ much more among themselves than do the dialects of Amharic. In addition, Amanuael (1988:16) argues that the Tigrinya used in the localities of Tigray (Shire, Axum, Adwa, Agame,

Tembien, Kilte Awlaelo and Enderta) reveals some visible variations like the Tigrinya dialects spoken in the three districts of Eritrea (Akulle Guzay, Seraye and Hamasien). However, Amanuael states that the Tigrinya dialects spoken in Wejerat (Southeastern part of Tigray) and Ofla (Southern part of Tigray) have so much changed phonologically and morphologically that they need a special study. In addition, Niguss (2011:2) discusses that one can easily observe significant phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactic variations between the Tigrinya spoken in Southern Tigray (Rayya) and in the rest of Tigray. As a result, the present study focuses on describing the synchronic grammar of the Tigrinya variety spoken in the Southern Zone (Rayya) of Tigray. The grammar of this variety has not been studied so far. Thus, from descriptive linguistics point of view, I have found this research topic quite relevant and fascinating.

1.1.1. The people

The Rayya people, among the people of Tigray, have their own unique culture (Kibrom, 2013: 9-22). They are well known by their own unique cultural song called “gumaye” which is sung in different cultural ceremonies and in day-to-day activities mainly by male people of different ages. They express their psychological, socio-cultural and socio-political feelings via this cultural song. Every Rayyan feels joy and happiness when he or she listens to this cultural song “gumaye”; hence, the people are proud of this song.

The people also have their own indigenous and unique wearing style in which they wear a cultural clothe called “bofye”. Both Rayyan men and women are well identified from other Tigreans (but Wejeretot) by their cultural wearing style of “bofye”. They use this indigenous wearing style to reflect beautifulness, and they are always proud of this indigenous cultural wearing style.

The Rayyans have also their own cultural way of conflict resolution system. This cultural way of conflict resolution system is called *?abbo gərəb* [ʔabbo gərəv] ‘local mediation (father of a river)’. The word *?abbo* ‘father’ refers to a person who serves as a mediator in conflict resolution and the word *gərəb* [gərəv] refers to ‘locality’. Of course, *?abbo gərəb* [ʔabbo gərəv] is known by different names in different parts of the southern zone of Tigray (Rayya). For instance, it is *nurgeta* [nurgəta] in Alamata, *gəbrəmədhin* [gərəmədhin] in Korem, *zəwəld* [zowoldi] in Waja, and *ʃimagille* [ʃimagillə] in Emba-Alaje. *?abbo gərəb* [ʔabbo gərəv] mostly consists of five members. The criteria for nomination of the members are capacity, acceptance and respect.

Economically, the people in the rural areas of the zone (Rayya) lead their life via agriculture. The people in towns, however, lead their way of living by different types of trading. Regarding religion, the Rayya people are predominantly the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahdo Church and Muslim followers.

According to CSA of Ethiopia (2010: 70-71), the total population of the Southern Zone of Tigray is 1,006,504. The data obtained from the Culture and Tourism Office of the

Southern Zone of Tigray reveal that five major languages are spoken in the Southern Zone of Tigray (Rayya). These are Tigrinya, Amharic, Oromo, Afar and Agew. According to the Culture and Tourism Office of Southern Zone of Tigray, Tigrinya is spoken in all parts of the zone, and it is the working language; the other languages [Amharic, Afar and *Xamt'ana*] are spoken in the areas which bordered the zone. In other words, Amharic is spoken in the border areas of Rayya Alamata and Ofla weredas. *Xamt'ana* is spoken in some parts of Eda-Mekoni, Emba Alaje, Ofla and Rayya Alamata weredas. Afar is also spoken in the Eastern parts of Rayya Azobo and Rayya Alamata weredas. Oromo is also spoken in some parts of Rayya Azebo, Eda-Mekoni and Rayya Alamata weredas.

1.1.2. The study area

The present regional administrative state of Tigray has six zones and one special zone. The six zones are named: the Western, Northwestern, Central, Eastern, Southeastern and Southern zones, and the regional capital city Mekelle, is called as the Special zone.

The study area is the Southern Zone of Tigray. This zone is also called “Rayya”. The origin of the name “Rayya” has been debatable in the area. Some elder people argue that the name “Rayya” is derived from the Tigrinya word ‘*rəʔayya*’ which means ‘look at it in Tigrinya just indicating the beautifulness (attractiveness) of the Rayya landscape’. Others argue that the name was given by the Oromo settlers who expanded from the East and South-East of Ethiopia to the area in the 17th century, and its meaning according to the Oromo people in the area means ‘army’ in Oromo. Whatever

the origin of the name “Rayya” might be, the alternative name for the Southern Zone of Tigray today is “Rayya”.

According to the data obtained from the Government Communication Office of the zone, the total area of the Southern Zone of Tigray is 498,582 hectares. Of this total area, 143,326 hectares is used for agriculture, and 195,276 hectares is covered by forest. Furthermore, the Communication Office states that this zone has three town administrations: Maichew, which is the capital of the zone, Korem and Alamata towns. The Southern Zone of Tigray also has five weredas, which can be divided into highlands and lowlands of the area: the Emba-Alaje, Eda-Mekoni and Ofla are called the three highland weredas of the zone; Rayya-Alamata and Rayya-Azebo, on the other hand, are called the lowland weredas.

This zone owns the Tsibet and Emba-Alaje mountains, which are the first, and the second highest mountains in the Tigray region respectively. Maichew is located at a distance about 660 km north of Addis Ababa and about 120 km south of the Tigray regional capital city, Mekelle.

The Southern Zone of Tigray (Rayya) is bordered on the South and West by the Amara region, on the North by the Southeastern Zone of Tigray, and on the East by the Afar region. The study area is shown in the map of the regional administrative state of Tigray given below.

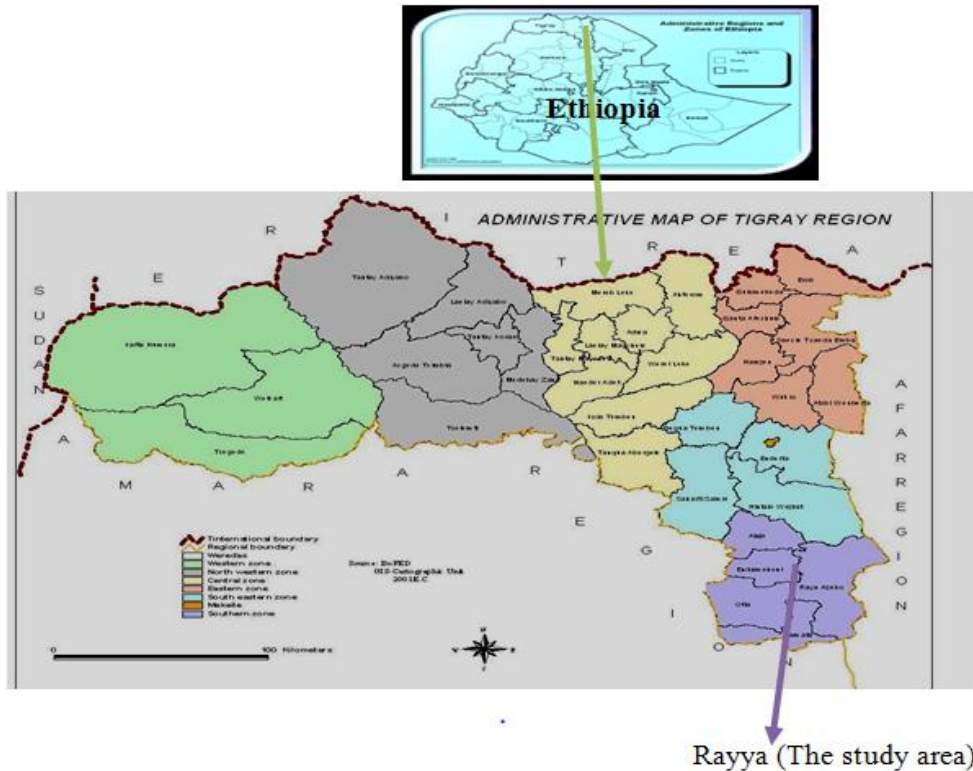


Figure 2: Administrative Map of Tigray [Adopted from Bureau of Finance and Economic Development of Tigray Region, GIS. Cartographic Unit: 2001 E.C.]

1.2. Statement of the problem

As far as my reading is concerned, only few works have been done on topics related to Rayya Tigrinya so far. However, no one of those works has dealt with the grammar of Rayya Tigrinya; this denotes that the grammar of the language variety under study was not described at all so far. As a native speaker of the target variety and from the experience of my MA studies, I have realized that the grammar of RT has to be described to respond to the gap. The present study, therefore, intends to answer the following research questions in relation to Rayya Tigrinya (RT):

- 1) What are the phonemes?
- 2) What are the sound patterns?
- 3) What are the word structures; how are words formed and inflected?
- 4) How are phrases and sentences structured?

1.3. Objective

The main objective of this study is to describe the grammar of Rayya Tigrinya. The specific objectives of the research are to:

- 1) identify the phonemes;
- 2) examine the sound patterns;
- 3) analyze the word structures: word formation and inflection;
- 4) delineate the phrase and sentence structures.

1.4. Significance

The present study is done with a hope that it would contribute to the understanding of the grammar of the Rayya variety in particular and the grammar of Tigrinya in general.

Therefore, the research outcome could:

- 1) provide the speakers with a descriptive grammar of their Tigrinya variety;
- 2) serve as a reference for any required action regarding the Tigrinya varieties;
- 3) provide linguistic data for the study of Tigrinya grammar and its varieties;
- 4) pave the way for other linguists to carry out further studies on Tigrinya.

1.5. Scope

This study is limited to the grammatical description of the Rayya Tigrinya variety [which was not studied so far] spoken by the Rayya people in the Southern Zone of Tigray (Rayya), North Ethiopia. It focuses on the current linguistic status of the language variety, and it would not go into changes it might have undergone over time. In other words, the concern of the study would be with the synchronic and not with the diachronic features of the variety. The description focuses on the phonology, morphology and syntax of the variety. In the phonology part, the description deals with the identification and description of the sound system and phonological features of the variety. Description and analysis of the morphology part deals with the word structure, word formation and inflection. In the syntax part, the focus is on describing phrase and sentence structures.

1.6. Methodology

In this study, the linguistic data are described based on fieldwork where native speakers of the indigenous Rayya Tigrinya were consulted and based on my own native speaker intuition. It follows the descriptive analysis approach; it is theory free.

1.6.1. Fieldwork

Most of the data which are described in this dissertation were collected through fieldwork in Rayya. The fieldwork was conducted in two trips. The first fieldwork took place for 18 months (for a year and six months), specifically, from 6th May 2007 to 7th

November 2009 E.C. The second fieldtrip, which took place from 28th June 2010 to 24th January 2011 E.C., was also used to add and verify data.

The data were essentially collected from four closely related villages-Wejig (Rayya-Azebo), Emba-Hasti (Eda-Mekoni), Ayba and Alaje (Emba-Alaje) weredas of the zone purposively. Since other languages [Amharic, Oromo, Afar and *χamt'anja*] are spoken in some parts of Rayya, I selected the aforementioned villages for the reason that the Rayya Tigrinya speakers in those villages (rural areas) have been assumed to be less influenced by dialect/language contact. Hence, this data gathering method was used to collect indigenous data of the variety under study.

Then, six RT native speakers from each of the selected villages were identified purposefully, and the linguistic data were recorded from those informants using a tape recorder. To crosscheck the RT data with the mainstream Tigrinya, I myself and an informant from the department of Tigrinya in Mekelle University were primary sources. For further clarification, refer to appendix C.

1.6.2. Data presentation

The data presentation of this dissertation is intentionally descriptive. Although the focus is on the grammatical description of Rayya Tigrinya, some examples of linguistic data from the mainstream Tigrinya¹ were also provided only for the purpose of clarity.

¹The term 'mainstream Tigrinya' in this dissertation refers to the Tigrinya variety mainly used for mass media services, administrative purposes and educational instructions in the present regional state of Tigray, Ethiopia.

The transcription employed is the IPA, but exceptions include *č*, *č'*, *ǰ* and *y* instead of *tʃ*, *tʃ'*, *dʒ* and *j*, respectively for convenience. Both phonetic and phonemic transcriptions are used to transcribe the data.

For the sake of clarity, some of the data are presented in five levels. The first line denotes the actual utterance of data by a native speaker of Rayya Tigrinya. The second line shows the mainstream Tigrinya. The third line indicates the underlying representation with morpheme-by-morpheme breakdown of each word. The fourth line presents morpheme-by-morpheme glossing. The fifth line is a free translation in English.

1.7. Review of previous studies

Many works on specific grammatical aspects of Tigrinya and on its dialectology have been done so far. Those works include short articles and notes such as Palmer (1955; 1960; 1962), Gragg (1972), Bender, Fulass, and Cowley (1976), Kiross (1977), Kenstowiz (1982), Buckley (1994; 1997; 1997), Kogan (1997), Filzgerald (2006) and Zellou (2010). Tigrinya grammar works which are written in other non-English foreign languages which cannot be easily utilized by the educated Tigrinya native speakers also include Praetorius (1871; 1874), Leslau (1941), Voigt (1977) and others.

As to me, Tesfay (2002) and Tsehaye (1979) can be mentioned as relatively detail works on the grammar of Tigrinya. However, I argue that the concerns of all those mentioned above and many other unmentioned Tigrinya works are on the northern

Tigrinya dialect(s). None of those works tries to touch the Rayya variety of Tigrinya. In what follows, I try to review studies done on the Rayya variety of Tigrinya so far in brief.

Research works, which have particularly been conducted in Rayya Tigrinya but have not touched its grammar, include: Mohammed (1983), senior essay on “The Phonology of Rayya Dialect of Tigrinya”, Yikuneamlak (2007), an article on *gidə midya ?ab mift’ar mi?kul k^wank^wa ni?af ?inda ?ofla ma?kəl zigəbərə* ‘The role of media in making one standard variety: the case of Ofla wereda’, Niguss (2011), MA thesis on “The Impacts of Rayya Dialectal Variations and the Influence of Amharic on Medium of Instruction: The Case of Alamata Woreda Primary Schools” and Abraham Girmay (2012), MA thesis on “Language Shift in Progress in the Rayya Variety of Tigrinya: The Case of Alamata and Kobo Weredas”. There is also one recently defended PhD thesis, entitled: “Description and documentation of Discourse Markers in Rayya Tigrinya” by Dagnaw Mache.

Mohammed (1983), in his senior essay, “The phonology of Rayya Dialect of Tigrinya”, has tried to identify and describe the contrastive and complementary segments of the dialect. Here, Mohammed has attempted to deal with the phonetic and phonological descriptions of consonant and vowel phonemes. In addition, he has tried to analyze the syllabic structure of the dialect. Mohammed has identified twenty-one (21) consonant and five (5) vowel phonemes in the variety. To Mohammed, the consonant phonemes /p/ and /p’/ are not considered as indigenous phonemes in the Rayya dialect of Tigrinya since their occurrences are limited only to loan words. He has also stated that

/ž/, which occurs in other dialects of Tigrinya is none-existent in Rayya Tigrinya. Moreover, he has explained that /k^w/, /g^w/and /k^w/ which are considered as independent phonemes in the mainstream Tigrinya are allophones of /k/, /g/ and /k'/, respectively in the Rayya dialect since their occurrence is predictable. Furthermore, Mohammed argues that the vowel phonemes /i/ and /e/ are absent in the Rayya dialect, and the syllable structure of the variety is open (CV.CV) as in *s'ə.ba* [səva] 'milk' and close (CVC) as in *səb* [səv] 'person'.

Furthermore, Tsehaye (2009) in his MA thesis "A Comparative Description of Wejerat Dialect vs. Standard Tigrinya" deals with the phonological and morphological comparisons of the two varieties. He discusses whether and in what ways Wejerat Tigrinya is nearer to Ge'ez than to the Tigrinya variety that currently serves as the standard one in the regional state of Tigray. Tsehaye (2009: 30) states that Rayya Azebo wereda borders Wejerat and shares many cultural and linguistic elements. However, in his phonological description, Tsehaye has identified that the Wejerat Tigrinya dialect has (24) consonants and five (marginally 6) vowels.

Niguss (2011:54) states that the middle front vowel /e/ does not exist in Rayya Tigrinya at all, and the high front vowel /i/ occurs only in word final position. Researches like Tesfay (2002) and Girmay (1991) assure that the Tigrinya language has 7 vowel phonemes. However, this number of vowel phonemes does not include the Wejerat and the Rayya dialects of Tigrinya due to the fact provided in the above discussion. For instance, the middle front vowel /e/ as in the examples *t'el*, *ḡibet*, and

dilet of the mainstream Tigrinya appears as the middle central vowel /ə/ as in [t'əli], [ʕivət], [dɪlət] in Rayya Tigrinya to mean 'goat', 'becoming old', and 'interest' respectively in both varieties.

Mohammed (1983) concludes that the high front vowel /i/ is totally absent in the Rayya Tigrinya dialect. However, Niguss (2011) has realized that this vowel occurs only at word final position. For instance, let us realize it in these examples *t'əli* 'goat', *səni* 'Monday' *ʕami* 'last year'. It also sufficiently appears as epenthetic vowel as in the examples: *wərḥ* [worhi] 'month, moon', *ʔigr* [ʔigri] 'leg', *lahm* [lahmi] 'cow', *riʔs* [riʔsi] 'head', *ʕayn* [ʕayni] 'eye', *ʔizn* [ʔizni] 'ear', *midr* [midri] 'earth', which are common expressions in the Rayya variety of Tigrinya.

Girmay (1991) categorizes the Tigrinya dialects into two categories; the “Northern Tigrinya” (z-group) and the “Southern Tigrinya (l-group)”². However, what is southern Tigrinya in Girmay (1991) does not represent the Tigrinya variety spoken in the southern part of Tigray, Rayya, rather it wholly represents the Tigrinya dialect spoken in districts like Temben, Kilte-Awlaelo and the rural areas surrounding Mekelle (Niguss, 2011:12). For Girmay (1991), there are a number of points of comparison that he used to differentiate what he calls the “Northern and Southern Tigrinya” in his study, which he also terms them as the “z-group” and the “l-group”. This is because the relative clause marker, the preposition ‘to’ and the accusation marker are marked with the

² Girmay (1991) considers Akulle-Guzay and Kilite-Awlaelo as the representative subject research areas for northern and southern Tigrinya varieties, respectively.

bound morpheme /l-/ in what he calls “Southern Tigrinya” and with the bound morpheme /z-/ in “Northern Tigrinya” (Girmay, 1991:17). However, it is only the relative clause, which is marked by /z-/ in what is the “Northern Tigrinya” for Girmay.

The relative clause, accusative marker and preposition to are marked by the bound morphemes /z-/, /l-/ and /d-/ in the northern, central and southern dialects of Tigrinya respectively.³ The alveolar consonants of the relative clause marker /zi-/, the accusative case marker /ni-/ and the preposition for *nab* (*ni-ʔab*) ‘to’ in the mainstream Tigrinya manifest variation in central and Rayya varieties as seen in the table below.

Table 1: ‘Relative clause’, ‘accusative’ and preposition ‘to’ markers in Tigrinya

	Northern Tigrinya	Central Tigrinya	Rayya (Southern) Tigrinya
a)	<i>zi-səbər-u</i> Rel-break.PRV-3MLP.Sub ‘Those (M) who broke,’	<i>li-səbər-u</i> Rel-break.PRV-3MLP.Sub ‘Those (M) who broke,’	<i>di-ʃəvər-u</i> Rel-break.PRV-3MLP.Sub ‘Those (M) who broke,’
b)	<i>ni-Nigus</i> Acc-Nigus ‘To Nigus.’	<i>li-Nigus</i> Acc-Nigus ‘To Nigus.’	<i>di-Nigus</i> Acc-Nigus ‘To Nigus.’
c)	<i>nab Rayya</i> ALL Rayya ‘To Rayya.’	<i>la-Rayya</i> ALL-Rayya ‘To Rayya.’	<i>da-Rayya</i> ALL-Rayya ‘To Rayya.’

Yikuneamlak (2007) in his article written in Tigrinya describes how the dialect of Tigrinya influences the variety spoken in Ofla wereda. Besides, he states how the Ofla dialect varies phonologically and lexically from the Tigrinya dialects spoken in other

³Northern Tigrinya here refers to the Tigrinya variety spoken in (Akele Guzay, Seraye and Hamasien of Eritrea) and (Shire, Axum and Adwa of Tigray, Ethiopia); central Tigrinya refers to the variety spoken in Kilde-Awlaelo, Temben and the rural areas surrounding Mekelle. Besides, Rayya (southern) Tigrinya refers to the target variety of the present study.

parts of the region. In his description, Yikuneamlak classifies the data into two categories: the Tigrinya dialect spoken in Ofla on the one side, and the Tigrinya dialects spoken in other parts of Tigray on the other side. However, he does not treat the other dialects as which of them are spoken in which parts of Tigray. His work is also very limited to few points on phonology and lexicon, which is written in 18 pages. Yikuneamlak has concluded that the language variety in Korem is being influenced by the other variety used in media.

Niguss (2011) in his MA thesis deals with the impacts of Rayya dialectal variations and the influence of Amharic on the Tigrinya variety used as medium of instruction in the primary education of the regional state of Tigray, particularly, in Alamata wereda (in Rayya). Here, Niguss first tries to describe the dialectal variations between the Rayya Tigrinya variety and the Tigrinya variety that is being used as medium of instruction at phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactic levels. Then Niguss deals with the examination of the impacts of those variations on the actual classroom instructional processes in the primary schools of Alamata wereda. However, the main concern of Niguss's MA thesis is not to deal with the comparative description of the two dialects of Tigrinya. Rather, Niguss's concern is to examine the negative impacts of the linguistic disparities of those two varieties on the actual classroom teaching learning processes in Alamata primary school students. Moreover, Abraham (2012) in his MA thesis deals with "Language Shift in Progress in the Rayya Variety of Tigrinya: The Case of Alamata and Kobbu Weredas".

Abraham's study tries to investigate language shift from the Rayya Tigrinya to the mainstream Tigrinya. In addition, he has tried to assess the seriousness of the language shift, the causes and the consequences of the shift, the group of the society more affected by the shift and the linguistic features more reflected in the shift. He explains that the shift in RT is highly in progress due to the influence of Amharic and the mainstream Tigrinya. He also states that RT speaker youngsters in towns are more affected by the shift. Abraham, however, does not go into the grammar of the RT variety.

1.8. Organization

The dissertation commences with providing the background of the study, a brief description about the Rayya people and their settlement, identification of the problem the study is set to deal with, the objectives of the study, methodology and review of related studies. With respect to substances of the grammar of the language variety, the phonology, morphology (including nominals and verbs as well as functional words) and syntax are, respectively, described. The dissertation ends up by summing up the contents of the grammar of the variety, drawing conclusions and identifying issues that require further investigation.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with the general sound system of Rayya Tigrinya. First, the descriptions of consonants are presented. Identification of consonant phonemes based on distribution of the consonants and a minimal pair test will be described and discussed; besides, consonant gemination is presented. Moreover, the description of vowels and their occurrences are treated. Next, the features of syllable structures and phonological processes are addressed.

Linguistic data are presented in italics, in slashes and in square brackets. The transcription employs the IPA conventions, but for the sake of convenience, *tʃ*, *tʃ'*, *dʒ* and *j* are used as *č*, *č'*, *ǰ* and *y*, respectively.

2.2. Consonants

2.2.1. Description of consonants

All the consonants in Rayya Tigrinya are produced when there is either complete or partial constriction of airflow passing through the vocal tract. They are studied and described based on where and how they are articulated and based on the state of the vocal folds (cords).

Based on their place of articulation, the consonants of Rayya Tigrinya can be identified as labial, labio-dental, alveolar, palatal, velar, labio-velar, post-velar, labio-post-velar, pharyngeal and glottal. In addition, based on manner of articulation, they can be

classified into seven categories: plosive, fricative, affricate, nasal, lateral, trill and approximant. Furthermore, based on the vibration or the non-vibration of the vocal folds during their production, they can be characterized as voiced or voiceless.

Consonants, which are termed as ejectives, are produced by closing the glottis tightly and raising the larynx to compress the air between the closed glottis and the articulation point. A sudden release at the articulation point results in an ejective consonant. The consonant phonemes and allophones of RT are summarized in the table below, and their descriptions are followed. In their respective boxes, the consonants on the left are voiced while those on the right are voiceless. This is to show that ejectives are also voiceless. The consonants in square brackets are allophones while the rest are phonemes.

Table 2: Consonant phonemes and allophones of RT

Manner	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio-Velar	Post-Velar	Lab-post-velar	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	<i>b</i>		<i>d t</i>		<i>g k</i>	<i>g^w k^w</i>				<i>ʔ</i>
Ejective			<i>t'</i>		<i>k'</i>	<i>k^w'</i>				
Fricative		<i>f</i>	<i>z s</i>	<i>ʃ</i>			<i>[χ]</i>	<i>[χ^w]</i>	<i>ħ</i>	<i>h</i>
Ejective			<i>s'</i>				<i>[χ']</i>	<i>[χ^w']</i>		
Affricate				<i>ʃ č</i>						
Ejective				<i>č'</i>						
Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>[m]</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>[ŋ]</i>					
Lateral			<i>l</i>							
Trill			<i>r</i>							
Approx.	<i>w</i>	<i>[v]</i>		<i>y</i>						

The voiceless bilabial plosive /p/ and the bilabial ejective /p'/ are none existent in Rayya Tigrinya. They are found only in some loan words, and they are quite difficult to

those illiterate native speakers of Rayya Tigrinya to pronounce them. They pronounce them as the voiced bilabial plosive [b]; for instance, *polis* [bolis] ‘police man’, *posta* [bosta] ‘post’ *polatika* [bolatika] ‘politics’.

The descriptions of the consonants of Rayya Tigrinya are presented below with examples for each one of them. I have relied on both Tesfay (2002) and Tsehay (1979) for the characterization of each set of consonants.

2.2.1.1. Plosive

Plosive consonants are produced when there is a complete closure of the air passage at some point along the vocal tract and followed by a sudden release of the airflow. Each plosive consonant will be described as follows.

1) /b/ voiced bilabial plosive; example:

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|---------------------------|---------|----------|
| [1] | a) | <i>bifray</i> | | ‘ox’ |
| | b) | <i>s’əba</i> ⁴ | [s’əva] | ‘milk’ |
| | c) | <i>səb</i> | [səv] | ‘person’ |

3 In Rayya Tigrinya, the voiced bilabial plosive /b/ appears as the labio-dental approximant [v] at word-medial and word-final positions when it is not geminated and when it is not followed or preceded by one of the back rounded vowels /u/ or /o/. For instance, /s’əba/ [s’əva] ‘milk’, /səb/ [səv] ‘person’. When it is followed or preceded by the back rounded vowels, it is realized as [w] as in /dəbub/ [dowuw] ‘south’.

2) /d/ voiced alveolar plosive; example:

- [2] a) *dərf* [dərfi] 'song'
b) *midr* [midri] 'earth'
c) *ħaməd* 'soil'

3) /g/ voiced velar plosive:

- [3] a) *gura* 'left hand'
b) *nəga* 'tomorrow'
c) *ħarəg* 'family tree'

4) /g^w/ voiced labialized velar plosive:

- [4] a) *g^wal* 'girl, daughter, virgin'
b) *ʕag^wa* 'wheat color'
c) *gug^wg^wa* 'a kind of bird'

5) /t/ voiceless alveolar plosive:

- [5] a) *timali* 'yesterday'
b) *gofəta* 'left after (for local tree)'
c) *ʕamət* 'year'

6) /k/ is voiceless velar plosive:

- [6] a) *kəlb* [χalvi] 'dog'
b) *manka*⁵ [maŋka] 'spoon'
c) *murak* [murax] 'calf'

⁵ In Rayya Tigrinya, the alveolar nasal voiced /n/ always occurs as [ŋ] when it is followed by a velar consonant as in these examples:

<i>hank^wal</i>	[ħaŋk ^w al]	'curved'
<i>ʕiŋgullə</i>	[ʕiŋgullə]	'local tree'
<i>t'ənk'</i>	[t'əŋk'i]	'negative cause'

7) /k^w/ voiceless labialized velar plosive:

- [7] a) *k^wankullu* [k^waŋkullu] ‘cup’
b) *ħank^wal* [ħaŋk^wal] ‘curved’
c) *dik^wk^wa* ‘kind of traditional seat’

8) /ʔ/ voiceless glottal plosive:

- [8] a) *ʔarʔut* ‘yoke’
b) *maʔkəl* [maʔχəl] ‘center’
c) *məguʔ* [moguʔ] ‘pestle’

9) /tʼ/ ejective alveolar plosive:

- [9] a) *tʼəli* ‘goat’
b) *mətʼakʼ* [mətʼaχʼ] ‘mud’
c) *niffatʼ* ‘mucus’

10) /kʼ/ is ejective velar plosive:

- [10] a) *kʼim* [χʼim] ‘dissension’
b) *firkʼ* [firχʼi] ‘half’
c) *mətʼakʼ* [mətʼaχʼ] ‘mud’

11) /k^w/ is ejective labialized velar plosive:

- [11] a) *k^wank^wa* [k^waŋk^wa] ‘language’
b) *kʼok^wk^wattə* ‘type of bread’
c) *durk^wa* ‘hay’

The plosive consonants of Raya Tigrinya are: /b/, /d/, /g/, /g^w/, /t/, /k/, /k^w/, /ʔ/, /tʼ/, /kʼ/ and /k^w/.

2.2.1.2. Fricative

Fricative consonants are articulated when the articulators come closer to each other to form a very narrow air passage, which causes friction between the articulators.

1) /z/ voiced alveolar fricative:

- [12] a) *zirga* 'boiled milk'
b) *mizga* 'right hand'
c) *nək'əz* [nəχ'əz] 'a type of locust'

2) /ʕ/ voiced pharyngeal fricative:

- [13] a) *ʕirya* 'equal'
b) *liʕat* 'handle'
c) *k'uraʕ* [χ'uraʕ] 'small sized water pot'

3) /f/ voiceless labio-dental fricative:

- [14] a) *firh* [firhi] 'fear'
b) *firfa* 'granary'
c) *?af* 'mouth'

4) /s/ is an alveolar fricative voiceless.

- [15] a) *sur* 'root'
b) *t'əsm* [t'əsmi] 'butter'
c) *hirras* 'sleep'

5) /ʃ/ is voiceless palatal fricative:

- [16] a) *ʃəggə* 'beautiful'
b) *koʃm* [χoʃmi] 'dancing'
c) *k'əmiʃ* [χ'amɪʃ] 'dress'

6) /ħ/ voiceless pharyngeal fricative:

- [17] a) *ħaml* [ħamli] 'vegetable'
b) *nəwwiħ* [nəwwiħ] 'tall (MSG)'
c) *siraħ* 'work (N)'

7) /h/ voiceless glottal fricative:

- [18] a) *his'an* 'kid'
b) *g^wahr* [g^wahri] 'embers'
c) *biruh* [buruh] 'sunny, clear, bright'

8) /s'/ is an alveolar fricative ejective:

- [19] a) *s'ərf* [s'ərfi] 'insult'
b) *ʕis'a* 'lottery'
c) *ħirus'* [ħurus'] 'flour'

The /z/, /ʕ/, /f/, /s/, /ʃ/, /ħ/, /h/ and /s'/ are identified as fricative consonants of RT.

2.2.1.3. Affricate

Affricate consonants are produced when there is a complete air closure accompanied by slow release of the air. This manner of articulation is the composition of both the manner of plosive followed by the manner of fricative. Hence, affricates can be recognized as a series of plosive and fricative consonantal manners.

1) /j/ voiced palatal affricate:

- [20] a) *ǰəbəna* [ǰəvəna] 'kettle, coffee pot'
b) *lahǰaw* 'foolish'
c) *diruǰ* [duruǰ] 'local coin container'

2) /č/ is a palatal affricate voiceless.

- [21] a) *čaw* 'bye'
b) *kʷaričča* 'a material put on horse's back'
c) *dinnič* 'potato'

3) /č'/ is palatal affricate ejective.

- [22] a) *č'əw* [č'ow] 'salt'
b) *k'anč'a*⁶ [χ'əŋč'a] 'ban'
c) *ʔafinč'a* [fɪŋč'a] 'nose'

Based on the data given in examples [20], [21] and [22], we can determine that /j/, /č/ and /č'/ are the affricate consonants of the language variety under study.

2.2.1.4. Nasal

Nasal consonants are produced by blocking the airflow through the oral cavity forcing it to escape through the nasal cavity.

1) /m/ is voiced bilabial nasal.

- [23] a) *mizga* 'right hand'
b) *t'əsm* [t'əsmi] 'butter'
c) *ħaram* 'forbidden'

⁶ It has to be taken into account that /n/ occurs as [ɲ] when it comes before either of the palatal affricate consonants as in *k'anč'a* > [χ'əŋč'a] 'ban'; /n/ also appears as the voiced velar nasal [ŋ] when it followed by one of the velars /g, k, k'/as in *zəng-i* > [zəŋgi] 'a kind of stick'. It also realizes as the voiced labio-dental nasal consonant [ɱ] when it is followed by the voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/ as in *kənfər* > [χəɱfər] 'lip'.

2) /n/ is voiced alveolar nasal.

- [24] a) *nəwr* [nəwri] 'for bidden'
b) *nəga* 'tomorrow'
c) *bun* 'coffee'

3) /ɲ/ is voiced palatal nasal.

- [25] a) *nifhiɲna* 'balloon'
b) *tigriɲna* 'the Tigrinya language'
c) *buɲna* 'boxing'

Therefore, /m/, /n/ and /ɲ/ are the three nasal consonants of the language variety under study.

2.2.1.5. Lateral

The articulation of the lateral consonant involves raising the tongue so that the tip of the tongue comes into contact with the alveolar ridge and the outward air flows through the sides of the tongue. The lateral consonant identified is /l/; it is voiced alveolar lateral.

- [26] a) *limd* [limdi] 'experience, habit'
b) *k'olʕa* [χ'olʕa] 'child'
c) *siʕal* 'catarrh'

2.2.1.6. Trill

A trill consonant is produced when the tip of the tongue is held close to the alveolar ridge just behind the upper front teeth, and the outward airflow makes it vibrate. In Rayya Tigrinya, /r/ is a trill consonant. It is a voiced alveolar trill.

- [27] a) *rəbuʃ* [rowuʃ] 'Wednesday'
 b) *gura* 'left hand'
 c) *gər* 'cow's shelter'

2.2.1.7. Approximant

This is a consonant resulting from the approximation of the articulators. The approximants identified in RT are: /w/ and /y/.

1) /w/ is voiced bilabial approximant:

- [28] a) *wənč'a* [wəɲč'a] 'a traditional cup made of horn'
 b) *nəwr* [nəwri] 'taboo'
 c) *č'əw* [č'ow] 'salt'

2) /y/ is also voiced a palatal approximant.

- [29] a) *yə* 'yes!'
 b) *nifyo* 'measles'
 c) *t'iray* 'crop'

In general, 36 consonants have been recognized in Rayya Tigrinya: /b/, /d/, /g/, /g^w/, /t/, /k/, /k^w/, /ʔ/, /t'/, /k'/, /k'^w/, /z/, /ʎ/, /f/, /s/, /ʃ/, /h/, /h/, /s'/, /j/, /č/, /č'/, /m/, /n/, /ɲ/, /l/, /r/, /w/ and /y/, [v], [ɱ], [ɲ], [χ], [χ^w], [χ'] and [χ'^w].

The preceding section has dealt with the general descriptions of consonants in the target language variety. The following section will focus on the identifications of the consonant phonemes.

2.2.2. Identification of consonant phonemes

This section deals with the identification of consonant phonemes in RT. The consonant phonemes are identified based on the distributional and minimal pair test of phoneme in words.

2.2.2.1. Distribution of consonant phonemes

Although few phonemes do not seem to appear at word initial and word final positions, the consonant phonemes can appear at word initial, word medial and word final positions in Rayya Tigrinya. The occurrence of each consonant phoneme is seen below.

2.2.2.1.1. Plosive

1) /b/ occurs in every environment.

[30]	Word initial		Word medial		Word final				
a)	<i>bifray</i>	‘ox’	<i>dabana</i>	[dævəna]	‘cloud’	<i>səb</i>	[səv]	‘person’	
b)	<i>bətr</i>	[bətʀi]	‘stick’	<i>sibh</i>	[siʋhi]	‘fat’	<i>nab</i>	[dav]	‘to where’
c)	<i>bun</i>	‘coffee’	<i>k’orbət</i>	[χ’orvət]	‘skin’	<i>kokob</i>	[χoχow]	‘star’	

2) /d/ occurs in every environment.

[31]	Word initial		Word medial		Word final			
a)	<i>dərf</i>	[dərʃi]	‘song’	<i>midr</i>	[midri]	‘earth’	<i>bərəəd</i>	‘snow’
b)	<i>dəm</i>	‘blood’	<i>mədəb</i>	[mədəv]	‘cultural bed’	<i>haməd</i>	‘soil’	
c)	<i>dikam</i>	[diχam]	‘tiredness’	<i>kəbd</i>	[χavdi]	‘stomach’	<i>gərəd</i>	‘servant’

3) /g/ is found in every environment.

[32]	Word initial		Word medial		Word final			
a)	<i>gərəb</i>	[gərəv]	‘river’	<i>ʔarg</i>	[ʔargi]	‘donkey’	<i>mafræg</i>	‘glory’
b)	<i>giməl</i>	‘camel’	<i>ʔigr</i>	[ʔigri]	‘leg’	<i>haræg</i>	‘type of tree’	
c)	<i>gura</i>	‘left hand’	<i>ʃəggə</i>	‘beautiful’	<i>fələg</i>	‘water path’		

4) /t/ occurs in every environment.

[33]	Word initial		Word final		Word final
a)	<i>təbən</i> [təbən]	'snake'	<i>manta</i>	'twin'	<i>t'imət</i> 'hunger'
c)	<i>timali</i>	'yesterday'	<i>bətr</i> [bətri]	'stick'	<i>lifat</i> 'handle'
d)	<i>təfin</i> [təfin]	'bull'	<i>k'ətr</i> [χ'atri]	'day'	<i>miʕat</i> 'many'

5) /k/ occurs at word initial and word medial positions.

[34]	Word initial		Word medial		Word final
a)	<i>kəft</i> [χəfti]	'cows'	<i>ʃɪnk</i> [ʃɪnki]	'churlish'	<i>ʕifok</i> [ʕiʃoχ] 'churn'
b)	<i>karra</i> [χarra]	'knife'	<i>bakko</i>	'card board'	<i>murak</i> [muraχ] 'calf'
c)	<i>kərən</i> [χərən]	'hill'	<i>birk</i> [birki]	'knee'	<i>sirak</i> [sirax] 'tie'

6) /ʔ/ occurs in every environment.

[35]	Word initial		Word medial		Word final
a)	<i>ʔayyam</i>	'mind'	<i>siʔl</i> [siʔli]	'picture'	<i>mərʕiʔ</i> [mərʕiʔ] 'middle'
b)	<i>ʔigr</i> [ʔigri]	'leg'	<i>saʔn</i> [saʔni]	'local shoe'	<i>kifʔ</i> [χufʔ] 'cruel'
d)	<i>ʔarʕut</i>	'yoke'	<i>gaʔn</i> [gaʔni]	'type of pot'	<i>məguʔ</i> [moguʔ] 'pestle'

7) /t'/ occurs in every environment.

[36]	Word initial		Word medial		Word final
a)	<i>t'imət</i>	'hunger'	<i>ʕit'rət</i>	'creature'	<i>ʕilut'</i> [fulut'] 'known'
b)	<i>t'əli</i>	'goat'	<i>mit'r</i> [mit'ri]	'buttock'	<i>ʕək'ət'</i> [ʕəχ'ət'] 'goods'
c)	<i>t'ub</i> [t'uw]	'breast'	<i>ʔat'ʕa</i>	'calf'	<i>məlat'</i> 'bald'

8) /k'/ occurs at word initial, word medial and word final positions.

[37]	Word initial		Word medial		Word final
a)	<i>k'aməm</i> [χ'aməm]	'condiment'	<i>dirk'</i> [dirχ'i]	'drought'	<i>sihak'</i> [sihaχ'] 'laugh'
b)	<i>k'əld</i> [χ'əldi]	'joke'	<i>mək'in</i> [məχ'in]	'bon-cell'	<i>s'ummak'</i> [s'ummaχ'] 'juice'
c)	<i>k'ač'o</i> [χ'ač'o]	'container'	<i>ʕir'k'</i> [ʕirχ'i]	'half'	<i>ħimmak'</i> [ħimmaχ'] 'bad'

2.2.2.1.2. Fricatives

Fricative consonants of the Rayya Tigrinya are eight in number. These are /z/, /ʒ/, /f/, /s/, /ʃ/, /h/ and /ħ/. The distribution of each fricative is shown below.

1) /z/ is found in every environment.

[38]	Word initial		Word medial		Word final
a)	<i>zinab</i> [zinaʋ]	‘rain’	<i>k’anza</i> [χ’anza]	‘pain’	<i>fəzaz</i> ‘stupid’
b)	<i>zib?</i> [ziʋʔi]	‘hyena’	<i>ʔizn</i> [ʔizni]	‘ear’	<i>nək’əz</i> [nəχ’əz] ‘weevil’
c)	<i>zirga</i>	‘milk’	<i>mizga</i>	‘right hand’	<i>mirkuz</i> [murkuz] ‘walking stick’

2) /ʒ/ occurs in every environment.

[39]	Word initial		Word medial		Word final
a)	<i>ʒirya</i>	‘equal’	<i>liʒat</i>	‘handle’	<i>dirraʒ</i> ‘being alone’
b)	<i>ʒit’ak’</i> [ʒit’aχ’]	‘local trouser’	<i>giʒat</i>	‘porridge’	<i>k’əjpaʒ</i> [χ’əjpaʒ] ‘right hand’
c)	<i>ʒatər</i>	‘bea’	<i>mərʒa</i>	‘marriage’	<i>k’inuʒ</i> [χ’unuʒ] ‘straight’

3) /f/ occurs in every environment. Let us look at the examples in the data below.

[40]	Word initial		Word medial		Word final
a)	<i>fik’r</i> [fiχ’ri]	‘love’	<i>mərfiʔ</i> [mərfiʔ]	‘needle’	<i>ʔaf</i> ‘mouth’
b)	<i>firh</i> [firhi]	‘fear’	<i>Gorf</i> [gorfi]	‘erosion’	<i>ʒif</i> [ʒuf] ‘bird’
c)	<i>fird</i> [firdi]	‘judgment’	<i>dərʃ</i> [dərʃi]	‘song’	<i>t’af</i> ‘teff’

4) /s/ occurs in every environment.

[41]	Word initial		Word medial		Word final
a)	<i>sur</i>	‘root’	<i>ʔiss-u</i>	‘he’	<i>hirras</i> ‘sleeping’
b)	<i>səmay</i>	‘sky’	<i>məls</i> [məlsi]	‘answer’	<i>das</i> ‘shelter’
c)	<i>surrə</i>	‘trouser’	<i>dəsta</i>	‘happiness’	<i>məlhas</i> ‘tongue’

5) /ʃ/ occurs both at word initial and word medial positions.

[42]	Word initial	Word medial	Word final
a)	<i>fəggə</i> ‘beautiful’	<i>koʃm</i> [χoʃmi] ‘local dancing’	<i>guʃuf</i> ‘fresh’
b)	<i>fimal</i> ‘rope’	<i>k’əʃf</i> [χ’aʃfi] ‘priest’	<i>k’əmiʃ</i> [χ’amiʃ] ‘dress’
c)	<i>fəgəna</i> ‘net’	<i>gəʃfa</i> ‘guest’	<i>t’uʃ</i> ‘puff of fire’

6) /ħ/ occurs in every environment.

[43]	Word initial	Word medial	Word final
a)	<i>ħirus</i> ’ [ħurus’] ‘flour’	<i>ʔaħinna</i> ‘we’	<i>nəwwiħ</i> [nəwwiħ] ‘tall’
b)	<i>ħadə</i> ‘one’	<i>maħrəs</i> ‘farming’	<i>borəħ</i> ‘bald’
c)	<i>ħagay</i> ‘winter’	<i>miħrət</i> ‘mercy’	<i>gəffih</i> [gəffih] ‘wide’

7) /h/ occurs at word initial and word medial positions in the variety. At word final position, I found only very few examples.

[44]	Word initial	Word medial	Word final
a)	<i>horəyyə</i> ‘small dam’	<i>dərho</i> ‘hen’	<i>nus’uh</i> [nus’uh] ‘innocent’
b)	<i>ħirras</i> ‘sleeping’	<i>g^wahr</i> [g ^w ahri] ‘embers’	<i>biruh</i> [buruh] ‘bright, sunny’
c)	<i>hasas</i> ‘stupid’	<i>gərħ</i> [gərhi] ‘kind’	<i>ləwwəħ</i> [lowwwəħ] ‘kind’

8) /s’/ appears in every environment.

[45]	Word initial	Word medial	Word final
a)	<i>s’iruy</i> [s’uruy] ‘handsome’	<i>ʃis’a</i> ‘lottery’	<i>ħirus</i> ’ [ħurus’] ‘flour’
b)	<i>s’ərf</i> [s’ərfi] ‘insult’	<i>his’an</i> ‘infant’	<i>dirus</i> ’ [durus’] ‘shattered’
c)	<i>s’aʃda</i> ‘white’	<i>fas’a</i> ‘fluting’	<i>miğhas</i> ’ ‘grassing’

2.2.2.1.3. Affricates

The distribution of each affricate consonants—/ʃ/, /č/, and /č’/—is given as follows.

1) /j/ occurs in every environment.

[46]	Word initial	Word medial	Word final
a)	<i>ǰigna</i> ‘hero’	<i>ǰǰuw</i> [ǰǰuw] ‘confused’	<i>diruj</i> [duruǰ] ‘coin container’
b)	<i>ǰub^wa</i> ‘pocket’	<i>ǰanǰaw</i> [ǰanǰaw] ‘stupid’	<i>firuǰ</i> [furuǰ] ‘refrigerator’
c)	<i>ǰammir</i> ‘start’	<i>mənǰak</i> [mənǰax] ‘non-chawing’	<i>ǰawaj</i> ‘declaration’

2) /č/ is very rare in Rayya Tigrinya. It occurs at word initial and word medial positions, but I found only one example of it at word final position. A broken line hereafter indicates that no example has been found.

[47]	Word initial	Word medial	Word final
a)	<i>čaw</i> ‘bye’	<i>k^waričča</i> ‘a seat on horse’s back’	<i>dinnič</i> ‘potato’
b)	<i>čid</i> ‘go away (insult)’	<i>močča</i> ‘comfort’	-----
c)	-----	<i>gulliča</i> ‘dish stand’	-----

3) /č’/ is also rare in the variety. Though it is rare, it occurs in every environment. Look at the examples below.

[48]	Word initial	Word medial	Word final
a)	<i>č’aw</i> [č’ow] ‘salt’	<i>k’anč’a</i> [x’anč’a] ‘ban’	<i>muč’ač’</i> ‘kids’
b)	<i>č’ira</i> ‘tail’	<i>ǰafinč’a</i> [fɪnč’a] ‘nose’	<i>guč’ač’</i> ‘donkey’s food’
c)	<i>č’ark’</i> [č’ərχ’i] ‘cloth’	<i>mirč’a</i> ‘choice’	-----

2.2.2.1.4. Nasals

The distributions of nasal consonants /m/, /n/ and /ɲ/ are shown below.

1) /m/ occurs in every environment.

[49]	Word initial	Word medial	Word final
a)	<i>midr</i> [midri] ‘earth’	<i>t’imət</i> ‘hunger’	<i>ħaram</i> ‘forbidden’
b)	<i>mərfa</i> ‘marriage’	<i>ħimmət</i> ‘charcoal’	<i>ħimam</i> ‘illness’
c)	<i>mizga</i> ‘right hand’	<i>ħaməd</i> ‘soil’	<i>s’om</i> ‘fasting’

2) /n/ occurs in every environment.

[50] Word initial	Word medial	Word final
a) <i>nəbr</i> [nəvri] 'tiger'	<i>sinn</i> [sinni] 'tooth'	<i>mən</i> 'who?'
b) <i>nik'us</i> [nuχ'us'] 'dry'	<i>ʕayn</i> [ʕayni] 'eye'	<i>təbən</i> [təvən] 'snake'
c) <i>nəwr</i> [nəwri] 'taboo'	<i>ʔizn</i> [ʔizni] 'ear'	<i>birhan</i> 'light'

3) /ɲ/ occurs at word medial position in sufficient, but it hardly occurs at word initial, and it never occurs at word final position in Rayya Tigrinya. Let us have a look at its distributions below.

[51] Word initial	Word medial
a) <i>naʕ</i> 'fall down'	<i>č'ɲč'ay</i> 'fly'
b) <i>nawɲaw</i> 'shouting'	<i>niʕɲiɲa</i> 'balloon'
c) -----	<i>wəɲɲa</i> 'talkative'
d) -----	<i>gurrɲɲa</i> 'door man'

2.2.2.1.5. Lateral (l)

There is only one lateral consonant in Rayya Tigrinya. This consonant is /l/. It occurs in every environment as can be seen below.

[52] Word initial	Word medial	Word final
a) <i>laʕba</i> [laʕva] 'sheep's offspring'	<i>k'olʕa</i> [χ'olʕa] 'child'	<i>siʕal</i> 'cough'
b) <i>ləwt</i> [ləwt'i] 'change'	<i>k'os'l</i> [χ'os'li] 'leaf'	<i>biʕal</i> 'holyday'
c) <i>limat</i> 'development'	<i>t'əli</i> 'goat'	<i>k'al</i> [χ'al] 'word'

2.2.2.1.6. Trill (r)

In the Rayya dialect of Tigrinya, there is also only one trill consonant. This consonant is /r/. It occurs in every environment as shown below.

[53]	Word initial		Word medial		Word final
a)	<i>rəbuʃ</i> [rowuʃ]	‘Wednesday’	<i>gura</i>	‘left hand’	<i>gər</i> ‘byre’
b)	<i>raffa</i>	‘corpse’	<i>k’ərn</i> [χ’arni]	‘horn’	<i>wərar</i> ‘invasion’
c)	<i>riɡʔo</i> [rugʔo]	‘curd’	<i>k’ərabə</i> [χ’arəba]	‘nearby’	<i>sur</i> ‘root’

2.2.2.1.7. Approximants

The distributions of the approximant /w/ and /y/ phonemes are shown as follows.

1) /w/ occurs in every environment in the Rayya variety. Let us look at its distributions in the examples below.

[54]	Word initial		Word medial		Word final
a)	<i>wiʃt’</i> [wiʃt’i]	‘in side’	<i>miwrar</i>	‘infestation’	<i>miħssaw</i> [miħʃjaw] ‘lying’
b)	<i>wəfč’ə</i>	‘type of wheat’	<i>səwwa</i>	‘local beer’	<i>wow</i> ‘no, exclamation’
c)	<i>wərħ</i> [wərħi]	‘moon, month’	<i>ʃəwwit</i>	‘spike’	<i>č’əw</i> [č’ow] ‘salt’

2) /y/ seems to occur hardly at word initial position while it sufficiently takes place word medially and finally as seen below.

[55]	Word initial		Word medial		Word final
a)	<i>yəʔom</i>	‘They are.’	<i>dīyyə</i>	‘there’	<i>səmay</i> ‘sky’
b)	<i>yə</i>	‘yes’	<i>ʔayya</i>	‘father’	<i>may</i> ‘water’
c)	<i>yəlləy</i>	‘It does not exist.’	<i>nayə</i>	‘mine’	<i>bīʃray</i> ‘ox’

To sum-up, the consonants /b/, /d/, /g/, /g^w/, /t/, /k/, /k^w/, /ʔ/, /t’/, /k’/, /k^w/, /z/, /ʃ/, /f/, /s/, /ʃ/, /ħ/, /h/, /s’/, /j/, /č/, /č’/, /m/, /n/, /p/, /l/, /r/, /w/ and /y/ have been identified as phonemes based on their distributions in words of Rayya Tigrinya.

2.2.2.2. Minimal pair

A minimal pair refers to a pair of words that have identical phonemes but differ only in a single one, and this brings about meaning variation between the words in the pair; it

is a mechanism used for phoneme identification in a given language (cf. Katamba, 1989: 22; Sthockwell, 2007: 80). For instance, in English, [f] and [v] are in a contrastive distribution in the pair of words: *fat* and *vat* as well as *fine* and *vine* (Sthockwell, 2007: 80). In this section, examples of minimal pairs only for the suspicious consonant phonemes of RT are described. Phonemes that are far apart in their articulation are obviously independent from each other, and they need not be tested.

[56]	Pair of phonemes	Pair of words	Gloss
1)	/b/ and /m/	/baʃilt/ [baʃilti] /maʃilt/ [maʃilti]	'cave' 'day'
2)	/b/ and /w/	/bærk'/ [bærχ'i] /wærk'/ [wærχ'i]	'sunrise' 'gold'
3)	/m/ and /w/	/mærir-u/ [mærru] /wærir-u/ [wærru]	'became bitter' 'he invaded'
4)	/s/ and /s'/	/səbh/ [səvhi] /s'əbh/ [s'əvhi]	'grass land' 'soup'
5)	/s/ and /z/	/sihil-u/ [sihlu] /zihil-u/ [zihlu]	'he sharpened' 'it became cold'
6)	/f/ and /w/	/færid-u/ [færdu] /wærid-u/ [wærdu]	'he judged' 'he came down'
7)	/t'/ and /d/	/t'əf i?-u/ [t'əf?u] /dəfi?-u/ [dəf?u]	'he disappeared' 'he pushed'
8)	/h/ and /ħ/	/hirras/ /ħirras/	'sleep' 'ploughed'

2.2.3. Gemination

In this study, gemination refers to a cluster of two phonetically identical consonants in a word. All consonants except /h/, /ʕ/, /h/ and /ʔ/ may appear geminated in Rayya Tigrinya but only at word medial position. Phonemically, a substitution of a non-geminate consonant for a geminate counterpart brings about meaning change in the variety. The data below demonstrates examples of minimal pairs consisting of geminate and non-geminate consonants resulting in meaning difference of the words.

[57]	Pair of phonemes	Pair of words	Gloss
a)	/b/ and /bb/	/gəbəri/ [gəvəri] /gəbbəri/	‘one who does something’ ‘one who pays tax’
b)	/l/ and /ll/	/t’əli/ /t’əlli/	‘goat’ ‘humidity, moisture’
c)	/r/ and /rr/	/gura/ /gurra/	‘left hand’ ‘bombast’
d)	/s/ and /ss/	/ʔasəri/ /ʔassəri/	‘one who arrests’ ‘one who investigates witness’
e)	/w/ and /ww/	/zowəri/ /zowwəri/	‘wanderer’ ‘driver’
f)	/t’/ and /t’t’/	/gət’im-u/ [gət’mu] /gət’t’im-u/ [gət’t’imu] ⁷	‘He told a poem.’ ‘He drank a lot.’

⁷[-i-] in example [57f] is an epenthesis to correct the impermissible three consonantal cluster at word medial position.

We say gutturals do not normally geminate. When germination is considered obligatory as in the case of the passive of the imperfective, the consonant preceding the guttural also geminates. If the consonant preceding the guttural in such obligatory condition is also a guttural, then the guttural geminates in a spontaneous speech as in the case of the germination of gutturals in *ħaħħadə* from *ħadə ħadə* ‘one one’, *yīħīħħ-ə* ‘let him winnow’.

2.3. Vowels

According to literatures, there are seven vowels (/i/, /ī/, /u/, /e/, /ə/, /a/ and /o/) in the Tigrinya language (cf. Tsehaye, 1979; Girmay, 1983; Girmay, 1991; Tesfay, 2002). However, Mohammed (1983) has identified only five vowels (/ī/, /u/, /ə/, /a/ and /o/) in the Rayya Tigrinya variety. Mohammed argues that the high front unrounded vowel /i/ and the middle front unrounded vowel /e/ are totally absent in Rayya Tigrinya. According to the present study, only the front middle unrounded vowel /e/ is absent in the target language variety, but /i/ occurs only at word final position. In addition, /ī/ never occurs at word final position. Therefore, the present study has identified six vowels. The table below presents the vowels of the variety.

Table 3: Vowels in Rayya Tigrinya

	Front	Center	Back
High	<i>i</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>u</i>
Middle		<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

2.3.1. Description and distribution of vowels

This section first deals with the descriptions of vowels. Next to the descriptions of the six vowels, their distributions are discussed with examples.

1) /i/ is a high front unrounded. Observe the following examples.

- [58] a) *ʕami* 'last year'
b) *t'əli* 'goat'
c) *səni* 'Monday'

2) /i/ is a high central unrounded. Let us see it in the examples below.

- [59] a) *diɣləy* 'buck, ram'
b) *t'imət* 'hunger'
c) *firħ* [firhi] 'fear'

3) /u/ is a high back rounded. See the examples below.

- [60] a) *dur* 'forest'
b) *ʃub^wb^wa* 'pocket'
c) *bun* 'coffee'

4) /ə/ is a mid-central unrounded. Examples are given below.

- [61] a) *s'əba* [s'əva] 'milk'
b) *ʕatər* 'bean'
c) *bofyə* 'traditional clothe of the Rayya people'

5) /o/ is a mid-back rounded. Look at the examples follows.

- [62] a) *ʔom* 'tree'
b) *s'om* 'fasting'
c) *mowaro* 'hoe'

6) /a/ is a low central open vowel. See it in the examples below.

[63]	a)	<i>may</i>		‘water’
	b)	<i>ʃarḥ</i>	[ʃarhi]	‘heifer’
	c)	<i>saʔn</i>	[saʔni]	‘local shoe’

In General, taking the position of the lips into consideration, the back vowels /u/ and /o/ are described as rounded vowel sounds; however, the front vowel /i/ and the central vowels /ɪ/, /ə/ and /a/ are described as unrounded vowels.

2.3.2. Minimal pair test of vowels

The list below shows some examples of minimal pair test for RT vowel phonemes in the same environment.

[64]	Pair of vowels	Pair of words	Gloss
a)	/i/ and /ə/	<i>gɪr</i> <i>gər</i>	‘confuse’ ‘cow’s shelter’
b)	/i/ and /a/	<i>ʃitər</i> <i>ʃatər</i>	‘let you (MSG) catch’ ‘pea’
c)	/u/ and /ə/	<i>suf</i> <i>səf</i>	‘type of crop’ ‘pic up’
d)	/a/ and /o/	<i>č’amma</i> <i>č’omma</i>	‘shoe’ ‘fatty’

2.4. Syllable structure

A syllable refers to a unit of pronunciation typically larger than a single sound and smaller than a word; in other words, it is a single sound segment or more segments

pronounced uninterrupted with a single pulse of air pressure (cf. Duanmu, 2008: 36). The syllable is made up of one or more phonemes with a vowel at its core. It has two parts: an onset (O) and a rhyme (R). A rhyme can have two parts: a nucleus (N) and a coda (C) or only a nucleus. The onset represents the initial consonant of a syllable. The nucleus is a vowel in the syllable, and it is obligatory; the coda is the consonantal part of the syllable after the nucleus. The onset (O) and the coda (c) are optional in the syllable structure of many languages. However, no word as well as no syllable begins with a vowel in Rayya Tigrinya (also in MT). Any word or syllable begins with a consonant. Therefore, an onset is an obligatory consonantal position of a syllable whereas the coda is an optional position of the syllable structure in RT and MT. In Rayya Tigrinya, two types of syllable structures: open and closed have been identified; CV and CVC (see also Tesfay, 2002 for Tigrinya).

If there is a potential initial cluster of consonants, the vowel [-i-] is always inserted between those consonants to break the impermissible word initial consonant cluster in the variety. Words in Rayya Tigrinya can be classified as monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic, quadri-syllabic, quinti-syllabic, hexa-syllabic etc. according to the number of syllables embedded.

2.4.1. Monosyllable

Mono-syllabic words have the CVC syllable structure. Here are some examples in RT.

- [65] a) *may* ‘water’
 b) *gər* ‘byre’
 c) *bun* ‘coffee’

2.4.2. Di-syllable

Based on my native intuitional test, I have identified that di-syllabic words in RT can have both their syllables open (CV.CV) as in [66 a-c], both syllables closed (CVC.CVC) as in [67a-c], open-closed syllable structure (CV.CVC) as in [68 a-c] or closed-open syllable structure (CVC.CV) as in [69a-c]. Examples on each type of di-syllabic structures are given as follows, respectively.

[66]	Word	Syllabification	CV form	Gloss
a)	<i>gura</i>	<i>gu.ra</i>	CV.CV	‘left hand’
b)	<i>ʃorə</i>	<i>ʃo.rə</i>	CV.CV	‘bitter test’
c)	<i>t’əli</i>	<i>t’ə.li</i>	CV.CV	‘goat’
[67]	Word	Syllabification	CV form	Gloss
a)	<i>mahrəs</i>	<i>mah.rəs</i>	CVC.CVC	‘farming’
b)	<i>digləy</i>	<i>dig.ləy</i>	CVC.CVC	‘buck, ram’
c)	<i>sivʔay</i>	<i>siv.ʔay</i>	CVC.CVC	‘man’
[68]	Word	Syllable Structure	CV form	Gloss
a)	<i>ʃit’an</i>	<i>ʃi.t’an</i>	CV.CVC	‘incense’
b)	<i>girat</i>	<i>gi.rat</i>	CV.CVC	‘sleeping’
c)	<i>t’iray</i>	<i>t’i.ray</i>	CV.CVC	‘crop’
[69]	Word	Syllable Structure	CV form	Gloss
a)	<i>lahm</i>	<i>lah.mi</i>	CVC.CV	‘cow’
b)	<i>ʃirya</i>	<i>ʃir.ya</i>	CVC.CV	‘equal’
c)	<i>birk</i>	<i>bir.ki</i>	CVC.CV	‘knee’

2.4.3. Tri-syllable

In Rayya Tigrinya, there are also tri-syllabic words. Though all tri-syllabic words have equal number of syllables, they have different syllabic structures. For instance, the syllable structure of tri-syllabic words can have CVC.CV.CVC (closed.open.closed) as in [70 a-c], CV.CVC.CV (open.closed.open) as in [71 a-c], CV.CV.CVC (open.open.closed) as in [72a-c] and CVC.CVC.CV as in [73 a-c]. See the examples for each of the above syllabic structures as follows.

[70]	Word	Syllabification	CV form	Gloss
a)	<i>t'ərjīmom</i>	<i>t'ər.ʃi.mom</i>	CVC.CV.CVC	'they(M) broke'
b)	<i>mədhanit</i>	<i>məd.ha.nit</i>	CVC.CV.CVC	'medicine'
c)	<i>mərfiʔən</i>	<i>mər.ʃi.ʔən</i>	CVC.CV.CVC	'their (F) needle'
[71]	Word	Syllabification	CV form	Gloss
a)	<i>t'əbənʃa</i>	<i>t'ə.bən.ʃa</i>	CV.CVC.CV	'gun'
b)	<i>səlamta</i>	<i>sə.lam.ta</i>	CV.CVC.CV	'greeting'
c)	<i>korofyə</i>	<i>ko.rof.yə</i>	CV.CVC.CV	'local drink'
[72]	Word	Syllabification	CV form	Gloss
a)	<i>s'omik'ən</i>	<i>s'o.mi.k'ən</i>	CV.CV.CVC	'they (F) brewed'
b)	<i>t'əlik'ən</i>	<i>t'ə.li.k'ən</i>	CV.CV.CVC	'they (F) submerged'
c)	<i>s'əbakum</i>	<i>s'ə.ba.kum</i>	CV.CV.CVC	'your (MPL) milk'
[73]	Word	Syllabification	CV form	Gloss
a)	<i>ʔarbaʃtə</i>	<i>ʔar.baʃ.tə</i>	CVC.CVC.CV	'four'
b)	<i>ʃiŋurti</i>	<i>ʃiŋ.gur.ti</i>	CVC.CVC.CV	'onion'
c)	<i>ʔabrakna</i>	<i>ʔab.rak.na</i>	CVC.CVC.CV	'our knees'

2.4.4. Quadri-syllable

There are also words, which have four syllable structures in Rayya Tigrinya. Some quadrisyllabic structures are resulted from reduplication of disyllabic forms. Look at some examples of such syllable structures as follows.

[74]	Word	Syllabification	CV form	Gloss
a)	<i>tis'ali?na</i>	<i>t̩.s'a.li?na</i>	CV.CV.CVC.CV	'we detested each other'
b)	<i>tifax'irina</i>	<i>t̩.fa.χ'ir.na</i>	CV.CV.CVC.CV	'we loved each other'
c)	<i>tihās'ivna</i>	<i>t̩.ha.s'iv.na</i>	CV.CV.CV.CVC	'we washed'
d)	<i>k'astonosto</i>	<i>k'as.to.nos.to</i>	CVC.CV.CVC.CV	'a type of local tree'
e)	<i>ʃankoʃanko</i>	<i>ʃan.ko.ʃan.ko</i>	CVC.CV.CVC.CV	'goat's dung'
f)	<i>hirtumtumo</i>	<i>h̩ir.tum.tu.mo</i>	CVC.CVC.CV.CV	'a type of local tree'

2.4.5. Quinti-syllable

Rayya Tigrinya has also pentasyllabic words. In this variety, almost all pentasyllabic words have similar syllable structure, CV.CV.CV.CV.CV, which is open. See the examples given below.

[75]	Word	Syllabification	CV Structure	Gloss
a)	<i>tifəlaliṃu</i>	<i>t̩.fə.la.li.mu</i>	CV.CV.CV.CV.CV	'He wore stylishly.'
b)	<i>tič'ananiχ'u</i>	<i>t̩.č'ə.na.ni.χ'u</i>	CV.CV.CV.CV.CV	'He worried a lot.'
c)	<i>tīmāsasila</i>	<i>t̩.mə.sa.si.la</i>	CV.CV.CV.CV.CV	'It became similar.'
d)	<i>tīt'arat'ira</i>	<i>t̩.t'ə.ra.t'ī.ra</i>	CV.CV.CV.CV.CV	'She hesitated.'
e)	<i>tīχ'as'as'ilu</i>	<i>t̩.χ'a.s'a.s'ī.lu</i>	CV.CV.CV.CV.CV	'It caught fired.'

As we can see from the data, the first syllable of each example is *t̩-*. This syllable shows a passive form in many other transitive verbs of the variety. However, none of the above examples is in the form of passive. They are middle verbs. Therefore, we can deduce that pentasyllabic words in Rayya Tigrinya begin with the syllable *t̩-*.

2.4.6. Hexa-syllable

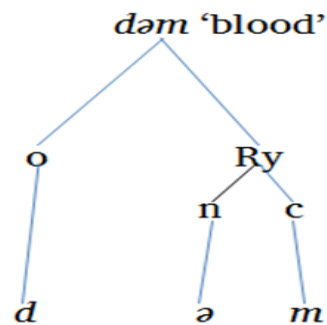
In Rayya Tigrinya, there are also words, which have six syllable structures. Look at the examples bellow.

[76]	Word	Syllabification	CV Structure
a)	<i>tədəytifatəhu</i> 'before they didn't divorce each other'	<i>tə.dəy.ti.fa.tə.hu</i>	CV.CVC.CV.CV.CV.CV
b)	<i>dəytifərarəmu</i> '(when) they didn't sign each other'	<i>dəy.ti.fə.ra.rə.mu</i>	CVC.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV
c)	<i>datimərarəχ'u</i> 'when they blessing to each other'	<i>da.ti.mə.ra.rə.χ'u</i>	CV.CVC.CV.CV.CV.CV
d)	<i>datiwəsasəχə</i> 'when it gets more and more'	<i>da.ti.wə.sa.sə.χə</i>	CV.CVC.CV.CV.CV.CV
e)	<i>datisahāhawu</i> 'when they pull each other'	<i>da.ti.sa.ha.ha.wu</i>	CV.CVC.CV.CV.CV.CV

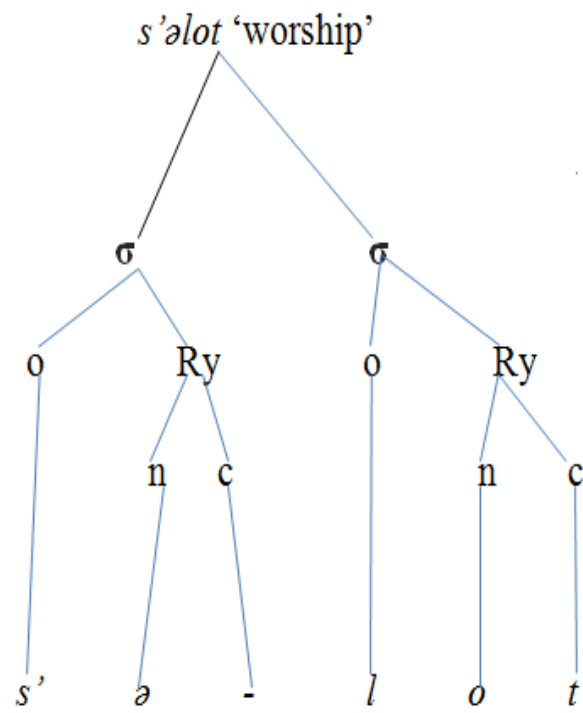
The various syllable structures are illustrated in tree diagrams below.

[77]

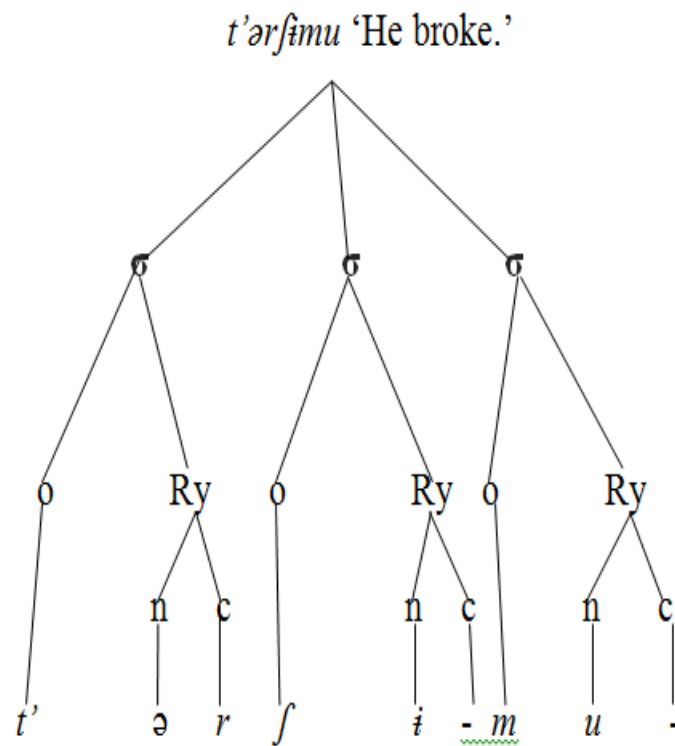
a) Monosyllable



b) Disyllable

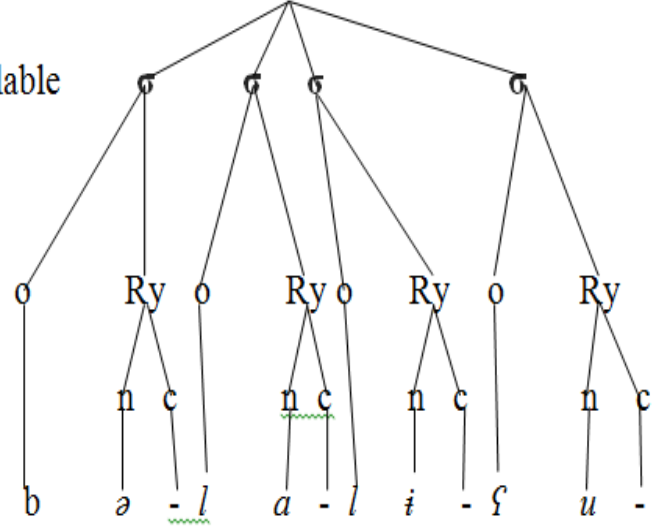


c) Trisyllable



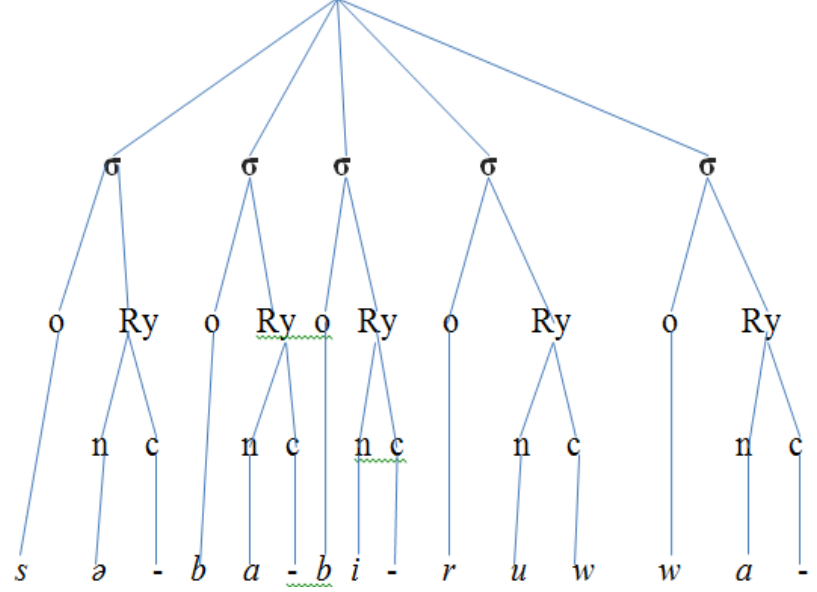
bəlaliʕu < /bəlaliʕu/ 'He ate several things one after the other.'

d) Quadrisyllable



ʃəvaviruwwa < /səbahiruwwa/ 'He broke it into pieces.'

e) Pentasyllable



As we can see from example [77a], the word *dəm* 'blood' is a mono-syllabic word. Its syllable type is closed because its onset and coda positions are occupied. In example [77b], the expression *sə.lot* 'prayer' is a di-syllabic word. Its first syllable has an onset (O) and a nucleus (n), but it lacks a coda (c). So, it is an open syllable type. The second

syllable of the word, however, has an onset (o), a nucleus (n) and a coda (c); hence, it is a closed syllable structure. The word *t'ər.f̩.mu* 'he broke' in example [77c] has three syllables. Its first syllable has a closed structure, but its second and third syllables have open syllable structures; both syllables lack their coda (c) position in their syllable structure. The expression *bə.la.li.ɸu* [*bə.la.li.ɸu*] 'he ate several things one after the other' in [77d] is a quadri-syllabic word. It has open syllable structures. All its four syllables lack their coda (c). The word *sə.ba.bi.ruw.wa* 'he broke it into pieces' in example [77e] is a quinti-syllabic word. It has five syllables, and all of the syllables lack the coda (c). Thus, all are open syllable types. In addition, the word *ʔas.sə.ba.bi.ruw.wom* 'he caused them to break each other' is a multi-syllabic word which has six syllables. The coda positions of the first, fifth and sixth are occupied while the rest are empty. Hence, it consists of three closed and three open syllable structures.

2.5. Phonological processes

Phonological process in the present study refers to a phonological change where a change in the pronunciations of sounds in words occurs; in other words, it indicates the variation in pronunciation a given sound in a given environment that has consistently changed in exactly the same way in a single daughter language (Sthockwell, 2007: 44).

2.5.1. Assimilation

Assimilation refers to the influence of a neighboring sound on another one so as to become more like to itself (Jackson, 2017: 36). In RT, the phoneme /b/, which is the voiced bilabial plosive, is becoming the approximant [w] in an environment where it is preceded or followed by /o/ or /u/ at word medial and or word final positions. Consider the examples below.

[78]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>t'ub</i>	[t'u ^h w]	'breast'
b)	<i>ʔaḵibo</i>	[ʔaḵuwo]	'cheese'
c)	<i>ʔabun</i>	[ʔawun]	'bishop'
d)	<i>dəbub</i>	[dowuw]	'south'

As we can see from the data in [78], the bilabial plosive voiced consonant /b/ becomes the bilabial voiced approximant [w] in the pronunciation of the Rayya variety of Tigrinya speakers. In their point of articulation, both /b/ and /w/ are bilabials, and they are voiced. However, they differ to each other in their manner of articulation, that is, /b/ is plosive, but /w/ is approximant. Though there might be other possible historical reasons for the change, it seems that the sources of the change are the effect of the back vowels /u/ and /o/ which are said to be the influencing vowels. This is due to the reason that the affected sound /b/ has lost its manner of articulation (plosive), and it has already acquired the manner of the approximate sound that is the manner of /w/, which also is phonetically similar to the back and rounded vowels /u/ and /o/. Thus, the type of the phonological process is partial assimilation in manner.

The alveolar nasal voiced consonant /n/ is sometimes pronounced as the bilabial nasal voiced consonant [m] in the environment where it precedes the bilabial plosive voiced consonant /b/ in Rayya Tigrinya. Examples are shown below.

[79]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>ginbar</i>	[gimbar]	'forehead'
b)	<i>?anbassa</i>	[?ambassa]	'lion'
c)	<i>sənbət</i>	[səmbət]	'Sunday'

As the examples in the above data reveal, the alveolar nasal plosive voiced consonant /n/ in the words /ginbar/ 'forehead', /?anbassa/ 'lion' and /sənbət/ 'Sunday' is pronounced as the voiced bilabial nasal plosive [m] in the environment where it is immediately followed by the voiced bilabial plosive consonant /b/. The voiced bilabial plosive consonant /b/ affects the voiced alveolar nasal /n/ to drop its natural point of articulation, and therefore, it becomes the voiced bilabial nasal consonant [m]. Hence, this type of phonological process is called partial assimilation; the direction of the assimilation is also a regressive type. So far, we have seen that the voiced alveolar nasal consonant /n/ is also pronounced as the velar nasal voiced consonant [ŋ] in the environment where it precedes one of the velar consonants /g, k, k'/ in Rayya Tigrinya. Let us see examples in [80], [81] and [81], respectively as follows.

[80]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>hangol</i>	[həŋgol]	'brain'
b)	<i>ʕingullə</i>	[ʕuŋgullə]	'kind of tree'
c)	<i>dingil</i>	[diŋgil]	'virgin'

[81]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>ħankas</i>	[ħaŋkas]	‘lame’
b)	<i>manka</i>	[maŋka]	‘spoon’
c)	<i>tənkol</i>	[təŋkol]	‘mischief’

[82]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>ʕank’ər</i>	[ʕaŋk’ər]	‘uvula’
b)	<i>č’ink’</i>	[č’iŋk’i]	‘anguish’
c)	<i>sink’</i>	[siŋk’i]	‘food’

The velar plosive voiced consonant /g/ in examples [80a-c], the velar plosive voiceless consonant /k/ in examples [81a-c] and the velar plosive ejective consonant /k’/ in examples [82a-c] forced /n/, which is alveolar nasal plosive to lose its point of articulation and to become a velar consonant [ŋ], which is nasal plosive voiced. Thus, this type of phonological process (pronouncing /n/ as [ŋ]) is partial assimilation. The direction of the assimilation is also said to be a regressive one.

The alveolar nasal consonant /n/ is also pronounced as the labiodental nasal voiced consonant [m̥] in an environment where it precedes the labiodental fricative voiceless consonant /f/ in Rayya Tigrinya. Examples are given below.

[83]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>kənfər</i> ⁸	[χam̥fər]	‘lip’
b)	<i>mənfəs</i>	[məmfəs]	‘sprit’
c)	<i>mitinfəs</i>	[mitim̥fəs]	‘breathing’

The examples in [83a-c] show us that the labiodental fricative voiceless consonant /f/ affects the alveolar nasal voiced consonant /n/ to change its place of articulation, that

⁸ So far, we have seen that /k/ becomes [χ] when it is followed by /ə/ at word initial position and that /ə/ becomes the lower open vowel [a].

is, an alveolar to a labiodental. Since the change is only in place of articulation that is the influenced sound, which is an alveolar, becomes the labiodental one. It is called partial assimilation, and it is a regressive type.

The consonant /n/ is also pronounced as the palatal nasal voiced [ɲ] in the environment where it precedes the palatal affricate consonants /ʃ/ or /č'/ in Rayya Tigrinya. Look at the examples in [84] and [85], respectively below.

[84]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>fɪnʃal</i>	[fɪɲʃal]	'coffee cup'
b)	<i>ʃanʃaw</i>	[ʃaɲʃaw]	'fool'
c)	<i>sanʃa</i>	[saɲʃa]	'a kind of knife'

[85]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>ʃɪnč'iwa</i>	[ʃɪɲč'iwa]	'rat'
b)	<i>k'ənč'a</i> ⁹	[χ'aɲč'a]	'cane'
c)	<i>ʔafɪnč'a</i>	[fɪɲč'a]	'nose'

As the data in [84a-c] and [85a-c] reveal, the alveolar nasal voiced consonant /n/ is pronounced as the palatal nasal voiced consonant [ɲ] in the area where it precedes either of the palatal affricates /ʃ/ and /č'/. The assimilation process has taken place only in the point of articulation, which means the alveolar nasal voiced consonant has lost its place of articulation, and it has become a palatal one in an environment where it precedes one of the palatal affricates /ʃ/ or /č'/.

⁹ We have also seen that the vowel /ə/ > [a] where it is preceded by /k'/ or /k/ at word initial position. At the same time /k/ > [χ] and /k'/ > [χ']. Therefore, the change /ə/ to [a] could be due to the influence of the lowering of the velar consonant to post-velar one.

2.5.2. Fricativization

The velar plosive voiceless consonant /k/ is realized as the post-velar fricative voiceless consonant [χ] when it is followed by the vowel /ə/ at word initial. In what follows, the different conditions whereby /k/ is fricativized to [χ] are discussed with examples. When /k/ is followed by the front middle unrounded vowel /ə/ at word initial position, it becomes [χ], and /ə/ is lowered to the mid low open vowel [a]. Consider the examples in [86] below.

[86]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>kəbbid</i>	[χabbid]	‘heavy’
b)	<i>kəʃʔə</i>	[χaʃʔə]	‘stomach’
c)	<i>kəlb</i>	[χalvi]	‘dog’

However, the middle central vowel /ə/ does not go lower when it appears after the voiceless velar plosive /k/ which is preceded by a guttural consonant /ʔ/ or /ʕ/; nevertheless, the consonant /k/ is still fricativized to [χ]. Let us have a look at the examples demonstrated below.

[87]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>maʔkəl</i>	[maʔχəl]	‘center’
b)	<i>ʕankəl</i>	[ʕaŋχəl]	‘circle’
c)	<i>baʕkəl</i>	[baʕχəl]	‘a type of soil’

Though it is in a free variation, /k/ also becomes [χ] in an environment where it is preceded or followed by a vowel at any position. See the examples in [88], [89], [90], [91] and [92] as follows.

[88]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>kidan</i>	[χidan]	‘cloth’
b)	<i>kintit</i>	[χintit]	‘feather’
c)	<i>kibr</i>	[χiuri]	‘respect’
[89]	Phonetic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>dikam</i>	[diχam]	‘tiredness’
b)	<i>sikar</i>	[siχar]	‘intoxicating’
c)	<i>tinkaf</i>	[tinχaf]	‘touched’
[90]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>murak</i>	[muraχ]	‘calf’
b)	<i>sirak</i>	[sirax]	‘traditional shoe made of skin’
c)	<i>k^wak</i>	[k ^w aχ]	‘crow’
[91]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>kullu</i>	[χullu]	‘all’
b)	<i>kumr</i>	[χumri]	‘rick’
c)	<i>kurimt</i>	[χurimti]	‘tooth used to grinding food’
[92]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>biruk</i>	[buruχ]	‘blessed’
b)	<i>miruk</i>	[muruχ]	‘captured’
c)	<i>bituk</i>	[butuχ]	‘something which is cut’

When the velar ejective voiceless consonant /k'/ is followed by /ə/ at word initial, it becomes the post-velar fricative voiceless consonant [χ'], and the vowel /ə/ becomes the lower central open vowel /a/ like in the case of /k/ in Rayya Tigrinya. Let us see the examples given below.

[93]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>k'əwɪ</i>	[χ'awfi]	'autumn'
b)	<i>k'əff</i>	[χ'aʃfi]	'priest'
c)	<i>k'ərn</i>	[χ'arni]	'horn'

Besides, /k'/ appears as [χ'] when it is preceded by a guttural or a syllable that consists of a guttural consonant in the language variety as in the following examples.

[94]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>ɬak'l</i>	[ɬaχ'li]	'patience'
b)	<i>ɬak'əb</i>	[ɬaχ'əb]	'uphill road'
c)	<i>ɬak'm</i>	[ɬaχ'mi]	'capacity'

Though it is in a free variation, /k'/ also becomes [χ'] in the environment where it is followed or preceded by a vowel. Consider the examples in [95], [96], [97], [98] and [99] respectively below.

[95]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>k'urr</i>	[χ'urri]	'chill, cold'
b)	<i>k'usl</i>	[χ'usli]	'wound'
c)	<i>k'urs</i>	[χ'ursi]	'breakfast'

[96]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>k'orbət</i>	[χ'orbət]	'skin'
b)	<i>k'os'l</i>	[χ'os'li]	'leaf'
c)	<i>k'olla</i>	[χ'olla]	'lowland'

[97]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>k'als</i>	[χ'alsi]	'struggle'
b)	<i>k'at'a</i>	[χ'at'a]	'behavior'
c)	<i>k'arsa</i>	[χ'arʃa]	'a type of game'

[98]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>sirk'</i>	[sirχ'i]	'rob'
b)	<i>ʕit'k'</i>	[ʕit'χ'i]	'munitions'
c)	<i>firk'</i>	[firχ'i]	'half'

[99]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>mərək'</i>	[mərəχ']	'soup made of meat'
b)	<i>dərək'</i>	[dərəχ']	'dry'
c)	<i>ʕit'ak'</i>	[ʕit'aχ']	'local trouser'

The phoneme /k^w/ is rarely realized as [χ^w] unpredictably. Let us see some examples below.

[100]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>k'ulk^wal</i>	[χ'ulχ ^w al]	'local fruit'
b)	<i>k'ot'k^wat'</i>	[χ'ot'χ ^w at']	'preparing land for farming'
c)	<i>mik'umk^wam</i>	[miχ'umχ ^w am]	'making equal'

The bilabial plosive voiced consonant /b/ is pronounced as the approximant [v] when it is preceded or followed by a none-rounded vowel in Rayya. The spirantization (fricativization) of /b/ to [v] takes place at word medial and word final positions. In Rayya Tigrinya, this consonant is articulated with approximation of the upper-front teeth and the lower lip. It is neither the voiced labio-dental fricative /v/ nor the voiced bilabial fricative /β/. Let us consider it in the data given in examples [101] and [102] below.

Word medial position:

[101]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>hizb</i>	[hizvi]	'people'
b)	<i>s'aba</i>	[s'əva]	'milk'
c)	<i>ʕaləba</i>	[ʕaləva]	'clothe'

Word final position:

[102]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>gərəb</i>	[gərəv]	'river'
b)	<i>gənzəb</i>	[gənzəv]	'money'
c)	<i>səb</i>	[səv]	'person'

However, /b/ remains unchanged in the environment where it is geminated. See the examples follow.

[103]	Example	Gloss
a)	<i>gəbbari</i>	'one (M) who pays tax'
b)	<i>ʔabbo</i>	'father'
c)	<i>libb</i> [libbi]	'heart'

/b/ is also unchanged when it is preceded by either of the nasal consonants /n/ and /m/. Consider the examples below.

[104]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>himbirt</i>	[himbirti]	'navel'
b)	<i>ʔambəssa</i>	[ʔambəssa]	'lion'
c)	<i>zinb</i>	[zimbi]	'fly'

2.5.3. Voicing

Rarely, the voiceless alveolar fricative consonant /s/ is pronounced as the alveolar fricative voiced [z] when it is preceded by a vowel. Examples are given below.

[105]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>məʔas</i>	[maʔazi]	'when'
b)	<i>mirkus</i>	[murkuz]	'cane'
c)	<i>t'ərmus</i>	[t'urmuz]	'bottle'

As one can see it from the data in [105] the alveolar fricative voiceless consonant /s/ occurs as the alveolar fricative voiced [z] in Rayya in an environment where it is preceded by a vowel. The expressions /məʔas/ 'when', /mərkus/ 'cane', /t'ərmus/ 'bottle' become as [maʔazi], [murkuz] and [t'urmuz] respectively in Rayya. In this phonological process, the voiceless consonant /s/ became the voiced consonant [z] due to the influence of the low central vowel /a/ in [105a] and the high back rounded vowel /u/ in [105b] and [105c]. This type of phonological process is called voicing.

The middle central unrounded vowel /ə/ in the word *məʔas* 'when' and *t'ərmus* 'bottle' is also changed to the high back rounded vowel [o] as in [morkuz] and to the low central unrounded vowel [a] as in [maʔazi] in Rayya. Such vowel changes will be treated under the vowel contrast later on.

2.5.4. Palatalization

The alveolar fricative voiceless consonant /s/ is sometimes pronounced as the palatal fricative voiceless [ʃ] when it is immediately or distantly followed by the bilabial

consonant [w] or by the palatal consonant [y] at word initial and or word medial positions. See the examples given below.

[106]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>mih̄say</i>	[mih̄ʃay]	‘smashing’
b)	<i>ħassawi</i>	[ħaʃʃawi]	‘liar (MSG)’
c)	<i>masyu</i>	[məʃyu]	‘It became evening’

As we can see from the data in [106], the alveolar fricative voiceless consonant /s/ is pronounced as the palatal fricative voiceless [ʃ]. This phonological process takes place in an environment where /s/ is immediately or distantly followed by the palatal approximant [y] or by the bilabial [w] at word initial and or word medial position. The change is from alveolar position to the palatal one. This can be possibly due to the influence of the pharyngeal (guttural) consonant. In the same way, the low vowel /a/ which is articulated with the lower jaw goes down; the mouth opened, influencing the alveolar /s/; that is, to move backward to the palatal position. The case of *masyu* [məʃyu] ‘became evening’ is the retrogressive assimilatory influence of the palatal influencing the alveolar /s/ to become the palatal [ʃ]. This type of phonological process can be considered as palatalization. However, this type of phonological process is not usual in Rayya.

The alveolar fricative ejective consonant /s’/ is also pronounced as the palatal affricate ejective [č’]. The phonological process takes place in an environment where /s’/ is either preceded and or followed by a vowel elsewhere in Rayya Tigrinya. See the following examples.

[107]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>s'əwəta</i>	[č'awəta]	'play'
b)	<i>ħas's'ir</i>	[ħač'č'ir]	'short (MSG)'
c)	<i>məs's'is'</i>	[məč'č'ič]	'acidic'

As one can infer from the examples in [107], the change of /s/ to [č'] may be due to an influence of Amharic. The high front unrounded vowel /i/ is also pronounced as the high central unrounded vowel [i] in Rayya Tigrinya. This will be discussed later in detail.

In RT, the bilabial approximant voiced consonant /w/ also appears as the palatal approximant voiced consonant [y] as can be seen in the data below.

[108]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>mīwut</i>	[muyut]	'dead (MSG)'
b)	<i>?arawit</i>	[?arayit]	'wild beasts'

The change *mīmut* to [muyyut] is a bit puzzling. Perhaps, the palatal feature of the central close vowel influenced the bilabial /w/ to become the palatal [y]. The doubling to yy may be the influence of the geminate glide insertion (yy or ww) to avoid a vowel cluster.

The case *?arawit* [?arayit] is due to the high front vowel /i/ which has changed to a palatal feature. One can observe that when he/she articulates the vowel /i/, the center of his/her tongue rises towards the palate. It is this palatal feature that influenced the labial approximant /w/ to become the palatal [y].

2.5.5. Metathesis

Though it is rare, metathesis also takes place in the language variety under discussion.

Let us look at the examples provided below.

[109]	Phonemic form	Realization	Gloss
a)	<i>ħawyu</i>	[ħaywu]	'he cured'
b)	<i>t'əbiħu</i>	[bət'ihu]	'he operated'
c)	<i>č'ənyu</i>	[č'əynu]	'it smells'

As we can see from the data in [109] above, /w/ and /y/ in example [109 a], /t'/ and /b/ in [109 b] and /n/ and /y/ in [109 c] interchange their place each other. This type of phonological process is called metathesis. There is also a vowel change, that is, /i/ is changed to [i] in example [109 b] which we call it vowel centering.

2.5.6. Vowel harmony

A vowel harmony is a common phonological process in Rayya Tigrinya. The high-central unrounded vowel /i/ always becomes the high back rounded vowel [u] if it is followed by a syllable of a word that consists of either of the round vowels /u/ and /o/. This type of phonological change is called vowel harmony. Observe the examples given in [110] below.

[110]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>bizuħ</i>	[buzuħ]	'many, much'
b)	<i>firo</i>	[furo]	'local stew'
c)	<i>diro</i>	[duro]	'ancient'

Similarly, the mid-central unrounded vowel /ə/ occurs as the mid-back round vowel /o/ in the environment where it is followed by a syllable that contains [u] or [o]. Let us have a look at the examples in [111] and [112], respectively as follows.

[111]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>dəbub</i>	[dowuw]	‘south’
b)	<i>səlus</i>	[solus]	‘Tuesday’
c)	<i>rəbuɫ</i>	[rowuɫ]	‘Wednesday’
d)	<i>səmun</i>	[somun]	‘week’

[112]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>s’əlot</i>	[s’olot]	‘bray’
b)	<i>məgot</i>	[mogot]	‘debate’
c)	<i>gənbə</i>	[gombo]	‘small pot’

2.5.7. Vowel centering

Vowel centering is also a common phenomenon in Rayya Tigrinya. The high front unrounded vowel /i/ always becomes the high central unrounded vowel [ɨ] at a word medial position. Consider the examples below.

[113]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>hiwət</i>	[hiwət]	‘life’
b)	<i>ħas’s’in</i>	[ħač’č’in]	‘iron’
c)	<i>məndil</i>	[məndɨl]	‘handkerchief’
d)	<i>gəffih</i>	[gəffih]	‘wide’

Moreover, the mid-front unrounded vowel /e/ in the underlying form of the Tigrinya language always appears as the mid-central unrounded vowel [ə] in Rayya Tigrinya. Look at the examples below.

[114]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>məs</i>	[məs]	'honey wine'
b)	<i>məla</i>	[məla]	'means, system'
c)	<i>sələda</i>	[sələda]	'board'

2.5.8. Vowel lowering

In Rayya Tigrinya, the mid-central unrounded vowel /ə/ lowers to the low-central open vowel [a] when it is preceded by either of the velar consonants /k/ and /k'/ at a word initial position. Similarly, the velar plosives /k/ and /k'/ become the post-velar fricatives [χ] and [χ'] respectively when they precede a vowel. Consider the examples given in [115] and [116] below.

[115]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>kəlb</i>	[χalvi]	'dog'
b)	<i>kənfər</i>	[χamfər]	'lip'
c)	<i>kəbd</i>	[χaʊdi]	'belly'

[116]	Phonemic form	Phonetic form	Gloss
a)	<i>k'ətr</i>	[χ'atri]	'day-time'
b)	<i>k'amif</i>	[χ'ami]	'dress'
c)	<i>k'ərn</i>	[χ'arni]	'horn'

2.6. Morphophonemic processes

Morphophonemic process refers to the morphological rule (alternation) which applies to the phonological elements under certain morphological conditions (cf. Payne, 1997: 23).

2.6.1. Deletion

In RT, the phoneme *ʔ* of the preposition *ʔab* ‘at/in/on’ is deleted when it is preceded by one of the prepositions (prepositional markers) *ni-* and *ki-*. Let us observe the examples provided below.

- [117] a) *ni-* + *ʔab* > [dav] ‘to’
b) *ki-* + *ʔab* > [kav] ‘from’

As the data in the above examples reveal, the vowel *i* in *ni-* and *ki-* as well is also deleted. Moreover, there is an issue of assimilation where the alveolar nasal consonant *n* of *ni-* in example [117 a] appears as the voiced alveolar plosive *d* in [dav] ‘to’. Similarly, the syllable *ʔa* in *ʔabəy* ‘where’ disappears when it is preceded by either of the prepositions *ʔab* [ʔav] ‘at/in’, *kab* [kav] ‘from’ or *nab* [dav] ‘to’ as illustrated below.

- [118] a) *ʔab* + *ʔabəy* > [ʔavəy] ‘at where’
b) *kab* + *ʔabəy* > [kavəy] ‘from where’
c) *nab* + *ʔabəy* > [davəy] ‘to where’

The phoneme /b/ in *kab* [kav] ‘from’ also disappears when it precedes any expression, and both forms are pronounced as one form as also described in [119].

- [119] a) *kab* [kav] + *səmay* > [kasəmay] ‘from the sky’
b) *kab* [kav] + *ʔimn* > [kaʔimni] ‘from a stone’
c) *kab* [kav] + *s’əba* > [kas’əva] ‘from milk’

When the preposition *ʔab* ‘at/in/on’ precedes words which begin with labial or labiodental consonant, the phoneme /b/ is commonly assimilated to that consonant;

the expression *ʔab* ‘at/in/on’ together with the expression it precedes is also pronounced as a single form (word). Consider the examples below.

- [120] a) *ʔab* [ʔav] + *may* > [ʔammay] ‘in water’
 b) *ʔab* [ʔav] + *wənbər* > [ʔawwəmbər] ‘on a chair’
 c) *ʔab* [ʔav] + *fərəs* > [ʔaffərəs] ‘on a horse’

Moreover, /b/ becomes /w/, and the syllable /yi/ is deleted in the adjective /ʔabiʔi/ ‘big’ when it appears in a position modifying a noun in the variety. Let us have a look at the examples given below.

- [121] a) *ʔabiʔi* + *məyda* > [ʔawməyda] ‘a big field’
 b) *ʔabiʔi* + *kərən* > [ʔawχərən] ‘a big mountain’
 c) *ʔabiʔi* + *dəngolla* > [ʔawdoŋgolla] ‘a big stone’

2.6.2. Insertion

The elements [-ww-], [-tt-], [-yy-], [-i-] and [-i] are inserted in words as epenthesis to correct impermissible syllable structures. The epenthesis [-ww-], [-tt-] and [-yy-] are inserted to break vowel sequences. On the other hand, the epenthetic vowels [-i-] as well as [-i] can be interleaved in order to correct consonantal cluster.

The epenthetic [-ww-] is inserted between the subject marker (-u) for the third person masculine singular and the object markers for the third persons in order to break the impermissible vowel cluster as exemplified below.

[122] *ʃəvruwwo*¹⁰
 səbiruwwō
 səbir-u-o
 break.PRV-3MSG.Sub-3MSG.Obj
 ‘He broke him/it.’

Similarly, the element [-tt-] is inserted in the position between the subject marker for the third person feminine singular (-a) and the object markers for all the third persons to break the vowel cluster. Let us consider the data below.

[123] *ʃəvratto*¹¹
 səbiratto
 səbir-a-o
 break.PRV-3FSG.Sub-3MSG.Obj
 ‘She broke him.’

On the other side, the epenthesis [-yy-] is inserted between the subject markers for the first persons and the object markers for all the third persons to correct the impermissible vowel sequence as shown in the following example.

[124] *ʃəvrəyyo*¹²
 səbirəyyo
 səbir-ə-o
 break.PRV-1SG.Sub-3MSG.Obj
 ‘I broke him.’

¹⁰ It is also indicated in the rest cases as *ʃəvruwwa* ‘he broke her;’ *ʃəvruwwom* ‘he broke them (M);’ *ʃəvruwwən* ‘he broke them (F).’

¹¹ Let us also consider it in the case of *ʃəvratto* ‘she broke her;’ *ʃəvrattoM* ‘she broke them (M);’ *ʃəvrattoF* ‘she broke them (F);’

¹² *ʃəvrəyya* ‘I broke her;’ *ʃəvrəyyom* ‘I broke them (M);’ *ʃəvrəyyən* ‘I broke them (F);’ *ʃəvrinayyo* ‘we broke him;’ *ʃəvrinayya* ‘we broke her;’ *ʃəvrinayyom* ‘we broke them (M);’ *ʃəvrinayyən* ‘we broke them (F).’

The reason why [-ww-], [-yy-] and [-tt-] are used as insertions is illustrated as follows. In the case of [-ww-] and [-yy-], it is due to the preceding vowel; [-ww-] results from the influence of the rounded back vowel *u* while [-yy-] is manifested from the unrounded central vowels *-ə* or *-a* in *-na*. Though the realization of the epenthetic [-tt-] is not as transparent as the above ones, probably, it might be resulted from the feminine marker *-ət* as in *səbər-ət* [ʃəvərət] ‘she broke’.

The vowel [-i] is inserted to correct consonantal cluster at word final positions as in the following examples.

- [125] a) *gibr* [giʋri] ‘tax’
 b) *riʔs* [riʔsi] ‘head’
 c) *ʕayn* [ʕayni] ‘eye’

In a similar way, the vowel [-i] is inserted in order to correct two consonant sequences word initially as in [125a] and [125b] as well as tri-consonantal clusters at word medial position as demonstrated by the following examples.

- [126] a) *mist’ir* [miʃt’ir] ‘secrete’
 b) *fint’ir* ‘a kind of invitation’
 c) *k’ils’im* [χ’ilč’im] ‘arm’

2.7. Summary

In this chapter, the phonology of RT has been treated. Both consonants and vowels have been described, and 29 consonant and 6 vowel phonemes have been identified in the present study. A minimal pair as well as a distributional test of phonemes was used in the phoneme identification processes. Consonantal gemination and vowel harmony

have been witnessed. All the consonants of RT except ʕ , ħ , ʔ and h can be geminated only at word medial position.

In the target language variety, it has been attested that no word as well as no syllable begins with a vowel. The language variety does not allow consonant cluster word initially; double consonantal cluster can take place at word medial position. If there is a tendency of any consonantal cluster at word initial position and more than two consonant sequences at word medial positions, the epenthetic vowel [-i-] is inserted to correct the impermissible syllable structure. Moreover, the epenthetic vowel [-i] is applied to correct double consonantal cluster at word final position. Commonly, the segments [-ww-], [-yy-] and [-tt-] are used in order to adjust impermissible vowel sequence. Thus, the syllable structures are CVC and CV. The next chapter deals with the nominal morphology of the Rayya Tigrinya variety.

3. NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with the nominal morphology. It includes three sections: noun morphology, pronouns and modifiers. Since nouns, pronouns and modifiers share similar functions, they are treated as nominals in this chapter.

3.2. Nouns

The term noun refers to class of words that has a descriptive function, and it includes substantives, adjectives, participles and numerals (Lipinski 1997: 209).

This section deals with the descriptions and discussions of nouns. First, nouns are treated based on their morpho-phonemic features. Second, the noun formation processes are described. Next, the inflectional morphology of nouns is dealt with.

3.2.1. Morpho-phonemic features of nouns

Based on the sequences of consonants and vowels, nouns can be classified into five categories: monosyllabic, di-syllabic, tri-syllabic and quadri-syllabic. I describe examples of each classification. As it has been stated in the syllable structure of the language variety, no word begins with a vowel. Hence, any noun begins with a consonant. Examples of monosyllabic nouns are described below.

[127]	Noun pattern	CV form	Examples	Gloss
a)	CəC	CVC	<i>səb</i> [səv]	‘person’
	CəC	CVC	<i>č’əw</i>	‘salt’
	CəC	CVC	<i>dəm</i>	‘blood’
b)	CaC	CVC	<i>ħaw</i>	‘brother’
	CaC	CVC	<i>ħam</i>	‘father in law’
	CaC	CVC	<i>may</i>	‘water’
c)	GiC	CVC	<i>sim</i>	‘name’
	GiC	CVC	<i>k’il</i>	‘gourd’
	GiC	CVC	<i>ʔid</i>	‘hand’
d)	CuC	CVC	<i>bun</i>	‘coffee’
	CuC	CVC	<i>sur</i>	‘root’
	CuC	CVC	<i>dur</i>	‘forest’
e)	CoC	CVC	<i>sor</i>	‘billy goat’
	CoC	CVC	<i>s’om</i>	‘fasting’
	CoC	CVC	<i>ʔom</i>	‘tree’

The nouns shown in [127] are found as mono-syllabic words having CVC sequence in Rayya Tigrinya.¹³ The nouns provided in [128] below have two syllables where each is CV.CV.

¹³ The biradical nouns described in this variety, however, were triradical root nouns diachronically. For instance, *s-b-ʔ* > *s-b* > [s-v] ‘person’, *ħ-m-w* > [ħ-m] ‘father in law’, *s-r-w* > [s-r] ‘root’ and *s’-w-m* > [s’-m] ‘fasting’ each reduced one of their root-consonant and appeared as biradical synchronically. This can be evidenced by for instance in *sim* (in Arabic) *ʔism* ‘name’ (perhaps also in Proto-Semitic triradical); *ʔom* < the verb in Ge’ez is based on the root *ʔwm* ‘tree’. For instance, there is *ʔəwim/ ʔəwimot* ‘to shade with tree leaves’. Of course, going into diachronic changes for every biradical word is not an easy. Therefore, it’s better not to generalize for all biradicals.

[128]	Noun pattern	CV form	Example	Gloss
a)	CəCa	CV.CV	<i>s'əba</i> [s'əva]	'milk'
	CəCa	CV.CV	<i>č'əna</i>	'smell'
	CəCa	CV.CV	<i>č'əfa</i>	'type of local tree'
b)	CiCo	CV.CV	<i>firo</i> [furo]	'type of sour'
	CiCo	CV.CV	<i>diro</i> [duro]	'ancient time'
	CiCo	CV.CV	<i>niro</i> [nuro]	'life style'
c)	CiCə	CV.CV	<i>hik'ə</i> [hiχ'ə]	'back'
	CiCə	CV.CV	<i>finə</i>	'muck'
	CiCə	CV.CV	<i>hinə</i>	'revenge'
d)	CiCa	CV.CV	<i>fiBa</i> [fiBa]	'dug'
	CiCa	CV.CV	<i>č'ira</i>	'tail'
	CiCa	CV.CV	<i>fič'a</i> [fis'a]	'lottery'
e)	CəCi	CV.CV	<i>t'əli</i>	'goat'
	CəCi	CV.CV	<i>səni</i>	'Monday'
	CəCi	CV.CV	<i>k'əri</i> [χ'əri]	'absent'

Some di-syllabic nouns have CVC.CV structure as illustrated in the examples below.

[129]	Noun pattern	CV form	Noun	Gloss
a)	CaCCi	CVC.CV	<i>saʔn</i> [saʔn]	'local shoe'
	CaCCi	CVC.CV	<i>gaʔn</i> [gaʔn]	'pot'
	CaCCi	CVC.CV	<i>lahm</i> [lahm]	'cow'
b)	CiCCi	CVC.CV	<i>riʔs</i> [riʔsi]	'head'
	CiCCi	CVC.CV	<i>ʔikl</i> [ʔiχli]	'barley'
	CiCCi	CVC.CV	<i>birk</i> [birχi]	'knee'

There are also nouns, which have CVCCVC structure. Consider the following examples.

[130]	Noun pattern	CV form	Example	Gloss
a)	<i>CaCCut</i>	CVC.CVC	<i>ʔarʔut</i>	‘yoke’
b)	<i>CiCCaC</i>	CVC.CVC	<i>sirnay</i> [sɪnday]	‘wheat’
c)	<i>CəCCəC</i>	CVC.CVC	<i>kənfər</i> [χamfər]	‘lip’
d)	<i>CiCCaC</i>	CVC.CVC	<i>gɪnbar</i> [gɪmbar]	‘forehead’
e)	<i>CiCCiC</i>	CVC.CVC	<i>bɪrsɪn</i> [bɪrʃɪn]	‘lentil’

There are also nouns, which have three syllable structures, as we can see in the examples below.

[131]	Pattern	CV form	Example	Gloss
a)	<i>CoCəCa</i>	CV.CV.CV	<i>koləta</i> [χoləta]	‘malaria’
b)	<i>CəCəCa</i>	CV.CV.CV	<i>nəs’əla</i>	‘local cloth’
c)	<i>CəCoCa</i>	CV.CV.CV	<i>lək’ota</i> [loχ’ota]	‘a sack made of skin’
d)	<i>CaCiCo</i>	CV.CV.CV	<i>ʔaʃibo</i> [ʔaʃuwo]	‘chaise’

There are also tri-syllabic nouns with CVC.CV.CV structure. Consider the examples below.

[132]	Template	CV form	Example	Gloss
a)	<i>CəCCəCa</i>	CVC.CV.CV	<i>mənč’əba</i> [mənč’əva]	‘buttermilk’
b)	<i>CiCCəCa</i>	CVC.CVC.CV	<i>hɪnbəʃʃa</i> [hɪmbəʃʃa]	‘bread’
c)	<i>CuCCuCo</i>	CV.CVC.CV	<i>t’urunba</i> [t’urumba]	‘horn’
d)	<i>CəCaCCa</i>	CV.CVC.CV	<i>mɪʔant’a</i> [mɪʔanta]	‘intestine’
e)	<i>CaCCəCaC</i>	CVC.CV.CVC	<i>hənʃəkay</i> [hənʃəχay]	‘worm’
f)	<i>CiCCaCiC</i>	CVC.CV.CVC	<i>ʔɪnt’at’iʔ</i> [ʔɪnt’at’iʔ]	‘linseed’
g)	<i>CiCCuCoC</i>	CVC.CV.CVC	<i>k’ɪnt’ut’ot</i> [χ’ɪnt’ut’ot]	‘chicken’s skin’

As we can see in the data below, very rare nouns with quadri-syllable structure are described.

[133]	Template	CV form	Example	Gloss
a)	<i>CaCCoCaCCo</i>	<i>CVC.CV.CVC.CV</i>	<i>ʃankoʃanko</i>	‘goat’s dung’
b)	<i>CaCCoCoCCo</i>	<i>CVC.CV.CVC.CV</i>	<i>k’astonosto</i>	‘local tree’
c)	<i>CəCCəCCiCa</i>	<i>CVC.CVC.CV.CV</i>	<i>ħirtumtumo</i>	‘local tree’
d)	<i>CoCCoCiCaC</i>	<i>CVC.CV.CV.CVC</i>	<i>mongoliħas’</i>	‘local fruit’

As we can see from the examples in [133], the expressions *ʃanko* in *ʃankoʃanko* ‘goat’s dung’, *sto* in *k’astonosto* [χ’astonosto] ‘a type of local tree’ and *tum* in *ħirtumtumo* ‘a type of local tree’ are reduplicants.

In Rayya Tigrinya, nouns can begin with any of the identified consonant phonemes with the exception of *ɲ* which rarely occurs word initially. In this variety, no noun has been found which ends with *ɲ*. Besides, *h*, *č’* and *w* are very rare in Rayya nouns. In the following sub-section, types of nouns are described.

3.2.2. Types of nouns

The class of nouns can be classified into different categories as common nouns, proper nouns, collective nouns, concrete nouns, abstract nouns, countable nouns and mass (uncountable) nouns (cf. Jackson, 1982: 61). Consider the examples of RT types of nouns in the table below.

Table 4: Types of nouns

Type of nouns	Examples	Gloss
Common nouns	<i>g^wal</i>	‘girl’
Proper nouns	<i>Nigus</i>	‘Nigus’
Collective nouns	<i>hizb</i> [hizvi]	‘people’
Concrete nouns	<i>wənbər</i> [wombər]	‘chair’
Abstract nouns	<i>fik’r</i> [fiχ’ri]	‘love’
Countable nouns	<i>biṣray</i>	‘ox’
Uncountable nouns	<i>s’əba</i> [s’əva]	‘milk’

In the preceding section, I have tried to provide examples of different noun classifications on the basis of their semantic concepts. In the following section and subsections, the descriptions and discussions will deal with the noun formation mechanisms of the language variety under study.

3.2.3. Noun formation

Nouns like *səb* [səv] ‘person’, *may* ‘water’ and *səmay* ‘sky’ inherently exist as nouns. Such types of nouns are named as primary nouns (cf. Lipinski, 1997: 209). However, most nouns can be formed by root-and-pattern, derivational affixes and compounding (few) in the target variety (see also Tesfay, 2002 for Tigrinya). There are also nouns that can be formed by both the root-and-pattern and affixation (suffixation) methods in the present study. For the sake of discussion, nouns that are formed by root-and-pattern are described first followed by those nouns formed via root-and-pattern as well as suffixation under the root-and-pattern method; next, nouns that can be derived through affixation and through compounding, are treated respectively.

3.2.3.1. Root-and-pattern

According to literatures, the Semitic morphology in general is characterized by the use of consonantal roots and vowel patterns (cf. Buckley, 1997: 20). In other words, the root-and-pattern method of word stem formation is applied to the morphology of Semitic languages in which a stable consonantal sequence (root) takes place in many associated words of varying segmental slot (cf. Crystal, 2008: 420).

In the present study, there are nouns that can be formed by only inserting vowel patterns into consonantal root and by both inserting vowels into consonantal root as well as by adding suffixation.

3.2.3.1.1. Insertion

3.2.3.1.1.1. Inserting -i-

There are some nouns which are derived from triradical consonantal roots by inserting the vowel -i- between the first and the second radicals and by adding -i at word final position. Look at the examples described below.

[134]	Root	Template	Noun		Gloss
	<i>k'-n-ʔ</i>	<i>CiCC</i>	<i>k'inʔ</i>	[χ'inʔi]	'envy (N)'
	<i>ħ-l-m</i>	<i>CiCC</i>	<i>ħilm</i>	[ħilmi]	'dream'
	<i>ʕ-r-d</i>	<i>CiCC</i>	<i>ʕird</i>	[ʕirdi]	'shrubbery'

3.2.3.1.1.2. Inserting -a-, -ə- and -a

Some nouns are derived by inserting -a- between the first and the second and -ə- between the second and the third radicals and by adding the vowel -a word finally. Consider the examples below.

[135]	Root	Template	Noun		Gloss
a)	ʔ-k-b	CaCəCa	ʔakəba	[ʔaχəva]	‘meeting’
b)	ʕ-f-n	CaCəCa	ʕafəna		‘capturing’
c)	ʕ-č'-d	CaCəCa	ʕas'əda	[ʕač'əda]	‘mowing’

3.2.3.1.1.3. Inserting -ə- and -a

Some nouns can also be derived from triradical roots by inserting the vowel -ə- between the radicals and by adding the vowel -a as shown in the following examples.

[136]	Root	Template	Noun		Gloss
a)	f-t'-r	CəCəCa	fət'əra		‘creation’
b)	m-r-s'	CəCəCa	mərəs'a		‘election’
c)	s-k'-l	CəCəCa	sək'əla	[səχ'əla]	‘cone shaped house’

3.2.3.1.1.4. Inserting -a- and -ə-

Other nouns can be derived by inserting the vowels -a- and -ə- between the first and the second and the second and the third consonantal roots respectively. Look at the examples below.

[137]	Root	Template	Noun		Gloss
a)	ʔ-s-r	CaCəC	ʔasər		‘sign’
b)	ħ-s-r	CaCəC	ħasər		‘a waste from barely’
c)	ʕ-k'-n	CaCəC	ʕak'ən	[ʕaχ'ən]	‘measurement’

3.2.3.1.1.5. Inserting *-i-* and *-a-*

The vowels *-i-* and *-a-* are inserted between the first and the second and between the second and the third consonants of triradical root to derive nouns in RT. Look at the examples below.

[138]	Root	Template	Noun		Gloss
a)	<i>z-n-b</i>	<i>CiCaC</i>	<i>zinab</i>	[zinaʊ]	'rain'
b)	<i>s'-g-b</i>	<i>CiCaC</i>	<i>s'igab</i>	[s'igaʊ]	'satisfaction'
c)	<i>f-k'-d</i>	<i>CiCaC</i>	<i>fik'ad</i>	[fiχ'ad]	'permission'

3.2.3.1.1.6. Inserting *-ə-* and *-ə-*

There are also some nouns, which can be formed from tri-radical root by inserting the vowel *-ə-* between the radicals. See the examples provided below.

[139]	Root	Template	Noun		Gloss
a)	<i>m-d-b</i>	<i>CəCəC</i>	<i>mədəb</i>	[mədəʊ]	'traditional bed'
b)	<i>k'-l-b</i>	<i>CəCəC</i>	<i>k'ələb</i>	[χ'ələʊ]	'food supplies'
c)	<i>d-r-t</i>	<i>CəCəC</i>	<i>dərət</i>		'boarder (for farming)'

3.2.3.1.2. Insertion and suffixation

In the target language variety, there are also nouns that can be formed by inserting vowels into the root consonants and by adding suffixes. These two methods are intermixing in a single noun.

3.2.3.1.2.1. Inserting *-i-* and adding *-ət*

Some nouns are derived from triradical roots by inserting the vowel *-i-* between the first and the second radicals and by adding the suffix *-ət*. Consider the examples below.

[140]	Root	Template	Noun		Gloss
a)	<i>s-g-d</i>	<i>CiCC-ət</i>	<i>sigd-ət</i>		‘bowing down’
b)	<i>s-k’-l</i>	<i>CiCC-ət</i>	<i>sik’l-ət</i>	[siχ’lət]	‘crucifixion’
c)	<i>w-d-k’</i>	<i>CiCC-ət</i>	<i>widk’-ət</i>	[widχ’ət]	‘failure’

3.2.3.1.2.2. Inserting *-u-* and adding *-ət*

Some other nouns can also be derived from triradical roots by inserting the vowel *-u-* between the first and the second radicals and by adding the suffix *-ət*. Examples are given below.

[141]	Root	Template	Noun		Gloss
a)	<i>k’-w-m</i>	<i>CuCC-ət</i>	<i>k’uwm-ət</i>	[χ’umət]	‘height’
b)	<i>k’-r-s’</i>	<i>CuCC-ət</i>	<i>k’urs’-ət</i>	[χ’urs’ət]	‘pain (stomach-ache)’
c)	<i>f-w-m</i>	<i>CuCC-ət</i>	<i>fuwm-ət</i>	[ʃumət]	‘appointment’

3.2.3.1.2.3. Inserting *-i-* and adding *-at*

Some other nouns can be derived from triradical roots by inserting the vowel *-i-* between the first and the second radicals and by adding the suffix *-at* as we can see in the examples below.

[142]	Root	Template	Noun	Gloss
a)	<i>n-w-ħ</i>	<i>CiCC-at</i>	<i>niwh-at</i>	‘length’
b)	<i>s-f-ħ</i>	<i>CiCC-at</i>	<i>sifh-at</i>	‘area’
c)	<i>b-l-ħ</i>	<i>CiCC-at</i>	<i>bilh-at</i>	‘means’

3.2.3.1.2.4. Inserting *-i-* and adding *-it*

In RT, some nouns are also derived from triradical roots by inserting *-i-* between the radicals, by geminating their second radical and by suffixing the morpheme *-it*. Let us consider the examples below.

[143]	Root	Template	Noun		Gloss
a)	<i>w-s'-ʔ</i>	<i>CiCCiC-it</i>	<i>wis's'iʔ-it</i>	[wis's'iʔit]	'result'
b)	<i>s-m-ʕ</i>	<i>CiCCiC-it</i>	<i>simmiʕ-it</i>	[simmiʕit]	'feeling'
c)	<i>d-f-ʔ</i>	<i>CiCCiC-it</i>	<i>diffiʔ-it</i>	[diffiʔit]	'pressure'

3.2.3.1.2.5. Inserting *-i-* and adding *-to*

Other nouns can be derived from triradical roots by inserting *-i-* between the root radicals and by adding the suffix *-to*. Examples are given below.

[144]	Root	Template	Noun		Gloss
a)	<i>l-k-f</i>	<i>CiCiC-to</i>	<i>likif-to</i>	[liχifto]	'a kind of disease'
b)	<i>g-b-r</i>	<i>CiCiC-to</i>	<i>gibir-to</i>	[giviɾto]	'noxious'
c)	<i>d-r-ʕ</i>	<i>CiCiC-to</i>	<i>diriʕ-to</i>		'rag clothe'

We have seen how simple nouns can be formed in the preceding section and sub sections. In the section and sub sections that follow, derivations of different complex nouns will be described.

3.2.3.2. Derivation of nouns

The derivational processes of nouns via derivational affixes will be addressed in this section. Thus, the derivation of abstract nouns, instrumental nouns, verbal nouns,

agentive nouns, manner nouns and language names of the language variety will be described respectively as follows.

3.2.3.2.1. Abstract nouns

Abstract nouns indicate general concepts or ideas that do not refer to specific or concrete entity in the real world (cf. Meyer, 2006: 142). In RT, the suffix *-nnət* is used to derive abstract nouns from the concrete ones. In a similar way see (Tsfay, 2002) and (Tsehaye, 1979) for the Tigrinya language. When *-nnət* is added to concrete nouns in order to derive abstract nouns, the epenthetic vowel *-i-* is inserted in between the concrete noun and the abstract noun maker *-nnət* to correct the impermissible consonantal cluster (triconsonantal cluster) at word medial. Observe the examples demonstrated below.

[145]	Simple noun	Gloss		Suffix		Abstract noun	Gloss
a)	<i>his'an</i>	'infant'	+	<i>-nnət</i>	>	<i>his'aninnət</i>	'childhood'
b)	<i>məmhīr</i>	'teacher'	+	<i>-nnət</i>	>	<i>məmhīrinnət</i>	'being a teacher'
c)	<i>səb</i> [səv]	'person'	+	<i>-nnət</i>	>	<i>səbinnət</i> [səbinnət]	'being human'

As we can infer from the examples in [145], the epenthetic vowel [-i-] is inserted between the base noun and the abstract noun marker suffix to correct the impermissible consonant clusters.

3.2.3.2.2. Instrumental nouns

Nouns that are used as a tool to do something are termed as instrumental nouns. According to Shimelis (2014: 170), the term instrument refers to a tool or thing with which something is done; in other words, it is an instrument in which a participant acts

on it, and it affects a patient. In RT, instrumental nouns are derived by adding the prefix *mə-* and the suffix *-i* to the C+V template form. For instance we can say *mə-CCəC-i* + √root for type A verbs, *mə-CəCCəC-i* + √root for type B verbs, *mə-CaCəC-i* + √root for trilateral type C verbs and *mə-CəCCəC-i* √root for quadrilateral type C verbs. Let us have a look at the following examples.

[146]	Verb Type	Template	Root	Ins noun form
a)	Triradical Type A	<i>mə-C₁C₂əC₃-i</i>	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>mə-sbər-i</i> [məʃvəri] 'Ins used to break'
b)	Triradical Type B	<i>mə- C₁ə C₂C₂ə C₃-i</i>	<i>f-l-s'</i>	<i>mə-fəlləs'-i</i> 'Ins used to split'
c)	Triradical Type C	<i>mə- C₁a C₂ə C₃-i</i>	<i>b-r-k</i>	<i>mə-barək-i</i> [məvarəχi] 'Ins used to bless'
d)	Quadriradical with C ₁ C ₂ C ₃ C ₄	<i>mə-C₁əC₂C₃əC₄-i</i>	<i>m-s-k-r</i>	<i>mə-məškər-i</i> [məməʃχəri] 'Ins used to testify'
e)	Quadriradical with C ₁ C ₂ C ₁ C ₂	<i>mə-C₁əC₂C₁əC₂-i</i>	<i>s-b-s-b</i>	<i>mə-səbsəb-i</i> [məsəʊsəʊi] 'Ins used to collect'
f)	Quadriradical with C ₁ C ₂ C ₃ C ₃	<i>mə-C₁əC₂C₃əC₃-i</i>	<i>ʃ-m-t'-t'</i>	<i>mə-ʃəmt'ət'-i</i> 'Ins used to sprinkle '

3.2.3.2.3. Verbal nouns

Verbal nouns (infinitives) can be derived by adding the prefix *mi-* to the C + V slots. For instance, we can have the *mi-C + V* templates *mi-C₁C₂aC₃* for triradicals (trilateral) type A verbs, *mi-C₁iC₂C₂aC₃* for triradical type B verbs, *mi-C₁iC₂aC₃* for triradical type C verbs and the likes. Now, let us observe the following examples.

[147]	Verb Type	Template	Root	Example
a)	Triradical Type A	$mi-C_1C_2aC_3$	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>mi-sbar</i> [miʃvar] 'to break /breaking'
b)	Triradical Type B	$mi-C_1iC_2C_2aC_3$	<i>f-l-s'</i>	<i>mi-fillas'</i> 'to split/splitting'
c)	Triradical Type C	$mi-C_1iC_2aC_3$	<i>b-r-k</i>	<i>mi-birak</i> [miʋraχ] 'to bless/blessing'
d)	Quadriradical with $C_1C_2C_3C_4$	$mi-C_1iC_2C_3aC_4$	<i>m-s-k-r</i>	<i>mi-miskar</i> [mi-misχar] 'to testify/testifying'
e)	Quadriradical with $C_1C_2C_3C_3$	$mi-C_1iC_2C_3aC_3$	<i>f-m-t'-t'</i>	<i>mi-fimt'at'</i> 'to sprinkle/sprinkling'
f)	Quadriradical with $C_1C_2C_1C_2$	$mi-C_1iC_2C_1aC_2$	<i>s-b-s-b</i>	<i>mi-sibsab</i> [misiʋsau] 'to collect/collecting'

3.2.3.2.4. Agentive nouns

In the language variety, agentive nouns are derived by adding the vowel *-i* at word finally in masculine singular nouns. However, the feminine singular noun marker *-t* is suffixed to indicate agentive noun forms for feminine gender. The examples provided below show the derivation of agentive nouns in masculine gender.

[148]	Root	Stem	Gloss	Marker	Agentive noun	Gloss
a)	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>səbar-</i>	'break'	+ <i>-i</i> >	<i>səbar-i</i> [ʃəvari]	'breaker (M)'
b)	<i>s-f-y</i>	<i>səfay-</i>	'sew'	+ <i>-i</i> >	<i>səfay-i</i> [ʃəfayi]	'Needleman'
c)	<i>b-l-ʃ</i>	<i>bəlaʃ-</i>	'eat'	+ <i>-i</i> >	<i>bəlaʃ-i</i>	'eater (M)'

If *-it* is added as a suffix to each one of the above agent nouns, the singular feminine agent noun is indicated. Conceder the following examples.

[149]	Root	Stem	Gloss	Agentive noun	Gloss
a)	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>səbar-</i>	'break'	<i>səbar-it</i> [ʃəvarit]	'breaker (F)'
b)	<i>s-f-y</i>	<i>səfay-</i>	'sew'	<i>səfay-it</i> [ʃəfayit]	'Needlewoman'
c)	<i>b-l-ʃ</i>	<i>bəlaʃ-</i>	'eat'	<i>bəlaʃ-it</i> [bəlaʃit]	'eater (F)'

3.2.3.2.5. Manner nouns

In Rayya Tigrinya, manner nouns can be derived by adding the prefix *ʔa-* to a C+V template form as in *ʔa-C₁C₁əC₂aC₂C₃a*. Consider the examples below with both triradicals and quadriradical verb types.

[150]	Verb Type	Template	Root	Manner noun
a)	Triradical Type A	<i>ʔa- + C₁C₁əC₂aC₂i C₃a</i>	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>ʔa-ssəbabira</i> [ʔa-ʃʃəvavira] 'how to break'
b)	Triradical Type B	<i>ʔa- + C₁C₁əC₂aC₂i C₃a</i>	<i>f-l-s'</i>	<i>ʔa-ffəlalis'a</i> 'how to split'
c)	Triradical Type C	<i>ʔa- + C₁C₁əC₂aC₂i C₃a</i>	<i>b-r-k</i>	<i>ʔa-bbərariχ</i> [ʔa-bbərariχ] 'how to bless'
d)	Qadriradical with C ₁ C ₂ C ₃ C ₄	<i>ʔa- + C₁C₁əC₂aC₃iC₄a</i>	<i>m-s-k-r</i>	<i>ʔa-mməsakira</i> [ʔa-mməsaxira] 'how to testify'
e)	Qadriradical with C ₁ C ₂ C ₃ C ₃	<i>ʔa- + C₁C₁əC₂aC₃iC₃a</i>	<i>k'-n-t'-t'</i>	<i>ʔa-k'k'ənat'it'a</i> 'how to uncover'
f)	Qadriradical with C ₁ C ₂ C ₁ C ₂	<i>ʔa- + C₁C₁əC₂aC₁iC₂a</i>	<i>s-b-s-b</i>	<i>ʔa-ssəbasiba</i> [ʔa-ssəvasiva] 'how to collect'

3.2.3.2.6. Language names

Language names are derived by adding the suffix *-jɲa* to nouns that indicate the peoples' name (ethnic city). See the following examples.

[151]	Peoples' name	Gloss	Language name	Gloss
	<i>tigrayway</i>	'Tigrean'	<i>tigr-i-ɲa</i>	'Tigrinya'
	<i>ʔamharay</i>	'Amharan'	<i>ʔamhar-i-ɲa</i>	'Amharic'
	<i>ʔoromo</i>	'Oromo'	<i>ʔorom-i-ɲa</i>	'Afan Oromo'
	<i>ʔaffar</i>	'Afar'	<i>ʔaffar-i-ɲa</i>	'The Afar language'

As we can see in the above data, the part *ayway* in [151a] and the last syllable (*ay*) in [151 b] are deleted; the epenthetic vowel *-i-* is inserted between the name of the ethnic city (the name of the people) and the language name marker *-jɲa* in each example.

In the preceding section, we have seen how nouns can be formed or derived through root-and-pattern and affixation. In the following section, the description focuses on how nouns can be formed via compounding.

3.2.3.3. Compounding

Nouns can also be formed through compounding. A compound noun may refer to a noun formation via combining two independent nouns. When a noun is combined with another noun, it yields a newly formed compound noun. Let us consider the examples below.

- [152]
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|------------------------|------------|---|---------------------|-----------|---|------------------------|-----------------|
| a) | <i>ħimam</i> | ‘illness’ | + | <i>riʔs</i> [riʔsi] | ‘head’ | > | [ħimamriʔsi] | ‘headache’ |
| b) | <i>g^wal</i> | ‘daughter’ | + | <i>ħaw</i> | ‘brother’ | > | [g ^w alħaw] | ‘niece’ |
| c) | <i>wədd</i> [wəddi] | ‘son’ | + | <i>ħaw</i> | ‘brother’ | > | [wəddiħaw] | ‘nephew’ |
| d) | <i>sibʔay</i> | ‘man’ | + | <i>ʔinno</i> | ‘mother’ | > | [siʋʔayno] | ‘father in-law’ |

In the preceding section, we have seen how nouns can be formed in Rayya Tigrinya. The next section deals with how Rayya Tigrinya nouns can be morphologically inflected for number, gender and case systems.

3.2.4. Noun inflection

Morphemes which provide grammatical information about a word such as (pluralization, possession, definiteness etc. in nouns), (tense, aspect and mood in verbs) and the likes are called inflectional morphemes; on the other hand, morphemes that change the word class or lexical meaning of a word are termed as derivational morphemes (cf. DeCapua, 2017: 39). In the target language variety, nouns are inflected for number, gender (not always) and case. In this section, these inflections are discussed respectively as follows.

3.2.4.1. Number

Most nouns have both singular and plural forms. The formation of pluralization in RT is quite complex. Similarly, Tesfay (2003: 83) states that the plural forms of Tigrinya are complex and problematic. According to Tesfay (2003: 84-88), the Tigrinya language uses two ways of plural formations: suffixed and broken plural marking systems. As a variety of the Tigrinya language, RT also manifests these ways of plural formations.

3.2.4.1.1. Suffixation (External plural markers)

Different suffixes can be attached to singular noun forms to make them plural. Tesfay (2003: 84-89) classifies the Tigrinya plural marking by suffixation into three categories: (1) common or regular plural markers (*-at* and *-tat*), (2) lexically restricted plural form markers (*-o*, *-ti* and *-ot*) and (3) the Ge'ez plural markers (*-an*, *-yan* and *-yat*). Rayya Tigrinya, the concern of the present research also uses these plural marking systems,

but the Ge'ez plural marking system is only restricted to those who have knowledge of the Ge'ez language.

3.2.4.1.1.1. Common plural marker

The term common is used to refer to the regularity (frequency) in using the common markers for pluralism. The suffixes *-at* and *-tat* can be considered as the common (regular) plural noun markers (see Tesfay, 2003: 88). Singular nouns that end with a consonant make their plural forms by suffixing the morpheme *-at* as can be seen in the following examples.

[153]	Singular form	Gloss	PL marker	Plural form
a)	<i>səb</i> [səv]	'person'	+ <i>-at</i> >	<i>səbat</i> [səvat] 'persons'
b)	<i>gərəb</i> [gərəv]	'river'	+ <i>-at</i> >	<i>gərəbat</i> [gərəvat] 'rivers'
c)	<i>g^wal</i>	'girl'	+ <i>-at</i> >	<i>g^walat</i> 'girls'

However, if a singular noun ends with a vowel, the form *-tat* which is the allomorph of *-at* is employed to form pluralization as demonstrated by the following examples.

[154]	Singular form	Gloss	PL marker	Plural form
a)	<i>dərf</i> [dərfi]	'song'	+ <i>-tat</i> >	<i>dərfitat</i> 'songs'
b)	<i>ʕadd</i> [ʕaddi]	'house'	+ <i>-tat</i> >	<i>ʕadditat</i> 'houses'
c)	<i>dims'</i> [dɪms'i]	'sound'	+ <i>-tat</i> >	<i>dims'itat</i> 'sounds'

As we can see from the examples, the singular forms end with a vowel, that is *-i*. In the plural forms, *-i* is replaced by *-i-*, and the epenthetic *-t-* is inserted between the vowels *-i-* and *-a-* to break the impermissible vowel cluster as in **dərfiat*.

3.2.4.1.1.2. Lexically restricted plural marker

The morphemes *-o*, *-ti* and *-ot* are plural markers employed in the lexically restricted plural marking system (see Tesfay, 2003: 89). Singular nouns (most often, the agentive ones) can form their plural forms by these morphemes.

3.2.4.1.1.2.1.-o

The plural form of agent nouns is formed by suffixing *-o* to the singular forms. We have said that agent nouns which indicate masculine singular are formed with the suffix *-i*. In addition, the agent nouns which show feminine singular are marked by *-it* [-it]. When the plural maker morpheme *-o* is added to agentive singular nouns, the suffix *-i* in masculine and *-t* in feminine singular forms will be deleted. Consider the examples below.

Table 5: Plural formation of agentive nouns

Singular				Plural Form					
a)	<i>ħassawi</i>	[ħaʃʃawi]	‘liar (M)’	+	<i>-o</i>	>	<i>ħassaw-o</i>	[ħaʃʃawo]	‘liars’
	<i>ħassawi-t</i>	[ħaʃʃawit]	‘liar (F)’						
b)	<i>nəbari</i>	[nəvari]	‘inhabitant (M)’	+	<i>-o</i>	>	<i>nəbar-o</i>	[nəvaro]	‘inhabitants’
	<i>nəbari-t</i>	[nəvarit]	‘inhabitant (F)’						
c)	<i>gəbari</i>	[gəvari]	‘doer (M)’	+	<i>-o</i>	>	<i>gəbar-o</i>	[gəvaro]	‘doers’
	<i>gəbari-t</i>	[gəvarit]	‘doer (F)’						

As we can see from the data in table [5], the plural noun forms of the agent nouns do not show gender distinction between masculine and feminine.

3.2.4.1.1.2.2. -t

Singular agent nouns can also use the morpheme *-t* in order to construct their plural forms. In this way of plural marking system, the second vowel /a/ in singular agent nouns which begin with a guttural consonant and the only /a/ in other singular agent nouns (nouns which begin with non-gutturals) are changed to the middle central vowel /ə/ in the plural forms. Let us consider the following examples.

[155]	Singular	Gloss	Marker	Plural	Gloss
a)	<i>ħas'abi</i> [ħas'avi]	'washer (M)'	+ -t >	<i>ħas'əbt</i> [ħas'əvti]	'washers'
b)	<i>k'ətali</i> [χ'atali]	'killer (M)'	+ -t >	<i>k'ətəlt</i> [χ'atəlti]	'killers'
c)	<i>ʔasari</i>	'tier (M)'	+ -t >	<i>ʔasərt</i> [ʔasərt]	'tiers'

For the feminine gender, only the singular form is marked for gender while the plural form remains unmarked for gender, and it can be stated as for example *ħas'abit* [ħas'avit] 'washer (F)' > *ħas'əbt* [ħas'əvti] 'washers'

3.2.4.1.1.2.3. -ot

Some singular nouns which end with *-ay* take the morpheme *-ot* in their respective plural forms, but they delete *-ay* in the plural constructions. Consider the examples given bellow.

[156]	Singular	Gloss	PL marker	Plural
a)	<i>ħarəstay</i>	'farmer'	+ -ot >	<i>ħarəstot</i> 'farmers'
b)	<i>rayyətay</i>	'Rayyan'	+ -ot >	<i>rayyətot</i> 'Rayyans'
c)	<i>ʕak'əytay</i>	'guard'	+ -ot >	<i>ʕak'əytot</i> 'guards'

3.2.4.1.1.3. Ge'ez plural marker

There are also some nouns whose plurals are formed by adding the Ge'ez plural marketing systems *-an*, *-yan* and *-yat* (see Tesfay, 2003: 84-85). However, in RT, such plural marking systems are rare, and they are used only by those who have knowledge of the Ge'ez language. *-yat* does not appear at all. Let us have a look at the examples bellow.

[157]	Singular	Gloss	PL marker	Plural Form	Gloss
a)	<i>məmhīr</i>	'teacher'	+ <i>-an</i>	> <i>məmhīran</i>	'teachers'
b)	<i>miʔmən</i>	'devotee'	+ <i>-an</i>	> <i>miʔmən-an</i>	'devotees'
c)	<i>məzəmmīr</i>	'convoy'	+ <i>-an</i>	> <i>məzəmmīran</i>	'convoys'
d)	<i>hindawī</i>	'Endean'	+ <i>-yan</i>	> <i>hindawīyan</i>	'Endeans'
e)	<i>midrawī</i>	'sinner'	+ <i>-yan</i>	> <i>midrawīyan</i>	'sinners'
f)	<i>t'īntawī</i>	'ancient'	+ <i>-yan</i>	> <i>t'īntawīyan</i>	'ancients'

3.2.4.1.2. Broken plural forms

Pluralization by internal modification (broken plural noun formation) is quite complex and difficult to state rules. Different internal modifications are used to form different plural nouns. Below, I try to describe the different ways of broken plural noun formations. Though the plural formation of the nouns discussed in sections 3.2.4.1.2.1 and 3.2.4.1.2.2 below can be stated by *CVCVCVC-ti*, I separately treat them as *CVCVCVt-ti* and *CVCVCVn-ti* for the sake of discussion.

3.2.4.1.2.1. CVCVCVt-ti

In Tigrinya (including Rayya Tigrinya), there are nouns which can form their plurality by adding the morpheme *-ti* to the template *CVCVCVC*, where the last C takes the consonant *t* here. Let us observe the following examples.

[158]	Singular	Gloss	Template	Plural	Gloss
a)	<i>hamat</i>	‘mother in-law’	<i>CVCVCVt-ti</i>	<i>hamawit-ti</i>	‘mother in-laws’
b)	<i>gəza</i>	‘house’	<i>CVCVCVt-ti</i>	<i>gəzawit-ti</i>	‘houses’
c)	<i>gəraway</i>	‘neighbor’	<i>CVCVCVt-ti</i>	<i>gərawit-ti</i>	‘neighbors’

From the examples given in [158], we can observe that the template is *CVCVCVt-*. The vowel /-a/ infixed in this template forms the template *CVCaCVt-*, and it is employed to mark nominal and verbal plurality. Besides, the morpheme *-ti* becomes a double plural form. Hence, we get plural noun forms such as *hamawit-ti* ‘mother in-laws’, *gəzawit-ti* ‘houses’, *gərawit-ti* ‘neighbors’ etc.

3.2.4.1.2.2. CVCVCVn-ti

In the language (including the Rayya variety), there are also nouns in which their plural forms can be systematically marked by adding the form *-ti* in to the template *CVCVCVn-*. Consider the following examples.

[159]	Singular	Gloss	Template	Plural	Gloss
a)	<i>kidan</i> [χɪdan]	‘clothe’	<i>CVCVCVn-ti</i>	<i>kidawin-ti</i> [χɪdawinti]	‘clothes’
b)	<i>hiş’an</i>	‘child’	<i>CVCVCVn-ti</i>	<i>hişawin-ti</i>	‘children’
c)	<i>lik’</i> [liχ’]	‘erudite’	<i>CVCVCVn-ti</i>	<i>lik’awin-ti</i> [liχ’awinti]	‘erudite (PL)’

As we can see from the preceding examples, the template is *CVCVCVn-*. The vowel /-a-/ is infixed in the template slot and forms *CVCaCVn-* so as to mark nominal and verbal plurality. Like in the plural noun formation stated in section 3.2.4.1.2.1, the morpheme *-ti* becomes a double plural form. Hence, we get plural noun forms such as *hiṣawin-ti*, *kidawin-ti* [χɪdawinti] ‘clothes’, *lik’awin-ti* [liχ’awinti] ‘erudite (PL)’ etc.

3.2.4.1.2.3. ?aCaCiC

In the language variety under discussion (in the Tigrinya language as well), there are nouns which can make their plural forms by the C + V template (*?aCaCiC*) (cf. Tesfay, 2003: 90). Let us consider the examples demonstrated below.

[160]	Singular	Gloss	C + V template	Plural form	Gloss
a)	<i>bəggiʃ</i> [bəggiʃ]	‘sheep’	<i>?aCaCiC</i>	<i>?abagiʃ</i> [ʔavagiʃ]	‘sheep (PL)’
b)	<i>nihb</i> [nihv]	‘bee’	<i>?aCaCiC</i>	<i>?anahib</i> [ʔanahiv]	‘bee (PL)’
c)	<i>lahm</i> [lahmi]	‘cow’	<i>?aCaCiC</i>	<i>?alahim</i>	‘cows’
d)	<i>saʔn</i> [saʔni]	‘local shoe’	<i>?aCaCiC</i>	<i>ʔasaʔin</i>	‘local shoes’
e)	<i>gaʔn</i> [gaʔni]	‘pot’	<i>?aCaCiC</i>	<i>?agaʔin</i>	‘pots’

As we can see from the above examples, plural nouns that are formed by the C + V template form (*?aCaCiC*) can be further elaborated as the Tigrinya plural marker *?a-* is prefixed to the C + V template slot *-CaCiC* so as to mark the plural form of such nouns group. Besides, they change the first vowel of their singular form to the low central vowel (a) in their plural system.

3.2.4.1.2.4. *ʔaCCaC*

In this study (also in MT), there are also nouns which can systematically make their plural forms by the C + V template form *ʔaCCaC*. Examples are given below.

[161]	Singular form	Gloss	C + V template	Plural form	Gloss
a)	<i>ʔigr</i> [ʔigri]	‘leg’	<i>ʔaCCaC</i>	<i>ʔaʔgar</i>	‘legs’
b)	<i>ʔikl</i> [ʔixli]	‘crop’	<i>ʔaCCaC</i>	<i>ʔaʔkal</i> [ʔaʔxal]	‘crops’
c)	<i>ʔizn</i> [ʔizni]	‘ear’	<i>ʔaCCaC</i>	<i>ʔaʔzan</i>	‘ears’
d)	<i>giməl</i>	‘camel’	<i>ʔaCCaC</i>	<i>ʔagmal</i>	‘camels’
e)	<i>ʔatər</i>	‘bean’	<i>ʔaCCaC</i>	<i>ʔaʔtar</i>	‘beans’
f)	<i>fərəs</i>	‘horse’	<i>ʔaCCaC</i>	<i>ʔafras</i>	‘horses’

As we can see from the preceding examples, the nouns which have the *ʔaCCaC* template pattern make their plural forms by adding the plural marker *ʔa-* to the C + V slot.

3.2.4.1.2.5. *ʔaCCiC-ti*

In the target language variety (also in MT), there are also nouns that can make their plural forms by inserting the C + V template slot (*ʔaCCiC*) and adding *-ti*, which yields (*ʔaCCiC-ti*). Such nouns also employ the plural marker *ʔa-* at the initial position of their plural forms. Let us consider the following examples.

[162]	Singular form	Gloss	C + V template	Plural form	Gloss
a)	<i>ʔas’m</i> [ʔas’mi]	‘bon’	<i>ʔaCCiC-ti</i>	<i>ʔaʔs’im-ti</i>	‘bons’
b)	<i>ʔayn</i> [ʔayni]	‘eye’	<i>ʔaCCiC-ti</i>	<i>ʔaʔyin-ti</i>	‘eyes’
c)	<i>ħaml</i> [ħamli]	‘vegetable’	<i>ʔaCCiC-ti</i>	<i>ʔaħmil-ti</i>	‘vegetables’
d)	<i>k’ərn</i> [χ’arni]	‘horn’	<i>ʔaCCiC-ti</i>	<i>ʔak’rin-ti</i> [ʔaχ’rinti]	‘horns’

3.2.4.1.2.6. CəCaCiC

In RT (also in MT), there are nouns that form their pluralization by inserting the C + V template (CVCVCVC) as demonstrated in the examples below.

[163]	Singular form	Gloss	C+V Template	Plural form	Gloss
a)	<i>mərfiʔ</i> [mərfiʔ]	‘needle’	CVCVCVC	<i>mərafiʔ</i>	‘needles’
b)	<i>məndil</i> [məndil]	‘mask’	CVCVCVC	<i>mənadil</i>	‘masks’
c)	<i>məsriç</i>	‘farm material’	CVCVCVC	<i>məsariç</i>	‘farm materials’
d)	<i>misar</i>	‘axe’	CVCVCVC	<i>məsawir</i>	‘axes’
e)	<i>mīran</i>	‘tie (of skin’s)’	CVCVCVC	<i>mərawin</i>	‘ties made of skin’
f)	<i>ʃidon</i>	‘king of oxen’	CVCVCVC	<i>ʃədawin</i>	‘kings of oxen’

3.2.4.1.2.7. CVCaCu

There are also nouns which make their plural forms by inserting the C + V template form (CVCaCu) in both the target language variety and MT. Examples are given below.

[164]	Singular form	Gloss	C + V template	Plural form	Gloss
a)	<i>laçba</i>	‘lamb’	CVCaCu	<i>laʃabu</i>	‘lambs’
b)	<i>ʔat’ça</i>	‘calf’	CVCaCu	<i>ʔat’açu</i>	‘calves’
c)	<i>sarba</i> [sarva]	‘leg’	CVCaCu	<i>sarabu</i> [saravu]	‘legs’
d)	<i>girat</i>	‘farm’	CVCaCu	<i>gərahu</i>	‘farms’
e)	<i>dərho</i>	‘hen’	CVCaCu	<i>dərahu</i>	‘hens’
f)	<i>ʃinč’iwa</i> [ʃɨnč’iwa]	‘rat’	CVCaCu	<i>ʃanač’u</i>	‘rats’

In general, the internal (broken) plurals in RT (in the Tigrinya language in general) can all be derived from CVCaCVC pattern. According to (Tesfay, 2003), the vowel in the first syllable and in the last syllable are by default ə and i respectively; but they can be affected by the vowels of the singulars in the first and in the last syllables, by a guttural

in the first syllable or by the prefix *ʔa-* in the plural. Furthermore, we may also find the vowels *a* or *u* in the last syllable of the plural with or without the suffixes *-at* or *-ti* to form double plurals as in the following examples.

[166]	Singular form	Gloss		Plural form	Gloss
a)	<i>məsʔhaf</i>	'book'	>	<i>məsʔahifti</i>	'books'
b)	<i>ʔəkl [təχli]</i>	'plant'	>	<i>ʔataxilti</i>	'plants'
c)	<i>ʔəʕray</i>	'ox'	>	<i>ʔabaʕur</i>	'oxen'

3.2.4.2. Gender

In RT, only few nouns that naturally show masculine gender are marked by the morpheme *-t* in order to indicate the feminine gender. See the data described as follows.

[167]	Masculine	Gloss	Marker	Feminine	Gloss
a)	<i>səbʔay [siʊʔay]</i>	'man'	+ <i>-t</i> >	<i>səbəyt [səvəyti]</i>	'woman'
b)	<i>ħaw</i>	'brother'	+ <i>-t</i> >	<i>ħaft [ħafti]</i>	'sister'
c)	<i>nigus</i>	'king'	+ <i>-t</i> >	<i>nigist [nigisti]</i>	'queen'

As we can see in example [167 a] the *ʔa* of the second syllable is deleted, and the vowel *-ə-* is inserted between the second and the third consonants in the feminine form. Besides, in example [167 b], the last consonant *w* is changed to *[f]* (*w* > *[f]*). The change from the approximant */w/* to the voiceless fricative *[f]* is due to the influence by the voiceless stop */t/* which imposed its strong and voiceless features on */w/* which is consequently changed to *[f]*. Besides, in the change from *nigus* 'king' to *nigst* 'queen' in [167c], a vowel harmony has taken place-the vowel *u* is changed to *i*. And this kind

of change is simplification. The vowel *i* is inserted to break consonant cluster word finally in all examples.

Moreover, the morpheme *-t* marks the feminine gender when it is suffixed to nouns (inherently masculine) that indicate an ethnic city as the examples illustrated below.

[168]	Masculine	Gloss	Marker	Feminine	Gloss
a)	<i>Tigraway</i>	‘Tigrean’	+ <i>-t</i> >	<i>Tigrawəyt</i>	[Tigrawəyti] ‘Tigrean’
b)	<i>Amharay</i>	‘Amharan’	+ <i>-t</i> >	<i>Amharəyt</i>	[Amharəyti] ‘Amharan’
c)	<i>Ertirawi</i>	‘Eritrean’	+ <i>-t</i> >	<i>Ertirawəyt</i>	[Ertirawəyti] ‘Eritrean’

As one can infer from the data in [168], some additional modifications have taken place. In [168 a] and [168 b], the last vowel *a* is changed to *ə*; in example [168 c], the last vowel *i* is changed to *ə*, and *y* is added following it.

In addition, *-t* indicates feminine gender when it is suffixed to agentive nouns as demonstrated in the following examples.

[169]	Masculine	Gloss	Feminine	Gloss
a)	<i>səbari</i>	[ʃəvari] ‘breaker’	<i>səbarit</i>	[ʃəvarit] ‘breaker’
b)	<i>k’əbari</i>	[χ’avari] ‘gravedigger’	<i>k’əbarit</i>	[χ’avarit] ‘gravedigger’
c)	<i>sərak’i</i>	[səraχ’i] ‘cheater’	<i>s’ərak’it</i>	[səraχ’it] ‘cheater’

In such a masculine/feminine contrast, the feminine is built on the masculine form. However, most nouns are classified as either masculine or feminine lexically. See the examples below.

[170]	Masculine	Gloss	Feminine	Gloss
a)	<i>wədd</i> [wəddi]	‘boy, son’	<i>g^wal</i>	‘girl, daughter’
b)	<i>biɣray</i>	‘ox’	<i>lahm</i> [lahmi]	‘cow’
c)	<i>təfin</i>	‘bull’	<i>ɣarh</i> [ɣarhi]	‘heifer’
d)	<i>wurt’ot’o</i>	‘he goat’	<i>t’əli</i>	‘she goat’
e)	<i>digləy</i>	‘ram’	<i>bəggiɸ</i>	‘ewe’
f)	<i>ɣayya</i>	‘father’	<i>ɣinno</i>	‘mother’

In the preceding section and subsections, we have seen how gender can be reflected in the target language variety. In the following section and subsections, the case system in nouns will be described.

3.2.4.3. Case

The term case may refer to a grammatical classification that is utilized in the analysis of words or their associated phrases to identify the syntactic relationship between words in a sentence via such contrasts as accusative, genitive, dative, instrumental and the likes (Meyer, 2016: 182). In ‘Time in Languages of the Horn of Africa’, Meyer, (2016: 182) states that case markers are characteristically bound elements, clitics or affixes that indicate semantic relations.

Nouns are inflected for case; the objective (accusative), dative (indirect object), genitive (possessive), instrumental, ablative, allative, commutative, benefactive, malfactive and vocatives like *nigusəy* ‘my Nigus’, *hagosəy* ‘my Hagos’ cases are inflected in RT. Morphologically, nominative (subjective) case is not marked in the target language variety. The nominative (subjective) notion is indicated by a lexical form. On the other hand, the accusative, dative, genitive, instrumental, ablative, allative,

commutative and vocative cases are morphologically marked. In the sub-sections that follow, each case is described with examples.

3.2.4.3.1. Accusative

The accusative case is marked by the preposition *di-* in RT. However, the accusative case is marked only if the direct object is definite. Consider the examples below.

[171] a) *dilahmu fəyt'uwwa*
nilahmu fəyt'uwwa
ni-lahm-u *fəyt'-u-a*
 Acc-cow-3FSG.POS sell.PRV-3MSG.Sub--3FSG.Obj
 'He sold his cow.'

b) *diNigus wəχ'ifuwwo*
niNigus wəχ'ifuwwo
ni-Nigus *wək'if-u-o*
 Acc-Nigus hit.PRV-3MSG.Sub-3MSG.Obj
 'He hit Nigus.'

3.2.4.3.2. Genitive

A genitive case is morphologically marked in RT. The preposition *na-* is prefixed to a noun to mark genitive; the genitive marked noun needs another noun as a complement, and that is what makes the relationship genitive; one noun depending on another. See the examples below.

[172] a) *naNigus girat*
nay Nigus girat
nay Nigus girat
 Gen Nigus farm
 'Nigus's farm/The farm of Nigus'

- b) *naMoχonni t'af*
nay Məkonni t'af
Gen Mekoni teff
 'The teff of Mekoni (Teff which is produced in Mekoni)'

3.2.4.3.3. Dative

The term dative refers to a case marker which shows the animate being affected by the state or action identified by the verb (Cruse, 2000: 282); in other words, the dative case typically expresses an indirect object relationship. In RT, the dative case is marked by attaching the preposition *di-* to an indirect object, which is specific, and cross-referenced by an agreement marker affix that is attached to the verb. Let us see how dative is marked in the examples given below.

- [173] a) *d̥iDargə surrə ʕaddigəllu*
niDargə sirrə ʕaddigəllu
ni-Dargə sirrə ʕaddig-ə-l-u
Dat-Darge trouser buy.PRV-1SG.Sub-BEN-3MSG.Obj
 'I bought a trouser to Darge.'
- b) *d̥iħafta s'əva hivatta*
niħafta s'əva hivatta
ni-ħaft-a s'əbha hib-a-a
Dat-sister-3FSG.POS milk give.PRV-3FSG.Sub-3FSG.Obj
 'She gave milk to her sister.'

3.2.4.3.4. Instrumental

The term refers to the form taken by a single noun or pronoun in a noun phrase when it expresses the sense 'by means of' in the grammatical relationships via inflections. In

other words, it refers to a term that is used to portray an action, which is carried out with the help of it as an instrument (cf. Lipinski, 1997: 216). In RT, the preposition *bi-* is added to nouns in order to mark the instrumental case as illustrated in the following examples.

[174] a) *bi*karra χ'ors'atto
*bi*karra χ'oris'atto
bi-karra k'oris'-a-o
 Ins-knife cut.PRV-3FSG.Sub-3MSG.Obj
 'She cut it, him with a knife.'

b) *ʔitu təvən biʔimni* χ'atləyyo
 ʔiti təmən *biʔimni* k'ətiləyyo
 ʔit-i təmən *bi*-ʔimn k'ətil-ə-o
 Det-3MSG snake **Ins**-stone kill.PRV-1SG.Sub-3MSG.Obj
 'I killed the snake with a stone.'

3.2.4.3.5. Ablative

The Ablative case is usually employed to mark movement away from a certain location. (cf. Crystal, 2008: 2). In RT, it is marked on a noun by the preposition *ka-*, which is the reduced form of the Tigrinya preposition *kab* 'from' attached (prefixed) to a noun. Consider the following data.

[175] a) *ka*Rayya məs'ʔu
kab Rayya məs'iʔu
kab Rayya məs'iʔ-u
Abl Rayya come.PRV-3MSG.Sub
 'He came from Rayya.'

- b) *kaʕaddi Təsfay*
kab ʕaddi Təsfay
kab ʕadd Tesfay
Abl country Tesfay
 ‘From Tesfay’s country (From Tesfay’s home)’

As one can infer from the data, the ablative case marker *ka-* used in RT, appears as a lexical form in both the mainstream and underlying Tigrinya, but with pronouns, it can be attaché to a pronoun and function as an ablative case marker as in *kab-ʔu* [kavʔu] ‘from-there’.

3.2.4.3.6. Allative

Allative refers to a term used in grammatical description to indicate a type of inflection which expresses the meaning of motion ‘to’ or ‘towards’ a place. In other words, it is a grammatical form, which indicates a motion towards a person, an object or a time limit (Lipinski, 1997: 576).

In the target language variety, the allative case is marked by the preposition *da-* that is prefixed to a noun. Consider the example below.

- [176] *daʕidəga ʕəydu*
nab ʕidaga kəydu
nab ʕidaga kəyd-u
ALL market go.PRV-3MSG.Sub
 ‘He went to a market.’

As in the ablative case marking system, the allative case marker *da-* in RT occurs as a lexical form (*nab*) ‘to, towards’ detached from the noun in both the mainstream and

underlying Tigrinya, but it is attached in pronouns as in *nab-ʔu* [davʔu] ‘to (towards) there’.

3.2.4.3.7. Locative

The locative case is indicated on a noun phrase, and it states the location of an entity or action (cf. Cruse, 2000: 282). In the present study, the locative case is expressed by the form (preposition) *ʔa-* (*ʔav-*) in a noun or a pronoun as in the examples below.

[177]	a)	<i>ʔammay</i>	b)	<i>ʔavʔu</i>
		ʔab may		ʔab ʔabʔu
		Loc water		Loc there
		at water		at there
		‘In water (at water)’		‘There (at there)’

3.2.4.3.8. Commutative

The term commutative indicates the form which is occupied by a noun phrase (one word phrase) when it shows the meaning ‘along with’ or ‘accompanied by’ (Crystal, 2008: 87). In RT, the commutative case is marked by the form (preposition) *mis-* attached to a noun or a pronoun. Consider the examples below.

[178]	a)	<i>missəv nəvrə</i>	
		mis səb	nəyrə
		mis səb	nəbir-ə
		COM person	live.PRV-1SG.Sub
		‘I was with a person (I lived with a person).’	

- b) *misʔom xaydə*
misʔom *kəydə*
mis-ʔ-om *kəyd-ə*
 COM-Pro-3MPL go.PRV-1SG.Sub
 ‘I went with them.’

3.2.4.3.9. Benefactive and malfactive

The term ‘benefactive’ is a concept in the field of semantics that refers to a situation or an event in which someone receives benefit from an action done by somebody else. On the other hand, the term malfactive refers to the negatively affected object by the action performed by someone else. In Rayya Tigrinya, both the benefactive and the malfactive cases are marked by the bound morpheme *-ll-* which is always infixes between the subject and object marking morphemes in a verb. These cases are distinguished one from the other only in the context in which they are marked. For instance, *-ll-* in the expression below marks the malfactive case.

- [179] *Haftu biṣray χʼatlulləy*
 Haftu biṣray kʼətilulley
 Haftu biṣray kʼətil-u-ll-əy
 Haftu.PN ox kill.PRV-3MSG.Sub-Malf-1SG.Obj
 ‘Haftu killed my ox (Haftu killed an ox for the disadvantage of me).’

In the case of the following example, the bound morpheme *-ll-* marks the benefactive case.

[180] *Haftu biʕray ʕaddigulləy*

Haftu biʕray ʕaddigulləy

Haftu biʕray ʕaddig-u-ll-əy

Haftu.PN ox buyl.PRV-3MSG.Sub-BEN-1SG.IDO

‘Haftu bought me an ox (Haftu bought an ox to me).’

3.2.4.3.10. Vocative

In the target variety, the vocative case is indicated by the form *ʔatt*¹⁴ ‘hey! you!’ in which pronominal suffixes for all the second person pronouns are attached to it. Consider the data below.

[181]

a) *ʔatta sivʔay*

ʔanta səbʔay

ʔant-a səbʔay

you.Voc-2MSG man

‘Hey! man!’

b) *ʔattum səvat*

ʔantum səbat

ʔant-um səb-at

you.Voc-2MPL person-PL

‘Hey! Men (M)!’

Vocation can also be marked by the suffix *-əy* attached to proper nouns as in *Nigus-əy* ‘my Nigus’, *Hayyəlom-əy* ‘my Hayelo’. In the above section and sub sections, the descriptions and discussions have dealt with noun inflections in Rayya Tigrinya. The number, gender and case systems have been treated. In the following section and sub sections, pronouns and pronoun systems in the target language variety will be described.

¹⁴ /ʔant-/ [ʔatt-] ‘Hey! You!’

3.3. Pronouns

A word that is used to substitute for a single noun or a noun phrase in a text is termed as a pronoun (cf. Jackson, 1982: 63). In this section, the RT personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, reflexive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, interrogative pronouns, relative pronouns, indefinite pronouns and vocatives are described with examples.

3.3.1. Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns refer to words that belong to the central subclass of the part of speech-pronouns (Jackston, 1982: 63). They have both the subject and object forms. The RT personal pronouns are presented below.

3.3.1.1. Subject pronouns

Subject personal pronouns are of two types, independent (E.g. *nissu*) and dependent (E.g. *kəyd-u*). The subject pronoun form for the first person singular is *ʔanə* 'I', and for the first person plural is *ʔahinna* 'we'. The rest of the personal pronouns have the stem *ʔiss-*, and person agreement markers are suffixed to the stem in the target variety. The table below demonstrates the Rayya Tigrinya subject pronoun forms along with the forms in MT for clarity.

Table 6: Subject pronoun forms

Person	UF	MT	RT	Gloss
1SG	<i>ʔanə</i>	<i>ʔanə</i>	<i>ʔanə</i>	‘I’
2MSG	<i>nis-ka</i>	<i>nissiχa</i>	<i>ʔissiχa</i>	‘you (SGM)’
2FSG	<i>nis-ki</i>	<i>nissiχi</i>	<i>ʔissiχi</i>	‘you (FSG)’
3MSG	<i>nis-u</i>	<i>nissu</i>	<i>ʔissu</i>	‘he’
3FSG	<i>nis-a</i>	<i>nissa</i>	<i>ʔissa</i>	‘she’
1PL	<i>niħna</i>	<i>niħna</i>	<i>ʔaħinna</i>	‘we’
2MPL	<i>nis-kum</i>	<i>nissiχum</i>	<i>ʔissiχum</i>	‘you (MPL)’
2FPL	<i>nis-kin</i>	<i>nissiχin</i>	<i>ʔissiχin</i>	‘you (FPL)’
3MPL	<i>nis-om</i>	<i>nissom</i>	<i>ʔissom</i>	‘they (M)’
3FPL	<i>nis-ən</i>	<i>nissən</i>	<i>ʔissən</i>	‘they (F)’

As we can see from the above table, the subject pronoun forms for the first person singular and plural are *ʔanə* ‘I’ and *ʔaħinna* ‘we’ respectively. Each of the forms can be morphologically divided into two bound morphemes as *ʔa-nə* and *ʔa-ħinna*, respectively. Hence, the bound morpheme *ʔa-* can be considered as the stem form for the first person subject forms. Besides, we can say that the bound morphemes *-nə* and *-ħinna* are the first person singular and plural subject pronoun markers, respectively. Each form in the second and the third pronoun forms can also be divided into two bound morphemes. The second and the third personal subject pronoun forms have the morpheme *ʔiss-* in common. This morpheme is bound because it cannot stand alone, and it cannot convey meaning by itself. The suffixes *-ka*, *-ki*, *-u*, *-a*, *-kum*, *-kin*, *-om* and *-ən* are attached to *ʔis-* to mark the 2MSG, 2FSG, 3MSG, 3FSG, 2MPL, 2FPL, 3MPL, and 3FPL agreements in subject pronoun forms, respectively. There are also dependent subject pronouns (pronominal affixes) which are attached to verbs. They are two types: these prefixed

and these suffixed to verbs. The subject marker suffixes of RT are the same ones with those of MT. See the data below.

Table 7: Subject marker suffixes

Person	Sub Suffixes	UF	MT	RT	Gloss
1SG	-ə	<i>bəliŋ-ə</i>	<i>bəliŋə</i>	<i>bəlŋə</i>	‘I ate.’
2MSG	-ka	<i>bəliŋ-ki</i>	<i>bəliŋχi</i>	<i>bəlŋiχi</i>	‘You (MSG) ate.’
2FSG	-ki	<i>bəliŋ-ka</i>	<i>bəliŋiχa</i>	<i>bəlŋiχa</i>	‘You (FSG) ate.’
3MSG	-u	<i>bəliŋ-u</i>	<i>bəliŋu</i>	<i>bəlŋu</i>	‘He ate.’
3FSG	-a	<i>bəliŋ-a</i>	<i>bəliŋiŋa</i>	<i>bəlŋa</i>	‘She ate.’
1PL	-na	<i>bəliŋ-na</i>	<i>bəliŋ-na</i>	<i>bəlŋ-i-na</i>	‘We ate.’
2MPL	-kum	<i>bəliŋ-kum</i>	<i>bəliŋ-χum</i>	<i>bəlŋ-i-χum</i>	‘You (MPL) ate.’
2FPL	-kin	<i>bəliŋ-kin</i>	<i>bəliŋ-χin</i>	<i>bəlŋ-i-χin</i>	‘You (FPL) ate.’
3MPL	-om	<i>bəliŋ-om</i>	<i>bəliŋ-om</i>	<i>bəlŋ-om</i>	‘They (M) ate.’
3FPL	-ən	<i>bəliŋ-ən</i>	<i>bəliŋ-ən</i>	<i>bəlŋ-ən</i>	‘They (F) ate.’

The dependent pronominal subject markers that are prefixed to verbs are also demonstrated in the following table.

Table 8: Subject marker prefixes

Person	Sub Pre	UF	MT	RT	Gloss
1SG	<i>yi-</i>	<i>yi-səbbir</i>	<i>yisəbbir</i>	<i>yifəbbir</i>	‘I break.’
2MSG	<i>ti-</i>	<i>ti-səbbir</i>	<i>tisəbbir</i>	<i>tifəbbir</i>	‘You (MSG) break.’
2FSG	<i>ti-</i>	<i>ti-səbr-i</i>	<i>tisəbr-i</i>	<i>tifəvri</i>	‘You (FSG) break.’
3MSG	<i>yi-</i>	<i>yi-səbbir</i>	<i>yisəbbir</i>	<i>yifəbbir</i>	‘He (will) break(s).’
3FSG	<i>ti-</i>	<i>ti-səbbir</i>	<i>tisəbbir</i>	<i>tifəbbir</i>	‘She breaks.’
1PL	<i>ni-</i>	<i>ni-səbbir</i>	<i>nisəbbir</i>	<i>nifəbbir</i>	‘We break.’
2MPL	<i>ti-</i>	<i>ti-səbr-u</i>	<i>tisəbru</i>	<i>tifəvru</i>	‘You (MPL) break.’
2FPL	<i>ti-</i>	<i>ti-səbr-a</i>	<i>tisəbra</i>	<i>tifəvra</i>	‘You (FPL) break.’
3MPL	<i>yi-</i>	<i>yi-səbr-u</i>	<i>yisəbru</i>	<i>yifəvru</i>	‘They (M) break.’
3FPL	<i>yi-</i>	<i>yi-səbr-a</i>	<i>yisəbra</i>	<i>yifəvra</i>	‘They (F) break.’

3.3.1.2. Object pronouns

The target language variety has object pronoun forms. The bound morpheme *di-* is prefixed to all of the personal pronoun forms to indicate object form. Let us have a look at the data given below.

Table 9: Indirect object pronoun forms and their agreement markers

Person	UF	MT	RT	Gloss
1SG	<i>ni-ʒa-y</i>	<i>niʒay</i>	<i>diʒanə</i>	‘(for) me’
2MSG	<i>ni-ʒa-ka</i>	<i>niʒaxa</i>	<i>diʒaxa</i>	‘(for) you’
2FSG	<i>ni-ʒa-ki</i>	<i>niʒaxi</i>	<i>diʒaxi</i>	‘(for) you’
3MSG	<i>ni-ʒi-u</i>	<i>niʒiʔu</i>	<i>diʒissu</i>	‘(for) him’
3FSG	<i>ni-ʒa-a</i>	<i>niʒaʔa</i>	<i>diʒissa</i>	‘(for) her’
1PL	<i>ni-ʒa-na</i>	<i>niʒana</i>	<i>diʒahinna</i>	‘(for) us’
2MPL	<i>ni-ʒa-kum</i>	<i>niʒaxum</i>	<i>diʒaxum</i>	‘(for) you (MPL)’
2FPL	<i>ni-ʒa-kin</i>	<i>niʒaxin</i>	<i>diʒaxin</i>	‘(for) you (FPL)’
3MPL	<i>ni-ʒə-om</i>	<i>niʒəʔom</i>	<i>diʒatom</i>	‘(for) them (M)’
3FPL	<i>ni-ʒə-ən</i>	<i>niʒəʔən</i>	<i>diʒatən</i>	‘(for) them (F)’

There are also dependent (suffixed) pronominal morphemes which are suffixed to verbs and indicate object pronoun forms. Consider the data below.

Table 10: Object marker suffixes

Person	Suffixes	UF	MT	RT	Gloss
1SG	<i>-nni</i>	<i>wək'ɪɫ-u-nni</i>	<i>wəχ'ɪɫunni</i>	<i>wəχ'ɪɫunni</i>	'He hit me.'
2MSG	<i>-kka</i>	<i>wək'ɪɫ-u-kka</i>	<i>wəχ'ɪɫukka</i>	<i>wəχ'ɪɫukka</i>	'He hit you (M).'
2FSG	<i>-kki</i>	<i>wək'ɪɫ-u-kki</i>	<i>wəχ'ɪɫukki</i>	<i>wəχ'ɪɫukki</i>	'He hit you.'
3MSG	<i>-o</i>	<i>wək'ɪɫ-u--o</i>	<i>wəχ'ɪɫuwwo</i>	<i>wəχ'ɪɫuwwo</i>	'He hit him.'
3FSG	<i>-a</i>	<i>wək'ɪɫ-u-a</i>	<i>wəχ'ɪɫuwwa</i>	<i>wəχ'ɪɫuwwa</i>	'He hit her.'
1PL	<i>-nna</i>	<i>wək'ɪɫ-u-nna</i>	<i>wəχ'ɪɫunna</i>	<i>wəχ'ɪɫunna</i>	'He hit us.'
2MPL	<i>-kkum</i>	<i>wək'ɪɫ-u-kkum</i>	<i>wəχ'ɪɫukkum</i>	<i>wəχ'ɪɫukkum</i>	'He hit you (MPL).'
2FPL	<i>-kin</i>	<i>wək'ɪɫ-u-kin</i>	<i>wəχ'ɪɫukin</i>	<i>wəχ'ɪɫukin</i>	'He hit you (FPL).'
3MPL	<i>-om</i>	<i>wək'ɪɫ-u-om</i>	<i>wəχ'ɪɫuwuwom</i>	<i>wəχ'ɪɫuwuwom</i>	'He hit them (M).'
3FPL	<i>-ən</i>	<i>wək'ɪɫ-u-ən</i>	<i>wəχ'ɪɫuwuwən</i>	<i>wəχ'ɪɫuwuwən</i>	'He hit them (F).'

3.3.2. Possessive pronouns

The same pronominal suffixes are explicitly attached to nouns for portraying possession in both RT and MT. These are forming NPs headed by the noun. Pronominal possessive suffixes are also designated for person, gender and number as in the examples given in the following table.

Table 11: Pronominal suffixes of possession

Person	Pronominal suffixes	Example in RT	Gloss
1SG	-əy	<i>ħawəy</i> <i>ħaw-əy</i> brother-1SG.POS	'my brother'
2MSG	-ka	<i>ħawχa</i> <i>ħaw-ka</i> brother-2MSG.POS	'your (MSG) brother'
2FSG	-ki	<i>ħawχi</i> <i>ħaw-ki</i> brother-2FSG.POS	'your (FSG) brother'
3MSG	-u	<i>ħawu</i> <i>ħaw-u</i> brother-3MSG.POS	'his brother'
3FSG	-a	<i>ħawa</i> <i>ħaw-a</i> brother-3FSG.POS	'her brother'
1PL	-na	<i>ħawna</i> <i>ħaw-na</i> brother-1PL.POS	'our brother'
2MPL	-kum	<i>ħawχum</i> <i>ħaw-kum</i> brother-2MPL.POS	'your (MPL) brother'
2FPL	-kin	<i>ħawχin</i> <i>ħaw-kin</i> brother-2FPL.POS	'your (FPL) brother'
3MPL	-om	<i>ħawom</i> <i>ħaw-om</i> brother-3MPL.POS	'their (M) brother'
3FPL	-ən	<i>ħawən</i> <i>ħaw-ən</i> brother-3FPL.POS	'their (F) brother'

As one can see from the above data, all the pronominal suffixes which are concatenated to the noun *haw* ‘brother’ mark possession, person, gender and number.

3.3.3. Reflexive pronouns

In the reflexive pronoun forms of the variety, the form *baʃil-* ‘oneself’ is used as a stem, and pronoun agreement markers are suffixed to it. Let us see the data in the table below.

Table 12: Reflexive pronoun forms and their agreement markers

Person	Pronominal suffixes	Examples in RT	Gloss
1SG	<i>baʃil(t)-əy</i> ¹⁵	<i>baʃləy</i>	‘myself’
2MSG	<i>baʃil(t̄i)-ka</i>	<i>baʃliχa</i>	‘yourself (M)’
2FSG	<i>baʃil-(t̄i)-ki</i>	<i>baʃliχi</i>	‘yourself (F)’
3MSG	<i>baʃil(t)-u</i>	<i>baʃlu</i>	‘himself’
3FSG	<i>baʃil(t)-a</i>	<i>baʃla</i>	‘herself’
1PL	<i>baʃil(t̄i)-na</i>	<i>baʃlina</i>	‘ourselves’
2MPL	<i>baʃil(t̄i)-kum</i>	<i>baʃliχum</i>	‘yourselves’
2FPL	<i>baʃil(t̄i)-kin</i>	<i>baʃliχin</i>	‘yourselves’
3MPL	<i>baʃil(t)-om</i>	<i>baʃlom</i>	‘themselves’
3FPL	<i>baʃil(t)-ən</i>	<i>baʃlən</i>	‘themselves’

3.3.4. Demonstrative pronouns

The pronoun forms which are used to point to an entity in a proximal or distal context are termed as demonstrative pronouns (Jackson, 1982: 64). In RT, the stem for the proximal demonstrative pronoun form is *ʔiz-* ‘this one/these ones’. On the other hand, the stem *ʔit-*

¹⁵ The expression *bi-ʃars-* as in *bi-ʃars-əy* ‘myself’, *bi-ʃars-i-ka* ‘yourself (MSG)’, *bi-ʃars-i-ki* ‘yourself (FSG)’, *bi-ʃars-u* ‘himself’, *bi-ʃars-a* ‘herself’, *bi-ʃars-i-kum* ‘yourselves (M)’... can also be used to show the reflexive pronoun form with all the paradigm in the mainstream Tigrinya (MT).

‘that one/those ones’ is used to demonstrate distal objects. The data in the following table show how different third person agreement markers are attached to both types of demonstrative pronoun stems in both the mainstream and Rayya Tigrinya for clarification.

Table 13: Demonstrative pronoun forms and their agreement markers

Person	Proximal		Gloss	Distal		
	MT	RT		MT	RT	Gloss
MSG	<i>ʔiz-i/ʔiz-uy</i>	<i>ʔiz-uw</i>	‘this (M) one’	<i>ʔit-i/ʔit-uy</i>	<i>ʔit-uw</i>	‘that (M) one’
FSG	<i>ʔiz-i-ʔ-a</i>	<i>ʔiz-aw</i>	‘this (F) one’	<i>ʔit-i-ʔ-a</i>	<i>ʔit-aw</i>	‘that (F) one’
MPL	<i>ʔiz-i-ʔ-om</i>	<i>ʔiz-omu</i>	‘these (M) ones’	<i>ʔit-i-ʔ-om</i>	<i>ʔit-omu</i>	‘those (M) ones’
FPL	<i>ʔiz-i-ʔ-ən</i>	<i>ʔiz-ənu</i>	‘these (F) ones’	<i>ʔit-i-ʔ-ən</i>	<i>ʔit-ənu</i>	‘those (F) ones’

As the data in the above table reveal, the proximal demonstrative pronouns *ʔiz-uw* ‘this (M) one’, *ʔiz-aw* ‘this (F) one’, *ʔiz-omu* ‘these (M) ones’ and *ʔiz-ənu* ‘these (F) one’ are derived from the stem *ʔiz-*. On the other hand, the distal demonstrative pronouns *ʔit-uw* ‘that (M)’, *ʔit-aw* ‘that (F)’, *ʔit-omu* ‘those (M)’ and *ʔit-ənu* ‘those (F)’ are formed from *ʔit-*. In what follows, let us see the interrogative pronoun forms in the target study.

3.3.5. Interrogative pronouns

The word *mən* ‘who’ is the interrogative pronoun form in both RT and MT. The copula *ʔiyy-* along with pronominal suffixes is also attached to the interrogative pronoun form *mən* in both varieties, as illustrated in the following table.

3.3.7. Indefinite pronouns

The indefinite pronoun systems that we know in languages like English as “someone”, “somebody”, “anyone”, “anybody” etc. are not as such common in the target variety.

The expressions *ʔigəle* [ʔigələ] ‘someone (M) and *ʔigəlit* [ʔigəlit] ‘someone (F)’ can serve as indefinite pronouns. Besides, a relativized verb with its noun head can be used as indefinite pronoun as in *zikonə səb* [diχonə səb] ‘any person’, *zikonə nəgər* [diχonə nəgər] ‘anything’.

3.3.8. Vocatives

There are also vocative forms for the second person singular and plural pronouns in RT. In the vocative form, there is a stem *ʔatt-* ‘you.Voc’, which is common to all the second person vocative pronoun forms. In the mainstream Tigrinya, the stem mainly appears as *ʔant-* ‘you (Voc)’. So, different agreement markers are attached to both forms. Consider the data below.

Table 15: Vocative pronoun forms

Person	Vocative forms		Gloss
	MT	RT	
2MSG	<i>ʔant-a</i>	<i>ʔatta</i>	‘Hey! You!’
2FSG	<i>ʔant-i</i>	<i>ʔatti</i>	‘Hey! You!’
2MPL	<i>ʔant-um</i>	<i>ʔattum</i>	‘Hey! You!’
2FPL	<i>ʔant-in</i>	<i>ʔattin</i>	‘Hey! You!’

In the preceding section, the different pronoun forms and their morphological agreement markers have been described. In the following section and sub sections, the description focuses on nominal modifiers.

3.4. Nominal modifiers

This section deals with the descriptions of nominal modifiers including adjectives, determiners and relativized modifiers. First, the derivational and inflectional morphological systems of adjectives are described respectively. Second, determiners are treated followed by the descriptions of relativized modifiers.

3.4.1. Adjectives

Adjectives may refer to words, which specify the qualities of nouns. In connection to this, Jackson (1982: 63) states that adjectives belong to the class of words that intensify the meaning of a noun either by appearing instantly before the noun or by being linked to it via a copular verb.

This sub-section deals with the descriptions of the formation (derivation) and inflection of adjectives. As in the case of nouns, the examples presented in the data below are non-derived (primitive) adjectives in RT.

[183]	a)	<i>k'əyyih</i> [χ'ayyih]	'red (MSG)'
	b)	<i>s'əllim</i> [s'əllim]	'black (MSG)'
	c)	<i>s'aɪda</i>	'white'
	d)	<i>ħas's'ir</i> [ħač'č'ir]	'short (MSG)'

However, many adjectives can be formed by the root-and-morpheme method of word stem formation as in the following data.

[184]	Root	Template	Adjective			Gloss		
a)	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>CCuC</i>	<i>sbur</i>	>	[sibur]	>	[ɟuwur]	‘broken (MSG)’
b)	<i>r-g-m</i>	<i>CCuC</i>	<i>rgum</i>	>	[rigum]	>	[rugum]	‘cursed (MSG)’
c)	<i>b-r-k</i>	<i>CCuC</i>	<i>bruk</i>	>	[biruk]	>	[buruχ]	‘blessed’

Moreover, adjectives can be derived from nouns and or verbs through affixation and or internal modifications. They can also be inflected for gender, number and case. The derivation of adjectives is described first. Next, their morphological inflections are presented. Although the concern in the section is to describe the morphological system of adjectives synchronically, data from the mainstream Tigrinya are also considered for clarity.

3.4.1.1. Derivation of adjectives

The adjectivalizing suffixes *-am*, *-əŋna*, *-awi* and *-(ə) way* can be considered as the main adjective derivational morphemes in the target language variety. Many adjectives can be derived via adding such morphemes. Each of the adjectivalizing suffixes will be described in brief with examples as follows.

3.4.1.1.1. *-am*

This adjective maker suffix is attached to triradical nouns, which end with the vowel *-i*. When the suffix *-am* is added to such nouns, the last vowel *-i* will be deleted, and the output will be a derived adjective. Let us consider the examples below.

[185]	Noun	Gloss	Adj marker	Derived Adj	Gloss
a)	<i>libb</i> [libbi]	‘heart’	+ -am >	<i>libb-am</i>	‘wise’
b)	<i>kəbd</i> [χaudi]	‘abdomen’	+ -am >	<i>kəbd-am</i> [χaudam]	‘esurient’
c)	<i>nink</i> [ʃiŋki]	‘mischief’	+ -am >	<i>sink-am</i> [ʃiŋkam]	‘malicious’

3.4.1.1.2. -əŋna

Some adjectives in the variety are also derived by adding the derivational suffix *-əŋna* to nouns. The vowel *-ə-* is inserted between the noun and the adjective marker *-əŋna* to break the impermissible consonantal cluster at word medial position. Consider the examples provided below.

[186]	Noun	Gloss	Adj marker	Derived adj	Gloss
a)	<i>məlkiʃ</i>	‘beauty’	+ -əŋna >	<i>məlkiʃ-əŋna</i>	‘beautiful’
b)	<i>maʃræg</i>	‘charisma’	+ -əŋna >	<i>maʃræg-əŋna</i>	‘august’
c)	<i>nəgər</i>	‘quarrel’	+ -əŋna >	<i>nəgər-əŋna</i>	‘captious’

3.4.1.1.3. -awi

The suffix *-awi* is also used to derive adjectives from nouns. In the Rayya Tigrinya variety, adjectives, which are derived by this derivational morpheme, are rare in number. Let us see the examples provided below.

[187]	Noun	Gloss	Adj Mar	Derived Adj	Gloss
a)	<i>səmay</i>	‘sky’	+ -awi >	<i>səmay-awi</i>	‘blue’
b)	<i>tʻinti</i>	‘ancient’	+ -awi >	<i>tʻint-awi</i>	‘old, traditional’
c)	<i>mənfəs</i>	‘aura’	+ -awi >	<i>mənfəs-awi</i>	‘devotional’

3.4.1.1.4. -əway

Some are derived by adding the adjective maker suffix *-way* to nouns. In such derivation of adjectives, the vowel *-ə-* is inserted between the noun and the adjective

maker *-way*, hence, *-əway*; but if the noun ends with a vowel, that vowel is changed to *-ə*. Consider the data below.

[188]	Noun	Gloss		Adj marker		Derived adjective	Gloss
a)	<i>maʔ[χ]əl</i>	'center'	+	<i>-way</i>	>	<i>maʔ[χ]əl-əway</i>	'intermediate'
b)	<i>ħaməd</i>	'soil'	+	<i>-way</i>	>	<i>ħaməd-əway</i>	'gray color'
c)	<i>k'os'l[i]</i>	'leaf'	+	<i>-way</i>	>	<i>[χ']os'l-əway</i>	'green'

Derivations of adjectives in Rayya Tigrinya have been described and discussed in the preceding section and sub-sections. The features of inflectional morphology in adjectives of the language variety will be treated in the section and sub sections as follows.

3.4.1.2. Inflection

Adjectives are inflected for gender, number and case. Though it is in brief, gender inflection has been treated in the different parts of this chapter. For more clarification, brief presentations of gender, number and case inflections are treated respectively in this section.

3.4.1.2.1. Gender

Few adjectives are morphologically marked for gender in their singular forms; but they do not indicate gender distinction in their plural forms. Besides, there are many adjectives, which do not show gender distinction morphologically. Consider the data below.

[189]	Adjective	Gloss
a)	<i>libb-am</i>	‘wise’
b)	<i>goraḥ</i>	‘crafty’
c)	<i>yəwwaḥ</i> [ləwwaḥ]	‘kind’
d)	<i>s’aṣda</i>	‘white’
e)	<i>ḥayyal</i>	‘strong’

Gender in the adjectives stated in [189] can be distinguished based on the nouns, which are modified as seen below.

[190]	Masculine	Gloss	Feminine	Gloss
a)	<i>libbam siwʔay</i>	‘a wise man’	<i>libbam səvəyt[i]</i>	‘a wise woman’
b)	<i>s’aṣda biṣray</i>	‘a white ox’	<i>s’aṣda laḥm[i]</i>	‘a white cow’
c)	<i>ṣəggə wədd[i]</i>	‘handsome boy’	<i>ṣəggə gʷal</i>	‘beautiful girl’

Morphologically, there are two types of gender markers in adjectives of the target variety: *-i-* and *-a-*. In what follows, both gender markers are described and discussed with examples.

3.4.1.2.1.1. Gender marked by *-i-* and *-a-*

In some adjectives, gender is morphologically marked by the vowels *-i-* and *-a-* which mark masculine and feminine gender respectively in Rayya Tigrinya. This can be stated as *CəCCiC* (masculine) > *CəCCaC* (feminine). Consider the data below.

[191]	Masculine	Gloss	Feminine	Gloss
a)	<i>s’əllim</i> [s’əllim]	‘black (M)’	<i>s’əllam</i>	‘black (F)’
b)	<i>nəwwiḥ</i> [nəwwiḥ]	‘tall (M)’	<i>nəwwaḥ</i>	‘tall (F)’
c)	<i>gərrim</i> [gərrim]	‘kind (M)’	<i>gərram</i>	‘kind (F)’

Some adjectives have the pattern *CaCCiC* (masculine) and *CaCCaC* (feminine) as illustrated below.

[192]	Masculine		Gloss		Feminine		Gloss
a)	<i>kəbbid</i>	[χabbid]	‘heavy (M)’		<i>kəbbad</i>	[χabbad]	‘heavy (F)’
b)	<i>k’əyyih</i>	[χ’ayyih]	‘red (M)’		<i>k’əyyah</i>	[χ’ayyah]	‘red (F)’
c)	<i>k’ət’t’in</i>	[χ’at’t’in]	‘thin (M)’		<i>k’ət’t’an</i>	[χ’at’t’an]	‘thin (F)’
d)	<i>ħ’as’s’ir</i>	[ħač’č’ir]	‘short (M)’		<i>ħas’s’ar</i>	[ħač’č’ar]	‘short (F)’

As we can see from the data, gender between masculine and feminine is distinguished in RT. The gender distinction markers are the high central vowel *-i-* and the low central unrounded vowel *-a-*. The last vowel in all the adjectives in the masculine column is *-i-*. On the other hand, the last vowel in all the adjectives in the feminine column is *-a-*. Therefore, the vowels *-i-* and *-a-* mark the masculine and feminine gender respectively.

3.4.1.2.1.2. Feminine gender marked by *-t*

Some adjectives show the masculine gender lexically. When the suffix *-t* is added to such adjectives, the feminine gender will be marked. See the examples given below.

Table 16: Gender distinction in adjectives

	Masculine	Gloss	Marker			Feminine	Gloss
a)	<i>rigum</i> [rugum]	‘cruel (M)’	+	-t	>	<i>rigum-t</i> [rugumti]	‘cruel (F)’
b)	<i>hiwuk</i> [huwuχ]	‘worried (M)’	+	-t	>	<i>hiwuk-t</i> [huwukti]	‘worried (F)’
c)	<i>fiwwur</i> [ʃuwwur]	‘blind (M)’	+	-t	>	<i>fiwwur-t</i> [ʃuwwurti]	‘blind (F)’
d)	<i>riħruh</i> [ruħruh]	‘kind (M)’	+	-t	>	<i>riħruh-t</i> [ruħruhti]	‘kind (F)’
e)	<i>biruk</i> [buruχ]	‘blessed (M)’	+	-t	>	<i>biruχ-t</i> [buruχti]	‘blessed (F)’
f)	<i>ħiggus</i> [ħuggus]	‘happy (M)’	+	-t	>	<i>ħigus-t</i> [ħugusti]	‘happy (F)’
g)	<i>fiġgur</i> [ʃuggur]	‘poor (M)’	+	-t	>	<i>fiġgur-t</i> [ʃuggurti]	‘poor (F)’

The underlying forms are perhaps *rigum*, *hiwuk*, *fiwwur* etc.; the forms [rugum], [huwwuχ], [ʃuwwur] etc. in RT have undergone the phonological rule of vowel harmonization, that is, the high central unrounded vowel /i/ is harmonized to the high back rounded one [u].

In the above section, gender inflection in adjectives of RT have been described and discussed in brief. In the next section, the description deals with the number inflectional system of adjectives in the variety.

3.4.1.2.2. Number

Adjectives can be pluralized by adding different plural marker. The commonly observed plural markers in adjectives of the variety are the suffixes *-at -tat, -t, -o* and *-yan*. Like in the case of nouns, the data in the present study have revealed that the plural adjective markers *-at* and *-tat* can be considered as the regular ones.

3.4.1.2.2.1. *-at*

The plural forms of many adjectives are marked by adding the suffix *-at* or *-tat* to their respective singular forms. Let us consider the examples given below.

[193]	Singular	Gloss	PL marker	Plural	Gloss
a)	<i>libbam</i> [libbam]	‘wise’	+ <i>-at</i>	> <i>libbam-at</i> [libbamat]	‘wise (PL)’
b)	<i>yəwwah</i> [ləwwah]	‘kind’	+ <i>-at</i>	> <i>yəwwah-at</i> [ləwwahat]	‘kind (PL)’
c)	<i>riħruħ</i> [ruħruħ]	‘kind (M)’	+ <i>-at</i>	> <i>riħruħ-at</i> [ruħruhat]	‘kind (PL)’
d)	<i>biruk</i> [buruχ]	‘blessed (M)’	+ <i>-at</i>	> <i>biruk-at</i> [buruχat]	‘blessed (PL)’
e)	<i>məkan</i> [məχan]	‘barren’	+ <i>-at</i>	> <i>məkan-at</i> [məχanat]	‘barren (PL)’

3.4.1.2.2.2. *-tat*

Like in the case of nouns, many other adjectives that end with a vowel take the plural marker *-tat*. In this case, *-t-* is inserted to break a vowel cluster which takes place between the last vowel of the adjective and the plural marker *-at*. Let us see the examples presented below.

[194]	Singular	Gloss	PL marker	Plural	Gloss
a)	<i>ḥaggə</i>	‘beautiful’	+ -tat >	<i>ḥaggə-tat</i>	‘beautiful (PL)’
b)	<i>luwa</i>	‘nice’	+ -tat >	<i>luwa-tat</i>	‘nice (PL)’
c)	<i>bič’a</i>	‘yellow’	+ -tat >	<i>bič’a-tat</i>	‘yellow (PL)’
d)	<i>ḥag^wa</i>	‘wheat color’	+ -tat >	<i>ḥag^wa-tat</i>	‘yellow (PL)’

3.4.1.2.2.3. -ti

There are also words which belong to the class of adjectives and make their plural forms by adding *-t* to their singular forms. When this plural marker is suffixed, the last vowel of the singular forms will be changed to *ə*. The high front vowel *-i* is also added at word final position in order to break consonantal cluster word finally in the plural forms, hence, *-t*. Examples are given in the table below.

Table 17: Plural formation of some adjectives

	Singular		Plural	
a)	<i>s’əllim</i> [s’əllim]	‘black (M)’	<i>s’əlləm-t</i> [s’əlləmti]	‘black (PL)’
	<i>s’əllam</i>	‘black (F)’		
b)	<i>k’əyyih</i> [χ’əyyih]	‘red (M)’	<i>kəyyəḥ-t</i> [χ’əyyəḥti]	‘red (PL)’
	<i>k’əyyah</i> [χ’əyyah]	‘red (F)’		
c)	<i>nəwwih</i> [nəwwih]	‘tall (M)’	<i>nəwwəḥ-t</i> [nəwwəḥti]	‘tall (PL)’
	<i>nəwwah</i>	‘tall (F)’		
d)	<i>rəg^wid</i> [rəg ^w id]	‘fat (M)’	<i>rəg^wəd-t</i> [rəg ^w ədti]	‘fat (PL)’
	<i>rəg^wad</i>	‘fat (F)’		
e)	<i>k’at’tin</i> [χ’at’tin]	‘thin (M)’	<i>k’at’tən-t</i> [χ’at’tənti]	‘thin (PL)’
	<i>kət’tan</i> [χ’at’tan]	‘thin (F)’		

Adjectives can also be marked for plural by the Ge’ez plural markers (*-an* and *-yan*). For instance, by using *-an*, we can formulate the plurals of the singular adjectives *fit’ur* [fut’ur] ‘created’ > *fit’uran* [fut’uran] ‘created (PL)’, *rigum* [rugum] ‘cruel’ > *riguman*

[ruguman] ‘cruel (PL)’. Using *-yan*, we can make plurals of adjectives like *sudanawi* ‘the Sudanese’ > *sudanawīyan* ‘the Sudanese (PL)’.

3.4.1.2.3. Case

Adjectives are also morphologically inflected for case. The accusative/objective, genitive, ablative, allative, instrumental, commutative and vocative cases are marked in RT.

3.4.1.2.3.1. Accusative

The accusative case in adjectives is marked by the *di-*¹⁶, and it is linearly prefixed to the adjectives.

[195] a) *diχufu? siʋʔay wəχ'ɪu*
nikifu? səbʔay wəχ'ɪu
ni-kifu? səbʔay wək'ɪ-u
Acc-cruel.MSG man hit.PRV-3MSG.Sub
‘He hit a cruel man.’

b) *diχ'əyyaħ səvəyti mərrix'a*
niχ'əyyaħ səbəyti mərrix'a
ni-k'əyyaħ səbəyt mərrik'-a
Acc-red.FSG woman bless-3FSG.Sub
‘She blessed a white woman (She blessed for a red woman).’

¹⁶ /ni-/ > [di-] ‘for (Acc.)’

3.4.1.2.3.2. Genitive

Adjectives in the target variety are also inflected for genitive case. Like in the genitive case marking system of nouns, the preposition *na*¹⁷ is the genitive case marker in adjectives. It is morphologically prefixed to adjectives as in the examples below.

- [196] a) *nas'aɬda biɬray siɣa*
nay s'aɬda biɬray siɣa
nay s'aɬda biɬray siɣa
Gen white ox meat
'Meat of a white ox or A white ox's meat'
- b) *naʔarəɣit t'əli ʔangarrə*
nay ʔarəɣit t'el ʔangarrə
nay ʔarəɣit t'el ʔangarrə
Gen old goat skin
'An old goat's skin (Skin of an old goat)'

3.4.1.2.3.3. Ablative

As in the case of nouns, the ablative case in adjectives is marked by the prefixes *ka*- 'from' in the language variety. Consider the following examples.

- [197] a) *kas'allim səb*
kab s'allim səb
kab s'allim səb
Abl black.MSG person
'From a black person'

¹⁷ /nay/ > [na-] 'of (Gen)'

- b) *karuħuχ*’ bota
kab riħuχ’ bota
kab riħuk’ bota
Abl far place
 ‘From a far place’

3.4.1.2.3.4. Allative

The allative case is marked by the preposition *da-* which appears as a bound morpheme in RT. It is prefixed to adjectives as in the examples below.

- [198] a) *dahimmaχ*’ səv məs’i?ina
nab himmaχ’ səb məs’i?na
nab himmak’ səb məs’i?-na
ALL bad person come.PRV-1PL.Sub
 ‘We came to a bad person.’
- b) *danəwwiħ* ?imba dəyyivna
nab nəwwiħ ?inba dəyyibna
nab nəwwiħ ?inba dəyyib-na
ALL high mountain climb.PRV-1PL.Sub
 ‘We climbed to a high mountain.’

3.4.1.2.3.5. Instrumental

In RT adjectives, the instrumental case is marked by the preposition *bi-*, which is attached into the adjectives linearly as demonstrated in the following examples.

[199] a) *biħač'č'ir bətri*
biħas's'ir bətri
bi-ħas's'ir bətr
Ins-short stick
 'with (by) a short stick'

b) *bibəlliħ karra*
bibəlliħ karra
bi-bəlliħ karra
Ins-sharp knife
 'with (by) a sharp knife'

3.4.1.2.3.6. Commutative

The commutative case in adjectives is denoted by the morpheme *mis* 'together with', which precedes the adjective in RT. In fact, it is not morphologically inflected; rather, it is manifested lexically (by the preposition *mis* 'together with'. Let us consider the examples below.

[200] a) *mis s'allim səv*
mis s'allim səv
mis s'allim səb
with black.MSG person
 'with a black person'

b) *mis rugum χ'olfa*
mis rigum χ'olfa
mis rigum kolfa
with cruel.MSG boy
 'with a cruel boy'

3.4.1.2.3.7. Vocative

In RT adjectives, the vocative case is expressed by the form *?att-*, which always occurs with the second person pronominal suffixes attached to it. The form precedes the adjectives to denote vocation as illustrated in the examples below.

[201]

a)	<i>?atta rugum</i>	b)	<i>?atti fəggə</i>
	?anta rigum		?anti s'ibiχ'ti
	?ant-a rigum		?ant-i s'ibik't
	Voc-2MSG cruel.MSG		Voc-2FSG beautiful-2FSG
	'Hey, you cruel!'		'Hey, you beautiful'

In the preceding section and subsections, we have seen the descriptions and discussions how adjectives of Rayya Tigrinya are derived and inflected. The following section and subsections deal with the descriptions and discussions of determiners in the target language variety.

3.4.2. Determiners

The term determiner (Det) refers to noun indicators (cf. DeCapua, 2017: 56). In the present study, numerals, quantifiers, possessive adjectives, demonstrative adjectives and definiteness can be considered as determiners. Each type of the determiners will be described respectively as follows.

3.4.2.1. Numerals

Numerals are expressions that can enumerate the amount of nouns. They can be classified into two: cardinal numerals and ordinal numerals. Cardinal numerals

describe the exact amount (number) of the head noun (modified noun). Ordinal numerals, on the other hand, describe the rank of the head noun in the noun phrase. Both the cardinal and ordinal numerals in RT are described and discussed respectively as follows.

3.4.2.1.1. Cardinal numerals

The table below denotes the numerical system of cardinal numbers in RT. These numerical systems are presented in four paradigms (1 up to 10, 11 up to 19, 20 up to 90 and 100 up to 1,000,000).

Table 18: Cardinal numerals

Numeral expression (1 to 10)	Gloss	Numeral expression (11 to 19)	Gloss
<i>hadə</i>	‘one’	<i>ʕasərtə-hadə</i>	‘eleven’
<i>k’illitə</i> [χillitə]	‘two’	<i>ʕasərtə-kiltə</i> [ʕasərtə-χiltə]	‘twelve’
<i>sələstə</i>	‘three’	<i>ʕasərtə-sələstə</i>	‘thirteen’
<i>ʔarbaʕtə</i> [ʔarwaʕtə]	‘four’	<i>ʕasərtə-ʔarbaʕtə</i> [ʕasərtə-ʔarwaʕtə]	‘fourteen’
<i>ħammuʕtə</i>	‘five’	<i>ʕasərtə-ħammuʕtə</i>	‘fifteen’
<i>ʕidduʕtə</i> [ʕudduʕtə]	‘six’	<i>ʕasərtə-ʕidduʕtə</i> [ʕasərtə-ʕudduʕtə]	‘sixteen’
<i>ʕəbuʕattə</i> [ʕowʕattə]	‘seven’	<i>ʕasərtə-ʕəbuʕatə</i> [ʕasərtə-ʕowuʕatə]	‘seventeen’
<i>ʕəmmontə</i> [ʕommontə]	‘eight’	<i>ʕasərtə-ʕəmmontə</i> [ʕasərtə-ʕəmmontə]	‘eighteen’
<i>tijʕiʕatə</i> [tiʕʕiʕantə]	‘nine’	<i>ʕasərtə-tijʕatə</i> [ʕasərtə-tiʕʕiʕantə]	‘nineteen’
<i>ʕassərtə</i>	‘ten’		
Numeral expression (20 to 90)	Gloss	Numeral expression (20 to 90)	Gloss
<i>ʕisra</i> [ʕisra]	‘twenty’	<i>miʔiti</i> [miʔti]	‘hundred’
<i>sələsa</i> [salasa]	‘thirty’	<i>ʕiħ</i>	‘thousand’
<i>ʔarbaʕa</i> [ʔarwaʕa]	‘forty’	<i>milen</i> [milyən]	‘million’
<i>ħamsa</i>	‘fifty’		
<i>silsa</i> [sissa]	‘sixty’		
<i>səbʕa</i> [səvʕa]	‘seventy’		
<i>səmanya</i> [səmənya]	‘eighty’		
<i>tesʕa</i> [təsʕa]	‘ninety’		

Let us consider the examples given below to demonstrate how cardinal numerals modify nouns in RT.

- [202] a) *ħadə x'olfa*
ħadə k'olfa
ħadə k'olfa
one.M child
 'a/one child (M)'
- b) *ʕassərtə ʔarwaʕtə səvat*
ʕassərtə ʔarbaʕtə səbat
ʕasərtə ʔarbaʕtə səb-at
ten **four** person-PL
 'Fourteen persons'
- c) *ʔarwaʕtə miʔtiy ħamsay x'urfi*
ʔarbaʕtə miʔitiñ ħamsay k'irfi
ʔarbaʕtə **miʔit-n** **ħamsa-n** k'irf
four **hundred-and** **fifty-and** **birr**
 'Four hundred fifty birr'

3.4.2.1.2. Ordinal numerals

The numerals like *k'əddəm-ay* [x'addəmay] 'first' *kalʔ-ay* [xalʔay] 'second', *səls-ay* 'third' etc. are said to be ordinal numerals that show the rank of the modified nouns in a noun phrase. In Rayya Tigrinya, ordinal numbers are derived by suffixing the bound morpheme *-ay* to the cardinal numeral forms. Let us have a look at the data given below.

Table 19: Cardinal and ordinal numerals in RT

	Cardinal numeral	Marker	Ordinal numeral form
a)	<i>k'əddəm</i> 'initial'	+ -ay >	<i>k'əddəm-ay</i> [χ'addəmay] 'first'
b)	<i>killitə</i> 'two'	+ -ay >	<i>kalʔ-ay</i> [χalʔay] 'second'
c)	<i>sələstə</i> 'three'	+ -ay >	<i>səls-ay</i> [səlsay] 'third'
d)	<i>ʔarbaʃtə</i> 'four'	+ -ay >	<i>rəbʃ-ay</i> [rəvʃay] 'forth'
e)	<i>ħammufstə</i> 'five'	+ -ay >	<i>ħamʃ-ay</i> 'fifth'
f)	<i>ʃidduʃtə</i> 'six'	+ -ay >	<i>ʃədf-ay</i> 'sixth'
g)	<i>ʃəbuʃattə</i> 'seven'	+ -ay >	<i>ʃəbʃ-ay</i> [ʃəvʃay] 'seventh'
h)	<i>ʃəmmontə</i> 'eight'	+ -ay >	<i>ʃəmn-ay</i> 'eighth'
i)	<i>tifʃitətə</i> 'nine'	+ -ay >	<i>təʃʃ-ay</i> 'ninth'
j)	<i>ʃassərtə</i> 'ten'	+ -ay >	<i>ʃəfr-ay</i> 'tenth'

Ordinal numerals appear before nouns to modify them in Rayya Tigrinya as can be seen in the data below.

[203]

a)	<i>χ'əddamay</i> <i>χ'olʃa</i>	b)	<i>χalʔay</i> <i>dərəʃa</i>
	<i>k'əddamay</i> <i>χ'olʃa</i>		<i>kalʔay</i> <i>dərəʃa</i>
	<i>k'əddamay</i> <i>k'olʃa</i>		<i>kalʔay</i> <i>dərəʃa</i>
	first <i>child</i>		second <i>stage</i>
	'The first child'		'Second stage'

The ordinal numerals that are described in [203] specify the nouns *k'olʃa* [χ'olʃa] 'child' and *dərəʃa* 'stage'. The ordinal numeral *k'əddamay* [χ'addamay] 'first' in [203a] specifies that the noun *k'olʃa* [χ'olʃa] 'child' is first in rank. In a similar way, the ordinal number *kalʔay* [χalʔay] in [203b] indicates that the noun *dərəʃa* 'stage' is ranked second. The discussion in the preceding section was on numerals (both

cardinals and ordinals). In the following section, the description focuses on quantifiers in Rayya Tigrinya.

3.4.2.2. Quantifiers

Quantifiers are determiners that cannot quantify the exact amount of the head noun. In Rayya Tigrinya expressions such as *kullu* [χullu] ‘all’, *bizuḥ* [buzuḥ] ‘many, several’, *kirub* [χ’uruw] ‘few’ etc. are examples of quantifiers. The expressions indicated in bold face in the following examples are quantifiers.

[204]

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>a) <i>buzuḥ</i> gənzəv
 bizuḥ gənzəb
 bizuḥ gənzəb
 much money
 ‘Much money’</p> | <p>b) <i>χullu</i> gizyə
 χullu gizə
 kullu gizə
 all time
 ‘All the time’</p> |
|--|---|

Fractions such as *firk’* [firχ’i] ‘half’, *ribʕ* [riʋʕi] ‘quarter’ can also quantify nouns. Let us see the examples given below.

[205]

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>a) <i>firχ’i</i> siʕat
 firk’i siʕat
 firk’ siʕat
 half hour
 ‘Half an hour’</p> | <p>b) <i>riʋʕi</i> siʕat
 ribʕi siʕat
 ribʕ siʕat
 quarter hour
 ‘A quarter an hour’</p> |
|---|--|

3.4.2.3. Possessive adjectives

The variety has also possessive adjectives. In the possessive adjective forms, pronominal suffixes are attached to the possessive form *nat-* (*nay-*)¹⁸ ‘of’. Besides, the plural marker *-at* is also added to the stem *nat-* in all the second and third person pronominal plural forms as in *nat-at-kum* ‘your(MPL)’, *nat-at-kin* ‘your(FPL)’, *nat-at-om* ‘their(M)’, *nat-at-ən* ‘their (F)’. In the table below, the possessive adjective forms of the target variety are described along with the forms in UF and MT.

Table 20: Possessive adjectives

Person	Possessive adjective forms			Gloss
	UF	MT	RT	
1SG	<i>nat-əy</i>	<i>natəy</i>	<i>nayə</i>	‘my’
2MSG	<i>nat-ka</i>	<i>natχa</i>	<i>nayχa</i>	‘your (MSG)’
2FSG	<i>nat-ki</i>	<i>natχi</i>	<i>nayχi</i>	‘your (FSG)’
3MSG	<i>nat-u</i>	<i>natu</i>	<i>nayu</i>	‘his’
3FSG	<i>nat-a</i>	<i>nata</i>	<i>naya</i>	‘her’
1PL	<i>nat-na</i>	<i>natna</i>	<i>nayna</i>	‘our’
2MPL	<i>nat-kum</i>	<i>natχum</i>	<i>nayχum</i>	‘your (MPL)’
2FPL	<i>nat-kin</i>	<i>natχin</i>	<i>nayχin</i>	‘your (FPL)’
3MPL	<i>nat-om</i>	<i>natom</i>	<i>nayom</i>	‘their (M)’
3FPL	<i>nat-ən</i>	<i>natən</i>	<i>nayən</i>	‘their (F)’

Each of the possessive adjective form precedes the noun it modifies as illustrated in the following examples.

¹⁸ The form /*nat-*/ (*nay-*) is a possessive marker in possessive adjective forms.

[206]

a)	<i>nayə girat</i>	b)	<i>nayχa məs'haf</i>
	natəy girat		natχa məs'haf
	nat-əy girat		nat-ka məs'haf
	POS.Adj-1SG farmland		POS.Adj-2MSG book
	'My farmland'		'Your (MSG) book'

3.4.2.4. Demonstrative adjectives

Demonstrative adjectives are the same forms presented as demonstrative pronouns. The difference is in occurrence. The demonstrative adjectives are with a phonetically present noun head while in the case of demonstrative pronouns, the slot of the head is empty (empty head). Demonstratives show proximal and distal objects. In the language variety under study, the stem *?iz-* 'this, these' is used to demonstrate objects that are proximate to the speaker, and the stem *?it-* 'that, those' is used to point (indicate) objects, which are located far from the speaker. Pronominal suffixes, which indicate person, number and gender, are attached to each of these demonstrative expressions. Therefore, the proximal demonstrative *?izuw* 'this (3MSG) one', *?izaw* 'this (3FSG) one', *?izomu* 'these (3MPL) ones' and *?izonu* 'these (3FPL) ones' are derived from the stem *?iz-*. On the other hand, the forms *?ituw* 'that (3MSG) one', *?itaw* 'that (3FSG) one', *?itomu* 'those (3MPL) ones' and *?itonu* 'those (3FPL) ones' are derived from *?it-* 'that, those'. The demonstratives in RT are provided in the table below along with the demonstrative forms in UF and MT for clarity.

Table 21: Demonstrative adjectives

Number	Gender	Proximal				Distal			
		UF	MT	RT	Gloss	UF	MT	RT	
Singular	Masculine	<i>ʔiz-i</i>	<i>ʔizi</i>	<i>ʔizuw</i>	‘this’	<i>ʔit-i</i>	<i>ʔiti</i>	<i>ʔituw</i>	‘that’
	Feminine	<i>ʔiz-i-a</i>	<i>ʔiziʔa</i>	<i>ʔizaw</i>	‘this’	<i>ʔit-i-a</i>	<i>ʔitiʔa</i>	<i>ʔitaw</i>	‘that’
Plural	Masculine	<i>ʔiz-i-om</i>	<i>ʔiziʔom</i>	<i>ʔizomu</i>	‘these’	<i>ʔit-i-om</i>	<i>ʔitiʔom</i>	<i>ʔitomu</i>	‘those’
	Feminine	<i>ʔiz-i-ən</i>	<i>ʔiziʔən</i>	<i>ʔizonu</i>	‘these’	<i>ʔit-i-ən</i>	<i>ʔitiʔən</i>	<i>ʔitonu</i>	‘those’

Demonstrative adjectives appear before the nouns, which are modified by them as one can see the examples below.

[207] Proximal

ʔizuw səv

ʔiz-i

DEM.Prox-3MSG

‘This (M) person’

səb

person

Distal

ʔituw səv

ʔit-i

DEM.Dis-3MSG

‘That (M) person’

səb

person

3.4.2.5. Definiteness

In the present study, indefiniteness is not marked unlike definiteness in which the latter is denoted by the article form *ʔit-*. This definiteness marker stem is the same with the stem for the distal demonstrative marker, which appears with pronominal suffixes. The table below shows how different pronominal suffixes are attached to the definite article stem form *ʔit-* ‘the’ in the mainstream Tigrinya and in RT.

Table 22: Definiteness markers

Number	Gender	Definite marker			Gloss
		UF	MT	RT	Gloss
Singular form	Masculine	<i>ʔit-i</i>	<i>ʔiti</i>	<i>ʔitu</i>	‘the’
	Feminine	<i>ʔit-a</i>	<i>ʔita</i>	<i>ʔita</i>	‘the’
Plural form	Masculine	<i>ʔit-om</i>	<i>ʔitom</i>	<i>ʔitom</i>	‘the’
	Feminine	<i>ʔit-ən</i>	<i>ʔitən</i>	<i>ʔitən</i>	‘the’

The definite article *?it-* ‘the’ appears at the beginning of any nominal phrase as a free morpheme or as an independent word. Though this will be treated in NP under the syntax part in this dissertation, let us consider the position of the definite article in the examples of the nominal phrases in the data given below for clarity.

[208] a) *?itu χ’ayyih woddi*
?iti *χ’ayyih* *wəddi*
?it-i *k’ayih* *wədd*
 Det-3MSG red-MSG boy
 ‘The white boy’

b) *?ita s’əllam g^wal*
?ita *s’əllam* *g^wal*
?it-a *s’əllam* *g^wal*
 Det-3FSG black.FSG girl
 ‘The black girl’

In Rayya Tigrinya, definiteness can also be marked by pronominal suffixes that are attached to the specified nominal head. The pronominal suffixes *-u*, *-a*, *-om* and *-ən*, which show the 3MSG, 3FSG, 3MPL and 3FPL are attached to nouns in order to specify them. Let us consider them in the following examples.

[209] a)	<i>χ’olfa?u</i>	b)	<i>χ’olfa?a</i>
	<i>k’olfa?u</i>		<i>k’olfa?a</i>
	<i>k’olfa-u</i>		<i>k’olfa-a</i>
	child-Det.3MSG		child-Det.3FSG
	‘The child (MSG)’		‘The child (FSG)’

c)	<i>χ'olʃutom</i> k'olʃutom k'olʃ-u- om child-PL-Det.3MPL 'The children (MPL)' 	d)	<i>χ'olʃutən</i> k'olʃutən k'olʃ-u- ən child-PL-Det.3FPL 'The children (FPL)'
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In this regard, the Rayya Tigrinya variety seems to share the Amharic definiteness marking system as in *lij-u* 'the boy (MSG)'.

3.5. Summary

This chapter has dealt with the nominal morphology of RT. The nouns, pronouns and nominal modifiers all together have been addressed as nominals for convenience in the chapter. The morpho-phonemic features, semantic classifications, formations and inflections of nouns have been examined first and followed by the descriptions of pronouns. Next to the examinations of the RT pronouns, the nominal modifiers (adjectives and determiners) have been discussed. It has been attested that nouns are formed by root-and-pattern; they can also be formed via compounding and derivational systems. In RT, some noun derivational systems can be carried out by suffixation and/or internal morphological modification (C + V), and abstract, instrumental, verbal, agentive and manner nouns can be derived through this noun derivational system. Nouns are also inflected for number, gender and case system. Plural nouns are morphologically marked by either suffixation and or internal morphological modifications (C-Slots/C + V). However, the broken plural marking system in Rayya Tigrinya and in the Tigrinya language in general is quite complex. Broken plurals of

nouns (with different number of consonants) are not derived from their singulars (cf. McCarthy 1982: 188). Singulars with different number of consonants correspond to CVCVCVC prosodic template or pattern in the plural. The noun patterns that contain four consonants are the reliable place to start with. If there are four consonants in the singular, they fit onto a four consonant template as in *məftiħ* ‘key’ *məfatih* ‘keys’ (cf. *miftaħ* ‘key’ and *mafaatih* ‘keys’ in Arabic). The plural template receives consonantism in exactly the same way as the singulars. If there are more than four consonants in the singular there is a loss of supernumerary consonant(s) at the right as in *ʕins’əyti* [ʕiɲč’əyti] ‘wood’ > *ʔaʕs’aw* (cf. *ʕankabuut* ‘spider’ *ʕanakib* ‘spiders’, *ʕandaliib* ‘nightingale’ *ʕanaadil* in Arabic (cf. Tesfay, 2003)). The restriction of the template to just four c-slots induces the loss of extrametrical consonants. If the number of consonants in the singular is less than four consonants, we find extra c-slots in the prosodic template. Hence, the languages need insertions (*ʔa-*, *w*, *t* or *y* in the Tigrinya language (+ Rayya Tigrinya) and *ʔa-*, *w* or *ʔ* in Arabic) and/ or reduplication of one of the consonants in the singular with the goal of fitting onto a four consonant template. For instance, we can see *təmən* [təvən] ‘snake’ *təmamin* [təvəvɪn] ‘snakes’, *kəwħi* [χəwħi] ‘rock’ *ʔakawiħ* [ʔaχawih] ‘rocks’, *sur* ‘root’ *sərawir* ‘roots’ in RT (+ TM) and *χaatam* ‘signet’ *χawaatim* ‘signets’, *diinaar* ‘dinar’ *danaaniir* ‘dinars’, *ʕinab* ‘grape’ *ʕaʕnab* ‘grapes’, *k’adam* ‘footstep’ *ʕak’dam* ‘footsteps’ in Arabic.

Tigrinya internal (broken) plurals can all be derived from CVCaCVC pattern (cf. Tesfay, 2002; 2003); the vowels in the first syllable and in the last syllable are by default ə and

i respectively. But they can be affected by the vowels of the singulars in the first and in the last syllables, by a guttural in the first syllable or by the prefix *ʔa-* in the plural. Furthermore, we may also find the vowels *a* or *u* in the last syllable of the plural with or without the suffixes *-at* or *-ti* to form double plurals as in the case of *məs'ahifti* 'books', *ʔatakilti* [ʔataχilti] 'plants', *ʔabaʃur* [ʔawaʃur] 'oxen'. If there are such elements in the plural, the plural forming vowel *a* in the second syllable of the plural can be deleted. For example *ħaw* 'brother' > *ʔaħwat* 'brothers' (cf. Arabic *ʔaħawat* 'sisters', *ʔaħawan* 'brothers'). We can have more examples in RT (+MT) such as *fərəs* 'horse' > *ʔafras* 'horses', *biʃray* 'ox' > *ʔabʃur* [ʔawaʃir] 'oxen', *ʔatkilti* [ʔatχilti] 'plants'. According to McCarthy-Prince (1990: 34), the derivation of broken plurals involves the mapping of an initial syllabic trochee (E.g. *k'in* in the singular *k'indiil* 'lamp') which is circumscribed from the singular into broken plural template *CVCVV* as in *k'anaadiil* 'lamps'. In other words, broken plurals are formed by inserting *a* after the first *CVC* in the template. If we apply this to RT (MT), the broken plurals shown so far can be summarized as in the following:

In nouns with quadriradical consonantal roots like *mərʃiʔ* 'needle' > *məraʃiʔ* 'needles' and *wənbər* [wəmbər] 'chair' > *wənabir* 'chairs', we see the addition of the vowel *a* between the second and the third consonantal roots. Besides, in nouns such as *giməl* [giməl] 'camel' > *ʔagmal* 'camels', we see the deletion of *a* (plural marker). If there is *a* in the last syllable, we can possibly find forms like **ʔagamal* which is a double plural. However, one of the plural markers is deleted and we find the form *ʔagmal* 'camels'. On

the other hand, double plurals are not always avoided and, hence, we have plural forms like *?aklabat* [ʔaχlabat] ‘dogs’ in the mainstream Tigrinya. In the case of nouns such *haml* [hamli] ‘vegetable’ > *?ahmilt* [ʔahmilti] ‘vegetables’, *ʕayn* [ʕayni] ‘eye’ > *?aʕint* [ʔaʕinti] ‘eyes’ and the likes, we see the deletion of *a* (plural marker). This is because there is *-t* suffixed which also is a plural marker. The pattern *cvcvcu* is derived from *cvcacvc* by *iw > u* (last syllable). Plural forms such as *məs’ahift* [məs’ahifti] ‘books’ and *?atakilt* [ʔataxilti] ‘plants’ are derived from *cvcacvc* by adding *-t*.

On the other hand, if there is *u* in the last syllable on nouns, the plural morpheme can be deleted as in *?abaʕur/?abʕur* > [ʔawaʕur] ‘oxen’. In MT, the noun *dərho* ‘hen’ can have the plural forms *dərahut/dərawih/dərhut/dərhu* and *dərəwwih* ‘hens’ and all of them can be derived from *cvcacvc* (see Tesfay, 2003). In *dərhu*, we see the deletion of *a*, while in *dərəwwih* the shortening of *a* to ə is compensated by the germination of *w*. However, in RT, the plural form of the noun *dərho* ‘hen’ is found as *dərahu* ‘hens’.

The present study has also identified that some nouns are inflected for gender morphologically while some are identified as masculine or feminine lexically. The nouns of the variety are also inflected for case, and the accusative, genitive, dative, instrumental, locative, ablative, allative and vocative cases are marked.

In the variety, the pronoun system encompasses personal, possessive, reflexive, demonstrative, interrogative, relative, indefinite and vocative pronouns. Different agreement markers for person, gender and number are suffixed to the pronoun stem

forms. Under nominal modifiers, adjectives and determiners have been presented and described. Apart the primitive ones, it has been confirmed that adjectives are formed by root-and-pattern, and they can be derived from noun and verb classes via suffixation. They are inflected for gender, number and case. Next to adjectives, determiners (numerals, quantifiers, possessive adjectives, demonstrative adjectives and definiteness) have been examined in the chapter. The next chapter deals with the verb morphology of Rayya Tigrinya.

4. VERB MORPHOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, both verb derivation and inflection are described. Rayya Tigrinya uses root-and-pattern in the formation of basic (simple) verbs; the root involves consonants (also called radicals) in a specific sequence and provide a general meaning (for example the root *k'-t-l* in Tigrinya, including the Rayya variety, means 'kill'). Besides, tense, aspect and mood are determined by the pattern of the vowels inserted. Further, inflectional and derivational affixes are added to the resulting stem. Essentially, the verbs in Rayya Tigrinya are built on three radicals (also called consonantal-root). However, there are also verbs with four consonants (quadri-radicals) and five consonants (quinti-radicals).

4.2. Types of verbs

In the present study, simple (basic) verbs are described by the root-and-pattern method. Accordingly, verbs in RT are classified into type A, B and C. Moreover, the number of consonantal root morphemes is considered by which verbs are treated as tri-radical, quadri-radical and quinti-radical. Generally, in RT (also in MT), verbs can also be identified by germination in which type A can geminate in the imperfective, type B geminates throughout the verb conjugations whereas type C and all quadrilateral verbs never geminate (cf. Tesfay, 2002). In what follows, the triradical (also called trilateral) verb types are described first for the sake of discussion.

4.2.1. Tri-radical verbs

Canonically, we can summarize the basic characteristics of the three tri-radical verb types as demonstrated in the following table.

Table 23: Verb types A, B and C

	Type A	Type B	Type C
Root	<i>s-b-r</i> ‘break’	<i>f-s-m</i> ‘complete’	<i>b-r-k</i> ‘bless’
PRV	* <i>səbər-ə</i> ‘He broke.’	* <i>fəs’s’am-ə</i> ‘He completed.’	* <i>barək-</i> ‘He blessed.’
CON	<i>səbir-u</i> [ʃəvru] ‘he broke’	<i>fəs’s’im-u</i> [fəs’s’imu] ‘He completed.’	<i>barik-u</i> [barku] ‘He blessed.’
IMV	<i>yi-səbbir</i> [yiʃəbbir] ‘He breaks.’	<i>yi-fis’s’im-</i> ‘He completes’	<i>yi-barik-</i> ‘He blesses’
JUS	<i>yi-sbər</i> [yiʃvər] ‘Let him break.’	<i>yi-fəs’s’im-</i> ‘Let him complete.’	<i>yi-barik-</i> ‘Let him bless.’
IMP	<i>sibər</i> ‘Break!’	<i>fəs’s’im</i> ‘Complete!’	<i>barik-</i> ‘Bless!’

In the case of the perfective form, there is oddness in the Rayya variety of Tigrinya. We cannot find the canonical perfective forms of all the three type verbs (A, B and C) in the affirmative verb forms in synchronic RT. Rather, the converbial form is employed to state a completed action (in the sense of perfective form). For instance, the canonical perfective form of type A as we can infer from the above table has the template slot CəCəC- (sometimes, CoCəC- for verbs like *k’orəs’-ə* ‘he cut’). The template slot for type A in the converbial form is stated as CəCiC- > [CəCC-] and CoCiC-¹⁹ > [CoCiC-] (for verbs such as *k’olif-u* [χ’olifu] ‘he locked’, *k’oris-u* > [χ’oris’u] ‘he cut’; this form is used to indicate a completed action with affirmative verb form in RT. However, the

¹⁹ *k’olif-u* [χ’olif-u] ≈ *k’wəlif-u* [χ’wəlif-u] ‘he locked’, *k’oris-u* [χ’oris’-u] ≈ *k’wəris-u* [χ’wəris’-u] ‘he cut’)

canonical perfective form works with relativized and negative verb forms in RT as illustrated in the examples below.

[210]	Relativized verb	Verb negation
	<i>disəɾəχ'ə</i> ²⁰	<i>yəsəɾəχ'əy</i>
	zi-səɾəχ'ə	ʔaysəɾəχ'ən
	zi-səɾək'-ə	ʔay-səɾək'-ə-n
	Rel-steal.PRV-3MSG.Sub	NEG-steal.PRV-3MSG.Sub-NEG
	'One (M) who stole'	'He did not steal.'

In the above discussion, we have seen the general characteristics of the three (A, B and C) type verbs. Each feature of these type verbs will be described in detail as follows.

4.2.1.1. Type A

As one can see from the data in the preceding table, the tri-radical types A verbs are characterized by the insertion of the vowel -ə- between the radicals in the canonical perfective aspect. The template form of the verb is CəCəC-. There are also verbs which can be categorized under this type, but they have different template form: CoCəC- as in *k'orəs'-ə* [χ'orəs'ə] 'he cut'. Let us consider the data below.

[211]	Template	Root	PRV stem	Gloss
a)	<i>CəCəC-</i>	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>*səbər-</i>	[ʔəvɾ-] ²¹ 'broke'
b)	<i>CəCəC-</i>	<i>b-l-ɣ</i>	<i>*bələɣ-</i>	[bəlɣ-] 'ate'
c)	<i>CəCəC-</i>	<i>s-t-y</i>	<i>*sətəy-</i>	[sətəy-] 'drank'

²⁰ It has to be considered that the relativizer *zi-* in MT appears as *di-* in RT, and the negative marker *ʔay-...-n* in MT is *yə-...-y* in RT.

²¹ In synchronic Rayya Tigrinya, the perfective verb conjugations are not used in the affirmative form. Instead, the converb forms of verbs are used to indicate completed action.

In RT, the type A verbs are also characterized by the insertion of the vowel -ə- between the first and the second radicals in the imperfective verb conjugations in addition to the gemination of the second radical. The penultimate radical is geminated, and the epenthetic vowel *i* is inserted between the third and ultimate radicals in the imperfective verb forms. The template form in this verb form is -CəCCiC-. Let us have a look at the examples given below.

[212]	Template	Root	IMV stem	Gloss
a)	-CəCCiC-	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>-səbbir-</i> [-ʃəbbir-]	‘breaks’
b)	-CəCCiC-	<i>b-l-ʕ</i>	<i>-bəlliʕ-</i>	‘eats’
c)	-CəCCiC-	<i>s-t-y</i>	<i>-səttiy-</i>	‘drinks’

Besides, in the jussive form of type A verb, the vowel -ə- is interplayed between the penultimate and the ultimate radicals, and it has the template slot -CCəC- as illustrated in the following examples.

[213]	Template	Root	JUS stem	Gloss
a)	-CCəC-	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>-sbər-</i> [-ʃvər-]	‘Let (someone) break.’
b)	-CCəC-	<i>k'-t-l</i>	<i>-k'təl-</i> [-χ'təl-]	‘Let (someone) kill.’
c)	-CCəC-	<i>s-t-y</i>	<i>-stəy-</i>	‘Let (someone) drink.’

Moreover, in the imperative verb conjugations of type A verbs, the vowel -i- is inserted between the first and the penultimate consonant radicals, and the aspectual vowel -ə- is interplayed between the penultimate and the ultimate radicals. See the examples below.

[214]	Template	Root	IMP stem	Gloss
a)	CiCəC-	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>sibər-</i> [ʃivər-]	‘Break!’
b)	CiCəC-	<i>k'-t-l</i>	<i>k'itəl-</i> [χ'itəl-]	‘Kill!’
c)	CiCəC-	<i>s-t-y</i>	<i>sitəy-</i>	‘Drink!’

In the previous section, the type A verbs have been described along with their perfective, imperfective, jussive and imperative verb conjugations. The four verb conjugations of type B verbs will be described in the following section.

4.2.1.2. Type B

Canonically, the type B verbs are characterized by gemination of the penultimate consonant radical in all the verb conjugations. The insertion of the mid-central vowel -ə- takes place between the first and the penultimate radicals as well as between the penultimate and the ultimate radicals; these type verbs have the template pattern CəCCəC-. However, this template form is realized as CəCCiC- in RT in the affirmative verb construction (cf. table 23). Consider the examples below.

[215]	Template	Root	PRV stem		Gloss
a)	CəCCəC-	<i>b-d-l</i>	* <i>bəddəl-</i>	[bəddil-]	‘offended’
b)	CəCCəC-	<i>w-s-k</i>	* <i>wəssək-</i>	[wəssiχ-]	‘added’
c)	CəCCəC-	<i>f-s'-m</i>	* <i>fəs's'am-</i>	[fəs's'im-]	‘gave’

Furthermore, in the imperfective verb conjugation, the type B verbs are characterized by the insertion of the epenthetic vowel -i- between the first and the second as well as between the penultimate and the ultimate radicals. The template form of such type verbs is stated by -CiCCiC- as exemplified below.

[216]	Template	Root	IMV stem		Gloss
a)	-CiCCiC-	<i>b-d-l</i>	- <i>biddil-</i>		‘offend’
b)	-CiCCiC-	<i>w-s-k</i>	- <i>wissik-</i>	[-wissiχ-]	‘add’
c)	-CiCCiC-	<i>f-s'-m</i>	- <i>fīs's'im-</i>		‘complete’

In addition to this, in the jussive verb form, type B verbs are identified by the insertion of the vowel *-ə-* between the first and the second consonant radicals, and the epenthetic vowel *-i-* is inserted between the penultimate and the ultimate consonant radicals. They have the template form *CəCCiC-* as shown in the examples below.

[217]	Template	Root	JUS stem	Gloss
a)	<i>-CəCCiC-</i>	<i>b-d-l</i>	<i>-bəddil-</i>	‘offend’
b)	<i>-CəCCiC-</i>	<i>w-s-k</i>	<i>-wəssik-</i> [-wəssiχ-]	‘add’
c)	<i>-CəCCiC-</i>	<i>l-g-s</i>	<i>-ləggis-</i>	‘give’

Besides, the imperative form of the type B verbs is described by the insertion of the vowel *-ə-* between the first and the penultimate consonant radicals, and the epenthetic vowel *i* is interplayed between the penultimate and the ultimate consonant radicals. It has the template slot *CəCCiC-*. Consider the following examples.

[218]	Template	Root	IMP stem	Gloss
a)	<i>CəCCiC-</i>	<i>b-d-l</i>	<i>bəddil-</i>	‘Offend!’
b)	<i>CəCCiC-</i>	<i>w-s-k</i>	<i>wəssik-</i> [wəssiχ-]	‘Add!’
c)	<i>CəCCiC-</i>	<i>l-g-s</i>	<i>ləggis-</i>	‘Give!’

In the above section, the type B verbs have been described based on the different verb conjugations. In the following section, the type C verbs are described.

4.2.1.3. Type C

The type C verbs are identified by the insertion of the low central vowel *-a-* between the first and the penultimate radicals and the mid central vowel *-ə-* between the penultimate and the ultimate radicals in the perfective verb form canonically, and they are indicated by the template pattern *CaCəC-*. However, the template form is realized

as *CaCC-* in the affirmative verb forms in RT (cf. § 4.2.1.). Let us have a look at the examples below.

[219]	Template	Root	PRV stem		Gloss
a)	CaCəC-	<i>b-r-k</i>	* <i>barək-</i>	[barχ-]	‘blessed’
b)	CaCəC-	<i>f-s'-y</i>	* <i>fas'əy-</i>	[fas'y-]	‘whistled’
c)	CaCəC-	<i>s'-s'-y</i>	* <i>s'as'əy-</i>	[s'as'y-]	‘ground’

Besides, the type C verbs are described by the insertion of the low central vowel *-a-* between the first and the second root consonants (radicals) and the high central vowel *-i-* between the penultimate and the ultimate radicals in the imperfective and jussive verb forms. In other words, the type C verbs have identical template slots in their imperfective and jussive verb forms, and the template form is *-CaCiC-* as illustrated in the following examples.

[220]	Template	Root	IMV/JUS stem		Gloss
a)	-CaCiC-	<i>b-r-k</i>	- <i>barik-</i>	[-bariχ-]	‘bless’
b)	-CaCiC-	<i>f-s'-y</i>	- <i>fas'iy-</i>		‘whistle’
c)	-CaCiC-	<i>s'-s'-y</i>	- <i>s'as'iy-</i>		‘grind’

Moreover, in the imperative verb conjugations, the type C verbs have the template pattern *CaCiC-* in which the low central vowel *-a-* is interdigitated between the first and the second root consonants, and the high central vowel *-i-* is inserted between the penultimate and the ultimate radicals as shown in the examples given below.

[221]	Template	Root	IMP stem	Gloss
	CaCiC-	<i>b-r-k</i>	<i>barik-</i> [bariχ-]	‘Bless!’
	CaCiC-	<i>f-s’y</i>	<i>fas’iy-</i>	‘Whistle!’
	CaCiC-	<i>s’s’y</i>	<i>s’as’iy-</i>	‘Grind!’

In section 4.2.1 and in the sub-sections under it, the tri-radical verb types A, B and C have been described based on their verb conjugations. In the following section and sub-sections, verbs that have four and five radicals in their roots will be described and discussed respectively.

4.2.2. Non-tri-radical verb roots

Verbs in Semitic languages have triradical roots. However, there might be a possibility to extend or to reduce the number of their radicals of their roots through a course of time. Synchronically, there are verb roots with four and five (very rare) consonantal roots (radicals) in Rayya Tigrinya. In the following sub sections, both the quadri-radical and quinti-radical verbs are treated respectively.

4.2.2.1. Quadri-radical verbs

In this section, quadri-radical verbs are described in the language variety. Since there are identical consonants (radicals) in most of the quadriradical verbs, each radical is indicated by number in the template slot. The canonical perfective template form is used as a title in this section for the sake of discussion.

4.2.2.1.1. $C_1\partial C_2C_3\partial C_4$ -

As we can see from the template, all the consonantal-roots (radicals) are different. They have the canonical template form $C_1\partial C_2C_3\partial C_4$ - in the perfective form. However, this template form (canonical) appears only with relativized verbs (as in [dɪmæsxərə] < *zi-məskər-ə* ‘one (M) who testified’) and negative verb form (as in [yəmæsxərəy] < *?ay-məskər-ə-n* ‘he did not testify’ in RT. The template form $C_1\partial C_2C_3iC_4$ - is used to state completed action (perfective aspect) with affirmative verb construction in synchronic RT. Consider the following data.

[222]	Template	Root	PRV stem	Gloss
a)	$C\partial CC\partial C$ -	<i>m-s-k-r</i>	* <i>məskər-</i> [məsχir-]	‘testified.’
b)	$C\partial CC\partial C$ -	<i>g-m-t’-l</i>	* <i>gəmt’əl-</i> [gəmt’il-]	‘copied.’
c)	$C\partial CC\partial C$ -	<i>b-r-k-t</i>	* <i>bərkət-</i> [bərχit-]	‘became numerous.’

Such quadri-radical verbs have the template form $-CiCCiC$ - in their imperfective verb conjugations. Let us see the examples below.

[223]	Template	Root	IMV stem	Gloss
a)	$-CiCCiC$ -	<i>k’-l-t’-f</i>	<i>-k’ilt’if-</i> [-χ’ilt’if-]	‘hurries up.’
b)	$-CiCCiC$ -	<i>m-s-k-r</i>	<i>-miskir-</i>	‘testifies.’
c)	$-CiCCiC$ -	<i>g-m-t’-l</i>	<i>-gimt’il-</i>	‘copies.’

Besides, these quadri-radical verbs have the template slot $-C\partial CCiC$ - in the jussive verb conjugation as illustrated below.

[224]	Template	Root	JUS stem	Gloss
a)	$-C\partial CCiC$ -	<i>b-r-k-t</i>	<i>-bərkit-</i> [-vərχit-]	‘Let become numerous.’
b)	$-C\partial CCiC$ -	<i>ʃ-l-ħ-t’</i>	<i>-ʃəlħit’-</i>	‘Let detach (for wet maize).’
c)	$-C\partial CCiC$ -	<i>m-l-ħ-t’</i>	<i>-məlħit’-</i>	‘Let pull away from mud.’

Furthermore, these quadri-radical verbs have the template form $C\partial CCiC-$ in the imperative form as we can see in the examples below.

[225]	Template	Root	IMP stem	Gloss
a)	$C\partial CCiC-$	$k'-l-t'-f$	$k'\partial lt'if-$ [χ'əlt'if-]	'hurry up!'
b)	$C\partial CCiC-$	$m-s-k-r$	$m\partial skir-$ [məsxir-]	'testify!.'
c)	$C\partial CCiC-$	$g-m-t'-l$	$g\partial mt'il-$	'copy!.'

4.2.2.1.2. $C_1\partial C_2C_3\partial C_3-$

Such types of quadri-radical verbs have some identical radicals. As we can see from the sequence of the radicals, the penultimate and the ultimate radicals are identical, which might be resulted from reduplication of the penultimate radical. These quadri-radical verbs have the canonical template slot $C_1\partial C_2C_3\partial C_3-$ in the perfective verb form; however, this perfective template form appears as $C_1\partial C_2C_3iC_3-$ in synchronic RT as illustrated in the examples below.

[226]	Template	Root	PRV stem	Gloss
a)	$C\partial CC\partial C-$	$\check{c}'-f-t'-t'$	$*\check{c}'\partial ft'\partial t'-$ [č'əft'it'-]	'squeezed.'
b)	$C\partial CC\partial C-$	$\check{c}'-m-d-d$	$*\check{c}'\partial md\partial d-$ [č'əmdid-]	'wrinkled.'
c)	$C\partial CC\partial C-$	$\int-m-t'-t'$	$*\int\partial mt'\partial t'-$ [ʃəmt'it'-]	'striped.'

The quadri-radical verbs described in the above examples have the template form $CiCCiC-$ in the imperfective verb form as illustrated in the data below.

[227]	Template	Root	IMV stem	Gloss
a)	$-CiCCiC-$	$\check{c}'-f-t'-t'$	$-\check{c}'ift'it'-$	'squeezes.'
b)	$-CiCCiC-$	$\check{c}'-m-d-d$	$-\check{c}'imdid-$	'wrinkles.'
c)	$-CiCCiC-$	$\int-m-t'-t'$	$-\intimt'it'-$	'stripes.'

Besides, such quadri-radical verbs have the template slot *-CəCCiC-* in the jussive verb conjugation. Let us consider the examples provided below.

[228]	Template	Root	JUS stem	Gloss
a)	<i>-CəCCiC-</i>	č'-f-t'-t'	<i>-č'əft'it'-</i>	'Let squeeze.'
b)	<i>-CəCCiC-</i>	č'-m-d-d	<i>-č'əmdid-</i>	'Let wrinkle.'
c)	<i>-CəCCiC-</i>	f-m-t'-t'	<i>-fəmt'it'-</i>	'Let stripe.'

Moreover, these types of verbs have the template slot *CəCCiC-* in the imperative verb conjugation as can be seen in the examples below.

[229]	Template	Root	IMP stem		Gloss
a)	<i>CəCCiC-</i>	č'-f-t'-t'	<i>*č'əft'it'-</i>	[č'əft'it'-]	'Squeeze!'
b)	<i>CəCCiC-</i>	č'-m-d-d	<i>*č'əmdid-</i>	[č'əmdid-]	'Wrinkle!'
c)	<i>CəCCiC-</i>	f-m-t'-t'	<i>*fəmt'it'-</i>	[fəmt'it'-]	'Stripe!'

4.2.2.1.3. *C₁əC₂C₁əC₂-*

There are also quadri-radical verbs in which the first and the third as well as the second and the fourth radicals are identical. These verbs have a canonical template form *C₁əC₂C₁əC₂-* in the perfective verb form, but this canonical template form occurs as *C₁əC₂C₁iC₂-* in affirmative verb construction in synchronic RT. Let us consider the data in the examples below.

[230]	Template	Root	PRV stem		Gloss
a)	<i>C₁əC₂C₁əC₂-</i>	<i>s-b-s-b</i>	<i>*səbsəb-</i>	[səʊsiʊ-]	'Collected.'
b)	<i>C₁əC₂C₁əC₂-</i>	<i>d-m-d-m</i>	<i>*dəmdəm-</i>	[dəmdim-]	'Concluded.'
c)	<i>C₁əC₂C₁əC₂-</i>	<i>m-z-m-z</i>	<i>*məzməz-</i>	[məzmiz-]	'Pulled.'

In addition to this, such quadri-radical verbs have the template form *-CiCCiC-* in the imperfective verb form as exemplified below.

[231]	Template	Root	IMV stem	Gloss
a)	-CiCCiC-	s-b-s-b	-sibsib- [-siʊsiʊ-]	‘Collects.’
b)	-CiCCiC-	d-m-d-m	-dimdim-	‘Concludes.’
c)	-CiCCiC-	d-g-d-g	-digdig-	‘Makes a wall.’
d)	-CiCCiC-	m-d-m-d	-midmid-	‘Makes level.’

Moreover, these quadri-radical verbs have the template slot -CəCCiC- in the jussive verb conjugation. Let us have a look at the examples given below.

[232]	Template	Root	JUS stem	Gloss
a)	-CəCCiC-	s-b-s-b	-səbsib- [-siʊsiʊ-]	‘Let (Sub) collect.’
b)	-CəCCiC-	d-m-d-m	-dəmdim-	‘Let (Sub) conclude.’
c)	-CəCCiC-	m-z-m-z	-məzmiz-	‘Let (Sub) pull.’
d)	-CəCCiC-	n-k'-n-k'	-nək'nik'- [-nəχ'niχ'-]	‘Let (Sub) awake.’

Besides, such quadri-radical verbs have the template form CəCCiC- in the imperative verb form as demonstrated in the following description.

[233]	Template	Root	IMP stem	Gloss
a)	CəCCiC-	m-d-m-d	mədmid-	‘Make it level!’
b)	CəCCiC-	m-z-m-z	məzmiz-	‘Pull!’
c)	CəCCiC-	n-k'-n-k'	nək'nik'- [-nəχ'niχ'-]	‘Awak!’
d)	CəCCiC-	s-b-s-b	səbsib- [-səʊsiʊ-]	‘Collect!’

4.2.2.1.4. C₁aC₂C₃əC₄

In the present study, quadri-radical verbs, which possess canonical template form C₁aC₂C₃əC₄ in the perfective verb form, have been identified. However, this canonical template form occurs as C₁aC₂C₃iC₄ in the perfective affirmative verb form in present RT. Let us have a look at the following examples.

[234]	Template	Root	PRV stem		Gloss
a)	<i>CaCCəC-</i>	<i>ʕ-n-ʕ-l</i>	<i>ʕaŋʕəw-</i>	[ʕaŋʕiw-]	‘Became fool.’
b)	<i>CaCCəC-</i>	<i>ʕ-n-g-l</i>	<i>ʕaŋgəl-</i>	[ʕaŋgil-]	‘Fed.’
c)	<i>CaCCəC-</i>	<i>ʕ-n-k'-s</i>	<i>ʕank'əs'-</i>	[ʕaŋk'is'-]	‘Became obstacle.’
d)	<i>CaCCəC-</i>	<i>ħ-n-k-s</i>	<i>ħankəs-</i>	[ħaŋkis-]	‘Limped.’
e)	<i>CaCCəC-</i>	<i>h-f-t-m</i>	<i>haftəm-</i>	[haftim-]	‘Become rich.’

Furthermore, these quadri-radical verbs have the template form *-CiCCiC-* in the imperfective verb conjugation as illustrated in the examples below.

[235]	Template	Root	IMV stem		Gloss
a)	<i>-CiCCiC-</i>	<i>ʕ-n-ʕ-l</i>	<i>-ʕiŋʕw-</i>	[-ʕiŋʕiw-]	‘Becomes fool.’
b)	<i>-CiCCiC-</i>	<i>ħ-n-k-s</i>	<i>-ħiŋkis-</i>	[-ħiŋkis-]	‘Limps.’
c)	<i>-CiCCiC-</i>	<i>h-f-t-m</i>	<i>-hiŋtim-</i>		‘Becomes rich.’

Besides, such kinds of verbs have the template form *-CaCCiC-* in the jussive verb conjugation as in the following examples.

[236]	Template	Root	JUS stem		Gloss
a)	<i>-CaCCiC-</i>	<i>ʕ-n-ʕ-l</i>	<i>-ʕaŋʕw-</i>	[-ʕaŋʕiw-]	‘Let (Sub) become fool.’
b)	<i>-CaCCiC-</i>	<i>ħ-n-k-s</i>	<i>-ħankis-</i>	[-ħaŋkis-]	‘Let (Sub) limp.’
c)	<i>-CaCCiC-</i>	<i>h-f-t-m</i>	<i>-haftim-</i>		‘Let (Sub) become rich.’

Further, the imperative verb conjugation of these verbs has the template form *CaCCiC-* as we can see in the examples below.

[237]	Template	Root	IMP stem		Gloss
a)	<i>CaCCiC-</i>	<i>ʕ-n-ʕ-l</i>	<i>ʕaŋʕw-</i>	[ʕaŋʕiw-]	‘Become fool!’
b)	<i>CaCCiC-</i>	<i>ħ-n-k-s</i>	<i>ħankis-</i>	[ħaŋkis-]	‘Limp!’
c)	<i>CaCCiC-</i>	<i>h-f-t-m</i>	<i>haftim-</i>		‘Become rich!’

4.2.2.1.5. C₁oC₂C₃əC₄-

The present study has also identified quadri-radical verbs, which have a canonical template slot C₁oC₂C₃əC₄- in the perfective verb stem form, but it appears as C₁oC₂C₃iC₄- in the affirmative perfective verb form in RT. Let us consider the examples given below.

[238]	Template	Root	PRV stem		Gloss
a)	CoCCəC-	k'-r-f-č'	k'orfəč'-	[χ'orfič'-]	'became dry (for skin)'
b)	CoCCəC-	k-r-m-č'	korməč'-	[χormič'-]	'ate (for donkey)'
c)	CoCCəC-	k'-r-m-d	k'orməd-	[χ'ormid-]	'burnt (fire)'
d)	CoCCəC-	k-r-n-ɣ	kornəɣ-	[χorniɣ-]	'measured (with an arm)'

These quadri-radical verbs possess the template form -CuCCiC- in the imperfective verb conjugation. Let us consider the following examples.

[239]	Template	Root	IMV stem		Gloss
a)	-CuCCiC-	k'-r-f-č'	-k'urfič'-	[-χ'urfič'-]	'dries'
b)	-CuCCiC-	k-r-m-č'	-kurmič'-	[-χurmič'-]	'eats'
c)	-CuCCiC-	k'-r-m-d	-k'urmid-	[-χ'urmid-]	'burns'
d)	-CuCCiC-	k-r-n-ɣ	-kurniɣ-	[-χurniɣ-]	'measures (with an arm)'

In the jussive verb form of the above quadri-radical verbs, the template slot appears as -CoCCiC-, as it is described below.

[240]	Template	Root	JUS stem		Gloss
a)	-CoCCiC-	k'-r-f-č'	-k'orfič'-	[-χ'orfič'-]	'Let (Sub) dry.'
b)	-CoCCiC-	k-r-m-č'	-kormič'-	[-χormič'-]	'Let (Sub) eat.'
c)	-CoCCiC-	k'-r-m-d	-k'ormid-	[-χ'ormid-]	'Let (Sub) burn.'
d)	-CoCCiC-	k-r-n-ɣ	-korniɣ-	[-χorniɣ-]	'Let (Sub) measure (with an arm).'

Besides, such verbs have the template form *CoCCiC-* in the imperative verb conjugation. Look at the following examples.

[241]	Template	Root	IMP stem		Gloss
a)	<i>CoCCiC-</i>	<i>k'-r-f-č'</i>	<i>k'orfīč'-</i>	[χ'orfīč'-]	'Be dry!'
b)	<i>CoCCiC-</i>	<i>k-r-m-č'</i>	<i>kormič-</i>	[χormič-]	'Eat!'
c)	<i>CoCCiC-</i>	<i>k'-r-m-d</i>	<i>k'ormid-</i>	[χ'ormid-]	'Burn!'
d)	<i>CoCCiC-</i>	<i>k-r-n-ŋ</i>	<i>korniŋ-</i>	[χorniŋ-]	'Measure (with an arm)!'

In the above section and sub-sections, the RT verbs that are found with four consonantal-roots (radicals) have been described. In the next section and sub-sections, verbs that possess five consonantal-roots (radicals) will be described.

4.2.2.2. Quinti-radical verbs

The present study has identified some verbs, which have five consonantal-root (five radicals), and I have termed them as quinti-radical verbs. These verbs are found having the form *tən-* > [tīn-] in their simplest perfective verb form. However, such types of verbs are rare in number. In this study, I have found very rare examples, and they may have a canonical template form *tənCəCCəC-* in the perfective verb conjugation, but this template form appears as *tīnCəCCiC-* in RT. Let us see the examples given below.

[242]	Template	Root	PRV stem		Gloss
a)	<i>tənCəCCəC-</i>	<i>t-n-k'-t-k'-t</i>	<i>tənk'ət'k'ət-</i>	[tījk'ət'k'it'-]	'Trembled.'
b)	<i>tənCəCCəC-</i>	<i>t-n-b-r-k-k</i>	<i>tənbərkək-</i>	[tīnbərkiχ-]	'Kneeled.'
c)	<i>tənCəCCəC-</i>	<i>t-n-t-r-ʔ-s</i>	<i>təntərʔas-</i>	[tīntərʔis-]	'Pillowed.'

In the imperfective verb form of the quinti-radical verbs, the form *tə*²² disappears, and the template form appears as *-CCiCiCəC-* as illustrated in the following examples.

[243]	Template	Root	IMV stem	Gloss
a)	<i>-CCiCiCəC-</i>	<i>n-k'-t-k'-t</i>	<i>-nk'it'ik'ət-</i> [-ŋk'it'ik'ət-]	'Trembles.'
b)	<i>-CCiCiCəC-</i>	<i>n-b-r-k-k</i>	<i>-nbirikək-</i> [-nbirikəχ-]	'Kneels.'
c)	<i>-CCiCiCəC-</i>	<i>n-t-r-ʔ-s-</i>	<i>-ntiriʔəs-</i>	'Pillows.'

These quinti-radical verbs have the template slot *-CCəCiCəC-* in the jussive verb form as illustrated in the examples below.

[244]	Template	Root	JUS stem	Gloss
a)	<i>-CCəCiCəC-</i>	<i>n-k'-t-k'-t</i>	<i>-nk'ət'ik'ət-</i>	'Let (Sub) tremble.'
b)	<i>-CCəCiCəC-</i>	<i>n-b-r-k-k</i>	<i>-nbərikək-</i> [-nbərikəχ-]	'Let (Sub) kneel.'
c)	<i>-CCəCiCəC-</i>	<i>n-t-r-ʔ-s-</i>	<i>-ntəriʔəs-</i>	'Let (Sub) pillow.'

Moreover, these quinti-radical verbs have a canonical template form *tənCəCCəC-* in the imperative verb conjugation, but this template verb form appears as *tinCəCCəC-* in RT as demonstrated in the following examples.

[245]	Template	Root	IMP stem	Gloss
a)	<i>tənCəCCəC-</i>	<i>t-n-k'-t-k'-t</i>	<i>tənk'ət'k'ət-</i> [tiŋk'ət'k'ət'-]	'Trembled.'
b)	<i>tənCəCCəC-</i>	<i>t-n-b-r-k-k</i>	<i>tənbərkək-</i> [tinbərkəχ-]	'Kneeled.'
c)	<i>tənCəCCəC-</i>	<i>t-n-t-r-ʔ-s-</i>	<i>təntərʔəs-</i> [tintərʔəs-]	'Pillowed.'

In the preceding sections and sub sections of this chapter, different verb conjugations of tri-radical, quadri-radical and quinti-radical verbs have been described and discussed.

In what follows, existential, copular and auxiliary verbs are going to be treated in brief.

²² In the imperfective verb conjugation, of the quinti-radical verbs, *tə*- morphologically marks the subject agreement for the entire second person and the third person feminine singular subject pronouns.

4.3. Existential, copular and auxiliary verbs

This section describes and discusses the verb (verbs) which are identified as existential, copular and auxiliary verbs in RT.

4.3.1. Existential verb

Existential verb denotes that something is taking place in somewhere by now (cf. DeCapua 2017: 171). In Rayya Tigrinya, the expression *?inni?*- serves as the verb of existence as well as presentative demonstrative. However, it indicates only the presentative demonstrative in the mainstream Tigrinya.

The RT existential verb stem *?inni?*- appears as *?all-* in MT. This verb is not conjugated like other verbs, but it always appears with pronominal suffixes to show possession as well as obligation. The use of the existential verb is presented in the table below in comparison with that of the mainstream Tigrinya for clarity.

Table 24: Expression of existence

Person	RT	MT	Gloss
1SG	<i>?avzi ?inni?əχu</i>	<i>?abzi ?all-ə-ku (-χu)</i>	'I am here (I exist here).'
2MSG	<i>?avzi ?inni?əχa</i>	<i>?abzi ?all-ə-ka (-χa)</i>	'You are here (you exist here).'
2FSG	<i>?avzi ?inni?əχi</i>	<i>?abzi ?all-ə-ki (-χi)</i>	'You are here (you exist here).'
3MSG	<i>?avzi ?inni?o</i>	<i>?abzi ?all-o</i>	'He is here (he exists here).'
3FSG	<i>?avzi ?inni?a</i>	<i>?abzi ?all-a</i>	'She is here (she exists here).'
1PL	<i>?avzi ?inni?əna</i>	<i>?abzi ?all-ə-na</i>	'We are here (we exist here).'
2MPL	<i>?avzi ?inni?əχum</i>	<i>?abzi ?all-ə-kum [-χum]</i>	'You are here (you exist here).'
2FPL	<i>?avzi ?inni?əχin</i>	<i>?abzi ?all-ə-kin [-χin]</i>	'You are here (you exist here).'
3MPL	<i>?avzi ?inni?owu</i>	<i>?abzi ?all-ə-u [-ww-u]</i>	'They are here (they exist here).'
3FPL	<i>?avzi ?inni?əba</i>	<i>?abzi ?all-ə-a [-b-a]</i>	'They are here (they exist here).'

Since the existential verb stem *ʔinniʔ-* (*ʔall-* in MT) does not have its own past counterpart, the verb stem [nəvɹ-] (*nəbir-* in UF) is used instead.

Pronominal suffixes, which indicate person, gender and number are suffixed to the past existence verb stem [nəvɹ-] (*nəbir-*). The paradigm is presented in the table below.

Table 25: Expression of past existence

Person	RT	UF	Gloss
1SG	<i>ʔavzi nəvrə</i>	<i>ʔab ʔizi nəbir-ə</i>	‘I was here (I existed here).’
2MSG	<i>ʔavzi nəvriχa</i>	<i>ʔab ʔizi nəbir-ka</i>	‘You were here (you existed here).’
2FSG	<i>ʔavzi nəvriχi</i>	<i>ʔab ʔizi nəbir-ki</i>	‘You were here (you existed here).’
3MSG	<i>ʔavzi nəvru</i>	<i>ʔab ʔizi nəbir-u</i>	‘He was here (he existed here).’
3FSG	<i>ʔavzi nəvra</i>	<i>ʔab ʔizi nəbir-a</i>	‘She was here (she existed here).’
1PL	<i>ʔavzi nəvrina</i>	<i>ʔab ʔizi nəbir-na</i>	‘We were here (we existed here).’
2MPL	<i>ʔavzi nəvriχum</i>	<i>ʔab ʔizi nəbir-kum</i>	‘You were here (you existed here).’
2FPL	<i>ʔavzi nəvriχin</i>	<i>ʔab ʔizi nəbir-kin</i>	‘You were here (you existed here).’
3MPL	<i>ʔavzi nəvrom</i>	<i>ʔab ʔizi nəbir-om</i>	‘They were here (they existed here).’
3FPL	<i>ʔavzi nəvrən</i>	<i>ʔab ʔizi nəbir-ən</i>	‘They were here (they existed here).’

On the other hand, the verb stem *ʔinnih-* together with pronominal suffixes can denote possession. In this case, it is preceded by a noun, which is possessed by as shown below.

Table 26: Expression of possession

Person	MT	RT	Gloss
1SG	<i>biɣray ʔall-ə-nni</i> ²³	<i>biɣray ʔinniʔanni</i>	‘I have an ox.’
2MSG	<i>biɣray ʔall-ə-kka</i>	<i>biɣray ʔinniʔakka</i>	‘You have an ox.’
2FSG	<i>biɣray ʔall-ə-kki</i>	<i>biɣray ʔinniʔakki</i>	‘You have an ox.’
3MSG	<i>biɣray ʔall-ə-o</i>	<i>biɣray ʔinniʔawwo</i>	‘He has an ox.’
3FSG	<i>biɣray ʔall-ə-a</i>	<i>biɣray ʔinniʔawwa</i>	‘She has an ox.’
1PL	<i>biɣray ʔall-ə-nna</i>	<i>biɣray ʔinniʔanna</i>	‘We have an ox.’
2MPL	<i>biɣray ʔall-ə-kum</i>	<i>biɣray ʔinniʔakkum</i>	‘You have an ox.’
2FPL	<i>biɣray ʔall-ə-kin</i>	<i>biɣray ʔinniʔakkin</i>	‘You have an ox.’
3MPL	<i>biɣray ʔall-ə-om</i>	<i>biɣray ʔinniʔawwom</i>	‘They have an ox.’
3FPL	<i>biɣray ʔall-ə-ən</i>	<i>biɣray ʔinniʔawwən</i>	‘They have an ox.’

However, the past possession is described by the verb stem [nəvɹ-] (*nəyr-* and *nəbir-* in MT and UF, respectively), which is different paradigm from the present one. Consider the data in the table below.

Table 27: Expression of passt possession

Person	RT	UF	Gloss
1SG	<i>biɣray nəvranni</i>	<i>biɣray nəbir-u-nni</i>	‘I had an ox.’
2MSG	<i>biɣray nəvraka</i>	<i>biɣray nəbir-u-ka</i>	‘You had an ox.’
2FSG	<i>biɣray nəvraki</i>	<i>biɣray nəbir-u-ki</i>	‘You had an ox.’
3MSG	<i>biɣray nəvruwwo</i>	<i>biɣray nəbir-u-o</i>	‘He had an ox.’
3FSG	<i>biɣray nəvruwwa</i>	<i>biɣray nəbir-u-a</i>	‘She had an ox.’
1PL	<i>biɣray nəvranna</i>	<i>biɣray nəbir-u-nna</i>	‘We had an ox.’
2MPL	<i>biɣray nəvrakum</i>	<i>biɣray nəbir-u-kum</i>	‘You had an ox.’
2FPL	<i>biɣray nəvrakin</i>	<i>biɣray nəbir-u-kin</i>	‘You had an ox.’
3MPL	<i>biɣray nəvruwwom</i>	<i>biɣray nəbir-u-om</i>	‘They had an ox.’
3FPL	<i>biɣray nəvruwwən</i>	<i>biɣray nəbir-u-ən</i>	‘They had an ox.’

²³ Though it is not usual, *ʔinnih-* as in *biɣray ʔinnih-ə-nni* ‘I have an ox.’ is also used in MT.

The expression *ʔinniʔ-* (*ʔall-*) is also used to express an obligation when it is preceded by imperfective verb form. Let us see the examples below.

[246] *tʃəbbir ʔinniʔəkka*

<i>tʃəbbir</i>	<i>ʔalləkka</i>
<i>tʃ-əbbir</i>	<i>ʔall-ə-kka</i>
2MSG.Sub-breake.IMV	exist.IMV-3MSG.Sub-2MSG.POS
‘You have to break (You must break).’	

In the case of expressing past obligation, the expression [*nəvr-*] (*nəbir-* in UF and *nəyr-* in MT) is used, and it is preceded by imperfective verb form as in the following example.

[247] *tʃəbbir nəvrukka*

<i>tʃəbbir</i>	<i>nəbirukka</i>
<i>tʃ-əbbir</i>	<i>nəbir-u-ka</i>
2MSG.Sub-breake.IMV	exist.PRV-3MSG.Sub-2MSG.POS
‘You had to break.’	

4.3.2. Copular verb

A copula is a verb form that connects the subject of a sentence to its complement (cf. Ronny Meyer and Lutz Edzard, 2016 :186). In Rayya Tigrinya, the copula *yəʔ-* ‘be’ and the perfective form [*nəvr-*] ‘was/were’, which also appear as *ʔiyy-* and *nəyr-* respectively in the mainstream Tigrinya, occur with pronominal suffixes. These forms can have the function of a copular verb when they are linking a subject and a complement; on the other hand, they are auxiliary verbs if each one of them

accompanies another main verb. Now, let us see their function as a copula first and then when they are used as auxiliaries separately as follows.

4.3.2.1. Copular *yəʔ-*

The morpheme *yəʔ-* which can be interpreted as ‘be’ is a copular in RT. In order to analyze and describe the copular verb *yəʔ-* in RT, it is also important to refer to what the form is in the mainstream and underlying Tigrinya. It seems that change has taken place in RT. For example, *ʔiyy-ə* ‘I am’ in MT appears as [yəʔə] ‘I am’ in RT. In the first place, *ʔiyy-ə* is the underlying representation of the Tigrinya language. That is, *ʔiyyə* contains gemination of *y* (*yy*).

Here, we observe that in the RT case, there has undergone reversing, *ʔiyy-* to *yəʔ-*. In the process, the gemination has been simplified from *yy* to *y* and the vowel *i* lowered to *ə*. The vowel lowering might be due to the influence of the low guttural consonant (*ʔ*).

The paradigm of the copular verb *ʔiyy-* [yəʔ-] along with the pronominal suffixes is presented below in UF, MT and RT for clarity.

[248]	UF	MT	RT	Gloss
1SG	<i>?iyy-ə</i>	<i>?iyyə</i>	<i>yə?ə</i>	'I am'
2MSG	<i>?iyy-ka</i>	<i>?iyyχa</i>	<i>yə?χa</i>	'You are'
2FSG	<i>?iyy-ki</i>	<i>?iyyχi</i>	<i>yə?χi</i>	'You are'
3MSG	<i>?iyy-u</i>	<i>?iyyu</i>	<i>yə?u</i>	'He is'
3FSG	<i>?iyy-a</i>	<i>?iyya</i>	<i>yə?a</i>	'She is'
1PL	<i>?iyy-na</i>	<i>?iyyna</i>	<i>yə?na</i>	'We are'
2MPL	<i>?iyy-kum</i>	<i>?iyyχum</i>	<i>yə?χum</i>	'You are'
2FPL	<i>?iyy-kin</i>	<i>?iyyχin</i>	<i>yə?χin</i>	'You are'
3MPL	<i>?iyy-om</i>	<i>?iyyom</i>	<i>yə?om</i>	'They are'
3FPL	<i>?iyy-ən</i>	<i>?iyyən</i>	<i>yə?ən</i>	'They are'

As one can see from the above data, the underlying stem of the copula is *?iyy-*. However, I argue that if the pronominal suffix begins with a consonant as in *?iyy-ka*, *?iyy-na*, etc., the *y* should not be geminated, but if the pronominal suffix is only a vowel, the *y* has to be geminated. Now in what follows, let us see how *yə?-* (*?iyy-*) can be used as a copular verb in the target language study.

- [249] a) *Nigus məmhir yə?u*
- | | | | |
|----------|---------|---------------------|--|
| Nigus | məmhir | ?iyyu | |
| Nigus | məmhir | ?iyy-u | |
| Nigus.PN | teacher | Cop-3MSG.Sub | |
- 'Nigus is a teacher.'
- b) *Hayləy Bərhəy rugumat yə?om*
- | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|----------|---------------------|
| Haylən | Bərhən | rigumat | ?iyyom |
| Haylə-n | Bərhən | rigum-at | ?iyy-om |
| Haile.PN-and | Berhe.PN-and | cruel.PL | Cop-3MPL.Sub |
- 'Haile and Berhe are cruel.'

4.3.2.2. Copular *nəbir-*

The past form of copula is expressed by the verb stem *nəbir-*, which can be interpreted as ‘was/were’. This expression appears as [nəur-] and [nəyr-] in RT and MT, respectively. Its paradigm with the pronominal suffixes is presented below.

[250]	Person	UT	MT	RT	Gloss
	1SG	<i>nəbir-ə</i>	<i>nəyrə</i>	<i>nəvrə</i>	‘I was.’
	2MSG	<i>nəbir-ka</i>	<i>nəyrɪχa</i>	<i>nəvrɪχa</i>	‘You (MSG) were.’
	2FSG	<i>nəbir-ki</i>	<i>nəyrɪχi</i>	<i>nəvrɪχi</i>	‘You (FSG) were.’
	3MSG	<i>nəbir-u</i>	<i>nəyru</i>	<i>nəvru</i>	‘He was.’
	3FSG	<i>nəbir-a</i>	<i>nəyra</i>	<i>nəvra</i>	‘She was.’
	1PL	<i>nəbir-na</i>	<i>nəyrina</i>	<i>nəvrina</i>	‘We were.’
	2MPL	<i>nəbir-kum</i>	<i>nəyrɪχum</i>	<i>nəvrɪχum</i>	‘You (MPL) were.’
	2FPL	<i>nəbir-kin</i>	<i>nəyrɪχin</i>	<i>nəvrɪχin</i>	‘You (FPL) were.’
	3MPL	<i>nəbir-om</i>	<i>nəyrom</i>	<i>nəvrom</i>	‘They (MPL) were.’
	3FPL	<i>nəbir-ən</i>	<i>nəyrən</i>	<i>nəvrən</i>	‘They (FPL) were.’

The following examples demonstrate that the verb *nəbir-* is used as the perfective copular verb form.

[251] a) *Nigus nufuɫ nəvru*
 Nigus *nɪfuɫ* **nəyru**
 Nigus *nɪfuɫ* **nəbir-u**
 Nigus.PN clever (M) Cop.PRV-3MSG.Sub
 ‘Nigus was clever.’

b) *ʔissən ʃəggətət nəvrən*
 niss-ən *ʃəggətət* **nəyrən**
 niss-ən *ʃəggə-tət* **nəbir-ən**
 Pro-3FPL beautiful-PL **Cop-3FPL.Sub**
 ‘They (F) were beautiful.’

In the above sections, the copular verb forms have been described and discussed. The next section will present the auxiliary verb forms.

4.3.3. Auxiliary verb

Auxiliary (also called auxiliary verb) refers to the set of verbs that accompany or help another verb in a sentence (DeCapua, 2017: 121). Moreover, auxiliary verbs satisfy the morpho-syntactic description of verbs, and they occur in the position of a verb to carry at least some of the inflectional information such as subject/object agreement, tense/aspect/ and mode marking (Payne, 1997: 84)).

As it has been introduced in copular verbs, the copular verb forms can also serve as auxiliary verbs in Rayya Tigrinya. In this variety, the forms *ʔiyy-* [yəʔ-] ‘be’, *ʔall-* [-ill-] ‘exist’, and *nəbir-* [nəʋr-] ‘was/were can appear as the auxiliary of other main verbs. Each of them is treated respectively in the following sub-sections.

4.3.3.1. Auxiliary *yəʔ-*

The form *yəʔ-* ‘be’ is used as an auxiliary with main verbs. It appears just next to the main verb as illustrated in the following examples.

[252]	a)	<i>ʔanə s’əva kisətiy yəʔə</i>	
		ʔanə s’əba kiʔisətiy	<i>ʔiyyə</i>
		ʔanə s’əbha ki-ʔi-sətiy	<i>ʔiyy-ə</i>
		Pro.1SG milk FUT-1SG.Sub-drink.IMV	AUX-1SG
		‘I will drink milk.’	

b) *ʔissa daRayya ʔəyda yəʔa*

nissa	nab Rayya	kəyda	ʔiyya
niss-a	nab Rayya	kəyd-a	ʔiyy-a
Pro-3FSG	P Rayya	go.PRV-3FSG.Sub	AUX-3FSG

‘She went to Rayya.’

c) *ʔahinna s’əva nifəttiw yəna*

ʔahinna	s’əba	nifəttiw	ʔiyina
ʔahinna	s’əbha	ni-fəttiw	ʔiyy-na
Pro.1PL	milk	1PL.Sub-like.IMV	AUX-1PL.Sub

‘We like milk.’

4.3.3.2. Auxiliary *ʔall-*

The expression *ʔall-* appears as [-ill-] in RT. It is suffixed to the main verb (imperfective verb form) and serves as an auxiliary verb. The subject marker pronominal suffixes are attached to the auxiliary verb marker. Let us see the examples given below.

[253] a) *ʔissu daK’obbo ʔədillo*

nissu	nab K’obbo	yīʔəyid	ʔallo
niss-u	nab k’obbo	yī-kəyid	ʔall-o
Pro-3MSG	to K’obbo	3MSG.Sub-go.IMV	exist-3MSG.Sub

‘He is going to K’obbo.’

b) *ʔanə s’əva setilləxu*

ʔanə	s’əba	yisətiy	ʔalləxu
ʔanə	s’əba	yī-sətiy	ʔall-ku
Pro.1SG	milk	1SG.Sub-drink.IMV-exist-1SG.Sub	

‘I am drinking milk.’

4.3.3.3. Auxiliary *nəbir-*

The verb *nəbir-* [nəʊr-], which can be interpreted as ‘was/were’ is also used as an auxiliary of main verbs. The subject marker pronominal suffixes are attached to this auxiliary verb form. It occurs next to the main verb as shown in the examples below.

- [254] a) *Dargə s’əva dasətəyə nəvru*
Dargə s’əba ʔinnasətəyə **nəyru**
Dargə s’əbha ʔina-sətəy-ə **nəbir-u**
Darge.PN milk Prog-drink.PRV-3MSG.Sub AUX.PRV-3MSG.Sub
‘Darge was drinking milk.’
- b) *ħaftu misah tisərrih nəvra*
ħaftu misah *tisərrih* **nəyra**
ħaft-u misah *ti-sərrih* **nəbir-a**
sister-3MSG.POS lunch Prog-make.PRV AXU.PRV-3FSG.Sub
‘His sister was preparing lunch.’

In the above section and sub sections, the existential, copular and auxiliary verbs have been described and discussed with examples in Rayya Tigrinya. In the following section and sub-sections, the descriptions and discussions will deal with the derivation of verbs.

4.4. Verb derivation

Verbs are derived via derivational processes. There are two types of verb stem modifications in the verb derivational processes of the target variety. These are affixation and internal stem modification.

Verb derivational processes, which involve derivational affixes (with or without internal stem modification) in the case of deriving verbs from verbs consist of the causative, passive, middle, reciprocate and adjutative verbs. Internal verb derivational processes (unaffixed type of verb derivational processes), on the other hand, include the frequentative and attenuative verb forms. Frequentative (also known as iterative) shows repetition of an action. Besides, an attenuative verb form, which refers to a reduced or weakened activity usually, takes an auxiliary verb. Discussions of how the aforementioned verbs can be derived will be presented below.

4.4.1. Causative

According to the definition of Comrie (1989: 158), a causative situation shows the cause and effect relationship, which consists of two situations (cause and effect) combined in a causative verb situation. The core arguments in a causative verb situation are the agent of the causative situation (causer) and the agent of the caused event (cause) (cf. Shimelis, 2014: 111).

The morpheme *?a-* is the causative deriving morpheme in Rayya Tigrinya, which is also the same for the mainstream Tigrinya and underlying Tigrinya causativization. In what follows, the derivations of different causative verb forms are going to be described and discussed in brief.

4.4.1.1. Causative of intransitive

According to the definition of DeCapua (2017: 425), verbs that do not take an object are called intransitive verbs. The causative verbs, which are going to be described here, include intransitive verbs (both non-agentive and agentive). In this section, the causative of non-agentive verbs is described first followed by that of agentive.

4.4.1.1.1. Causative of non-agentive intransitive

In the Tigrinya language (including in RT), the causativization of all non-agentive intransitive verbs is formed by prefixing the causativizing morpheme *?a-* to an agentless verb form. Let us consider the following examples.

[255]	Pre-causative form	Root	Marker		Causative form
a)	<i>məχixu</i> məχixu məkik-u melt-3MSG.Sub 'It melted (Intr).'	<i>m-k-k</i> 'melt'	<i>?a-</i>	>	<i>?amχixu</i> ?amχixu ?a-mkik-u Cau-melt.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He caused to melt.'
b)	<i>ʕarifu</i> ʕarifu ʕarif-u rest-3MSG.Sub 'He rested.'	<i>ʕ-r-f</i> 'rest'	<i>?a-</i>	>	<i>?aʕrifu</i> ?aʕrifu ?a-ʕrif-u Cau-rest.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He caused to rest.'

In [255], we have seen how the causative forms of non-agent verbs are derived in the target language variety. The following section deals with derivation of causative forms of agent intransitive verbs.

4.4.1.1.2. Causative of agentive intransitive

Causative of agent intransitive verbs are also derived by adding the prefix *?a-* to agent intransitive forms. Let us consider the following illustration.

[256]	Pre-causative form	Root	Causativizer	Causative form
a)	<i>g^woyiyu</i>	<i>g-y-y</i>	<i>?a-</i> >	<i>?ag^wayiyu</i>
	<i>g^wəyiyu</i>	<i>run</i>		<i>?ag^wyiyu</i>
	<i>g^wəyiy-u</i>			<i>?a-g^wyiy-u</i>
	<i>run.PRV-3MSG.Sub</i>			<i>Cau-run.PRV-3MSG.Sub</i>
	<i>‘He run.’</i>			<i>‘He caused to run.’</i>
b)	<i>məs’i?u</i>	<i>m-s’-?</i>	<i>?a-</i> >	<i>?ams’i?u</i>
	<i>mas’i?u</i>			<i>?ams’i?u</i>
	<i>mas’i?-u</i>			<i>?a-ms’i?-u</i>
	<i>come.PRV-3MSG.Sub</i>			<i>Cau-come.PRV-3MSG.Sub</i>
	<i>‘He came.’</i>			<i>‘He caused to come.’</i>

The description below also deals with the application of the prefix *?a-* in order to derive the causative form of emotive intransitive verbs in the present study.

4.4.1.1.3. Causative of emotive verbs

According to Shimelis (2014:107), verbs that express the emotional reaction of a subject to an external stimulus are called ‘emotive verbs’ or ‘emotive intransitive verbs’.

The causative form of such verbs in the target language variety is illustrated in the examples below.

[257]	Pre-causative form	Root	Causativizer	Causative form
a)	<i>ħazinu</i> ħazinu ħazin-u be sad.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He became sad.'	<i>ħ-z-n</i> 'be sad'	?a- >	<i>?aħzinu</i> <i>?aħzinu</i> <i>?a-ħzin-u</i> Cau-be sad.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He caused to be sad.'
b)	<i>ħafiru</i> ħafiru ħafir-u be shy.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He became shy.'	<i>ħ-f-r</i> 'be shy'	?a- >	<i>?aħfiru</i> <i>?aħfiru</i> <i>?a-ħfir-u</i> Cau-ashame.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He caused to be ashamed.'

4.4.1.2. Causative of transitive verbs

Causative form of transitive verbs is also derived by prefixing the causative maker ?a- to the active transitive verb form. Consider the examples below.

[258]	Simple transitive form	Root	Mar	Causative transitive form
a)	<i>ʃəvru</i> səbiru səbir-u break.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He broke (something)'	<i>s-b-r</i> 'break'	?a- >	<i>?aʃviru</i> <i>?asbiru</i> <i>?a-sbir-u</i> Cau-break.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He caused to break (something).'
b)	<i>χ'atilu</i> χ'ətīlu k'ətīl-u Cau-kill.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He killed (something).'	<i>k'-t-l</i> 'kill'	?a- >	<i>?aχ'tīlu</i> <i>?aχ'tīlu</i> <i>?a-k'tīl-u</i> Cau-kill.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He caused to kill (something).'

4.4.1.3. Causative of composite verbs

A composite verb is expressed with a main verb followed by an auxiliary verb *bil-* > *bil-* ‘say’; besides, the causative of composite verb is formed by prefixing the causativiser *?a-* into the auxiliary *bil-* ‘say’ which is positioned after a main verb (cf. Shimelis, 2014: 116-118). Thus, the auxiliary verb undergoes further change as illustrated in the following examples.

[259]	Non-causative composite	Marker	Causative composite form
a)	<i>kəf bilu</i>	<i>?a-</i> >	<i>kəf ?abbilu</i>
	kəf bilu		kəf ?abbilu
	kəf bil-u		kəf ?a-bil-u
	sit say.PRV-3MSG.Sub		sit Cau-say.PRV-3MSG.Sub
	‘He sat.’		‘He caused to sit.’
b)	<i>dəw bilu</i>	<i>?a-</i> >	<i>dəw ?abbilu</i>
	dəw bilu		dəw ?abbilu
	dəw bil-u		dəw ?a-bil-u
	stand say.PRV-3MSG.Sub		stand Cau-say.PRV-3MSG.Sub
	‘He stood.’		‘He caused to stand.’

In the preceding section and sub-sections, the derivations of different causative verb forms have been described and discussed in tri-radical verbs. The prefix *?a-* is also added to quadri-radical verb forms to derive quadri-radical causative verb forms in Rayya Tigrinya. Examples are shown below.

[260]	Root	Simple form	Mar	Causative form
a)	<i>g-m-t'-l</i>	<i>gəmt'ilu</i> <i>gəmt'ilu</i> <i>gəmt'il-u</i> copy.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He copied.'	<i>?a-</i>	<i>?agəmt'ilu</i> <i>?agəmt'ilu</i> <i>?a-gəmt'il-u</i> Cau-copy.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He caused to copy.'
b)	<i>m-s-k-r</i>	<i>məskiru</i> <i>məskiru</i> <i>məskir-u</i> testify.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He testified.'	<i>?a-</i>	<i>?aməskiru</i> <i>?aməskiru</i> <i>?a-məskir-u</i> Cau-testify.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He caused to testify.'
c)	<i>s-b-s-b</i>	<i>səvsivu</i> <i>səbsibu</i> <i>səbsib-u</i> collec.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He collected.'	<i>?a-</i>	<i>?asəvsivu</i> <i>?asəbsibu</i> <i>?a-səbsib-u</i> 'Cau-collect.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He caused to collect.'

In the preceding discussions, we have seen that the meaning of a causative verb form is that someone causes the action expressed by the verb to occur. In Rayya Tigrinya, intransitive verbs expressing a state or condition are made transitive by adding the prefix *?a-*, and the causative form of such verbs express the meaning of causing something to be in that state of condition expressed by the basic verb form as illustrated below.

[261]	Root	Basic form	Marker	Cau form
a)	<i>w-s'-ʔ</i>	<i>wəs'iʔu</i> <i>wəs'iʔu</i> <i>wəs'iʔ-u</i> go.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He went out.'	<i>ʔa-</i>	<i>ʔaws'iʔu</i> <i>ʔaws'iʔu</i> <i>ʔa-ws'iʔ-u</i> Cau-go.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He caused to take out something.'
b)	<i>g-b-f</i>	<i>gəvʔu</i> <i>gəbiʔu</i> <i>gəbiʔ-u</i> enter.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He entered.'	<i>ʔa-</i>	<i>ʔagviʔu</i> <i>ʔagbiʔu</i> <i>ʔa-gbiʔ-u</i> Cau-enter.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He caused to enter.'
c)	<i>w-r-d</i>	<i>wəriɖu</i> <i>wəriɖu</i> <i>wəriɖ-u</i> come.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He came down.'	<i>ʔa-</i>	<i>ʔawriɖu</i> <i>ʔawriɖu</i> <i>ʔa-wriɖ-u</i> Cau-come (down).PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He caused to bring something down.'

In Rayya Tigrinya, there are also quadri-radical verbs for which there is no simple stem form, but they always occur with the prefix *ʔa-*. Such verbs do not express causative meaning though they occur with it (*ʔa-*). These verbs may be transitive or intransitive. Consider the examples below.

[262]	Root	Simple form with <i>ʔa</i>
a)	<i>ʔ-g-n-y</i>	<i>ʔagniyu</i> <i>ʔagniyu</i> <i>ʔagniy-u</i> find.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He found.'

- b) ʔ-f-k'-r ʔafχ'iru
 ʔafk'iru
 ʔafk'ir-u
 love.PRV-3MSG.Sub
 He loved, liked.'

Verb forms, which have the *tī-* prefix with no corresponding simple form, may have causative forms in which the prefix *tī-* is replaced by *ʔa-* in the RT. Such verbs are transitive and have causative meaning. Consider the examples below.

[263]	Root	Simple form	Causative form
a)	č'-w-t	<i>tīč'awitu</i> təs'awitu təs'awit-u Play.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He played.'	<i>ʔač'č'awitu</i> ʔas's'awitu ʔa-s's'awit-u Cau-play.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He caused to play.'
b)	ħ-g-s	<i>tīħagusu</i> təħag ^w g ^w isu təħag ^w is-u become (happy).PRV-3MSG 'He became happy.'	<i>ʔaħaggusu</i> ʔaħag ^w g ^w isu ʔa-ħag ^w is-u Cau-become (happy).PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He caused to be happy.'

In section 4.4.1 and the sub-sections within it, the derivations of different causative verb forms have been treated. In the following section, the derivation of passive form is going to be dealt with in Rayya Tigrinya.

4.4.2. Passive

The passive verb (also called the passive voice) is the term used in the grammatical analysis of voice to refer to a sentence, clause or verb form in which the grammatical subject is characteristically the recipient of the action denoted by the verb (DeCapua, 2017: 255). Besides, Shimelis (2014: 125) states the term, as it is one of the derivational processes in the grammatical category of voice in which a verb is marked for a subject that is typically a “logical” object. Moreover, Shimelis discusses that “passive is a verb form derived typically from a transitive verb with the direct object of the clause promoted to the subject position and the subject omitted or demoted optionally to an oblique, adjunct or adverbial role.”

In the Amharic and Tigrinya languages, the prefix used to derive a passive verb is *tə-*. In Rayya Tigrinya, this prefix appears as *tɨ-*. When the prefix *tɨ-* is added to transitive verb stems, it indicates the passive form of the verb. It may also indicate either, middle or a reflexive or a reciprocal verb form based on a certain context. The examples given below show the derivation of passive verbs. It has to be taken into consideration that the native speakers of the variety use the converb form instead of the perfective verb form in the affirmative verb constructions in order to denote completed action. Thus, the descriptions in all examples are made based on the converb form but indicate a completed action of the verb as they are recorded from the native speakers. In what follows, each example in the left column shows that the verb is in the active form in

which the passive verb is derived from by adding the prefix *tə-* [ti-]. The passive verb derived from the simplex verb form is indicated in the right column.

[264]

	Active verb form	Root	PAS Mar		Passive verb form
a)	<i>ʔigri fəvru</i>	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>tī-</i>	>	<i>ʔigri tīfəvru</i>
	<i>ʔigri səbiru</i>				<i>ʔigri təsəbiru</i>
	<i>ʔigr səbir-u</i>				<i>ʔigr tə-səbir-u</i>
	leg break.PRV-3MSG.Sub				leg PAS-break.PRV-3MSG.Obj
	‘He broke a leg.’				‘A leg was broken.’
b)	<i>təvən x’atilu</i>	<i>k’-t-l</i>	<i>tī-</i>	>	<i>təvən tix’atilu</i>
	<i>təmən x’ətīlu</i>				<i>təmən tə-k’ətīl-u</i>
	<i>təmən k’ətīl-u</i>				<i>təmən tə-k’ətīl-u</i>
	snake kill.PRV-3MSG.Sub				snake PAS-kill.PRV-3MSG.Obj
	‘He killed a snake.’				‘A snake was killed.’

The discussion and description given in § 4.4.2 is about the derivation of the passive verb forms of the Rayya variety of Tigrinya. The next section deals with the derivation of middle verb forms.

4.4.3. Middle

Middle verbs (also called middle voice) are difficult to distinguish from reflexive and passive verbs. Scholars such as Leslau (1995: 463) and Mengistu (2002: 66) refer middle verbs as reflexive. Besides, Shimelis (2014: 135) states that morphologically Amharic and Tigrinya middle constructions are not different from the passive ones, and therefore, they are referred to as middle-passive. However, Shimelis argues that ‘middle’ and ‘reflexive’ are separate verb constructions.

Shimelis discusses that middle and reflexive verbs are similar in which they both are intermediate between a one-participant and a two-participant event, but they differ in the nature and degree of their intermediacy. As to Shimelis, conceptually, the reflexive verb shows a single entity twice (as initiator and as endpoint) in an event, and then, it is closer to the two-participant event by which the initiator and the endpoint are two different entities. In contrast, the separation of initiator and endpoint in the reflexive situation is not reflected in the middle verb. Regarding such difference between the reflexive and the middle verbs, Kemmer (1993: 72), discusses that reflexive verb denotes a conceptual distinction of a referential entity into a separate conceptual subparts (the initiator and the endpoint); however, middle verb does not show such differentiation. Moreover, Shimelis (2014: 136) presents the concept in a diagram as:



In which “1 represents a one-participant (intransitive) event and 4 represents a two-participant (transitive) event, the middle situation falls at 2 and the reflexive at 3.” For reflexive verbs of RT, see § 4.4.5.

Like the passive form, the middle is also indicated by *ti-* in Rayya Tigrinya. As we can see in the examples given below, a single entity is both the initiator and the endpoint of the action denoted by the verb. The data below present the derivation of middle verbs in Rayya Tigrinya with the third person masculine singular subject marker for the sake of discussion.

[265] Simple verb	Root	Marker	Middle verb
a) <i>lač'iyu</i>	<i>l-s'-y</i>	<i>tī- ></i>	<i>tīlač'iyu</i>
<i>las'iyu</i>			<i>təlas'iyu</i>
<i>las'iy-u</i>			<i>tə-las'iy-u</i>
shave.PRV-3MSG.Sub			MD-shave.PRV-3MSG.Sub
'He shaved.'			'He shaved himself (He was shaved).'
b) <i>ħas'iwu</i>	<i>ħ-s-b</i>	<i>tī- ></i>	<i>tīħas'iwu</i>
<i>ħas'ibu</i>			<i>təħas'ibu</i>
<i>ħas'ib-u</i>			<i>tə-ħas'ib-u</i>
wash.PRV-3MSG.Sub			MD-wash.PRV-3MSG.Sub
'He washed.'			'He washed himself (He was washed).'

In § 4.4.3, the derivation of middle verbs has been described in RT. The following section discusses the derivation of reciprocal (REC) verbs of the subject language variety.

4.4.4. Reciprocal

Reciprocity refers to that two or more opposite groups perform the same action on each other. It is a term that involves a transitive situation in which two participants reciprocate an action or a process and each participant plays an agent as well as a patient role (Shimelis, 2014: 143). Hence, each group acts as an agent and a patient of the action at the same time. Besides, Shimelis, states, “the reciprocal is among the valency-decreasing operations; the double occurrence of an inverse agent-patient relationship implies four participants; however, the actual participants are two in a situation, which is a typical case of valency decreasing.”

Like the passive and middle verb forms, reciprocity is marked by *ti-* while it is *tə-* in the mainstream Tigrinya and even in Amharic; besides, the vowel that follows the first radical in tri-radical verbs is *-a-*, regardless of whether the base verb is Type A, B or C (cf. Shimelis, 2014: 143). In quadri-radical verbs, this vowel is inserted between the second and the penultimate radicals in this study. However, the reciprocal marker *ti-* is totally omitted in imperfective, jussive and imperative verb forms (conjugations). In what follows, the derivations of reciprocal verbs in both the tri-radical and quadri-radical verbs will be described respectively.

The examples below demonstrate how the reciprocal verb forms are derived from their respective basic tri-radical (perfective/converbial active) verb forms in Rayya Tigrinya along with the mainstream Tigrinya for clarity.

[266]	Basic form	Root	Mar		Reciprocal form
a)	<i>fəvrina</i> səbirna səbir-na break.PRV-1PL.Sub 'We broke (something).'	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>ti-</i>	>	<i>tifavirna</i> <i>təsabirna</i> tə-sabir-na REC-break.PRV-1PL.Sub 'We broke each other.'
b)	<i>wəχ'ifom</i> wəχ'ifom wək'if-om hit.PRV-3MPL.Sub 'They (M) hit (someone).'	<i>w-k'-f</i>	<i>ti-</i>	>	<i>tīwax'ifom</i> təwax'ifom tə-wak'if-om REC-hit.PRV-3MPL.Sub 'They (M) hit each other.'

As one can see from the preceding data, the prefix *ti-* is used to derive the reciprocal verb form in the perfective/converb forms. However, in the imperfective verb

conjugation, the reciprocal marker *tī-* disappears. Reciprocity, in this regard, is reflected by the vowel *-a-*, which is commonly inserted between the first and the penultimate radicals in tri-radical verbs and between the second and the penultimate radicals in the case of quadri-radical verbs. Note that the verb stem is reserved, and it linearly appears with the subject markers: *nī-*, *tī-* and *yī-* for first person, second person and third person plural forms respectively. Besides, the first radical of the tri-radical verb is geminated. In the following data, the examples in the left column are in the mainstream Tigrinya while those in the right column are in Rayya Tigrinya presented together for clarity.

[267]	Root	Marker	MT	RT	Gloss
a)	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>nī-ssabər</i>	[niʃʃavər]	‘We break each other.’
b)	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>tī-ssabər-u</i>	[tiʃʃavəru]	‘You (MPM) break each other.’
c)	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>tī-ssabər-a</i>	[tiʃʃavəra]	‘You (FPL) break each other.’
d)	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>yī-ssabər-u</i>	[yiʃʃavəru]	‘They (M) break each other.’
e)	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>yī-ssabər-a</i>	[yiʃʃavəra]	‘They (F) break each other.’

Furthermore, these morphological forms are applied to derive reciprocity in jussive verb conjugations examples below.

[268]	Root	Mar	MT	RT	Gloss
a)	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>nī-ssabər</i>	[niʃʃavər]	‘Let us break to each other.’
b)	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>yī-ssabər-u</i>	[yiʃʃavəru]	‘Let them (M) break to each other.’
c)	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>yī-ssabər-a</i>	[yiʃʃavəra]	‘Let them (F) break to each other.’

In the imperative verb conjugation, however, the derivation of reciprocity maintains the typical marker *tə-* in the mainstream Tigrinya and *tī-* in Rayya Tigrinya; it also marks the second person plural subjects. In this verb conjugation, the gemination of the

first radical does not take place whereas the vowel *-a-* is inserted between the first and the penultimate radicals as presented in the following data.

[269]	Root	Marker	MT	RT	Gloss
a)	<i>s-b-r-</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>tə-sabər-u</i>	[tɪʃavəru]	‘You (MPL) break each other!’
b)	<i>s-b-r-</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>tə-sabər-a</i>	[tɪʃavəra]	‘You (FPL) break each other!’

In the above section, we have seen how a reciprocal verb form can be derived in tri-radical verb types. In what follows, we are going to see how reciprocity is derived in quadri-radical verbs. In the perfective/converb verb form of quadri-radical verbs, reciprocal verb is marked by *t̃-*, and the vowel *-a-* is inserted between the second and the penultimate radicals of the quadri-radical verb in Rayya Tigrinya. Nevertheless, in the mainstream Tigrinya, the marker *tə-* is used. Let us consider the description in the following examples with the perfective and converbial verb forms respectively.

[270]	Root	REC Marker		Reciprocity in PRV verb form
PRV	<i>s-n-t-r</i>	<i>tə-/t̃-</i>	>	<i>*t̃isənatərna</i>
				<i>təsənatərna</i>
				<i>tə-sənatər-na</i>
				REC-comb.PRV-1PL.Sub
				‘We combed to each other.’

As we can see from the above data, the perfective form **t̃isənatərna* ‘we combed to each other’ indicates that the form is ungrammatical in synchronic Rayya Tigrinya. Instead, the converbial verb form is used to state perfective (completed) action as we can see in the following data.

[271]	Root	REC marker		Reciprocity in PRV verb form
CON	<i>w-n-t'-r</i>	<i>tə-/t̄i-</i>	>	<i>t̄iwənat'ir̄om</i>
				<i>təwənat'ir̄om</i>
				<i>tə-wənat'ir-om</i>
				REC-test.CON(PRV)-3MPL.Sub
				'They (M) tested to each other.'

Similarly, the derivations of reciprocity in imperfective, jussive and imperative verb conjugations in quadri-radical verbs share the same features with the characteristics of the derivation of reciprocity in the tri-radical verbs. The following data illustrate the derivation of reciprocity in these three quadri-radical verb forms.

[272]	Root	Mar	Reciprocal form	Gloss
IMV	<i>s-n-t-r</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>ni-sənatər</i>	'We comb to each other.'
JUS	<i>s-n-t-r</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>ȳi-sənatər-u</i>	'Let them (M) come to each other.'
IMP	<i>s-n-t-r</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>t̄i-sənatər-u</i>	'You (MPL) comb to each other!'

Furthermore, reciprocal verb forms can also be causativized by adding the causativiser *?a-*. This marker is prefixed into the reciprocal verb stem in the case of perfective and imperative verb forms. However, it is preceded by the subject marker in the imperfective and jussive verb conjugations, and both have the same form. Here, the typical reciprocal marker *t̄i-* is omitted whereas the vowel *-a-* exists in its actual position. Let us consider the following examples.

[273]	REC stem	Mar	Cau REC form
PRV	<i>ssabir-</i>	<i>?a-</i>	<i>?aʃʃaviruwwom</i> <i>?assabiruwwom</i> <i>?a-ssabir-u-om</i> Cau-breake.PRV.REC-3MSG.Sub-3MPL.Obj 'He caused them to break each other.'
IMV	<i>-ssabirr-</i>	<i>-?a-</i>	<i>yʃʃavirrom</i> <i>yəssabirom</i> <i>yi-?a-ssabir-om</i> 3MSG.Sub-Cau-break.IMV.REC-3MPL.Obj 'He causes them (M) to break each other.'
JUS	<i>-ssabirr-</i>	<i>-?a-</i>	<i>yʃʃavirrom</i> <i>yəssabirrom</i> <i>yi-?a-ssabirr-om</i> 3MSG.Sub-Cau-break.JUS.REC-3MPL.Obj 'Let he cause them (M) to break each other.'
IMP	<i>ssabirr-</i>	<i>?a-</i>	<i>?aʃʃavirrom</i> <i>?assabirrom</i> <i>?a-ssabirr-om</i> Cau.2MSG.Sub-break.IMP.REC-3MPL.Obj You (MSG) cause them (M) to break to each other!'

As one can see from the above data, the causative reciprocal derivational process indicates that the reciprocal marker *tə/ti-* is disappeared when the causative marker *?a-* is prefixed as in *?a-tə-sabər-om* > *?as-sabər-om* > [*?aʃʃavərom*] 'he caused them (M) to break each other'.

4.4.5. Reflexive

In the reflexive verb constructions, the subject and the object of the verb are referring to the same entity (Payne, 1997: 198). In other words, Shimelis (2014: 136) states that the reflexive verb form conceptually presents a single entity in an event twice in which the initiator and the endpoint of an action are the same.

In the target language variety, the expression [baʃil-/di-vaʃil-] ‘oneself /for-oneself’ is used to indicate reflection; any verb with this expression clearly shows that it is in its reflexive form. Personally, I believe that this type of construction is not morphological, but it is syntactically constructed form. Look at the examples given below.

- [274] a) **baʃlu č’ihmu lač’iyu**
baʃlu s’ihmu las’iyu
baʃl-u s’ihm-u las’iy-u
self-3MSG bear-3MSG.POS shave.PRV-3MSG.Sub
‘He shaved his beard himself.’
- b) **divaʃlu s’ərɸu**
nibaʃlu s’ərɸu
ni-baʃl-u s’ərɸ-u
Acc-self-3MSG insult.PRV-3MSG.Sub
‘He insulted himself.’

The preceding section has treated the derivation of reciprocal verbs; the next section presents the derivation of adjectival verbs with examples of RT.

4.4.6. Adjutative

The term ‘adjutative’, which is derived from the Latin *adjutare* ‘to help’ (Shimelis, 2014: 121) in this study also carries the meaning of helping someone to perform an action denoted by a verb. In the adjutative verb form, two major arguments take place—the helper and the main agent of the verb. The subject of the verb in the adjutative voice is not the direct agent of the action denoted by the verb, but it assists the implicit (unstated) agent in performing the action (cf. Shimelis, 2014: 121-125).

In the Rayya Tigrinya variety, the adjutative verb form is derived by adding the prefix *?a-* to basic verb forms. When the prefix *?a-* is added to the basic (simple) verb forms, the first consonant of the adjutative verb form is geminated and followed by the low central vowel *a*. In the target variety, the causative-reciprocal and the adjective verbs have identical forms. Similarly, (Shimelis, 2014: 156) states that the adjutative verb forms in Amharic and Tigrinya are identical to the causative-reciprocal in which both verb forms take the double prefix *?(a)- + t-*. As stated above, in the case of RT, the prefix *?(a)-* appears as *?a-* whereas the following prefix (*t-*) is not seen probably due to the total assimilation. Now, let us see examples in both the adjutative and causative-reciprocal verb forms side by side for clarity with the third person singular masculine subject markers for the sake of discussion as follows.

Table 28: Causative-reciprocal and adjutative verb forms

	Root	Mars	Causative-reciprocal and Adjutative verb forms			
			UF		MT	RT
PRV	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>ʔa-ti-</i>	<i>ʔa-tə-sabir-u</i>	>	[ʔassabiru]	[ʔaʃʃaviru]
					1) ‘He caused to break each other.’ 2) ‘He helped (someone) to break something.’	
IMV	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>-ʔa-ti-</i>	<i>yī-ʔa-tə-sabir</i>	>	[yassabir]	[yaʃʃavir]
					1) ‘He causes to break each other.’ 2) ‘He helps to break something.’	
JUS	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>-ʔa-ti-</i>	<i>yī-ʔa-tə-sabir</i>	>	[yassabir]	[yaʃʃavir]
					1) ‘Let him cause to break to each other.’ 2) ‘Let him help to break something.’	
IMP	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>ʔa-ti-</i>	<i>ʔa-tə-sabir</i>	>	[ʔassabir]	[ʔaʃʃavir]
					1) ‘Cause to break to each other!’ 2) ‘Help to break!’	

As we can see from the data in the above table, the marker *tə-* disappeared in all the verb conjugations in the case of MT and RT. In the imperfective and jussive verb forms, the causative-reciprocal and the adjutative markers are preceded by the third person masculine singular subject marker prefix (*yī-*). In this case, *yī-* and *ʔa-* are appearing in coalescence, and they are realized as *ya-* in the causative-reciprocal and adjutative verb forms in both MT and RT.

However, in verbs whose initial consonants are gutturals, the marker *tə-* (*tī-*) exists as *-tta-* in its typical position (between the prefix *ʔa-* and the verb that begins with guttural consonant) in the formation of the adjutative verb forms. Consider the examples below in the four verb conjugations.

Table 29: Derivation of adjutative in verbs beginning with guttural consonant

	Root	Markers		Adjutative verb forms			
				UF	MT	RT	
PRV	<i>ħ-r-s</i> ‘plough’	<i>ʔa-</i>	<i>tə-</i>	<i>ʔa-tə-ħaris-u</i>	>	[ʔattaharisu]	[ʔattaharisu]
						‘He helped (someone) to plough.’	
IMV	<i>ʔ-s-r</i> ‘tie’	<i>-ʔa-</i>	<i>tə-</i>	<i>yi-ʔa-tə-ʔasir</i>	>	[yəttəʔasir]	[yattaʔasir]
						‘He helps (someone) to tie.’	
JUS	<i>ʕ-d-g</i> ‘buy’	<i>-ʔa-</i>	<i>tə-</i>	<i>yi-ʔa-tə-ʕadig</i>	>	[yəttəʕadig]	[yattaʕadig]
						‘Let him help to buy.’	
IMP	<i>ħ-s-y</i> ‘smash’	<i>ʔa-</i>	<i>tə-</i>	<i>ʔa-tə-ħasiy</i>	>	[ʔattahasiy]	[ʔattahaʕiy]
						‘Help to smash!’	

As one can also see in the case of the adjutative verb derivation in imperfective and jussive verb conjugations, the subject marker *yi-* and the adjutative verb marker *ʔa-* appear in coalescence, and they are realized as *ya-*.

In the above section, the focus has been on the derivation of the adjutative verb forms in the Rayya Tigrinya variety along with the mainstream Tigrinya. The next section deals with the derivation of the frequentative (also iterative) verb forms.

4.4.7. Frequentative

Frequentative (also called iterative) is a term that refers to the expression of repeated action denoted by a verb (cf. Lipinski, 1997: 404). In other words, it shows the frequency or repetition of an action of a verb.

4.4.7.1. Derivation of frequentative verbs

The frequentative verb form is built on the root consonants (radicals) of the derivational source verb by reduplication of the medial radical with an intervening added vowel between the two reduplicants ($-C_2aC_2-$) in tri-radical verbs (cf. Shimelis, 2014: 77). However, the derivation of frequentative in the case of quadri-radical verbs takes place by reduplicating the third radical and by inserting the vowel *-a-* between the reduplicants ($-C_3aC_3-$).

The frequentative verb forms of triradical verbs in Rayya Tigrinya are derived by inserting an extra syllable consisting of a reduplication of the second radical of the root followed by the low central unrounded vowel *a*. The syllable that shows the repetition of an action in the frequentative verb forms can be derived as in the examples below.

[275]	Root	Simple form (PRV/CON)	Freq form (PRV/CON)
a)	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>fəvru</i> səbir-u səbir-u break.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He broke (something).'	<i>fəvaviru</i> sə bab iru sə bab ir-u break.Freq.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He broke (something) into pieces.'
b)	<i>b-l-ʕ</i>	<i>bəlɪʕu</i> bəlɪʕu bəlɪʕ-u eat.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He ate (something).'	<i>bəlalɪʕu</i> bəl alɪ ʕu bəl alɪ ʕ-u eat.Freq.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He ate (something) again and again.'

The frequentative form in the triradical verbs Type B is derived by inserting only the vowel *-a-* between the geminated consonants. In such verbs, no more reduplication of any radical takes place. Consider the data below.

[276]	Root	Simple form (PRV/CON)	Freq form (PRV/CON)
a)	<i>f-l-s'</i>	<i>fəllis'u</i> fəllis'u fəllis'-u split.PRV(CON)-3MSG.Sub 'He split (something).'	<i>fəlalis'u</i> fə l alis'u fə l alis'-u split.Freq.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He split (something) into pieces.'
b)	<i>b-d-l</i>	<i>bəddilu</i> bəddilu bəddil-u offend.PRV(CON)-3MSG.Sub 'He offended.'	<i>bədadilu</i> bə d adilu bə d adil-u offend.Freq.PRV(CON)-3MSG.Sub 'He offended now and then.'

The second radical of each root-consonant in [276] is geminated in its perfective verb form. Thus, only the insertion of the vowel *a*, which is shown in bold face between the geminated radicals has derived the frequentative verb form in each examples.

Quadriradical verbs, which contain non-identical radicals, derive their frequentative forms by inserting an extra syllable, which consists of a reduplication of the third radical with the insertion of the vowel *-a-* between them. In addition, the second radical of such quadriradical verbs is accompanied by the vowel *ə* in their frequentative forms. Look at the examples given below.

[277]	Root	Simple form (PRV/CON)	Freq form (PRV/CON)
a)	<i>w-n-t'-r</i>	<i>wənt'iru</i> <i>wənt'iru</i> <i>wənt'ir-u</i> ask.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He asked.'	<i>wənət'at'iru</i> <i>wənət'at'iru</i> <i>wənət'at'ir-u</i> ask.Freq.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He asked repeatedly.'
b)	<i>m-s-k-r</i>	<i>məskiru</i> <i>məskiru</i> <i>məskir-u</i> testify.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He testified.'	<i>məsəχaxiru</i> <i>məsəkakiru</i> <i>məsəkakir-u</i> testify.Freq.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He testified repeatedly.'

In [277], the syllable written in bold is the one, which indicates the repetition of the action. Thus, it is the frequentative verb marker, and each of the syllables that indicate the frequentative form of such quadriradical verbs is preceded by the vowel ə.

Furthermore, in quadri-radical verbs, which contain identical radicals, the frequentative verb form is derived by inserting the vowel -a- between the second and the penultimate radicals. Let us consider the data below.

[278]	Root	Mar	MT	RT	Gloss
PRV(CON)	<i>s-b-s-b</i>	-a-	<i>səbasib-u</i>	[səvasiwu]	'He collected (many things) repeatedly.'
IMV	<i>s-b-s-b</i>	-a-	<i>yī-səbasib</i>	[yisəvasiv]	'He collects (many things) repeatedly.'
JUS	<i>č'-f-t'-t'</i>	-a-	<i>yī-č'əfat'it'</i>	[yič'əfat'it']	'Let him squeeze (something) repeatedly.'
IMP	<i>č'-f-t'-t'</i>	-a-	<i>č'əfat'it'</i>	[č'əfat'it']	'You (MSG) squeeze (something) repeatedly.'

As we can see from the above data, the derivation of the frequentative verb form is similar in the imperfective (IMV) and in the jussive (JUS) verb conjugations.

4.4.7.2. Derivation of frequentative-reciprocal verbs

Moreover, in the target study, reciprocal frequentative verb forms can be derived by prefixing the reciprocal marker *t̃i-* into the frequentative verb forms. In RT, the reciprocal frequentative verbs have similar forms in the imperfective (IMV) and in the jussive (JUS) verb conjugations in both tri-radical and quadri-radical verbs; in this case, the reciprocity marker is preceded by subject markers in both of the verb forms. First, let us see the derivations of reciprocal frequentative verbs in the tri-radical verb types A, B and C with the perfective (converbial), imperfective, jussive and imperative verb conjugations together for the sake of discussion as follows.

Table 30: Examples of reciprocal-frequentative tri-radical verbs

	Type A (<i>s-b-r</i> ‘break’)	Type B (<i>f-l-s</i> ‘split’)	Type C (<i>b-r-k</i> ‘bless’)
PRV	<i>tifəvavirom</i> təsəbabirom tə-səbabir-om REC-break.Freq-3MPL.Sub ‘They broke to each other into pieces.’	<i>tifələlis’om</i> təfələlis’om tə-fələlis’-om REC-split.Freq-3MPL.Sub ‘They split to each other into pieces.’	<i>tibarariχom</i> təbarariχom tə-bararik-om REC-bless.Freq-3MPL.Sub ‘They blessed to each other many times.’
IMV/ JUS	<i>yiffəvavəru</i> yissəbabəru yi-tə-səbabər-u 3MPL-REC-break.Freq.IMV-3MPL.Sub ‘They break to each other into pieces.’	<i>yiffələlələs’u</i> yiffələlələs’u yi-tə-fələlələs’-u 3MPL-REC-split.Freq.IMV-3MPL.Sub ‘They split to each other into pieces.’	<i>yibbərarəχu</i> yibbərarəχu yi-tə-bərarək-u 3MPL-REC-split.Freq.IMV-3MPL.Sub ‘They bless to each other many times.’
IMP	<i>tifəvavəru</i> təsəbabəru tə-səbabər-u REC-break.Freq.IMP-2MPL.Sub ‘Break to each other into pieces!’	<i>tifələlələs’u</i> təfələlələs’u tə-fələlələs’-u REC-split.Freq.IMP-2MPL.Sub ‘Split to each other into pieces!’	<i>tibərarəχu</i> təbərarəχu tə-bərarək-u REC-bless.Freq.IMP-2MPL.Sub ‘Bless to each other many times.’

Besides, the derivations of reciprocal frequentative verbs in quadri-radical verbs manifest similar processes with the derivational forms of the tri-radical verb types we have already seen in the preceding data. Now, let us consider the following descriptions to demonstrate how reciprocal frequentative verbs can be derived in the quadri-radical verb conjugations.

Table 31: Frequentative-reciprocal verb forms

	Root	Markers		Frequentative-reciprocal verb forms		
				UF	MT	RT
PRV	<i>s-n-t-r</i>	<i>tə-/ti-</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>tə-sənətətir-om</i>		[təsənətatirom] [tisənətatirom] 'They combed each other many times.'
IMV	<i>s-n-t-r</i>	<i>tə-/ti-</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>yi-tə-sənətətər-u</i>	>	[yisənətətəru] [yisənətətəru] 'They comb each other many times.'
JUS	<i>s-n-t-r</i>	<i>tə-/ti-</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>yi-tə-sənətətər-u</i>	>	[yisənətətəru] [yisənətətəru] 'Let them comb each other many times.'
IMP	<i>s-n-t-r</i>	<i>tə-/ti-</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>tə-sənətətər-u</i>	>	[təsənətətəru] [tisənətətəru] 'Comb each other many times!'

As we can infer from the above data, the derivations of the reciprocal-frequentative verb forms in the imperfective (IMV) and in the jussive (JUS) verb conjugations are similar; the reciprocal marker *tə-*[*ti-*] is preceded by the subject marker *yi-*. In this case, *tə-/ti-* disappeared, and its position is occupied by *yi-*.

The preceding section has dealt with the derivation of frequentative-reciprocal verb forms. The next section deals with the derivation of frequentative-causative verb forms.

4.4.7.3. Derivation of frequentative causative verbs

The causative frequentative verb form refers to that someone causes somebody to perform something repeatedly. Causative frequentative verb forms are derived by adding the causative marker *ʔa-* into the frequentative verb forms in the target study. Let us consider the derivation of causative frequentative forms in the verb conjugations illustrated in the table below with the consonantal root (radical) *s-b-r*, which appears as ‘break’ in synchronic Rayya Tigrinya. Note that the converbial verb form states the perfective (completed) action, and it is represented as PRV.

Table 32: Derivation of causative frequentative verbs

	Frequentative verb form		Causative frequentative verb form	
	MT	RT	MT	RT
PRV	<i>səbabir-u</i>	<i>fəvavir-u</i>	<i>ʔa-ssəbabir-u</i>	[ʔa]ʃəvaviru]
	‘He broke (something into pieces.’		‘He caused to break into pieces.’	
IMV	<i>yi-səbabir</i>	<i>yi-fəvavir</i>	<i>yi-ʔa-ssəbabir</i>	[yiʔa]ʃəvavir]
	‘He breaks (something) into pieces.’		‘He causes to break into pieces.’	
JUS	<i>yi-səbabir</i>	<i>yi-fəvavir</i>	<i>yi-ʔa-ssəbabir</i>	[yiʔa]ʃəvavir]
	‘Let him break (something) into pieces.’		‘Let him cause to break into pieces.’	
IMP	<i>səbabir</i>	<i>fəvavir</i>	<i>ʔa-ssəbabir</i>	[ʔa]ʃəvavir]
	‘Break (something) into pieces!’		‘Cause to break into pieces.’	

As one can see from the above data, the causative frequentative forms in the imperfective and jussive verb conjugations are similar; in addition to this, the causative marker *ʔa-* is preceded by the subject marker in this regard. Similarly, this causative marker is also employed to quadri-radical frequentative verbs in order to derive

causative frequentative verb forms. Let us consider the examples in the following table with the consonantal-root (quadri-radical) *č'-f-t'-t-* 'squeeze'.

Table 33: Derivation of causative frequentative in quadri-radical verbs

	Root	Cau Mar	Freq Mar	UF	RT
PRV	<i>č'-f-t'-t-</i>	<i>?a-</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>?a-č'č'əfat'it'-u</i>	[<i>?ač'č'əfat'it'u</i>]
				'He caused to squeeze repeatedly.'	
IMV	<i>č'-f-t'-t-</i>	<i>-?a-</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>yi-?a-č'č'əfat'it'</i>	[<i>yi?ač'č'əfat'it'</i>]
				'He causes to squeeze repeatedly.'	
JUS	<i>č'-f-t'-t-</i>	<i>-?a-</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>yi-?a-č'č'əfat'it'</i>	[<i>yi?ač'č'əfat'it'</i>]
				'Let him cause to squeeze repeatedly.'	
IMP	<i>č'-f-t'-t-</i>	<i>?a-</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>?a-č'č'əfat'it'</i>	[<i>?ač'č'əfat'it'</i>]
				'You (MSG) cause to squeeze repeatedly.'	

In the preceding sub-section, we have seen the derivation of causative frequentative verb forms. The next sub-portion will focus on the derivation of frequentative causative reciprocal verbs.

4.4.7.4. Derivation of frequentative causative reciprocal verbs

In the target study, frequentative causative reciprocal verb forms are derived by prefixing the causative marker *?a-* followed by the reciprocal marker *tí-*, which together attached to the frequentative verb stem. Although the reciprocal marker *tí-* disappears morphologically in the actual realization, the derived verb stem manifests the concept of reciprocity. Let us consider the data with the tri-radical root *s-b-r* 'break' in the table below.

Table 34: Derivation of frequentative causative reciprocal verbs

	Root	Cau Mar	REC Mar	Freq Mar	Causative reciprocal frequentative verb
PRV	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>ʔa-</i>	<i>t̪i-</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>ʔat̪əssəb̪ab̪iru</i> > [ʔaʃʃəv̪av̪iru] <i>ʔa-t̪ə-ssəb̪ab̪ir-u</i> Cau-REC-break.Freq.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He caused to break each other repeatedly.'
IMV	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>-ʔa-</i>	<i>t̪i-</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>y̪i-ʔa-t̪ə-səb̪ab̪ir</i> > [yaʃʃəv̪av̪ir] 3MSG.Sub-REC-break.Freq.IMV 'He causes to break each other repeatedly.'
JUS	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>-ʔa-</i>	<i>t̪i-</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>y̪i-ʔa-t̪ə-ssəb̪ab̪ir</i> > [yaʃʃəv̪av̪ir] 3MSG.Sub-REC-break.Freq.JUS 'Let him cause to break to each other repeatedly.'
IMP	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>ʔa-</i>	<i>t̪i-</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>ʔa-t̪ə-ssəb̪ab̪ir</i> > [ʔaʃʃəv̪av̪ir] Cau-REC-break.Freq.IMP.2MSG.Sub 'Cause to break each other repeatedly!'

As one can infer from the table above, the causative marker *ʔa-* is preceded by the subject marker in the imperfective (IMV) and jussive (JUS) verb conjugations. In this case, the epenthetic vowel *-i-* of the subject marker and the glottal consonant *ʔ* of the causative marker are omitted, and *y-* and *-a-* appear as coalescence (*ya-*).

This type of verb derivational process is also applied in quadri-radical verbs as we can see the example with the quadri-radical: *s-n-t-r* 'comb': *ʔa-t̪ə-sənət̪at̪ir-u* > [ʔa-t̪i-sənət̪at̪ir-u] > [ʔassənət̪at̪iru] 'he caused to comb to each other repeatedly.' In this case, the penultimate consonant is reduplicated, and the vowel *-a-* is inserted between the reduplicants.

In the preceding section and sub-sections, we have discussed how frequentative, frequentative-reciprocal and causative-reciprocal-frequentative verb forms are derived

in the target language variety. The following section deals with the derivation of attenuative verbs in Rayya Tigrinya.

4.4.8. Attenuative

An attenuative verb can refer to a reduced quality or quantity of a state or activity expressed by a verb. In connection to this, Shimelis (2014: 85-86), states that “to attenuate means to weaken or to lessen the value or intensity of something; thus, an attenuative verb is a kind of verb that indicates the performance of an action or the occurrence of a state with reduced intensity or quantity, that is, lightly or just a little.” Besides, attenuative types of verbs typically require an auxiliary, and therefore, they are composite in form. In such composite verbs, the auxiliary verb undergoes to reflect inflections whereas the main verb can undergo various kinds of derivational reduplication reflecting frequency of the action (cf. Shimelis, 2014: 85). An attenuative verb can be simple, duplicated, iterative or multi-iterative in form.

The simple attenuative form is a composite verb with no reduplication, but the main verb is different from its simplex verb form. For instance, the simplex perfective verb form of the *s-b-r* ‘break’ is *səbir-u* [ʃəvru] ‘he broke (something)’. The main verb of the composite form in simple attenuative verb appears as *sibir* [ʃivir] ‘broke lightly’. Let us consider the data below to demonstrate the composite form of the simple attenuative verb.

[279] *ʃivir ʔabbilu*

sibir ʔabbilu

sibir ʔa-bil-u

break Cau-say.PRV-3MSG.Sub

‘He broke (something) lightly (He made (something) to break lightly)’.

The duplicated attenuative verb form, on the other hand, is indicated by reduplicated (*sibir sibir* [ʃivir ʃivir]) and sometimes by triplicated (*sibir sibir sibir* [ʃivir ʃivir ʃivir]) and even in rare cases by multi-duplicated as (*sibir sibir sibir...* [ʃivir ʃivir ʃivir...]) form of the simple attenuative form, which needs an auxiliary verb for completion.

Besides, the iterative attenuative verb involves a reduplicating extension of the final syllable of the simple attenuative ideophonic stem as *sibirbirbir* [ʃivirvɪrvɪr], and it takes an auxiliary verb to be completed. Moreover, the multi-iterative attenuative form is derived by repeating the final syllable of a verb stem infinitely as in *sibirbirbir...* [ʃivirvɪrvɪr...] accompanied by an auxiliary verb.

In section 4.4 and in the sub-sections under it, the verb derivational morphology in different types of verbs of the Rayya Tigrinya variety have been described and discussed. In the next section and in the sub-sections, the description and discussion will focus on the verb inflectional morphology of the target language variety.

4.5. Verb inflection

According to Lipinski (1997: 582), the term inflection refers to a pattern of changes undergone by words to express grammatical and syntactical relations, as of case,

number, gender, person, tense, mood, voice, etc., and Lipinski calls the inflection of nouns, adjectives and pronouns as "declension" and that of verbs "conjugation".

Derivational affixes are employed in word-formation processes whereas inflectional affixes signal grammatical relationships, such as plural, past tense and possession. In other words, inflectional morphemes do not change the grammatical class of the stems to which they are attached; that is, the words constitute a single paradigm. The verb is the grammatical category, which inflects for tense, for aspect and for mood (Lipinski, 1997: 331). Besides, Meyer (2016: 182) states that the Ethio-Semitic verbs inflect in perfective and imperfective (viewpoint aspect) as well as in the imperative and jussive (mood). Rayya Tigrinya (+MT) are rich in inflectional morphological system. In the target language variety (+MT), verbs are inflected for aspect (perfective and imperfective), mood (imperative and jussive) and tense (past and non-past), but it is very complex to distinguish the verb aspect from tense. Moreover, person (first, second and third persons), number (singular and plural) and gender (masculine and feminine) are indicated by subject marker affixes which are attached to each verb form. However, the first person is not inflected for gender since there is only one form for the person speaking regardless of the gender. The gender distinction between masculine and feminine occurs only in all the second and third persons.

As it can be noticed throughout the dissertation, a single verb can carry out full syntactic and semantic meanings in Rayya Tigrinya. Therefore, the verbs are sentential-

verbs. In what follows, verb inflections regarding tense, aspect and mood are addressed respectively.

4.5.1. Tense, Aspect and Mood

This section deals with the descriptions and discussions on tense, aspect and mood in the language variety under study. The interactive similarities and differences among these concepts are dealt with hereafter.

4.5.1.1. Tense and aspect

Tense is the grammatical marker, which encodes the location of verbs or situations in terms of time (Comrie, 1985:9). As to Comrie, tense is a grammatical category that indicates a point of reference in time from which a verbal event takes place. The time of speaking (now) can be taken as a temporal point of reference to indicate tense. Therefore, tense is categorized as past, present (the time of speaking) and future (cf. Meyer, 2006: 114-116). Aspect, on the other hand, refers to a grammatical description of verbs referring primarily to the way the grammar marks the duration or type of temporal activity that is denoted by the verb (cf. Meyer, 2006: -114).

Moreover, Meyer (2014: 2) states that in Ethio-Semitic languages, tense and aspect are mixed entities in which aspect is the primary whereas tense is the secondary classification. Such morphological feature is reflected in the target language variety. For example, in *səbir-u* [ʃəvru] ‘he broke’, the form of the stem is that of the perfective aspect. The word ‘perfect’ ordinarily means completed/accomplished. That is why such

a verbal action as *səbir-u* [ʃəvru] ‘he broke’ is referred to from the aspect of perfected-ness; hence, it is perfective. In relation to ‘now’, the action was accomplished in the past; therefore, it is past in terms of tense (time). The stem *səbir-* [ʃəvɹ-] conflates (combines) aspect (whether an action is complete/incomplete/ in progress) and tense (time in relation to the time point the speaker utters—if referring to the time at the point when he/she speaks, that is ‘now’. Nevertheless, referring to the time before the point when he/she speaks, that is ‘past’. Again, if referring to the time after the point when he/she speaks, that is future). So, the form *səbir-* [ʃəvɹ-] embodies two grammatical functions—Aspect and Tense. Thus, the verb is Perfective-Past. However, since Perfective implies perfected-ness/completed-ness, which is in a sense past, it is enough to address the verb as, simply, Perfective. To sum up, let us see the perfective aspect with affirmative, negative and relativized verb constructions in the basic tri-radical verbs as follows.

Table 35: Perfective verb form

	Affirmative (PRV) form	Negative (PRV) form	Relativized (PRV) form
a)	<i>ʃəvru</i> səbir-u break.PRV-3MSG.Sub ‘He broke.’	<i>ʃəvɹəvəɹəy</i> ʔay-səbər-ə-n NEG-break.PRV-3MSG.Sub-NEG ‘He did not break.’	<i>difəvərə</i> zi-səbər-ə Rel-break.PRV-3MSG.Sub ‘One (MSG) who broke’
b)	<i>fəs’s’ima</i> <i>fəs’s’im-a</i> complete.PRV-3FSG.Sub ‘She completed.’	<i>ʃəfəs’s’amətiy</i> ʔay-fəs’s’am-ət-i-n NEG-complete.PRV-3FSG.Sub-NEG ‘She did not complete.’	<i>difəs’s’amət</i> <i>zi-fəs’s’am-ət</i> Rel-complete.PRV-3FSG.Sub ‘One (FSG) who completed’
c)	<i>bariχom</i> barik-om bless.PRV-3MPL.Sub ‘They (M) blessed.’	<i>ʃəbarəχuy</i> ʔay-barək-u-n NEG-bless.PRV-3MPL.Sub-NEG ‘They did not bless.’	<i>divarəχu</i> zi-barək-u Rel-bless.PRV-3MPL.Sub ‘Those (M) who bless’

The same case also works for the imperfective. According to Lipinski (1997: 349), the old imperfect expresses the general present as in *yi-səbbir* [yiʃəbbir] 'he breaks'. The stem in *yi-səbbir* [yi-ʃəbbir] 'he breaks', that is, *-səbbir* [-ʃəbbir] 'break (breaks)' reflects non-perfect-ness (im-perfect-ness). Within a given time, the action is not completed but, rather, incomplete. Therefore, we can look at it from the aspect of incompleteness/imperfect-ness. In terms of tense, it could be interpreted as non-past (either present or future tense). The verb stem has the sense of either present or future. That is the case, for instance in Amharic, the stem *-səbr-* of *yi-səbr-ʔal* 'he breaks (will break)' may be interpreted as present or future depending on context. In the case of Tigrinya (including Rayya Tigrinya), however, for the future tense, the imperfective verb form may be further inflected with the particle *ki-*, which is prefixed into the imperfective verb stem (cf. Lipinski, 1997: 349; Tesfay, 1997), as in the example below.

[280] *kiʃəbbir*
kiʃəbbir
ki-yi-səbir
 FUT-3MSG.Sub-break.IMV
 'He will break.'

This can also be further indicated by the copulative pronoun *ʔiyyu* [yəʔu] 'he (is)'. Therefore, tense could also be separately marked when an auxiliary verb is involved as illustrated in the following example.

In a past context, the imperfective form plus *nəbir-* which is realized as [nəyr-] and [nəvr-] ‘was/were’ in MT and RT, respectively expresses the past continuous as we can see in the following example.

[284] *yifəbbir nəvru*

<i>yisəbbir</i>	<i>nəyru</i>
<i>yi-səbbir</i>	<i>nəbir-u</i>
3MSG.Sub-break.IMV	exist.PRV-3MSG.Sub
‘He was breaking.’	

Besides, the past continuous is indicated when the form *da-* (also *?inna-* in mainstream Tigrinya) is prefixed into the perfective form plus the perfective auxiliary *nəvr-* (that is, *nəyr-* in MT) ‘was/were’ as illustrated below.

[285] a) *daʕač’č’ədχu nəvrə*

<i>?innaʕas’s’ədχu</i>	<i>nəyrə</i>
<i>?ina-ʕas’əd-ku</i>	<i>nəbir-ə</i>
Prog-mowing.PRV-1SG.Sub	(AUX) exist.PRV-1SG.Sub
‘I was mowing.’	

b) *dabarəχu nəvrom*

<i>?innabarəχu</i>	<i>nəyrom</i>
<i>?ina-barək-u</i>	<i>nəbir-om</i>
Prog-bless.PRV-3MPL.Sub	(AUX) exist.PRV-3MPL.Sub
‘They (M) were blessing.’	

In the preceding discussion, we have seen how tense and aspect can be reflected in the target language study. In the table below, we are going to see the different subject

marker suffixes with the perfective verb *s-b-r* ‘break’ for convenience; it has to be noted that these markers also indicate person, gender and number agreements.

Table 36: Subject agreement markers with perfective verb form

Person	Inf.Suf	UF	MT	RT	Gloss
1SG	-ə	<i>səbir-ə</i>	<i>səyrə</i>	<i>ʃəvrə</i>	‘I broke (something).’
2MSG	-ka	<i>səbir-ka</i>	<i>səyriχa</i>	<i>ʃəvriχa</i>	‘You (MSG) broke (something).’
2FSG	-ki	<i>səbir-ki</i>	<i>səyriχi</i>	<i>ʃəvriχi</i>	‘You (FSG) broke (something).’
3MSG	-u	<i>səbir-u</i>	<i>səyru</i>	<i>ʃəvru</i>	‘He broke (something).’
3FSG	-a	<i>səbir-a</i>	<i>səyra</i>	<i>ʃəvra</i>	‘She broke (something).’
1PL	-na	<i>səbir-na</i>	<i>səyrina</i>	<i>ʃəvrina</i>	‘We broke (something).’
2MPL	-kum	<i>səbir-kum</i>	<i>səyriχum</i>	<i>ʃəvriχum</i>	‘You (MPL) broke (something).’
2FPL	-kin	<i>səbir-kin</i>	<i>səyriχin</i>	<i>ʃəvriχin</i>	‘You (FPL) broke (something).’
3MPL	-om	<i>səbir-om</i>	<i>səyrom</i>	<i>ʃəvrom</i>	‘They (M) broke (something).’
3FPL	-ən	<i>səbir-ən</i>	<i>səyrən</i>	<i>ʃəvrən</i>	‘They (F) broke (something).’

The descriptions in the above data have focused on the subject marker inflectional suffixes, which can also mark person, gender and number agreements in any perfective verb conjugation. The next description focuses on describing the subject marker inflectional affixes, which also mark person, gender and number agreements in the imperfective verb forms. The affixes (prefixes and suffixes) are summarized in the following table, which are also followed by exemplification.

Table 37: Inflectional affixes for imperfective verb forms

Person	Inflectional affixes		Person	Inflectional affixes	
	Inf.Pre	Inf.Suf		Inf.Pre	Inf.Suf
1SG	<i>ʔiyy-/yi</i>	-	1PL	<i>ni-</i>	-
2MSG	<i>ti-</i>	-	2MPL	<i>ti-</i>	<i>-u</i>
2FSG	<i>ti-</i>	<i>-i</i>	2FPL	<i>ti-</i>	<i>-a</i>
3MSG	<i>yi-</i>	-	3MPL	<i>yi-</i>	<i>-u</i>
3FSG	<i>ti-</i>	-	3FPL	<i>yi-</i>	<i>-a</i>

As the data in the above table reveal, inflectional prefixes in all personal pronouns and inflectional suffixes in the second person feminine singular and in all the second and third person plurals are used to mark subject, person, gender and number inflections with imperfective verb conjugations. Examples are shown with *s-b-r* ‘break’ for inflections in the imperfective verb form in the table below for convenience.

Table 38: Inflectional affixes with imperfective verb forms

Person	IMV verb form with inflectional affixes			Gloss
	UF	MT	RT	
1SG	<i>ʔiyy-səbbir</i>	<i>yisəbbir</i>	<i>yifəbbir</i>	‘I break.’
2MSG	<i>tī-səbbir</i>	<i>tisəbbir</i>	<i>tifəbbir</i>	‘You (MSG) break.’
2FSG	<i>tī-səbr-i</i>	<i>tisəbri</i>	<i>tifəvri</i>	‘You (FSG) break.’
3MSG	<i>yī-səbbir</i>	<i>yisəbbir</i>	<i>yifəbbir</i>	‘He breaks.’
3FSG	<i>tī-səbbir</i>	<i>tisəbbir</i>	<i>tifəbbir</i>	‘She breaks.’
1PL	<i>nī-səbbir</i>	<i>nisəbbir</i>	<i>nifəbbir</i>	‘We break.’
2MPL	<i>tī-səbr-u</i>	<i>tisəbru</i>	<i>tifəvru</i>	‘You (MPL) break.’
2FPL	<i>tī-səbr-a</i>	<i>tisəbra</i>	<i>tifəvra</i>	‘You (FPL) break.’
3MPL	<i>yī-səbr-u</i>	<i>yisəbru</i>	<i>yifəvru</i>	‘They (M) break.’
3FPL	<i>yī-səbr-a</i>	<i>yisəbra</i>	<i>yifəvra</i>	‘They (F) break.’

In the preceding description, the focus has been on showing how the inflectional affixes are pronominally affixed into imperfective verb forms in order to mark and show other agreements (person, gender and number). In the next section, the description will deal with verb mood in the target language variety.

4.5.1.2. Verb mood

In this section, the jussive and the imperative verb moods are described and discussed in brief in Rayya Tigrinya. Since they have been discussed in detail so far (see sections

4.4.1 and 4.4.2), the focus in this section will be on the different agreement markers for subject, person, gender and number with the jussive and imperative verb forms. In what follows, examples of the jussive mood are described and discussed first followed by the descriptions of the imperative verb mood.

4.5.1.2.1. Jussive

Jussive is an indirect command or an exhortation used in the first or third person (Lipniski, 1997: 513); besides, Lipniski states that it is a type of mood often equated with an imperative but in some languages needing to be distinguished from it.

In Rayya Tigrinya, the first person plural and all the third person pronouns have the jussive verb forms. The first person plural (1PL) is morphologically marked by the prefix *ni-* in the jussive verb form. Besides, all the third persons but the feminine singular (3FSG), are marked by the prefix *yi-*. The third person masculine plural (3MPL) and the third person feminine plural (3FPL) are also marked by the suffixes *-u* and *-a* respectively. The third person feminine singular (3FSG) is marked by the inflectional prefix *ti-*. The template slots in the triradical verbs of the jussive verb conjugations in RT can be summarized as follows.

[286]

Verbs type A	Template	Example		Gloss
1PL	<i>ni-CCəC</i>	<i>ni-sbər</i>	[niʃvər]	'Let us break.'
3MPL	<i>yi-CCəC-u</i>	<i>yi-sbər-u</i>	[yiʃvəru]	'Let them (M) break.'
3FPL	<i>yi-CCəC-a</i>	<i>yi-sbər-a</i>	[yiʃvəra]	'Let them (F) break.'
3MSG	<i>yi-CCəC</i>	<i>yi-sbər</i>	[yiʃvər]	'Let him break.'
3FSG	<i>ti-CCəC</i>	<i>ti-sbər</i>	[tiʃvər]	'Let her break.'

Verbs type B	Template	Example		Gloss
1PL	ni-C ₁ əC ₂ C ₂ iC ₃	<i>ni-bət't'is</i>	[niʋət't'is]	'Let us cut.'
3MPL	yi-C ₁ əC ₂ C ₂ iC ₃ -u	<i>yi-bət't'is-u</i>	[yiʋət't'isu]	'Let them (M) cut.'
3FPL	yi-C ₁ əC ₂ C ₂ iC ₃ -a	<i>yi-bət't'is-a</i>	[yiʋət't'isa]	'Let them (F) cut.'
3MSG	yi-C ₁ əC ₂ C ₂ iC ₃	<i>yi-bət't'is</i>	[yiʋət't'is]	'Let him cut.'
3FSG	ti-C ₁ əC ₂ C ₂ iC ₃	<i>ti-bət't'is</i>	[tiʋət't'is]	'Let her cut.'

Verbs type C	Template	Example		Gloss
1PL	ni-CaCiC	<i>ni-barik</i>	[niʋariχ]	'Let us bless.'
3MPL	yi-CaCiC-u	<i>yi-barik-u</i>	[yiʋariχu]	'Let them (M) bless.'
3FPL	yi-CaCiC-a	<i>yi-barik-a</i>	[yiʋariχa]	'Let them (F) bless.'
3MSG	yi-CaCiC	<i>yi-barik</i>	[yiʋariχ]	'Let him bless.'
3FSG	ti-CaCiC	<i>ti-barik</i>	[tiʋariχ]	'Let her bless.'

As we can see from the data in [284] the prefixes *ni-*, *yi-*, and *ti-* are attached with the jussive verb form. The prefix *ni-* marks the first person plural form. The prefix *yi-* marks the third plural (both gender) and the third person masculine singular. Besides, *ti-* shows the third person feminine singular, and the suffixes *-u* and *-a* are also suffixed to the jussive verb form in the third persons masculine and feminine plural forms respectively. The next sub-section deals with the imperative verb mood.

4.5.1.2.2. Imperative

An imperative expression (also an imperative) is used in the expression of commands as in English “Go away!”. Lipinski (1997: 336) discusses that Semitic imperative has no first and third person addressees.

In the target language study, there are imperative verb forms (see § 4.4.1 and 4.4.2) only for all the second persons. Inflectional suffixes that show agreements regarding

the subject, person, gender and number are pronominally suffixed to the imperative verb forms. All the second person pronouns unlike the masculine singular one that does not take any suffix are marked by their respective suffixes in the imperative forms in the variety under study. The template forms and examples with inflectional affixes are summarized in triradical imperative verb conjugations in Rayya Tigrinya as follows.

[287]

Verbtype A	Person	Template	Example	Gloss
	3MPL	C ₁ C ₂ C ₃ -u	<i>sibər-u</i> [ʃivəru]	‘You (MPL) break!’
	3FPL	C ₁ C ₂ C ₃ -a	<i>sibər-a</i> [ʃivəra]	‘You(FPL) break!’
	3MSG	C ₁ C ₂ C ₃	<i>sibər</i> [ʃivər]	‘You(MSG break!’
	3FSG	C ₁ C ₂ C ₃ -i	<i>sibər-i</i> [ʃivəri]	‘You(FSG) break!’
Verbs type B	Person	Template	Example	Gloss
	2MPL	C ₁ əC ₂ C ₂ iC ₃ -u	<i>bət’t’is-u</i>	‘You (MPL) cut!’
	2FPL	C ₁ əC ₂ C ₂ iC ₃ -a	<i>bət’t’is-a</i>	‘You (FPL) cut!’
	2MSG	C ₁ əC ₂ C ₂ iC ₃	<i>bət’t’is</i>	‘You (MSG cut!’
	2FSG	C ₁ əC ₂ C ₂ iC ₃ -i	<i>bət’t’is-i</i>	‘You (FSG) cut!’
Verbs type C	Person	Template	Example	Gloss
	2MPL	CaCiC-u	<i>barik-u</i> [bariχu]	‘You (MPL) bless!’
	2FPL	CaCiC-a	<i>barik-a</i> [bariχa]	‘You (FPL) bless!’
	2MSG	CaCiC	<i>barik</i> [bariχ]	‘You (MSG bless!’
	2FSG	CaCiC-i	<i>barik-i</i> [bariχi]	‘You (FSG) bless!’

As one can realize from the above data, the suffixes *-u*, *-a* and *-i* show the second person masculine plural (2MPL), second person feminine plural (2FPL) and second person feminine singular (2FSG) subject agreement respectively while the second person masculine singular (2MSG) is remaining unmarked in the imperative verb form of the target language variety.

In the discussions and descriptions carried out so far under this chapter, the constructions of verbs in their affirmative forms have been addressed. The next section shows how negative verbs can be constructed in Rayya Tigrinya.

4.6. Verb negation

Negation shows an assertion that an event, a situation or a state of affair does not happen (Payne, 1997: 282). In other words, negation expresses the contradiction of meaning in a grammatical construction.

Though the negative construction in the present study will be treated under syntax in detail, the constructions of verb negations will be briefly shown in this section. In RT, the negative verb constructions are indicated by attaching the discontinuous negative marker *yə...-y* to the affirmative verb forms (in both perfective and imperfective verb forms). The form *yə-* is prefixed to the initial position of the verb, and *-y* is suffixed to the verb's final position. The negation marker *yə...-y* appears as *?ay...-n* in the mainstream Tigrinya. Jussive verb forms are made negative by prefixing the form *?ay-* into the verb conjugation. Besides, negative imperative verb form is indicated by adding the form *kəy-* to the verb. Now, let us see examples with the verb *s-b-r* 'break' in the perfective, imperfective, jussive and imperative verb conjugations in the table below.

Table 39: Verb negation in MT and RT

V form	UF	MT	RT	Gloss
PRV	<i>ʔay-səbər-ə-n</i>	<i>ʔaysəbərən</i>	<i>yəʃəvərəy</i>	‘He did not break.’
IMV	<i>ʔay-yi-səbbir-n</i>	<i>ʔayyisəbbirin</i>	<i>yəʃəbbiriy</i>	‘He does not break.’
JUS	<i>ʔay-yi-sbər</i>	<i>ʔayyisbər</i>	<i>ʔayyifvər</i>	‘Let him not to break.’
IMP	<i>kəy-ti-səbr-u</i>	<i>kəytisəbru</i>	<i>kəytiʃəvru</i>	‘Do not break!’

For more clarification, let us consider the following example in the perfective verb conjugation.

[288] Non-negative verb form	Negative verb form
<i>məʃχot ʃəvrə</i>	<i>məʃχot yəʃəvərχuy</i>
məskot səyrə	məskot ʔaysəbərku
məskot səbir-ə	məskot ʔay-səbər-ku-n
window break.PRV-1SG.Sub	window NEG-break.PRV-1SG.Sub-NEG
‘I broke a window.’	‘I did not break a window.’

4.7. Summary

In this chapter, the descriptions and the discussions have dealt with the verb morphology of the Rayya Tigrinya variety. Both the verb derivational and verb inflectional morphological systems in the target language variety have been examined. It has been found that the verb morphology is quite complex.

Though majority of the verb types in RT are tri-radical which are further classified into types A, B and C, there are also significant number of quadri-radical verbs. Besides, there are rare and predictable verbs with quinti-radical verbs. In RT, verbs can be derived from other verbs via affixation (adding prefixes) and internal morphological modifications. The causative, passive, middle, reciprocal and adjunctive verb forms are

mainly derived by adding derivational prefixes. On the other hand, the frequentative and the attenuative verb forms are derived by internal morphological modifications. It has been attested that the derivational prefix *tī-* is used to derive the passive, middle and reciprocal verb forms. The derivational prefix *ʔa-*, on the other hand, is used to derive causative and adjutative verb forms.

The frequentative (also iterative) verb form is derived by reduplicating the penultimate radical and by inserting the vowel *-a-* between the reduplicants in tri-radical verb types A and C; in type B verbs, it is derived simply by inserting the vowel *-a-* between the geminated consonants as in $C_1C_2\mathbf{a}C_2C_3$. In quadri-radical verbs, which possess non-identical radicals, the iterative form is derived by reduplicating the third radical (the penultimate consonant) and by inserting the vowel *-a-* between the reduplicants. However, in quadri-radical verbs such as $C_1C_2\mathbf{a}C_1C_2$, the frequentative verb form is derived only by inserting the vowel *-a-* between the middle consonants. Besides, in quadri-radical verbs whose last consonants are identical, frequentative verb form is derived by inserting the vowel *-a-* between the second and the penultimate consonants.

The attenuative verb form, which can be repeated infinitely, is derived either by reduplicating the entire form or by reduplicating only the last syllable of the verb form, but it needs a verbal auxiliary for completion.

Verbs in RT are also inflected for tense, aspect and mood; the former one is additionally reflected by a verbal auxiliary. Subject as well as object markers and other

agreements (person, gender and number) can be morphological indicated in verbs. Perfective and imperfective verb negation can be constructed by the discontinuous negation marker *yə-...-y*. The negation markers *?ay-* and *kəy-* are also used to negate jussive and imperative verb forms respectively.

The next chapter deals with the descriptions and discussions on the structures of adverbs, prepositions and conjunctions in the target language variety.

5. ADVERBS, PREPOSITIONS AND CONJUNCTIONS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with the description of adverbs, prepositions and conjunctions in the present study. In RT, these word classes are categorized under the closed word classes.²⁴ They cannot be derived from other word classes; they are not morphologically inflected (cf. Tesfay, 2002). In what follows, adverbs, prepositions and conjunctions are addressed respectively for convenience.

5.2. Adverbs

Adverbs are part of speech whose most frequent function is to specify the mode of action of the verb; they express time, place and manner in verbs (Lipinski, 1997: 453).

Though expressions like *tolo* ‘quickly’ as in *tolo məs’ə* ‘I came quickly’ can be primarily categorized as classes of adverbs, such adverbs are not common in RT. Some nouns modify verbs and function as adverbs. For instance, words such as *kəzi* [χəzi] ‘now’, *ʕantəwo* ‘then’, *nəga* ‘tomorrow’ *timali* ‘yesterday’, *ʕami* ‘last year’ etc. are nouns, which serve as temporal adverbs in the target variety. In RT, PPs also function as adverbs. The prepositions *bī-*, ‘by, with’, *nab* [da-] ‘to’, *kab* [ka-] ‘from’ and *ʔab* [ʔa-] ‘at, in, on’ are found attached to different nouns and construct PPs; such PPs serve as adverbs and modify verbs.

²⁴ Adverbs in the Tigrinya language in general are classified under the closed word classes (see Tesfay, 2002:128).

In what follows, how the different types of adverbs can be derived (formed) are described and presented. Their adverbial functions are also described and discussed with examples.

5.2.1. Manner adverbs

Adverbs of manner appear as phrases in Rayya Tigrinya. The preposition *bi-* ‘by, with’ is prefixed to gerundive nouns and forms a PP, which functions as adverb of manner.

Let us have a look at the examples shown below.

- [289] a) *ʔanə biχ’əsta məs’iʔə*
 ʔanə **biχ’əsta** məs’iʔə
 ʔanə **bi-k’əsta** məs’iʔ-ə
 Pro.1SG **P-slowness** come.PRV-1SG.Sub
 ‘I came slowly (I came by slowness).’

- b) *ʔayyay biʔaggat’ami ʔagniyəyyo*
 ʔayyay **biʔaggat’ami** ʔagniyəyyo
 ʔaya-y **bi-ʔaggat’ami** ʔagniy-ə-o
 father-1SG.POS **P-sudden** meet.PRV-1SG.Sub-3MSG.Obj
 ‘I met my father suddenly.’

Though the constructions in bold face occur as phrases (prepositional phrases), they function as adverbs of manner and modify how an action can be performed in the verb. For instance, the action of *mimis’aʔ* ‘coming’ in example [289a] is modified by the prepositional phrase *bik’əsta* [biχ’əsta] ‘by slowness’. Therefore, adverbs of manner are derived by the preposition *bi-* affixed to a noun (*bi-* + N > Manner Adv).

5.2.2. Temporal adverbs

Adverbs which modify verbs and show at which time or how many times an action happens or takes place are termed as adverbs of time. In Rayya Tigrinya, adverbs of time can be classified into two categories: adverbs that show specific points of time and adverbs of frequency. In this sub-section, both types of adverbs of time in Rayya Tigrinya are going to be briefly described and discussed as follows.

5.2.2.1. Specific temporal adverbs

Adverbs of time such as *kəzi* [χəzi] ‘now’, *ʕantəwo* ‘then’, *timali* ‘yesterday’, *ʕami* ‘last year’, *bi-k’addəmay* [biχ’addəmay] ‘the previous time’, *lomi-maʕint* [lommaʕinti] ‘today’, *lomi-ləyt* [lomləyti] ‘tonight’, *nəga* ‘tomorrow’ etc. are specific temporal adverbs, which show the points of time when something happens in RT. Such adverbs show at which specific point of time an action occurs. Let us consider the examples below.

[290] a) *χəzi misah bəliʕna*
kəzi **misah** **bəliʕna**
kəzi **misah** **bəliʕ-na**
now **lunch** **eat.PRV-1PL.Sub**
‘We ate lunch now.’

b) *Aʕənnafi timali kaMəχonni məs’iʔu*
Aʕənnafi **timali** kab Məχonni məs’iʔu
Aʕənnafi **timali** kab Məkoni məs’iʔ -u
Ashenafi.PN **yesterday** from-Mekoni come.PRV-3MSG.Sub
‘Ashenafi came from Mekoni yesterday.’

As we can see from the examples in [290], the temporal adverbs *ħəzi* ‘now’ and *timali* ‘yesterday’ modify the clauses *bəlɪf-na* [bəlɪfina] ‘we ate’ and *məs’i?-u* [məs’ʔu] ‘he came’, respectively in the language variety under study. Each temporal adverb states the point of time at which each of the actions occurred or took place. The temporal adverbs which show the points of time in examples [290] are found in the form of free morphemes. However, adverbs of time like *bi-k’addəmay* [biχ’addəmay] ‘the previous time’ are combination of the preposition *bi-* ‘by’ and the adjective *k’addəmay* [χ’addəmay] ‘first’. Hence, such adverbs are prepositional phrases which function as temporal adverbs. In addition, the adverbs *k’idm səmun* [χ’idmi somun] ‘before a week’ and *dihri-nəga* [dihri-nəga] ‘the day after tomorrow’ are in the form of phrases. The expressions *k’idm* [χ’idmi] ‘before’ and *dihri* [dihri] ‘after’ are adverbs. *k’idm* [χ’idmi] is followed by the noun *səmun* ‘week’, and *dihri* [dihri] is followed by another temporal adverb *nəga* ‘tomorrow’.

5.2.2.2. Adverbs of frequency

In this dissertation, temporal adverbs that state how often or how many times an action takes place are termed as adverbs of frequency. They can be classified into definite and indefinite adverbs of frequency. The definite and indefinite adverbs of frequency in the language under discussion will be described and discussed respectively as follows.

5.2.2.2.1. Definite adverbs of frequency

The expressions such as *maɣilt maɣilt* [maɣilti maɣilti] ‘daily’, *ləyt ləyt* [ləyti ləyti] ‘nightly’, *səmun səmun* [somun somun] ‘weekly’, *wərħ wərħ* [worħi worħi] ‘monthly’, *ɣamət ɣamət* ‘yearly’ etc. are examples of definite adverbs of frequency. Consider the examples below.

[291] a) *ɣamət ɣamət zinab yiwək’k’iɣ yəɣu*

ɣamət	ɣamət	zinab	yiwək’k’iɣ	ʔiyyu
ɣamət	ɣamət	zinab	yi-wək’iɣ	ʔiyy-u
year	year	rain	3MSG.Sub-rain.IMV	Cop-3MSG

‘It rains yearly.’

b) *ɣidagana somun somun yəɣu*

ɣidagana	səmun	səmun	ʔiyyu
ɣidaga-na	səmun	səmun	ʔiyy-u
market-1PL.POS	week	week	Cop-3MSG

‘Our market is weekly.’

5.2.2.2.2. Indefinite adverbs of frequency

Temporal adverbs like *kullu gize* [χullu gizə] ‘all time’, *ħalifu ħalifu* [ħalfu ħalfu] ‘rarely’ are examples of indefinite adverbs of frequency in the language variety. The adverb *kullu-gize* [χullu-gizə] is formed by *kullu* [χullu] ‘all’ + *gize* [gizə] ‘time’. Let us see examples how they occur in the position they modify verbs as follows.

[292]

a) *χullu gize daʕidaga yiχəd yəʔu*

χullu	gize	nab ʕidaga	yiχəyyid	ʔiyyu
kullu	gize	nab ʕidaga	yi-kəyd	ʔiyy-u
all	time	to market	3MSG.Sub-go.IMV	Cop-3MSG

‘He usually goes to market.’

b) *ʔav Rayya halfu halfu dərx'i ʔinniʔo*

ʔab	Rayya	halifu	halifu	dərk'i	ʔallo
ʔab	Rayya	halif-u	halifu	dərk'	ʔall-o
in	Rayya	pass.PRV-3MSG.Sub	pass.PRV-3MSG.Sub	draught	exist-3MSG

‘Draught rarely occurs in Rayya.’

The adverbs *kullu gize* [χullu gize] ‘all the time’ and *halifu halifu* [halfu halfu] ‘rarely’ in the examples modify how many times the actions of *mikad* [miχad] ‘going’ and *ʔallo* [ʔinniʔo] ‘exist’ takes place or occurs respectively.

5.2.3. Spatial adverbs

Spatial adverbs show us the place where an action occurred, occurs, or will occur. Expressions like *ʔab ʔizi* [ʔavzi] ‘here’, *ʔabʔu* [ʔavʔu] ‘there’, *liʕl* [liʕli] ‘on, above’, *dəggə* ‘outside’ etc. are examples of adverbs of place in Rayya Tigrinya (also in MT). Now, let us see the structural position of such adverbs of place in a sentence as follows.

[293] a) *ʔiχli ʔavʔu ʕač'č'idom*

ʔiχli	ʔavʔu	ʕas's'idom
ʔikl	ʔab-ʔu	ʕas'id-om
barley	at-there	mow.PRV-3MSG.Sub

‘They mowed barely there.’

- b) *ʔanəy Gəvrəy ʔavzi²⁵ tiwəldina*
 ʔanən Gəbrən **ʔabzi** təwəlidna
 ʔanə-n Gəbrə-n **ʔab-ʔizi** tə-wəlid-na
 I-and Gebre-and **at-here** PAS-born.PRV-1PL.Obj
 ‘I and Gebre were born here.’

In the above section, the description and the discussion have focused on adverbs of the RT, and manner, temporal and spatial adverbs have been addressed. The next section deals with prepositions.

5.3. Prepositions

Prepositions (Pre) are words used to indicate the relation of a part of speech; they usually precede noun phrases which are constructed from a single constituent of a structure (Lipinski, 1997: 459).

In the language variety under discussion, prepositions are few in number. They cannot be inflected. Besides, prepositions cannot be derived from other word classes. Hence, they are categorized under the closed word classes.

Most prepositions take either nouns or adjectives as their constituents in the target variety. Therefore, prepositions show us relationships among other words such as direction, time, place etc. in a phrasal or clausal structure. They can be categorized into two categories as simple prepositions and compound prepositions (cf. Mason, 1996:31-

²⁵ /ʔab ʔizi/ ‘at here’ > [ʔabzi] > [ʔavzi] ‘here’

33). Both types of prepositions will be described and discussed with examples in RT as follows.

5.3.1. Simple prepositions

In RT, the simple prepositions appear in two forms. Some simple prepositions precede nouns (as in *ʔav Rayya* ‘in Rayya’) and adjectives (as in *mis s’aʕda* ‘with a white’) whereas some simple prepositions appear attached to the initial positions of nouns (as in *da-Rayya* ‘to-Rayya’), adjectives (as in *birigum* [birugum] ‘by-cruel’) and verbs (as in *bid-mot-ə* ‘when-die.PRV-3MSG’). The table below shows simple prepositions in RT.

Table 40: Simple prepositions

Simple preposition	Gloss
<i>ʔab</i> [ʔav/ʔa-]	'on, in, at'
<i>bi-</i>	'with', 'by', 'in'
<i>ni</i> [di-]	'for (the benefit of),
<i>nay-</i> [na-]	'of'
<i>mis</i>	'with'
<i>bid-</i>	'when'
<i>ki-</i>	'from'
<i>ni-</i>	'to, toward'
<i>kəm</i> [ham]	'like, as'
<i>bi-</i>	'with'
<i>silə</i>	'for, because of'
<i>dih̄r</i> [dih̄ri]	'after'
<i>k'idm</i> [χ'idmi]	'before'
<i>kiʕaʕ</i>	'until'
<i>ʔindih̄r</i>	'if'

Let us consider the following examples to realize how both the prepositions, which are found as free morphemes, and those ones, which occur in the form of bound morpheme, can appear in the target language variety as well as in the mainstream Tigrinya.

[294]	MT	RT	Gloss
a)	<i>?ab may</i>	<i>?ammay</i>	‘in water’
b)	<i>?ab məret</i>	<i>?ammidri</i>	‘on earth’
c)	<i>?ab wiggī?</i>	<i>?awigī?</i>	‘in war’
d)	<i>?ab ?affinč’a</i>	<i>?afinč’a</i>	‘on nose’
e)	<i>?ab gəza</i>	<i>?av ?addi</i>	‘at home’
f)	<i>?ab ?imni</i>	<i>?av ?imni</i>	‘on stone’
g)	<i>?ab səmay</i>	<i>?av səmay</i>	‘on the sky’
h)	<i>nay nigus</i>	<i>nanigus</i>	‘of (Gen.) Nigus’
i)	<i>nab Rayya</i>	<i>daRayya</i>	‘to Rayya’
j)	<i>kab Rayya</i>	<i>kaRayya</i>	‘from Rayya’

As we can see from the data in [294] above, the simple preposition *?ab* ‘at, in, on’ becomes *?a-* when the word which is preceded by the preposition begins either by one of the bilabial consonants *b*, *m*, *w* or by the labio-dental *f*. In such ways, the preposition *?a-* in RT is affixed (prefixed) to the word it precedes as we can see it in examples [294a-d]. However, the preposition *?ab* appears as [*?av*] in the target variety when the word it precedes begins with none of the bilabial consonants *b*, *m*, *w* and the labiodental *f* as we can see it in examples [294e-g]. Furthermore, the prepositions *nay* ‘of (Gen.)’, *nab* ‘to’ and *kab* ‘from’ appear as *na-* ‘of (Gen.)’, *da-* ‘to’ and *ka-* ‘from’ in the target language variety (RT) as we can see them in examples [294h-j] respectively.

The preceding section has focused on the descriptions and discussions of the different simple prepositions in the target language variety. In the following section, compound prepositions are described with examples.

5.3.2. Compound prepositions

In Rayya Tigrinya, some prepositions occur together with the simple preposition *?ab* > [ʔav] ‘at, in’. Such prepositions in this dissertation are termed as compound prepositions. Examples of such prepositions in RT are described below along with the underlying form and the mainstream Tigrinya for clarity.

[295]	UF	MT	RT	Gloss
a)	<i>?ab diḥrit</i>	[ʔab diḥri]	[ʔav diḥri]	‘behind (at behind)’
b)	<i>?ab k’idmit</i>	[ʔab k’idmi]	[ʔav χ’idmi]	‘in front of’
c)	<i>?ab wiḥt’</i>	[ʔab wiḥt’i]	[ʔav wiḥt’i]	‘in side’
d)	<i>?ab daggə</i>	[ʔab daggə]	[ʔav daggə]	‘outside’
e)	<i>?ab liḥli</i>	[ʔab liḥli]	[ʔav liḥli]	‘above’
f)	<i>?ab ?igr</i>	[ʔab ?igri]	[ʔav ?igri]	‘under’
g)	<i>?ab t’ik’a</i>	[ʔab t’ik’a]	[ʔav t’ik’a]	‘near’

The compound prepositions shown in [295] can also occur with nouns. When they precede nouns, prepositional phrases (PP) are formed. Observe the examples below.

[296]	a)	<i>?av diḥri ṣaddi</i>
		?ab diḥri gəza
		?ab diḥr gəza
		at after house
		‘At the back of a house’

- b) *ʔav χ'idmi nigus*
ʔab k'idmi nigus
ʔab k'idmit nigus
 at before Nigus.PN
 'In front of Nigus'

In the preceding section and the sub-sections, prepositions in the target language variety have been described and discussed. The next section deals with the descriptions and discussions of conjunctions in RT.

5.4. Conjunctions

Conjunctions are words whose primary function is to connect or join words or other constructions; in other words, conjunctions are expressions employed to conjoin two or more words, phrases or clauses (cf. Jackson, 1982: 65). In this section, conjunctions: coordinating conjunctions and subordinating conjunctions are described.

5.4.1. Coordinating conjunction

Coordinating conjunctions refer to the process or result of linking linguistic units (series of words, phrases or clauses), which are always in an equivalent syntactic status in a grammatical analysis; in other words, coordinating conjunctions are grammatical elements that join two or more syntactically equal linguistic units (cf. DeCapua, 2017: 280). In Rayya Tigrinya, the coordinating conjunctions *-y* 'and', *wəy* 'or' and *gina* 'but' are used to conjoin two or more grammatically equal words, phrases or clauses. Let us see them one by one as follows.

5.4.1.1. -y

The coordinating conjunction ...-y +...-y²⁶ ‘and’ is used to connect two or more grammatically equal words in a phrase or a clause in RT. This conjunction is suffixed to each of the words which are conjoined by it as illustrated in the examples below.

[297] a) *biṣrayiy laḥmiy*
biṣrayin laḥmin
biṣray-n laḥm-n
ox-and lahm-and
‘an ox and a cow.’

b) *divələṣuy dəyvaləṣuy*
zibələṣun zəybələṣun
zi-bələṣ-u-n zəy-bələṣ-u-n
Rel-eat.PRV-3MPL.Sub-and Rel.NEG-eat.PRV-3MPL.Sub-and
‘Those who ate and those who did not eat,’

As we can see from the examples, the coordinating conjunction -y ‘and’ connects two nouns in each phrase. The nouns *biṣray* ‘ox’ and [laḥmi] ‘cow’ in example (a) and the two relative clauses [divələṣu] ‘those who (M) ate’ and [dəyvaləṣu] ‘those who (M) did not eat’ in example (b) are also conjoined by -y. The following sub-section deals with the coordinating conjunction *gin* (*gina*) ‘but’.

²⁶The coordinating conjunction *yə-...-y* in Rayya Tigrinya appears as *ṣay-...-n* ‘and’ in the mainstream Tigrinya.

5.4.1.2. *gin*

The coordinating conjunction *gin* (*gin*) ‘but’ is also used to connect two or more different concepts. In other words, the conjunction *gin* is used to conjoin contradictory ideas at sentential level. Let us see it in the examples given below.

[298]

a) *dəvəna ʔinniʔo gin zinav yəwəχʔifilloy*

dəbəna ʔinniho **gin** zinab ʔaywəkʔkʔifillon

dəmməna ʔinih-o **gin** zinab ʔay-wəkʔkʔif-ll-o-n

cloud exist-3MSG **but** rain NEG-rain.IMV-Prog-3MSG.Sub-NEG

‘There is cloud, but it is not raining.’

b) *Bərhə nəwwih yəʔu gin səbəytu həčʔar yəʔa*

Bərhə nəwwih ʔiyyu **gin** səbəytu həsʔar ʔiyya

Bərhə nəwih ʔiyy-u **gin** səbəyt-u həsʔar ʔiyy-a

Berhe.PN tall.MSG Cop-3MSG **but** wife-3MSG.POS short.3FSG Cop-3FSG

‘Berhe is tall, but his wife is short.’

5.4.1.3. *wəy*

In RT, the conjunction *wəy* ‘or’ is also used to connect two nouns, phrases or clauses alternatively. So far, we have seen that -y ‘and’ is attached to the final position of the words which are conjoined by it. However, the expression *wəy* ‘or’ appears as a free morpheme between the two expressions which are conjoined by it. Consider the examples provided below.

[299] *Təsfay yims'a? wəy Girmay yims'a?*

Təsfay	yims'a?	wəy	Girmay	yims'a?
Təsfay	yi-ms'a?	wəy	Girmay	yi-ms'a?
Təsfay.PN	3MSG.Sub-come.IMV	or	Girmay.PN	3MSG.Sub-come.IMV

'Let Tesfay or Girmay come.'

Without affecting meaning, the structure may undergo reduction using the verb once as in demonstrated below.

[300] a) *Təsfay wəy Girmay yims'a?*

Təsfay	wəy	Girmay	yims'a?
Təsfay	wəy	Girmay	yi-ms'a?
Təsfay.PN	or	Girmay.PN	3MSG.Sub-come.IMV

'Let Tesfay or Girmay come.'

b) *s'əba wəy sowwa havənni*

s'əba	wəy	siwa	havənni
s'əba	wəy	siwa	hab-ə-nni
milk	or	local-beer	give.IMV-2MSG.Sub-1SG.Obj

'You (MSG) give me milk or local-beer.'

The coordinating conjunction *wəy* is also used as a correlating conjunction. In this situation, it is positioned at the beginning of the first expression and between the two expressions which are correlated by it. Let us have a look at the example below.

[301] *wəy t'ayta bilʕa wəy bun sitəya*

wəy	t'ayta	bilʕa	wəy	bun	sitəya
wəy	t'ayta	bilʕ-a	wəy	bun	sitəy-a
or	enjera	eat.IMV-2FPL.Sub	or	coffee	drink.IMV-2FPL.Sub

'You (FPL) either eat enjera or drink coffee.'

The conjunction *wəy* ‘or’ as seen in the above example is used as correlating conjunction. It correlates the clause *t’ayta bilf-a* ‘you (FPL) eat enjera’ and *bun sitəy-a* ‘you (FPL) drink coffee’.

5.4.2. Subordinating conjunction

Subordinating conjunctions are those conjunctions that subordinate one linguistic item to another one in some way (Jackson, 1982: 66). In other words, they link linguistic units so that they have different syntactic status, one being dependent upon the other (a constituent of the other). Subordinating conjunctions are of different kind (see § 6.4.3.). Since they will be discussed under the syntax part of this dissertation in the afformenthiond section, examples with the subordinating conjunction *bid*²⁷ which is typical in Rayya Tigrinya are going to be described in this sub-section for the sake of discussion. This expression is prefixed to the initial position of the verb of the subordinating clause which states the first action in the preceding clause. Look at the examples below.

[302]

a) *Haftu ħimbəŋŋa bidvələŋə s’əva sətyu*

Haftu ħimbəŋŋa **mis** bələŋə s’əba sətyu

Haftu ħimbəŋŋa **mis** bələŋ-ə s’əbha səty-u

Haftu.PN bread **SuCNJ** eat.PRV-3MSG.Sub milk drink.PRV-3MSG.Sub

‘Haftu drank milk after he ate bread.’ Or ‘Haftu ate bread before he drank milk.’

²⁷ The subordinator *bid*- appears as a free morpheme (lexical form) *mis* ‘when’ in the mainstream Tigrinya.

b) *ʔitu woddi bidmäs'ʔə ʔanə χəydə*

ʔiti	wəddi	mis mäs'əʔə	ʔanə	kəydə
ʔit-i	wədd	mis mäs'əʔ-ə	ʔanə	kəyd-ə
Det-3MSG	boy	SuCNJ -come.PRV-3MSG	Pro.1SG	go.PRV-1SG.Sub

'I went when the boy came.'

5.5. Summary

In this chapter, adverbs, prepositions and conjunctions have been examined in the Rayya variety of Tigrinya. In this language variety, it has been attested that either nouns or prepositional phrases can serve as adverbs, but words, which are primarily classified into the word class adverb are very few. Besides, prepositions in RT can be either simple or compound, and many of them are found attached to the initial positions of nominals (nouns and adjectives) while some prepositions are free (non-bound) morphemes. Conjunctions that show coordination, negations and subordination in the Rayya Tigrinya variety have also been described and discussed in this chapter. The next chapter deals with the syntax of the target language variety.

6. SYNTAX

6.1. Introduction

Syntax refers to the linguistic term which deals with how words are put together to form phrases, with how phrases are organized to build clauses or bigger phrases, and with how clauses are arranged to construct sentences (Miller, 2002: 12).

In this chapter, the internal structure of phrases, clauses, sentences and the features of their syntactic constructions in RT are described and discussed. In the phrase structure, NPs, AdjPs, VPs, AdvPs and PPs are treated. In the clause structure, the syntactic features of dependent and independent clauses are described under the sentence structure. The independent clauses are treated in detail under the simple sentence structure, and the dependent (subordinate) clauses are addressed within the complex sentence structures in order to avoid unnecessary repetitions.

6.2. Phrase structure

A phrase may refer to the relationships that take place between words whereby one word (the head) controls the other words (the modifiers); the headword may possibly have more than one modifier, and it may be alone (with no modifier) (Miller, 2002: 1). Besides, Miller states that words are clustered into phrases and those groupings characteristically bring together heads and their modifiers. Thus, phrase is a syntactic construction which is governed or determined by a headword, and the constituents in a certain phrase are recognized in terms of the headword in the phrase structure.

In the following subsections, the possible word orders in NPs, AdjPs, VPs, AdvPs and PPs in RT are described and discussed with examples respectively.

6.2.1. Noun phrase

Based on the definition of a phrase, a noun phrase (NP) refers to a noun and the constituents that modify or specify it. The modifiers can be of different kinds in their classes of words, and they can be ordered in different ways in the noun phrase structures of the language variety under study.

6.2.1.1. Word order in a noun phrase

The modifiers in a noun phrase are determiner (based on traditional grammar), adjective, numeral, quantifier demonstrative adjective, relativized clause and or prepositional phrase. In Rayya Tigrinya, NP is right headed (head final), that is, the modifiers are found or placed to the left of the head; however, there are cases where the head in the NP is left headed. Constituents that indicate possession or origin from which something is made up of are positioned (placed) to the right side of the noun in the phrase. Modifiers which have variations for number, gender and person, agree with the modifier and with the head itself (if they appear with a verb). Based on traditional grammar, the NP in [303] below is constructed by a noun (head) modified by a determiner, and it follows the rule: NP > (Det) N where the parenthesis shows optionality while the head (N) is obligatory. Consider each example.

[303] *ʔitu sivʔay*
ʔiti *sivʔay*
ʔit-i *sibʔay*
 Det-3MSG man
 ‘The/That man’

In the data given below, the modifier in each NP is an adjective, and the structure is stated as NP > (Adj) N. Let us consider the expressions in bold face in the examples.

[304] a) *ħač’č’ir sivʔay*
ħas’s’ir *səbʔay*
ħas’ir *səbʔay*
 short.MSG man
 ‘A short man’

b) *ʃəggə saʔni*
ʃəggə *saʔni*
ʃəgə *saʔn*
nice shoe
 ‘A nice shoe’

The structure of the NP stated above can be further extended to NP > (Det) (Adj) N as we can illustrate it by the following example.

[305] *ʔitu χ’əyyih biʃray*
ʔiti **k’əyyih** *biʃray*
ʔit-i **k’əyyih** *biʃray*
 Det-3MSG red.MSG ox
 ‘The/That red ox’

NPs can also be modified or quantified by a numeral expression, and they can have the structure NP > (Nu) N. Consider the example below.

[306] *ħadə giməl*
ħadə giməl
ħadə giməl
one.M camel
‘One (M) camel’

The above NP can also be extended by adding other modifiers (a determiner and an adjective) and is stated as NP > (Det) (Nu) (Adj) N; let us have a look at the following example.

[307] *ʔitu ħadə ʔawuyyi giməl*
ʔiti ħadə ʔabiyi giməl
ʔit-i ħadə ʔabiyi giməl
Det-3MSG one.M Adj.M (big) camel
‘The/That one (M) big camel’

A noun in the NP can also be modified by a quantifier and follows the rule: NP > (Qat) N as illustrated in the following example.

[308] *χ'uruw s'əba*
k'irub s'əba
k'irub s'əba
Qat (little) milk
‘Little milk’

Moreover, NP can be modified by a relativized clause. The rule of such NP is stated as NP > (Rel) N as we can observe it in the following example.

[309] *dimotə biɸray*

<i>zimotə</i>	<i>biɸray</i>
<i>zi-məwət-ə</i>	<i>biɸray</i>
Rel-die.PRV-3MSG.Sub	ox
'An ox which died,'	

The head noun in the NP can also be modified by a demonstrative adjective, and its rule is stated as NP > (Dem) N. See the following examples.

[310] a) *?izuw biɸray*

<i>?izi</i>	<i>biɸray</i>
<i>?iz-i</i>	<i>biɸray</i>
Dem-3MSG	ox
'This ox'	

b) *?ituw biɸray*

<i>?iti</i>	<i>biɸray</i>
<i>?it-i</i>	<i>biɸray</i>
Dem-3MSG	ox
'The/That ox'	

As it has been already stated, two or more modifiers can exist in a noun phrase. The order of the modifiers can be generalized as follows.

Demonstratives or determiners precede any modifiers if they appear in the NP in the target variety. Now, let us consider the orders of constituents which function as modifiers in the NPs below. The order of the NP constituents in [311 a] is: NP > (Dem) (Adj) N whereas it is: NP > (Det) (Nu) (Adj) N in [311 b]

[311] a) *ʔizomu nəwwəħəti səvat*
ʔizəmu nəwwəħti səbat
ʔiz-əmu nəwwəħ-t səb-at
 Dem-3MPL tall-PL person-PL
 ‘These tall persons’

b) *ʔitom χiltə nəwwəħti səvat*
ʔitom kiltə nəwwəħti səbat
ʔit-om kiltə nəwwəħ-t səb-at
 Det-3MPL two tall-PL person-PL
 ‘The two tall persons’

The structure of NP can be further extended by adding more modifiers as in the NP *ʔitom bituw diməsʔu χiltə nəwwəħti səvat* ‘those two tall persons who came through that way’. The order of the constituents in this longer noun phrase can be orderly stated as: [NP > (Dem) (PP) (Rel) (Nu) (Adj) N].

Numerals (both definite and indefinite) precede all other modifiers except demonstratives or determiners with the head in a noun phrase. See the example below which possesses the NP > (Nu) (Adj) (Adj) N order of constituents.

[312] *ħadə sʔəllim nəwwiħ siʋʔay*
ħadə sʔəllim nəwwiħ səbʔay
ħadə sʔəlim nəwiħ səbʔay
 one.M black.MSG tall.MSG man
 ‘One tall black man’

In the target variety, relativized clauses which function as modifiers in a noun phrase also precede all other modifiers except demonstratives, determiners and numerals.

Consider the example below in which the order of the constituents is: NP > (Dem) (Rel) (Adj) (Adj) N.

- [313] *ʔituw diməs'ʔə χ'ayyih hač'č'ir sivʔay*
 ʔiti ziməs'ʔə k'ayyih has's'ir sibʔay
 ʔit-i zi-məs'ʔ-ə k'ayyih has's'ir səbʔay
 Dem-3MSG Rel-come.PRV-3MSG.Sub white.MSG short.3MSG man
 'That short white man who came'

If a prepositional phrase (PP) occurs with other modifiers that modify the head noun in a noun phrase, it precedes all the other modifiers. Let us have a look at the examples below. [NP > (PP) (NP) (Rel) (Qat) N] is the order in [314 a] while example [314 b] is with the order of: [NP > (PP) (Nu) (Adj) N].

[314]

- a) *bituw məŋgəddi diməs'ʔu buzuhat səvat*
biʔiti məŋgəddi ziməs'ʔu bizuhat səbat
bi-ʔit-i məŋgədi zi-məs'əʔ-u bizuh-at səb-at
 P-Det-3MSG way Rel-come.PRV-3MPL.Sub many-PL person-PL
 'Many persons who came through that way'
- b) *miszom ʔarwaftə hač'č'erti səvat*
misʔizom ʔarwaftə has's'erti səbat
mis-ʔiz-i-om ʔarwaftə has's'er-t səb-at
 P-Dem-3MSG-3MPL four short-PL person-PL
 'With these four short persons'

In RT, if a noun is modified by a prepositional phrase composed of the reduced preposition [na-] which occurs as *nay* 'of (Gen)' and a noun, the modifier precedes the head noun as we can observe in the example below.

[315] *nalahmi s'əva*

nay laḥmi	s'əba
nay laḥm	s'əba
of (Gen.) cow	milk
'A cow's milk'	

However, if the preposition [na-] < /nay/ 'of (Gen.)' denotes a material from which the head noun is made, it may be omitted, and the head noun precedes the modifier which is a noun. Let us consider the following examples with the order of NP constituents [NP > N (N)] in [316 a] and [NP > N (Adj) (N)] in [316 b], respectively.

[316] a) *ḥimbəffa sinday*
ḥinbəffa sirnay
ḥinbəffa sirnay
bread wheat
'A bread made up of wheat'

b) *sowwa s'aṣda maḥilla*
siwa s'aṣda miḥəla
siwa s'aṣda miḥəla
local bear white millet
'Local beer made of a white millet'

In Rayya Tigrinya, pronominal affixes are also affixed to nouns to construct NPs. The noun in such NP constructions is positioned to the left, and therefore, the NP is left headed; the pronominal suffixes in such NPs indicate possession as illustrated below.

[317]	Noun Phrase	Gloss
	<i>girat-əy</i>	‘My farmland’
	<i>girat-ka</i> [giratχa]	‘Your (MSG) farmland’
	<i>girat-ki</i> [giratχi]	‘Your (FSG) farmland’

In synchronic Rayya Tigrinya, some pronominal suffixes which show specificity (definiteness) in the third persons are also suffixed to nouns and construct NPs. Consider the data below

[318]

a)	<i>sivɣayu</i> sibɣay-u man-Det.3MSG ‘The man’	b)	<i>səvəyta</i> səbəyt-a woman-Det.3FSG ‘The woman’
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In the preceding discussions, the order of constituents in non-conjoined noun phrases has been described. The next sub-section will focus on the sequencing system of constituents with conjoined noun phrases in the target language study.

6.2.1.2. Conjoined NPs

If two or more nouns are conjoined or coordinated by the use of a relater, they may occur in any order in the conjoined NP structure with the same meaning. The conjoined nouns in the NP are plural, and they have the masculine gender if any one of the constituents is masculine (if the NP appears with a verb); they are also of the third person, unless one of the constituents belongs to the first or the second person. The structures of the conjoined NPs described below are indicated in bold face for clarity.

- [319] a) *biṣrayiy laḥmiy*
biṣrayin laḥmin
biṣray-n laḥm-n
 ox-and cow-and
 ‘an ox and a cow.’
- b) *s’aṣda biṣrayiy s’əllam laḥmiy*
s’aṣda biṣrayin s’əllam laḥmin
s’aṣda biṣray-n s’əllam laḥm-n
 white ox-and black cow-and
 ‘a white ox and a black cow.’

The words *biṣray* ‘ox’ and *laḥm* [laḥmi] ‘cow’ in example [319 a] are nouns conjoined into a NP by the relator (connector) *-n* [-y] ‘and’. Similarly, the two NPs *s’aṣda biṣray-n s’əllam laḥm-n* [s’aṣda biṣrayiy s’əllam laḥmiy] ‘a white ox and a black cow’ in example [319 b]) are conjoined by *-y* ‘and’ which is suffixed to each of the nouns.

If independent personal pronouns are conjoined together with proper nouns coordinated by *-y* ‘and’ as constituents of a noun phrase (NP), it has been found that the personal pronouns precede the proper nouns; hence, this can be stated as: NP > Pro-CNJ (Pro-CNJ) PN-CNJ N. Consider the example in [320] where NP > Pro-CNJ PN-CNJ

- [320] *ʔissuy Haftuy*
ʔissun Haftun
ʔis-u-n Haftu-n
 Pro-3MSG-and Haftu.PN-and
 ‘He and Haftu’

If two or more personal pronouns are conjoined by the connector *-y* ‘and’ as constituents of the same phrase, either the first or the second person pronoun may come first, and the

third person pronoun follows. The order of the constituents (personal pronouns) in the NP structure, therefore, may be first person pronoun followed by a second person pronoun followed by a third person pronoun (first person + second person + third person); it can also be a second person pronoun followed by a first person pronoun followed by a third person pronoun (second person + first person + third person). If there is any verb which follows such order of personal pronouns, the verb must agree with the first person plural pronoun form as we can see in the example below.

[321] *ʔanəy ʔissiχay ʔissuy bətəsəv yəna*
ʔanən **nissiχan** **nissun** bətəsəb ʔiyna
ʔanə-n **nis-ka-n** **niss-u-n** bətəsəb ʔiyy-na
Pro.1SG-and Pro-2MSG-and **Pro-3MSG-and** relative Cop-1PL
‘You, I and he are relatives.’

Note that the order of the constituents in the NP in example [321] can be stated as [NP > (1SG-CNJ) (2MSG-CNJ) (3MSG-CNJ) N].

If the NP is constructed by two independent pronouns of the same person but different in gender, and if there is a verb, the subject verb agreement is governed by the masculine plural pronoun. See the example in [322] with [NP > (2MPL-CNJ) (2FPL-CNJ) N] order of constituents.

[322] *ʔissiχumy ʔissiχiniy bətəsev yəχum*
nissiχumin **nissiχinin** bətəseb ʔiyχum
niss-kum-n **niss-kin-n** bətəseb ʔiyy-kum
Pro-2MPL-and **Pro-2FPL-and** relative Cop-2MPL
‘You (MPL) and you (FPL) are relatives.’

Two or more constituents can be coordinated disjunctively by using the expression *wəy* ‘or’. The expression *wəy* ‘or’ coordinates two or more expressions in two ways. One way is by placing it (*wəy*) before each of the constituents to be coordinated by it. For instance, consider the examples below.

[323] *wəy ʔanə wəy Bayru niməs’s’iʔ yəna*

<i>wəy</i>	<i>ʔanə</i>	<i>wəy</i>	<i>Bayru</i>	<i>kiniməs’s’iʔ</i>	<i>ʔiyina</i>
<i>wəy</i>	<i>ʔanə</i>	<i>wəy</i>	<i>Bayru</i>	<i>ki-ni-məs’iʔ</i>	<i>ʔiyy-na</i>
or	Pro.1SG	or	Bayru.PN	FUT-1PL.Sub-come.IMV	Cop-1PL.Sub

‘Either I or Bayru will come.’

The second way of coordinating two or more elements using the expression *wəy* ‘or’ is by placing it before each of the constituents except before the first element. The constituents of the NP in example [324] are ordered as NP > (1SG) CNJ (PN) CNJ (PN).

[324] *ʔanə wəy Bayru wəy Afəra niməs’s’iʔ yəna*

<i>ʔanə</i>	<i>wəy</i>	<i>Bayru</i>	<i>wəy</i>	<i>Afəra</i>	<i>kiniməs’s’iʔ</i>	<i>ʔiyina</i>
<i>ʔanə</i>	<i>wəy</i>	<i>Bayru</i>	<i>wəy</i>	<i>Afəra</i>	<i>ki-ni-məs’iʔ</i>	<i>ʔiyy-na</i>
Pro.1SG	or	Bayru.PN	or	Afəra.PN	FUT-1PL.Sub-come.IMV	AUX-1PL.Sub

‘Either I or Bayru or Afəra will come.’

The expression *do* ‘or’, which is usually suffixed or attached to the element conjoined first is also used to conjoin two alternative elements of NP in an interrogative sense. The order of the constituents of the NP given below is [NP > N-CNJ N].

[325] *s’əvado sowwa kihvəkka?*

<i>s’əbado</i>	<i>siwa</i>	<i>kihibəkka?</i>
<i>s’əba-do</i>	<i>siwa</i>	<i>ki-hib-ə-ka?</i>
milk-or.Intr	local beer	FUT-give.IMV-1SG-2MSG.BEN

‘Shall I give you **milk or local beer?**’

The word *wala* which can be interpreted as the correlative ‘neither...nor’ serves to correlate constituents in a negative statement. *wala* occurs before each of the correlated nouns in the NP. The order of NP constituents in the example given below is [NP > CNJ PN CNJ PN N].

[326] *wala Haftu wala Dargə s’əba ʔaysətəyuy*

wala Haftu wala Dargə s’əba ʔaysətəyuy

wala Haftu wala Dargə s’əba ʔay-sətəy-u-n

neither Haftu.PN or Darge.PN milk NEG-drink.PRV-3MSG.Sub-NEG

Neither Haftu nor Darge drank milk.’

The word *yikun* [yixun] which can be interpreted as ‘let it be’ also correlates two constituents of an NP in a negative way; it has to be placed between the two constituents as in the example below.

[327] *biḥray yixun laḥmi*

biḥray yixun laḥmi

biḥray yi-kun laḥm

ox 3MSG.Sub-be.IMV cow

‘neither an ox nor a cow.’

In section 6.2 and the sub-sections within it, the word orders in the NPs of the language variety have been described and discussed with examples. The next section deals with adjective phrases.

6.2.2. Adjective phrase

Phrases that can be headed by adjectives are not common compared to that of NPs in the language variety under discussion. In the construction of adjective phrases, adjectives

can take complement or may stand-alone. The examples in [326] show one-word adjective phrase.

- | | | | | |
|-------|----|----------------|----|-----------------|
| [328] | a) | <i>χ'ayyih</i> | b) | <i>ħač'č'ir</i> |
| | | k'ayyih | | ħas's'ir |
| | | red.MSG | | short.MSG |
| | | 'red' | | 'short' |

The examples given below show adjective phrases constructed with the intensifier *bit'ałmi* (*kərna*) which can be interpreted as 'very'.

- | | | |
|-------|----|--------------------------|
| [329] | a) | <i>bit'ałmi ħač'č'ir</i> |
| | | bit'ałmi ħas's'ir |
| | | bit'ałm ħas'ir |
| | | very short.3MSG |
| | | 'Very short' |

- | | |
|----|-------------------|
| b) | <i>kərna diχa</i> |
| | kərna diχa |
| | kərna dika |
| | very poor |
| | 'Very poor.' |

In RT, adjective phrases can be protracted by constructed them together with prepositional phrases (PPs) as we can observe following examples.

- | | | |
|-------|----|-------------------------------------|
| [330] | a) | <i>ham ħafta kərna řəggə</i> |
| | | kəm ħafta kərna řəggə |
| | | kəm ħaft-a kərna řəggə |
| | | like sister-3FSG.POS very beautiful |
| | | 'Very beautiful like her sister' |

- b) *ham ʕarku kərna ʕayyal*
 ham ʕark-u **kərna** **ʕayyal**
 ham ʕark-u **kərna** **ʕayyal**
 like friend-3MSG.POS **very** **strong**
 ‘Very strong like his friend.’

Adjective phrases can also appear with copular verbs as illustrated in the example below.

- [331] *ʕam ʕafta kərna ʕəggə ʕoyna*
 kəm ʕafta kərna ʕəggə ʕoyna
 kəm ʕaft-a kərna ʕəggə koyn-a
 like sister-3FSG-POS very beautiful.FSG become.PRV-3FSG.Sub
 ‘She became very beautiful like her sister.’

In the preceding section, the structures of adjective phrases have been treated. The next section deals with the descriptions and discussions of the verb phrases in RT.

6.2.3. Verb phrase

According to the definition given for the phrase structure, a verb phrase (VP) refers to any phrase structure headed by a verb. As it has been stated so far, verbs in the language variety are highly inflected morphologically. They can be inflected for many syntactic functions. In order to recognize any verb phrase in RT, the different features of verbs are also going to be considered.

Verbs can stand-alone and make phrase structure by themselves; this kind of phrase structure is called a one-word phrase. Consider the examples given below.

[332]	a) <i>moytom</i> moytom moyt-om die.PRV-3MPL.Sub 'They (M) died.'	b) <i>wəldən</i> wəlidən wəlid-ən give birth.PRV-3FPL.Sub 'They (F) gave birth.'
-------	---	--

As we can infer from the data in [332a] and [332b], the verb has no any constituent, but it meets the function of a verb phrase; it is also a sentential verb. Therefore, the syntax of the English translation is a complete sentence with a subject and predicate while the Tigrinya (including RT) construction provides a subject agreement marked verb (VP).

In this variety, verbs can also be constructed with constituents that can serve as complements in constructing the structure of verb phrases. In examples [333], the verb phrase is constructed with a PP as a complementizer, and the order of the constituents in each example can be stated as [VP > (PP) V].

[333]	a) <i>dihawu məslu</i> nihawu məsilu ni-haw-u məsil-u for-brother-3MSG.POS resemble.PRV-3MSG.Sub 'He looked like his brother.'
	b) <i>ham haftəy s'əllimə</i> kəm haftəy s'əllimə kəm haft-əy s'əllim-ə like sister-1SG.POS become black.PRV-1SG.Sub 'I became black like my sister.'

In such syntactic constructions, the head of each phrase (VP) undergoes the state of becoming, that is, the heads of the phrases are changed from their previous character to another new character.

In RT, intransitive verbs which are head of verb phrases can be pre-modified with other prepositional phrases as in the examples below. The order of the constituents in example [334a] is [VP > (PP) (PP) V] while that of example [332b] is [VP > NP (PP) (NP) V]. Note that the PP in each example is functioning as an adverb.

[334] a) *kač'ərč'ər biməkina mäs'i?ina*
 kab č'ərč'ər biməkina mäs'i?na
 kab č'ərč'ər bi-məkina mäs'i?-na
 from Chercher P-car come.PRV-1PL.Sub
 'We came by a car from Chercher.'

b) *biŋrayu²⁸ ?awuŋt'i gər moytu*
 biŋrayu ?ab wiŋt'i gər moytu
 biŋray-u ?ab wiŋt' gər moyt-u
 ox-Det.3MSG at in byre die.PRV-3MSG.Sub
 'The ox died in a byre.'

The verb in the VP can also be a transitive one that can function as predicate of a main clause. The transitive verb that functions as a predicate of the main clause in this case serves as the head of the verb phrase. The transitive verb which is the head of the VP is modified by an NP. The order of the constituents in [335 a] can be indicated as [VP > (NP) V], and the one in example [335 b] can be stated as [VP > (PP) (NP) V].

²⁸ It has to be taken into consideration that nouns in RT can also be defined by pronominal suffixes as in *səbəyt-a* [səvəyta] 'the woman'.

[335] a) *buzuḥ s'əba sətiyna*
 bizuḥ s'əba sətiyna
 bizuḥ s'əba sətiy-na
 much milk drink.PRV-1PL.Sub
 'We drank much milk.'

b) *bimisar ʕabuyyi ʕom χ'ors'ina*
 bimisar ʕabuyyi ʕom k'oris'na
 bi-misar ʕabiy ʕom k'oris'-na
 P-axe big.MSG tree cut.PRV-1PL.Sub
 'We cut a big tree with an axe.'

In RT, VPs which are constructed by copular verbs express the relationship of the subject with its complements. The order of the constituents in examples [336a] and [336b] are [VP > (PN) NP V (Cop)] and [VP > PN-CNJ N-CNJ (PP) NP V], respectively, as seen below.

[336] a) *ʔissa ʃəggə məmhir ʔəʔa*
 nissa ʃəggə məmhir ʔiyya
 niss-a ʃəggə məmhir ʔiyy-a
 Pro-3FSG nice teacher Cop-3FSG.Sub
 'She is a nice teacher.'

b) *Dargəy Amdəy naχ'arəva ʔaʕiriχtəy ʔəʔom*
 Dargəy Amdəy *na* k'ərəba ʔaʕiriχtəy ʔiyyom
 Dargə-y Amdə-y *na* k'ərəba ʔa-ʕiriχ-t-əy ʔiyy-om
 Darge.PN-and Amde.PN-and Gen-near PL-friend-PL-1SG.POS Cop-3MPL.Sub
 'Amde and Darge are my intimate friends.'

A verb phrase can have a longer structure that can be constructed by more constituents as in the example below. Note that the order of the constituents in the VP is: [VP > (Det) (NP) (Adv) (V) V].

[337] *ditu biʃray χ'alt'if-u ʃəyt'uwwo məs'ʔu*
niʔiti biʃray k'əlt'ifu ʃəyt'uwwo məs'ʔu
ni-ʔit-i biʃray k'əlt'if-u ʃəyt'-u-o məs'ʔ-u
 Acc-Det-3MSG ox quick-3MSG.Sub sell.PRV-3MSG.Sub-3MSG.Obj come.PRV-3MSG.Sub
 'He sold the ox early, and he came.'

The structures of verb phrases in the target language study have been examined in the preceding section. The next discussion is going to deal with the description of adverb phrases (AdvP).

6.2.4. Adverb phrases

In RT, words which primarily belong to the class of adverbs are few. Nouns, noun phrases and prepositional phrases (see § 5.2) can function as adverbs. The syntactic functions of adverbs are classified into time, manner and place. As discussed so far, the head of the phrases in the variety are right headed or head-final phrases. Adverb phrases describe the function of the verbs that answers the questions such as when, where, how, how often and in what manner. Consider the data given in [338]. Note that the adverb in [338a] is inherently an adverb while the one in [338b] is a noun but serves as an adverb of time. The expressions shown in bold face in [338] are adverbs.

[338]

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------------|----|----------------------------|
| a) | tolo məs'ʔu | b) | χəzi χəydu |
| | tolo məs'ʔu | | kəzi kəydu |
| | tolo məs'ʔ-u | | kəzi kəyd-u |
| | quickly come.PRV-3MSG.Sub | | now go.PRV-3MSG.Sub |
| | 'He came quickly.' | | 'He went now.' |

Besides, NPs and PPs can be embedded together in a clause, and they can serve as adverb phrase in the variety. Let us have a look at the examples below.

- [339] a) ***timali miḵət biχ'ult'uf mäs'i?u***
 timali miḵət bik'ilt'uf mäs'i?u
 timali miḵət bi-k'ilt'uf mäs'i?-u
 yesterday evening P-fast come.PRV-3MSG.Sub
 'He came quickly yesterday evening.'
- b) ***nəga guḥat biguyya kiməs's'i? yə?ə***
 nəga guḥat biguyya ki?iməs's'i? ?iyyə
 nəga guḥat bi-guyya ki-?iyy-məs's'i? ?iyy-ə
 tomorrow morning P-running FUT-1SG-come.PRV AUX-1SG
 'I will come by running tomorrow morning.'

The phrases indicated in bold face in [339] are NPs and PPs; the phrases *timali miḵət* 'yesterday evening' in [339 a] and *nəga guḥat* 'tomorrow morning' in [339 b] are NPs, but they function as temporal adverbs. Besides, the phrases *bi-k'ilt'uf* [biχ'ult'uf] 'quickly' in [339 a] and *bi-guyya* 'by fast' in [339 b] are PPs, but they function as manner adverbs.

6.2.5. Prepositional phrase

Though prepositions have been treated in chapter five in detail, I try to show how their phrase structures are constructed in this section. In RT, prepositions can be either bound or free morphemes (see § 5.3, 5.3.1 and 5.3.2.). The prepositions *bi-* 'with, by', *da-* 'to', *di-* 'for', *na-* 'of (Gen)', *ka-* 'from' are found as clitics and then bound prepositional morphemes in the Rayya Tigrinya variety. Prepositions take nouns or adjectives as their constituents in their phrase constructions (see § 5.3). Therefore, prepositional phrases (PPs) are constructed from such word classes, and they indicate relationships among other words such as direction, time and place in a phrase. In PPs, the headword (preposition) always appears first; in other words, it is left-headed. PPs are constructed

to describe other phrases. In what follows, examples of PPs are provided, and the PPs are indicated in bold font.

- [340] a) ***bivətri*** wəχ'ɪuwwa
bivətri wəχ'ɪuwwa
bi-bətr wək'ɪɸ-u-a
P-stick hit.PRV-3MSG.Sub-3FSG.Obj
'He hit her with a stick.'
- b) ***daRayya*** χəydom
nab Rayya kəydom
nab Rayya kəyd-om
nab Rayya go.PRV-3MPL.Sub
'They went to Rayya.'

In [340] the phrases *bi-bətr* [bivətri] 'with a stick' and *nab Rayya* [daRayya] 'to Rayya', are prepositional phrases (PPs) in which each phrase is constructed from a preposition and a noun as indicated in bold. Each of the PPs defines the verb in the syntactic structure.

In the preceding section (section 6.2.), the features of how phrases can be constructed have been described with examples in RT. The next section will focus on the description of clause structure in the subject language variety.

6.3. Clause structure

A clause is a grammatical unit that is smaller than a sentence but larger than words and phrases, and it denotes situations, states and events (Miller, 2002: 119). There are two types of clauses: independent (main) and dependent (subordinate) clauses. In this

section, the two types of clauses are treated first. The independent clauses are addressed as main clauses or simple sentences interchangeably for convenience. The main clause which is a simple sentence can stand on its own both syntactically and semantically as in the data below. Note that the main clause (MC) in the following example consists of a subject (Sub) and a predicate; therefore, it can be stated as [MC > Sub + Predicate].

[341] *Təsfay biʃray ʃaddigu*

Təsfay	biʃray	ʃaddigu
Təsfay	biʃray	ʃaddig-u
Təsfay.PN	ox	buy.PRV-3MSG.Sub

‘Təsfay bought an ox.’

On the other hand, syntactically, the dependent clause can be constructed by adding subordinating expression to the main clause (simple sentence) as in the example below. Note that the expression *ʔindiħir* ‘if’ is a subordinator, and the structure can be stated as [SuC > Sub + SuCNJ + Predicate].

[342] *Təsfay biʃray ʔindiħir ʃaddigu*

Təsfay	biʃray	<i>ʔindiħir</i>	ʃaddigu
Təsfay	biʃray	<i>ʔindiħir</i>	ʃaddig-u
Təsfay.PN	ox	if	buy.PRV-3MSG.Sub

‘If Təsfay bought an ox,’

6.4. Sentence structure

A sentence refers to the largest structural unit of grammar in which a language is organized (cf. Miller, 2002:76). Besides, Miller states that the sentence is a grammatical unit that has a certain sort of unity, being grammatically complete, and has a degree of

semantic independence that enables it to stand on its own independent of context. The descriptions on the structures of simple sentences, compound sentences and complex sentences in RT are given below one after the other, respectively.

6.4.1. Simple sentence

In general, Rayya Tigrinya is canonically SOV (Subject-Object-Verb) language variety. The main clause (simple sentence) is the one which consists of a subject (Sub) and a simple verb. The verb in the main clause (simple sentence) can be a finite, a copula, an existential verb or a verb that indicates possession. However, it has to be taken into consideration that the subject of a simple sentence and the verb can be compound. Examples of simple sentences in RT are demonstrated below.

[343] a) *?anə s'əva sətiyə*

<i>?anə</i>	<i>s'əba</i>	<i>sətiyə</i>	
<i>?anə</i>	<i>s'əba</i>	<i>sətiy-ə</i>	
Pro.1SG	milk	drink.PRV-1PL.Sub	
I drank milk.'			

b) *ħaftəy řəggə ř'amif řaddiga*

<i>ħaftəy</i>	<i>řəggə</i>	<i>ř'amif</i>	<i>řaddiga</i>
<i>ħaft-əy</i>	<i>řəggə</i>	<i>k'amif</i>	<i>řaddig-a</i>
sister-1SG.POS (Sub)	nice	dress (Obj)	buy.PRV-3FSG.Sub
'My sister bought a nice dress.'			

As one can see from the data in [343], each sentence has a subject, an object and a verb (SOV). *?anə* 'I' and *ħaftəy* 'my sister' are the subjects of the sentences [343a] and [343b], respectively. Besides, the words *s'əba* [s'əva] 'milk' and *k'amif* [ř'amif] 'dress' are objects

of the sentences. Moreover, *səty-ə* [sətyə] ‘I drank’ and *ʕaddig-a* [ʕaddiga] ‘she bought’ are the verbs of the sentences, respectively; note that these verbs are also sentential (both syntactically and semantically complete by themselves).

The subject as well as the verb of a simple sentence can exist with modifiers. Let us consider the examples in [344].

[344] a) *Hayəlom bis’aʕda fərəs daMəχonni χəydu*

Hayəlom	bis’aʕda	fərəs	nab Məχonni	kəydu
Hayəlom	bi-s’aʕda	fərəs	nab Məkoni	kəyd-u
Hayelom.PN (Sub)	P-white	horse	to Mekoni	go.PRV-3MSG.Sub

‘Hayelom went to Mekoni by a white horse’s.’

b) *Nigus ʕəggə ʕiffay saʔni ʕaddigu*

Nigus	ʕəggə	siffay	saʔni	ʕaddigu
Nigus	ʕəggə	siffay	saʔn	ʕadig-u
Nigus.PN (Sub)	nice	banded	shoe (Obj)	buy.PRV-3MSG.Sub

‘Nigus bought a nice banded pair of shoes.’

6.4.1.1. Simple sentence with a copula

A simple sentence can also be constructed with a copular verb. In RT, the form *yəʔ-* can be used as a copular verb stem in which different agreement markers are attached to it in order to form simple sentence. See the following examples.

[345] a) *ʔanə məmhir yəʔə*

ʔanə	məmhīr	ʔiyyə
ʔanə	məmhīr	ʔiyy-ə
Pro.1SG.Sub	teacher	Cop-1SG

‘I am a teacher.’

- b) *ʔissiχa hač'č'ir yəχa*
 nissiχa has's'ir ʔiyχa
 niss-ka has's'ir ʔiyy-ka
 Pro-2MSG .Sub short.MSG Cop-2MSG
 'You (MSG) are short.'

In a past sense, the copulative verb form stated in [345] is replaced by the past form *nəbir-* which is [nəvɹ-] in RT and [nəyr-] in MT, and it can be interpreted as 'was/were'.

Example is shown in [346].

- [346] *ʔanə məmhir nəvrə*²⁹
 ʔanə məmhir nəvrə
 ʔanə məmhir nəbir-ə
 Pro.1SG.Sub teacher Cop.PRV-1SG.Sub
 'I was a teacher.'

Moreover, a simple sentence can also be constructed using the verb [χoyn-]³⁰, which can be interpreted as 'became'. Let us consider the examples in the data below.

- [347] a) *Təsfu tımhari χ'affi χoynu*
 Təsfu təmharay k'əffji koynu
 Təsfu təmhar-ay k'əffj koyn-u
 Tesfu.PN student-MSG priest become.PRV-3MSG.Sub
 'Tesfu became a clergy student.'
- b) *g^walχay woddixay haftamat χoynom*
 g^walχan wəddixan haftamat koynom
 g^wal-ka-n wədd-ka-y haft-am-at koyn-om
 daughter-2MSG.POS-and son-2MSG.POS-and rich-Adj-PL become.PRV-3MPL
 'Your daughter and your son became rich.'

²⁹ The verb /s'əniħ/ > [s'ənh-] 'was/were' can be replaced by the verb /nəbir-/ > [nəvɹ-] 'was/were'.

³⁰ /kəwən-/ > /koyn-/ > [χoyn-] 'become'

If we want to show or state negation construction in simple sentences with the verb *koyñ-* [χoyn-] ‘became’ we have to affix the discontinuous negation marker *yə-...-y* to this verb stem or simply to the complement of the copulative affirmative statement. Look at the example below.

- [348] *?issu Haftu yəχonəy*
 nissu Haftu ?aykonən
 niss-u Haftu ?ay-kəyən-ə-n
 Pro-3MSG.Sub Haftu.PN (Sub) NEG-become.PRV-3MSG.Sub-NEG
 ‘He is not Haftu.’

6.4.1.2. Simple sentence with an existential verb

A simple sentence can also be constructed with the verb *?inni?*³¹ ‘exist’ in RT and *?all-* in MT. This verb shows the presence or the existence of something in somewhere. Let us consider the following examples.

- [349] a) *goyta ?av χullu bota ?innuho*
 goyta ?ab kullu bota ?allo
 goyta ?ab kullu bota ?all-o
 God at, in all place exist.IMV-3MSG.Sub
 ‘God exists everywhere.’
- b) *dihri mot hiwət ?av gənnət ?innuho*
 dihri mot hiwət ?ab gənnət ?allo
 dihri məwət hiwət ?ab gənət ?all-o
 after death life ab, in heaven exist-3MSG.Sub
 ‘Life exists in heaven after death.’

³¹ /?all-/ > [?innih-] ‘exist’

Moreover, a simple sentence can also be constructed with the verb *?innih-*, which can be interpreted as ‘has/have’ and indicates the concept of possession. In sentences that show possession with the verb *?innih-* ‘has/have’, the subject pronominal affixes must agree in gender and number, and the possessor is indicated by the object pronominal suffixes which must also agree in number, gender and person. Let us consider the example below.

- [350] a) *Bayru s’aŋda laħmi ?innihatto*
 Bayru s’aŋda laħmi ?allatto
 Bayru s’aŋda laħm ?all-a-o
 Bayru.PN (Sub) white cow exist-3FSG-3MSG.POS
 ‘Bayru has a white cow.’
- b) *?issom gəffih girat ?innihowwom*
 nissom səffih girat ?allowwom
 niss-om səffih girat ?all-o-om
 Pro-3MPL wide.MSG farm exist-3MSG-3MPL.POS
 ‘They (M) have a vast farm.’

In the preceding section, we have discussed the structures of simple sentences with different verb types in the language variety under study. In the next section, structural features of compound sentences of RT will be described and discussed.

6.4.2. Compound sentence

A compound sentence is a type of sentence which is constructed by coordinating two or more independent clauses (simple sentences). In RT, two or more independent clauses that have equal grammatical statuses can be conjoined via a connector. Besides, the

independent clauses can also be constructed through juxtaposition. Such sentence construction is addressed as a compound sentence in this dissertation.

In the target language variety, two or more independent clauses can be conjoined into a compound sentence structure via the coordinating words such as *damma*, *lə*, *gina*, *wəy* (*wəy damma*). Semantically, the coordinators *damma* and *lə* relate an associative relationship of independent clauses in compound sentences; *wəy* (*wəy damma*) indicates an alternative relationship of independent clauses. The conjoiner *gina*, on the other hand, shows the contrastive relationship of simple sentences (independent clauses) in the compound sentence structure. Let us see how each of the connectors can conjoin independent clauses into a compound sentence as follows.

- [351] a) *Hayyəlom məs'ʔu Dargə lə misah bəlfu*
 Hayyəlom məs'iʔu Dargə lə bəlfu
 Hayəlom məs'iʔ-u Dargə **ʔiwin** bəlf-u
 Hayelom.PN (Sub) come.PRV-3MSG.Sub Darge.PN **and** eat.PRV-3MSG.Sub
 'Hayelom came, and Darge ate lunch.'
- b) *daRayya xəydu faddi damma sərhū*
 nab Rayya xəydu gəza **dimma** sərihu
 nab Rayya xəyd-u gəza **dimma** sərih-u
 to Rayya go.PRV-3MSG.Sub house **and** make-3MSG.Sub
 'He went to Rayya, and he built a house there.'

The independent clauses in each of the compound sentences in example [352] below are coordinated associatively. If the subject of the independent clauses conjoined together is the same, it is elapsed in all but the first one. If the verbs are accompanied by an

auxiliary verb, only one auxiliary is used in the coordinated sentence. See the example given below.

[352] *Aberu migvi tihvänni faləvalə*

Abəru	migbi	tihibənni	faləba-lə
Abəru	migb	ti-hibə-nni	faləba-lə
Aberu.PN	food (DO)	3FSG.Sub-give.IMV-1SG.IDO.BEN	cloth (DO)-CNJ

tifiddigəlləy yəʔa

tifiddigəlləy	ʔiyya
ti-fiddig-ə-lləy	ʔiyy-a
3FSG.Sub-buy.IMV-3FSG.Sub1SG.IDO.BEN	AUX-3FSG

‘Aberu gives me food and buys me a cloth.’

If the subjects of the coordinated independent clauses are different but have the same predicate, the subjects can be conjoined by -y ‘and’, which is suffixed to each of the subjects. See the example below.

[353] *Haftuy Bayruy ʔom*

Haftun	Bayrun	ʔom
Haftu-n	Bayru-n	ʔom
Haftu.PN-and (Sub)	Bayru.PN-and (Sub)	tree

χ’orris’ilowwu

yiχ ^w ərris’u	ʔallowwu
yi-k ^w ərs’-u	ʔall-o-u
3MPL.Sub-cut.IMV-3MPL.Sub	exist-3MPL.Sub

ʔaddi sərħilowwu

gəza	yisərħu	ʔallowwu
gəza	yi-sərħ-u	ʔall-o-u
house	3MPL.Sub-make.IMV-3MPL.Sub	exist.3MSG-3MPL.Sub

‘Haftu and Bayru are cutting a tree and building a house.’

As we can see from the examples in [353], the subjects of the sentences are conjoined by -y, but the independent clauses are juxtaposed with no relator. The expression *?imma* ‘and’ is also used to coordinate two independent clauses. Syntactically, this expression *?imma* always occurs between the two independent clauses. *?imma* entails that the action which is stated in the second independent clause will follow the event described in the first independent clause. Examples are provided below.

[354] *χ’ursina nibla? ?imma daməsnona*

k’ursina	nibla?	?immo	nab məsnona
k’ursi-na	ni-bla?	?immo	nab məsno-na
breakfast-1PL.POS	1PL.Sub-eat.IMV	and	to garden-1PL.POS

niχid

niχid

ni-kid

1PL.Sub-go.IMV

‘Let us eat our breakfast and go to our garden.’

The alternative relationship of independent clauses in a compound sentence is shown by using the expression *wəy* ‘or’. Syntactically, the expression *wəy* ‘or’ occurs between the conjoined independent clauses. Let us consider the example demonstrated in [355].

[355] *ħimbəffa bila? wəy s’əba sitəy*

ħimbəffa	bila?	wəy	s’əba	sitəy
ħimbəffa	bila?	wəy	s’əba	sitəy
bread	eat.IMV.2MSG.Sub	or	milk	drink.IMV.2MSG.Sub

‘Either you (MSG) eat bread or drink milk.’

Moreover, the expression *wəy d̄imma* ‘or also’ is used to show alternative relationship between independent clauses of a compound sentence. It always occurs between the two independent clauses of the compound sentence. See the following examples.

- [356] *s’əva sitəyu wəy d̄imma h̄imbəffa bilʕu*
 s’əba sitəyu wəy d̄amma h̄imbəffa bilʕu
 s’əba sitəy-u wəy d̄amma h̄imbəffa bilʕ-u
 milk Drink.IMV-2MPL.Sub or also bread Eat.IMV-3MPL.Sub
 ‘Either you (MPL) drink milk or eat bread.’

The connector *wəy* that appears at the initial position of each independent clause is also used to connect two independent clauses into a compound one; in this way, it serves as a correlative conjunction. Consider the example below.

- [357] *wəy ʔavzi sirhu wəy daRayya χidu*
 wəy ʔabzi sirhu wəy nab Rayya kidu
 wəy ʔab ʔiz-i sirh-u wəy nab Rayya kiyd-u
 or at this-3MSG work.IMV-3MPL.Sub or to Rayya go.IMV-2MPL.Sub
 ‘Either you (MPL) have to work here, or you have to go to Rayya.’

Besides, the expression *gina* ‘but’ is used to join two independent clauses into a compound sentence. It denotes the contrastive or opposite relationship of ideas. Each of the independent clauses in a compound sentence is contrasted with the other one. If the independent clauses of a compound sentence to be conjoined have the same subject, the subject of the second clause is elapsed, and the relator takes place just after the first clause. Let us consider the examples below.

- [358] a) *misəhəy bəlɬə gina yas'əgəvχuy*
 misəhəy bəlɬə **gina** ʔays'əgəbχun
 misəh-əy bəlɬ-ə **gina** ʔay-s'əgəb-ku-n
 lunch-1SG.POS eat.PRV-1SG.Sub **but** NEG-satisfy.PRV-1SG.Subj-NEG
 'I ate my lunch, but I was not satisfied.'
- b) *maffila zərʔina gina zinav yəwəχ'ɬəy*
 miʃəla zəriʔna **gina** zinab ʔaywəχ'əʃən
 miʃʃəla zəriʔ-na **gina** zinab ʔay-wək'əʃ-ə-n
 millet sow.PRV-1PL.Sub **but** rain NEG-rain.PRV-3MSG.Sub-NEG
 'We sowed millet, but it did not rain.'

6.4.3. Complex sentences

A complex sentence refers to a syntactic construction that contains two or more clauses in which one of them is dependent clause: dependent (subordinate) clause, relative clause or adverbial clause, complement clause and noun clause (Miller, 2002: 63).

Thus, any complex sentence is constructed at least with an independent clause and with one of the types of dependent clauses. In the following sub-section, I am going to discuss the structures of complex sentences with each type of the dependent clauses in RT.

6.4.3.1. Complex sentence with subordinating words

In RT, the relational syntactic bound morpheme *bid-* 'after, when' and the free morpheme *ʔindihir* 'if' are commonly used to subordinate a dependent clause to the main clause. An auxiliary verb which always appears at sentence final is also used as a complement with *ʔindihir* or with *bid*. A complex sentence begins with the subordinate clause. Let us consider the data given in [359], [360], [361] and [362] as follows.

[359] a) *Dargə s'əva bidsətəyə daʕidəga χəydu*
 Dargə s'əba missətəyə nab ʕidaga kəydu
 Dargə s'əba mis-sətəy-ə nab ʕidaga kəyd-u
 Darge.PN milk after-drink.PRV-3MSG.Sub to market go.PRV-3MSG.Sub
 'Darge went to the market after he drank milk.'

b) *misahna bidvələʕna daʕaddina məs'iʔina*
 misahna misbələʕna nab ʕaddina məs'iʔna
 misah-na mis-bələʕ-na nab ʕaddi-na məs'iʔ-na
 lunch-1PL.POS after-eat.PRV-1PL.Sub to-home-1PL.POS come.PRV-1PL.Sub
 'When we ate our lunch, we came to our home.'

It has to be noted that *bid-* is attached to the perfective verb forms as we can see from the examples in [359 a] and [359 b].

In a past sense, the dependent clause indicated by *bid-* prefixed to the perfective verb is followed by an independent clause, which is composed of imperfective verb form followed by an auxiliary verb. Let us consider the following examples.

[360]

a) *zinab bidwəχ'ʕə niməs's'iʔ yəna*
 zinab miswəχ'ʕə niməs's'iʔ ʔiyina
 zinab mis-wək'əʕ-ə ni-məs's'iʔ ʔiyy-na
 rain after-rain.PRV-3MSG.Sub 1PL.Sub-come.IMV AUX-1PL
 'We will come after it rains.'

b) *misahna bidvəlaɫna dagiratna*

misahna	misbəlaɫna	nab giratna
misah-na	mis-bəlaɫ-na	nab girat-na
lunch-1PL.POS	when-eat.PRV-1PL.Sub	to farm-1PL.POS

niχəd yəna

niχəyyid	?iyɲa
ni-kəyid	?iyy-na
1PL.Sub.IMV-go	AUX-1PL.Sub

‘We will go to our garden when/after we eat our lunch.’

As it has been introduced, the subordinating expression *?indihir* is placed at the beginning of the subordinated clause, and an auxiliary verb takes place at the end of the whole sentence in a complex sentence. The dependent clause, which is immediately preceded by the subordinator *?indihir* appears with the perfective verb form, but the main (independent) clause appears with the imperfective one. Let us consider the example below.

[361] a) *?indihir məsi?χa s’əva tisəty yəχa*

?indihir	məsi?χa	s’əba	tisəty	?iyyχa
?indihir	məsi?-ka	s’əba	ti-səty	?iyy-ka
if	come.PRV-2MSG.Sub	milk	2MSG.Sub-drink.IMV	AUX-2MSG

‘If you (MSG) come, you (MSG) will drink milk.’

b) *?indihir daɫidəga χəydina biɫray niɫiddig yəna*

?indihir	nab ɫidaga	kəydina	biɫray	niɫiddig	?iyyɲa
?indihir	nab ɫidəga	kəydi-na	biɫray	ni-ɫiddig	?iyy-na
if	to market	go.PRV-1PL.Sub	ox	1PL.Sub-buy.IMV	AUX-1PL

‘If we go to a market, we will buy an ox.’

As the data in [361] reveal, the subordinator *?indihir* ‘if’ occurs at sentence initial, and the verb in the clause preceded by *?indihir* is in its perfective aspect form. The verb in the

second clause as indicated in the data, however, is in its imperfective verb conjugation where the subject marker prefixes *tī-* as in [361a] and *nī-* as in [361b] are conjugated. The auxiliary verb is placed at sentence final as indicated in each example.

A subordinated clause which is indicated by the prefix *da-* ‘when, while’ prefixed to a verb reflects a progressive action; thus, a complex sentence can be constructed with this clause followed by an independent clause as in the following examples.

[362] a) *ḥawəy daRayya daχədə təvən χ’atlu*

ḥawəy	nab Rayya	ʔinna χədə	təmən	k’ətilu
ḥaw-əy	nab Rayya	ʔinna -kəyəd-ə	təmən	k’ətil-u
brother-1SG.POS	to Rayya	while -go.Prog-3MSG.Sub	snake	kill.PRV-3MSG.Sub

‘My brother killed a snake while he was going to Rayya.’

b) *Dargə daḥarəsə biʔimni biʔray wəχ’iʔu*

Dargə	ʔinnaḥarəsə	biʔimni	biʔray	wəχ’iʔu
Dargə	ʔinna-ḥarəs-ə	bi-ʔimn	biʔray	wək’iʔ-u
Darge.PN	while-farm.Prog-3MSG.Sub	with-stone	ox	hit.PRV-3MSG.Sub

‘Darge hit an ox with a stone while he was farming.’

6.4.3.2. Complex sentence with converb clause

Sequences of two or more actions are juxtaposed through verbs in RT. In this case, though the subject and object of such complex sentence are the same, the action indicated by the first clause serves as a converb whereas the second clause is considered as the main one as exemplified below.

[363] a) *Dargə s'əva sətyu məs'ʔu*
 Dargə s'əba sətyu məs'iʔu
 Dargə s'əba sətiy-u məs'iʔ-u
 Darge.PN milk drink.PRV-3MSG.Sub come.PRV-3MSG.Sub
 'Having drunk milk, Darge came.'

b) *Amdə daʔidəga χəydu biʔray ʃəyt'u*
 Amdə nab ʔidəga kəydu biʔray ʃəyt'u
 Amdə nab ʔidəga kəyd-u biʔray ʃəyt'-u
 Amde.PN to market go.PRV-3MSG.Sub ox sell.PRV-3MSG.Sub
 'Having gone to the market, Amde sold an ox.'

6.4.3.3. Complex sentence with relative clause

In RT, a complex sentence can also be constructed with a relative clause followed by the main clause. Note that the relativizer bound morpheme *di-* is prefixed to the verb in the relative clause. Consider the examples below.

[364] a) *ʔiti biʔray diʔsəɾəχ'ə siʋʃay moytu*
 ʔiti biʔray ziʔsəɾəχ'ə siʋʃay moytu
 ʔit-i biʔray zi-səɾək'-ə siʋʃay moyt-u
 Det-3MSG ox Rel-steal.PRV-3MSG.Sub man die.PRV-3MSG.Sub
 'The man who stole an ox died.'

b) *timali diʔsəʃamχayya g^wal məs'ʔa*
 timali ziʔsəʃamχayya g^wal məs'ʔa
 timali zi-səʃam-ka-a g^wal məs'ʔa
 yesterday Rel-kiss.PRV-2MSG.Sub-3FSG.Obj girl come.PRV-3FSG.Sub
 'The girl whom you kissed yesterday came.'

6.4.3.4. Complex sentence with adverb clause

Complex sentences can also be constructed by using types of adverbial clauses along with the independent clauses. In RT, the bound morpheme *bid-* 'after' is used to construct

temporal clauses. A temporal clause together with an independent clause can construct a complex sentence. Let us consider the examples given below.

[365] a) *Dargə kaK'obbo bidməs'ʔə səv χ'atlu*

Dargə	kab K'obbo	mis məs'əʔə	səb	χ'ətilu
Dargə	kab K'obbo	mis məs'əʔ-ə	səb	k'ətil-u
Darge.PN	from K'obbo	after come.PRV-3MSG.Sub	person	kill.PRV-3MSG.Sub

'After Darge had come from K'obbo, he killed a person.'

b) *ʔabbo gərəv daʔaddom bidχədu harrisna*

ʔabbo	gərəb	nab ʔaddom	mis kədu	harrisna
ʔabbo	gərəb	nab ʔadd-om	mis -kəyəd-u	harris-na
father	river	to home-3MPL.POS	after-go.PRV-3MPL.Sub	sleep.PRV-1PL.Sub

'We slept after the local mediators had gone to their home.'

6.4.3.5. Complex sentence with manner clause

In the target language variety, complex sentences are also constructed by a manner clause (dependent clause) which precedes the main clause. The manner clause is expressed by the relational bound morpheme *t̄i-* which is attached to the verb stem. Look at the examples below.

[366] a) *Gənnət t̄ishiχ'illa dihafta timəssil*

Gənnət	t̄ishiχ'kəlla	nihafta	timəssil
Gənnət	ti-shik'-kəl-a	ni-ħaft-a	ti-məssil
Genet.PN	Mnr-laugh-exist-3FSG.Sub	to-sister-3FSG.POS	3FSG.Sub-resemble.IMV

'Genet looks like her sister when she laughs.'

b) *Haylə tiχədillo ʔarəgit yiməssil*

Haylə	kiχəyyidkəllə	ʔarəgit	yiməssil
Haylə	ki-kəyid-kəl-o	ʔarəgit	yi-məssil
Haile.PN	FUT-go.IMV-exist-3MSG.Sub	old	3MSG.Sub-resemble.IMV

'Haile looks like an old when he walks.'

6.4.3.6. Complex sentence with purpose clause

In the language variety, a complex sentence is also constructed with an independent clause preceded by a purpose clause. The purpose clause is used to denote for what intention an action is carried out. Therefore, the relationship between the dependent (purposive) and the independent (main) clauses in a complex sentence is purposive. In Rayya Tigrinya, the purpose clause is marked by the bound morpheme *di-* ‘to (in order to)’ which is prefixed to the verbal noun in the dependent clause. Let us consider the examples shown below.

- [367] a) *ʔahinna s’əba dimistay mäs’ina*
ʔahinna s’əba nimistay mäs’ina
ʔahinna s’əba ni-mistay mäs’i?-na
Pro.1PL milk to-drink.VN come.PRV-1PL.Sub
‘We came in order to drink milk.’
- b) *ʔom dimiχ’uras’ misar ʔaddigna*
ʔom nimiχ’uras’ misar ʔaddigna
ʔom ni-mik’uras’ misar ʔaddig-na
tree to-cut.VN axe buy.PRV-1PL.Sub
‘We bought an axe in order to cut a tree.’

6.4.3.7. Complex sentence with causal clause

A causal clause is constructed by using the free morpheme *silə* ‘because’, which occurs preceding the relativized verb of a dependent clause. Therefore, relativized verbs, preceded by *silə* ‘because’ and an independent clause together are used to construct a complex sentence in the target study. See the examples below.

[368] a) *Dargə səv silə diχ'ətələ t'əfiʔu*

Dargə	səb	silə	ziχ'ətələ	t'əfiʔu
Dargə	səb	silə	zi-k'ətəl-ə	t'əfiʔ-u
Darge.PN	person	because	Rel-kill.PRV-3MSG.Sub	disappear.PRV-3MSG.Sub

'Darge disappeared because he killed a person.'

b) *Təkka silə dihaməmə s'əllim χoynu*

Təkka	silə	zihaməmə	s'əllim	koynu
Təka	silə	zi-ħaməm-ə	s'əllim	koy-n-u
Teka.PN	because	Rel-get ill.PRV-3MSG.Sub	black.MSG	become.PRV-3MSG.Sub

'Teka became black because he is sick.'

The conjunction *ʔindiħir* 'if' which always occurs at the initial position of the dependent clause is also used to construct a causal clause; this causal clause is followed by the independent clause in order to construct a complex sentence in Rayya Tigrinya. Besides, an auxiliary verb is placed at sentence final position (just next to the independent clause) to make the sentence complete. Let us have a look at the following examples.

[369] *ʔindiħir səv χ'atliχa tiʔissər yəχa*

ʔindiħir	səb	χ'ətılka	tiʔissər	ʔiyχa
ʔindiħir	səb	k'ətıl-ka	ti-ʔissər	ʔiyy-ka
if	person	kill.PRV-2MSG.Sub	PAS-tie.IMV-2MSG.Obj	AUX-2MSG

'If you (MSG) kill a person, you will be arrested.'

6.4.3.8. Complex sentence with a conditional clause

Conditional clauses are stated in complex expressions (sentences) that two or more clauses are conjoined together. Conditional clauses express the possibility in which actions can take place; a complex sentence that contains conditional clauses has the if-clause and then-clause (DeCapua, 2017: 297-299). In other words, there is a causal

relationship between these two clauses. In such types of complex sentences, the fulfillment of a certain situation in the main clause is dependent on the subordinate clause.

In the language variety under study, the expression *?indihir* ‘if’ is used to relate the if-clause with then-clause. The verb of the “if-clause’ is always in its perfective form while that of the “then-clause” is in the imperfective verb form which is followed by an auxiliary verb. The conjunction *?indihir* ‘if’ is placed at the beginning of the “if-clause” which also precedes the “then-clause”. See the examples below.

- [370] a) *?indihir daRayya kəydiχa s’əva tisətiy yəχa*
?indihir nab Rayya kəyd-ka s’əba ti-sətiy ?iyχa
 if to Rayya go.PRV-2MSG.Sub milk 2MSG.Sub-drink.IMV AUX-2MSG
 ‘If you go to Rayya, I will drink milk.’
- b) *?indihir ?anvivχum fətəna kitihalfu yəχum*
?indihir ?anbibχum fətəna kitihalfu ?iχum
?indihir ?anbib-kum fətəna ki-ti-half-u ?iyy-kum
 if eat.PRV-2MPL.Sub test FUT-2MPL.Sub-pass.IMV-2MPL.Sub AUX-2MPL
 ‘If you (MPL) read, you will pass an exam.’

Moreover, the bound morphemes *ka-* that can be interpreted as ‘if’ is prefixed to the verb stem in the if-clause, and both the if-clause and the “then-clause” take an auxiliary verb as a complement. Consider the data below.

[371] a) *kadas'inniŋ nəvrə fətəna kihallif nəvrə*
 təzəs'inniŋ nəyrə *fətəna* kihallif nəyrə
 tə-zə-s'inniŋ nəbir-ə *fətəna* ki-ħalif nəbir-ə
 if-Rel-study.PRV AUX.PRV-1SG.Sub exam 1SG.Sub-pass.IMV AUX-1SG
 'If I studied, I would pass an exam.'

b) *fətəna kataħalfi nəvriχi timəs's'iŋi nəvriχi*
 fətəna ʔintətihalfi nəyrki timəs's'iŋi nəyrki
 fətəna ʔintə-ti-ħalf nəbir-ki ti-məs'ʔ-i nəbir-ki
 exam if-2FSG.Sub-pass.IMV-2FSG.Sub AUX-2FSG 2FSG.Sub-pass-IMV-2FSG AUX-2FSG
 'If you (FSG) passed an exam, you would come.'

6.4.3.9. Complex sentence with a complement clause

The term complement refers to a main constituent of a clause/sentence structure which is conventionally associated with completing the action specified by the verb (DeCapua, 2017: 136). A complement clause, therefore, refers to a type of clause that appears in a complex sentence to make the idea (sense) of a sentence structure complete.

In the language variety under discussion, the complement clause is indicated by a relativized verb that follows a preposition which also appears between the subject and the main verb of the sentence. Let us observe the following examples.

[372] a) *Almaz ham diχədət yəfələt'χuy*
 Almaz kəm ziχədət ʔayfələt'kun
 Almaz kəm zi-kəd-ət ʔay-fələt'-ku-n
 Almaz P Rel-go.PRV-3FSG.Sub NEG-know.PRV-1SG.Sub-NEG
 'I did not know that Almaz went.'

- b) *Nigus faddi ham difiddig səmfə nəvrə*
 Nigus gəza kəm zifiddig səmfə nəvrə
 Nigus gəza kəm zi-fiddig səmf-ə nəbir-ə
 Nigus house P Rel-buy.IMV.3MSG.Sub hear.PRV-1SG.Sub AXU-1SG.Sub
 ‘I heard that Niguss will buy a house.’

In both examples ([372a] and [372b]), the expression ‘that’ is a complementizer (connector) which is structurally used to make the sentence complete (complementized). The clauses *Almaz ham diχədət* ‘that Almaz went’ in [372a] and *Nigus faddi ham difiddig* ‘that Nigus will buy a house’ in [372b] are functioning as objects (each serving as a noun).

6.4.3.10. Complex sentence with a noun clause

A noun clause can be stated as a subordinate clause that is used in the same ways as a noun is. Like a noun, a noun clause can be used as a subject, an object, or a complement. Noun clauses are introduced by subordinate conjunctions such as that, whether, if, or wh-question words, depending on the type of noun clause (DeCapua, 2017: 345). Let us observe the following examples in Rayya Tigrinya.

- [373] a) *ta ham difaddəgə yər?əχuy*
 ?intay kəm zifaddəgə ?ayrə?əχun
 ?intay kəm zi-faddəg-ə ?ay-rə?əy-ku-n
 what P Rel-buy.PRV-3MSG.Sub NEG-see.PRV-1SG.Sub-NEG
 ‘I did not see what he had bought.’

- b) *ham ?abby məs’haf mis’haf yəχa?alχuy*
 kəm ?abby məs’haf mis’haf ?aykə?alkun
 kəm ?abbo-y məs’haf mi-s’haf ?ay-kə?al-ku-n
 P-father-1SG.POS book VN-write NEG-can.PRV-1SG.Sub-NEG
 ‘I could not write a book like my father.’

The expressions indicated in bold face in [373a] and [373b] are noun clauses which function as objects of the sentences; each of the noun clauses can be replaced by a simple noun. For instance, the head of the noun clause in [373a] could be the gerund noun *mi-ḥiddag* ‘buying’, and the head of the noun clause in [373b] *mi-s’ihaf* ‘writing’.

In the language variety under study, there is also such an interesting syntactic structure as the following one.

[374] *nəgrəyyo*
nəgirəyyo
nəgir-ə-o
 tell.PRV-1SG.Sub-3MSG.Obj
 ‘I told him.’

This structure is a morphological structure with an underlying syntactic value. The underlying syntactic form is analyzed as follows.

[375] *?anə ditu wəddi tariχ nəgrəyyo*
?anə nəti wəddi tarik nəgirəyyo
?anə ni-?it-i wədd tarik nəgir-ə-o
 I to-Def-3MSG boy history tell.PRV-1SG.Sub-3MSG.Obj
 ‘I told a history to the boy.’

The subject (*?anə*), the object (*tarik*) and the indirect object (*?iti wəddi*) which were embedded in the verb have now surfaced. The verb is still marked for subject and indirect object. The direct object is retrieved from the valency of the verb (such a verb as *nəgir-* requires three participants—one who tells, what is told and one who is told (listener)).

The following section deals with the structures of sentence types. In the above sections and sub-sections, the different structural characteristics of sentences in the target language variety have been described. In the next section, types of sentences (based on function) in RT will be addressed in brief.

6.5. Sentence types

This section deals with the descriptions of sentence types (declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamatory sentences) in the target language variety.

6.5.1. Declarative sentence

The term declarative in this dissertation refers to the sentence type which is used in the expression of statements. In Rayya Tigrinya, any declarative sentence is not morphologically marked for mood. Syntactically, it is constructed by ordering words into the SOV (Subject-Object-Verb) or into the (Subject-Complement-Verb) word order as a statement. In this way, verbs express the normal assertions, opinions or facts in contrast with other verbal mood. Therefore, verbs in declarative sentences may be active, passive, affirmative and or negative in forms. Let us see some examples as follows.

- [376] a) *Dargə χ'əyyih biḥray ḥaddigu*
 Dargə k'əyyih biḥray ḥaddigu
 Dargə k'əyih biḥray ḥaddig-u
 Darge.PN red.MSG ox buy.PRV-3MSG.Sub
 'Darge bought a red ox.'

- b) *Bayru s'əba yəsətəyəy*
 Bayru s'əba ʔaysətəyən
 Bayru s'əba ʔay-sətəy-ə-n
 Bayru.PN milk NEG-drink.PRV-3MSG.Sub-NEG
 'Bayru did not drink milk.'

- c) *ʕiŋč'əyti tɨʃəvru*
 ʕiŋs'əyti təsəbiru
 ʕiŋs'əyt tə-səbir-u
 wood PAS-break.PRV-3MSG.Sub
 'A wood was broken.'

6.5.2. Imperative sentence

An imperative (command) expression is a directive mood which is given from the addresser (speaker) to the addressee to do something (DeCapua, 2017: 362). In the Rayya variety of Tigrinya, command expressions are indicated by a verbal conjugation in the jussive mood with the entire third person singular and plural of both genders. In the same way, direct imperatives are stated by verbal conjugations with all the second persons. Let us have a look at the example of a direct imperative first and followed by commands (jussive) as follows.

- [377] *buzuḥ saŋri ʕač'č'id!*
 bizuḥ saŋri ʕas's'id
 bizuḥ saŋr ʕas's'id
 much grass mow.IMP.2MSG.Sub
 '(You) (2MSG) mow sufficient grass!'

Besides, the negation marker *kəy-* is prefixed to the verb of the direct imperative sentence to make it a negative statement. Consider the example below.

[378] *buzuḥ saḥri kəytiḥič'č'id*
 bizuḥ saḥri kəy-ti-ḥas's'id
 bizuḥ saḥr kəy-ti-ḥas's'id
 much grass NEG-2MSG.Sub-mow.IMP
 '(You) (2MSG) do not mow sufficient grass!'

However, in the command expressions, the particles *yi-* with the 3MSG, 3MPL and 3FPL and *tī-* with the 3FSG are conjugated to the initial positions of verbs in the jussive mood.

Let us see the examples given below.

[379] a) *buzuḥ saḥri yiḥač'č'id*
 bizuḥ saḥri yiḥs'əd
 bizuḥ saḥr yi-ḥs'əd
 much grass 3MSG.Sub-mow.JUS
 'Let him mow sufficient grass!'

b) *buzuḥ saḥri tīḥač'č'id*
 bizuḥ saḥr tīḥs'əd
 bizuḥ saḥr tī-ḥs'əd
 much grass 3FSG.Sub-mow.JUS
 'Let her mow sufficient grass!'

Furthermore, the negative forms of jussive expressions are constructed by adding the prefix *ʔay-* to the jussive verb forms in RT as indicated in the following examples.

[380] a) *buzuḥ saḥri ʔayyiḥač'č'id!*
 bizuḥ saḥri ʔayyiḥas's'id!
 bizuḥ saḥr ʔay-yi-ḥas's'id!
 much grass NEG-3MSG.Sub-mow.JUS
 'Let him not to mow sufficient grass!'

- b) *buzuḥ saʕri ʔaytiʕiʕʕʕʕid*
 bizuḥ saʕri ʔaytiʕasʕʕid
 bizuḥ saʕr ʔay-ti-ʕasʕid
 much grass NEG-3FSG.Sub-mow.JUS
 ‘Let her not to mow sufficient grass!’

6.5.3. Interrogative sentences

The term “interrogative” refers to verb forms or sentence/clause types typically used in the expression of questions (cf. DeCapua, 2017: 249). In Rayya Tigrinya, the major interrogative forms are constructed with dependent question-words. The *wh*-question-words are also interrogative pronouns and their relations. The main questions can be constructed with the help of the *wh*-question-words such as *ʔintay* [ta]³² ‘what’, *kəməy* [haməy] ‘how’, *mən* ‘who’, *ʔabəy* [ʔavəy] ‘where’ *miʕas* [miʔazi] ‘when’, *ʔayənay* [ʔayyin] ‘which one (M)’ *ʔayənəyt* [ʔayyan] ‘which one (F)’ and *nay mən* [namən] ‘whose’. In what follows, the syntactic constructions of interrogative statements in the Rayya variety of Tigrinya are described with examples.

- [381] a) *ʔissiχay Dargəy ta tigəvrilləχum?*
 nissiχan Dargən tay tigəbbiruʔalləχum
 niss-ka-n Dargə-n ʔintay ti-gəbr-u-ʔal-kum
 Pro-2MSG-and Dargə.PN-and what 2MPL-do.IMV-2MPL.Sub-exist-2MPL
 ‘What are you (MSG) and Darge doing?’

³² /ʔintay/ > [tay] ≈ [ta] ‘what’
 /kəməy/ > [haməy] ‘how’
 /məʕas/ > [miʔazi] ‘when’
 /ʔab ʔabəy/ > [ʔabəy] ≈ [ʔavəy] ‘where’
 /nay mən/ > [namən] ‘whose’

- b) *mən s'ərfukka*
 mən s'ərifukka
 mən s'ərif-u-ka
 who insult.PRV-3MSG.Sub-2MSG.Obj
 'Who did insult you?'

Besides, there are also interrogative statements, which are syntactically constructed with wh-question-words preceded by bound prepositions in RT. Let us consider the examples below.

- [382] a) *Dargəy Nīgusiy timali davəy xəydom?*
 Dargən Nīgusin timali nabəy kəydom
 Dargə-n Nīgus-n timali nab ?abəy kəyd-om
 Darge.PN-and Nigus.PN-and yesterday to where go.PRV-3MPL.Sub
 '(To) where did Darge and Nigus go yesterday?'

- b) *?issixə kavəy məs'i?xə?*
 nissixə kabəy məs's'i?xə
 niss-ka kab ?abəy məs'i?-ka
 Pro-2MSG from where come.PRV-2MSG.Sub
 'Where did you (MSG) come from?'

Moreover, the preposition *mis* 'with' also precedes the wh-question-word *mən* 'who, whom' in order to construct an interrogative statement in RT. Look at the example given below.

- [383] *Dargə daRayya mis mən xəydu?*
 Dargə nab Rayya mis mən kəydu
 Dargə nab Rayya mis mən kəyd-u
 Darge.PN to Rayya with whom go.PRV-3MSG.Sub
 'With whom did Darge go to Rayya?'

6.5.4. Exclamatory sentences

An exclamatory sentence in this study refers to any emotional utterance, usually lacking the grammatical structure of a full sentence, but it is marked by strong intonation. In RT, feelings of disgust, affection, surprise and sadness are expressed by interjectional words such as *?attiya!*, *way!* and *wa?!* which all can be translated as ‘ah/oh’; they lack grammatical structures. These expressions appear at sentence initial position followed by independent clause. Let us see the examples given below.

- [384] a) *?attiya haməy tiʕaddila!*
ʔantta kəməy təʕaddila
ʔanta kəməy tə-ʕadil-a
oh how PAS-become.PRV (lucky)-3FSG
‘Oh, how lucky she is!’
- b) *way hindəy tirəgmu!*
way kindəy tirəgmu
way kindəy ti-rəgm-u
ah how 2MPL.Sub-curse.IMV-2MPL.Sub
‘Ah, how much cruel you (MPL) are!’

In the preceding section, the sentence types in Rayya Tigrinya have been described and discussed according to their functions. In the following portion, structures of negative statements in the variety will be addressed with examples in brief.

6.6. Negative statements

In RT, negative statements are constructed by adding negative markers. As we have seen in the case of verb negation, the expression *yə-...-y*³³ is the regular negation marker in the language variety under discussion. The forms *kəy-* (*ki- + ?ay*), *dəy-*³⁴ (*di- + ?ay*) and *?ay-* are also negation markers manifested in RT. Besides, if the particle *bi-* is prefixed to *dəy-*, it yields another negation marker *bidəy*³⁵ that can be interpreted as ‘without’ as in the example- [bidəy migvi] < *bi-zəy miḡb* ‘without food’. In the next sub-sections, the constructions of negative expressions will be described with examples of the language variety under study.

6.6.1. *yə-... -y*

The expression *yə-...-y* ‘negation marker’ is used to negate a verb in a clause regardless of the verb type. The *yə-...* is prefixed to the initial position, and the *...-y* is attached to the final position of a verb. Hence, the negation marker *yə-...-y* is a discontinuous morpheme. Consider the examples below (see also § 4.6).

- [385] a) *Hayyalom s'əba yəsətəyay*³⁶
 Hayyalom s'əba **?aysətəyən**
 Hayəlom s'əba **?ay-sətəy-ə-n**
 Hayelom.PN milk **NEG-drink.PRV-3MSG.Sub-NEG**
 ‘Hayelom did not drink milk.’

³³ *?ay-...-n* is the finite negation marker in the mainstream Tigrinya, but it appears as *yə-...-y* in Rayya Tigrinya.

³⁴ The negation marker [dəy-] in Rayya Tigrinya occurs as *zəy-* in mainstream Tigrinya.

³⁵ The form [bidəy] in RT is *bi-zəy* ‘without’ in the mainstream Tigrinya.

³⁶ In MT, the form appears as *Hayyalom s'əba ?ay-sətəy-ə-n*
 Hayelom.PN milk NEG-drink.PRV-3MSG.Sub-NEG
 ‘Hayelom did not drink milk.’

- [387] a) *χidan kəytiʃiddigəllu!*
χidan kəytiʃiddigəllu
kidan ki-ʔay-ti-ʃiddig-ə-ll-u
 cloth FUT-NEG-2MSG.Sub-buy.IMV-2MSG.Sub-Malf-3MSG.Obj
 ‘Do not (MSG) buy a clothe for him!’
- b) *s’əva kəytisətiyi!*
s’əba kəytisətiyi
s’əba ki-ʔay-ti-sətiy-i
 milk FUT-NEG-2FSG.Sub-drink.IMV-2FSG.Sub
 ‘Do not (FSG) drink milk!’

6.6.4. ʔay-

As we have seen in section 4.6., the negative marker ʔay- is used to negate jussive as well as imperative verb conjugations as in the following examples.

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| [388] a) <i>ʔayniʋlaʃ</i> | b) <i>ʔaytič’č’awətu</i> |
| <i>ʔayniʋlaʃ</i> | <i>ʔaytis’s’awətu</i> |
| <i>ʔay-ni-ʋlaʃ</i> | <i>ʔay-ti-s’awət-u</i> |
| NEG-1PL.Sub-eat.JUS | NEG-2MPL.Sub-play.IMP |
| ‘Let us not to eat.’ | ‘Do not play!’ |

In Rayya Tigrinya, nominals such as nouns, pronouns and adjectives can be made negative by the negative marker *yə-...-y*. Let us consider the examples given in [389], [390] and [391].

- | | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| [389] <i>yəbiʃrayiy</i> | [390] <i>yəssuy</i> | [391] <i>yəħač’č’iriy</i> |
| <i>ʔaybiʃrayin</i> | <i>ʔaynissun</i> | <i>ʔayħas’s’irin</i> |
| <i>ʔay-biʃray-n</i> | <i>ʔay-niss-u-n</i> | <i>ʔay-ħas’ir-n</i> |
| NEG-ox-NEG | NEG-Pro-3MSG-NEG | NEG-short.MSG-NEG |
| ‘Not ox.’ | ‘Not he.’ | ‘Not short.’ |

6.7. Summary

The syntactic structure of the Rayya variety of Tigrinya has been dealt in the preceding chapter. The phrase structures: NP, AdjP, VP, AdvP and PP of the target language variety have been treated, and the RT phrase structure is right-headed (head-final), but PPs and NPs that indicate possession and definiteness are left-headed (head initial). Both the clause and sentence structures have also been addressed. Simple, compound and complex sentence structures are described and discussed, and it has been attested that the target language variety has canonically SOV (Subject-Object-Verb) structure. Besides, RT has declarative, imperative, interrogative and exclamatory sentences moods. In addition to negative verb constructions, it has been confirmed that nominals can be negated by the negative marker *yə-...-y*. The next chapter is concerned with summary of main points of the dissertation, concluding remarks and further research directions.

7. SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The present study has dealt with the description of phonology, morphology and syntax of Rayya Tigrinya. Though the concern of this dissertation has not been on a comparative study, sometimes data from the mainstream Tigrinya (MT) have been obtained and described along with the language variety under study just only for the sake of clarity.

The present study has identified 29 consonant and 6 vowel phonemes of RT. The consonants /ɲ, ʧ, ʧ'/ are very rare in the target language variety. The consonants /h/, /ɲ/ and /ʧ/ do not appear at word final position though /h/ occurs in few verbal nouns as in *mibirah* 'lighting', *migirrah* 'making fool'. In RT, all the consonants except the guttural ones /h, ħ, ʔ, ʕ/, can be geminated only word medially. But, gutturals may also geminate in a predictable context.

No word begins with a vowel, and the language variety does not permit a cluster of any vowels. In this study, it has been identified that consonant cluster involves the combination of two identical (geminated) or two different consonants uninterrupted by any vowel only within a word medial position. When consonant cluster occurs in word medial position, the first member of the cluster, which is (C₁) is a coda of the first syllable, the second member of the cluster (C₂) is an onset of the following syllable.

In RT, a syllable is made up of one or more phonemes with a vowel at its core. In this study, it has been evidenced that any syllable structure has two obligatory parts: the onset (o) and the nucleus (n), but the position of the coda is optional. The onset (o) and

the coda (c) are optional in the syllable structures of many languages. However, any word and any syllable begin with a consonant in RT. Therefore, like that of a nucleus, an onset is an obligatory consonantal position of a syllable, but a coda (c) is an optional position of a syllable structure in the target language variety.

In the target language variety, both open and closed syllable structures are identified. Syllable structures which have the CV structure are called open. However, those syllables with CVC structure are called closed. No word begins with consonant clusters in RT. If there is a cluster of two consonants either word initially or word finally, and a cluster of three consonants word medially, the vowel [-i-] is always inserted between those consonants to break the impermissible consonant clusters.

Furthermore, it has been identified that words in Rayya Tigrinya can be classified into mono-syllabic, di-syllabic, tri-syllabic, quadri-syllabic, quinti-syllabic, hexa-syllabic words according to the number of the syllables they own.

In the target study, assimilation, fricativization (spirantization), voicing, palatalization and metathesis have been identified as the major phonological processes. Besides, vowel harmony, vowel weakening and vowel lowering are witnessed. The mid front unrounded vowel /e/ which occurs in other varieties of Tigrinya, is totally absent in Rayya. Moreover, the high front vowel /i/ appears at word final position.

Vowel harmony has been realized as the phonological process in the language variety in which the high-central unrounded vowel /i/ always becomes the high back rounded

vowel [u] in an environment where it is followed by a syllable of a word that consists of either of the round vowels /u/ and /o/. Likewise, the mid-central unrounded vowel /ə/ occurs as the mid-back round vowel [o] in the environment where it is followed by a syllable that contains [u] or [o].

Vowel centering is also a common phenomenon in the target language variety. The high front unrounded vowel /i/ always becomes the high central unrounded vowel [i] at a word medial position. In the target study, the mid-central unrounded vowel /ə/ lowers to the low-central open vowel [a] when it is preceded by either of the velar consonants /k/ and /k'/ at a word initial position; in this case, the velar plosives /k/ and /k'/ become the post-velar fricatives [χ] and [χ'], respectively.

Insertion (epenthesis) and deletion have been recognized as the major morphophonemic processes in Rayya Tigrinya. New elements or segments are inserted as epenthesis in a position where formerly unoccupied to maintain impermissible syllable structure in the variety. The epenthetic segments in RT can be vowels or consonants. The geminated consonants, [-ww-], [-tt-], [-yy-], and the guttural [-ʔ-] as well as the vowels [-i-] and [-i] can function as epenthesis in the target language variety.

The epenthetic [-ww-] between the subject marker for 3MSG /-u/ and object markers for all third persons, [-tt-] between the subject marker for 3FSG /-a/ and object markers for all third persons and [-yy-] between subject markers for first persons and object markers for all third persons are used to break vowel cluster which is impermissible in the language variety. The vowel [-i-] is inserted to break two consonant cluster at word

initial and final, and it is inserted to correct tri-consonantal clusters at word medial positions. On the other hand, [-i] is added only at word final position to correct the cluster of two consonants.

In Rayya Tigrinya, loan nouns such as [gələva] *gələba* (from Amharic) ‘hay’, [χ’owotto] from Amharic *k’əbətto* ‘belt’, [bosta] from English ‘post’, [bolətika] from English ‘politics’, [bolis] from English ‘police’, [tələviʃʃin] from English ‘television’ and [radyon] from English ‘radio’ are frequently used.

Though very rare, onomatopoeic nouns such *k^wask^wasta* ‘hard plastic used to contain liquid’, *č’asč’asta* ‘cataract’ and *k^waħk^waħta* ‘knocking’ and hybridized nouns such as [bolis-t’avya] ‘police station’ from the English word ‘police’ and the Amharic word *t’abya* ‘station’ are also used.

In RT, non-primitive nouns are formed through root-and-pattern morphological method; besides, they can be formed by root-and-morpheme + suffixation, compounding and via derivational processes. Abstract nouns can be formed from other concrete nouns by suffixation. The instrumental, verbal and manner nouns are derived by the C+V template method. Besides, the agentive noun forms are derived by adding *-i*. Language names are derived from nouns which indicate ethnicity via suffixation. The bound morphemes *-ŋŋa*, *-nnət*, *-ət*, *-at*, *-i*, *-it*, *-to*, *-o* and *-a* have been identified as noun derivational suffixes in Rayya Tigrinya. Nouns are morphologically inflected for number, gender (rarely), definiteness and case. Number is marked for pluralization either by suffixation or by internal modifications (C+V template form) or by both. The suffix *-at*

can be considered as the regular (common) plural noun marker in the language variety. Nevertheless, the plural formation of many nouns in RT is quite complex and unpredictable.

Morphological gender distinction between masculine and feminine is rare in RT. Very few nouns are morphologically marked for feminine gender by the morpheme *-t*. However, some other nouns such as *wədd* [wəddi] ‘boy’ and *g^wal* ‘girl’ are lexically distinguished as masculine and feminine respectively. Interestingly nouns in RT are inflected for definiteness by pronominal suffixes as in *biṣray-u* ‘the ox’, [səvatom] *səb-at-om* ‘the persons’. Besides, nouns in Rayya Tigrinya are also morphologically inflected for case.

In Rayya Tigrinya, personal, possessive, reflexive, demonstrative, interrogative, relative and indefinite pronoun forms have been examined. In the pronoun systems of the language variety, person, gender and number agreement morphemes (affixes) are morphologically attached into the stem forms.

Primitive adjectives are very few. However, most adjectives (derived) undergo derivational processes; they are derived from nouns and verbs via derivational suffixes. The bound morphemes *-am*, *-jɲa*, *-awi*, *-way*, and *-i* are attested as the major adjectivizing suffixes in RT.

Adjectives are also morphologically inflected for gender, number and case. Gender distinction between masculine and feminine in adjectives are morphologically marked.

The vowels *-i-* and *-a-* between the last two consonants of many adjectives like [χ'ayyih] *k'ayyih* 'red.MSG' and [χ'ayyah] *k'ayyah* 'red.FSG' mark the masculine and feminine gender, respectively in Rayya Tigrinya. Like in the case of many nouns, the suffix *-at* is morphologically used to mark pluralization in adjectives such as *libbam* 'wise' > *libbam-at* 'wise (PL)'. The suffix *-t* is also used to make the plural forms of many adjectives like *k'ayyih* [χ'ayyih] 'red.MSG' and *k'ayyah* [χ'ayyah] 'red.FSG' > *k'ayyāh-t* [χ'ayyāhti] 'red-PL'. Adjectives are also inflected for cases such as accusative, genitive, dative, instrumental, locative, ablative and allative.

The demonstrative stems *?iz-* and *?it-* indicate the proximal and distal objects respectively in RT. Different person, number and gender agreement markers are attached to each stem. For instance, [*?izuw*] *?iz-i* 'this-3MSG', *?izaw* [*?iz-i-a*] 'this-3FSG', *?iz-omu* 'these (3MPL)' and *?iz-ənu* 'these (3FPL)' are the proximal demonstrative adjective forms. On the other hand, *?it-i* [*?ituw*] 'that (3MSG)', *?it-i-a* [*?itaw*] 'that-3FSG', *?it-əmu* 'those (3MPL)' and *?it-ənu* 'those (3FPL)' are distal demonstrative adjective forms.

The form *?it-* which is the stem for the demonstrative adjective also serves as the stem for definiteness. If the suffixes *-u*, *-a*, *-om* and *-ən* are attached to *?it-*, definiteness for the 3MSG, 3FSG, 3MPL and 3FPL is marked respectively.

The verb morphology of Rayya Tigrinya is complex. The simple verbs are formed through root-and-pattern morphological system. In this study, it has been identified that majority of the verbs are tri-radical, but there are also significant numbers of verbs with

quadri-radical (four root-consonants) and very few quinti-radicals (five root-consonants).

The simple (basic) verbs are classified into three types: verbs type A, B, and C.

In RT, derived verb forms include causative, passive, middle reciprocal, adjutative, frequentative and attenuative forms. The derivation of frequentative verb forms undergoes internal modification. They are derived by adding an extra syllable, which is formed by reduplicating the penultimate consonant in the tri-radical verbs type A and C together with the low central vowel [-a-] inserted between the reduplicants. Besides, the frequentative form of the verbs type B is derived simply by inserting the vowel [-a-] between the geminated consonants. In quadri-radical verbs with two identical radicals, the frequentative verb forms are derived by inserting the vowel [-a-] between the second and the penultimate consonants, but in quadri-radical verbs with no identical radicals, the frequentative verb forms are derived by inserting the vowel [-a-] between the penultimate and the ultimate consonants. The derivational prefixes *ʔa-* and *ti-* are added to frequentative verbs in order to derive the causative frequentative and the passive frequentative verb forms, respectively.

The derivations of other verb forms, however, are carried out via affixations (adding prefixes) and internal modifications (C + V template verb formation systems). The prefix *ʔa-* is used in order to derive the causative as well as the adjutative verb forms though adjutative is also indicated by the gemination of the first consonant and by the insertion of the vowel [-a-] between the first and the penultimate consonants in tri-radical verbs but between the second and the penultimate consonants in quadri-radical verbs. The

prefix *ti-* is used to derive verbs such as passive, reciprocal and middle forms. The causative reciprocal and adjunctive verbs have identical forms, and their meaning is determined by context. Besides, Negative verb form is marked by adding a discontinuous negation marker, that is, *yə-* is prefixed, and *-y* is suffixed to the verb itself for negation. The negative forms (negative markers) *ki- + ?ay > [kəy-]*, *di- + ?ay > [dəy-]* and *?ay-* are also used to derive negative verb constructions.

Verbs are inflected for tense/aspect and mood, but tense is clearly indicated by the means of verbal auxiliary. In other words, tense is clearly indicated by an auxiliary verb than by the main verb itself. In this study, it has been confirmed that the native speakers of the target language variety use the converb form instead of the perfective verb form to address completed actions. The perfective verb form is used in both the negative and relativized verb constructions. The jussive and the imperative verb moods are also inflected on the verb conjugations.

In this study, it has been identified that word classes of adverbs are not common. Merely few words such as *tolo* 'quickly' and *k'əs* 'slow' are primarily adverbs in class. Some nouns can function as adverbs; words such as *nəga* 'tomorrow' and *timali* 'yesterday' are nouns which can serve as temporal adverbs. However, many of the adverbs in this study are found in the form of prepositional phrases. For example, the prepositions *bi-*, 'by, with', *da-* 'to', *ka-* 'from' and *?a-* 'at, in, on' are found attached to different nouns and construct PPs, but they function as adverbs.

Adverbs that show manner take the prefix *bi-* ‘by’ as in *bi-guyya* ‘quickly’ and *bi-k’assta* ‘slow’. It is also prefixed to some temporal adverbs as in *bi-k’adam* [biχ’adam] ‘on Saturday’ and *bi-niguho* [binuguho] ‘in the morning’. The rest prepositions *da-* ‘to’, *ka-* ‘from’ and *?a-* ‘at, in, on’ are attached to some nouns in order to construct prepositional phrases that function as adverbs of place as in *nab Korəm* [daKorəm] ‘to Korem’, *nab Rayya* [daRayya] ‘to Rayya’, *kab Moχoni* [kaMoχoni] ‘from Mekoni’, *kab Rayya* [kaRayya] ‘from Rayya’, *?ab Moχoni* [?aMoχoni] ‘at Mekoni’ and *?ab Mayč’əw* [?aMayč’əw] ‘in Maichew’.

Adverbs of frequency can be either definite or indefinite. Definite adverbs of frequency are constructed by reduplicating the entire word. For instance, if we reduplicate each of the words *maɣilt* [maɣilti] ‘day’, *səmun* [somun] ‘week’, *wərħ* [worħi] ‘month’ and *ɣamət* ‘year’, we can construct the definite adverbs of frequency *maɣilt maɣilt* [maɣilti maɣilti] ‘daily’, *ləyt ləyt* [ləyti ləyti] ‘night night’, *səmun səmun* [somun somun] ‘weekly’, *wərħ wərħ* [worħi worħi] ‘monthly’ and *ɣamət ɣamət* ‘yearly’, respectively. The expressions *bitədəgagami* [bitidəgagami] ‘repeatedly’, *məbzaħti?u* [məvzaħti?u] ‘mostly’, *ħalifu ħalifu* [ħalfu ħalfu] ‘rarely’ are examples of indefinite adverbs of frequency.

Moreover, prepositions are also few in number compared to other word classes. They cannot be inflected. Besides, they cannot be derived from other word classes. In this study, prepositions are found in two forms: as simple and as compound forms.

Conjunctions which fall under the category of closed word classes are expressions used to conjoin two or more words, phrases and clauses. In the target language study,

expressions such as *-y* ‘and’, *wəy* ‘or’, *gina* ‘but’ are coordinating conjunctions. When *wəy* ‘or’ occurs at the beginning of the first expression and between the first and the second expressions, it functions as a correlating conjunction. The bound conjunction *bid-* ‘after’ and the free morpheme *?indihir* ‘if’ are commonly used as subordinating conjunctions in Rayya Tigrinya.

In this study, it has been attested that the phrase structure in Rayya Tigrinya is right-headed (the headword of the phrase is placed to the right side). However, all PPs are left headed in RT. There are also cases where the head in NP is left headed. Constituents that indicate possession or origin from which something is made of are positioned (placed) to the right side of the headword (noun) in NPs.

In general, Rayya Tigrinya is canonically SOV (Subject-Object-Verb) language variety. However, the nature of the verbs is very important to consider because verbs can be transitive, intransitive and linking (copular). For instance, any sentential construction with intransitive verbs such as *məs’i?* [mə’s’i-] ‘came’, *keyd-* [χəyd-] ‘went’ and *gəbi?* [gəv?-] ‘enter’, has only two arguments, that is, the subject and the verb (SV) which lacks an object. Instead, the subject complement is syntactically juxtaposed. In RT, simple sentences are constructed with different verbs such as transitive, intransitive, copula, existential verbs and verbs that show possession. Two or more independent clauses that have equal grammatical statuses are conjoined by a relator or can be simply juxtaposed one after the other and construct a compound sentence. The independent clauses in a compound sentence can associative, contrast or alternate idea.

In RT, the bound morpheme *bid-* ‘after, when’ which is always prefixed to perfective verb form and the free morpheme (lexical) *?indihir* ‘if’ are commonly used to subordinate dependent clause to the main (independent) clause in order to construct complex sentence structure. An auxiliary verb which always appears at sentence final can also be used as a complement in complex sentences that consists of a dependent clause subordinated by *?indihir* ‘if’. Besides, an auxiliary verb is used in a complex sentence which is composed of a dependent clause subordinated by *bid-* and a main clause whose main verb is in the imperfective form. It has also been identified that any complex sentence begins with the subordinate clause in Rayya Tigrinya. The declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamatory sentence types are also used to address speaker’s intention to the addressee. Moreover, verbs and nominals can be negated by affixing the negative marker *yə-...-y* to the expression which is wanted to be negated. Hence, it can be considered as the regular (common) negation marker in RT.

In conclusion, it has been evinced that the target language variety has under gone several changes at phonological and morphophonemic linguistic levels. This dissertation has dealt with the description of the synchronic grammar of Rayya Tigrinya. However, the diachronic linguistic features and the sociolinguistic aspects of the target language variety have not been addressed, yet. Therefore, based on the findings of this dissertation and based on my observation from the fieldwork, I have drawn some concerns for linguists and other concerned bodies.

First, the diachronic linguistic features of the target language variety have to be studied intensively. Specifically, Rayya Tigrinya has to be comparatively studied along with the linguistic features of the other Tigrinya varieties. Moreover, conducting comparative studies on Rayya Tigrinya, Amharic, Oromo, Afar and *χamt'ana* will be very fascinating research areas. Secondly, I recommend that linguists and other researchers have to also carry out studies on the sociolinguistic aspects of the Rayya speech community.

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Appendixes

Appendix i: Text

Here, a transcribed and glossed text about *?abbo gərəb* [ʔabbo gərəv] ‘local mediator (a father of a river)’, which was recorded from an old man, Ato Tesfay Wereta, is provided. Ato Tesfay Wereta is 81 years old. He is a farmer and lives in a village called ‘Elibat’, in Emba Alaje wereda. He told me that he is illiterate and speaks only the Rayya variety of Tigrinya.

I used a five-line transcription in order to transcribe the recorded oral text. In the first line, I represent the Rayya Tigrinya variety sentence as it was recorded from Ato Tesfay, and the whole sentence is shown in bold face in order to make it easier for the reader to identify. In the second line, I transcribed the corresponding utterance in MT. In the third line, I transcribed each word phonemically, and I indicated morpheme boundaries. In the fourth line, I gave translation of lexemes and glossing of grammatical morphemes with the morpheme boundaries. In the fifth line, I gave a free translation of the whole sentence in English.

Title: *ʔabbo gərəb* ‘local mediator (Father of a river)’

ʔabbo gərəb ʔaddi malət biti naχəvavi hizvi

ʔabbo	gərəb	ʔaddi	malət	biʔiti	nay kəbabi	hizbi
ʔabbo	gərəb	ʔadd	malət	bi-ʔit-i	nay kəbabi	hizb
father	local	home	means	by-Det-3MSG	Gen local	people

dimirros’u ʔimagilla ʔaddi yəʔom

zimirrəs’u	ʔimagilla	ʔaddi	ʔiyyom
zi-mirrəs’-u	ʔimagilla	ʔadd	ʔiyy-om
PAS-elect.IMV-3MPL.Obj	mediator	home	Cop-3MPL

‘Local mediators are individuals who are elected by the local people.’

hadə səb ʔabbo gərəb χoynu dikimirrəs’

hadə	səb	ʔabbo	gərəb	koynu	nikimirrəs’
hadə	səb	ʔabbo	gərəb	koyn-u	ni-ki-mirrəs’
one	person	father	river	become.PRV-3MSG	Acc-FUT-3MSG.Obj-elect.IMV

sələstə nəgərat ʔindihir halliyommo yəʔu

sələstə	nəgərat	ʔindihir	halliwommo	ʔiyyu
sələstə	nəgər-at	ʔindihir	haliw-om-o	ʔiyy-u
three	thing-PL	if	exist-3MPL-3MSG.POS	Cop-3MSG

‘A person will be elected as a local mediator if he full-fills three criteria.’

biməjəmərta wəddi ʔitu ʔakkavavi χiχon ʔinnohowo

biməjəmərta	wəddi	ʔiti	kəbabi	kiχəwin	ʔinnəhəwwo
bi-məjəmərta	wədd	ʔit-i	kəbab	ki-kəwin	ʔinnəh-o-o
with-first	son	Det-3MSG	local	FUT-3MSG-become.IMV	exist-3MSG-3MSG

‘Firstly, he has to be originated from the area.’

biti ?akkavavi lələ tix'əbbalinnət kihilliwo

bi?iti	kəbabi	?iwwin	təx'əbbalinnət	kihilliwo
bi-?it-i	kəbabi	?iwin	tək'əbbali-nnət	ki-hiliw-o
with-Dem-3MSG	area	also	accept-Nom	FUT-exist-3MSG.POS

?inəhowwo

?inəhowwo

?inəh-o-o

exist-3MSG-3MSG.POS

'He must also have an acceptance in that area.'

kav?u dimma ditis'al?u səbat

kab?u	dimma	zitəs'alə?u	səbat
kab-?u	dimma	zi-təs'al-u	səb-at
from-there	and	Rel-quarrel.PRV-3MPL.Sub	person-PL

ʃəngilu da?immin kiχon

ʃəngilu	zə?immin	kiχəwwin
ʃəngil-u	zə-?imin	ki-kəwin
mediate.PRV-3MSG.Sub	Rel-convenience.IMV.3MSG.Sub	FUT.3MSG-become.IMV

?innəhowwo

?innəhowwo

?innəh-o-o

exist-3MSG-3MSG.POS

'Besides, he must be the one who can convenience people that are in quarrel to be mediated.'

diʔavinət ʔammaʔixəl haw dihaw

niʔabinnət	ʔab maʔxəl	haw	nihaw
ni-ʔabinnət	ʔab maʔkəl	haw	ni-haw
P-example	at between	brother	Acc-brother

bubota binibrət ʔindihr tis'alʔom

bibota	binibrət	ʔindihr	təs'aliʔom
bi-bota	bi-nibrət	ʔindihr	tə-s'aliʔ-om
with-garden	with-property	if	REC-hate.PRV-3MPL.Sub

yifingiluwom yəʔom

yifingiluwom	ʔiyyom
yi-ʔingil-u-om	ʔiyy-om
3MPL.Sub-mediate.IMV-3MPL.Sub-3MPL.Obj	AUX-3MPL

'If for instance, a disagreement takes place between or among brothers by the issue of a garden and or a property, local mediators reconcile the disagreement.'

bitiwəssaʔi hadə səv diʔaliʔ

bitəwəssaʔi	hadə	səb	niʔaliʔ
bi-tə-wəssak-i	hadə	səb	ni-kaliʔ
with-PAS-add.IMV-3MSG.Obj	one.M	person	Acc-another.MSG

səv ʔindihr biʔarra wəy bimisar

səb	ʔindihr	bikarra	wəy	bimisar
səb	ʔindihr	bi-karra	wəy	bi-misar
person	If	with-knife	or	with-axe

wəʔ'ifuwwo ʔabbo gərəv

wəʔ'ifuwwo	ʔabbo	gərəv
wək'if-u-o	ʔabbo	gərəv
hit.PRV-3MSG.Sub-3MSG.Obj	father	river

yifingiluwuwwom ya?om

yifingiluwuwwom	ʔiyyom
yi-ʔingil-u-om	ʔiyy-om
3MPL.Sub-mediate.IMV-3MPL.Sub-3MPL.Obj	AUX-3MPL

‘In addition, if one person (M) hit for another person (M) with a knife or with an axe, the local mediators will reconcile the conflict.’

ʔabbo gərəv dītis’alə?u səvat

ʔabbo	gərəb	zītəs’alə?u	səbat
ʔabbo	gərəb	zi-tə-s’alə?-u	səb-at
father	river	REC-PAS-hate.PRV-3MPL.Sub	person-PL

tifingilullowwu məjəmərɣa

kifingilu	kəlləwu	məjəmərta
ki-ʔingil-u	kəllə-u	məjəmərta
FUT.3MPL.Sub-mediate.IMV-3MPL.Sub	exist-3MPL.Sub	first

ditu ditig^wədi?ə səv

niti	zītəgodi?ə	səb
ni-ʔit-i	zi-tə-g ^w ədi?-ə	səb
Acc-Det-3MSG	Rel-PAS-hurt.PRV-3MSG.Obj	person

yir?iyuwwu

yir?iyuwwu
yi-r?iy-u-o
3MPL.Sub-see.IMV-3MPL.Sub-3MSG.Obj

‘When the local mediators are reconciling the conflict of the persons who are in a clash, first they visit the health condition of the one who is injured.’

kav?u ?abbo gərəv ditu ditigod?ə səv

kab?u	?abbo	gərəb	niti	zitəg ^w əd?ə	səb
kab-?u	?abbo	gərəb	ni-?it-i	zi-tə-god?-ə	səb
from-there	father	river	Acc-Det-3MSG	Rel-PAS-hurt.PRV-3MSG.Obj	person

mis bətəsəwu yiliminuwwom

mis	betəsəbu	yiliminuwwom
mis	betəsəb-u	yi-limin-u-om
with	relative-3MPL.POS	3MPL.Sub-request.IMV-3MPL.Sub-3MPL.Obj

‘Then, the local mediators will request the injured person and his relatives for reconciliation.’

kav?u dihar ditu divəddələ

kab?u	dihar	niti	zibəddələ
kab-?u	dihar	ni-?it-i	zi-bədəl-ə
from-there	after	Acc-Det-3MSG	Rel-offend.PRV-3MSG.Sub

səv mis vətəsəvu s’əwwəfom

səb	mis	betəsəbu	s’əwwifom
səb	mis	betəsəb-u	s’əwwif-om
person	with	relative-3MSG.POS	call.PRV-3MPL.Sub

tivəddali č’əllə hamdivələ

tivəddali	č’əllə	kəmzibələ
ti-bəddal-i	č’əllə	kəm-zi-bəl-ə
PAS-offende.IMV-3MSG.Obj	okay	as-Rel-say.PRV-3MSG.Sub

yis’əwuyuwom

yis’əwwiyuwom
yi-s’əwy-u-om
3MPL.Sub-tell.PRV-3MPL.Sub-3MPL.Obj

‘Then after, the local mediators will call the offender and his relatives and tell them that the injured person and his relatives agree to be reconciled.’

kav?u naʕiɾχ'i maʕilti yiwissunu

kab?u	nay ʕiɾk'i	maʕilti	yiwissinu
kab-?u	nay ʕiɾk'	maʕilt	yi-wissin-u
from-there	Gen conciliation	day	3MPL.Sub-decide.IMV-3MPL.Sub

‘After that they will decide the specific date for mediation.’

navəddali bətəsəv dɪmma ?afti ʕiɾχ'i

nay bəddali	betəsəb	dəmma	?ab ?iti	ʕiɾk'i
nay bəddal-i	betəsəb	dəmma	?ab ?it-i	ʕiɾk'
Gen offender-3MSG	relative	also	at Det-3MSG	conciliation

maʕilti disittəyiy divilaʕiy diggis

maʕilti	zisittən	zibillaʕin	diggis
maʕilt	zi-sitəy-n	zi-bilaʕ-n	diggis
date-EP	PAS-drink.IMV.3MSG.Obj-and	PAS-eat.IMV.MSG-and	ceremony

yidiggusu

yidiggisu

yi-digis-u

3MPL.Sub-prepare.IMV-3MPL.Sub

‘And the offender’s relatives will prepare festive meal which will be eaten and drunk during the mediation day.’

ʔafti ʕirχ'i mafilti wəχ'afiy tiwək'k'afiy

ʔab ʔiti	ʕirk'i	mafilti	wəχ'əfayin	təwək'k'afayin
ʔab ʔit-i	ʕirk'	mafilt	wək'əf-ay-n	tə-wək'afay-n
at	Det-3MSG	mediation	day	hit.PRV-3MSG.Sub-and PAS.3MPL-hitter.MSG-and

kəllə bətəsəvom ʕirχ'i yigəbburu

kəllə	bətəsəbomin	ʕirk'i	yigəbbiru
kəllə	bətəsəb-om-n	ʕirk'	yi-gəbbir-u
and	relative-3MPL.POS-and	mediation	3MPL.Sub-make.IMV-3MPL.Sub

'At the day of mediation, the hitter and the one who is hit and both relatives will make mediation.'

kavʔu məjəmərta wəχ'afiy tiwək'k'afiy

kabʔu	məjəmərta	wəχ'afiy	təwək'k'afiy
kab-ʔu	məjəmərta	wək'af-n	tə-wək'af-n
from-there	first	hitter.MSG.Sub-and	Rel.PAS-hitter.MSG.Obj-and

goggo bihadə kibəlfu yigibər

ʔinjera	bihadə	kibəlfu	yigibər
goggo	bi-hadə	ki-yi-bəlif-u	yi-gibbər
food	with-one	FUT-3MPL.Sub-eat.IMV-3MPL.Sub	3MSG.Obj-make.IMV

'Then, first the hitter and the one who was hit will be made to eat food together.'

bidihru?u xullom bətəsəv bihadə

bidihri?u	kullom	betəsəb	bihadə
bi-dihri-u	kul-om	betəsəb	bi-hadə
with-after-3MSG	all-3MPL	relative.PL	with-one.M

yibəlfu yisətyu

yibəlfu	yisətyu
yi-bəlf-u	yi-səty-u
3MPL.Sub-eat.IMV-3MPL.Sub	3MPL.Sub-drink.IMV-3MPL.Sub

yič'awətu

yiš's'awətu
yi-s'awət-u
3MPL.Sub-play.IMV-3MPL.Sub

‘After that all relatives of both parties will eat, drink and play together.’

?izi xullu biditigəvərə ?itu

?izi	kullu	mistəgəbərə	?iti
?iz-i	kul-u	mis-tə-gəbər-ə	?it-i
Det-3MSG	all-3MSG	when-PAS-make.PRIV-3MSG.Obj	Det-3MSG

wəχ'afi ?abbolis t'avya tixəsisu

wəχ'afi	?ab bolis	t'abya	təχəsisu
wək'af-i	?ab polis	t'abya	tə-kəsis-u
hitter-3MSG	at police	station	PAS-accuse.PRIV-3MSG.Obj

?indihir s'anhu ?itom ?abbo gərəv

?indihir	s'anihu	?itom	?abbo	gərəv
?indihir	s'anih-u	?it-om	?abbo	gərəv
if	stay.PRIV-3MSG.Sub	Det-3MPL	father	River

χəydom dataɬarəχ'uwom

χəydom zətəɬarəχ'uwuwom
kəydom zə-tə-ɬarək'-u-om
go.PRV-3MPL.Sub Rel-PAS-mediat.PRV-3MPL.Sub-3MPL.Obj

miχ^wanom yifirrumu

miχ^wanom yifirrimu
mi-k^wan-om yi-firim-u
Nom-becom.PRV-3MPL.Sub 3MPL.Sub-sign.IMV-3MPL.Sub

‘Then this all is made, and if the hitter has been accused at police station, the local fathers go to the police station to sign that they have mediated both the individuals who were in quarrel.’

?indihir hadə səb diχali?

?indihir hadə səb niχali?
?indihir hadə səb ni-kali?
if one.M person Acc-other.MSG

səb χ'atlu ?abbo gərəb

səb k'ətilu ?abbo gərəb
səb k'ətil-u ?abbo gərəb
person kill.PRV-3MSG.Sub father river

məjəmərta na?itu nəgər ?ak'k'atatila

məjəmərta nay ?iti nəgər ?ak'k'atatila
məjəmərta nay ?it-i nəgər ?ak'k'atatila
first POS-Det-3MSG thing killing

χ'əyyih dəm wəy s'əllim dəm

k'əyyih dəm wəy s'əllim dəm miχ^wanu
k'əyyih dəm wəy s'əllim dəm mi-k^wan-u
red.MSG blood or black.FSG blood Nom-become-3MSG

dəm muχ^wanu yas's'ariyuwwo

yəs's'ariyuwwo

yə-s's'ariy-u-o

3MPL.Sub-investigate.IMV-3MPL.Sub-3MSG.Obj

'If a person killed another person, the local mediators first investigate if the way of killing is consciously or unconsciously.'

χ'ayih dəm malət hadə səv

k'əyyih dəm malət hadə səb

k'əyyih dəm malət hadə səb

red.M blood means one.M person

dəyhasəvəllu bi?agat'ami

kəyhasəbəllu bi?agat'ami

kəy-ḥasəb-ə-ll-u bi-?agat'ami

NEG-think.PRV-3MSG.Sub-BEN-3MSG.Obj by-suddenly

diχali? səv ?indihir χ'atlu yə?u

niχali? səb ?indihir k'ətilu ?iyyu

ni-kali? səb ?indihir k'ətil-u ?iyy-u

Acc-another.MSG person if kill.PRV-3MSG.Sub Cop-3MSG

'Red blood means if a person kills another person suddenly and unconsciously.'

s'əllim dəm malət gina

s'əllim dəm malət gina

s'əlim dəm malət gina

black.MSG blood means but

hadə səv xonə bilu

hadə səb konə bilu

hadə səb kon-ə bil-u

one.MSG person become.PRV-3MSG say.PRV-3MSG.Sub

məx'təli huzu ?indihir

məx'təli hizu ?indihir

mə-k'təl-i hiz-u ?indihir

Ins-kill-3FSG.Sub catch.PRV-3MSG.Sub if

x'ətiluwwo ye?u

k'ətiluwwo ?iyyu

k'ətil-u-o ?iyy-u

kill.PRV-3MSG.Sub-3MSG.Obj Cop-3MSG

'But if a person killed another person with an instrument of killing consciously, it is called black blood.'

?abbo gərəb dixilitə?om

?abbo gərəb nikiltə?om

?abbo gərəb ni-kiltə-om

father river Acc-two-3MPL.Obj

ʕaynətət ?ak'k'ətatila dihiuwwo

ʕaynətət ?ak'k'ətatila zihibuwwō

ʕaynət-at ?a-k'ətatila zi-hib-u-o

kind-PL manner-killing Rel-give.IMV-3MPL.Sub-3MSG.Obj

fimgilina yiffälalä yəʔu

fimgilina	yiffälalä		ʔiyyu
fimgilina	yi-fälal-ə		ʔiyy-u
mediation	3MSG.Sub-differ.IMV-3MSG.Sub		Cop-3MSG

‘The type of mediation that local mediators give for the two types of killing differs.’

χonə bulu səv diχ’atələ

koyənə	bilu	səb	ziχ’ətələ
koyən-ə	bil-u	səb	zi-k’ətəl-ə
become.IMV-3MSG.Sub	say.PRF-3MSG.Sub	person	Rel-kill.PRV-3MSG.Sub

ʔindihir χoynu diχafilo χahsa

ʔindihir	koynu	ziχəfl-o	χahsa
ʔindihir	koyn-u	zi-kəfl-o	kaḥsa
if	become.IMV-3MSG.Sub	Rel-pay.IMV-3MSG.Sub	compensation

buzuḥ yəʔu

bizuḥ	ʔiyyu
bizuḥ	ʔiyy-u
many	Cop-3MSG

‘Someone who killed a person consciously would pay much amount of compensation.’

diʔavinət biwusanə ʔabbo gərəv ḥadə χ’atali

niʔabinnət	biwusanə	ʔabbo	gərəb	ḥadə	k’ətali
ni-ʔabinnət	bi-wusanə	ʔabbo	gərəb	ḥadə	k’ətal-i
for-example	by-decision	father	river	one.MSG	killer-MSG

kiffaḥ səmənya fiḥ χ’urfi kiχaffil yigibbər

kiffaḥ	səmənya	fiḥ	k’irfi	kiχəffil	yigibbər
kiffaḥ	səmənya	fiḥ	k’irf	ki-kəfil	yi-gibbər
upto	eighty	thousand	birr	3MSG.Sub-pay.IMV	PAS-make.IMV.3MSG.Obj

‘For instance, based on the decision of local mediators, one killer would be made to pay up to eighty thousand birr for compensation.’

ʔabbo gərəvat məjəmərta naχ'atali bətəsəv

ʔabbo gərəbat məjəmərta nay k'ətali bətəsəb
ʔabbo gərəb-at məjəmərta nay-k'ətali bətəsəb
father river-PL first Gen-killer-MSG relatives

dinamoyati vətəsəv didəvəs ʔasərtə ʃih

ninaymoyati bətəsəb nidəbəs ʔasərtə ʃih
ni-nay-moyat-i bətəsəb ni-dəbəs ʔasərtə ʃih
Dat-Gen-dead-MSG Relatives for-compensation ten thousand

χ'urfɪ kihiwu yigəvru

k'irɟi kihibu yigəbbiru
k'irɟ ki-hib-u yi-gəbbir-u
birr 3MPL.Sub-give.IMV-3MPL.Sub 3MPL.Sub-make.IMV-3MPL.Sub

'First, local mediators make the relatives of the killer pay ten thousand birr to the relatives of the dead person for compensation.'

kavʔu ʔabbo gərəv ʔitu ʃimgilinna

kabʔu ʔabbo gərəv ʔiti ʃimgilinna
kab-ʔu ʔabbo gərəv ʔit-i ʃimgilinna
from-there father river the-3MSG mediation

yijimuruwwo

yijimuruwwo

yi-jimur-u-o

3MPL.Sub-start.IMV-3MPL.Sub-3MSG.Obj

'Then, the local mediators will start the mediation.'

s'əllim dəm dibbahal gina hadə səv xonə

s'əllim	dəm	zibbəhal	gin	hadə	səb	konə
s'əllim	dəm	zi-bbəhal	gin	hadə	səb	kon-ə
black.MSG	blood	Rel.PAS.3MSG-say.IMV	but	one.M	person	become-3MSG.Sub

bulu diχali? səv ?indihir χ'attilu

bilu	nikali?	səb	?intə	k'ətilu
bil-u	ni-kali?	səb	?intə	k'ətil-u
say.PRV-3MSG.Sub	Acc-another.MSG	person	if	kill.IMV-3MSG.Sub

yə?u

?iyyu

?iyy-u

AUX-3MSG

'But, if someone killed another person deliberately, it is said to be black blood.'

?abbo gərəv firχ'i s'əllim dəm kijimmiru

?abbo	gərəb	firχ'i	s'əllim	dəm	kijimmiru
?abbo	gərəb	firχ'	s'əllim	dəm	ki-yi-jimmir-u
father	river	mediation	black.MSG	blood	FUT-3MPL.Sub-start.IMV-3MPL.Sub

?indihir χoynom naχ'atali bətəsəv χullu

?indihir	koynom	nay	k'ətali	bətəsəb	kullu
?indihir	koyn-om	nay	k'ətali	bətəsəb	kull-u
if	happən-3MPL.Sub	Gen	killer-MSG	relative.PL	all-3MSG

dibbətəsəv dimiχfal fiχ'addəŋnatat

nibətəsəb	nimiχfal	fiχ'addəŋnatat
ni-bətəsəb	ni-mikfal	fik'ad-ŋna-tat
for-relative	to-pay	permission-Adj-PL

yit'iyyix'uwwom

yit'iyyix'uwwom

yi-t'iyyik'-u-om

3MPL.Sub-ask.IMV-3MSG.Sub-3MPL.Obj

'If local mediators are going to start the mediation, first they ask the relatives of the killer weather they are voluntary to pay any necessary payment for the relatives of the dead person.'

bətəsəv x'atali xullu nəgər dimixifal ?indihir

bətəsəb k'ətali kullu nəgər nimixifal ?indihir

bətəsəb k'ətali-i kull-u nəgər ni-mi-kifal ?indihir

relative.PL killer-MSG all-3MSG thing Dat-Nom-pay if

wəssinom ?abbo gərəv ?itu fimgilinna

wəssin-m ?abbo gərəb ?iti fimgilinna

wəssin-om ?abbo gərəb ?it-i fimgilinna

decide.PRV-3MPL.Sub father river Det-3MSG mediation

yijimmiruwwu

yijimmiruwwu

yi-jimmir-u-o

3MSG.Sub-start.IMV-3MPL.Sub-3MSG.Obj

'If the relatives of the killer decided to pay the required payment to the relatives of dead dead person, local mediators will start the mediation.'

?abbo gərəv məjəmmərya dabətəsəv moyati xəydom

?abbo gərəb məjəmmərta nab bətəsəb məwati kəydom

?abbo gərəb məjəmmərta nab bətəsəb məwat-i kəyd-om

father river first Dat-relative.PL dead-MSG go.PRV-3MPL.Sub

yilimminuwwom

yilimminuwwom

yi-limmin-u-om

3MPL.Sub-request.IMV-3MPL.Sub-3MPL.Obj

‘Then first, local mediators will go to the relatives of the dead person, and they will request them to be mediated.’

bətəsəv moyati fiχ’adəŋnatat ?indihir

bətəsəb moyati fik’adəŋnatat ?indihir

bətəsəb moyati fik’ad-ŋna-tat ?indihir

relative.PL one (MSG) who dies permission-Adj-PL if

χoynom ?itu ſimgilinna yijimmiruwwo

koynom ?iti ſimgilinna yijimmiruwwo

koyn-om ?it-i ſimgilinna yi-ſjimmir-u-o

Cop-3MPL Det-3MSG mediation 3MPL.Sub-start.IMV-3MPL.Sub-3MSG.Obj

‘Then if the relatives of the person who died are willing, the mediation will be started by the local mediators.’

Appendix ii: Verb conjugations

In this section, examples of verb conjugations are provided with all personal pronoun agreements for convenience.

ii a) Simple perfective

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>ʃəvɾə</i>	<i>səbir-ə</i>	‘I broke.’
2MSG	<i>ʃəvɾiχa</i>	<i>səbir-ka</i>	‘You broke.’
2FSG	<i>ʃəvɾiχi</i>	<i>səbir-ki</i>	‘You broke.’
3MSG	<i>ʃəvɾu</i>	<i>səbir-u</i>	‘He broke.’
3FSG	<i>ʃəvɾa</i>	<i>səbir-a</i>	‘She broke.’
1PL	<i>ʃəvɾina</i>	<i>səbir-na</i>	‘We broke.’
2MPL	<i>ʃəvɾiχum</i>	<i>səbir-kum</i>	‘You broke.’
2FPL	<i>ʃəvɾiχin</i>	<i>səbir-kin</i>	‘You broke.’
3MPL	<i>ʃəvɾom</i>	<i>səbir-om</i>	‘They broke.’
3FPL	<i>ʃəvɾən</i>	<i>səbir-ən</i>	‘They broke.’

ii b) Simple perfective negative

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>yəʃəvɾəχuy</i>	<i>ʔay-səbər-ku-n</i>	‘I did not break.’
2MSG	<i>yəʃəvɾəχay</i>	<i>ʔay-səbər-ka-n</i>	‘You did not break.’
2FSG	<i>yəʃəvɾəχiy</i>	<i>ʔay-səbər-ki-n</i>	‘You did not break.’
3MSG	<i>yəʃəvɾəχəy</i>	<i>ʔay-səbər-ə-n</i>	‘He did not break.’
3FSG	<i>yəʃəvɾəχətiy</i>	<i>ʔay-səbər-ət-n</i>	‘She did not break.’
1PL	<i>yəʃəvɾəχəny</i>	<i>ʔay-səbər-na-n</i>	‘We did not break.’
2MPL	<i>yəʃəvɾəχumiy</i>	<i>ʔay-səbər-kum-n</i>	‘You did not break.’
2FPL	<i>yəʃəvɾəχiniy</i>	<i>ʔay-səbər-kin-n</i>	‘You did not break.’
3MPL	<i>yəʃəvɾəχuy</i>	<i>ʔay-səbər-u-n</i>	‘They did not break.’
3FPL	<i>yəʃəvɾəχay</i>	<i>ʔay-səbər-a-n</i>	‘They did not break.’

ii c) Simple imperfective

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>yifəbbirr yəʔə</i>	<i>yɪ-səbbir ʔiyy-ə</i>	'I break.'
2MSG	<i>tifəbbir yəχa</i>	<i>tɪ-səbbir ʔiyy-ka</i>	'You break.'
2FSG	<i>tifəvri yəχi</i>	<i>tɪ-səbr-i ʔiyy-ki</i>	'You break.'
3MSG	<i>yifəbbir yəʔu</i>	<i>yɪ-səbbir ʔiyy-u</i>	'He breaks.'
3FSG	<i>tifəbbir yəʔa</i>	<i>tɪ-səbbir ʔiyy-a</i>	'She breaks.'
1PL	<i>niʔəbbir yəna</i>	<i>nɪ-səbbir ʔiyy-na</i>	'We break.'
2MPL	<i>tifəvru yəχum</i>	<i>tɪ-səbr-u ʔiyy-kum</i>	'You break.'
2FPL	<i>tifəvra yəχin</i>	<i>tɪ-səbr-a ʔiyy-kin</i>	'You break.'
3MPL	<i>yifəvru yəʔom</i>	<i>yɪ-səbr-u ʔiyy-om</i>	'They break.'
3FPL	<i>yifəvra yəʔən</i>	<i>yɪ-səbr-a ʔiyy-ən</i>	'They break.'

ii d) Simple imperfective negative

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>yəʔəvriy</i>	<i>ʔay-yɪ-səbbir-n</i>	'I do not break.'
2MSG	<i>yəʔitəvriy</i>	<i>ʔay-tɪ-səbbir-n</i>	'You do not break.'
2FSG	<i>yəʔitəvəriy</i>	<i>ʔay-tɪ-səbbir-n</i>	'You do not break.'
3MSG	<i>yəʔəvriy</i>	<i>ʔay-yɪ-səbbir-n</i>	'He does not break.'
3FSG	<i>yəʔitəbbiriy</i>	<i>ʔay-tɪ-səbbir-n</i>	'She does not break.'
1PL	<i>yənɪʔəvriy</i>	<i>ʔay-nɪ-səbbir-n</i>	'We do not break.'
2MPL	<i>yəʔitəvruy</i>	<i>ʔay-tɪ-səbbir-u-n</i>	'You do not break.'
2FPL	<i>yəʔitəvray</i>	<i>ʔay-tɪ-səbbir-a-n</i>	'You do not break.'
3MPL	<i>yəʔəvruy</i>	<i>ʔay-yɪ-səbbir-u-n</i>	'They do not break.'
3FPL	<i>yəʔəvray</i>	<i>ʔay-yɪ-səbbir-a-n</i>	'They do not break.'

ii e) Perfective passive

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>tɨʃʌvɾə</i>	<i>tə-səbir-ə</i>	'I was broken.'
2MSG	<i>tɨʃʌvɾiχa</i>	<i>tə-səbir-ka</i>	'You were broken.'
2FSG	<i>tɨʃʌvɾiχi</i>	<i>tə-səbir-ki</i>	'You were broken.'
3MSG	<i>tɨʃʌvɾu</i>	<i>tə-səbir-u</i>	'He was broken.'
3FSG	<i>tɨʃʌvɾa</i>	<i>tə-səbir-a</i>	'She was broken.'
1PL	<i>tɨʃʌvɾina</i>	<i>tə-səbir-na</i>	'We were broken.'
2MPL	<i>tɨʃʌvɾiχum</i>	<i>tə-səbir-kum</i>	'You were broken.'
2FPL	<i>tɨʃʌvɾiχin</i>	<i>tə-səbir-kin</i>	'You were broken.'
3MPL	<i>tɨʃʌvɾom</i>	<i>tə-səbir-om</i>	'They were broken.'
3FPL	<i>tɨʃʌvɾən</i>	<i>tə-səbir-ən</i>	'They were broken.'

ii f) Perfective passive negative

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>yətɨʃʌvɾəχuy</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-səbər-ku-n</i>	'I was not broken.'
2MSG	<i>yətɨʃʌvɾəχay</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-səbər-ka-n</i>	'You were not broken.'
2FSG	<i>yətɨʃʌvɾəχiy</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-səbər-ki-n</i>	'You were not broken.'
3MSG	<i>yətɨʃʌvɾəy</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-səbər-ə-n</i>	'He was not broken.'
3FSG	<i>yətɨʃʌvɾətiy</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-səbər-ət-n</i>	'She was not broken.'
1PL	<i>yətɨʃʌvɾəny</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-səbər-na-n</i>	'We were not broken.'
2MPL	<i>yətɨʃʌvɾəχumiy</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-səbər-kum-n</i>	'You were not broken.'
2FPL	<i>yətɨʃʌvɾəχiniy</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-səbər-kin-n</i>	'You were not broken.'
3MPL	<i>yətɨʃʌvɾəuy</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-səbər-u-n</i>	'They were not broken.'
3FPL	<i>yətɨʃʌvɾəy</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-səbər-a-n</i>	'They were not broken.'

ii g) Imperfective passive

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>yifibbər yəʔə</i>	<i>yi-sibbər ʔiyy-ə</i>	'I am broken.'
2MSG	<i>tifibbər yəχa</i>	<i>ti-sibbər ʔiyy-ka</i>	'You are broken.'
2FSG	<i>tifibbəri yəχi</i>	<i>ti-sibbər-i ʔiyy-ki</i>	'You are broken.'
3MSG	<i>kifibbər yəʔu</i>	<i>ki-sibbər ʔiyy-u</i>	'He will be broken.'
3FSG	<i>tifibbər yəʔa</i>	<i>ti-sibbər ʔiyy-a</i>	'She is broken.'
1PL	<i>nifibbər yəna</i>	<i>ni-sibbər ʔiyy-na</i>	'We are broken.'
2MPL	<i>tifibbəru yəχum</i>	<i>ti-sibbər-u ʔiyy-kum</i>	'You are broken.'
2FPL	<i>tifibbəra yəχin</i>	<i>ti-sibbər-a ʔiyy-kin</i>	'You are broken.'
3MPL	<i>yifibbəru yəʔom</i>	<i>yi-sibbər-u ʔiyy-om</i>	'They are broken.'
3FPL	<i>yifibbəra yəʔen</i>	<i>yi-sibbər-a ʔiyy-ən</i>	'They are broken.'

ii h) Imperfective passive negative

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>yəfībbariy</i>	<i>ʔay-yi-sibbər-n</i>	'I am not broken.'
2MSG	<i>yətifībbariy</i>	<i>ʔay-ti-sibbər-n</i>	'You are not broken.'
2FSG	<i>yətifībbariy</i>	<i>ʔay-ti-sibbər-i-n</i>	'You are not broken.'
3MSG	<i>yəfībbariy</i>	<i>ʔay-yi-sibbər-n</i>	'He is not broken.'
3FSG	<i>yətifībbariy</i>	<i>ʔay-ti-sibbər-n</i>	'She is not broken.'
1PL	<i>yəniḡfībbariy</i>	<i>ʔay-ni-sibbər-n</i>	'We are not broken.'
2MPL	<i>yətifībbaruy</i>	<i>ʔay-ti-sibbər-u-n</i>	'You are not broken.'
2FPL	<i>yətifībbaray</i>	<i>ʔay-ti-sibbər-a-n</i>	'You are not broken.'
3MPL	<i>yəfībbaruy</i>	<i>ʔay-yi-sibbər-u-n</i>	'They are not broken.'
3FPL	<i>yəfībbaray</i>	<i>ʔay-yi-sibbər-a-n</i>	'They are not broken.'

ii i) Middle perfective

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>tihas'ivə</i>	<i>tə-ħas'ib-ə</i>	'I washed.'
2MSG	<i>tihas'ivχa</i>	<i>tə-ħas'ib-ka</i>	'You washed.'
2FSG	<i>tihas'ivχi</i>	<i>tə-ħas'ib-ki</i>	'You washed.'
3MSG	<i>tihas'ivu</i>	<i>tə-ħas'ib-u</i>	'He washed.'
3FSG	<i>tihas'iva</i>	<i>tə-ħas'ib-a</i>	'She washed.'
1PL	<i>tihas'ivna</i>	<i>tə-ħas'ib-na</i>	'We washed.'
2MPL	<i>tihas'ivχum</i>	<i>tə-ħas'ib-kum</i>	'You washed.'
2FPL	<i>tihas'ivχin</i>	<i>tə-ħas'ib-kin</i>	'You washed.'
3MPL	<i>tihas'ivom</i>	<i>tə-ħas'ib-om</i>	'They washed.'
3FPL	<i>tihas'ivən</i>	<i>tə-ħas'ib-ən</i>	'They washed.'

ii j) Middle perfective negative

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>yətihas'avχuy</i>	<i>?ay-tə-ħas'əb-ku-n</i>	'I did not wash.'
2MSG	<i>yətihas'avχay</i>	<i>?ay-tə-ħas'əb-ka-n</i>	'You did not wash.'
2FSG	<i>yətihas'avχiy</i>	<i>?ay-tə-ħas'əb-ki-n</i>	'You did not wash.'
3MSG	<i>yətihas'avəy</i>	<i>?ay-tə-ħas'əb-ə-n</i>	'He did not wash.'
3FSG	<i>yətihas'avətiy</i>	<i>?ay-tə-ħas'əb-ət-n</i>	'She did not wash.'
1PL	<i>yətihas'avnay</i>	<i>?ay-tə-ħas'əb-na-n</i>	'We did not wash.'
2MPL	<i>yətihas'avχumiy</i>	<i>?ay-tə-ħas'əb-kum-n</i>	'You did not wash.'
2FPL	<i>yətihas'avχiniy</i>	<i>?ay-tə-ħas'əb-kin-n</i>	'You did not wash.'
3MPL	<i>yətihas'avwuy</i>	<i>?ay-tə-ħas'əb-u-n</i>	'They did not wash.'
3FPL	<i>yətihas'avay</i>	<i>?ay-tə-ħas'əb-a-n</i>	'They did not wash.'

ii k) Middle imperfective

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>yihis's'av</i> <i>yəʔə</i>	<i>yɪ-his's'əb</i> <i>ʔiyy-ə</i>	'I wash.'
2MSG	<i>tihis's'av</i> <i>yəχa</i>	<i>tɪ-his's'əb</i> <i>ʔiyy-ka</i>	'You wash.'
2FSG	<i>tihis's'avi</i> <i>yəχi</i>	<i>tɪ-his's'əb-i</i> <i>ʔiyy-ki</i>	'You wash.'
3MSG	<i>yihis's'av</i> <i>yəʔu</i>	<i>yɪ-his's'əb</i> <i>ʔiyy-u</i>	'He washes.'
3FSG	<i>tihis's'av</i> <i>yəʔa</i>	<i>tɪ-his's'əb</i> <i>ʔiyy-a</i>	'She washes.'
1PL	<i>nihis's'av</i> <i>yəna</i>	<i>nɪ-his's'əb</i> <i>ʔiyy-na</i>	'We wash.'
2MPL	<i>tihis's'avu</i> <i>yəχum</i>	<i>tɪ-his's'əb-u</i> <i>ʔiyy-kum</i>	'You wash.'
2FPL	<i>tihis's'ava</i> <i>yəχin</i>	<i>tɪ-his's'əb-a</i> <i>ʔiyy-kin</i>	'You wash.'
3MPL	<i>yihis's'avu</i> <i>yəʔom</i>	<i>yɪ-his's'əb-u</i> <i>ʔiyy-om</i>	'They wash.'
3FPL	<i>yihis's'ava</i> <i>yəʔen</i>	<i>yɪ-his's'əb-a</i> <i>ʔiyy-en</i>	'They wash.'

ii l) Middle imperfective negative

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>yəhis's'avɪy</i>	<i>ʔay-his's'əb-n</i>	'I do not wash.'
2MSG	<i>yətihis's'avɪy</i>	<i>ʔay-tɪ-his's'əb-n</i>	'You do not wash.'
2FSG	<i>yətihis's'avɪy</i>	<i>ʔay-tɪ-his's'əb-n</i>	'You do not wash.'
3MSG	<i>yəhis's'avɪy</i>	<i>ʔay-yɪ-his's'əb-n</i>	'He does not wash.'
3FSG	<i>yətihis's'avɪy</i>	<i>ʔay-tɪ-his's'əb-n</i>	'She does not wash.'
1PL	<i>yənihis's'avɪy</i>	<i>ʔay-nɪ-his's'əb-n</i>	'We do not wash.'
2MPL	<i>yətihis's'avuy</i>	<i>ʔay-tɪ-his's'əb-u-n</i>	'You do not wash.'
2FPL	<i>yətihis's'avay</i>	<i>ʔay-tɪ-his's'əb-a-n</i>	'You do not wash.'
3MPL	<i>yəhis's'avuy</i>	<i>ʔay-yɪ-his's'əb-u-n</i>	'They do not wash.'
3FPL	<i>yəhis's'avay</i>	<i>ʔay-yɪ-his's'əb-a-n</i>	'They do not wash.'

ii m) Causative perfective

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>ʔaʃvɪrə</i>	<i>ʔa-sbir-ə</i> ³⁷	'I caused to break.'
2MSG	<i>ʔaʃvɪrχa</i>	<i>ʔa-sbir-ka</i>	'You caused to break.'
2FSG	<i>ʔaʃvɪrχi</i>	<i>ʔa-sbir-ki</i>	'You caused to break.'
3MSG	<i>ʔaʃvɪru</i>	<i>ʔa-sbir-u</i>	'He caused to break.'
3FSG	<i>ʔaʃvɪra</i>	<i>ʔa-sbir-a</i>	'She caused to break.'
1PL	<i>ʔaʃvɪrna</i>	<i>ʔa-sbir-na</i>	'We caused to break.'
2MPL	<i>ʔaʃvɪrχum</i>	<i>ʔa-sbir-kum</i>	'You caused to break.'
2FPL	<i>ʔaʃvɪrχin</i>	<i>ʔa-sbir-kin</i>	'You caused to break.'
3MPL	<i>ʔaʃvɪrom</i>	<i>ʔa-sbir-om</i>	'They caused to break.'
3FPL	<i>ʔaʃvɪrən</i>	<i>ʔa-sbir-ən</i>	'They caused to break.'

ii n) Causative perfective negative

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>yəʃvərχuy</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-sbər-ku-n</i> ³⁸	'I did not cause to break.'
2MSG	<i>yəʃvərχay</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-sbər-ka-n</i>	'You did not cause to break.'
2FSG	<i>yəʃvərχiy</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-sbər-ki-n</i>	'You did not cause to break.'
3MSG	<i>yəʃvərəy</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-sbər-ə-n</i>	'He did not cause to break.'
3FSG	<i>yəʃvərət̪iy</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-sbər-ət̪-n</i>	'She did not cause to break.'
1PL	<i>yəʃvər̪nəy</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-sbər-na-n</i>	'We did not cause to break.'
2MPL	<i>yəʃvərχumiy</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-sbər-kum-n</i>	'You did not cause to break.'
2FPL	<i>yəʃvərχiniy</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-sbər-kin-n</i>	'You did not cause to break.'
3MPL	<i>yəʃvər̪uy</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-sbər-u-n</i>	'They did not cause to break.'
3FPL	<i>yəʃvər̪ay</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-sbər-a-n</i>	'They did not cause to break.'

³⁷/ʔa-/ is a causative marker.

³⁸/ʔa-/ is a causative marker.

ii o) Causative imperfective

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>yafibbir</i>	<i>yə-ʔa-sibbir</i>	'I cause to break.'
2MSG	<i>tafibbir</i>	<i>tə-ʔa-sibbir</i>	'You cause to break.'
2FSG	<i>tafviri</i>	<i>tə-ʔa-sbir-i</i>	'You cause to break.'
3MSG	<i>yafibbir</i>	<i>yə-ʔa-sibbir</i>	'He causes to break.'
3FSG	<i>tafibbir</i>	<i>tə-ʔa-sibbir</i>	'She causes to break.'
1PL	<i>nafibbir</i>	<i>nə-ʔa-sibbir</i>	'We cause to break.'
2MPL	<i>tafviru</i>	<i>tə-ʔa-sbir-u</i>	'You cause to break.'
2FPL	<i>tafvira</i>	<i>tə-ʔa-sbir-a</i>	'You cause to break.'
3MPL	<i>yafviru</i>	<i>yə-ʔa-sbir-u</i>	'They cause to break.'
3FPL	<i>yafvira</i>	<i>yə-ʔa-sbir-a</i>	'They cause to break.'

ii p) Causative imperfective negative

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>yəfibbiriy</i>	<i>ʔay-yə-ʔa-sibbir-n</i>	'I do not cause to break.'
2MSG	<i>yətafibbiriy</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-ʔa-sibbir-n</i>	'You do not cause to break.'
2FSG	<i>yətafviriy</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-ʔa-sbir-i-n</i>	'You do not cause to break.'
3MSG	<i>yəfibbiriy</i>	<i>ʔay-yə-ʔa-sibbir-n</i>	'He does not cause to break.'
3FSG	<i>yətafibbiriy</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-ʔa-sibbir-n</i>	'She does not cause to break.'
1PL	<i>yənafibbiriy</i>	<i>ʔay-nə-ʔa-sibbir-n</i>	'We do not cause to break.'
2MPL	<i>yətafviruy</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-ʔa-sbir-u-n</i>	'You do not cause to break.'
2FPL	<i>yətafviray</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-ʔa-sbir-a-n</i>	'You do not cause to break.'
3MPL	<i>yəfviruy</i>	<i>ʔay-yə-ʔa-sbir-u-n</i>	'They do not cause to break.'
3FPL	<i>yəfviray</i>	<i>ʔay-yə-ʔa-sbir-a-n</i>	'They do not cause to break.'

ii q) Adjutative perfective

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>ʔaffavirə</i>	<i>ʔa-ssabir-ə</i>	'I helped to break.'
2MSG	<i>ʔaffavirχa</i>	<i>ʔa-ssabir-ka</i>	'You helped to break.'
2FSG	<i>ʔaffavirχi</i>	<i>ʔa-ssabir-ki</i>	'You helped to break.'
3MSG	<i>ʔaffaviru</i>	<i>ʔa-ssabir-u</i>	'He helped to break.'
3FSG	<i>ʔaffavira</i>	<i>ʔa-ssabir-a</i>	'She helped to break.'
1PL	<i>ʔaffavirna</i>	<i>ʔa-ssabir-na</i>	'We helped to break.'
2MPL	<i>ʔaffavirχum</i>	<i>ʔa-ssabir-kum</i>	'You helped to break.'
2FPL	<i>ʔaffavirχin</i>	<i>ʔa-ssabir-kin</i>	'You helped to break.'
3MPL	<i>ʔaffavirom</i>	<i>ʔa-ssabir-om</i>	'They helped to break.'
3FPL	<i>ʔaffavirən</i>	<i>ʔa-ssabir-ən</i>	'They helped to break.'

ii r) Adjutative perfective negative

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>yəffavərχuy</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-ssabər-ku-n</i>	'I did not help to break.'
2MSG	<i>yəffavərχay</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-ssabər-ka-n</i>	'You did not help to break.'
2FSG	<i>yəffavərχiy</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-ssabər-ki-n</i>	'You did not help to break.'
3MSG	<i>yəffavərəy</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-ssabər-ə-n</i>	'He did not help to break.'
3FSG	<i>yəffavərətīy</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-ssabər-ət-n</i>	'She did not help to break.'
1PL	<i>yəffavərṇay</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-ssabər-na-n</i>	'We did not help to break.'
2MPL	<i>yəffavərχumiy</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-ssabər-kum-n</i>	'You did not help to break.'
2FPL	<i>yəffavərχiniy</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-ssabər-kin-n</i>	'You did not help to break.'
3MPL	<i>yəffavərūy</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-ssabər-u-n</i>	'They did not help to break.'
3FPL	<i>yəffavərəy</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-ssabər-a-n</i>	'They did not help to break.'

ii s) Adjutative imperfective

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>yaffavir</i>	<i>yə-ʔa-ssabir</i> ³⁹	‘I help to break.’
2MSG	<i>taffavir</i>	<i>tə-ʔa-ssabir</i>	‘You help to break.’
2FSG	<i>taffaviri</i>	<i>tə-ʔa-ssabir-i</i>	‘You help to break.’
3MSG	<i>yaffavir</i>	<i>yə-ʔa-ssabir</i>	‘He helps to break.’
3FSG	<i>taffavir</i>	<i>tə-ʔa-ssabir</i>	‘She helps to break.’
1PL	<i>naffavir</i>	<i>nə-ʔa-ssabir</i>	‘We help to break.’
2MPL	<i>taffaviru</i>	<i>tə-ʔa-ssabir-u</i>	‘You help to break.’
2FPL	<i>taffavira</i>	<i>tə-ʔa-ssabir-a</i>	‘You help to break.’
3MPL	<i>yaffaviru</i>	<i>yə-ʔa-ssabir-u</i>	‘They help to break.’
3FPL	<i>yaffavira</i>	<i>yə-ʔa-ssabir-a</i>	‘They help to break.’

ii t) Adjutative imperfective negative

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>yəffaviriɣ</i>	<i>ʔay-yə-ʔa-ssabir-n</i> ⁴⁰	‘I do not help to break.’
2MSG	<i>yətəffaviriɣ</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-ʔa-ssabir-n</i>	‘You do not help to break.’
2FSG	<i>yətəffaviriɣ</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-ʔa-ssabir-i-n</i>	‘You do not help to break.’
3MSG	<i>yəffaviriɣ</i>	<i>ʔay-yə-ʔa-ssabir-n</i>	‘He does not help to break.’
3FSG	<i>yətəffaviriɣ</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-ʔa-ssabir-n</i>	‘She does not help to break.’
1PL	<i>yənəffaviriɣ</i>	<i>ʔay-nə-ʔa-ssabir-n</i>	‘We do not help to break.’
2MPL	<i>yətəffaviruy</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-ʔa-ssabir-u-n</i>	‘You do not help to break.’
2FPL	<i>yətəffaviray</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-ʔa-ssabir-a-n</i>	‘You do not help to break.’
3MPL	<i>yəffaviruy</i>	<i>ʔay-yə-ʔa-ssabir-u-n</i>	‘They do not help to break.’
3FPL	<i>yəffaviray</i>	<i>ʔay-yə-ʔa-ssabir-a-n</i>	‘They do not help to break.’

³⁹/ʔa-/ is a causative marker.

⁴⁰/ʔa-/ is a causative marker.

ii u) Frequentative perfective

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>ʃəvavirə</i>	<i>səbabir-ə</i> ⁴¹	‘I broke into pieces.’
2MSG	<i>ʃəvavirχa</i>	<i>səbabir-ka</i>	‘You broke into pieces.’
2FSG	<i>ʃəvavirχi</i>	<i>səbabir-ki</i>	‘You broke into pieces.’
3MSG	<i>ʃəvaviru</i>	<i>səbabir-u</i>	‘He broke into pieces.’
3FSG	<i>ʃəvavira</i>	<i>səbabir-a</i>	‘She broke into pieces.’
1PL	<i>ʃəvavirna</i>	<i>səbabir-na</i>	‘We broke into pieces.’
2MPL	<i>ʃəvavirχum</i>	<i>səbabir-kum</i>	‘You broke into pieces.’
2FPL	<i>ʃəvavirχin</i>	<i>səbabir-kin</i>	‘You broke into pieces.’
3MPL	<i>ʃəvavirəm</i>	<i>səbabir-om</i>	‘They broke into pieces.’
3FPL	<i>ʃəvavirən</i>	<i>səbabir-ən</i>	‘They broke into pieces.’

ii v) Frequentative perfective negative

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>ʔəʃəvavərχuy</i>	<i>ʔay-səbabir-ku-n</i> ⁴²	‘I did not break into pieces.’
2MSG	<i>ʔəʃəvavərχay</i>	<i>ʔay-səbabər-ka-n</i>	‘You did not break into pieces.’
2FSG	<i>ʔəʃəvavərχiy</i>	<i>ʔay-səbabər-ki-n</i>	‘You did not break into pieces.’
3MSG	<i>ʔəʃəvavərəy</i>	<i>ʔay-səbabər-ə-n</i>	‘He did not break into pieces.’
3FSG	<i>ʔəʃəvavərətiy</i>	<i>ʔay-səbabər-ət-n</i>	‘She did not break into pieces.’
1PL	<i>ʔəʃəvavərɲay</i>	<i>ʔay-səbabər-na-n</i>	‘We did not break into pieces.’
2MPL	<i>ʔəʃəvavərχumiy</i>	<i>ʔay-səbabər-kum-n</i>	‘You did not break into pieces.’
2FPL	<i>ʔəʃəvavərχiniy</i>	<i>ʔay-səbabər-kin-n</i>	‘You did not break into pieces.’
3MPL	<i>ʔəʃəvavərɲuy</i>	<i>ʔay-səbabər-u-n</i>	‘They did not break into pieces.’
3FPL	<i>ʔəʃəvavərəy</i>	<i>ʔay-səbabər-a-n</i>	‘They did not break into pieces.’

⁴¹ /-ba-/ > [-va-] is an iterative form marker.

⁴² /-ba-/ > [-va-] is an iterative form marker.

ii w) Frequentative imperfective

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>yɨʃəvavir</i>	<i>yɨ-səbabir</i> ⁴³	'I break into pieces.'
2MSG	<i>tɨʃəvavir</i>	<i>tɨ-səbabir</i>	'You break into pieces.'
2FSG	<i>tɨʃəvaviri</i>	<i>tɨ-səbabir-i</i>	'You break into pieces.'
3MSG	<i>yɨʃəvavir</i>	<i>yɨ-səbabir</i>	'He breaks into pieces.'
3FSG	<i>tɨʃəvavir</i>	<i>tɨ-səbabir</i>	'She breaks breaks into pieces.'
1PL	<i>niʃəvavir</i>	<i>ni-səbabir</i>	'We break into pieces.'
2MPL	<i>tɨʃəvaviru</i>	<i>tɨ-səbabir-u</i>	'You break into pieces.'
2FPL	<i>tɨʃəvavira</i>	<i>tɨ-səbabir-a</i>	'You break into pieces.'
3MPL	<i>yɨʃəvaviru</i>	<i>yɨ-səbabir-u</i>	'They break into pieces.'
3FPL	<i>yɨʃəvavira</i>	<i>yɨ-səbabir-a</i>	'They break into pieces.'

ii x) Frequentative imperfective negative

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>yəʃəvaviriɣ</i>	<i>ʔay-yɨ-səbabir-n</i> ⁴⁴	'I do not break into pieces.'
2MSG	<i>yətɨʃəvaviriɣ</i>	<i>ʔay-tɨ-səbabir-n</i>	'You do not break into pieces.'
2FSG	<i>yətɨʃəvaviriɣ</i>	<i>ʔay-tɨ-səbabir-i-n</i>	'You do not break into pieces.'
3MSG	<i>yəʃəvaviriɣ</i>	<i>ʔay-yɨ-səbabir-n</i>	'He does not break into pieces.'
3FSG	<i>yətɨʃəvaviriɣ</i>	<i>ʔay-tɨ-səbabir-n</i>	'She does not break into pieces.'
1PL	<i>yəniʃəvaviriɣ</i>	<i>ʔay-ni-səbabir-n</i>	'We do not break into pieces.'
2MPL	<i>yətɨʃəvaviruy</i>	<i>ʔay-tɨ-səbabir-u-n</i>	'You do not break into pieces.'
2FPL	<i>yətɨʃəvaviray</i>	<i>ʔay-tɨ-səbabir-a-n</i>	'You do not break into pieces.'
3MPL	<i>yəʃəvaviruy</i>	<i>ʔay-yɨ-səbabir-u-n</i>	'They do not break into pieces.'
3FPL	<i>yəʃəvaviray</i>	<i>ʔay-yɨ-səbabir-a-n</i>	'They do not break into pieces.'

⁴³ /-ba-/ > [-va-] is an iterative form marker.

⁴⁴ /-ba-/ > [-va-] is an iterative form marker.

ii y) Causative frequentative perfective

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>ʔaffəvavirə</i>	<i>ʔa-ssəbabir-ə</i> ⁴⁵	‘I caused to break into pieces.’
2MSG	<i>ʔaffəvavirχa</i>	<i>ʔa-ssəbabir-ka</i>	‘You caused to break into pieces.’
2FSG	<i>ʔaffəvavirχi</i>	<i>ʔa-ssəbabir-ki</i>	‘You caused to break into pieces.’
3MSG	<i>ʔaffəvaviru</i>	<i>ʔa-ssəbabir-u</i>	‘He caused to break into pieces.’
3FSG	<i>ʔaffəvavira</i>	<i>ʔa-ssəbabir-a</i>	‘She caused to break into pieces.’
1PL	<i>ʔaffəvavirna</i>	<i>ʔa-ssəbabir-na</i>	‘We caused to break into pieces.’
2MPL	<i>ʔaffəvavirχum</i>	<i>ʔa-ssəbabir-kum</i>	‘You caused to break into pieces.’
2FPL	<i>ʔaffəvavirχin</i>	<i>ʔa-ssəbabir-kin</i>	‘You caused to break into pieces.’
3MPL	<i>ʔaffəvavitrom</i>	<i>ʔa-ssəbabir-om</i>	‘They caused to break into pieces.’
3FPL	<i>ʔaffəvavirən</i>	<i>ʔa-ssəbabir-ən</i>	‘They caused to break into pieces.’

ii z) Causative frequentative perfective negative

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>yaffəvavərχuy</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-ssəbabər-ku-n</i> ⁴⁶	‘I did not cause to break into pieces.’
2MSG	<i>yaffəvavərχay</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-ssəbabər-ka-n</i>	‘You did not cause to break into pieces.’
2FSG	<i>yaffəvavərχiy</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-ssəbabər-ki-n</i>	‘You did not cause to break into pieces.’
3MSG	<i>yaffəvavərəy</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-ssəbabər-ə-n</i>	‘He did not cause to break into pieces.’
3FSG	<i>yaffəvavərətiy</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-ssəbabər-ət-n</i>	‘She did not cause to break into pieces.’
1PL	<i>yaffəvavərnay</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-ssəbabər-na-n</i>	‘We did not cause to break into pieces.’
2MPL	<i>yaffəvavərχumiy</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-ssəbabər-kum-n</i>	‘You did not cause to break into pieces.’
2FPL	<i>yaffəvavərχiniy</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-ssəbabər-kin-n</i>	‘You caused to break into pieces.’
3MPL	<i>yaffəvavəruiy</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-ssəbabər-u-n</i>	‘They did not cause to break into pieces.’
3FPL	<i>yaffəvavərəy</i>	<i>ʔay-ʔa-ssəbabər-a-n</i>	‘They did not cause to break into pieces.’

⁴⁵ The first consonant that follows the causative marker /ʔa-/ in the causative iterative form is geminated as in /ʔa-ssəbabir-ə/ > [ʔaffəvavirə] ‘I caused to break into pieces.’ This form can also indicate the causative reciprocal iterative form, which can be translated as ‘I caused to break each other into pieces.’

⁴⁶ The first consonant that follows the causative marker /ʔa-/ in the causative iterative form is geminated as in /ʔa-ssəbabir-ə/ > [ʔaffəvavirə] ‘I caused to break into pieces.’ This form can also indicate the causative reciprocal iterative form, which can be translated as ‘I caused to break each other into pieces.’

ii aa) Passive frequentative perfective

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>tɪʃəvavirə</i>	<i>tə-səbabir-ə</i>	'I was broken into pieces.'
2MSG	<i>tɪʃəvavirχa</i>	<i>tə-səbabir-ka</i>	'You were broken into pieces.'
2FSG	<i>tɪʃəvavirχi</i>	<i>tə-səbabir-ki</i>	'You were broken into pieces.'
3MSG	<i>tɪʃəvaviru</i>	<i>tə-səbabir-u</i>	'He was broken into pieces.'
3FSG	<i>tɪʃəvavira</i>	<i>tə-səbabir-a</i>	'She was broken into pieces.'
1PL	<i>tɪʃəvavirna</i>	<i>tə-səbabir-na</i>	'We were broken into pieces.'
2MPL	<i>tɪʃəvavirχum</i>	<i>tə-səbabir-kum</i>	'You were broken into pieces.'
2FPL	<i>tɪʃəvavirχin</i>	<i>tə-səbabir-kin</i>	'You were broken into pieces.'
3MPL	<i>tɪʃəvavirɔm</i>	<i>tə-səbabir-om</i>	'They were broken into pieces.'
3FPL	<i>tɪʃəvavirən</i>	<i>tə-səbabir-ən</i>	'They were broken into pieces.'

ii ab) Passive frequentative perfective negative

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>yətɪʃəvavərχuy</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-səbabər-ku-n</i>	'I was not broken into pieces.'
2MSG	<i>yətɪʃəvavərχay</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-səbabər-ka-n</i>	'You were not broken into pieces.'
2FSG	<i>yətɪʃəvavərχiy</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-səbabər-ki-n</i>	'You were not broken into pieces.'
3MSG	<i>yətɪʃəvavərəy</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-səbabər-ə-n</i>	'He was not broken into pieces.'
3FSG	<i>yətɪʃəvavərətiy</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-səbabər-ət-n</i>	'She was not broken into pieces.'
1PL	<i>yətɪʃəvavərɲay</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-səbabər-na-n</i>	'We were not broken into pieces.'
2MPL	<i>yətɪʃəvavirχumy</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-səbabər-kum-n</i>	'You were broken into pieces.'
2FPL	<i>yətɪʃəvavərχiniy</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-səbabər-kin-n</i>	'You were not broken into pieces.'
3MPL	<i>yətɪʃəvavərɲuy</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-səbabər-u-n</i>	'They were not broken into pieces.'
3FPL	<i>yətɪʃəvavərəy</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-səbabər-a-n</i>	'They were not broken into pieces.'

ii ac) Reciprocal perfective

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>tʃavirə</i>	<i>tə-sabir-ə</i>	‘I broke each other with someone.’
2MSG	<i>tʃavirχa</i>	<i>tə-sabir-ka</i>	‘You broke each other with someone.’
2FSG	<i>tʃavirχi</i>	<i>tə-sabir-ki</i>	‘You broke each other with someone.’
3MSG	<i>tʃaviru</i>	<i>tə-sabir-u</i>	‘He broke each other with someone.’
3FSG	<i>tʃavira</i>	<i>tə-sabir-a</i>	‘She broke each other with someone.’
1PL	<i>tʃavirna</i>	<i>tə-sabir-na</i>	‘We broke each other.’
2MPL	<i>tʃavirχum</i>	<i>tə-sabir-kum</i>	‘You broke each other.’
2FPL	<i>tʃavirχin</i>	<i>tə-sabir-kin</i>	‘You broke to each other.’
3MPL	<i>tʃavirom</i>	<i>tə-sabir-om</i>	‘They broke to each other.’
3FPL	<i>tʃavirən</i>	<i>tə-sabir-ən</i>	‘They broke to each other.’

ii ad) Reciprocal perfective negative

Person	Phonetic form	Phonemic form	Gloss
1SG	<i>yətʃavərχuy</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-sabər-ku-n</i>	‘I did not break each other with someone.’
2MSG	<i>yətʃavərχay</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-sabər-ka-n</i>	‘You did not break each other with someone.’
2FSG	<i>yətʃavərχiy</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-sabər-ki-n</i>	‘You did not break each other with someone.’
3MSG	<i>yətʃavərəy</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-sabər-ə-n</i>	‘He did not break each other with someone.’
3FSG	<i>yətʃavərət̪iy</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-sabər-ət̪-n</i>	‘She did not break each other with someone.’
1PL	<i>yətʃavərɲay</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-sabər-na-n</i>	‘We did not break each other.’
2MPL	<i>yətʃavərχumiy</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-sabər-kum-n</i>	‘You did not break each other.’
2FPL	<i>yətʃavərχiniy</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-sabər-kin-n</i>	‘You did not break each other.’
3MPL	<i>yətʃavərɲy</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-sabər-u-n</i>	‘They did not break each other.’
3FPL	<i>yətʃavərəy</i>	<i>ʔay-tə-sabər-a-n</i>	‘They did not break each other.’

Appendix iii: List of informants

Table 41: List of informants

Name of informants	Sex	Age	Locality		Occupation
			Wereda	Village	
Ato Tesfay Wereta	M	82	Emba-Alaje	Elibat	Farmer
W/ro Kidan Mehari	F	71	Rayya-Azebo	Wejig	Farmer
Ato Kiros Gidey	M	92	Emba-Alaje	Alaje	Farmer
W/ro Bizunesh Reda	F	77	Emba-Alaje	Alaje	Farmer
Ato Kahsay Berhe	M	34	Enda-Mekoni	Emba-Hasti	Agricultural expert
W/ro Azmera G/Mariam	F	38	Enda-Mekoni	Emba-Hasti	Teacher
Ato Abraha Girmay	M	37	Mekelle University		Instructor