

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

Gura Documentation and Description of
Morphology and Syntax

By

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A Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Linguistics in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in Documentary Linguistics and Culture

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this dissertation hereby submitted for the degree of philosophy in Documentary Linguistics and Culture at Addis Ababa University is my own original work and has not been previously submitted to any other University for any degree. To the best of my knowledge, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

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This is to certify that the dissertation conducted by Bahire Araya entitled: *Gura documentation and description of morphology and syntax* and submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy in Documentary linguistic and culture complies with the regulation of the university and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to document Gura and describe its morphology and syntax language oriented. Gura is classified under the outer south Ethio-semitics together with CWG; the comprehensive sets of genres and registers of Gura are documented by using language technology tools ELAN and FLEX. The study used descriptive field method for gathering data from the selected sites (Gura Megnase) in focus.

Gura has seven vowels and thirty-seven consonants, and it has unique morphophonemic features. Sequences of consonants are not permitted word-initially, and even cluster of three consonants are not allowed word-medial and word-final positions; if there is, the epenthetic vowel /i/ is inserted. In Gura, when two vowels appear in subsequence series either of the first one of these vowels is elided.

In Gura, nouns are both simple and complex in form; the simple noun forms are formed by the root-and-pattern morphological system whereas the complex forms are resulted from compounding and derivational morphological operations. Nouns are also inflected for number, gender, definiteness and case. Personal pronouns are described by independent words that encode gender, number, case and person.

Besides, adjectives are morphologically simple and complex that are inflected for gender, number, definiteness and case. They are also derived from other word classes by affixation.

Gura verbs are simple and complex in form; the simple canonical verbs are classified as verb types A, B, C, and D which are characterized by morphophonemic and vowel quality in the aspectual verb conjugations. In Gura, complex verb forms like passive causative, verbal noun, and verbal reduplication stems are derived by affixes. Gura verbs are also inflected for negation by affixes in the perfective, imperfective and jussive verb stems, and they are in concord with the subject, object and applicative affixes.

The Gura phrase structure is final-headed, and the variety has canonically SOV word order. Considering their internal structure, main clauses have verbal and nonverbal predicate forms. Besides, dependent and independent clauses are syntactically juxtaposed together, and subordinate clauses are constructed by affixes that are attached to independent clauses. Gura main clauses denote interrogative, declarative, imperative and explanatory sentence moods.

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Abbreviations and symbols

'	Rise of intonation	FUT	Future tense
-	Morpheme break	GEN	Genitive case
*	Ill grammatical	IMP	Imperative verb
+	Plus /add	INF	Infinitive /gerundive
()	Ill grammatical glossing	INST	Instrumental
.	Syllable boundary	INTER	Interjection
//	Phonemic transcription	IPA	International Phonetic
[]	Phonetic transcription		Alphabet
>	Changes to	IPFV	Imperfective verb
§	Section	JUSS	Jussive verb
1	First person	LOC	Locative
2	Second person	M	Masculine
3	Third person	MAL	Malfactive object marker
ABST.N	Abstract Noun	MC	Main clause
ACC	Accusative	NOM	Nominative case marker
ADJ	Adjective	NEG	Negation
ADVP	Adverb phrase	NP	Noun phrase
AUX	Auxiliary	OM	Object marker
BEN	Benefactive object marker	ORD	Ordinal number
C	Consonants	PASS	Passive
CAUS	Causative	PFV	Perfective verb
Cf.	Cross reference /compare	PL	Plural
COM	Comitative	POSS	Possessive
COP	Copular verb	PP	Prepositional phrase
CVB	Converb	RC	Relative Clause
CONJ	Conjunction	PRE	Preposition
DAT	Dative	SM	Subject marker
DEF	Definiteness	PRON	Pronouns
ELAN	EUDICO Linguistic annotator	PST	Past
Ej	Ejective	Q	Question particle
F	Feminine	REC	Reciprocal
FLEX	Fast lexical analyzer generator (Dictionary maker software)	SL	Singular
FREQ	Frequency	Vd	Voiced phoneme
		VL	Voiceless phoneme
		VP	Verb phrase

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter provides general overviews about Gura people and their spoken variety (henceforth Gura)¹. Moreover, the phonetic inventor and morphophonology of Gura is duly briefed. Besides, the general sociolinguistic status, classification, methodological approaches and related studies of Gura are discussed accordingly.

This study has two parts: Gura documentation and description of its Morphology and Syntax synchronically. The description and documentation of Gura is carried out based on well-organized and consolidated literatures (Dixon 2010; Payne 1997; Himmelmann 1998; & Woodbury 2003 among others). The documentation part covers sample of sets of registers and genres of Gura cultures, folktales, stories, cultural practices, and histories. These sample sets of social elements are annotated, translated, transcribed by using the language technology tools called ELAN and FLEX. On the other hand, the production of the tertiary grammar of Gura has been described language oriented synchronically.

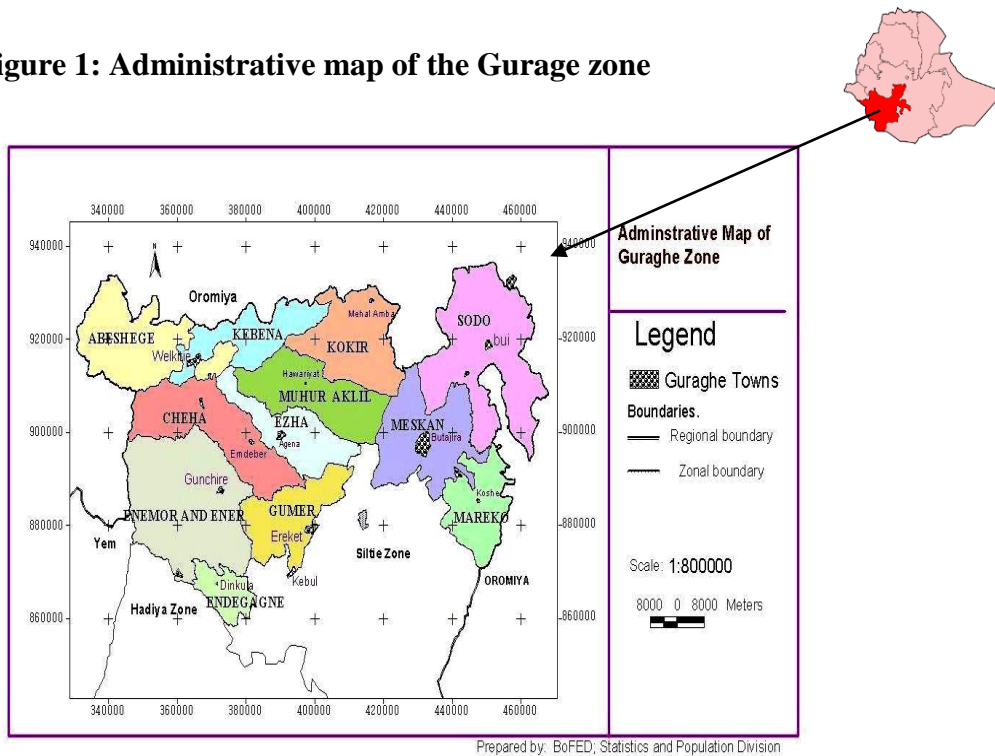
1.2 The people

Gurage people are found in Gurage zone in Southern Nation Nationalities and Peoples state to the south of Addis Ababa. Geographically, Gurage is situated approximately 100 km far from south of Addis Ababa which is more or less bordered by the Rift Valley lakes in the East, River Awash in the North and River Gibe in the West and Southwest in general (see Hetzron 1972 ; Goldenberg 2005; Getinet 2009 ; Bedilu 2010 & Meyer 2006 ; 2011). Currently, Gurage zone is structured into fifteen administrative Weredas that are surrounded by Cushitic

¹Variety is a term used in sociolinguistics and stylistics to refer to any system of linguistic

speaking communities Oromo and Hadiya (see Getu 2012:4). The following map depicts the current administrative map of Gurage zone.

Figure 1: Administrative map of the Gurage zone



Source: adopted from Getu 2012

Gura people are one of the Gurage communities, and they are related with the gunnän Gurage (the seven houses of Gurage). This speech community is found within the administrative district of Chaha Wereda just west of Emdibir in some kebeles viz. Megnase, Bakanote, Astepo, and Awkacr amalgamated with other Gurage communities of Edebe of Chaha, Innemor, Ezha and Gumer.

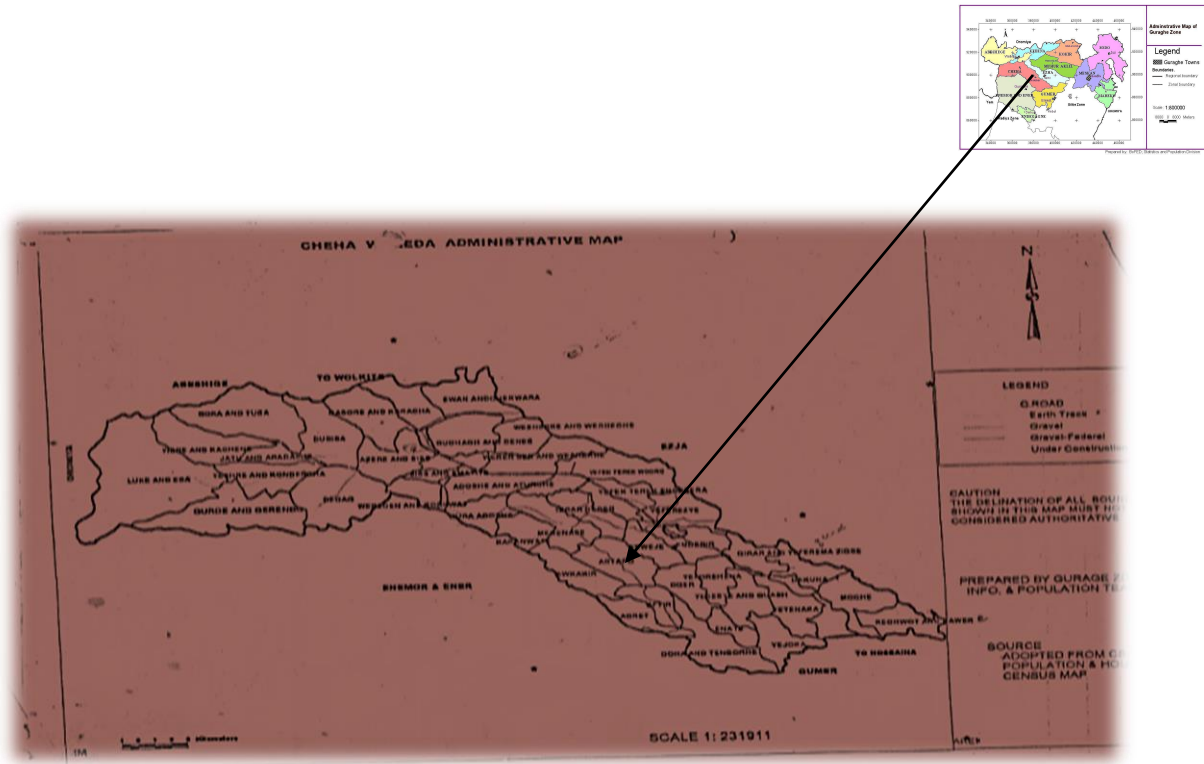
According to the Central statistical agency (2007:7), the total population of Chaha Wereda is 115, 951 (56,851 male and 59,100 female). Chaha is structured into thirty nine Kebeles with Emdibr as its head district town for administrative purposes (cf. Fekede 2013:27). The Kebeles to west or south west of this head district town are alleged as residence for Gura speakers (see Demberu et al. 1987:79). The number of these Kebeles with only Gura speakers is not exactly known although Lewis et al. (2013) posits that there are 20,000 Gura speakers. There are no handful evidences to confirm this reality.

According to the then Wereda culture and tourism bureau (acting Zemach Worku) , there is no any written document that portrays the exact number of Gura speakers because they have been living amalgamated and shared every social and political aspect together with other Gurage communities specially sebat bet (seven houses) of Gurage for a long time. Therefore, it is difficult to know the exact numbers of Gura speakers. Even the numbers of Kebeles are not exactly known; some said eleven and others said ten for they are structured ethno-linguistically. Thus, there is no any clear information for how many Kebeles are there with Gura tongue in the western part of Emdibr that needs further sociolinguistic studies in depth.

However, according to Barambars Tenkr Dimd from upper Ankr and Fikadu Werku from Astepo, eleven Kebeles speak Gura tongue (cf. Etaferahu 2011). Besides, other key informant, Getahun Welde from lower Wirer scrutinized that Gura speakers are found in between River Getama just about a kilometre far westward from Emdibr up to Winke on the border of Innemor from the west direction. Thus, Gura speakers inhabit within Chaha Wereda just southwest of Emdiber in some Kebeles of Guramegnase, Astepo, Awkabr and Bakanote are taken for grant in this study. Emdibr is found around 182 km from Addis Ababa that is the administrative center for Chaha wereda². The next map justifies the administrative map of Chaha Wereda (study area) for further information.

²Even though Chaha language variety is widely spoken in Chaha Wereda, there are also *gieta* in East west, Gura in the west and *adabe* Cheha to the east, north, and south of Emdibr (Denberu etal. 1987).

Figure 2: The administrative map of Chaha Wereda



Source: Chaha Wereda finance and economy development office, 2007 e.c

Gura elders believe the legend that Gura people are Eritrean origin, and the key informants confirmed that they had come here from *gura*? (Akaleguzay of Eritrea) in an unspecified time, which is fortunately coinciding etymologically with the word *gura* the subject of this study (cf. Getinet 2009; Cohen 2000; Goldenberg 2005 & Hetzron 1972).

Many Gura people are members of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, protestant, and some are exercising Catholic and Muslim religion. Therefore, it is suffice to say that in Gura heterogenous linguistic, religion, ethnicity and culture are entertained without any rigorous and social differences.

Like other Gurage communities, Gura people are known for the plantation of *äsät* ‘false banana’ as their staple food³, and they have also been producing cereal crops such as *teff*, sorghum and barely. Moreover, the Gura community has been turning out cash crops such as coffee, chat and vegetables. They are also famous for their hard working and skillful trading all over the nation (cf. Cohen 2000; Etaferahu 2011 & Meyer 2011). The Gura community is also well known all over the nation for the colorful celebration of *māskäl* and *šarəfa* annually for Christians and Muslims respectively.

1.3 The Language

The word Gurage is cover term that includes Semitic speaking peoples whose residence is in south of Addis Ababa. These language varieties are enclosed with Cushitic and Omotic speakers (cf. Hetzron 1972; Goldenberg 2005; Meyer 2011 & Bedilu 2010). Gura is one of these Semitic language varieties that are found in Chaha Wereda, and it is spoken in the west and south west of Emdibr (cf. Dember et al 1987).

According to my key informants, Chaha has two main dialects with in Chaha Wereda, that is, *šadäbe* and *gura*. Nevertheless, it is not clearly distinguished their differences ; speakers believe that the name *gura* is semantically extended from *gura* ‘left’ since they are found to the left direction of Emdibr who speak relatively different accent of Chaha. They added that they are called *gura* because their accent is different from *šadäbe* of Chaha. They illustrated the differences as in the following examples.

(1) <i>šadäbe</i> (Chaha)	<i>gura</i> (chaha)	Gloss
<i>eb</i>	<i>ajim</i>	‘milk’
<i>nəjh’ə</i>	<i>nəx</i>	‘Come on (2ms)!’
<i>məšəru</i>	<i>miqaru</i>	‘What is that?’
<i>wərə</i>	<i>x^wərə</i>	‘He went.’

They indicated that geographically *gura* is spoken in the areas extending from *g^wätam* River (outskrit of *Emdibr* (1km) up to *Winqe* River bordering Chaha wereda from

³The root, the stem of the leaves, and the truck provide substance for bread; the leaves serve as wrapping material, as base stand for pots, as load carriers, and as fuel; the dried leaves are made into small plates for serving chopped meat; and the fiber serves as rope. For some of the Gurage dialects I collected as many as thirty names for the different kinds of *äsät*, some of these kinds being used as medicines for various forms of illness (Leslau 1969:281).

Innemor. Thus, it is difficult to innumerate one or two kebeles that speak purely Gura tongue in the area under discussion, for they have lived amalgamated with other Gurage language variety speakers.

The people (my respondents) also believe that there are communities who speak different variety even within Gura. For example, in *ḡadero gebja* people speak the variety of Gura with different accent that is highly mixed Gura with Amharic because there is a belief that there are reminiscences of Amhara speakers from the past. In *awkakir* kebele which is about 16 km away from Emdibr, some people (respondents) believe that they speak *am^wərina* (Gura accent), and the place is known as *am^wəre*. Therefore, it is customary to find husband Innemor and wife Gura of Chaha and vice versa in this place according to my informant from this Kebele. Therefore, even though there are confusions whether Gura is different variety or sub-dialect of Chaha, it is spoken in the areas west of Emdibr Wereda; consequently, Gura Megnase is taken as the research place for grant based on different literatures and my key informants that is found 8kms far away to the southwest from Emdibr.⁴

1.3.1 Classification of Gura

There is not common understanding by linguists on the concept that whether Gurage is a language or combination of language varieties besides the number of languages in this place. Consequently, the exact number of Gurage languages is not well known (see Hetzron 1972:1), and different linguists classified Gurage language varieties in different tenets. For instance, Leslau (1969:96 ;1979:XI) classified Gurage clusters into twelve dialects viz. Chaha, Ezha, Soddo, Goggot, Ennemor, Selte, Endegagn, Masqan, Muher, Wolane, Gyeta, and Zay; and some of them have sub-dialects such as Gumer of Chaha, Ener of Endagegn and Ulbarag of Selte (cf. Hetzron 1972;1977; Goldeberg 2005; Bender 1976; Shiferaw 1994). Besides, Cohen (1931) as cited in Leslau (1969:96; 1992:246) classified the Gurage languages into three dialect Clusters as:

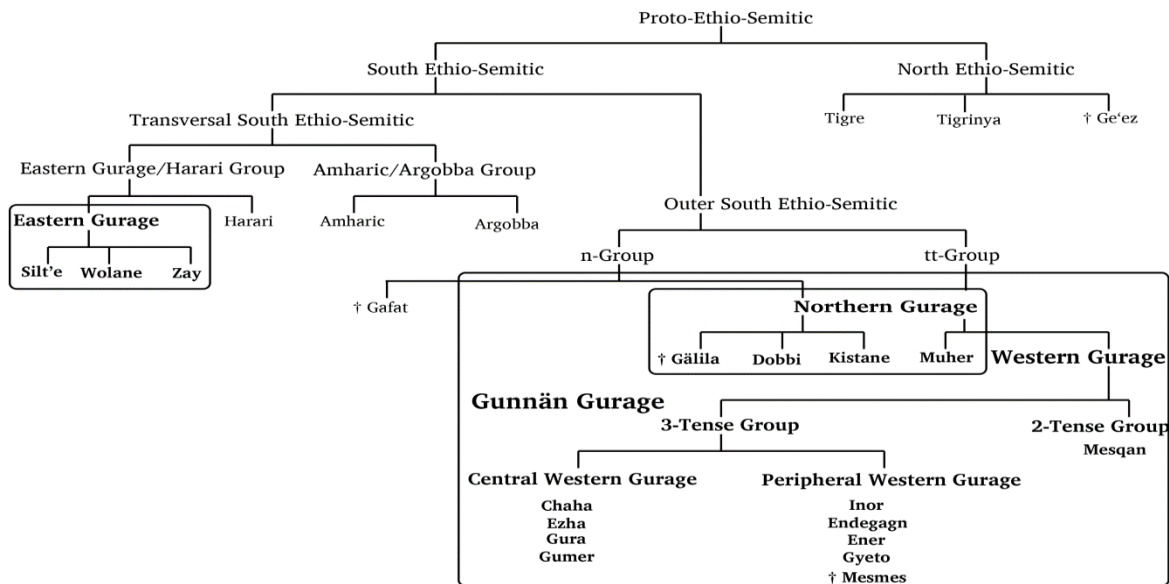
⁴ Gura displays a striking similarity with PWG and Gyeta with CW though genetically they are to be classified differently Hetzron (1977:5).

- I. East : Selte, Wolane, and zay connected to Harari ;
- II. West: Chaha, Ezha, Ennemor, Endegegn, Gyeta, Goggot, Muher, Masqan connected to Amharic and;
- III. North (East) which includes Soddo, and considering Gurage as a single language.

On the other hand, Demberu et al. (1987:255) classified Gurage language varieties based on the pronoun ‘I’ and verb ‘come’ in relation to the Amharic sentence *ine mät’ahu* ‘I came.’ that is interpreted as *ija/jə/ tʃənə/j/hum* (Chaha and Mesqan), *ija/jə/ mät’ahu* (Zay and Silte) , *adi mät’ahu* (Soddo/kistane/),and *anə bəsaḥum* (Dobi/Goggot/ and Muher).

Moreover, Hetzron (1977:3) also classifies the outer South Ethio-Semitic languages into a typological unit called ‘Gunnän Gurage’ for which the word is interpreted ‘head’ in all these language varieties. He also states that North and West Gurage are genetically similar and opposite to East (cf. Rose 2007:403& Fekede 2013:172). The figure below depicts the genetic category of Gura in the realm of the classification of Proto-Ethio-Semitic by Hetzron (1972).

Figure 3: Genetic classification of Gura



Source: Adopted from Meyer 2013

However, the classification needs further study because some language varieties are not included; they are left alone here and there besides the question of language or variety.

Therefore, the classification of Gurage language needs depth study so as to put remedy for such and other linguistic inconsistencies. For instance, the subject of this study (Gura) is not mentioned in some of the above literatures. It may be considered as the substrate of Chaha. In this case, Rose (2007:403) posits that Gura and Gumer are the sub-dialects of Chaha, and Demberu et al (1987:79) suggest that the sub-dialects Gyta and Gura are spoken in the eastern west and southwest of *ገገጌ ጭጭ* respectively.

1.3.2 Status of Gura

There is an ever continuing shifting or dying of languages and dialects in our planet, and the minority languages are gradually dominated by majority languages. For instance, Brenzinger (2007:4) state that in Southern Ethiopia, Ongota is replaced by Ts'amakko (Tsamay), Kwegu (Koegu) by Mursi, Shabo by Majang and Harro by Bayso. Thus, in Africa continent the loss of speakers in one African language is typically the gain of speakers in another African language. On the other hand, in Africa, the minority languages are remained at home; they have not been served as language of education and technology. In connection to this, Cohen (2000) posits that in the Gurage Zone only Silt'e Gurage have had their language introduced for teaching purposes.... while all other areas of these two zones continue to use Amharic. This is against the national decree of 1994 educational and training policy. According to this policy, primary education (Grade 1-8) shall be given in their mother tongue; however, in Gurage zone except Silte, Amharic is used as medium of primary education from Grade 1-4 and English starting from grade five up to the tertiary level, so mother tongue education has not been encouraged yet (cf. Yilkal 2007:32 & Fekede 2013:2).

As long as my informants and my field trip experiences are concerned, Gura has not been included in the educational curriculum/syllabus in the region and it has never been used as medium of instruction in educational and other socio-political or socio-economical milieu. Therefore, it is limited almost to home services, and children hardly speak Gura outside school. Youngsters of Gura speakers are at least bilingual in their mother tongue and Amharic since the medium of instruction is Amharic even at primary schools. Thus, the function of Gura is remained not scientific language, but one informant said that the

Educational bureau of Gurage zone is on the way to devise the alleged common orthography of Gurage that will be functional in primary schools in the near future.

Besides, Gura has been coexisted together with Ezha, Gumer and Innemor varieties, and it is directly or indirectly found in an influencing sphere of Oromifa, Amharic, and Hadiya languages (cf. Meyer 2011). This indicates that Gura is in sphere of endangerment, and it needs to be preserved and documented comprehensively using language technology tools.

Though the level of language endangerment is arguable, many scholars set out criteria that the level of endangerment depends on factors such as rate of language acquisition by children, attitudes of whole community, and level of impact on other languages (cf. Crystal 2000, UNESCO 2003, and Záhorský & Wondwosen 2009). UNESCO (2003:7) states that the most commonly used factor in evaluating the vitality of a language is whether it is being transmitted from one generation to the next. Thus, the status of language endangerment is categorized based on this factor (intergenerational language transmission) into six levels as:

1. “safe” (spoken by all children),
2. “vulnerable” (not spoken by children outside the home),
3. “definitely endangered” (children not speaking),
4. “severely endangered” (only spoken by the oldest generations),
5. “critically endangered” (spoken by few members of the oldest generation, often semi-speakers) and
6. “extinct” (no speaker) (cf. Austin 2010 & Krass 1992).

Based on the above justifications and literatures, Gura is on the sphere of endangerment as the neighboring Cushitic (Oromifa and Hadiya) and Semitic (other Gurage language varieties) and Amharic influence the speakers.⁵ Gura children do not get chance of learning by mother-tongue education. Moreover, there is no enough documents for educational and literacy purposes (cf. Meyer 2011 & Fekede 2002; 2013).

⁵The linguistic problem of Gurage languages are exacerbated due to the influences of neighboring languages. It is the only Semitic language which is surrounded by Cushitic languages. Consequently, there are many phonetic and lexical influences in the language. Denberu et al. (1987:256) translated.

1.3.3 Notes on the phonology of Gura

In this section, the phonemics and phonetics of Gura are given in summarized notes because the writer believed that it has been well described by Etaferahu (2011). However, it is also tried to retest again in this study by using new data so as to highlight the phonetic inventor, phonological and morphophonemic features of Gura because it is intended that phonemic and morphophonemic characteristics are the basic dealing of readers on the morphology and syntax of a language. Therefore, the morphemes, syllable structures, and morphophonemic features of Gura are discussed in brief vis-à-vis relevant data from the fieldwork in the following subsections.

1.3.3.1 Phonemes

In Gura, thirty seven consonant phonemes are identified in this study (cf. Hetzron 1977 & Etaferahu 2011). The table below illustrates the consonant phonemes of Gura.

Table 1: Consonant phonemes of Gura

		Bilabial		Labiodentals		Alveolar	palatal		Velar			Glottal
		plain	round	Plain	round		Alveolar-Palatal	palatal	Palatalized	Plain	rounded	
Plosive	Vd	<i>b</i>	<i>b^w</i>			<i>d</i>			<i>g^l</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g^w</i>	
	Vl	<i>p</i>	<i>p^w</i>			<i>t</i>			<i>k^l</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k^w</i>	ʔ
	Ej					<i>t'</i>			<i>q^l</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>q^w</i>	
Fricative	Vd					<i>z</i>	<i>ʒ</i>					
	Vl			<i>f</i>	<i>f^w</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>ʃ</i>		<i>x^l</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>x^w</i>	<i>h</i>
Affricative	Vd							<i>dʒ</i>				
	vl							<i>tʃ</i>				
	Ej							<i>tʃ'</i>				
nasal		<i>m</i>	<i>m^w</i>			<i>n</i>						
Liquid	Vd					<i>r</i>						
	vl					<i>l</i>						
approximant		<i>w</i>						<i>j</i>				

In Gura, the consonant sounds [s'] and [p'] are used for loan words from Amharic. For example, one can find these phonemes in the loan words like *məs'haf* 'book', *s'alot* 'prayer', *p'ent'ə* 'protestant' and *p'ap'as* 'bishop'. Besides, the phoneme /h/ is also used

in alternation with /x/.⁶ These phonemes are not allophonic conditioned with certain phonological context, but they are freely used in this variety as in *xarə/harə* ‘He knew’, *x^wet/h^wet* ‘two’, *huma/xuma* ‘heel’ and *sanhera /sanxera* ‘shin of the leg’. This is against the realization of Etaferahu (2011:31); she did not attest it as phoneme in her Gura phonetic inventory. The bilabial voiced fricative /β/⁷ is the variant of the phoneme /b/ in intervocalic or after vowels (cf. Hetzron 1977 :34 & Etaferahu 2011:19).

In connection to this, the voiceless glottal stop /ʔ/ is identified as a phoneme that is configured in the phonology of Gura word-initial, word-medial and word-final positions.⁸ The data below illustrate the distribution of this morpheme.

- | | | |
|--------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (2) a) | <i>səʔat</i> | ‘watch’ |
| b) | <i>ʔa(m)x^win</i> | ‘I gave him.’ Etaferahu (2011:22) |
| c) | <i>ʔəʔ bare</i> | ‘It made me vomit’ |

In Gura, consonant gemination is not an underlying phoneme, but very rare words are geminated like *miss* ‘man’, *inn* ‘all’, *gitt* ‘oath’ and *asso* ‘salt’. However, their counter examples of these words are ill-grammatical (cf. Hetzron 1972; 1977).

Gura has seven vowel phonemes (cf. Hetzron 1977 & Etaferahu 2011). The table illustrates the vowel phonemes of Gura.

⁶As to Ford (1986:42), /x/ is Hetzron’s /h/ (1977:37) and Leslau’s /k/ (1950). The amount of velar fricativization varies, even with the same speaker on the same word. It is generally fricativized in the velar area to some extent. Hetzron (1977:38) suggests that the articulation of /h/ in Chaha is “somewhat tense” and states that the allophone [x] occurs in the Gumer dialect before a, o and u.

⁷ Degif (2000:2) posits that Chaha has two ejectives stops /t’ k’/ and two voiced stops /d g/; [b] and [p] are not phonemes, but they are derived from a bilabial voiced approximant /β/. In addition, [k] is not a phoneme but an allophone of /x/ or /g/.

⁸ Garellek (2013:7) states the presence of /ʔ/ in a language usually implies the presence of /h/ as well; only 18.1% of languages with glottal stops in their segmental inventor do not have /h/ as cited from the phonetic inventory database (cf. Maddieson 1984 ; Maddison & precoda 1990)

Table 2: Vowel Phonemes of Gura

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ɨ	u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low		a	

As shown in the table above, vowels are categorized into three sets as front vowel [i, e], central vowels [ɨ, ə, a] and back vowels [u, o] based on the tongue position. The vowel /ə/ from the set of central vowels has an allophone /ɛ/ when it appears after the voiceless velar fricatives /x/⁹.

1.3.3.2 Consonant clusters

In Gura, word-medial and word-final consonant cluster is permitted, but it is not allowed word-initially. It does not permit even a cluster of more than two consonants in the word-medial and final position (cf. Degif 2000:25 for Chaha; Leslau 1992:120 Gurage & Etaferahu 2011:31 for Gura). Nevertheless, sequence of two consonants in word-initial position is possible if any consonant phoneme is followed by the sonorant /r/¹⁰ as in the data below.

- (3) *gred* ‘girls’
qrərə ‘morning’
brot ‘to eat / means’
bra ‘eat!’

In Gura, the central vowel /ɨ/ is used to break up the phonologically disallowed consonant clusters. In this case, the sonorant hierarchy is obeyed in this variety (cf. Etaferahu 2011; Degif 2000 & Leslau 1992). Consider the following data for Gura.

⁹There are different types of transcription of the central mid vowel [ə] in the Gurage varieties/ ä/, /ʌ/; and Leslau use it as the central high vowel [ɨ]. In this paper, the former one [ə] is used.

¹⁰There is word-initial cluster any sound if it is followed by the trill sound/sonorant [r]. This is completely opposite to Degif’s (2000) proposal which argues that consonant cluster is restricted in Chaha because it is difficult to hear clearly sounds especially when consonantal sounds are followed by sonorant.

- (4) *anigwa* 'whey'
anidr 'drum'
ginizr 'breakfast'
inizr 'ear'

Moreover, word-final cluster of two different consonants are permitted. Nevertheless, if the two segments are homorganic or identical constituent phonemes, that is, $C_1=C_2$, then the epenthetic vowel (i) is inserted between them (cf. Degif (2000:26 for Chaha). Consider the data below.

- (5) *jigədid* 'he digs'
mut'it 'bad'
jarir 'It burns.'

1.3.3.3 Syllable structures

In Gura, all consonant phonemes can occur on the onset of the syllable, but consonant cluster on the onset are restricted. In similar manner, all the vowels can appear on the onset and coda of Gura syllable. The syllable structure is illustrated duly, and the syllable boundary is denoted by dot as in the following data.

- | | | | | |
|-----|----------|----|----------------------|-----------------------|
| (6) | | f) | [a.ga] | 'queue' |
| a) | [i.mar] | g) | [ə.gi] | 'ok' |
| b) | [i.mir] | h) | [o.ze] | 'witty' |
| c) | [e.ma] | i) | [qo.rə] | 'naval/roasted grain' |
| d) | [gi.jə] | j) | [u.m ^w ə] | 'pestle' |
| e) | [ərtʃ] | | | |

All the vowels are also filling in the place of the nucleus of syllable. In Gura, the smallest syllable (light) is V as in the words *i* 'yes' and *e.te* 'where', and the largest (heavy) one is CVCC or CCVC as in the words *zəβr* 'May you answer!' and *brot* 'to eat' respectively (cf. Etaferahu 2011:34). Besides, syllables are both open and closed in which they can end with vowels or consonants in respective manner. In Gura, the open syllable includes V, CV, and CCV whereas the closed syllable encompasses VC, VCC, CVC, CVCC and CCVC as in (7 and 8) respectively.

(7) Open syllable

V: e.ma ‘road’, o/i ‘yes’ a.fər ‘soil’, i.mar ‘donkey’ u.m^wə ‘pestle’
CV : t’e ‘sheep’ , mi.dad ‘griddle’, ge.tə.rə ‘bean’, xɛ.jə ‘cliff’
CCV : bra! ‘eat’, (2ms) tra.ma ‘yesterday’, sə.nxɛ.ra ‘calf of the leg’

(8) Closed syllable

VC : at ‘one’, en ‘eye’,
VCC: inn ‘all’, ərtf ‘boy’, ixr ‘crop’
CVC: tət ‘below’, bər ‘river’, bet ‘house’, git ‘medium’
CVCC: gibr ‘tool’, miss ‘husband’ dəng.rot ‘to throw /throwing’,
CCVC: brət ‘metal’, brot ‘to eat’

In Gura, the first consonant of an onset cluster and final consonants of a coda cluster must be less sonorant than to those which are nearest to the nucleus that obeyed to the sonorant hierarchy. Thus, word-initially consonant of an onset cluster is restricted to the penultimate consonant which is alleged as consonants of an onset cluster is possible if the penultimate sonorant consonant is (r) as in *brot* ‘to eat’ otherwise consonant of an onset cluster is not permitted. Word-medially, complex coda is permitted if it is obeyed to the sonority hierarchy as in *ginizr* > *gi.nizr* ‘breakfast’ (see example 4) above. Here, the obstruent sounds (b, d, z) that are found nearest to the nucleus (i), which are less sonorant than the liquid (r) on which they form complex coda in the syllable (CVCC). Consonant of a coda cluster is also common phenomenon word-finally as in *funr* ‘cute’, *məmr* ‘how’, *qulf* ‘spine’ etc.

1.3.3.4 Phonological processes

In this section, the phonological systems of Gura are discussed. The phonological systems of Gura are governed by unique rules of its own, but the universal variational parameters of phonological systems like assimilation, deletion, palatalization, and labialization are authenticated in following sections.

1.3.3.4.1 Assimilation

The assimilation of sounds can be phonemic or phonetic; the former is used in the formation of new phonemes whereas the latter is allophonic. In Gura, sounds become more alike in the inflectional and derivational morphological operations that are triggered

by sound contact processes in spontaneous speech. The assimilees and assimilators are morphophonemically resulted in the allophonic (phonemic if any) assimilants. For instance, when the negative marker prefix /an-/ is inflectionally attached into Gura verbs, the alveolar nasal /n/ is progressively assimilated. Therefore, it has [m], [ŋ] and [ɲ] allophonic realization as one can see in the examples below.

- (9) *an + bəna* /anbəna/ > [ambəna] ‘He did not eat.’
an + tʃənə /antʃənə/ > [aŋtʃənə] ‘He did not come.’
an + xerə /anxerə/ > [aŋxerə] ‘it is not’

In Gura, when the negative marker [an-] is added to verb stems, the final consonant/assimilator [n] become more similar to the adjacent consonants in place of articulation. For instance, in the first example, the voiced alveolar nasal (assimilee) progressively takes the characteristics of the labial or assimilator [b]. In addition, in the second example, the alveolar nasal [n] and the voiceless palatal affricative /tʃ/ become assimilated to the voiced palatal nasal [ɲ] for the same morphophonemic process. Indeed, in the last example, it is realized as voiced velar fricative [ŋ] when it is followed by the voiceless velar fricative /x/. Therefore, in all cases the assimilation is restricted to their place of articulations.

In this variety, all the vowels are also assimilated when they are followed or preceded by the nasal sounds (n, m)¹¹. Thus, when the vowels are directly followed/preceded by nasal sounds then nasalized vowels (assimilants) are produced as counter examples of normal vowels (cf. Etaferahu 2011:29). They are nasalized assimilants sounds as in the examples below.

- (10) /ema/ > [ěmã] ‘road’
/tʃənə/ > [tʃĕnĕ] ‘he came’
/mosa/ > [mōsa] ‘calf of cow’

As in example (10), the vowels are regressively and progressively assimilated to the consonant nasal to adjust with the preceding nasal sounds. Here, the assimilees (a, ə, o)

¹¹Boivin (1996, p.21) claimed that Semitic languages are known for not having nasal vowels, underlying or in surface forms. Some of the Gurage languages from Ethiopia, although Semitic, run counter to this generalization.

are modified in the environment of nasals (m and n); as a result, they produce the allophonic counterexamples (ã, ã, ò). Therefore, assimilation is always phonetic in Gura; and they make sound adjustment with the sound environments unlike phonemic.

In Gura, when the genitive and subordinate markers (ʔə- and tə-) respectively are prefixed to the glide initial nouns or verbs, the vowel (ə) is palatalized as an assimilant (i). In this case, the assimilator (j) and the assimilee (ə) together are resulted in the environmentally adjusted front high vowel (i). Consider the following data.

- (11) /tə +jibəra/ > [tɪjbəra] ‘when he is eating’
 /ʔə+jina / > [ʔina] ‘of us’
 /tə+jitʃəno/ > [tɪjtʃəno] ‘when they are coming’

1.3.3.3.2 Labialization

In Gura, labialization is commonly occurred as secondary articulation¹²when the voiced alveolar nasal[n] is preceded by the voiced bilabial stop [b]; it becomes the voiced bilabial nasal[m]. In addition to this, the alveolar nasal [n] is assimilated into the labiodental nasal[m̥] when it is followed by labiodental fricatives [f, f^v] (see§ 1.3.3.3.1). Consider the following examples.

- (12) an + bənatʃ / anbənatʃ/ > [ambənatʃ] ‘She did not eat.’
 an+ barə / anbarə / > [ambarə] ‘He did not say.’
 an +f^watʃ^ə /anf^watʃ^ə/ > [am̥f^watʃ^ə] ‘He did not mow.’
 an +fəndə /anfəndə / > [am̥fəndə] ‘He did not judge.’

We can understand from the above data, the voiced alveolar nasal [n] has many realizations when it occurs in subsequence series with other consonants. It is labialized if it is followed by the bilabial plosive [b] and labiodental fricatives [f, f^v].

¹²In the tt-group (thus not in Soddo and Goggot), in certain morphological conditions , a labial appendix ^w (rounding) may be superimposed on the relatively last non-coronal consonant of the verbal word occasioning the following changes : “ p > p^w, b > b^w , β > w, f >f^w, m >m^w, g >g^w, k > k^w, q >q^w, h > h^w, and ʔ > ʔ^w.” He added that this might historically come from the absorption of an originally suffixal u (Hetzron 1977:45).

In Gura, when the third person masculine singular (light) object marker (-n) is attached into the verbs, the labial and velar (non-coronal) sounds are labialized. Nevertheless, in this case, the process is not predictable or the labialization is floating from right to left (see Rose 1997:23-5 for similar analysis in Chaha). Consider the data below.

(13) Verb without object		verb with object	
<i>kəfət-ə</i>	‘he opened’	<i>kəf^wət-ə-n</i>	‘he opened it’
<i>ləka-ə</i>	‘he measured’	<i>lək^wa-ə-n</i>	‘he measured it’
<i>fam-ə</i>	‘he pulled’	<i>fam^w-ə-n</i>	‘he pulled it’
<i>at’əβ-ə</i>	‘he washed’	<i>at’əb^w-ə-n</i>	‘he washed it’
<i>qənəs-ə</i>	‘he subtracted’	<i>q^wənəs-ə-n</i>	‘he subtracted/began it’

In Gura, impersonal verbs that lack person contrast are morphologically marked. When these impersonal markers are attached to verbs, the non-coronal sounds are labialized, and the alveolar plosive are palatalized too. The following data illustrates these morphophonemic processes.

(14) Perfective		Impersonal	Verb
<i>qət’ər-ə</i>	‘he killed’	<i>q^wət’ər-i</i>	‘one killed him /he was killed’
<i>wəsəd-ə</i>	‘he robbed’	<i>wəsədʒ-i</i>	‘one robbed him’
<i>dənəg-ə</i>	‘he hit’	<i>dənəg^w-i</i>	‘one hit him’
<i>nəkəs-ə</i>	‘he bitted’	<i>nək^wəf-i</i>	‘one bit him’

As in (14) , when the impersonal verb markers are added into verb stems , the alveolar plosive [d] become palatalized as [dʒ]; and velars [k, q and g] are becoming round velar or labialized as k^w, q^w and g^w. Therefore, when the impersonal verb markers are attached to the verb stem, the non-coronal sounds are labialized, and the coronals are palatalized or remained unchanged.

In this variety, labialization also occurs within/intra word when it portrays phonemic sequence as in *gənbəna/gəmbəna* ‘black’, *wirsənbət/ wirsəmbət* ‘sun day’ etc.

1.3.3.3 Palatalization

In Gura, palatalization is characterized by the point of articulation of the palatalized consonant which moves toward the palatal region, and it is triggered by the second

person feminine singular suffix (-i)¹³. The alveolar, velar, and trill consonants can be palatalized when the second person feminine singular marker is attached into imperative verb forms. Consider the data below.

(15)	2MS		2FS	
	<i>tora</i>	‘Sit down !’	<i>tojə</i>	‘Sit down !’
	<i>x^wer</i>	‘Go !’	<i>x^wɛjə</i>	‘Go !’
	<i>ziga</i>	‘Shut !’	<i>zidzə</i>	‘Shut !’
	<i>kift</i>	‘Open !’	<i>kiftjə</i>	‘Open !’
	<i>sibir</i>	‘Break !’	<i>sibjə</i>	‘Break !’

In (15), velar, alveolar and trill sounds are moving their articulation position to palatal position when the front vowel is (-i) is suffixed so as to encode third person feminine singular imperative. Besides, when the verb stems are vowel final, vowel sounds move their articulation positions as well. For instance, in the imperative stems *tora* ‘sit down!’ and *ziga* ‘shut’ above, the mid central vowel (a) is palatalized as (ə) due to the influence of the consonants /r/ and /g/ phonemes in to /j/ and /dz/ respectively.

In Gura, palatalization can also be triggered by the glide (j). When the glide (j) appears intervocalic, the vowels that precede it become fronting (See example 11 above). Besides, sounds are palatalized when the final root consonants are attached to the impersonal verbs (see §1.3.3.3.2).

1.3.3.3.4 Deletion

In the variety, vowel sequenced is not allowed. If two vowels appear in subsequences series, the first vowel is deleted.¹⁴ Consider the data below.

(16)	Sound change	Examples	Gloss
a)	/i+a > a/	<i>ji + ant’ə</i> > <i>jart’</i>	‘he cuts’
b)	/ə+ə > ə/	<i>ʔə + əram</i> > <i>ʔəram</i>	‘of the cow’
c)	/ə+a > a/	<i>tə + anq’ə</i> > <i>tanq’ə</i>	‘from a back’
d)	/e+ə > e/	<i>bə+ema</i> > <i>bema</i>	‘in road’
e)	/i+ə > ə/	<i>məri+əndə</i> > <i>mərəndə</i>	‘our leaders’

¹³Compare Palatalization in other Gurage variety from Hetzron1977 (Gunnän Gurage); Bedilu 2010 (Kistaninya); Degif 2000(Chaha); Rose1997 (Chaha) and Etaferahu 2011(Gura).

¹⁴Leslau (1992:20) and Rose (1994:117) attest that when two vowels appeared in sequence, there may occur: elision, reduction, insertion of semi-vowel in order to avoid the hiatus.

f) /ə+i > i/ tə+iʃa > tiʃa ‘with me’

In example (16a), when the high and mid central vowels appeared in sequence, the former one is deleted, the same vowel qualities are not allowed as it is encoded in (16b). When the mid and low central vowels come about in subsequence series as in (16c), the mid central vowel is elided. Besides, the central mid vowel (ə) is deleted when it appears in sequence with the mid front vowel (e) and high front vowel (i) as in (16d and e) respectively. In the last example (16f), the mid and high central vowels (ə and i) are carried out assimilation owing to the approximant palatal (j), but the latter (i) is elided in natural phonological situations as in *tə+imar > təmar* ‘with donkey’.

In regard to this variety, when the third person masculine singular copula verb /u/ is attached into final vowel words, it is realized as an approximant bilabial /w/ (cf. Leslau 1992:120 & Etaferahu 2011:36). Consider the data below.

- (17) *şafi +u* > *şafiw* ‘he is a writer’
xara +u > *xaraw* ‘it is bark of a tree’
g^wutə +u > *g^wutəw* ‘it is a dust’

1.4 Previous studies on Gura

Comparing to other Gurage language varieties, Gura has not been well studied, and its grammar is not described yet. However, some collections of linguistic texts are found in Hetzron’s (1977) work entitled the ‘gunnän Gurage’ together with other north and West Gurage varieties. Besides, Etaferahu (2011) has made comparative study on the West Gurage dialect clusters based on data from Chaha, Ezha and Gura.

Hence, Gura needs documentation and description for preserving its valuable linguistic and cultural features; and it is retained for later use for the coming new generations. Consequently, in this study digital audio and video recording tools are used to collect comprehensive primary data that are used to produce its grammar, and document the priceless linguistic cultures in addition to other linguistic methods. Thus, this work is completely different from Hetzron (1977) and Etaferahu (2011) in its methodology and content. Etaferahu (2011) used comparative method of data analysis that is different from

annotation, transcription and translation with the help of language technology tools such as ELAN and FLEX. She targeted on three West Gurage language varieties (Ezha, Chaha and Gura), but this study is mainly focused on Gura not any other related language varieties. The comprehensive documentation of primary data and description of grammatical components of Gura (morphology and syntax) is different from Hetzron's work (1977). Hetzron is mainly focused on other Gunnän Gurage language varieties with little (collections of text/indofin/) from Gura. However, this study has two folds of objectives; the samples of comprehensive Gura data are documented, and the morphology and syntax of Gura are described. Besides, Hetzron (1972) carried out a holistic study on whole classification of Ethiopian Semitics, but this research only stress on Gura.

1.5 The present study

The decrement and decay of the world's language and culture are prevailing everywhere due to socio-economic , sociopolitical and socio-cultural factors which drive the internal factors (cf. Brenzinger and Graff 2005 ; Crystal 2000 ; Austin 2006;2007;2010 & 2011). Ethiopia is not free from such surging linguistic issues. There are few languages on the verge of death, and others are totally lost from the face of the earth without leaving even a single speaker such as Gafat from the South Ethio-semitic language group (cf. Zelealem & Siebert 2001; Záhořík & Wondwosen 2009). Consequently, many indigenous (Ethiopian) and foreign linguists have been trying to describe the grammar of the majority languages, and salvage or document the minority and endangered languages nowadays in our country as a response to this alarming linguistic problem.

Gura is one of Central West Gurage language varieties, and it is classified with the outer south Semitics. Its grammar has not been documented or described yet. There are not also enough prepared linguistic texts. It is dear to say that there are very few collections of documents for educational purposes or for other services by Heztron (1977) with other Gunnän Gurage languages. Etaferahu (2011) has attested its phonemic inventory together with other central west Gurage language varieties. Therefore, this study is aimed at documenting Gura: describing its morphology and syntax to fill this linguistic gap, and document/file its priceless comprehensive sample set of its cultures. The comprehensive

communicative events of Gura speakers are documented using ELAN and FLEX. The natural occasions of Gura (the subset of registers, genres and discourses) are documented using audio recorder that can add values by supporting language technology methods to be freely accessed for users and researchers. The discrete linguistic features of Gura (morphology and syntax) are described, annotated, transcribed, translated and transformed into grammar from the elicited and documented data sources.

Even though there have been an argument on the basic distinction between language documentation and description, this research is based on these two disciplines taking them simultaneously.

1.6 Significance of the study

As has been communicated, this study has two folds of concerns. The samples of comprehensive genres and registers of Gura are documented using ELAN and FLEX, and its morphology and syntax are described accordingly. Hence, this study will have the following significances:

- it will disclose the morphological and syntactic features of Gura so that it be ready as source material;
- researchers and linguists will get a profound documentation of Gura in the form of audio recordings which may help them to carrying out research in-depth in linguistic, anthropologic and folkloric features in the area;
- it will substantially increase body of linguistic data currently available which will be freely accessed ;
- teachers, local and national policy makers and indigenous community representatives will get essential outcomes for developing their linguistic concepts in the area and to devise policy etc ;
- practitioners can use this study as a stepping stone to carry out research on language variety and culture of Gura once the comprehensive primary data is electronically archived and accessed in websites and tertiary level of the grammar.

1.7 Theoretical frame works

As has been discussed, this study has two folds of objectives-Gura documentation and description of its morphology and syntax. The latter is carried out through language-driven approach, but regarding the former, there is an argument whether it is a discipline by its own right or sub-discipline of other disciplines. Some linguists such as (Himmelmann 1998 & Woodbury 2003) argue that documentary linguistics is theoretically and methodologically unified and well-formed discipline that can stand by its own right. Consequently, they claim that documentary linguistics is independent discipline that has its own theory called **discourse-centered or ethnographic approach** for its data is based on the ethnography of speaking.

However, Austin & Lenore (2007), Austin (2010) and Austin & Julia (2011) claim that documentary linguistics emphasizes on the production of comprehensive ethnographic primary data not on the secondary data. They suggest that documentary linguistics is an emerging disciplines that comes about recently to safeguard the ever-continuing disappearance of human language. As a result, its theoretical frameworks and methodological flows are taken from other disciplines. Thus, documentary and descriptive linguistics are a face of the same coin, that is, documentation without description and description without documentation cannot provide linguists and user's community a comprehensive and sufficient data or outcome of various types. Therefore, documentary linguistics is an emerging discipline in which its methods and theories are derived from other disciplines. It does not have its own theory so as to say it has its own theory is premature idea or ideal by its own right.

However, both the documentary and descriptive linguistics are means to describe the endangered language. The former is aimed at recording of comprehensive linguistic practices and traditions, and the latter is aimed at recording of language as an abstract system of constructions and rules of speech community (cf. Himmelmann1998).

In connection to this, language endangerment is currently surging issues that is commonly used in sociolinguistics just like language shift and death in some literature in the world so do in our country. The cause of the language endangerment can be internal

(attitudes of weak language speakers) or external such as natural disaster, socio-economic, socio-cultural and sociopolitical factors. Batibo (2005:62) posits the causes of language endangerment as follows:

The threat may come because the pool of speakers is declining rapidly to small numbers, because the younger generations are not learning to speak it, or because the domains in which the language is used have shrunk so much that it is not used regularly in the language community. The other situation would be that the linguistic structures of a language are so eroded and simplified that the language is progressively becoming nonfunctional.

The loss of the language is slow which breaks the pressure of the resistance from the weak language speakers and consolidating the pressure of the strong language speakers. Many linguistics are setting out the level of language endangerment (see§1.3), and prepare list of possibilities of the language endangerment indicators. The following points are mentioned as the indicators of highly endangered languages (IBID 2005:69).

- ❖ The number of speakers currently using the language. In this survey, all minority languages spoken by fewer than 5000 people were considered to be endangered, particularly if other factors were involved.
- ❖ The degree of bilingualism in the dominant language. Usually, any minority language whose speakers were highly bilingual in a dominant language was classed as endangered as its speakers are likely to shift to the dominant language.
- ❖ The prevalence of socio-political factors that put pressure on the minority language. In some cases historical or political factors may exert pressure or place the minority language speakers in a state of dependence, inducing a shift to the dominant language.
- ❖ Socio-economic disadvantage of the minority language speakers. Where these were socio-economically vulnerable or dependent on the dominant language speakers, it was assumed that the former will be attracted to the language of the more powerful group.
- ❖ The prevalence of negative attitudes towards their language. Where minority language speakers no longer saw value in their language, it was taken as an indicator of language endangerment.

- ❖ Non-transmission of the minority language to the younger generation. Where parents no longer taught their children the minority language but instead encouraged them to learn the dominant language, this was taken as a clear indicator of language endangerment.
- ❖ Situations where only people beyond child-bearing age spoke the minority language. This was taken as a clear indication of a highly endangered language.

Languages can be locally, nationally and internationally dominant languages. The dominant languages pressurized the minority language. In this case, Gura is one of the minority languages which is locally dominated by other Gurage language varieties (Chaha, Ezha, Gumer etc), nationally dominated by Amharic, the dominant (Oromifa and Hadya) and the international language (English).

In response to this issue, documentation process deals with comprehensive collection of sample of records of folktales, genres or registers of Gura. There is very thick audio-video data that may be used for interdisciplinary description. The comprehensive collective records of folktales, genres or registers are classified under the umbrella of communicative events on the base of naturalness of the data types. This classification is culture based consideration of the linguistic behaviors of speakers of a given speech community besides their tacit knowledge. Therefore, the kind and quality of data in documentation is seriously affected by the types of communicative events which are manifested on binary in the parameter of planned on the one end of continuum and unplanned on the other side vis-à-vis naturalness of the data.

Therefore, the classification of communicative event of Himmelman (1998:27-8) are taken into consideration in the data collection procedures. These are:

Natural communicative events: this linguistic behavior is not affected by any external interface. Such events are, in principle, not amenable to documentation since the documentation process itself constitutes an extraordinary factor in the communicative situation.

Observed communicative events: external interface is very limited all forms of participant observations, narrative and descriptions are typical examples of this linguistic behavior.

Staged communicative events: this linguistic behavior is deliberately prepared for recording purpose by the researcher. This linguistic behavior creates motivation for discussion by using films, pictures, toys and soon.

Elicited communicative events: this is important in research and documentation. It has three basic styles in the procedure of data collections. In the elicitation, native speakers are asked to contextualize the morphological, phonological, semantic etc. concepts of words ;besides, they are asked to translated data specially word/phrase from Amharic /English into their native language. Finally, native speakers are expected by the researcher to judge the syntactic or morphological acceptability of certain linguistic data.

In documentation, it is ideal to record all the communicative events and the tacit knowledge of certain speech community. Thus, sample of the folktales, genres are considered.

Therefore, the comprehensive primary data obtained from Gura speech communities are treated based on some ethnographic of speaking, and **discourse-centered approach** of Himmelman and Woodbury are taken into consideration in the documentation part of Gura.

On the other hand, the morphology and syntax of Gura are described theory free. Morphology can be of concatenative and nonconcatenative in forms. The nonconcatenative morphology is well established morphological alternations of its concatenative in Semitic languages (cf. Simpson 2009). For instance, nominalization of the lexemes *ərtʃinət* ‘childhood’ and *sənəf* ‘lazy’ are concatenative and nonconcatenative morphological processes in Gura respectively. The internal feature of Gura syntax and morphology are described from the horse’s mouth as it is collected from different Gura communicative events. Syntax is the process of setting out of words together so as to construct phrases and clauses (cf. Carie 2000 & Dixon 2010). Hence, the constituents of

the sentences are hierarchically arranged either top to bottom or the reverse, and the main function of this filed data is breaking down sentences into its constituents and giving them grammatical category (see Wekker and Haegeman 1985:5). The syntactic constituents of phrases and clauses are dealt in Gura from the annotated, translated, and transcribed from the digitalized data in ELAN and FLEX, and elicited data.

1.8 Methods and tools

In this section, the methods and techniques of data gathering and analysis are shown, and the ethical consideration and duration of the fieldwork is portrayed authentically. Therefore, the day-to-day linguistic activities of Gura are taken as a study subject, and the data are arranged as the subset of the linguistic genres, discourses and registers i.e. conversations, rituals, ceremonies, monologues, historical artifacts, narratives, festivals and other social and cultural events of Gura are subject of this study. The morphology, syntax, and morphosyntax of Gura are described from the elicited, annotated, transcribed and translated data.

1.8.1 Data gathering methods

As it has been discussed, this study will try to document Gura and describe its morphology and syntax. In the former, the comprehensive Gura data are collected and the elicitation, translation, participant observation and transcription of primary data are used as procedural forms. In the latter case, it is mainly focus on the analysis of Gura description, and the phonetic, morphological, syntactic.

1.8.1.1 Elicitation method

This method was used to collect list of Gura words of different flora, fauna groups and words of different kind: name of places, persons, plants, furniture, house utensils, and animals with their semantic functions and orthographic systems. The agricultural utensils, vegetables names and other artifact word list of Gura were collected using elicitation method; they were cross checked the exact pronunciation, orthography or phonemic and other grammatical features of elicited list of words via elicitation. Therefore, the

systematic elicitation method was used for both collecting list of words and some grammatical features from Gura.

A great caution was taken into consideration when elicitation is implemented in translating equivalence of word list of names of places, agricultural tools, husbandry instruments etc. of Gura into the wide communication language (English/Amharic). Audio or video recording or photographing was used while eliciting word list of different types and checking the grammatical acceptances of Gura ethically.

1.8.1.2 Participant observation method

Participant observation was used in different forms depending on the types of collected data. The researcher was passively participated (become observer) while the socio-cultural and linguistic affairs of Gura conversations, riddles, tales or stories etc. were carried out which were purposefully selected from the elderly people of both sex in the target speech community (Gura).¹⁵ These linguistic data were used for preparing the grammar of Gura with the help of language technology tools. The sample speech of different type from different subset of registers, discourses and genres like conversations, rituals and other linguistic interaction from the Gura speakers of all classes were considered for comprehensive documentation in this method. Consequently, this method was supplemented by the video or audio recordings to making ready the data for annotation, translation, transcription and possibly archive using digital language technology tools such as ELAN and FLEX.

1.8.2 Data gathering tools

Communicative events of Himmelmann (1998) such as natural, observed, elicited, and staged communicated events of Gura were considered in the fieldwork. Thus, to collect these linguistic behaviors and metalinguistic knowledge of speakers' interaction two

¹⁵ A contrasting standard for collecting anthropological data which includes living with the speech communities who we are studying, and doing similar kinds of activities they work, and waiting for things to happen, and simply observing them when they do happen is known as participant observation (cf. Crowley 2007).

basic tools were used. These are audio and audio-video recordings that augmented the elicitation and participant observation methods.

1.8.2.1 Audio-video recording

Digital audio-video recorder was used to collect the intended comprehensive primary data from Gura speakers carefully and attentively.¹⁶ It was used to collect specific speech of different genres of story, fable and traditions from Gura speakers, both age and gender wise for documentation purpose from the community. The samples of sets of historical and cultural asset of Gura are mainly collected from elderly people of both genders from the community members for the same purpose (documentation). This audio-video recording is used as a vehicle for the comprehensive collected data up to the digitalization, edition and transformation of computer-assisted documentation by the researcher.

The primary and secondary data were collected from elders, young educated people both male and female for producing Gura grammar (morphology and syntax) in addition to the aforementioned methods.

The data sources are well supplemented by authentic documentation using digital technology, translated, transcribed, thereby the morphology and syntax of Gura are processed.

1.8.2.2 Audio recording

In this study, the digital audio recorder was used to collect genuine comprehensive primary data from Gura speakers carefully and attentively. This tool was used to gather specific speech of different genres of story, fable and traditions from Gura speakers, and both age and gender of the informants were considered.

¹⁶Digital audio and video technologies are very important to collect linguistic data for they can store large data easily and are portable for use. They can also ease out difficulty; we can work out with them friendly and hopefully (cf. Thieberger 2006; Dornyei 2007; & Duranti 1997).

Audio recorder was used to gather genuine data ranging from the short word list of different names up to the complex grammar and discourses, and history and culture of Gura are mainly collected from elderly people of both genders from the community members for documentation purpose.

The data gathered through this tool was transformed into language technology tool called audacity so that it was edited, and made ready for annotation, transliteration, and translation by ELAN. However, the short list of words of different names of house utensil, agricultural names, names of domestic animals and names of both flora and fauna animals are tagged and translated away from this language technology tools. Both of these data are used in the production of the tertiary grammar of Gura (morphology and syntax).

1.8.3 Data analysis techniques

1.8.3.1 Transcription

After the data resources had been transformed and edited using audacity, they had transferred into language technology tools called ELAN. The obtained data were transcribed, translated, and annotated. Accordingly, an hour long annotation from the recorded and observed Gura data were carried out; and its morphology and syntax are described and made available via IPA and English glossed Gura Corpora. The phonetic, morphological, syntactic, morphosyntactic and semantic authentic distributional test methods are used while analyzing. In the tertiary level, the linearly presented data are analyzed synchronically, but some further related things and diachronic uses of Gura are deliberately explained with footnotes.

Hence, the equivalent IPA system of transcription for data analysis is used while data were analyzed in the digital technological tools (ELAN) for an hour long annotation. It is also used in describing the data into the morphological and syntactic features of Gura. However, non-IPA symbols were used in some case if it is difficult to represent with this designation. For instance, the /β/ (bilabial fricative) is used to represent approximant voiced labiodentals intervocalic sound as in words *jisəβir* 'he breaks'. Besides , the

coarticulation consonants/secondary articulations are transcribed with equivalent IPA symbols by superscripted with /w/ for labialized phonemes [p^w, b^w, m^w, g^w, k^w, x^w, f^w, and q^w] and /j/ for palatalized phonemes [k^j, g^j, x^j and q^j], and the voiceless palatal ejective /affricate is designated with /tʃ^ʔ/. Moreover, the voiceless alveolar ejective /s^ʔ/ is used for borrowed words from other Semitics may be from Amharic or Geez. The broad transcription (phonetic) is used with some allophonic (narrow transcriptions) where necessary. In description/analysis, italic bold is used for the topic of the discussions in each section so as to portray particularity.

1.8.3.2 Translation

Data are translated at word, phrase, and clause and sentence level using English as wide communicative (metal language) tools from Gura. The translation is also both freely at sentence level and parsing at word or phrase level. Likewise, these procedures are employed for describing the language at tertiary level describing the morphology and syntax of Gura and as in the documentation. Thus, the idiomatic translations are surrounded by single quote. To carry out appropriate translations of words, phrases, clauses and sentences with the help of assistants (native bilingual Gura speaker), the following guiding principle of Matthewson (2004:388) as cited in (Lüpke 2010:92) are used carefully:

- I. ask for translations of complete sentences only;
- II. try to make the source string a grammatical sentence;
- III. assume that the result string is a grammatical sentence.

1.8.3.3 Annotation

Linguistic resources of Gura are added into the language technology instrument -ELAN and thereby their phonemic, morphemic and syntactic patterns were analyzed and synthesized. Audacity was used for editing audio sounds, and ELAN was employed for annotation, transcription, linguistic and ethnographic glossing and commentary of Gura data. Hence, an hour long audio recorded conversation, story, and other Gura folktales were loaded into the multi-tier and time linked ELAN software thereby analysis were carried out based on this thoroughly. The elicited word lists are also loaded into FLEX so

as to give those relative lexical semantics vis-à-vis their word classes. The Leipzig glossing rule was taken into consideration both in the annotation and description process of this study.

1.8.4 Fieldwork and ethical considerations

1.8.4.1 Fieldwork

According to the Wereda culture and tourism office and my informants, Gura speech communities are found amalgamated with Innemor in South, Gumer and other Gurage speakers in West of Chaha Wereda.¹⁷ Thus, after a long and tedious linguistic survey, Gura Megnase was selected as research area of this study. Because, this place is found in middle relatively free from influences of Chaha and or Innemor language varieties, and it is accessed with transportation. The day to day linguistic activities of Gura are taken as a study subject, and the data are arranged as the subset of the linguistic genres, discourses and registers i.e. Conversations, rituals, ceremonies, monologues, historical artifacts, narratives, festivals and other social and cultural events of Gura are subject of this study.

The data were collected in three fieldwork phases, and each phrase has four months stay. The first fieldwork was carried out from Nov. 23/03/2007 up to Feb. 23/07/2007 E.C; the second was performed from Oct. 7/02/2008 E.C up to Jan. 7/06/2008 E.C. The final phase was carried out from Jan. 24/02/2009 E.C up to Apr. 24/06/2009 E.C. Actually, there was on and off in the field trip due to social holidays and related social affairs. The data were collected from both elders, youngsters of both genders that were purposefully selected vis-à-vis the objectives of the study. Some of my informants were Haile Berga, barambars Tenkr, Befirdu Neda, Teka Nureta, Wake yazi, Getahun Welde, Tebarek Lesa and Tewabech Berta, and most of my informants were from Tach Werer, Akwashme, and Lay Werer of Megnase kebele.

¹⁷Most of my informants told me that it is customary to have father Innemor and mother Gura or the reverse here. Consequently, this Language variety differs from *ədəbe* (interview carried out in Awqqr, Astepo and Meganse Murido Ali, Haile Berga and Getahun Welde oct. 2007, 12, 15, and 20 respectively in Amharic).

1.8.4.2 Ethical considerations

Legal and moral aspects of the community were considered duly before, during and while Gura data are collected, analyzed and synthesized in this study. The overall components, objectives, results, significance and disseminations of the project were communicated legally in verbal format with the concerned body in the community. The authorized owned ships of the byproduct of the project were communicated too. A good relationship was created with every community members as much as possible, and the identified norms and values of the speech community were formally respected and properly acknowledged consultants (informants), speech community and people who participated in this study.

1.9 Organization of the Dissertation

The aim of this dissertation is to document Gura and describe the morphology and syntax of Gura language oriented. The documentation part is organized on the language technology tools (ELAN version 5.2) on the base of the naturalness of the data containing five tiers as Ref, PT, MB, GL, and FT, and FLEX is presented in forms of dictionary entry.

The Ref denotes the number of data types that is named after the data types by the annotator. It is chunked to ease out the difficulty in hearing while annotated, transcribed and translated. Moreover, the PT is representing the phonetic transcription of the chunk of speakers' linguistic behavior. In the third line, the MB is denoting the breaking of the speeches morpheme by morpheme that is glossed by the wider communicative language (English) in the GL. Finally, the broken morphemes are translated into an equivalent English sentence idiomatically.

On the other hand, the compressive description part of this work is organized into seven chapters.

The first chapter provides and introductory points of Gura. It highlights the background sociolinguistics aspects of Gura. The phoneme inventory and morphophonemic features of Gura are noted briefly in this chapter. It clearly states the statements of the study; it

also sets out the objectives and significance of the study and the theoretical, ethical, fieldwork and methodological consideration are described thoroughly.

Chapter two describes the morphological inflection, derivation and formation of Gura nouns thoroughly. The process noun derivation identifies derivation of different complex nouns through affixes unlike the noun formation (root-and-pattern) and compounding in which nouns are formed from other word classes through internal modification and combination of two morphemes respectively.

In the third chapter, the distinctive nature of Gura pronouns are dealt vis-à-vis data language oriented. The pronouns are expressed both lexically and through morphological affixes.

The fourth chapter also discusses the description of the distinctive nature of adjectives adverbs, adpositions, conjunctions, and numerals. These topics are described on the base of Gura morphology.

In similar manner, in the fifth chapter, morphological features of Gura verbs are described thoroughly. The morphological verb derivation and inflection are set out in relation to relevant data. The verb derivation includes passives, causatives, and reciprocals whereas the inflectional morphology encompasses the negation of verbs, subject and object agreements and TAM.

The sixth chapter deals with description of the syntactic features of phrase and clauses of Gura. The syntactic classifications of phrase are described thoroughly, and the clauses are treated both syntactically and semantically in their classifications.

Finally yet importantly, in the seventh chapters, the main points of the dissertation are summarized and morphological and syntactic descriptions of Gura are indicated concisely.

1.10 Summary

In this chapter, socio-cultural aspects, geographic location, and status of Gura are discussed. It is also disclosed the classification, objective, significance, previous works, approaches of Gura together with genuine method of data collection and analysis. The study has two fold of main objectives: documenting Gura and describing its morphology and syntax language oriented. The people of Gura are found in Chaha wereda just west of its administrative town called Emdibr that is found about 200km away from Addis Ababa. The total population of Gura is difficult to estimate because they are dwelling amalgamated with other Gurage communities to the west of Emdibr in the place between river Gotama and Qecher. They believe that they have a different dialect from other speakers such *ṛadāḃe*, *gijta*, *əza* and *gumər* found in this Wereda (cf. Demberu et al. 1987).

The people called their tongues as Gura of Chaha, and the places are Gura Megnase and Gura Astepo. Gura is classified as one of the Central West Gurage language varieties (CWG) such Chaha, Ezha, Gumer (cf. Hetzron 1972; 1977). This is the least studied variety comparing to Chaha. Like other Gurage language varieties, it is found under the influence of Cushitic (Oromifa), Omotic (Hadiya), Semitic (Amharic) and other Gurage varieties such as Innəmor, Chaha, Ezha, and Gumer. It is also suppressed with the imperial language English that is used as medium of instruction from Grade 5 up to the tertiary school education (cf. Yilkal 2012).

Gura has thirty seven consonant and seven vowels phonemes. There are also borrowed phonemes such as/ s'/ and /p'/ may be from the alleged proto-south Ethiopic. In Gura, consonant gemination is not phonemic, consonant cluster is not permitted word-initially, and cluster of more than two consonant is not allowed even in the word medial and final position. Thus, the epenthetic vowel (central high vowel /i/) is used to break up the consonant constraint which is obeyed the sonorant hierarchy. The light syllable is V and the heavy is CVCC in Gura. In Gura, the most practiced morphophonemic processes are assimilation, labialization, palatalization and deletion. Two consonants are more alike when they are connected in spontaneous discourse such /n/ > [m], [ŋ], [ɲ] after bilabial /b/, velars /g, k, q, x/, and palatal affricate /tʃ, tʃ̣/ respectively. Moreover, the non-coronal

sounds are labialized when the third person singular object marker /-n/ is suffixed to verbs and in impersonal passive. Besides, the coronal sounds are palatalized in the second person feminine in imperative verbs.

The study describes the morphology and syntax of Gura theory free. The comprehensive genres are documented using the discourse-centered approach. To collect the primary data, audio-video, elicitation and participant observation are used as basic tools thereby the collected data are transcribed using IPA and translated to the wider communication (English), and the data are glossed based on conventional interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme (Leipzig glossing rules).

CHAPTER TWO

NOUN MORPHOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the morphology of Gura nouns is discussed. Structurally, nouns are simple or complex, and the derived or morphologically formed nouns are termed as complex nouns whereas the citation forms are simple nouns (see Bedilu 2010:13). In Gura, the simple nouns are citation forms of nouns that are not connected to any other morphological analysis unlike the complex nouns.

In Gura, nouns start with either of the seven vowel phonemes or in any of the consonant phonemes as in examples (18) and (19) respectively.

(18)	<i>ifta</i>	‘women’	(19)	<i>m^war</i>	‘chance’
	<i>artf</i>	‘boy’		<i>xɛbr</i>	‘meadow’
	<i>ema</i>	‘road’		<i>wənfir</i>	‘bull’
	<i>uze</i>	‘evil eye’		<i>gərəd</i>	‘girl’
	<i>ink</i>	‘like that’		<i>bər</i>	‘river’
	<i>anə</i>	‘there is’		<i>sera</i>	‘law’
	<i>um^wə</i>	‘pestle’		<i>dʒəf^wəro</i>	‘public area’
				<i>q^ləq^la</i>	‘cheater’
				<i>ʒəx^wərə</i>	‘elephant’

In this variety, nouns are derived from other word classes especially verbs through affixes (see § 2.3), and they are also formed by the combination of two or more simple nouns as a unitary semantic unit (see § 2.5). Furthermore, nouns are formed from other word classes through root and pattern in which the formative vowels are inserted into C-slot (see § 2.4). Thus, in Gura, complex nouns are characterized by complex morphological derivation or word formation (see Bedilu 2010:13 in Kistaninya). Nouns are also morphologically inflected for different morphosyntactic functions (see § 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4). Thus, the derivational and inflectional noun morphology of Gura is discussed in the following sections.

2.2 Noun Inflection

In Gura, nouns are morphologically inflected for number, gender, definiteness and case. Each of these notions is discussed in respective to their examples below.

2.2.1 Number

In Gura, very few nouns are denoting plural number unlike their counter singular number. Most of the words that have plural number are name of domestic animals and kinship terms. There is also suppletive plural or sometimes called the broken plural that are formed by unrelated morphological process (cf. Kramer 2009; 2012 in Amharic & Girmay 1991 in Tigrinya). Thus, we can get two different morphological inflections, that is, internal vowel change/modification as in the last three examples (20) below, and the suppletion is carried out when the nouns have different roots as in the rest in examples below (see Leslau 1992:121; Ford 1986:73& Hetzron 1977:52-3). Consider the data below.

(20)	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
	<i>ərtf</i>	‘boy’	<i>dəng^ja</i>	‘boys’
	<i>miss</i>	‘man’	<i>gəma/gemja</i>	‘men’
	<i>əram</i>	‘cow’	<i>əre</i>	‘cows’
	<i>gərəd</i>	‘girl’	<i>gred</i>	‘girls’
	<i>mift</i>	‘wife’	<i>ifta</i>	‘wives’

However, most plural number is designated indirectly on the verbs; it is also denoted by the third person pronoun (*xino* with all nouns and *xinəma* for human related nouns) that interacts with definiteness (§2.2.3)¹⁸. Plural number is also shown by cardinal numbers. The plural countable nouns are indirectly marked by third person masculine plural (*xino*) unlike their counterexamples of singular nouns that is suffixed into all countable nouns for denoting plural concept which can be interpreted as ‘noun plus they’ as in the data below.

¹⁸Leslau (1992:121) claims that in Chaha the number of noun is indirectly reflected in the verb and pronominal usage. Similarly, Fekede (2002:14) declares in his work entitled noun morphology of Ezha that there is no morpheme that marks neither singular nor plural, but number is expressed syntactically in the verb.

- (21) a) *imir* *imir-xino*
stone stone-they
‘stone’ ‘stones’
- b) *feq* *feq-xino*
goat goat- they
‘goat’ ‘goats’
- c) *dzəβən* *dzəβən-xino*
coffee pot coffee pot-they
‘coffee pot’ ‘coffee pots’

As in (21 a-c), plural number is indirectly denoted by the third person plural masculine (xino) which is concatenated to countable nouns. This pronominal affix morpheme (xino) is also realized as *-no* in spontaneous speeches specially after vowels as in *genzono* ‘axes’, *bʷərano* ‘oxen’, *zangəɾəno* ‘monkeys’ and *imarno* ‘donkeys’ and so on. Nevertheless, singular nouns are not marked as the plural nouns do in Gura; consequently, the singular nouns are generic which is not specified.

Moreover, the cardinal numbers denote plural concept in this variety that pre-modifies the nouns. Plural numbers are also indirectly reflected on the verb inflections. See the data below.

- (22) a) *bərga xʷet imar nər-ə-n*
berga two donkey has-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
‘Berga has two donkeys.’
- b) *neda zi feq ant-ə-no*
neda this goat slaughter.PFV-3MS.SM-3MPL.OM
‘Neda slaughtered these goats.’
- c) *xi t’e tʃən-no*
that sheep come.PFV-3MPL
‘Those sheep came.’

As in (22) the cardinal number that attributes before the noun as in (22a) indicates plural noun. The plural nouns are also indirectly shown syntactically on the verbal inflections as in (22b and c).

2.2.2 Gender

In Gura, feminine and masculine gender is denoted by internal modification, and these nouns are mainly representing kinship terms and domestic animals (cf. Hetzron 1977:52 for Chaha & Fekede 2002:16 for Ezha, and Bedilu 2010:15 for Kistaninya). The following data illustrate regarding gender of kinship terms in Gura.

(23)	Masculine		Feminine	
	<i>miss</i>	‘husband’	<i>mīst</i>	‘wife’
	<i>ərtf</i>	‘boy’	<i>gərəd</i>	‘girl’
	<i>aβa</i>	‘father’	<i>adot</i>	‘mother’
	<i>b^wara</i>	‘ox’	<i>əram</i>	‘cow’

Furthermore, the adjectives *arist* ‘female’ and *təbat* ‘male’ are used to differentiate feminine and masculine gender among animals (cf. Ford 1986). These words are concatenated before the nouns as in (24).

(24)	Generic	Masculine	Feminine
	<i>feq</i>	<i>təbat feq</i>	<i>arist feq</i>
	‘goat’	‘male goat’	‘nanny goat’
	<i>gijə</i>	<i>təbat gije</i>	<i>arist gije</i>
	‘dog’	‘male dog’	‘bitch’
	<i>f^vur</i>	<i>təbat f^vur</i>	<i>arist f^vur</i>
	‘rat’	‘male rat’	‘female rat’

There are alternative adjectives to distinguish the feminine and masculine for nonhuman or animates. These words are meant to identify the feminine from the masculine by pre-modifying with the adjective *wənat* ‘that can give birth’ and the imperfective form of the verb *jitf’an* that has the same meaning with the former one. For example, the words in (24) above can be replaced as *wənad/ jitf’an feq* ‘A female goat that can give birth’, *wənad/ jitf’an fərez* ‘A female horse that can give birth’. These words have semantically related to feminine gender that can give birth in this variety and other Ethio-semitic languages like Amharic (cf. Palmer 1962:62 for Tigre & Ford 1986:72 for Chaha).

In Gura, inanimate nouns are also conventionally denoted for gender because they lack natural gender markings (cf. Bedilu 2010:14 in Kistaninya). Thus, inanimate nouns are conventionally designated their gender which is licensed on the verbal conjugations, and all inanimate nouns are conventionally denoted as masculine based on the socio-cultural milieu of the language variety. Consider the following data.

- (25) a) *ʔə-xiit-e məkina tʃən-ə*
 GEN-she-to car come.PFV-3MS.SM
 ‘A car of her came/her car came.’
- b) *zi imir tə-sapər-ə*
 this stone PASS-break.PFV-3MS.SM
 ‘This stone is broken.’
- c) *awrəplan bə-f^wər x^wər-ə*
 airplane PRE-above go.PFV-3MS.SM
 ‘An airplane went from above.’

As in example (25), masculine (gender) of the inanimate nouns are conventionally agreed among speakers and listeners. Thus, there is not any affix that marks gender distinction in this case rather it is indirectly licensed on the verbal inflection by the subject or object pronominal affixes. For instance, in example (25a-c), it is conventionally thought-out as masculine gender that is denoted on the verbs by the subject markers *-ə* which is ill-grammatical if one says * *awrəplan bəf^wəre x^wərətʃ*.

2.2.3 Definiteness

In Gura, referential restriction of nouns can be categorized into two i.e. definite and indefinite nouns. Indefinite nouns are referring to the generic word that has not been restricted its function as in *feq* ‘goat’. This word is not showing an individual goat, but a generic one /any goat; it can be male, female and unknown/ (cf. Baye 2000:40 in Amharic & Fekede 2002:18 in Ezha).

In Gura, definiteness of nouns is indirectly marked, and they are directly denoted by person pronouns of both feminine and masculine predominantly the third person (see Table 3). The former is suffixed to the semantically feminine nouns (only people) and in animate nouns for diminutive case, and the latter is suffixed with all masculine nouns. These morphemes lost their first sounds (x^j) and (h) in speedy speeches; consequently,

sometimes they are realized as (-ita) and (-uta) respectively.¹⁹ The following data are exemplifying the morphological expression of definiteness in Gura.

(26)	Generic	Gloss	Definite	Gloss
	<i>gərəd</i>	‘girl’	<i>gərəd-xʲita</i>	‘the girl’
			girl-DEF	
	<i>ərɪf</i>	‘boy’	<i>ərɪf-huta</i>	‘the boy’
			boy-DEF	
	<i>imar</i>	‘donkey’	<i>imar-huta</i>	‘the donkey’
			donkey-DEF	

Therefore, in Gura, definiteness is indirectly indicated by the third person masculine (*huta*) although the third person feminine singular is used for singular feminine nouns. Therefore, the morpheme *huta* denotes definiteness in all animate and inanimate singular nouns, but it is ill grammatical when it is suffixed to plural and singular feminine nouns. Similarly, the morpheme (*xʲita*) is not used to mark definiteness for plural feminine nouns, but it is expressing diminutive case when it is suffixed to inanimate nouns as *wənbərxʲita* ‘small chair’. Compare the following data for the ill grammatical and grammatical function of the morphemes *xʲita* and *huta* in Gura.

(27)	Ill-grammatical	Gloss	Grammatical	Gloss
	<i>*gredxʲita</i>	(‘the girls’)	<i>gred-xinəma</i>	
			girl.PL-DEF	‘the girls’
	<i>*ərɪfxʲita</i>	(‘the boy’)	<i>ərɪf-huta</i>	
			boy-DEF	‘the boy’
	<i>*dəŋgʲahuta</i>	(‘the boys’)	<i>dəŋgʲa-xino</i>	
			boy.PL-DEF	‘the boys’

Therefore, definiteness in this variety is denoted by the third person singular and plural pronouns but the third person masculine singular is commonly used for all animate and inanimate nouns.

¹⁹These morpheme have the semantic sense (boy-he/his boy) and (girl-she/her girl) as *ərɪf-huta* or *ərɪf-uta* ‘boy-he > ‘the boy’ and *gərədxʲita* or *gərədita* ‘girl-she > ‘the girl’ Leslau (1992:123) attested these morphemes in similar manner on his collected article that incorporate the outline of Chaha grammar. This is different from Ezha in which definiteness is marked with the morpheme -we (cf. Fekede 2002.)

2.2.4 Case

The relationship among inflectional markers and independent nouns have grammatical and semantic notion. Thus, the syntactic relations of words are referred to as core case whereas the semantic relations are treated as peripheral case (cf. Blake 1994; 2004:33 & Malchukov & Spencer 2008). The grammatical case encompasses subjective (nominative), objective (accusative), dative (indirect object) and genitive (possessive), and the semantic case contains locative, ablative, and vocative among other case markers. In Gura, both the grammatical and semantic cases are discussed as follows.

2.2.4.1 Core case

The core case is the syntactic cases. The grammatical relationship of relational morphemes and independent words are described synchronically. Accordingly, the nominative, accusative, dative and genitive case markers are discussed in Gura as follows.

2.2.4.1.1 Nominative case

In Gura, nominative case is not marked morphologically. It is zero morphemes (not marked) usually appear at the beginning of the sentence (cf. Hetzron 1977:54). However, nominative case is morphologically in agreement with the pronominal subject affixes that are licensed on verbal conjugations. Consider the data below.

- (28) a) *feq* *bə-g^wəntfə* *tə-βəna-a*
goat.NOM PRE-hyena PASS-eat.IPFV-3MS.SM
'A goat is eaten by the hyena.'
- b) *g^wəntfə* *feq-x'ita* *bən-a-n*
hyena.NOM goat-DEF eat.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
'A hyena ate the goat.'
- c) *tat'əq* *dʒəβən-huta* *səp^wər-ə-n*
tatek.NOM coffee pot-DEF break.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
'Tatek broke the kittle.'

In (28) above, the nominative cases of the sentences are not marked; however, they are subjects of the sentences in all the above examples. For instance, in examples 28 b and c,

the underlying word order-**SOV** is exhibited, but in (28a) the nominative or subject (S) and object (O) are shifted their underlying position owing to passivezation of the verb stem *bəna-* ‘eat’. The first, in example (28a), shows us that the nominative of the verb is in passive construction. Hence, it has taken the place of subject of the active sentence, and it is clear that there is no any subject marker in Gura nouns. The subject of a sentence (verb) is zero morphemes that appear at the beginning of the sentences. It does not bring any morphological change on nouns that are used as subject of the verb depending on the nature of verbs. However, subject of the sentences is agreed in number, gender, and accusative, nominative case and tense on the verb morphologically. Hence, subjects in the above mentioned data (28a-c) are clearly agreed with verbs together with other verbal conjugations. Indeed, they create grammatical agreements to each other. For example, the morphemes /-a/ in example (28a), and /-ə/) in (28c) above agree with the nouns used as a subject of the verb *feq* ‘goat’ and the proper noun *tat’əq* respectively.

2.2.4.1.2 Accusative case

In Gura, accusative case is either marked by the morpheme (?ə) or morphologically unmarked.²⁰ When nouns are morphologically unmarked for accusative cases, they are marked for agreement on the verbs that are licensed on verbal conjugations like other complements (cf. Rose 1997; 2007 & Degif 2000). Besides, the recipient of an action is taking the underlying word order system in which it appears next to the subject or preceding the verbs. Therefore, the direct object marker is denoted on the verbs next to the subject affixes when it is not marked by an affix. Consider the data below.

- (29) a) *ərtf-huta məstawət b-imr səp^wər-ə.*
 boy-DEF mirror PRE-stone break.PFV-3MS.SM
 ‘The boy broke the mirror with a stone.’
- b) *dəngʲa atankirt ant’-o.*
 boy.PL eucalyptus tree cut.PFV-3MPL.SM-3MS
 ‘The boys cut the Eucalyptus tree.’
- c) *feq-xʲita bə-g^wəntfə tə-βəna-a*

²⁰This is partially opposite to Amharic which is indicated with the suffix (-n) on the NPs and Ezha variety prefix (jə-) is attached to the NPs (cf. Baye 2000, Hetzron 1977, & Fekede 2002).

goat-DEF PRE-hyena PASS-eat.PFV-3MS.SM
 ‘The goat was eaten by the hyena.’

In (29), all the nouns that take the position of direct objects of the sentences are zero marked. For instance, in example (29a), the accusative patient (NP) *məstəwət* ‘mirror’ is attributed to accusative case. Similarly, in example (29b), the NP *atənkirt* ‘Eucalyptus tree’ is zero morphemes.

On the other hand, accusative is optionally marked by the morpheme (ʔə-), but it is obligatorily modified for pronouns. Therefore, nouns are optionally marked for accusative cases unlike pronouns by the morpheme (ʔə-) so as to denote the recipient of an action in clauses. Consider the following data.

- (30) a) *bərga ʔə-huta dənəg^w-ə-n.*
 berga ACC-he hit.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘Berga hit him.’
- b) *gərəd-xʔita ʔə-xʔita dənəgi-ətʃ-ja*
 girl-DFE ACC-she hit.PFV-3FS.SM-3FS.OM
 ‘The girl hit her.’
- c) *xino ʔə-murgat qənəm-o-ja*
 they ACC-murgat insult.PFV-3MPL.SM-3FS.OM
 ‘They insulted Murgat.’

In (30a), the subject pronoun *huta* ‘he’ is obligatorily distinguished by the morpheme (ʔə-) so that it can syntactically portray accusative case. Similarly, this morpheme is modifying the third person feminine singular (*xʔita* ‘she’) in order to indicate accusative case in example (30b). However, in example (30c), this morpheme is optionally attached to the proper noun *Murgat* so as to encode morphologically accusative case. Like nominative cases, accusative cases are syntactically agreed with the verbs, which are denoted by affixes. For instance, the direct objects *huta*, *xʔita* and *murgat* in examples (30a, b and c) are syntactically in agreement with object affixes *-n* and *-ja* respectively on the verbs.

In Gura, the definite marker together with the accusative noun/NP is used for giving emphasis in discourses/texts. The definite objects are always agreed with the object marker

king morphemes which are attached next to the subject agreement morphemes. They are allomorph of heavy or light object agreement markings in Gura²¹. Besides, the NPs, which are used as an object, are emphasized when the definite markers are used as in the examples below.

- (31) a) *ərtf-huta* *ʔə-məstawət-huta* *bə-imr* *səp^wər-ə-n.*
 boy-DEF ACC-mirror-DEF PRE-stone break.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘The boy broke the mirror with stone.’
- b) *dəng^ʷa-xino* *ʔə-atankirt-huta* *ant’-o-wi*
 boy-DEF ACC-eucalyptus tree-DEF cut.PFV-3MPL.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘The boys cut the Eucalyptus tree.’
- c) *bərga-m nəda-m* *ʔə-g^wəntfə-huta* *qət’ər-o-wi*
 berga-CONJ neda-CONJ ACC-hyena-DEF kill.PFV-3MPL.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘Berga and Neda killed the hyena.’

In (31a-c), the recipient of the action is distinguished by the morpheme (ʔə-) and the definite marker (-huta), but in example (31b) the mid central vowel from the accusative marker is deleted due to the vowel initial noun *atanḱir* ‘eucalyptus tree’ which is realized as *ʔatanḱirt* ‘for eucalyptus tree’ . In all the above data, the definite marker morpheme (-huta) is used to emphasize the object. In this case, the focus is not on what the subjects of the sentences do; nevertheless, it is mainly emphasized on what happened to the object (recipient of an action).

2.2.4.1.3 Dative case

In Gura, dative case (indirect object) is morphologically marked unlike nominative cases, but it is like accusative cases do (see§2.2.4.1.1 and 2.2.4.1.2). Therefore, the morpheme (ʔə-) is prefixed into nouns /NPs so as to denote dative case as in (32).

- (32) a) *ija məşaf-huta* *ʔə-nəda* *am-x^w-n.*
 I book-DEF DAT-neda give.PFV-1PS.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘I gave the book for Neda.’

²¹Light object markers are those which appear with singular subject markers except the 2sf. Heavy object markers appear with plural forms, the impersonal and the 2sf(cf. Rose 1997, Hetzron1977 , Degif 2000).

- b) *murgat məşaf-huta ʔə-huta naxə-ɬf-n .*
 murgat book-DEF DAT-he send.PFV-3FS.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘Murgat sent the book to him’
- c) *bərga bəsər ʔə-gijə am^w-ə-n .*
 berga meat DAT-dog give.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘Berga gave meat for dog.’

As can be realized from the data above, the dative marker is indicated by the prefix (ʔə-) which is concatenated into the nouns or pronouns (cf. Hetzron 1977:54 & Eyasu 2003:32²²). Indirect object (dative case) is also grammatically agreed with the pronominal objects markers that are licensed on the verbs. Thus, in examples (32a-c), the indirect objects *ʔə-nəda* ‘for Neda’, *ʔə-huta* ‘for him’ and *ʔə-gijə* ‘for dog’ are objects of the prepositions which are agreed with the light object marker (-n) which is licensed on each of the verbs.

Besides, the indirect definite marker (-huta) is suffixed into nouns for denoting emphasis like accusative cases do (see §2.2.2.4.1.2). When the definite marker is attached into the nouns, the focus is on the indirect object of the sentences not in any of other sentence constituents. Consider the data below.

- (33) a) *bəfridu məşaf-huta ʔə-gərəd-xiita am^w-ə-na.*
 befridu book-DEF DAT-girl-DEF give.PFV-3MS.SM-3FS.OM
 ‘Befrdu gave the book for the girl.’
- b) *xino məşaf-huta ʔə-təmari-huta naxə-o-wi .*
 they book-DEF DAT-student-DEF send.PFV-3MPL.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘They sent the book for the student.’
- c) *bərga bəsər ʔə-gijə-huta am^w-ə-n.*
 berga meat DAT-dog-DEF give.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘Berga gave meat for the dog.’

2.2.4.1.4 Genitive case

In Gura, genitive case is morphologically marked by the morpheme ʔə- like dative case do (see §2.2.4.1.3). This morpheme is morphologically prefixed to nouns that form NPs

²² As it is described in Eyassu Nega (2003: 26-32) the bound morpheme ə is used to denote accusative, dative and genitive cases just like ʔə- in Gura, but is jə- in Ezha as to Fekeded menuta (2002: 1921).

(cf. Fekede 2002:20 & Eyasu 2003:30). These NPs must be followed with head of the NP so as to differentiate dative, accusative and genitive cases in Gura. The following examples illustrate genitive

- (34) a) *ʔə-feq* *ajim*
 GEN-goat milk ‘milk of a goat’
- b) *ʔə-əram* *ajim*
 GEN-cow milk ‘milk of a cow’
- c) *ʔə-gənə-nda* *bahl*
 GEN-country-1PL culture ‘culture of our country’

As in the above data, when the genitive case morpheme is attached to the vowel initial words, there is vowel deletion as in example (34b). In the noun phrase *ʔimar ajim* ‘milk of donkey’ the mid central vowel (ə) is deleted too (see§ 1.3.3.3.4).

Besides, this morpheme is also prefixed into independent pronouns followed by modified nouns for the same morphological functions (see§3.2.1)²³. Consider the following data

- (35) a) *ʔina* *wənfir*
 GEN.we young bull ‘our bull’
- b) *ʔə-axə* *ərtf*
 GEN-you boy ‘your boy’
- c) *ʔə-xʔita* *məkina*
 GEN-she car ‘her car’

2.2.4.2 Semantic case

The semantic case is the peripheral case in which locative, vocative, instrumental and comitative cases are included. Unlike the core case, this is dealing with function of relational morphemes vis-à-vis nouns as discussed below in Gura.

²³ *ʔə+jina* > *ʔina*
ʔə+axə > *ʔaxə*

2.2.4.2.1 Locative case

Locative case expresses semantic relation of noun in inflectional morphology. In Gura, nouns are prefixed with the relational morphemes (*tə*-and *bə*-) in order to express place of departure; destination, time and static (cf. Fekede 2002:22 for Ezha & Eyasu 2003:34-6 Endagegn).

In Gura, the relational prefix *tə*- marks semantic source when it is prefixed into place nouns in discourses/texts. The following examples illustrate locative case markers in relations to nouns semantically.

- (36) a) *tə-fəwa*
LOC- shewa ‘from Addis ababa ’
- b) *tə-mdibir*
LOC-emdibir ‘from Endbir’
- c) *tə-astopo*
LOC-astepo ‘from Astepo ’

In the data above, the proper nouns *astəpo*, *fəwa* and *imdibr* are prefixed with the locative marker (*tə*-) for indicating initial place from the speakers’ reference point. It is clearly portrayed the source of something with relational semantic cases.

Besides, the suffix *-njə* is concatenated into nouns for indicating departure from the speakers’ reference point or semantic goal or allative. See the examples below.

- (37) a) *bətkisijan-njə*
church-LOC ‘towards church’
- b) *imdibr-njə*
endbir-LOC ‘towards Emdibr ’
- c) *bet-njə*
house-LOC ‘towards home ’

In Gura, there is also relational prefix *bə*- which portrays semantically locative cases in relation to nouns. It is morphologically concatenated before nouns so as to show static location of place. Consider the data below.

2.2.4.2.3 Instrumental case

In Gura, the bound morpheme *bə-* is prefixed to simple or complex nouns so as to show different semantic relations. It is used to portray an action that is carried out with the help of certain instruments. See data below.

- (40) a) *məstawət-huta tikə-huta **bə-imir** səp^wər-ə-n*
 mirror –DEF child-DEF INST- stone break.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘The child broke the mirror with a stone.’
- b) *igr-əta **bə-sənida** ant’-ə-n*
 leg-DEF INST-knife cut.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘He cut his leg with a knife.’
- c) *atankirit-huta **bə-genzo** adəg-o-wi*
 eucalyptus tree-DEF INST-axe cut.PFV-3MPL.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘They cut the eucalyptus tree with an axe.’

In examples (40a-c) above, the italic bold portrays the instrumental phrases in the sentences. Here, the relational morpheme (*bə-*) is prefixed to nouns so as to denote that the actions of the verbs are carried out by means of certain instruments. For instance, in example (40a), the morpheme (*bə-*) is prefixed to the noun *imir* ‘stone’ in order to show that the doer of the action is performed the action of breaking by means of or helps of the stone. These PPs are syntactically adjunct as sentences constituents which can be appeared at the beginning of sentences when emphasis is given on how an action is performed rather than who did it? In addition, what happened to the recipient of the actions as : *bəmir məstawəthuta səp^wrən* ‘He broke the mirror with a stone.’

In Gura, the morpheme *bə-* is also used in the construction of prepositional phrases (by-phrases). The prepositional phrases which are constructed with this relational morpheme can be syntactically completed the action verbs as in (41).

- (41) a) *tə-mdibr **bə-əgir-əna** tʃənə-x^w.*
 PRE-emdibr INST-foot-3MS.POSS come.PFV-1PS.SM
 ‘I came on my foot from Emdibr.’
- b) *gəβja-njə **bə-məkina** x^wərə-tʃ*
 Market-PRE INST-car go.PFV-3FS.SM
 ‘She went to market by car.’

- c) *bə-gʷəntfə* *tə-bəna-tf*
 INST-hyena PASS-eat.PFV-3FS.SM ‘She/it was eaten by hyena.’

As one can understand from the above data, when the phoneme (bə-) is attached to vowel initial nouns, one of the vowels is deleted. All the nouns in the above examples are vowel initial; and there is morphological vowel change or deletion in each of these nouns.

2.2.4.2.4 Comitative case

In Gura, free morphemes such as: *gamʷə*, ‘with’ *gize* ‘time’ and *imate/e* ‘one’ etc. are semantically related to the bound phoneme/affix (tə-) to express comitative case. These combined prefix and postpositions are marking comitative case in this variety (see §6.5.3). Thus, comitative case is expressed with adpositions. Consider the data below.

- (42) a) *ija* *tə-ətmʷə-na* *gʷamə* *imate* *i-tfən-te*
 I COM-sister-1PS.POSS time one 1PS-come.IPFV-FUT
 ‘I will come together with my sister.’
- b) *zi* *wat* *tə-əβa-na* *gʷamə*
 this farm COM-father-1PS.POSS time
imate *ni-tfot-nə*
 one 1PL-plough.IPFV-1PL.SM
 ‘We plough this farm together with my father.’
- c) *tə-adot-xʷita* *gamʷə* *emdibr-njə* *xʷər-əβa* .
 COM-mother-3FS.POSS time emdbir-LOC go.PFV-3FPL.SM
 ‘They went to Endibr together with her mother.’

The morpheme (tə-) is prefixed to nouns for portraying semantic relation of nouns in inflectional morphology. It is used to form phrases such as : together with, along with or accompanied by.

2.3 Noun derivation

Complex nouns are derived through affixes, and two or more lexemes are compounded to form a new semantically unitary concept (cf. Bedilu 2010:24-5 & Meyer 2006:140). In Gura, the derivational affixes are prefixed or suffixed into simple nouns so as to produce

the new unitary semantic concept; therefore, the derivational morphology of the Gura nouns is discussed below in relation to the relevant data from the fieldworks.

2.3.1 Abstract nouns

In this morphological operation, the state of concrete nouns is changed into their equivalent state of abstraction concepts (cf. Bedilu 2010:30, Fekede 2002:25-6 & Meyer 2006:142-3)²⁴. In Gura, when the bound suffix *-nət* is concatenated to nouns or adjectives, semantically new and unitary abstract nouns are derived. The following examples illustrate this morphological operation.

(43)	Concrete noun		Abstract noun
	<i>fəngia</i>	‘theif’	<i>fənginət</i> ‘theft’
	<i>tikə</i>	‘child’	<i>tikinət</i> ‘childhood’
	<i>səb</i>	‘man’	<i>səbinət</i> ‘personality’

As in (43), there is vowel deletion when the abstract noun marker is attached into vowel-final nouns. Consequently, the epenthetic vowel (i) is inserted replacing the other vowels as one can understand from the data exemplified above if it tends to form more than two sequences of consonants (see Fekede 2002:25 for similar analysis in Ezha).

Moreover, the suffix morpheme (*-nət*) is also attached to adjectives for the same morphological function. As a result, abstract nouns are derived by changing the class of the words from adjective into abstract nouns. Consider the data below.

(44)	Adjective		Abstract noun
	<i>wəxε</i>	‘good’	<i>wəxenət</i> ‘goodness’
	<i>xari</i>	‘wise’	<i>xarinət</i> ‘wisdom’
	<i>mut’it’</i>	‘bad’	<i>mut’it’nət</i> ‘badness’

2.3.2 Gerundive nouns

In Gura, gerundive or infinitive are morphologically derived by the suffix (*-ot*), and it is attached to jussive verbal stems. Consider the examples below.

²⁴ The morpheme becomes *-näd* for the same morphological function in Endegagn (cf. Eyassu 2003 :38-9).

(45)	Jussive stems		Infinitve/gerundive	
	<i>-t'ənkir-</i>	'be strong'	<i>t'əndir-ot</i>	'to be strong/being strong'
	<i>-sibr-</i>	'think'	<i>sibr-ot</i>	'to break/breaking'
	<i>-βira-</i>	'eat'	<i>br-ot</i>	'to eat/eating'

In (45), the bound morpheme (-ot) is suffixed to the jussive verbal stems so that it derives gerundive nouns. Though it is very rarely occurring morphological phenomenon, nouns are also derived from jussive stems with the prefix /wə-/ such as *wə-bra* 'to eat', *wə-təfgagir* 'to change' and *wə-sma* 'to hear'.²⁵

Thus, a word with an initial vowel is change into the central vowel (ə) as in the sentential verb *ant'ə* 'He cut' is a vowel initial with its jussive stems to which the bound morpheme (-ot) is attached for producing gerundive/infinitival noun in Gura. Therefore, the jussive marker is remaining standing still. Likewise, vowel final words such *əbra* 'Let him eat' lost its final vowel and replaced by the mid back round vowel (-o).

2.3.3 Group identity nouns

Nouns that designate the members of certain groups are morphologically derived (cf. Fekede 2002:27& Bedilu 2010:32). In Gura, nouns that represent for group identification are derived from simple nouns by the bound morpheme *-ənə*, and the first vowel has to be deleted when vowel final words are attached with this noun former morpheme. This morpheme is suffixed linearly to simple nouns; consequently, the complex nouns are derived. Consider the following examples.

(46)	Noun		Group identity		
	<i>ema</i>	'road'	<i>ema-ənə</i>	> <i>emənə</i>	'pedestrian'
	<i>təsfə</i>	'hope'	<i>təsfə-ənə</i>	> <i>təsfənə</i>	'optimist'
	<i>daradzə</i>	'swimming'	<i>daradzə-ənə</i>	> <i>daradzənə</i>	'swimmer'
	<i>fərəz</i>	'horse'	<i>fərəz-ənə</i>	> <i>fərəzənə</i>	'horse man'

As in the examples above, complex nouns are derived from simple nouns through the affix (-ənə). Nouns that are derived through this affix are expressing certain groups,

²⁵This derivative morpheme may be borrowed from Ezha because the infinitive forms of Ezha are attested as it is derived from the verb root with the prefix *wə-* (Fekede 2002).

which share common occupation or view. For instance, in the second row from the noun *təsfa* ‘hope’ psychological viewers group noun *təsfənə* ‘optimist’ is derived.

2.3.4 Agent nouns

Agent nouns are derived from imperfective forms of verbs. In the derivation of such nouns, the imperfective verbal stems are pre-modified by imperfective subject markers (see § 5.6.1.2) so that they function as the overt relativizer (ə)²⁶. Finally, an adjective marker suffix (-jə) is used to derive agent nouns. This bound morpheme is morphologically used to derive adjectives from nouns in Gura (see § 4.2.2.2.2). In this case, agent nouns are carried by series of morphological processes. They are basically derived from imperfective verbal stem for which the subject marker is prefixed, and the adjective marker is also suffixed as well as in (47).

(47)	Imperfective Verbal Stems	Agentive Nominal
	-qəbr-	<i>ji-qəbr-jə</i> 3MS-bury.IPFV-N ‘one who buries/burier’
	-tʃəmr-	<i>ji-tʃəmr-jə</i> 3MS-heap.IPFV-N ‘one who heaps/ heaper’
	-ant’ə-	<i>t-art’-jə</i> 3FS-cut.IPFV-N ‘one who cuts/cutter’

As it is realized from the above data, agent nouns are derived from the relativized nouns and adjective suffix (cf. Meyer 2006 in Wolene & Bedilu 2010 in Kistaninya). Here, the relativizer morpheme is covert, and the imperfective subject markers play the role of relativization at this time. The derivation of this type of agent noun can possibly be applied for any persons as *niməxrindijə* ‘we are advisors’ and *timəxrɪxəjə* ‘you are an advisor’ etc.

²⁶The relativizer morpheme is not overtly indicated in the imperfective forms of the verbal conjugations in Gura. Therefore, the subject prefixes are used as portmanteau morpheme. They are relativizer and subject markers too (see §5.5.6.3.)

Besides, agent nouns are formed from root-and-pattern, which have similar meaning to the above mentioned agent nouns. In all such pattern, front vowel (i) is inserted word-finally (see Fekede 2002 in Ezha). See the data exemplified below in Gura.

- (48) a) *məxər-i* >*məkari* ‘adviser’
 b) *qəbər-i* >*qəbari* ‘burrier’
 c) *amə-i* >*wabi* ‘donor’

However, in (48) the last example is the result of series of morphological operations. At first, it is nominalized with the gerundive marker (wə-) from the verb *amə* ‘give’ and then it is attached to the agentive marker (i) to get the final agentive word *wabi* ‘donor’. Nevertheless, the first two examples are formed from the root *m-k-r* and *q-b-r* by inserting the formative vowels (ə-a-i) (cf. Fekede 2002 in Ezha & Bedilu 2010 in Kistaninya).

2.3.5 Instrumental nouns

In Gura, the instrument nouns encode for tools by which something is done with or carried out. The instrument nouns are derived from the relativized verbal stems and the instrumental marker *-k^wə* (see Meyer 2006 & Bedilu 2010 in Wolene and Kistaninya respectively). Relativization can be explicitly denoted by the morpheme (-ə) for perfective verbs forms, but it is covert in imperfective verb forms (see § 5.9 or 6.4.2.4). The latter is used in this case for the derivation of the instrumental nouns/nominal clauses in Gura. The instrumental nominal clause is headed with the noun *qar* ‘thing’ unlike the place nouns which is headed by the word *mədər* ‘place’ (see § 2.3.7). Compare the examples below.

- (49) a) *ji-βərə-ma-k^wə*
 3FPL.RC- eat.IPFV-3FPL-INST
 ‘which they can eat with’
 b) *ji-səfr-k^wə*
 3MS.RC-measure.IPFV-INST
 ‘that he can measure with’
 c) *ti-kətif-k^wə*

3FS.RC-chop.IPFV-INST
'that she chops with'

In this variety, the instrumental nominal marker (-k^{wə}) is preceded by the subject markers so that it is nominalized the verbal clauses. For instance, in examples (49a), the instrument marker is preceded by the third person feminine marker (-ma), and this is missed on the following examples (49b and c) because the third person both masculine and feminine imperfective subject marker is only denoted by the prefixes (ji- and ti-) respectively. In Gura, these imperfective subject affixes are also morphologically denoting relativization (see §5.5.3.3.2).

2.3.6 Place nouns

The place nouns are indicating the place where something is carried out (cf. Bedilu 2010:29-30 & Meyer 2006:141). In Gura, place nouns are derived from the relativized verbal stems with the suffix (-k^{wə}). The relativizer in imperfective verb form is covert, and it is encoded with imperfective subject markers (see § 5.6.1.2). Here, the word *mədər* 'place' is followed by the relativized (derived) nouns unless such derivation is the same as the instrumental nouns in Gura (see §2.3.6). Consider the data examples below.

- (50) a) *ni-βera-nə-k^{wə}*
1PL.RC- eat.IPFV-1PL- INST 'where we eat'
- b) *ji-tʃot-o-k^{wə}*
3MPL.RC-measure.IPFV-3MPL-INST 'where they work in '
- c) *ji-kətif-k^{wə}*
3MS.RC-chop.IPFV-INST 'where he cuts'

As can be realized from the data above, the instrument and place nouns have the same verbal noun derivations if the headwords *qar* and *mədər* are missed respectively. They can also be replaced by other word such as: *bet*, *sahn*, *sənda*, *genzo* etc. Hence, these words determine the semantic function in addition to the morphological realizations in Gura. For instance, the derived noun *jiβərak^{wə}* may represent for plate or hotel.

2.3.7 Language names

In Gura, languages of particular speech communities are indicated by the suffix *-ina* (cf. Fekede 2002 for Ezha). This bound morpheme is attached to the words that represent the speech community in a given geographical area as in (51).

(51)	Place / ethnic group		Language	
	Amhara	<i>amhar-ina</i>	> <i>amharina</i>	‘Amharic’
	Gurage	<i>gurage-ina</i>	> <i>guragina</i>	‘Guragelanguage’
	Chaha	<i>tʃaha-ina</i>	> <i>tʃahina</i>	‘Chaha language’
	Tigray	<i>tigray-ina</i>	> <i>tigrayina</i>	‘Tigrinya’

As one can understand from the above data, in Gura, name of the languages is derived from the nouns that represent the speech community or the place where people of the language speaker are dwell in. This is autonym or endonym as the name of these proper names are emanated from the ethnicity as far as my respondents comment is concerned. When the place or ethnic nominal is attached into the language portraying morpheme (*-ina*), there is vowel deletion if the word is vowel final position. Hence, in the above examples (50), the central low vowel /a/ and central mid vowel /e/ are replaced with the front open vowel /i/ because the first vowel before the suffix *-i* is deleted in vowel final words.

2.4 Root-and-pattern (Noun formation)

In Gura, simple nouns are formed by root-and-pattern, which is unique to Semitic morphology. Here, nouns are derived by interleaving various vocalic and consonantal affixes into two, three or four consonantal root. There are two or four consonant roots though tri-consonantal root is the canonical root in Gura like other Ethio-semitic languages. The nonconcatenative derivations of such nouns in the canonical tri-consonantal roots are shown in the examples below.

(52)	a)	Template	Root	Noun	Gloss
		CiCC	<i>m-k-r</i>	<i>mɪxr</i>	‘advice’
			<i>d-m-d</i>	<i>dɪmd</i>	‘pair’
			<i>s-d-b</i>	<i>sɪdb</i>	‘insult’
	b)	CəCəC	<i>s-n-f</i>	<i>sənəf</i>	‘lazyness’

	<i>d-r-g</i>	<i>dərəg</i>	‘strength’
	<i>q-l-m</i>	<i>qələm</i>	‘colour’
c) CiCaC	<i>n-f-s</i>	<i>nifas</i>	‘wind’
	<i>s-k-r</i>	<i>sikar</i>	‘intoxication’
	<i>q-m-r</i>	<i>qimar</i>	‘louse’

In (52a-c), the canonical root consonants are interdigitated by different vowels so that we can get nouns, which are listed on the fourth column. Besides, these root consonants can tend to have formed verbs such as: *məxərə* ‘he advised’, *sənəfə* ‘he feared’, and *nəfəsə* ‘it blew’. As in (52a), Gura allows word-final cluster in some nouns like *sədəbə* > *sidb* ‘insult’, *gərəfə* > *gɪrf* / *məgrəft* ‘flagellation’, and *məkərə* > *mikr* ‘advice’ etc.

There are also non-canonical biradical and quadriradical root template which are formed as the results of consonant reduction or extensions diachronically. They are systematically filled with vowels. Some biradical root templates (C-C) are filled with certain vowels into this slot or pattern of consonants. See the following data.

(53)	Template	Root	Noun	Gloss
a)	CCə	<i>b-kʲ</i>	<i>bikʲə</i>	‘mourn’
		<i>s-kʲ</i>	<i>sikʲə</i>	‘run away’
		<i>s-r</i>	<i>sirə</i>	‘matureness’
b)	COC	<i>m-t</i>	<i>mot</i>	‘death’
		<i>f-s</i>	<i>fos</i>	‘fart’
		<i>t'-m</i>	<i>t'om</i>	‘fast’
c)	CəC	<i>z-r</i>	<i>zər</i>	‘race’
		<i>d-m</i>	<i>dəm</i>	‘blood’
		<i>b-r</i>	<i>bər</i>	‘river’

In (53), the quality of vowel is very important to distinguish the class of words in the context of root consonants. For instance, the words *bikʲə* in (53a), *mot* in (53b) and *zər* in (53c) can be changed their word classes from noun to verbs if vocalic modification is carried out in the stem template as *bəkʲə* ‘He cried.’, *mʷətə* ‘He died.’ and *zəra* ‘He sowed.’ respectively. Here, the difference lies on the vowels that are inserted in the radical consonantal roots.

Moreover, very few non-canonical quadriradical root consonants are interdigitated with some qualities of vowels so as to form nouns. It is obligatorily natural that the first root consonant is followed by the epenthetic vowel /i/ in Gura. Consider the data below.

(54)	Template	Root	Noun	Gloss
a)	<i>CiCCəCa</i>	<i>m-z-g-b</i> <i>s-b-s-b</i> <i>m-r-m-r</i>	<i>mizgəba</i> <i>sibsəba</i> <i>mirməra</i>	‘registration’ ‘meeting’ ‘investigation’
b)	<i>CiCCiC</i>	<i>m-s-k-r</i> <i>q-r’-q-r</i> <i>s-n-t’-r</i>	<i>miskir</i> <i>qirqir</i> <i>sint’ir</i>	‘witness’ ‘mixture’ ‘splinter’
c)	<i>CəCCəC</i>	<i>s-m-b-t</i> <i>q-n-t’-f</i> <i>s-n-b-r</i>	<i>səmbət</i> <i>qənt’əf</i> <i>sənbər</i>	‘sabbath’ ‘hinge’ ‘stripe of stomach’

2.5 Compound nouns

In Gura, nouns are also morphologically formed from combination of two or more simple nouns that are interpreted as single unitary semantic words. Two or more nouns are composed together which refer to single object, state, action or event semantically. Consider the data below.

(55) a)	<i>hakim bet</i> doctor house	>	<i>hakimbet</i>	‘hospital’
b)	<i>gunər firt’ət</i> head spilt	>	<i>gunərfirt’ət</i>	‘headache’
c)	<i>idar kudzır</i> night cloth	>	<i>idarkudzır</i>	‘blanket’

In examples (55a-c), two simple nouns are semantically intermingled which are interpreted morphologically for a single semantic concept.

In this variety, some compound nouns are formed by the combination of an adjective and simple noun; as a result, they form semantically unitary word as in (56).

- (56) a) *t'əgəra bɪr* > *t'əgərabɪr* 'coin money that values one bɪr and fifty cent'
 strong money
- b) *tɪro gɪbr* > *tɪrogɪbr* 'treasure'
 expensive good
- c) *wəxɛ məja* > *wəxɛməja* 'holiday'
 good path

On the other hand, nouns are formed by combining two nouns and the genitive marker morpheme (ʔə-) which all together semantically interpreted for a single unified semantic unit in Gura. Consider the following examples.

- (57) a) *ʔə dən gɪbr* > *ʔədən gɪbr* 'guts'
 of inside tool
- b) *ʔə mənɡɪst sərətəɲa* > *ʔəmənɡɪst sərətəɲa* 'civil servant'
 of government servant
- c) *ʔə əre gadr* > *ʔəregadr* 'stall'
 of cattle enclosed

As can be realized from the data above, nouns are compounded in three ways in Gura. In the first case, nouns are combined with other nouns so as to denote single semantic unit as in examples (55). In examples (56), adjectives are morphologically combined with nouns for single semantic unitary unit. In the last example (57), two nouns and the genitive marker morpheme (ʔə) are composed so as to form semantically unitary single morpheme. In Gura, compound nouns do not permit inflectional insertion between or among the compounded elements. Compound nouns are morphologically considered as single nouns; therefore, all the morphological inflections are applied as a single morpheme. Besides, these compounded nouns are semantically interpreted for single lexeme.

2.6 Summary

In this chapter, the morphosyntactic features of simple and complex nouns are discussed. In Gura, nouns can explicitly portray morphological inflections for number, gender, definiteness, and case. Thus, plural nouns are marked by suppletion, and it is also

indirectly indicated by pronominal affixes and cardinal numbers. Masculine and feminine genders are indicated lexically in kinship terms and domestic animals. However, in animate and inanimate nouns are pre-modified with the words *arist/wənad* ‘female’ and *təbat* ‘male’ for portraying feminine and masculine gender respectively. Moreover, nouns are also indirectly defined by the third person feminine and masculine *-huta/xino* for all types of nouns and *-x'ita/xinəma* for third person feminine and in diminutive cases. In Gura, nouns are inflected for morphosyntactic and semantic cases. The morphological/syntactic case includes nominative, accusative and dative whereas the semantic case encompasses locative, vocative, instrumental, and comitative. In Gura, nominative case is zero morphemes, but accusative is either marked by the morpheme *ʔə-* or it is unmarked. Besides, dative and genitive cases are marked with this morpheme *ʔə-*. Thus, the relational morphemes [*tə-*, *bə-*, and *ʔə-*] play a pivotal semantic and syntactic role to denote case in Gura.

In Gura, nouns are morphologically formed or derived. Nouns can also be formed through the formative vowels (v-slot) by interdigitated to C-pattern from consonant roots. Besides, nouns are formed from the composition of two or more lexemes that creates a single semantic unit. In Gura, most of the nouns are resulted from derivational processes through affixes such as *-nət*, *-i*, *-ot/wə-*, *-ənə*, *-na*, and *-k^wə*.

CHAPTER THREE

PRONOUNS

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the morphosyntactic characteristics of Gura pronouns are discussed. Pronouns are functioning in the place of nouns or noun phrases, and they are simple and complex in their morphological forms. The chapter provides clear description of personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, reflexive pronouns, reciprocal pronouns, interrogative pronouns, indefinite pronouns and relative pronouns in Gura.

3.2. Personal pronouns

In Gura, personal pronouns are designated independently in speech or written forms, and they are functioning replacing the actual name of person, places or things (NPs) morphosyntactically. The second and third person feminine plural is marked unlike other Ethio-semitic languages (Amharic and Wolene) but like Kistaninya (see Baye 2000:78; Bedilu 2010:39 & Meyer 2006:165 for Amharic, Kistaninya and Wolene respectively). In this variety, ten basic personal pronouns are identified as in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Basic personal pronouns

person	Singular	Gloss	Person	Plural	Gloss
1PS	<i>ija</i>	‘I’	1PL	<i>jina</i>	‘we’
2MS	<i>axə</i>	‘you’	2MPL	<i>axu</i>	‘you’
2FS	<i>ax^l</i>	‘you’	2FPL	<i>axima</i>	‘you’
3MS	<i>hut/a</i>	‘he’	3MPL	<i>xino</i>	‘they’
3FS	<i>x^lit/a</i>	‘she’	3FPL	<i>xinəma</i>	‘they’

The independent pronouns are syntactically appeared as the nominal case in the place of NPs. Here, the independent pronouns must agree or licensed on the verbal inflections for syntactic subject or object as in the examples below.

(58) a) *xino* *g^wantfə* *qət’ər-o*.
 they.NOM hyena kill.PFV-3MPL.SM
 ‘They killed hyena.’

b) *axima* *zi* *dzəβən* *səpər-xima*.

you.NOM this coffee pot break.PFV-2FPL.SM
 ‘You broke this kettle.’

- c) *ija* *zɪ* *məsaf* *nəməd-x^w-n*
 I.NOM this book like.PFV-1PS.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘I liked this book.’

In (58a-c), the position of syntactic subject is taken by the independent pronouns. In such syntactic word order (**SOV**), the subject (S) is independent pronouns that are agreed with the verb conjugational affixes *-o*, *-xima*, *-x^w*- and with the independent personal pronouns *xino*, *axima* and *ija* respectively.

On the other hand, the genitive case marker (ʔə-) is morphologically attached to the independent pronouns for denoting objective (accusative) pronoun. Consider the following data.

(59)	Singular		Gloss	Plural		Gloss
	<i>ʔə +ija</i>	> <i>ʔija</i>	‘me’	<i>ʔə +jina</i>	> <i>ʔina</i>	‘us’
	<i>ʔə +axə</i>	> <i>ʔaxə</i>	‘you’	<i>ʔə + axu</i>	> <i>ʔaxu</i>	‘you’
	<i>ʔə + axⁱ</i>	> <i>ʔaxⁱ</i>	‘you’	<i>ʔə +axima</i>	> <i>ʔaxima</i>	‘you’
	<i>ʔə +huta</i>	> <i>ʔəhuta</i>	‘him’	<i>ʔə +xino</i>	> <i>ʔəxino</i>	‘them’
	<i>ʔə +xⁱita</i>	> <i>ʔəxⁱita</i>	‘her’	<i>ʔə +xinəma</i>	> <i>ʔəxinəma</i>	‘them’

In (59), all data are interpreted as object of the prepositions as ‘of us, of them, of him etc.’; besides, when the genitive marker (ʔə-) is attached to the vowel initial independent pronouns (1PS, 2MS, 2FS, 2MPL and 2FPL), the vowel (ə) in this genitive marker is deleted. Nevertheless, when the vowel in this genitive marker morpheme is prefixed to the independent first person plural pronoun, it is palatalized as (i) due to the approximant palatal (j).

These complex objective pronouns are modifying morphologically function of nouns. For instance, the generic noun *feq* ‘goat’ can be modified with these genitives (possessions) pronouns as *ʔəhuta feq* ‘a goat of him ’ or pronominal possessive markers (see Table 3) *feqəta* ‘his goat’.

Besides, this morpheme (ʔə) encodes dative case (see §2.2.4.1.3). Consequently, when this morpheme is prefixed to independent pronouns, it portrays object personal pronouns in which it is agreed with the pronominal object markers licensed on verb stems (see §5.6.2). The following data illustrate the use of object pronouns in Gura.

- (60) a) *bərga ʔija kʲəsəs-ə-j*
 berga I accuse.PFV-3MS.SM-1PS.OM
 ‘Berga accused me.’
- b) *berga-m dawit-m ʔija kʲəsəs-o-n*
 berga-CONJ dawit-CONJ I accuse.PFV-3MPL.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘Berga and Dawit accused me.’
- c) *bərga ʔə-huta dənəg^w-ə-n*
 berga ACC-he hit.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘Berga hit him.’
- d) *bərga-m dawit-m ʔə-huta dənəg^w-o-wi*
 berga-CONJ dawit-CONJ ACC-he hit.PFV-3MPL.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘Berga and Dawit hit him.’

As in (60a and b), the recipient of the action is the pronoun *ʔija* ‘me’ in which the accusative marker (ʔə) is covert owing to the high center vowel. Thus, this accusative marker is deleted like in the examples (c and d). The accusative case is marked in the pronouns unlike nouns which is optional (see §2.2.4.1.2). This morpheme is deleted when it is attached to vowel initial pronouns. Therefore, when the genitive (ʔə) is prefixed to the independent pronouns, object and possessives pronouns are derived semantically in Gura. It is distinguished on the syntactic use as constituent of sentences as *ʔəhuta məkina tʃənətʃ* ‘His car came’ and *ʔəhuta dənəg^wətʃn* ‘She hit for him.’

In Gura, when the basic personal pronouns are doubled or attached to the relational morpheme and the copular, the consonant morphemes -t- is inserted for focus as in (61).

- (61) a) *gibr-ta b-axə-t-u.*
 tool-DEF PRE-you-FOC-COP.3MS.SM
 ‘The tool is with you.’
- b) *ija-t-n-x^w.*

I-FOC-COP-1PS.SM ‘It is me.’

c) *timhir t-aq^warət’-o* *səb atə-xino*
 school PRE-stop.PFV-3MPL.SM person one-3MPL

ija-t-nə-x^w

I-FOC-COP-1PS.SM

‘I am one of from those who stopped their schooling.’

In this language variety, a pronoun portrays number (plural or singular), case (nominative, accusative and genitive) and person (addressor, addressee and hearer). Like other Ethio-semitic languages, Gura personal pronouns are used in the place of noun as subject of a sentence-nominative or predicative-nominal, object of a sentence (accusative) , and they show possession used as the apostrophes used in English.

3.3 Possessive pronouns

In Gura, pronominal suffixes are explicitly attached to nouns for portraying possession. These are forming NPs headed by the noun (see §6.3.1). Like the independent personal pronouns, possessive pronominal suffixes are designated for person, gender, and number as in the examples in the table below.

Table 4: Pronominal suffixes of possession

Person	Pronominal suffixes	Example	Gloss
1PS	-(ə)na	<i>adot-əna</i> mother-1PS.POSS	‘my mother’
1PL	-(ə)ndə	<i>adot-əndə</i> mother-1PL.POSS	‘our mother’
2PMS	-xə	<i>adot-axə</i> mother-2MS.POSS	‘your mother’
2PMPL	-(a)xu	<i>adot-axu</i> mother-2MPL.POSS	‘your mother’
2FS	-(a)x ^ʃ	<i>adot-ax^ʃ</i> mother-2FS.POSS	‘your mother’
2FPL	-(a)xima	<i>adot-axima</i> mother-2FPL.POSS	‘your mother’
3MS	-(ə)ta	<i>adot-əta</i> mother-3MS.POSS	‘his mother’
3MPL	-xino	<i>adot-əxino</i> mother-3MPL.POSS	‘their mother’
3FS	-x ^ʃ ita	<i>adot-əx^ʃita</i> mother-3FS.POSS	‘her mother’
3FPL	-xinəma	<i>adot-əxinəma</i> mother-FPL.POSS	‘their mother’

From the table above, one can recognize that the mid central vowel (ə) and low central vowel (a) are inserted between nouns and pronominal markers to solve consonant cluster constraints. However, these vowels are deleted if the vowel-final word is attached with vowel initial words as in the lexemes *aβa* ‘father’ > *aβana* ‘my father’, *aβandə* ‘our father’ etc. The pronominal possessive affixes are attached to Gura nouns so as to show possession forms just as possessive adjective in English. These suffixes are agreed in number, gender and person as shown in the above examples in Table 4. Nevertheless, the first person only shows person and number difference unlike the second and third person that indicates gender difference in addition to the person and number.

3.4 Reflexive pronouns

In Gura, the word *gəg* ‘body’ is obligatorily suffixed to each of the pronominal suffixes markers so that to denote reflexive pronouns. Consequently, this lexeme together with the pronominal suffixes can create new semantic concept which can be interpreted as ‘self’. See the Table 5 below.

Table 5: Reflexive pronominal suffixes

Person	Pronominal markers	Reflective forms	Gloss
1PS	-əna	<i>gəg-əna</i> body-1PS.POSS	‘myself’
1PL	-əndə	<i>gəg-əndə</i> body-1PL.POSS	‘ourselves’
2MS	-axə	<i>gəg-axə</i> body-2MS.POSS	‘yourself’
2MPL	-axu	<i>gəg-axu</i> body-2MPL.POSS	‘yourselves’
2FS	-ax ^j	<i>gəg-ax^j</i> body-2FS.POSS	‘yourself’
2FPL	-axima	<i>gəg-axima</i> body-2FPL.POSS	‘your selves’
3MS	-əta	<i>gəg-əta</i> body-3MS.POSS	‘himself’
3MPL	-xino	<i>gəg-əxino</i> body-3MPL.POSS	‘themselves’
3FS	-x ^j ita	<i>gəg-əx^jita</i> body-3FS.POSS	‘herself’
3FPL	-xinəma	<i>geg-əxinəma</i> body-3FPL.POSS	‘themselves’

Reflexive pronouns are used when the subject and the object describe the same thing in text or discourse. Speakers produce this expression by bringing independent pronouns at the beginning of the sentences followed by reflexive pronouns and the verbs. Hence, the verbs agree in number, gender and case with the independent pronouns, which are used as a syntactic subject. Consider the data below.

- (62) a) *ija gəg-m-əna* *tʃot-x^w-n*
 I body-FOC-1PS.POSS work.PFV-1PS.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘I did it I myself.’
- b) *jina gəg-m-əndə* *tʃot-nə*
 we body-FOC-1PL.POSS work.PFV-1PL.SM
 ‘We did it we ourselves.’
- c) *xinəma gəg-m-əxinəma* *tʃən-əma*
 they body-FOC-3FPL.POSS come.PFV-3FPL.SM
 ‘They came by themselves.’

As has been clearly expressed in the data above, the morpheme (-m) is used for emphasizing the action, and it is also used for connecting the two morphemes (the free morpheme *gəg* when it is attached to the pronominal bound suffixes) together. These sentences are stressed on the action carried out helplessly (oneself/selves).

3.5 Reciprocal pronouns

In Gura, the reciprocity of an action is expressed by the use of the word *gəg*, and it is reduplicated with the help of the bound morpheme *tə-*. The bound morpheme is used as locative that portrays the flow of the action back and forth between the two participants. There is blurring between the reflexive pronoun and reciprocal pronouns since both are used by the same expressions (isomorphic) in Gura. However, in the reciprocal pronouns, the action is bidirectional not remained in the subject of the sentences rather the same action goes the same returns to the receiver of the action. The examples in (63) illustrate reciprocity in Gura.

- (63) a) *gəg-tə-gəg* *tə-gagəz-o.*
 body-REC-body REC-help.PFV-3MPL.SM
 ‘They helped each other.’

- b) *gəg-tə-gəg* *xinəma* *tə-rakəs-əma*
 body-REC-body they REC-quarrel.PFV-3FPL.SM
 ‘They were quarreled each other or one another.’
- c) *gəg-tə-gəg* *tə-raməd-o*
 body-REC-body REC-like.PFV-3MPL.SM
 ‘They liked each other.’

As can be realized from the above data, the reciprocity of an action is expressed with reduplication in the word *gəg* and the verbs. The word *gəg* ‘body’ is reduplicated in the position of the syntactic subject with the help of the relational morpheme *tə-*. This is done to express the repetition of the pronoun that can be interpreted as ‘each other or one another’. The repetition of the action is also expressed morphologically with the repetition of the second root consonant of the verbs with the vowel /a/ as reduplicating morpheme (see §5.3.2.4)

In Gura, the reciprocity of an action is also expressed by reduplication of independent personal pronouns. The morpheme *tə-* is used to reduplicate these two independent pronouns. Thus, this morpheme is attached or prefixed to the pronouns to create harmony of the repeated occurrences of the same pronouns in a sentence. The following data exemplify this type of reciprocity in Gura.

- (64) a) *xino* *tə-xino* *tə-raməd-o*
 they REC-they REC-love.PFV-3MPL.SM
 ‘They love each other.’
- b) *jina* *tə-jina* *ni-t-rədada-nə*
 we REC-we JUSS-REC-help.IPFV-1PL.SM
 ‘Let us help each other?’
- c) *xinəma* *tə-xinəma* *tə-kʷasəs-əma*
 they REC-they REC-accuse.PFV-3FPL.SM
 ‘They accused each other.’

Thus, the reciprocity marker is not only connects two indefinite pronouns to formulate a mirror image types of action, but it also joined two independent pronouns for the same purpose as one can realize from data above. Here, it is clearly indicated that when the reciprocity morpheme is attached to a vowel initial word with another vowel initial word,

there exists deletion of vowels. The front vowel is become omitted or shifted to the mid central one.

3.6 Demonstrative pronouns

In Gura, demonstrative pronouns are simple and complex.²⁷ The proximal or distal of pronouns in relation to the speaker as reference point is expressed lexically. The complex demonstratives are also derived from these basic (simple) demonstratives.

3.6.1 Basic demonstratives

The main demonstrative pronouns express the distal and proximal of objects in relation to speaker's reference point. Consider the table below.

Table 6: Basic demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative	Gloss
<i>zi</i>	'this, these'
<i>xi</i>	'that, those'

The word *zi* is used as demonstrative pronouns when it appears before the nouns or adjectives to be modified. For example, in the NPs such as *zi səb* 'this man', *zi imar* 'this donkey', *zi gef* 'this tall' etc, it is pre-modifying both the nouns and adjectives. In Gura, speakers use this word by adding /h/ or /x/ after it as *zih/x səb*, *zih/x imar*, and *zih/x mədər* without any morphological or semantic differences with the aforementioned concepts.

In the same manner, the distal demonstrative pronoun *xi* is morphologically pre-modifying nouns and adjectives like its counterpart *zi* mentioned above. It is sometimes realized with the addition of the morphemes /h/or /x/ as *xih/x* without any difference in interpretations. It is possible to replace it in the aforementioned examples (NPs) above for

²⁷The proximal and distal relation of objects from the speaker's reference are indicated in Gunnən Gurage (Hetzron 1977:56) stated that for the demonstratives 'this /these / that /those', the general pattern is *zih~zi/za (h)*.

similar function. Nevertheless, the former indicates proximal relation whereas the latter is distal relation of objects in the variety.

Demonstrative pronouns do not restrict number and gender. Hence, these pronouns are pre-modified the plural and singular nouns of both genders and numbers without any rigorous morphological difference as in (65).

- | | | | | | | | | |
|------|----|-----------|---------------|--------------|----|-----------|--------------|---------------|
| (65) | a) | <i>zi</i> | <i>dəngʲa</i> | | c) | <i>xi</i> | <i>ərtʃ</i> | |
| | | these | boy.PL | ‘these boys’ | | that | boy | ‘that boy’ |
| | b) | <i>zi</i> | <i>gəɾəd</i> | | d) | <i>xi</i> | <i>gired</i> | |
| | | this | girl | ‘this girl’ | | those | girl.PL | ‘those girls’ |

As one can understand from the above data, the demonstrative pronouns are used for any pronoun or noun without creating gender or number differences. The distal marker can also be used in the aforementioned data to demonstrate distance position from the speakers’ reference points in Gura.

3.6.2 Suffixed demonstratives

In Gura, the basic demonstrative pronouns are attached with pronominal suffixes; as a result, new semantically unitary pronouns are morphologically derived. The suffixed demonstratives are explicitly expressing proximal and distal relation of objects in relation to the speakers’ reference points. These pronouns are denoting gender and number differences due to the suffixed pronominal affixes which are semantically encoding indefiniteness unlike the basic demonstratives (see§3.2.4.1). The following table 7 illustrates the features of indefinite pronouns in Gura.

Table 7: Suffixed demonstrative pronouns

Suffixed Demonstratives		Pronoun	Person
<i>zi</i> ‘proximal’			
<i>zi</i> + <i>əta</i>	>	<i>zixəta/zata</i>	‘this(M) one’ 3MS
<i>zi</i> + <i>x’ita</i>	>	<i>zax’ita</i>	‘this (F) one’ 3FS
<i>zi</i> + <i>xino</i>	>	<i>zaxino</i>	‘these (M) ones’ 3MPL
<i>zi</i> + <i>xinəma</i>	>	<i>zaxinəma</i>	‘these(F) ones’ 3FPL
<i>xi</i> ‘distal’			
<i>xi</i> + <i>əta</i>	>	<i>xaxəta/xata</i>	‘that (M)one’ 3MS
<i>xi</i> + <i>x’ita</i>	>	<i>xax’ita</i>	‘that(F) one’ 3FS
<i>xi</i> + <i>xino</i>	>	<i>xaxino</i>	‘those (M)ones’ 3MPL
<i>xi</i> + <i>xinəma</i>	>	<i>xaxinəma</i>	‘those (F)ones’ 3MPL

As has been realized from the above Table 7, there exists morphophonemic process in which the front central vowel (i) is dissimilated with the open central vowel (a). Therefore, the suffixed demonstratives are realized as *zi* > *za* and *xi* > *xa* in most of the data, but there is complete deletion and dissimilation too.

Apart from this, the demonstrative pronouns *zi* and *xi* are attached with the locative marker (-e) so as to denote the meaning of motion in Gura²⁸. These derived lexemes are morphologically indicating deictic relationship of objects with reference to the speaker. They are expressing the semantic case of elative and ablative respectively. Consider the data below.

- (66) a) *tə-imdibir* **ze**
PRE-emdibr to ‘to here from Emdibir’
b) *tə-imdibir* **xe**
PRE-emdibr from ‘away from Emdibir’

In (66a), the suffixed proximal demonstrative is morphologically expressing motion towards the speaker (elative case) which contrasts with (65b) that denotes motion away from the speaker (ablative case). Therefore, in Gura, the basic demonstrative pronouns have multifaceted morphological operations while they are suffixed with other morphemes.

²⁸ *xi* + *e* > *xe* ‘towards that’
zi + *e* > *ze* ‘towards this’

3.7 Relative pronouns

In Gura, relative pronouns are indirectly denoted by nouns modified with the relativized verbs. Relativization is denoted by the morpheme *ʔə-* which is overtly prefixed to the perfective verbal conjugation, but it is covertly marked in imperfective forms of the verbs (see §6.4.2.4 & 5.9). The relative pronouns are more of semantic than morphological as illustrated italic bold in (66) below.

- (67) a) *xi* ***ji-tʃot*** *miss*
 that 3MS.RC-do.IPFV man
 ‘that man who is working ,’
- b) *xita* *ʔə-murgat* ***ʔə-qənəm-tʃ-ja***
 she DAT-murgat RC-insult.PFV-3FS.SM-3FS.OM
 ‘she who insulted murgat ,’
- c) *zi* *mət’af* ***ʔə-am-e***
 this book RC-give.PFV-1PS.OM
 ‘the one who gave me this book,’

In Gura, relative pronouns are syntactically used as a subject and object of the main clauses. The relative clause in example (68a) is syntactically used as subject whereas in example (68b) it used as an object as one considers them below.

- (68) a) *waga-ta* ***ʔə-wəsəd-nə*** *jina-t-əndə.*
 money-3MS.POSS RC-take.PFV-1PL.SM we- FOC-1PL.SM
 ‘It was we who took his money/we took his money.’
- b) *waga* ***ʔə-səraq-o-ndə*** *jina-t-əndə.*
 money RC-take .PFV-3MPL-1PL we -FOC-1PL.SM
 ‘It is us who were taken our money. ’

Besides, the relativizer morpheme (*ʔə-*) in perfective verbal conjugation appears attached to the existence verb *nəpər-* overtly so as to express continuous aspect in relative clause. Consider the examples below.

- (69) a) *ətʃ’ə* *tɪ-səβr* ***ʔə-rəpər-ə***
 wood 2MS-break.IPFV RC-exist.PFV-3MS.SM
 axə *tə-n-xə.*
 you FOC-COP-2MS.SM
 ‘It was you who were breaking the wood.’

- b) *ətʃ'ə* *tɪ-səβr-u* *ʔə-rəpər-ə*
 wood 2MS-break.IPFV-2MPL RC-exist.PFV-3MS.SM
axu *tə-n-xu*.
 You FOC-COP-2MPL.SM
 'It was you who were breaking the wood.'

Relativization is covert in imperfective verbal conjugations in Gura. Here, imperfective subject markers are denoting relativization when they are followed by head nouns. In Gura, the relativized object or subject pronouns are denoted with the pronominal suffixes and the prefixed imperfective subject morphemes for perfective and imperfective respectively. These relativized verbs create subordinate clauses that need another complement to fulfill their syntactic structure and semantic meaning.

3.8 Indefinite pronouns

There are pronouns that exactly do not know to whom or for which they are referring. These pronouns can be negative or positive based on the conceptual bits of information they transferred among speakers and listeners. Hence, they are designated as affirmative or negative indefinite pronouns. In Gura, the derived and simple indefinite pronouns of such kind are discussed below.

In Gura, the indefinite pronoun *inn* is interpreted as 'everything, every person, all'. It is also compounded with other nouns for extending its semantics usages as: *innsəb* 'any person', *innɡize* 'any time', *innmədər* 'any place', and *innkərə* 'always'. Hence, this morpheme is used to forms a compound word which is used to express indefinite person or thing in a text/discourse.

The word *at* 'one' is also used for representing the lowest of cardinal numbers, but it is also used in other grammatical relation in combination with other expressions as an indefinite pronoun. For instance, it is combined with the words *səb* and *ʔaxərə* as a result the indefinite pronouns *atsəb* and *ʔaxərə səb* are formed which is interpreted both as 'someone'. It is also used to expressing for an indefinite individual who did certain action or who are used as object of an action. The following data depict morphosyntactic usages of indefinite pronouns in Gura.

in examples (71a and c) if it is agreed with the positive verb; it gets the meaning ‘anything or something’ as in examples (71b).

In Gura, the cardinal number *at* is reduplicated for some morphological usages, and it is interpreted as *atat* ‘some’. Thus, this compound word can further compounded with different nouns for expressing some indefinite pronouns and time expression. For instance, it is combined with the words *səb* and *gize*; consequently, the indefinite pronouns *atatsəb* ‘some people/someone’ *atatzize* ‘sometimes’ are produced. Besides, the pronoun *atat* ‘some’ is suffixed with the pronominal bound morphemes that produce some indefinite distributive pronouns as in Table 8 below.

Table 8: Distributive indefinite pronouns

Person	Pronominal	Distributive pronouns	Gloss
1PL	<i>-əndə</i>	<i>atat-əndə > atatəndə</i> one-one-1PL.OM	‘each of us’
2MPL	<i>-axu</i>	<i>atat-axu > atataxu</i> one-one-2MPL.OM	‘each of you’
2FPL	<i>-axima</i>	<i>atat-axima > atataxima</i> one-one-2FPL.OM	‘each of you’
3MPL	<i>-xino</i>	<i>atat-əxino > atatəxino</i> one-one-3MPL.OM	‘each of them’
3FPL	<i>-xinəma</i>	<i>atat-əxinəma > atatəxinəma</i> one-one-3FPL.OM	‘each of them’

The cardinal number *at* ‘one’ can only be attached once to the entire first, second and third plural pronominal affixes like *atəndə* ‘one of us’, *ataxu* ‘one of you’, *ataxima* ‘one of you’, *atəxino* ‘one of them’ and *atəxinəma* ‘one of them’ that portray singulative forms of the pronouns. These indefinite pronouns are syntactically subject and object as bolded in (72).

- (72) a) ***atat-əndə*** *ji-səw-ndə.*
 one-one -1PL 3PL-want.IPFV-1PL.SM
 ‘They want each of us.’
- b) ***atatə-xino*** *ji-səw-jo.*
 one-ono-3MPL 3PL-want.IPFV-3MPL.SM
 ‘They want each of them.’

- c) *atə-m-ndə* *idəja* *an-bəna-nə*.
 one-CONJ-1PL lunch NEG-eat.PFV-1PL.SM
 ‘None of us ate lunch.’

3.9 Interrogative pronouns

In Gura, there are independent lexemes that are used in asking question. These are wh-question words which are used to request bits of information (see§6.4.1.1.1). Consider the Table 9 below.

Table 9: Basic interrogative pronouns

Basic interrogative	Gloss
<i>m̄ir</i>	‘what’
<i>m̄əm̄ir</i>	‘how’
<i>m̄^wan</i>	‘who’
<i>ete</i>	‘where/which’
<i>m̄ət̄ə</i>	‘when’

In Gura, interrogative pronouns are also derived from the basic/independent words by using affixes as can be seen in the Table 10 below.

Table 10: Derived interrogative pronouns

Interrogative Pronouns	Gloss
<i>ʔəm̄ir</i>	‘why for ’
<i>et̄ət̄a</i>	‘which one’
<i>m̄ireḡize</i>	‘what time ’
<i>m̄ir jax̄ir</i>	‘how many /much’
<i>ʔəm̄^wan</i>	‘whose’
<i>t̄əm̄^wan</i>	‘with whom’
<i>m̄irq̄ar</i>	‘what thing’

In Gura, interrogative pronouns are simple or derived. The complex interrogatory words are derived from the basic interrogative pronoun through the relational morphemes (tə-, -

ta and ʔə-). Besides, these complex interrogative pronouns are formed by means of compounding such as *mirqar* ‘what thing’ and *mirjaxir* ‘how much /many’ and soon.

3.10 Summary

In this chapter, the morphosyntactic characteristics of pronouns are discussed. In Gura, personal pronouns are encoded with independent lexemes. These independent pronouns are designated for number, gender and person. Unlike other Ethio-semitic languages (Amharic and Wolene), gender is encoded in the second and third person both plural and singular. There are also pronominal suffixes that are affixed to the nouns for portraying possessive, reflexive, and reciprocity. The pronominal suffixes are expressing an NP when they are attached to the nouns as an adjective. Besides, pronominal suffixes are attached to the word *gəg* ‘body’ to describe reflexive action. Thus, the independent pronouns are compounded with the pronominal suffixes with the coordinator (-m) to encode reflexive action. The word *gəg* can also describe reciprocity process when it is reduplicated with the relational morpheme *tə-*; it is also true with the reduplication of the independent pronouns connected with *tə-* as *xinotəxino* ‘one another’.

The demonstrative pronouns are described by the independent words *zi* and *xi*, which portray proximal and distal relation to the speaker’s reference point. These demonstrative pronouns are attached with pronominal suffixes for representing single semantic unitary pronoun in Gura.

In Gura, indefinite pronouns are described by the simple lexemes, and they are also derived from other word classes. The simple lexemes are *inn*, *at*, *af*, etc from which the complex indefinite pronouns such as *atatgize* ‘sometimes’, *atatsəb* ‘someone’, *atatənde* ‘each of us’, *ʔəxərə səb* ‘somebody’ and soon are derived. Besides, interrogative pronouns are morphologically encoded with simple words or complex constructions in this variety. The complex interrogative pronouns are derived from the simple ones by affixes and word formation as well.

CHAPTER FOUR

ADJECTIVES AND OTHER WORD CLASSES

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is designed to include adjectives and other word classes such as adverbs, numerals, adpositions (prepositions, postpositions and circumposition), and conjunctions. In Gura, these word classes are not as common as nouns, verbs and pronouns; consequently, they are discussed in this chapter together with adjectives for the purpose of discussion not for morphological classification or similarity.

Thus, the morphosyntactic features of adjectives, adverbs, adpositions and conjunctions are described vis-à-vis the documented and elicited data below.

4.2 Adjectives

Adjectives are simple and complex in form, and they share some common morphosyntactic features with nouns and pronouns in Ethio-semitic languages (cf. Bedilu 2010:51 & Meyer 2006:137). The simple adjectives are citation forms, and the complex adjectives are derived by affixes. Even though the numbers and features of adjectives differ from language to language, they are conceptualized based on semantic bases in a language. Dixon (2010:73-4) posits these semantic concepts of both large and small adjectives classes as:

set A in which four core semantic types such as dimensional, age, color, and value are included, **set B** three semantic property are associated like physical property, human propensity, and speed, and in **set C** difficulty, similarity, qualification, quantification, position and cardinal are semantically included.

In Gura, adjectives share morphological and syntactic possibilities with nouns and pronouns though they are fewer in numbers; therefore, they are inflected and derived for distinctive morphological usages besides the conceptual sets of semantic bases mentioned by *ibid* (2010) above. The semantic realization of Gura adjectives are briefly described in relation to the above literature, but language driven approaches as follows.

In this variety, the following sets of adjectives describe the semantic measure of length, width and height of persons, objects and things briefly. Consider the following data.

- (73) *giʃ/gef* ‘long /tall’ *atʃ’ir* ‘short’
 niq ‘big’ *irse* ‘small’
 bətiit ‘wide’ *t’əbab* ‘narrow’

The relative ages of people, objects and things are semantically expressed by the following adjectives in the variety under discussion.

- (74) *gurz* ‘old woman’
 bariq ‘old man’
 zəjə ‘young girl’
 gədər ‘new’

There are also some unique adjectives that describe the values of people, objects and things. They are illustrating socio-cultural phenomenon in Gura. Consider the data below.

- (75) *wəxe/h^we* ‘good’
 zega ‘poor’
 mut’ut’ ‘bad’
 t’irə ‘expensive’
 g^wuwa ‘cheap’

In Gura, the relative category of adjectives of color is described semantically, and the variety has cultural driven colors categories besides the basic color adjectives. The following data illustrate color adjective categories in Gura.

- (76) *g^wad* ‘white’
 gəmbənə ‘black’
 bifa ‘red’
 bərəs ‘black and red of animal’
 santfa ‘light brown’
 nətʃ’ə ‘very white of person’
 soqa ‘reddish brown color of horse’

The adjectives that are listed below are expressing the physical environment or relative grading of the modifier of nouns to be defined.

(77)	<i>ziza</i>	‘cold’	<i>m^wəq</i>	‘hot’
	<i>mərkama</i>	‘beautiful’	<i>nozənə</i>	‘ugly’
	<i>t’ərəq</i>	‘dry’		

The relative properties of human beings are expressed by lexicals which represent for mightiness, braveness, laziness and so on with certain independent words in the variety. Thus, the following adjectives are some of such features in Gura variety.

(78)	<i>m^wəd</i>	‘jealousy’
	<i>sənəf</i>	‘lazy’
	<i>sətət</i>	‘straight , honest’
	<i>fət’an</i>	‘fast’
	<i>sisə</i>	‘thin’
	<i>mīrgig</i>	‘tall and straight/neat ’

The state of difficulty, difference, similarity, quantity, quality, directionality and cardinality are grouped together. To this end, such kind of adjectives in this variety is expressed by the following words.

(79)	<i>bizə</i>	‘many’
	<i>irse</i>	‘small’
	<i>atənə</i>	‘first’
	<i>ing^wəd</i>	‘other’
	<i>qit’jə</i>	‘equal’
	<i>at</i>	‘one’

In examples (73-79) above, the semantic realization of Gura adjectives are depicted. As one can realize, the semantic classification of Dixon (2010:73-4) is very important for discussing adjectives whether the language has large or few adjectives in a speaker’s mental lexicon. In Gura, the last set of adjective class is very scant in the lexicon comparing to set A and set B as they are shown in the examples.

Adjectives can be derived and inflected morphologically in this variety. The derivational and inflectional morphology of Gura adjective are described in relation to the relevant data as follows.

4.2.1 Inflection of adjectives

In Gura, adjectives are morphologically inflected for number, case and definiteness but not for gender. The nature of the inflectional morphology of Gura adjectives are discussed vis-à-vis data below.

4.2.1.1 Number

In Gura, singular number is not marked, but plural numbers are manifested morphologically. Thus, plural adjectives are described by the reduplication of stems, and they are also indirectly portrayed by use of pronouns commonly by third person masculine plural (-xino) which is realized as -no in spontaneous speeches.

There are adjectives that form their plurals by reduplication. There is full reduplication of adjectives while they are expressing the plural forms of their counter examples. The reduplication of plural adjectives is indicated in the examples given below.

(80)	Singular		Plural	
	<i>gef</i>	‘long/tall’	<i>gefgef</i>	‘long ones’
	<i>atf’ir</i>	‘short’	<i>atf’ir atf’ir</i>	‘short ones’
	<i>bifa</i>	‘red’	<i>bifabifa</i>	‘red ones’

In (80), the adjectives in the left column is reduplicated so that to encode plural adjectives in contrast to their counterexamples in the right column. These derived plural adjectives may not use connectors while reduplicating, but they are simply concatenated completely themselves. Therefore, Gura adjectives derived their plural counterexamples by complete reduplication, but there is not partial reduplication as far as my fieldwork data is concerned.

Besides, adjectives are indirectly inflected for plural number, and the morpheme *xino* is post-modified adjectives for indicating morphological plural number, but their counterexamples (singular form) is not marked. This morpheme (*xino*) is commonly suffixed into both the formed and derived adjectives in the variety as in *mārkama* > *mārkamaxino* ‘beautifuls’, *bārās* > *bārāsxino* ‘white and blacks’ *isinjāxino* > ‘wises’ etc. Consider the data below.

(81) Singular		Plural	
<i>bifa</i>	‘red’	<i>bifaxino</i>	‘red ones’
<i>wəratjə</i>	‘sleepy’	<i>wəratjexino</i>	‘sleepily ones’
<i>t’əraq</i>	‘dry’	<i>t’əraqxino</i>	‘dry ones’

Thus, this bound morpheme inflects the numbers of adjectives of all type. It is symmetrically concatenated to the generic adjectives as can be seen from the above discussions.

In Gura, plural adjective are also described indirectly on the verbs syntactically. Consider the following examples.

- (82) a) *nətʃə ətʃ tʃən-ə.*
red boy come.PFV-3MS.SM
‘A white boy came.’
- b) *wəratjə-huta qət’ər-o-wi*
sleepy-DEF kill.PFV-3MPL.SM-3MS.OM
‘They killed the sleepy one.’
- c) *xɪ dəngənə ʔəkʷa tʃən-əma*
that rich now come.PFV-3FPL.SM
‘Those (F) rich ones came today.’

As in (82a-c) above, the plural numbers of adjectives are indirectly indicated on the aspectual verb conjugations. The subject and object affixes in the verb inflections are denoting whether the adjectives are singular or plural in number. For instance, in example (82a and b), the subject affix (-ə) and heavy object affix (-wi) morphemes are also denoting that the adjectives *bifa* and *wəratjə* are singular unlike the subject marker (-əma) in example (82c) which indicates that the adjective *dəngənə* have plural concept. It is also indirectly indicated by the cardinal numbers when they are pre-modifying adjectives as: *x^wet bifa* ‘two whites’, *arβət səpənə dəng’ia* ‘four weak boys’ and the like.

4.2.1.2 Definiteness

In Gura, definiteness is indirectly marked by the pronouns *xino*, *xinəma*, *x’ita* and *huta*, but the latter one is commonly used that is morphologically post-modified the simple or complex adjectives. In this variety, definiteness, plural and gender are interacting while

they are denoted by the third person pronouns morphologically. It is possible to use *dəngənəxino*, *dəngənəxinəma*, *dəngənəxita*, and *dəngənəhuta* they can be interpreted as ‘they (M/F) are rich, the rich ones or the rich (F/M) one/ones’. However, the third person masculine (*huta*) is commonly used as in the data below.

(83)	General		Definite	
	<i>zega</i>	‘poor’	<i>zega-huta</i>	‘the poor’
	<i>bifa</i>	‘red’	<i>bifa-huta</i>	‘the red’
	<i>idənjə</i>	‘eater/esurient’	<i>idənjə-huta</i>	‘the eater/esurient’

In (83), the data in the right column are general adjectives. These adjectives are morphologically restricted by the third person masculine singular *-huta* in the left column. Therefore, this definite marker is used to define all singular or general adjectives like nouns (see §2.2.3).

4.2.1.3 Case

In Gura, adjectives are morphologically inflected for cases like nouns do (see §2.2.4). The morpheme *ʔə-* marks genitive, accusative and dative cases, and it is concatenated to the adjectives or NPs in Gura. Consider the italic bolds in the data below.

- (84) a) *hut ʔə-nətʃʔə gərəd dəbtər səj-ə-ra.*
 he DAT-red girl exercisebook buy-3MS-3FS.BEN
 ‘He bought a book for white girl.’
- b) *ʔə-gef-huta kudʒir*
 GEN-tall-DEF clothe
 ‘A clothe of the tall one.’
- c) *xino ʔə-dəngənə ərʃ-huta dənəg^w-o-wi*
 they GEN-black boy-DEF hit.PFV-3MPL.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘They hit the rich boy.’

As in (84a-c) data above, the bound morpheme (*ʔə-*) is morphologically prefixed to the NPs or adjectives so as to encode dative, genitive and accusative cases respectively. For instance, in example (84a) the PP (*ʔənətʃʔə gərəd*) is used as the indirect object of the sentence whereas in the last example (84c), it denotes accusative case. However, in example (84b), the morpheme is indicating the genitive case.

The semantic case is also applicable in adjectives. For instance, the vocative case like *bifo* ‘hey red’, *atf’iro* ‘hey short’, *fiquro* ‘hey fat’ is possibly used in Gura texts. Therefore, both the grammatical and semantic case system is morphologically applicable in adjectives like nouns.

4.2.2 Derivation of adjectives

In Gura, adjectives are also resulted from morphological derivation. Therefore, adjectives are derived from other basic word classes through affixes such as *jə-*, *i...jə*, *-əma*, *-ənə* and *-w* as in the discussion below.

4.2.2.1 Circumfix (i-jə)

In Gura, the circumfix morpheme (*i-jə*) is used for deriving adjectives from simple nouns. Thus, the bound prefix (*i-*) and suffix (*-jə*) are altogether extended concepts of simple nouns into semantically unified adjective as in (85).

(85)	Noun	Gloss	Adjective	Gloss
	<i>sin</i>	‘tooth’	<i>i-sin-jə</i> > <i>isinjə</i>	‘buck toothed’
	<i>dən</i>	‘stomach’	<i>i-dən-jə</i> > <i>idənjə</i>	‘glutton’
	<i>fin</i>	‘heart’	<i>i-fin-jə</i> > <i>ifinjə</i>	‘wise’

As (85) above, the circumfix morphemes are used to derive quality adjectives from simple nouns. Two morphemes are participated in the production of adjectives; one part which precedes the stem and one part which follows. The latter is also used alone for deriving adjectives from simple nouns in Gura, and it is explicitly portrayed in (§ 4.2.2.2) below.

4.2.2.2 Suffix (-jə)

In Gura, the suffix *-jə* is used for deriving quality adjectives from simple nouns. In this case, the simple nouns are linearly suffixed by the morpheme (*-jə*) unlike the derivational process in (§4.2.2.1). See examples below.

(86)	Noun	Gloss	Adjective	Gloss
	<i>wərət</i>	‘sleep’	<i>wərət-je</i> > <i>wərətje</i>	‘sleepy’
	<i>gunər</i>	‘hair’	<i>gunər-je</i> > <i>gunərje</i>	‘hairy’

qit'ər 'leaf' *kit'ər-jə* > *kit'ərjə* 'ever green'

In example (86) above, the adjective derivator morpheme is simply concatenated into the simple nouns so that the new semantically unified adjectives are drawn from them. There is not any sound modification due to the addition of this morpheme.

4.2.2.3 Suffix (-ama)

The morpheme *-ama* is used to derive adjectives of color and quality from simple nouns. New semantically unified adjectives are derived morphologically through this morpheme. Consider the following data.

(87)	Noun		Adjective	
	<i>mərək</i>	'appearance'	<i>mərək-ama</i> > <i>mərəkama</i>	'beautiful/handsome'
	<i>t'or</i>	'load'	<i>t'or-ama</i> > <i>t'onama</i>	'strong'
	<i>odʒə</i>	'rumour'	<i>odʒə-ama</i> > <i>odʒama</i>	'talkative'

4.2.2.4 Suffix (-ənə)

In Gura, this morpheme is attached to nouns for deriving adjectives of state of quality. Here, the vowel final words are losing their original vowel. Consider the data below.

(88)	Noun		Adjective	
a)	<i>fəxətə</i>	'work'	<i>fəxət-ənə</i> > <i>fəxətənə</i>	'charismatic'
b)	<i>məzə</i>	'injury'	<i>məzə-ənə</i> > <i>məzənə</i>	'injured'
c)	<i>mələ</i>	'leather'	<i>mələ-t-əne</i> > <i>mələtəne</i>	'genius'
d)	<i>qəlb</i>	'mind'	<i>qəlbə-t-ənə</i> > <i>qəlbətənə</i>	'wise'

As in (88), the adjective derivative morpheme *-ənə* is concatenated to the nouns to portray adjectives, but in the last two examples (88 c and d) the consonant *-t-* is inserted to break sequence of identical vowels. This type of morpheme is also used in the derivation of ordinal numbers and group identifying nouns (see §2.3.3 & 4.3.1) respectively. Thus, we can say this morpheme is polsemy in Gura.

4.2.3 Root-and-pattern (Adjective formation)

In Gura, adjectives are formed from root morphemes or radical root by inserting certain vowels into C-pattern thereby they form mirror image among root and pattern (cf.

McCarthy 1998). In this variety, the formed adjectives have different stem templates such as CvCvC, CvCvCv, CvCC and CvCv in which v represents different vowel qualities in C-skeleton (consonant root). These vocalic qualities are interdigitated among C-pattern for producing adjectives.

In the CvCvC adjective base template, the vowel /ə/ is inserted into the second and penultimate root consonants. Compare the following data.

(89)	Root	Template	adjective	
	s-n-f	CəCəC	<i>sənəf</i>	‘lazy’
	t’-r-q	CəCəC	<i>t’ərəq</i>	‘dry’
	b-r-d	CəCəC	<i>bərəd</i>	‘very cold’
	b-r-s	CəCəC	<i>bərəs</i>	‘black and white (cattle)’

There are adjective base templates which are characterized by different v-slot in the canonical triradical root consonants. Here, different vowel qualities are inserted into the second, penultimate and ultimate root consonants. Thus, the central mid vowel /ə/ is inserted into the second, the central low /a / to penultimate and the front high /i/ in the ultimate root consonants as in (90).

(90)	Root	Template	Adjectives	
	m-x-r	CəCaCi	<i>məxari</i>	‘advisory’
	f-r-x	CəCaCi	<i>fəraxi</i>	‘tolerant’
	s-l-b	CəCaCi	<i>səlabi</i>	‘cheater’

Besides, vocalic slot has different vowel features in C-pattern. The root pattern is filled with different vowel features into its second root consonant which is resulted in the template pattern CvCC. Consider the following data.

(91)	Root	Template	Adjective	
	b-l-t	CəCC	<i>bəlt’</i>	‘cunning’
	b-t-t	CəCC	<i>bətit</i>	‘wide’
	b-k-t	CəCC	<i>bəkt</i>	‘dirty’

It is argued that tri-consonantal root is the underlying root in Semitic languages (cf. Meyer 2006; Eyasu 2003 & Degif 2000). However, there are di-consonantal root morphemes that may be resulted from consonant reduction. Here, there are adjectives that are formed from such di-consonant roots in Gura. The adjectives are formed with two

qualities of vowels which are interdigitated into the second and ultimate root consonants. Consider the data below.

(92)	Root	Template	Adjectives
	x-r	CaCi	<i>xari</i> 'wise'
	q-r	CəCi	<i>qəri</i> 'tiny'
	r-f	CoCi	<i>rofi</i> 'learned'

Therefore, it is understood that adjectives are formed from the radical roots through the adjective formative vowels. Thus, when a certain vowels are changed their position in these C-pattern, they bring class changed too to nouns, verbs or adjectives. For instance, if we consider these two root morphemes *m-x-r* and *t'-r-q*, their word class is changed vis-à-vis the position of the vowels *-ə- -a- -i-* as *məxər-ə* 'He advised', *mixr* 'advice', *məxari* 'advisor' and *t'ərəq-ə* 'It is dried', *t'ərəq* 'dried'.

4.2.4 Syntactic distributions of adjectives

In Gura, adjectives are syntactically distributed either as an attributive, predicative and substantive function. When adjectives are attached to nouns as pre-modifiers, they are said to be the attributive adjectives. However, comparing to the predicative adjectives this is less commonly used in Gura. Consider the following examples.

- (93) a) *dəngənə* *ərtf* *tʃən-ə*
rich boy come.PFV-3MS.SM
'A rich boy came'
- b) *gef* *gərəd* *nəməd-x^w*
tall girl love.PFV-1PS.SM
'I loved a tall girl'
- c) *bərəs* *imar* *səjə-tʃ*
white:red donkey buy.PFV-3FS.SM
'She bought a white and red colored donkey'

On the other hand, adjectives are used as predicative of the sentences or clauses. The predicate adjectives are followed the head noun unlike the attributive adjectives. Predicative adjectives always appear just after the copula morpheme (, -u/w for third person singular masculine but /-nə-/ for all persons). It is also predicated just after the

state verb stems such as *xərə* - ‘be’, *məsər*- ‘resemble’ , etc. Thus, when adjectives are connected with these verbs they are functioning as subject complement. See examples below.

- (94) a) *xi* *miss* *nətfə-w.*
 that man white-COP.3MS ‘That man is white.’
- b) *xi* *mift* *atfir-n-ja.*
 that woman short-COP-3FS.OM ‘That woman is short.’
- c) *mərkama-n-əma.*
 beautiful-COP-3FPL.SM ‘They are beautiful.’
- d) *xi* *gəmiya* *gef-n-o.*
 that people.PL tall-COP-3MPL.SM ‘Those people/persons are tall.’

In Gura, substantive adjective can occurred syntactically without explicit head noun (see Bedilu 2010:58 in Kistaninya), but it is defined with the definite marker *-huta* as (95).

- (95) a) *bifa-huta* *tʃən-ə.*
 red-DEF come.PFV-3MS.SM ‘The red one came.’
- b) *bifa* *tʃənə.*
 red come.PFV-3MS ‘Red one came.’
- c) *nətfə-huta* *tʃən-ə-ta* *wexe qar ziraḱi-ə.*
 red-DEF come-3MS-CVB good thing speak.PFV-3MS
 The one come and he spoke a nice thing.’

Therefore, the subjective case system of adjectives is the same as nouns in the variety. The syntactic subject of an adjective (nominal case) is zero morphemes, but its syntactic agreement appeared on the verbs or copular verbs.

4.3 Numerals

In this section, the morphological features of numerals are discussed. Numerals are arranged on the base of their usage in the day-to-day activities of human beings. They share common morphosyntactic features with adjectives. Numerals are lexical which are used to enumerate things, objects etc., and they are named as cardinal and ordinal numbers as discussed below.

4.3.1 Cardinal numbers

Cardinal numbers are indicated by the arithmetic sets that identify numerical system of quantity. Thus, Gura has decimal numerical system, that is, the class of numbers are expressed in counting system that they use unit of ten (10) as a base in the multi-digital numeral systems. Besides, the units or single digits are expressed using one up to nine as can be realized from the table below.

Table 11: Numeral systems

Numeral (units)	Gloss	Tens	Gloss
<i>at</i>	‘one’	<i>asirat</i>	‘eleven’
<i>x^wet or h^wet</i>	‘two’	<i>asirəx^wet</i>	‘twelve’
<i>səst</i>	‘three’	<i>x/h^wuja</i>	‘twenty’
<i>arβət</i>	‘four’	<i>sasa</i>	‘thirty’
<i>amist</i>	‘five’	<i>arba</i>	‘forty’
<i>sidist</i>	‘six’	<i>amsa</i>	‘fifty’
<i>səbat</i>	‘seven’	<i>sirsə</i>	‘sixty’
<i>simut</i>	‘eight’	<i>siba</i>	‘seventy’
<i>zət’ə</i>	‘nine’	<i>səmana</i>	‘eighty’
<i>asir</i>	‘ten’	<i>zət’əna</i>	‘ninety’
		<i>məto /bəqr</i>	‘hundred’
		<i>fi /hum</i>	‘thousand’

As one can realize from the Table 11 above, decimal system of numerals are used for both arithmetic and other semantic usages in the variety under discussion. The basic numeral with two digits is formulated with the help of ten as a multiplicand. Besides, the prime or even number with two digit rather than that ends with zero is formulated with the addition of the low central vowel /ə/ next to first digit. In Gura, cardinal numbers end with the morpheme /-t/ except in the cardinal numbers nine and ten. When they augmented to their second digit numeral as after ten, the numbers are repeated attaching to ten by inserting the middle vowel (-ə-) as connector in between these numbers. In Gura, the words *bəqr* ‘hundred’ and *hum* ‘thousand’ are used alternatively with *məto* ‘hundred’ and *fi* ‘thousand’ possibility; the latter ones may be borrowed from Amharic.

Besides, cardinal numbers are used as adjectives while they pre-modified the noun that followed them in a phrase /clause. Since the variety is right-headed in the realm of

phrase, numerals are pre-modifying the nouns in NPs as one can realize from the sentences below.

- (96) a) *x^w/h^wεt tinkjə*
 two pot 'two pots'
- b) *arβət t'e*
 four sheep 'four sheep'
- c) *ʒət'ə b^wəra*
 nine ox 'nine oxen'

As can be realizing from the data above, cardinal numbers are morphologically modified nouns thereby NPs are constructed.

4.3.2 Ordinal numbers

In Gura, ordinal numbers are morphologically derived from cardinal number with the suffix *-ənə*. This suffix is attached to the cardinal numbers such as one, two, three etc. for portraying relative position or sequence of numbers. Consider the data below.

- | | | | | |
|------|------------------------|---------|---------------------------|-----------|
| (97) | Cardinal | | Ordinal | |
| | <i>at</i> | 'one' | <i>atənə</i> | 'first' |
| | <i>x^wεt</i> | 'two' | <i>x^wεtənə</i> | 'second' |
| | <i>səβat</i> | 'seven' | <i>səβatənə</i> | 'seventh' |

In the variety, ordinal numbers pre-modify nouns. When the morpheme (*-ənə*) is attached to cardinal number, ordinal numbers are derived so as express ordinary or level of extent. Consider the morphosyntactic usages of ordinal numbers in following data.

- (98) a) *bə-kifl ʒət'ənə wət'-a.*
 PRE-class ninth stand.PFV-3MS 'He stood ninth in class.'
- b) *bə-kifl atənə wət'a-tf.*
 PRE-class first stand.PFV-3FS 'She stood first in the class.'
- c) *ʔək^wa simutənə xər-ə.*
 today eighth be.PFV-3MS 'Today, it is eighth.'

Ordinal numbers are not morphologically inflected for gender in this variety. There is no distinction between masculine and feminine gender. As one can realize from the above

data , ordinal number *atənə* ‘first ’, and *ʒət’ənə* ‘ninth’ can be used for both genders and number , but gender and number distinction is licensed in verb in agreement with the syntactic subjects of the sentences .

4.4 Adverbs

Adverbs is one of the grammatical classes of words which answers questions such as where, when, how, in what manner, and how often verbs are performed morphosyntactically. In Gura, adverbs are fewer in number than other content words. However, adverbs are morphosyntactically expressed by the NP or PP; these phrases are introduced by the relational morphemes such *tə-* and *bə-*. Based on their functions, adverbs are treated as adverbs of time, place, frequency, reason and manner. In Gura, such adverbs and functions of adverbs are discussed below.

4.4.1 Adverb of time

In Gura, adverbs of time are lexically expressed. These adverbs are specifically restricted the function of the verbs vis-à-vis past, present and future time. Therefore, listeners are becoming clear when the speakers are addressed an action supported with adverbs of time. In Gura, adverbs of time are lexically expressed that are suffixed by particles such as */-ra/* and */-ə/* to denote past and future expressions respectively (cf. Fekede 2002:90-1 for Ezha). The data below exemplifies this reality in Gura.

(99)	Present		Past		Future
	<i>əx^wa</i>	‘now’	<i>tirama</i>	‘yesterday’	<i>nəgə</i> ‘tomorrow’
	<i>ʔək^wa</i>	‘today’	<i>səstəra</i>	‘three days before’	<i>səstə</i> ‘three days later’
	<i>gəbat</i>	‘evening’	<i>nəbatəra</i>	‘four days ago’	<i>nəbatə</i> ‘four days later’

The time adverbs tend to form compound nouns to describe function of the action or clause with nouns or words such as : *qirərə* ‘morning’, *wana* ‘noon’, *ədar* ‘night’, *kənə* ‘day’. These time expressions (nouns) in the variety tend to describe compound expression as in the examples (100) below.

- (100) a) *əx^wa wana*
now noon 'this afternoon'
- b) *əx^wa ədar*
now tonight 'tonight/this night'
- c) *əx^wa qirərə*
now morning 'this morning'

These adverbs are used in different grammatical functions when they are used with sentences as adjunct. They can show that whether the action is past, present or future depending on the words utilized or used in the speeches or texts. For instance, *əx^wa gəβəja x^wər-ət/* [today/just, she went to market] this represents for expressing the recent past in this day, and it is also used for expressing the future and present tense. Consider the data below.

- (101) a) *ɔək^wa gəβəja x^wərə-ə.*
today market go.PFV-3MS 'He went to market today.'
- b) *ɔək^wa gəβəja j-ar-əma.*
today market 3FPL-go.IPFV-3FPL 'They are going to market today.'
- c) *ɔək^wa gəβəja j-ar-əma-te.*
today market 3FPL-GO.IPFV-FUT 'They will go to market today.'

The adverb *ɔək^wa* in the aforementioned examples denotes present, past and future indicating tenses together with verbs. It is clearly stated that the future marker morpheme (-te) is attached with the imperfective verb for portraying future time, and the time adverbial is used to indicate present time when the verb is in the imperfective forms. Not only this but also the adverbial time is used in the simple past marking. The time adverbs that are used with both the perfective, imperfective verbs but in the imperfective verbs with the future marker are expressing near future or an action just will happened not far from the time of speaking. In the same manner, the time expression is used with the perfective verbal conjugations for an action just happened now but considered as past reading.

The simple or lexical prepositions are attached with some relational bound morphemes to express time expressions. They are further explaining specification in time for the actions

in relation to the time. They are forming time phrase (NP) such *sant* ‘week’, *əx^wa sant* ‘the coming week’ and PPs like *təx^wət sant bəf^wər* ‘before two weeks’. See the data for farther clarifications.

- (102) a) *t-anqⁱə*
PRE-after ‘after (that)’
- b) *bə-f^wər*
PRE-above ‘from above, before’
- c) *tə-sant bə-f^wər*
PRE- week PRE-above ‘before a week’

4.4.2 Adverb of frequency

Frequency adverb expresses the repetition of an action in relation to time. They clearly portray how often an action is happened (cf. Eyasu 2003& Fekede 2002). In Gura, adverbs of frequency are expressed by complete reduplication of an adverb of time. Consider the data below.

- (103) a) *qirərə qirərə*
morning morning ‘every morning’
- b) *wana wana*
noon noon ‘every noon’
- c) *əx^wa-m-əx^wa-m*
now-CONJ-now-CONJ ‘always /every now and then’

As can be realized from the data above , frequency of an event is expressed by the complete reduplication of the time adverbs , but the adverb *əx^wa* ‘now’ is attached with the coordinating conjunction (-m) (see Fekede 2002:92;Eyasu 2003:122 & Meyer 2006:178 for similar analysis in Ezha , Endagn and Wolane respectively).

The determiners/cardinal numbers and the relational morpheme *bə-* also express adverbs of frequency in this variety. The relational morpheme is used for denoting the frequency of an action to the extent of the cardinal numbers that are morphologically attached with

it. Here, frequency adverbs are expressed by such expressions that are describing the action happened in a certain interval of time without exceptions. Consider the data below.

- (104) a) *bə-h^wet (h^wet)* *bənə*
 PRE-two-two month ‘every two months.’
- b) *b-arβt arβət* *bənə*
 PRE-four-four month ‘every four months.’
- c) *bə-səʔat səʔat*
 PRE-hour-hour ‘every hour’

Besides, frequency adverb is expressed by the combination of the indefinite pronouns and time adverbs such as : *gize* ‘time’ or *kərə* ‘day’ as in *inn gize* or *inn kənə* ‘always /often’, *atat gize* ‘some times’, and *at gize* ‘once’ etc.

4.4.3 Adverb of place

Adverbs of place are tending to show us where something is performed, placed, or its whereabouts. In Gura, the function of an adverb of place is denoted by adpositions (see § 4.5). Therefore, the following prepositional morphemes portray the position or direction of object, person and thing that is talked about.

- (105) *f^wər* ‘top/on’ *dən* ‘inside/under’
nən ‘up’ *tət* ‘low’
anqⁱə ‘behind/back’ *jift* ‘in front of’
mijə ‘around’

The adverbs of place are signaled lexically as mentioned in the above examples. These are prepositions, postpositions and circumposition denoted lexically or conjoined with bound morphemes as in (106).

- (106) a) *bə-f^wər*
 PRE- on ‘from above’
- b) *bə-t’ərəp’əza* *f^wər*
 PRE-table on ‘on the table’
- c) *tə-wənbər* *dən*
 PRE-chair under ‘under the chair’
- d) *bet-njə*

house-PRE

‘towards house’

4.4.4 Adverb of manner

In Gura, an adverb of manner is described by the relational prefix *bə-*, and it is linearly attached to simple or complex nouns. Thus, PPs morphosemantically denotes manner of the verbs and they are headed by the relational morpheme (*bə-*) as in (107).

- (107) a) *bə-rutf'a*
PRE-run ‘quickly’
- b) *b-ərtfnət*
PRE-braveness ‘bravely’
- c) *bə-waxenət*
PRE-goodness ‘in good manner’

In (107 a-c), though these phrases distinguish the manner of the verbs, all the prepositional phrases are headed by the relational morpheme (*bə-*).

4.5 Adpositions

Adpositions encompass pre-position, circum-position and post-positions (cf. Blake 2004). The morphemes that are attached before nouns are called prepositions, and those that come after nouns are postpositions (cf. Leslau 1992 & Crystal 2008). In Gura, the prepositional and post-positional sentence constituents are described by bound and free morphemes that are morphologically attached to nouns. Hence, pre-positions and post-positions are portraying morphosyntactic relation with word classes in which they are joined to, and these relational morphemes are both prefixes and suffixes in form.

4.5.1 Prepositions

In Gura, prepositions are morphologically denoted by the bound morphemes (*bə-*, *tə-* and *ʔə-*). These relational morphemes are attached to nouns to signify relative position of people, things and objects in discourse or text. Thus, prepositions are relational morphemes, which precede the NP complements in Gura. The surface structure of such

phrase is head-initial although its underlying head position is right-head as in the Table 12 below.

Table 12: Prepositions

Preposition	Meaning	Functional examples
tə-	from, after ,with ,if /when , than, since	<i>təbet</i> 'from house ' <i>tanq'ə</i> 'after this , then , behind' <i>təndibr</i> 'from Endibr' <i>təhuta</i> 'with him' <i>tətfənəx^w</i> 'since I came'
bə-	'in, with, by ,on, over'	<i>bəbet</i> 'in the house' <i>bəmir</i> 'with stone <i>bəgir</i> 'on foot' <i>bəməkina</i> 'by car' <i>bəxika</i> 'over there'
ʔə-	'to, for, of '	<i>ʔəfeq ajm</i> 'milk of the goat' <i>ʔəbərga</i> 'for /to berga' <i>ʔəm^wan</i> 'for who/m' <i>ʔəgurage</i> 'of Gurage'

In Gura, preposition can be case markers and pure prepositional markers. We can see some of the morphosemantic role of prepositions in examples (108).

- (108) a) *tə-mdibr* *bə-əgir-əna* *kəna-x^w*.
PRE-emdibr PRE-foot-1PS.POSS go:up.PFV-1PS.SM
'I went up from Emdibr on foot.'
- b) *əx^wa* *bə-gbirna* *ənə-x^w*.
now PRE-agricultural office exist-1PS.SM
'Now, I am in the agricultural office.'
- c) *tə-bet-x'ita* *bə-məkina* *t'fənə-tf*.
PRE-house-3FS.POSS PRE-car come.PFV-3FS.SM
'She came from her house by car. '
- d) *xino* *ʔə-bərga* *dənəg-o-wi*
they ACC-berga hit.PFV-3MPL.SM-3MS.OM
'They hit for Berga.'

As can be seen from the above data, prepositions are prefixed to the nouns. They are portraying the morphosemantic usages. For instance, the prefix *bə-* that occurs in series with other preposition, and it has the concept of by phrase in (108c). It has also the semantic realization of the prepositions in and on in examples (108a and b), and in example (108d), the preposition *ʔə* describes accusative case in this variety.

In Gura, prepositions are used in the comparison of two or more objects (see §6.4.1.1.5). For example, the preposition *tə-* relates the two comparable syntactic subjects and indefinite pronominal subjects together as in (109).

- (109) a) *bərga tə-murgat ji-fəz.*
 berga PRE-murgat 3MS-be:better.IPFV
 ‘Berga is better than Murgat.’
- b) *t-inn-m xino bə-qumat-xit ti-rq.*
 PRE-all-CONJ they PRE-height-3FS 3FS-be: far.IPFV
 ‘She is the tallest of all of them.’
- c) *murgat tə-bərga qəla ti-βr.*
 murgat PRE-berga be red 3FS-say.IPFV
 ‘Murgat is redder than Berga.’

Besides, these relational morphemes *tə-* and *bə-* are syntactically used with the verbs. Here, they are used as the subordinator of the main verbs, and they tend to connect complex expressions (see § 6.6.2). These prepositions are forming a morphological complexity when they are used in the reading of case and other prepositional usages (cf. Kramer 2012).

4.5.2 Postpositions

In Gura, grammatical relation is also described by the addition of morphemes after nouns such postpositionals appear following their complements. Postpositions are independent morphemes, and they are full words to the right of the nouns (cf. Kramer 2012:5 in Amharic).

In Gura, there are independent words that are expressing positional relations in sentences. These morphemes occur on the underlying phrase structural positions (right-headed).

Besides, three bound morphemes are recorded that are suffixed to nouns or pronouns in Gura. These bound morphemes share the underlying phrase structures of Gura unlike other relational (prepositions). Consider the table below.

Table 13: Postpositions

Postposition	Meaning
<i>anq'ə</i>	'behind ,after, in the back , later on , afterward'
<i>jift</i>	'before, in front of '
<i>sinəga/dar</i>	'up to , until, '
<i>mijə</i>	'near , around '
<i>f'ər</i>	'above, over, on, upon '
<i>tət</i>	'below, under , down there'
<i>nən</i>	'above, up on, '
<i>gam^{wə}</i>	'with, along with, together '
<i>dən</i>	'inside, in under , beneath'
<i>-nje</i>	'to or towards'
<i>-x^j</i>	'with'
<i>-xə</i>	'as, according to, in accordance'

Almost all the postpositionals in the Table 13 above are simple lexemes, but the last three are bound morphemes. The former ones are most of the time appeared in the morphosyntax of Gura in connection with prepositional and postpositionals. Consequently, they are included in the circumposition as in Table (14) below. Nevertheless, postpositions are attached as an adjunct syntactically on the right of the nouns to be modified. Consider the data below.

- (110) a) *imdibr sinəga imate wən-nə.*
 emdibr until together go.PFV-1PL.SM
 'We went together up to Emdbir.'
- b) *təmaribet sinəga agz-e.*
 School until help.IMP-1PS.OM 'Help me up to the school.'
- c) *hut dənja gəp^{w-a}.*
 he inside enter.PFV-3MS.SM 'He entered to insider.'

In Gura, three bound morphemes are recorded which are suffixed morphologically to nouns or pronouns. These post positional are used in different contexts as in (111).

- (111) a) *igzher nər-ə* *anə-ə-xə* *t-e-ḥīr* (t'eβər 1)
 god exist-3MS.SM exist-3MS-as when-NEG-know
 'When he does not know as God exists.'
- b) *gəβəja-njə* x^wərə-tʃ
 market-PRE go.pfv-3FS.SM 'She went to/towards market.'
- c) *jina-xʻ* tʃənə-tʃ
 we-PRE come.PFV-3FS.SM 'She came with us.'

As in (111a-c) above, the bound morphemes *-xə*, *-njə* and *-xʻ* are suffixed to nouns, verbs or pronouns for different morphological functions respectively. In example (111a), the relational morpheme (*-xə*) is morphosyntactically attached into verbs as it is interpreted in the wide communication language 'as', but in the second example, the relational morpheme (*-njə*) is concatenated into nouns so that to denote motion towards the speakers' point of reference. Besides, the morpheme *-xʻ* has the notion 'with', and it is only linearly suffixed into the independent pronouns as far as the data and fieldwork is concerned.

4.5.3 Circumpositions

In Gura, few nouns /NPs are circumpositioned with functional constituents. Nouns are preceded by the relational bound morphemes such as *tə-* and *bə-*, and they are also post modified on their right side with the independent lexemes such as: *anq'ə*, *sinəga*, *f^wər*, *gam^wə* etc. Thus, circumposition has two parts, the preposition that is portrayed with the relational morphemes and the independent lexemes or postpositions. Consider the following table for further clarification.

Table 14: Circumpositions

Preposition	Meaning
<i>tə.....anq'ə</i>	'behind ,after that , in the back , later on , afterward'
<i>təsinəga/dar</i>	'up to , until, '
<i>tə.....f^wər</i>	'from top of , from above '
<i>təgam^wə</i>	'with, along with, together '
<i>?ə.....sinəga</i>	'from ...up to '
<i>bəf^wər</i>	'above ,over , on , upon , on top of '
<i>bə.....dən</i>	'inside, in , beneath, under'
<i>bə.....jift</i>	'in front of '
<i>?ə.....xəma</i>	'like /as '
<i>?ə.....sinəga</i>	'till now ,up to now '

In Gura, the morphosyntactic usage of circumposition is described by both the bound and free morphemes that are connected in non-continuous series in texts. Thus, bound morphemes are prefixed to nouns, adjectives or pronouns which tend to form syntactic relation with the post adjunct free words just immediately to intensified nouns, pronouns or adjectives. Consider the following data.

- (112) a) *tə-mift-na* *g'amə* *imdibr-njə* *i-kəra-te*.
 PRE-.wife-1PS.POSS time emdbir-PRE 1PS.SM-go:up.IPFV-FUT
 'I will go to Emdibr together with my wife.'
- b) *tə-təm"-x'ita* *g'amə* *imate* *t-ar-te*.
 PRE-sister-1PS.POSS time together 3FS.SM-go.IPFV-FUT
 'She will go together with her sister.'
- c) *tə-sant* *anq'ə* *addis abeba-njə* *ji-tfən-te*.
 PRE-week after addis ababa-PRE 3MS-come.IPFV-FUT
 'He will come to Addis abeba after a week.'

As it is indicated in the data above, prepositions are used repeatedly in syntax of this variety. Consequently, they are syntactically functioning as pure prepositions or cases. For instance, the last example (c) expresses the pure prepositions, but in examples (b and a) the preposition and case are mixed in the sentences. They are showing the comitative case systems like other case marking morphemes (cf. Kramer in Amharic for the same argument). Therefore, it creates blurry in the usages of the postpositions, prepositions and cases since the relational that portraying the positional relation of objects in a sentence are difficult to identify. Case markers can be free or bound, prepositional or postpositional. The same is true for adpositions. Since the relational bound morpheme of this variety such as /tə- /, /ʔə-/ and /bə-/ are used in both case in the case marking system and prepositional marking, there is a great confusion on how to identify syntactically. However, it is important to consider their morphology and semantic realizations in their syntactic identifications (cf. Krammer 2012 for the same realization in Amharic).

4.6 Conjunctions

Connectors syntactically attach the jumbling of any two phrases, clauses or sentences. In Semitic language, connectors and subordinators are not lexically encoded rather they are

denoted with morpheme both free and bound morphemes (cf. Tserfay 2008:8). In this section, coordinate (parataxis) and subordinate (hypotaxis) conjunction are discussed in relation to the relevant data in Gura.

4.6.1 Coordination conjunctions

The coordination of two words is denoted by the bound morphemes and lexical (cf. Crystal 2008:350, Alice 2004:314 & Payne 1997:336). In Gura, the coordination of two or more words, phrase and clauses is described lexically even though they are fewer in number. The combination of these words, phrase and clauses are characterized by disjunction and coordination as has been described in the following section.

4.6.1.1 Coordinator (-m)

In Gura, the conjunction (-m) is bisyndetically postpositive that is used to join two or more words, phrases and clauses, and it appeared after the coordinands²⁹ that forms a compound subject or object. See the data below.

- (113) a) *dawit-m* *waqe-m*
 dawit-CONJ wake-CONJ ‘Dawit and Wak’
- b) *ʔə-rtf-m* *ʔə-gərəd-m*
 GEN-boy-CONJ GEN-gilr-CONJ ‘boy’s and girl’s’
- c) *adot-əna-m* *ija-m*
 mother-1PS.POSS-CONJ I-CONJ ‘my mother and me’

As can be seen from the data above, two words or phrases are joined with the coordinator (-m). This coordinator is concatenated to both coordinant nouns and NPs bisyndetically. It can be used to connect two noun phrases together. For instance, the separate NPs *ʔədəngʲa qet’inət* [*ʔə-dəngʲa qet’inət* = GEN-boy.PL equality] ‘The equality of boys’ and *ʔəgred qet’inət* [*ʔə-gred qet’inət* = GEN-girl.PL equality] ‘the equality of girls’ are connected with this particle to formulate the large NP as *ʔədəngʲam ʔəgredim qet’inət*

²⁹The overtly shown coordinators are said to be syndetic whereas if the coordinators are not overtly portrayed are asyndetic coordination. The syndetic coordination is also can be seen as monosyndetic and bisyndetic coordination (cf. Shopen 2007:6 & Haspelmath 2002:206).

[ʔə-dəŋgiə-m ʔə-gred-m qet'inət=GEN-boy.PL-CONJ GEN-girl.PL-CONJ equality] ‘The equality of males and females’. Thus, the coordinants are expressing two equal grammatical valued phrases or clauses.

4.6.1.2 Disjunctive conjunction (*wem*)

In Gura, the relations of two distinctive alternations of nouns or phrases are connected with the lexical *wem* ‘or’. This conjunction is used to morphologically connect two words, and syntactically two phrases or clauses. Thus, this word appears between the coordinants in Gura as in (114).

- (114) a) *ixa* *wem* *injəra*
 water or enjerra ‘water or enjera’
- b) *bərga* *wem* *wake*
 berga or wake ‘Berga or wake’
- c) *rəgə* *wem* *səstə*
 tomorrow or the day after ‘tomorrow or the day after tomorrow.’

As one can recognize from the data above, the disjunction (*wem*) is also used to connect two simple nouns/NPs. The morpheme is used directly in between the coordinands. The coordinands can be verbs, so it is used to connect two sequences of verbs as in the examples given below.

- (115) a) *ixa* *sit'-i* *wem* *injəra* *abisr-i*
 water drink.IMP-2MS.SM or enjerra bake.IMP-2MS.SM
 ‘Drink water or bake enjera!’
- b) *dar-i* *wem* *tʃon-a*
 bless.IMP-2MS.SM or sit.IMP-2MS.SM
 ‘Bless or sit down’
- c) *n-am-e* *wem* *x^wər-i*
 1PS.SM-give.IMP-1PS.OM or go.IMP-2MS.SM
 ‘Give me or go away!’

4.6.2 Subordination conjunctions

In Gura, the relational morphemes /tə-/ and /bə-/ are prefixed to imperfective and perfective verbal conjugations respectively together with other verbal affixes to create syntactically subordinations (see §6.4.2). For instance, when the former morpheme (tə-) is attached to imperfective verbal forms, the independent sentential verbs become dependent. Consider the data below.

- (116) a) *tī-jī-f^vatf^r-o-əwi*
 when-3MPL-harvest.IPFV-3MPL-3MS.OM ‘when they are mowing it,’
- b) *tī-t-ar*
 when-3FS-go.IPFV ‘when she goes,’
- c) *tə-nəpər-e*
 if-live.PFV-1PS.OM ‘If I had had,’

In examples (116a-b) above, the relational morpheme (tə-) is attached to the imperfective sentential verbs; consequently, subordinate clauses are formed. These clauses are probable clauses comparing to the subordinate clause in (116c) in which this morpheme is prefixed to the perfective main verbs so that it expresses unreal condition or improbable. Therefore, the relational morpheme /tə-/ encodes subordination and hypotactic relation when it is prefixed to the verb, and location, case, adpositions when it is prefixed to the nouns /VP, and adjectives.

This relational morpheme (te-) is also conjointly occurred in sequence of verbs (duration aspect) for encoding syntactically juxtaposition of clauses as in (117).

- (117) a) *tī-j-ar-o* *t-an-o*
 while-3MPL-go.IPFV-3MPL when-exist-3MPL.SM
 ‘while they are going,’
- b) *tī-tī-bər-a* *t-anə-tf*
 while-3FS-eat.IPFV-3FS.SM when-exist-3FS.SM
 ‘while she is eating,’
- c) *tī-jī-tfən* *t-an-ə*
 while-3MS.SM-come.IPFV when-exist-3MS.SM
 ‘while he is coming,’

Thus, in the above data, the subordinate clause *tanə-* ‘while exist’ is expressing the continuity of the action, and it is encoded with this subordinate marker morpheme just like other subordinate verbs in the variety.

On the other hand, the relational morpheme (*bə-*) is attached into the perfective main verbs so that to construct subordinate clauses in Gura. In complex expression, this morpheme is used to express two unequal grammatical valued clauses. Therefore, this relational subordinator is explicitly encoding the dependency of conditional clauses in the conditional complex sentences in Gura (see§6.4.2.5.5). Consider the examples.

- (118) a) *bə-tfən-xə*
if-come.PFV-2MS ‘If you came,’
- b) *b-an-tfən-xə*
if-NEG-come.PFV-2MS ‘If you did not come,’
- c) *bə-x^wənə-tf*
if-go.PFV-3FS ‘If she went,’

This relational subordinator is used in conjoining with other words for portraying sequences of the jumble out of clauses. The relational morphemes and the postpositions word in this case are not standing for portraying the relative locative of things in the sentences rather they are functioning to cohere the dependent and independent clauses juxtaposed in the sentences. Nevertheless, this word *anq’ə* ‘after’ can be preposition if it is used as *tijanq’ə* which may semantically represent for ‘behind me’.

4.7 Summary

In this chapter, the morphological features of adjectives and other word classes such as numerals, adverbs, adpositions and conjunctions are discussed. In Gura, most of the adjectives are resulted through the morphological formation and derivation processes. Adjectives are formed from the consonant roots or C-pattern that is interdigitated with the formative vowels or v-slot. Besides, adjectives are derived from other word classes (simple nouns) with affixes such as *i-jə*, *-jə*, *-əma* and *-ənə*. Moreover, adjectives are also inflected for number, case and definiteness, and plural number is indirectly portrayed by the third person pronouns like *-xino* which modifies the simple and complex adjectives.

Plural adjectives are also fully reduplicated, and they are also inflected for accusative, dative, genitive, and vocative cases with the morphemes *ə-* and *-o* respectively. Definite adjectives are encoded indirectly by third person most commonly with the masculine singular *-huta*, and they have also three syntactic functions, that is, it can be attributive adjective, predicative adjectives or substantive adjectives.

In Gura, cardinal numbers are decimal numeral system whereas ordinal numbers are derived from this decimal numeral system by the suffix *-ənə*. These numeral systems are morphologically used as adjectives to modify nouns or noun phrases.

The function of verbs is restricted with adverbs that are classified as adverbs of time, frequency, place, and manner. In Gura, there are adpositions, which includes the preposition, postposition, and circumposition in rare case. Thus, adpositions are expressed lexically or by the relational morpheme such as *tə-*, *bə-*, and *?ə-*.

In Gura, two or more words are connected with the coordinator (*-m*) and disjunctive *wem*, but the hypotactic concept is expressed by the relational morphemes *tə-* and *bə-*. These relational morphemes are tending to subordinate the main verbs; the former is concatenated into imperfective, and the latter one is attached into perfective verbal conjugation.

CHAPTER FIVE

VERB MORPHOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the morphological characteristic of verb types and stems in Gura, and it describes the derivational features of verbs. The verb is the most complex forms in Gura. The Semitic verb morphology is described based on the non-concatenative/root-and-pattern system (cf. Rose 1997, McCarthy 1981, Goldeberg, Gideon 1977, and Moscati 1980). This morphological process is used to describe the simple verb stems in Gura.

In this section, the verb stems are described in relation to the aspectual verb conjugations that are constructed based on roots (root radical) and vowel melody; they are arranged according to a canonical pattern where the vowels are interdigitated into the C-pattern to form different verbal stems.

The variation of subject and object agreement markers in the canonical aspectual verb conjugations are discussed in this chapter, and the object applicative markers are described in relation to the relevant fieldwork data.

The verb derivational features are set out thoroughly. The verb derivations are the passive, causative, middle and verb reduplication besides the verbal negation are encompassed here. The morphological characteristics of the copular verb *-nə-* and existence verb *nəvə* are described, and the TAM of Gura verbs are attested in this chapter.

Moreover, impersonal verbs, relative verbs and converbs that have morphosyntactic realization with special semantic characteristics are described in this chapter.

5.2 Types of verbs

The root-morpheme and vocalic slots are important information in the classification of morphological verbs in Ethio-semitic languages vis-à-vis morpho-phonemic features such as vowel quality and gemination that interplay among each consonant on the C-pattern

(cf. Bedilu 2010, Rose 1997, Leslau 1992, & Hetzron 1972). The latter, morphophonemic features may not be universal across Ethio-Semitic languages because there are non-geminated languages or varieties such as the Western Gurage language varieties (Hetzron 1972). Therefore, gemination is not defining features in these language varieties instead the vowel quality following the root-consonant is main classifying features that distinguish verb types (see Meyer 2006 & Bedilu 2010). It is also alleged that semantic of the root-inflection (root-morpheme) is not important in the classification of verb types. For instance, Bedilu (2010:71) argues that the classification of the verb type cannot be justified by the nature of the consonants in the root and the semantics of verb rather the verb type attributes only to the morphophonemic information relegating their semantics. Similarly, Hudson (1991) states that a type A and B verbs of Ethio-semitic conveys a lexical distinction. However, Meyer (2006:51) suggests that specification of the verb type is an inherent lexical part of the root-morpheme, and he determines the selection of vocalic templates. According to Hetzron (1972:10) the most frequent verb type of Ethio-semitic languages are:

Type A: is the continuation of the Semitic basic stem.

Type B: is the continuation of the second stem of Semitic, characterized by a gemination of the second radical.

Type C: is also called the "conative" stem; it is characterized by the presence of a vowel a between the first two radicals.

In Gura, the canonical tri-consonantal root verb types are viewed based on the data collected and literatures in the previous study in Ethio-semitic in general and Gurage varieties in particular. Therefore, the basic type of verbs is described based on vowel qualities (vocalic template) which are interdigitated on the root consonants or consonant features (morphophonemic). In the vocalic template, the quality of the first vowel that follows the penultimate consonants distinguishes the verb types. The fourth verb type (D), is specified by the nature of root-consonants if it is labialized.

Besides, in Gura, the numbers of root consonants or radicals are taken into consideration as second classifying factors. These can be treated as the sub-types of the basic verb type because they partially share some morphophonemic characters to each other (see Meyer 2006 in Wolene). Therefore, in Gura, there are monoradical, biradical, triradical, and

quadriradical consonantal root morphemes. For example, the sentential verbs : *afə* ‘He saw.’ *amə* ‘He gave.’ *efə* ‘He covered.’ *fə* ‘He wanted.’ are realized as they have monoradicals in their surface structure, but it is believed that they are the results of consonant reduction (cf. Fekede 2002 for Ezha & Eyasu 2003 for Endagagn). In Gura, the prevalence of these verb types is rare so, they are not treated as well. Quadriradical consonantal root morphemes are also common morphological features in Gura, and it is alleged that they are the result of morphological root extension (cf. Fekede 2002 for Ezha & Eyasu 2003 for Endagagn).

In this discussion, the features of verb types are discussed along with the characteristics of simple verb stems. These topics are found that they have common discussion features; therefore, each of classifications of verb types is described vis-à-vis data together with the aspectual verb conjugation stems below.

5.2.1 Type A

In Gura, verb type A is characterized by the insertion of the aspectual vowel /ə/ through non-continuous series into the root consonants in perfective that is totally lost in the jussive, but it is interleaved preceding the penultimate radical root morphemes in the imperfective verbal conjugations. The detailed characteristics of this verb type are shown vis-à-vis data along with the verb stems in the aspectual perfective, imperfective, jussive and imperative verb conjugations as follows.

5.2.1.1 Perfective stems in verb type A

In Gura, this verbal form signaled an action that is finished or completed. It is formulated with the addition of aspectual vowel /ə/ into the root radicals, which create the template slot CəCəC- in the triradical verbs. The stem gives a complete thought in the variety when the subject suffixes are attached to this template. For instance, in the stem *səpər-*, it is formed from the verbal root or triradical root morpheme *s-b-r* with the insertion of the formative vowel /ə/, and if we add the subject suffixes into this the perfective stems, it will give complete morphosemantic realization of the verb. However, verbal stems do not include subject and other related affixes in this discussion, so position of these

morphological affixes are left open with hyphen. The following data illustrate the characteristics of verb type A in the canonical triradical stems in Gura.

(119)	Template	Root	Perfective stems	Gloss
	<i>CəCəC-</i>	<i>s-r-f</i>	<i>sənaʃ-</i>	‘feared’
	<i>CəCəC-</i>	<i>z-g-d</i>	<i>zəgəd-</i>	‘remembered’
	<i>CəCəC-</i>	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>səpər-</i>	‘broke’
	<i>CəCəC-</i>	<i>s-r-q</i>	<i>sənaq-</i>	‘stole’

In Gura, there are also subtypes of verb type A which are formed by the formative vowels interdigitated to the biradical and quadriradical root consonants, and they are believed to have been resulted from the process of consonant reduction and extension respectively in Semitic languages diachronically.³⁰

The biradical root consonants in verb type A have the template slot *CəCa-* or *CəCə-* in perfective stems. They are characterized by the insertion of the central mid vowel /ə/ between the first and final consonantal radical roots, and they have final vowel stems either /a/ or /ə/ in the template slot. See the data below.

(120)	Template	Root	Perfective Stem	
	<i>CəC a-</i>	<i>g-t</i>	<i>gəta-</i>	‘poured’
	<i>CəC a-</i>	<i>w -t’</i>	<i>wət’a-</i>	‘went out’
	<i>CəCə-</i>	<i>tʃ-n</i>	<i>tʃənə-</i>	‘came’
	<i>CəCə-</i>	<i>t-n</i>	<i>tənə-</i>	‘swore’

There are many verb bases which belong to this kind as sub-types of verb type A such as : *nəga* ‘clotted’, *xəta* ‘betrayed’ *qəla* ‘was red’, *kəna* ‘went up’, *qənə* ‘disappeared’, *basə* ‘was worst’, and *fəka* ‘escaped’ .

³⁰The canonical verbal root of Semitic is triradical. The biradical and quadriradical root consonant is the result of consonant reduction or extension (Leslau 1992; Meyer 2006; Agmon 2010; Rose 1997; 2007; Degif 2000, & Eyasu 2003).

Moreover, quadriradical consonantal root stems share some common features of the canonical verbs type A in the perfective verbal conjugation. In Gura, these perfective stems have the template slot $C_iC\text{C}\text{C}\text{C}$ -, and the following data depict the perfective stems and consonant radical roots.

(121)	Template	Root	Perfective Stem	
	$C_iC\text{C}\text{C}\text{C}$ -	$m-s-k-r$	$mis\acute{a}k\acute{a}r$ -	‘testified’
	$C_iC\text{C}\text{C}\text{C}$ -	$m-r-m-r$	$mir\acute{a}m\acute{a}r$ -	‘investigated’
	$C_iC\text{C}\text{C}\text{C}$ -	$g-l-m-t$	$g\acute{i}l\acute{a}m\acute{a}t$ -	‘glared’

5.2.1.2 Imperfective stems in verb type A

In Gura, the imperfective verb type A is described by the insertion of the vowel /ə/ between the first and penultimate consonant radical roots canonically. The canonical imperfective verb type A stems have the template slot $-C\text{C}\text{C}$ - in which the left and right position of the template is left open because they are indicating the subject affixes. Consider the data below.

(122)	Template	Root	Imperfective Stems	
	$-C\text{C}\text{C}$ -	$r-f-s$	$-r\acute{a}f\acute{s}$ -	‘blows’
	$-C\text{C}\text{C}$ -	$z-m-r$	$-z\acute{a}m\acute{r}$ -	‘sings’
	$-C\text{C}\text{C}$ -	$m-s-r$	$-m\acute{a}s\acute{r}$ -	‘resembles’

The imperfective verb type A has also occurred in the biradical root consonant stems as a subtype. It has the template slot either $-C\text{C}\text{a}$ - and $-C\text{C}$ - in the verb paradigm in Gura. These subtypes of type A verbs shared some linguistic features in common with the canonical verb type A. consider the data below.

(123)	Template	Root	Imperfective stems	
	$-C\text{C}\text{a}$ -	$g-f$	$-g\acute{a}f\acute{a}$ -	‘pushes’
	$-C\text{C}\text{a}$ -	$b-r$	$-b\acute{a}r\acute{a}$ -	‘eats’
	$-C\text{C}$ -	$s-j$	$-s\acute{a}j$ -	‘buys’
	$-C\text{C}$ -	$t\acute{f}-n$	$-t\acute{f}\acute{n}$ -	‘comes’

In Gura, quadriradical consonantal root morphemes also share some common features of the stem of verb type A. Therefore, it is considered in this study as subtypes of verb type A, and it has the imperfective template slot $-CC\text{C}\text{C}$ - . See the data below.

(124)	Template	Root	Perfective Stem	
	-CCəCC-	<i>m-s-k-r</i>	- <i>msəkr-</i>	‘testifies’
	-CCəCC-	<i>s-b-s-b</i>	- <i>sbəsb-</i>	‘collects’
	-CCəCC-	<i>g-l-m-t’</i>	- <i>gləmt’-</i>	‘glares’

5.2.1.3 Jussive stems in verb type A

In this verbal conjugation, jussive type A stems are formed by insertion of either the vowel /ə/ or /i/ depending on the feature of root morpheme in the canonical trilateral roots. In Gura, it is important to consider the inherent nature of the verbs (semantic) because the jussive template slot in the transitive and intransitive verbs restricts their arrangement in type A verbs (cf. Rose 1997:11 for Chaha). Therefore, the jussive stems have template slot either -CiCC or CCiC in the canonical radical root where in the epenthetic vowel is separating such consonant constraints. Moreover, in the jussive stems the central mid vowel /ə/ is inserted between the second and ultimate root consonants as -CCəC if the verbs are intransitive in canonical trilateral root morphemes in verb type A. Consider the data below.

(125)	Template	Root	Jussive stems	
	-CCiC-	<i>s-b-r</i>	- <i>sbir-</i>	‘may break’
	-CCiC-	<i>m-r-t’</i>	- <i>mrıt’-</i>	‘may pill’
	-CCəC-	<i>m-b-r</i>	- <i>mbər-</i>	‘may live’
	-CCəC-	<i>s-n-f</i>	- <i>srəf-</i>	‘may fear’

In (125) above, there is clear morphological difference between the first two and last two examples. The root inflection indicates difference morphological realization. In the first two examples, jussive stem has template slot -CCiC- whereas in the last two it becomes -CCəC- in which the inherent nature of verbs are very important. Nevertheless, this morphological operation only occurs in verb type A in jussive and imperative verbal conjugation.

The bi-consonantal root stem verbs are again occurring in this type of verbal conjugation. These verb stem have the template slot -CCa- when the vowels and consonants in the verbs are arranged final root vowels. This subtype of verb type A is also arranged in the stem template slot -CC-. See the data below.

(126)	Template	Root	Jussive stems	
	-CCa-	r-g	-rga-	‘may clot’
	-CCa-	q-l	-qla-	‘may be red’
	-CC-	tf-n	-tfn-	‘may come’

Quadriradical consonantal root morphemes are also defined as subtypes of this verb type in Gura. This subtype of verb type A has the template slot CəCCiC as in (127) below.

(127)	Template	Root	Jussive stem	
	-CəCCiC-	t-r-f-s	-tərfis-	‘may breath’
	-CəCCiC-	q ^w -r-q ^w -r	-q ^w ərq ^w ir-	‘may build’
	-CəCCiC-	s-b-s-b	-səbsib-	‘may collect’

5.2.1.4 Imperative stems in verb type A

In Gura, complete root radicals that are represented as CiCC/CCiC in the canonical triradical root verbs express the imperative forms of the verbs.³¹ It has the same stem template slot with the jussive but the diffidence lies on the subject marking affixes. It is quite clear that the imperative forms of verb is used for command or instruction for the second person singular and plural of both gender in Gura. However, jussive forms of the verbs are denoting command for first and third person singular and plural of both gender besides wishes and permission.

The verb type A has the template slot CiCC-/ CCiC-in the canonical triconsonantal root morphemes where in the epenthetic vowel (i) is shifted based on the features of sonority hierarchy of each consonant. See the data below for farther clarification.

(128)	Template	Root	Imperative	
	CCiC-	k-f-t	k ifit-	‘you open!’
	CiCC-	s-b-r	sibr -	‘you break!’
	CiCC-	z-b-r	zibr-	‘you answer!’

There are also bi-consonantal root verb stems in this type of verbs. They have the template slots CiCə- or CCa- as one can realize from the data below.

³¹Verbs can be inflected for difference grammatical functions. One of these inflectional function is the mood in which the state of the verb is distinguishing as the command and request (imperative) , the facts and questions (indicative) , and the doubt or wish (subjective) mood (cf. Crawl 2008 & Payne 1997).

(129)	Template	Root	Imperative	
	<i>CCa-</i>	<i>l-k</i>	<i>lika</i>	‘measure !’
	<i>CCa-</i>	<i>b-r</i>	<i>bra-</i>	‘eat!’
	<i>CiCə-</i>	<i>s-j</i>	<i>sijə-</i>	‘buy!’
	<i>CeCə-</i>	<i>n-x</i>	<i>nexə-</i>	‘come on!’

As one can understand from the data above, imperative verbal inflection occurs on the final root vowels as sub type of the verb type A in Gura. The final vowel stems that end with /a/ and /e/ appeared on the imperative but the former is assimilated with the plural and gender subject marker affixes as *bra* > *bijə* > *biru* > *bijəma* for 2MS, 2FS, 2PLM, and 2PLF. However, the latter is used for the 2MS and 2FS with no difference *sit’e* ‘you drink’ and in the second masculine and feminine plural the semivowel /w/ is inserted to solve consonant constraints as [*sit’e-wu* = drink.IMP-2MPL] ‘drink!’ [*sit’e wəma* = *drink.IMP-2FPL*] ‘drink!’.

In Gura, there are also quadriradical root imperative stems as subtypes of verb type A; they have the template slot CəCCiC. The data below illustrate this quadriradical root imperative stems.

(130)	Template	Root	Imperative	
	<i>CəCCiC-</i>	<i>m-s-k-r</i>	<i>məskir-</i>	‘testify!’
	<i>CəCCiC-</i>	<i>q^w-r-q^w-r</i>	<i>q^wərq^wir-</i>	‘build!’
	<i>CəCCiC-</i>	<i>s-b-s-b</i>	<i>səbsib-</i>	‘collect!’

5.2.2 Type B

This verb type has the following basic characteristics. The aspectual vowel /ə/ is inserted following and preceding the penultimate root morpheme in perfective; it is also placed following the first root morphemes in imperfective, but it is totally lost in the jussive verbal conjugations. The first radical is palatal or palatalized consonantal root in all these cases if not the canonical first root consonant is followed by the vowel /e/. In verb type B, there are biradical and quadriradical consonantal root morphemes besides the canonical triradical consonantal roots. The characteristics of this verb type are discussed along with its stems in the aspectual verb conjugations as follows.

5.2.2.1 Perfective stems in verb type B

The stems in this verb type are shown in the template slots either CeCəC- or CəCəC-. In the former template pattern, the first root consonant is palatal or palatalized whereas in the latter it is followed by the mid front vowel /e/. The data below, illustrate the basic features of the perfective stems of verb type B in Gura.

(131)	Template	Root	Perfective Stem	
	<i>CəCəC-</i>	<i>ʒ-p-r</i>	<i>ʒəpəʀ-</i>	‘return/answered’
	<i>CəCəC-</i>	<i>tʃ-m-r</i>	<i>tʃəməʀ-</i>	‘heaped’
	<i>CəCəC-</i>	<i>kʲ-s-s</i>	<i>kʲəsəs-</i>	‘accused’
	<i>CeCəC-</i>	<i>m-t'-r</i>	<i>met'əʀ-</i>	‘selected’
	<i>CeCəC-</i>	<i>b-q-r-</i>	<i>beqəʀ-</i>	‘brewed’

As in (131) data above, the radical root consonant in the first two template pattern ($C_1əC_2əC_3-$), C_1 is palatal consonants, and in the third template from upper C_1 is palatalized consonant, but in the last two template slots C_1 is non-palatal or non-palatalized consonant instead it is followed by the front mid vowel /e/.

In this verb type, the perfective stems also occur in the biconsonantal radical root verbs. Hence, the vowel /ə/ is inserted to the template slot CəCə- if the first root consonant is palatal or palatalized one otherwise the front mid vowel is inserted. It is shown in the template slot as CeCə/a- as in (132).

(132)	Template	Root	Perfective Stem	
	<i>CəCə-</i>	<i>q-t'</i>	<i>q'ət'ə-</i>	‘get tired’
	<i>CeCə-</i>	<i>ʒ-f</i>	<i>ʒəfə-</i>	‘be cold’
	<i>CeCə-</i>	<i>f-m</i>	<i>femə-</i>	‘hided’
	<i>CeCa-</i>	<i>m-n</i>	<i>mena-</i>	‘filled’

In Gura, the simple verb stems in verb type B are also formed from the quadriradical consonantal root consonants. This stem is treated as subtype of verb type B as it is described in example (133) below.

(133)	Template	Root	Perfective stem	
	<i>CiCəCəC-</i>	<i>f-r-k-t</i>	<i>fīrəkət-</i>	‘broke to pieces’
	<i>CiCəCəC-</i>	<i>ʒ-m-m-r</i>	<i>ʒiməmər-</i>	‘bragged’
	<i>CiCəCəC-</i>	<i>tʃ-f-tʃ-f</i>	<i>tʃifətʃəf-</i>	‘rained lightly’

5.2.2.2 Imperfective stems in verb type B

The type B verb has the imperfective stems in the canonical tri-consonantal root verbs and it is applicable in bi- and quadriradical consonantal root verbs. This verb type has the stem template slot -CeCC- if the vocalic insertion is the mid front vowel /e/ whereas it has also the stem template slot -CəCC- in which the first root consonant is labialized or labial consonant in the triradical consonantal word paradigm. The data below exemplifies imperfective stems that are constructed by the canonical triradical root consonantal morphemes.

(134)	Template	Root	Imperfective stems	
	-CəCC-	<i>kʲ-s-s</i>	- <i>kʲəsis-</i>	‘accuses’
	-CəCC-	<i>dʒ-k-r</i>	- <i>dʒəkr-</i>	‘wilts’
	-CeCC-	<i>b-q-r</i>	- <i>beqr-</i>	‘brews’
	-CeCC-	<i>m-tʻ-r</i>	- <i>metʻr-</i>	‘selects’

In this verb type, the imperfective stem has two realizations as indicated in the data above. The first consonant is expected to be the palatal/palatalized phonemes as in the first two examples, otherwise; the front mid vowel /e/ is inserted between the first and penultimate consonants as in the last two examples.

Besides, there is also subtype of this verb type when we consider the number of radical roots in the stem template slots. Thus, biradical root consonant verb stems has two basic realizations in this subtype of verb types. It can be realized as the template slot -CeC- when the front mid vowel is inserted in between the first and second root consonants. It can also have the template slots either -CeC- or -CCa- when front mid vowel is not used. See the data given below.

(135)	Template	Root	Imperfective stems	
	-CeC-	<i>f-m-</i>	- <i>fem-</i>	‘hides’
	-CeC-	<i>s-f</i>	- <i>sef-</i>	‘sews’
	-CiCa-	<i>m-r</i>	- <i>m^wira-</i>	‘fills’
	-CiC-	<i>q-tʻ</i>	- <i>qⁱitʻ-</i>	‘gets tire’

This verb type B also occurs as subtype when the imperfective stems are constructed by the use of the quadriradical root consonantal morphemes. Consider the following below.

(136)	Template	Root	imperfective stem	
	-CiCəCC-	f-r-k-t	-frəkt-	‘breaks to pieces’
	-CiCəCC-	ʒ-m-m-r	-ʒiməmr	‘brags’
	-CiCəCC-	tʃ-f-tʃ-f	-tʃifətʃif-	‘rains lightly’

In Gura, this subtype of imperfective verb type B has the template slot -CiCəCC-/-CCəCC- in which the first radical root consonant is palatal consonants.

5.2.2.3 Jussive stems in verb type B

The verb type B has the canonical triradical root consonant, and it has subtype of biradical/quadriradical root consonants stems.

In Gura, the jussive stems in the canonical verb type B have the template patterns -CəCC-. The front mid vowel (e) which appears between the first and penultimate radical root consonant in the perfective verb is changed into the central mid vowel (ə) in this verbal inflection. Consider the data below.

(137)	Template	Root	Jussive stems	
	-CCəC-	ʒ-p-r	-zəβr-	‘may answer’
	-CCəC-	m-t'-r	-mət'ir-	‘may select’
	-CCəC-	tʃ'-q ^w -s	-tʃək ^w is-	‘may beg’

There are also biradical root consonant stems in this verb type as subtype of jussive verb type B. These subtypes of verb types have the template slots either -CiC- or -CeC- where in the final root vowel /ə/ is absent here, and it reappeared in the perfective and imperfective verb forms. See the data below.

(138)	Template	Root	Jussive stems	
	-CiC-	q-t'	-q ⁱ it'-	‘let tire’
	-CiC-	q-j	-q ⁱ ij-	‘let keep’
	-CiC-	q-n	-q ⁱ ij-	‘let disappear’
	-CeC-	s-tʃ'	-setʃ'-	‘let drink’
	-CeC-	s-f	-sef-	‘let sew’

The verb type B has also quadriradical root consonants. There are four consonant root radicals in this verbal conjugation, but unlike the triradical root consonants, these root consonants C-patterns are filled with the central mid vowel in between the first and second radical root consonants. Consider the data below.

(139)	Template	Root	jussive stem	
	-CəCiCC-	f-r-k-t	-fərikt-	‘let break to pieces’
	-CəCiCC-	ʒ-m-m-r	-ʒəmir-	‘let brag’
	-CəCiCC-	tʃ-f-tʃ-f	-tʃəfitʃif-	‘let rain lightly’

As in (139) data above, the subtype of jussive verb type B has the template slot -CəCiCC- in which the first radical root consonant is palatal consonants.

5.2.2.4 Imperative stems in verb type B

This verb type has canonical underlying triradical consonantal root stems. Besides, a few biradical root consonant stems share the feature of verb type B in Gura. Thus, the canonical triradical verb type has two basic templates. If the verb stem is constructed with initial palatal or palatalized root consonant, it will possess the template slots either CiCC- or CCiC-. On the other hand, the imperative stem has the template slot CeCC- when it is constructed with the front mid vowel in between the first and penultimate consonants. Consider the following data.

(140)	Template	Root	Imperative	
	CiCC-	tʃ-m-r	tʃimr-	‘heap!’
	CCiC-	tʃ ^w -q ^w -s	tʃik ^w is -	‘beg!’
	CeCC-	m-t ^r -r	met ^r -	‘select!’

As in (140) data above, the imperative stems are shown by the complete radical root consonants in which the epenthetic vowel (i) breaks the consonant problems where necessary based on the nature of the consonants appeared in sequence. That is why the template of this verbal stems are varied.

In this kind of verb type B, there are biradical root consonant stems as subtype. These verb types have the template slot CiC-. The following data illustrate the biradical imperative stems in Gura.

(141)	Template	Root	Imperative	
	CiC-	qi-t ^r	qit ^r -	‘tire!’
	CiC-	s-f	sif-	‘sew!’
	CiC-	qi-m	qim-	‘win!’

In Gura, there are also sub types of verb B; they are constructed by quadriradical root consonant. The following data illustrate these morphological processes.

(142)	Template	Root	Imperative stem	
	<i>CəCiCC-</i>	<i>f-r-k-t</i>	<i>fərikt-</i>	‘break to pieces!’
	<i>CəCiCC-</i>	<i>ʒ-m-m-r</i>	<i>ʒəmiṃr-</i>	‘brag!’
	<i>CəCiCC-</i>	<i>tʃ-r-tʃ-r</i>	<i>tʃəritʃir-</i>	‘retail!’

As in (142) data above, the imperative stems in the quadriradical subtypes of verb type B has the template pattern CəCiCC-.

5.2.3 Type C

This verb type is characterized by the insertion of the central low vowel /a/ between the first and penultimate root consonants, and the vowel /ə/ is placed between the penultimate and ultimate root consonants in the canonical perfective verbs, but in the imperfective and jussive aspectual verb conjugations the latter vowel is completely deleted and the former keeps its position. In Gura, there is no gemination in type C verbs, it is attested that gemination is not allowed in verbal inflections just like other west central Gurage groups (see Hetzron1972 & Rose1997). The basic features of type C verb and its subtypes are discussed below along with its stems vis-à-vis data.

5.2.3.1 Perfective stems in verb type C

The stems in verbs type C have the template pattern CaCəC- in the canonical triradical root consonant morphemes. Here, the central low vowel is inserted between the first and penultimate consonants thereby the empty template slot is completed. Besides, the central mid vowel /ə/ is inserted between the ultimate and penultimate consonants. See the data below.

(143)	Template	Root	Perfective Stem	
	<i>CaCəC-</i>	<i>m-n-x</i>	<i>manəx-</i>	‘looted’
	<i>CaCəC-</i>	<i>d-r-dʒ</i>	<i>darədʒ-</i>	‘swam’
	<i>CaCəC-</i>	<i>b-n-r</i>	<i>banər-</i>	‘demolished’

In Gura, this verbal stem also occurs as subtype of this verb type C in biliteral consonant verbs. They have the template forms CaCə- as in (144).

(144)	Template	Root	Perfective Stems	
	<i>CaCə-</i>	<i>b-r</i>	<i>barə-</i>	‘said’
	<i>CaCə-</i>	<i>g-f</i>	<i>gafə-</i>	‘pillaged’

CaCə- d-q daqə- 'laughed'

The verb type C has also quadriradical root consonant morphemes as its subtype in this variety. The stem has the template pattern *CiCaCəC-*. Consider the following data for farther clarifications.

(145)	Template	Root	Perfective Stems	
	<i>CiCaCəC-</i>	<i>z-m-m-d</i>	<i>zimaməd-</i>	'jumbled'
	<i>CiCaCəC-</i>	<i>s-r-k-t</i>	<i>sirakət-</i>	'caused mess '
	<i>CiCaCəC-</i>	<i>q-m-m-r</i>	<i>qimamər-</i>	'cheated'

5.2.3.2 Imperfective stems in verb type C

In the imperfective stem of verb type C, the central vowel /ə/ is inserted in between the first and penultimate consonants. It has the stem template slot *-CaCC-* in the canonical triradical root consonants in Gura. See the data below for clarification.

(146)	Template	Root	Imperfective stems	
	<i>-CaCC-</i>	<i>q^w-t'-r</i>	<i>-q^wat'ir-</i>	'ties'
	<i>-CaCC-</i>	<i>b-n-r</i>	<i>-banir-</i>	'demolishes'
	<i>-CaCC-</i>	<i>m-n-x</i>	<i>-manx-</i>	'captures/loot'

Furthermore, this verb type has subtype that is arranged with biradical root consonants in the stem template slot. This subtype of verb has two stem template slot realizations *-CəC-* and *-CiC-* in the word paradigm in Gura. See the data below.

(147)	Template	Root	Imperfective stems	
	<i>-CiC-</i>	<i>b-s</i>	<i>-βis-</i>	'becomes bad'
	<i>-CəC-</i>	<i>d-q</i>	<i>-dəq-</i>	'laughs'
	<i>-CiC-</i>	<i>s-r</i>	<i>-fir-</i>	'becomes smart'

In this verb type C, the quadriradical root consonant morphemes are treated as subtype considering the number of root radicals in this variety. This type of stems has the template slot *-CiCaCC-* as it is described in the following data along with roots.

(148)	Template	Root	Perfective Stems	
	<i>-CiCaCC-</i>	<i>z-m-m-d</i>	<i>-zimamid-</i>	'jumbles'
	<i>-CiCaCC-</i>	<i>s-r-k-t</i>	<i>-sirakt-</i>	'causes mess '
	<i>-CiCaCC-</i>	<i>q-m-m-r</i>	<i>-qimamr-</i>	'cheats'

5.2.3.3 Jussive stems verb type C

The jussive stems, in the verb type C, is characterized by the insertion of the low central vowel /a/ between the first and penultimate radical root consonants. It has the template slot -CaCC- in the canonical triradical consonantal root morphemes, but this jussive stems have sub type when it is conceptualized by two radical root consonants in the template slot.

The following data illustrate the canonical triradical root consonants of jussive stems in Gura.

(149)	Template	Root	Jussive stems	
	-CaCC-	<i>d-r-dʒ</i>	- <i>dardʒ</i> -	‘let swim’
	-CaCiC-	<i>q-t'-r</i>	- <i>qat'ir</i> -	‘let tie’
	-CaCC-	<i>b-t-r</i>	- <i>batr</i> -	‘let separate’

Besides, these types of verbs have the template slot -CaC- in the biradical root verbs as a subtype of it. See the data below.

(150)	Template	Root	Jussive stems	
	-CaC-	<i>d-q</i>	- <i>daq</i> -	‘let laugh’
	-CaC-	<i>f^w-tʃ</i>	- <i>f^watʃ</i> -	‘let harvest’
	-CaC-	<i>f-m</i>	- <i>fam</i> -	‘let pull’

The verb type C has also subtypes which are constructed by quadriradical consonant root morphemes, and they share some common feature with the canonical triradical consonantal root morphemes. In Gura, this subtype of verb type C has the template slot CəCaCC. The following data illustrate the quadriradical jussive stems in Gura.

(151)	Template	Root	Jussive	
	-CəCaCC-	<i>q-r-q-r</i>	- <i>qəraqr</i> -	‘let mix’
	-CəCaCC-	<i>s-r-k-t</i>	- <i>sərakt</i> -	‘let cause mess’
	-CəCaCC-	<i>z-m-m-d</i>	- <i>zəmamd</i> -	‘let mix up ideas’

5.2.3.4 Imperative stems in verb type C

The imperative stems in this verb type have the template slot CaCC- in the canonical triradical root consonants as one can see from the data below.

(152)	Template	Root	Imperative	
	<i>CaCC-</i>	<i>q-t'-r</i>	<i>qat'r-</i>	'tie!'
	<i>CaCC-</i>	<i>b-t-r</i>	<i>batr-</i>	'separate!'
	<i>CaCC-</i>	<i>d-r-dʒ</i>	<i>dardʒ-</i>	'swim!'

There are also imperative stems in this verb type, which are constructed by using only two root morphemes in their surface realization. These subtypes of imperative stems have medial root vowel /a/ between the first and second consonant roots; they have also the template slot CaC- as one can see from the data below.

(153)	Template	Root	Imperative	
	<i>CaC-</i>	<i>k-s</i>	<i>kas-</i>	'divide!'
	<i>CaC-</i>	<i>f^w-tʃ'</i>	<i>f^watʃ'-</i>	'harvest!'
	<i>CaC-</i>	<i>m^w-tʃ'</i>	<i>m^watʃ'-</i>	'angry!'

The verb type C has also subtypes of quadriradical imperative stems. It has the template slot CCaCC; the middle low vowel /a/ is retained its position between the third and penultimate root morphemes like in the other aspectual verb conjugations. However, if the penultimate consonant is other than the sonorant consonant /r/, the template form will be CiCaCC- and it depends on the sonorant hierarchy. Consider the following data.

(154)	Template	Root	Imperative	
	<i>CCaCC-</i>	<i>q-r-q-r</i>	<i>qraqr-</i>	'mix up!'
	<i>CCaCC-</i>	<i>s-r-k-t</i>	<i>srakt-</i>	'cause mess!'
	<i>CiCaCC-</i>	<i>z-m-m-d</i>	<i>zimamd-</i>	'mix up ideas!'

5.2.4 Type D

In Gura, type D verb is characterized by initial labialized root consonants. The aspectual vowel /ə/ is also non-continuously inserted into the C-slots, but this vowel is only interdigitated between the first and penultimate root consonants in the imperfective and jussive aspectual verb conjugations.³² The root-and-pattern ways of word formation is

³²Meyer (2006:59) put this type of verbal classifications on other realization in Wolane. He portrays that verb type D is characterized by the vowel ɔ̃ in between the initial root consonants in the perfective and imperfective verbal inflections, but it is morphologically changed in to the back vowel /u/ in the jussive or imperatives.

depicted together the types of verbs supported by reliable data in the following discussions.

5.2.4.1 Perfective stems in verb type D

The stem template slot of this verb type is like types A, B, and C except the first root consonant morpheme is labialized in this verb type. Hence, it has the template form $C\text{ə}C\text{ə}C-$ in the canonical triradical consonantal root verbs, and it has also the template slots $C\text{ə}C\text{ə}-/CaC\text{ə}-$ in the biradical consonantal root verb where in first C is labialized consonant in each cases.

Thus, in the canonical triradical root consonants morpheme, the central mid vowel is interdigitated to the empty C-skeleton for forming perfective stem in Gura. See the data below.

(155)	Template	Root	Perfective Stems	
	$C\text{ə}C\text{ə}C-$	k^w-n-s	$q^w\text{ə}n\text{ə}s-$	‘subtracted’
	$C\text{ə}C\text{ə}C-$	q^w-l-f	$q^w\text{ə}l\text{ə}f-$	‘locked’
	$C\text{ə}C\text{ə}C-$	q^w-q^w-r	$q^w\text{ə}q^w\text{ə}r-$	‘squeezed’

In the verb type D, there are also biradical consonantal verb stems. These subtypes of verb type D have the template forms either $C\text{ə}C\text{ə}-$ or $CaC\text{ə}-$ as it has been mentioned above, and it is exemplified in the data below.

(156)	Template	Root	Perfective stems	
	$C\text{ə}C\text{ə}-$	q^w-m	$q^w\text{ə}m\text{ə}-$	‘stood’
	$CaC\text{ə}-$	m^w-q	$m^w\text{ə}q\text{ə}-$	‘get hot’
	$CaC\text{ə}-$	f^w-tf^w	$f^w\text{ə}t\text{f}^w\text{ə}-$	‘harvested’

5.2.4.2 Imperfective stems in verb type D

This verb type has the canonical triliteral and subtype biradical in the stem template slot in Gura. The verb type D has the stem template slot $-C\text{ə}CC-$ in which the central mid vowel /ə/ is inserted in between the first and second root template, and the first consonant in the root template is labialized consonant. Besides, the first labialized root consonant in the root template is followed by the low central vowel /a/; consequently, the second stem

template is formed as -CaCC- in the triconsonantal root consonants. The data below exemplifies the imperfective stem realization in the canonical triliteral root consonants in Gura.

(157)	Template	Root	Imperfective stems	
	-CəCC-	<i>q^w-n-s</i>	-q ^w əns-	‘subtracts’
	-CəCC-	<i>q^w-l-f</i>	-q ^w əlf-	‘locks’
	-CəCC-	<i>w-n-s</i>	-wənis-	‘feels alone’
	-CaCC-	<i>q^w-t'-r</i>	-q ^w at'r-	‘ties’

In Gura, some stems are constructed as biradical root consonantal verbal stems. Hence, these subtypes of verb type D have arranged in two stem template slots. They have the stem template -CiC- when the first labialized root template is followed by the central mid vowel. The other subtype has the template -CaC- in which the first labialized root consonant is followed by the central low vowel /a/. See the data below.

(158)	Template	Root	Imperfective stems	
	-CiC-	<i>q^w-m</i>	-q ^w im-	‘stands’
	-CiC-	<i>q^w-ʒ</i>	-q ^w iʒ-	‘defecates’
	-CaC-	<i>m^w-q</i>	-m ^w aq-	‘be warms’
	-CaC-	<i>f^w-tʃ</i>	-f ^w atʃ-	‘mows’

5.2.4.3 Jussive stems in verb type D

In Gura, there are no quadriradical consonantal root jussive stems as subtype unlike biradical root jussive stems. However, the verb type D has the jussive stem template slot -CəCC- in the canonical triconsonantal root morphemes as in (159).

(159)	Template	Root	Jussive stems	
	-CəCC-	<i>q^w-n-s</i>	-q ^w əns-	‘let subtract’
	-CəCC-	<i>q^w-l-f</i>	-q ^w əlf-	‘let lock’
	-CəCC-	<i>w-n-s</i>	-wənis-	‘let be alone’

There are biradical root consonant jussive stem of this type of verbs. They have the template slot either -CC- or -CaC- in which the first radical root (C) is labialized consonant. The data below illustrate the jussive stem of subtypes of verb type D.

(160)	Template	Root	Jussive stems	
	-CC-	<i>q^w-m</i>	-q ^w m-	‘let stand’
	-CaC-	<i>f^w-tʃ</i>	-f ^w atʃ-	‘let harvest’

-CC- *q^w-r* -*q^wr*- ‘let roast grain’

5.2.4.4 Imperative stems in verb type D

In the verb type D, of imperative stems has canonical triradical and the subtype biradical root consonantal morphemes. In this verb type, the trilateral root stems have the template slot CiCC-. Here, the first root radical is labialized consonant as can be realized from the data below.

(161)	Template	Root	Imperative	
	<i>CiCC-</i>	<i>q^w-n-s</i>	<i>q^wins -</i>	‘subtract!’
	<i>CiCC-</i>	<i>q^w-l-f</i>	<i>q^wilf -</i>	‘lock!’
	<i>CiCC-</i>	<i>q^w-q^w-r</i>	<i>q^wiq^wr-</i>	‘squeeze!’

There are also biliteral root stems in this verb type D. They have the template slots either CaC- or CiC- in which the first root morpheme is labialized consonants that are followed by the low central vowel /a/. Here are some data for clarifications.

(162)	Template	Root	Imperative	
	<i>CaC-</i>	<i>f^w-tf’</i>	<i>f^watf’-</i>	‘harvest!’
	<i>CiC-</i>	<i>q^w-m</i>	<i>q^wim -</i>	‘stand up!’
	<i>CaC-</i>	<i>m^w-f</i>	<i>m^waf -</i>	‘clean!’

In Gura, type D verbs appear in bi-consonantal and triconsonantal root morphemes even though it is rarely occurring verbal root morphemic phenomenon. This verb type is characterized by initial labialized root consonants and the insertion of central mid vowel /ə/ on the C-slot in perfective, imperfective and jussive verbal inflections.³³

5.3 Agreement markers

In Gura, verbs are also inflected morphologically in order to portray the subject and object agreements. The agreement markers are affixes that are attached to the verbs to

³³Meyer (2006:59) put this type of verbal classifications on other realization in Wolane. He portrays that verb type D is characterized by the vowel ɔ̃ in between the initial root consonants in the perfective and imperfective verbal inflections, but it is morphologically changed in to the back vowel /u/ in the jussive or imperatives.

signify morphosyntactic purpose. These morphemes are denoting person, number, and gender in both the subjective and objective cases. The subject markers are affixed or prefixed to the verb stems in all the three basic verbal conjugation. Hence, there are different affixes that portray subject agreements in each of these aspectual verb conjugations (perfective, imperfective, jussive and imperative) as they are discussed below.

5.3.1 Subject agreement markers

The subject agreement markers are exhibited differently in the three basic verbal forms. In Gura, subjects are in concord with the agreement affixes that attributes to perfective, imperfective, jussive and imperative aspectual verb forms. In this section, each of the subject agreement markers morphemes is clearly shown on tables supported by data.

5.3.1.1 Subject agreement markers in perfective

In Gura, the subject agreement markers in the perfective verbal inflections are totally suffixed to the verbs. As indicate from their name, they create sound grammatical sense with the nominal/pronominal subjects, and they are semantically/conceptually understood in agreement with subject of the sentence or sentential verbs. See the table below.

Table 15: Subject agreement markers in perfective

Person	Subject marker in perfective
1PS	-x ^w
1PL	-nə
2MS	-xə
2FS	-x ⁱ
2MPL	-xu
2FPM	-xima
3FS	-əf
3MS	-ə
3MPL	-o
3FPL	-əma

In Gura, perfective subject agreement markers are morphologically attached to the aspectual perfective verb conjugations. These suffixed subject agreement morphemes are

always agreed in number, gender and person to the optional subjects of the sentences. Consider the following data.

(163)

Persons			
Singular	Examples	Plural	Examples
1PS	<i>f^watf^ʔə-x^w</i> harvest.PFV-1PS.SM 'I harvested'	1PL	<i>f^watf^ʔə-nə</i> harvest.PFV-1PL.SM 'we harvested'
2MS	<i>f^watf^ʔə-xə</i> harvest.PFV-2MS.SM 'you harvested'	2MPL	<i>f^watf^ʔə-xu</i> harvest.PFV-2MPL.SM 'you harvested'
2FS	<i>f^watf^ʔə-xⁱ</i> harvest.PFV-2FS.SM 'you harvested'	2FPL	<i>f^watf^ʔə-xⁱma</i> harvest.PFV-2FPL.SM 'you harvested'
3FS	<i>f^watf^ʔə-tf</i> harvest.PFV-3FS.SM 'she harvested'	3FPL	<i>f^watf^ʔə-ma</i> harvest.PFV-3FPL.SM 'they harvested'
3MS	<i>f^watf^ʔ-ə</i> harvest.PFV-3MS.SM 'he harvested'	3MPL	<i>f^watf^ʔ-o</i> harvest.PFV-3MPL.SM 'they harvested'

5.3.1.2 Subject agreement markers in imperfective

In Gura, there are also subject agreement markers in imperfective verb forms. Like subject agreement markers in perfective, subject agreement markers in imperfective are prefixed to the root morphemes (see Table 16), and in some persons they are both prefixed and suffixed into verbs. Consider the table below.

Table 16: Subject agreement markers in imperfective

Person	Subject marker in imperfective verb forms
1PS	<i>i-</i>
1PL	<i>ni -nə</i>
2MS	<i>ti -i</i>
2FS	<i>ti -i</i>
2MPL	<i>ti -u</i>
2FPM	<i>ti -əma</i>
3FS	<i>ti-</i>
3MS	<i>ji-ə</i>
3MPL	<i>ji -o</i>
3FPL	<i>ji--əma</i>

In Gura, imperfective subject agreement markers are morphologically attached to the imperfective verbal conjugations. These affixes subject agreement morphemes are always agreed in number, gender and person to the optional objects of the sentences. Consider the following data.

(164)	Persons			
Singular	Examples	Plural	Examples	
1PS	<i>i-rəks</i> 1PS.SM-bite.IPFV 'I bite/am biting'	1PL	<i>ni-rəks-nə</i> 1PS.SM-bite.IPFV-1PL 'We bite/ are biting'	
2MS	<i>ti-rəks</i> 2MS.SM-bite.IPFV 'You bite/are biting'	2MPL	<i>ti-rəks-u</i> 2MPL.SM-bite.IPFV-2MPL 'You bite/are biting'	
2FS	<i>ti-rəks-i</i> 2FS.SM-bite.IPFV-2FS 'You bite/are biting'	2FPL	<i>ti-rəks-əma</i> 2FPL.SM-bite.IPFV-2FPL 'You bite/are biting'	
3FS	<i>ti-rəks</i> 3FS.SM-bite.IPFV 'She bites/is biting'	3FPL	<i>ji-rəks-əma</i> 3FPL.SM-bite.IPFV-3FPL 'They bite/are biting'	
3MS	<i>ji-rəks</i> 3MS.SM-bite.IPFV 'He bites/is biting'	3MPL	<i>ji-rəks-o</i> 3MPL.SM-bite.IPFV-3MPL 'They bite/ are biting'	

The subject agreement morpheme in the imperfective verbal forms is expressed by the affixes (prefix and suffixes). The bound morphemes *i-/ni-*, *ti-* and *ji-* are designated the

first, second and third persons in the imperfective stems respectively. Nevertheless, the third singular feminine person is deviated from this predictable rule that it is denoted with the morpheme *tì-* which concise with the second imperfective marker.

5.3.1.3 Subject agreement markers in jussive

In Guar, jussive subject agreement is denoted by affixes that are attached to the jussive verbal forms of all verb types. Consider the following table.

Table 17: Subject agreement markers in jussive

Person	Subject marker in imperfective verb forms
1PS	<i>ni-</i>
1PL	<i>ni -nə</i>
2MS	<i>-i</i>
2FS	<i>-i</i>
2MPL	<i>-u</i>
2FPM	<i>-əma</i>
3FS	<i>tì-</i>
3MS	<i>ə-</i>
3MPL	<i>ə-o</i>
3FPL	<i>ə-əma</i>

As it is indicated in table 17 above, in Gura, jussive subject agreement marker morphemes designate number, gender and person morphologically. These affixes are agreed with the understood subject/subject pronouns of a sentence. For instance, in the following example (165), the sentential verb *-qt'ir-* ‘kill’ the personal pronouns both singular and plural are there to agree with the jussive subject marker morphemes, and they are attributed to each persons. See the data below for farther clarification.

(165)		Persons	
Singular	Examples	Plural	Examples
1PS	<i>ni-qt'ir</i> 1PS.SM-kill.JUSS ‘Let me kill.’	1PL	<i>ni-qt'ir-nə</i> 1PS.SM-kill.JUSS-1PL ‘Let us kill.’
2MS	<i>qit'r-i</i> kill.JUSS-2MS.SM ‘Let you kill.’	2MPL	<i>qit'r-u</i> kill.JUSS-2PL.SM ‘Let you kill.’

2FS	<i>qitr-i</i> kill.JUSS-2FS.SM 'Let you kill.'	2FPL	<i>qit'r-əma</i> kill.JUSS-2FPL.SM 'Let you kill.'
3FS	<i>ti-qtir-i</i> 3FS.SM-kill.JUSS-3FS 'Let her kill.'	3FPL	<i>ə-qit'r-əma</i> 3FPL.SM-kill.JUSS-3FPL 'Let them kill.'
3MS	<i>ə-qit'r</i> 3MS.SM-kill.JUSS 'Let him kill.'	3MPL	<i>ə-qit'r-o</i> 3MPL.SM-kill.JUSS-3MPL 'Let them kill'

As in Table 17 and data (165) above, the subject marker is denoted predominantly by the bound morpheme *ə-*. It is concatenatively prefixed to jussive verbal conjugations for denoting second and third person singular and plural of both genders. It is also denoted by the morpheme *ni-* for first person singular and plural, and the morpheme *ti-* is used to indicate third person singular feminine.

5.3.2 Object agreement markers

In Gura, the object is a non-subject argument that is expressed by bound affixes. These morphemes are found attaching to verbs preceded by the applicative objects (cf. Rose 2007 & Degif 2000). In Gura, there are two basic allomorphs named as 'light' and 'heavy',³⁴ which are attributed to the object and object applicative affixes. These object morphemes are portraying person, number and gender. In Gura, these object markers are not varying on the base of the verbal aspects like subject markers (see §5.6.1). Consider the following table.

³⁴Hetzron (1972; 1977) identified object allomorphic realization sets as "heavy" and "light" in Gunnän Guarage. He designated as heavy when the verbs are marked with plural subject suffixes, the second subject and the impersonal verb. Whereas, the light form occur following verbs marked with all other singular subject suffixes.

Table 18: Object agreement markers

Person	Light	Heavy
1PS	-e (-j after vowel)	-n
1PL	-əndə	-əndə
2MS	-axə	-kə
2FS	-ax ⁱ	-k ⁱ
2MPL	-axu	-aku
2FPL	-axima	-akima
3MS	-n	-wi
3FS	-na	-ja
3MPL	-no	-jo
3FPL	-nəma	-jəma

As in Table 18, an object marker in second person (-ax-) has allomorph of the voiced velar (-ak-). So, the voiceless fricative is become voiced velar in the heavy set (in the second person plural). Similarly, in the third person, the alveolar voiced nasal has allomorphs of the voiced palatal approximant -j. However, in the first person plural, there is not conditional change in the light and heavy allomorphic set unlike in the first person singular that is denoted by the morphemes -e/j and -n as light and heavy allomorphic set respectively. Besides, in the third singular masculine the light allomorph -n has the morpheme -wi in the heavy set.

In Gura, the syntactic functions of direct object markers are optionally defined by the possessive pronouns that can be in agreement with the pronominal affixes licensed on verbs. Consider the following data.

- (166) a) *tat'əq dzəβən səpər-ə.*
tatek kittle break.PFV-3MS.SM
'Tatek broke kittle.'
- b) *tat'əq dzəβən-xino səpər-ə-no.*
tatek kittle-def break.PFV-3MS.SM-3MPL.OM
'Tatek broke the kittles.'
- c) *dzəβən-huta tat'əq səp^wər-ə-n.*
kittle-DEF tatek break.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
'Tatek broke the kittle.'

As in (166) data above, the object agreement marker is not designated in example (166a). There is no agreement marker which concord the object *dʒəβən* ‘coffee pot’ on the verb, but it keeps the underlying word order of this variety. However, in examples (166b and c), the direct objects are determined, and they are marked with the object pronominal affixes which needs a licensed agreement in the verbs as (-no) and (-n) respectively. They morphosemantically convey person, number and gender.

In Gura, the object marking system is also marked both in the object and in the verbs. There are ditransitive verbs that take two objects in realm of word syntax. Here, the direct and indirect objects of the verbs are morphologically indicated. The direct object is reflected in agreement with the verbs, but the indirect object is pre-modified with the morpheme *ʔə-* (see §2.2.4.1.3). Let us consider also the data below.

- (167) a) *xī məʃɑf ʔə-waqe i-rəx^w-n-te.*
 that book DAT-wake 1PS.SM-send.IPFV-3MS.OM-FUT
 ‘I will send this book to wake.’
- b) *məʃɑf-huta tə-bərga titf’əbər-x^w-n.*
 book-DEF PREberga receive.PFV-1PS-3MS.OM
 ‘I received the book from Berga.’
- c) *zī məʃɑf ʔə-murgat am-o-ja.*
 this book DAT- murgat give.PFV-3MPL.SM-3FS.OM
 ‘They gave this book for Murgata?’

In (167a-c), the direct object of the sentences (*məʃɑf* ‘book’) is defined by the demonstrative pronouns. It appeared nearest to the subject followed by indirect objects. Nevertheless, the indirect objects are denoted by the bound morpheme *ʔə-* that is interpreted as ‘for/to’, and they are preceded by the direct objects.

5.3.2.1 Object agreement markers in applicative constructions

In Gura, there are double object constructions, and they are marked with the object agreement suffixes that are applied for the types of the object- benefactive and malfactive. The verbs are inflected for showing benefit and detrimental usage through the morphemes -n- and -b- respectively. The morphemes are functioning for the nouns that are benefited and negatively affected with the action carried out. These morphemes have

allomorphic counterparts under morphological situations in Gura (see Hetzron 1972; 1977 for light and heavy allomorphs). Besides, the malfactive marker -b- is fricativized intervocalically. Consider the following table.

Table 19: Object markers in applicative

Person	Benefactive			Malfactive		
	Light	Heavy	Gloss	Light	Heavy	Gloss
1PS	-n-i	-n-i	'for my own benefit'	-β-i	-p-i	'for my detriment'
1PS	-n-ndə	-n-ndə	'for our own benefit'	-β-ndə	-p-ndə	'for our detriment'
2MS	-n-xə	-n-kə	'for your own benefit'	-β-xə	-β-kə	'for your detriment'
2FS	-n-xʲ	-n-kʲ	'for your own benefit'	-β-xʲ	-β-kʲ	'for your detriment'
2FPL	-n-xima	-n-kima	'for your own benefit'	-β-xima	-β-kima	'for your detriment'
2MPL	-n-xu	-n-ku	'for your own benefit'	-β-xu	-β-ku	'for your detriment'
3MS	-r-ə	-r-ə	'for his own benefit'	-w-ə	-kʷə	'for his detriment'
3FS	-r-a	-r-a	'for her own benefit'	-β-a	-β-a	'for her detriment'
3FPL	-r-əma	-r-əma	'for their own benefit'	-β-əma	-β-əma	'for their detriment'
3MPL	-r-o	-r-o	'for their own benefit'	-β-o	-β-o	'for their detriment'

As one can realize from the Table 19 above, there are sound changes when the malfactive and benefactive marker morphemes are used with singular and plural personal pronouns. The malfactive marker or morpheme /-b-/ is becoming getting its devoicing /p/ morpheme in the first person and third person as in the case aforementioned. The fricative sound in the person marker /-x/ is become strengthen into velar sound /-k/ in all the second person pronouns (see§5.6.2).

However, there are not restricted sound changes in benefactive object marking systems in first person pronouns, as one can understand from Table 19. In the second persons, there appears sound change when they are used with plural subjects, second person and impersonal passive then $x > k$.

In the applicative object construction, there are three arguments just like in the ditransitive verbal constructions. Thus, applicative suffixes control the object agreement licensed on the verbs. Consider the data below.

- (168) a) *bərga məşaf-əna gədəd-ə-β-i.*
 berga book-1PS.POSS tear.PFV-3MS.SM-MAL-1PS.OM
 ‘Berga torn my book for my detriment.’
- b) *xino ixa a-tʃən-ow-n-i.*
 they water CAUS-come.PFV-3MPL.SM-BEN-1PS.OM
 ‘They brought water for my own benefit.’
- c) *bərga ʔə-ədət-ətə bʷərə səj-ə-r-a.*
 berga DAT-mother-DEF ox buy.PFV-3MS.SM-BEN-3FS.OM
 ‘Berga bought an ox for his mother.’

5.4 Derived stems

Derivational verbal process is portraying the changing of root-morphemes in the meaning of the verbs vis-à-vis lexical and semantic message of these root-morphemes. This morphological process involves change of forms, increase number of root-morphemes, and change of syntactic category and semantic usage (cf. Millier 2006; Meyer 2006; Mulugeta and Gasser 2012 & Simpson 2009). In Gura, the derivations of complex verb stems are the passive marker /tə-/, causative marker /a/t-/, and verbal noun /-ot or wə-/ which are discussed below.

5.4.1 Passive stems

In Gura, the voice of verbs can be classified as active and non-active. The prefix /tə-/ is used to indicate for both real passive verbs such as *təsəpərə* ‘it/he was broken’ and middle verbs such as *tərəsa* ‘he stand himself’. Therefore, the prefix t(ə-) is used to indicate the non-passive relation both as passive and middle verbs in this variety. In connection to this, Tolomari (2009) insists that the latter (middle verb) is very commonly used feature in the Afro-Asiatic languages with some Cushitic exceptions and he added that these verbs are derived from body grooming verbs.

The active verbs give special focus for the subject or what the subject of the sentences did whereas in the passive construction focus is given for the doer or action. In Gura, the latter (passive) construction is expressed by the morpheme /tə-/ which portrays both the middle and passive expressions. There are two basic arguments in the active forms of the

verbs (verbal valence). These are subject or the doer of the action and the object or the receiver of the action. This morpheme /tə/ is attached to verb transitive for portraying when the action is more important to be expressed or reported or it is expressing the exposition of an action in the pure passive, but it is also attached to intransitive verbs for indicating the middle verb nature.

In Gura, middle verbs are not differing from other Ethio-semitic languages (cf. Tolamariam 2009), they are expressed with the same morpheme /tə-/ by perceptive concept. Consider the following examples.

(169)	Root	Perfective	
	<i>m-h-r</i>	<i>təmar-</i>	‘learnt oneself’
	<i>tʃ’-w-d</i>	<i>təʃ’awəd-</i>	‘play oneself’
	<i>t-g-d-r</i>	<i>tiɡətər-</i>	‘be sleep’
	<i>t-r-s</i>	<i>tərəs-</i>	‘stand oneself’

In contrast, this morpheme is also used to portray passive construction when it is attached with the transitive or ditransitive verbs (cf. Tolamariam 2009, Meyer 2006, and Bedilu 2010). Similarly, this morpheme indicates derivation of passive stems in Gura, and it increases verbal root and forms the **tə-stem**. Consider the following examples.

(170)	Root	Base stem	Gloss	tə-stem	Gloss
	<i>s-b-r</i>	<i>səpər -</i>	‘break’	<i>tə-səpər-</i>	‘was broken’
	<i>b-l- a</i>	<i>bəna-</i>	‘eat’	<i>tə-bəna-</i>	‘was eaten’
	<i>a-n-t’</i>	<i>ant’-</i>	‘cut’	<i>t-ant’ə-</i>	‘was cut’

As in (170), when the passive marker t(ə-) is prefixed to the vowel initial verbs either of the vowels are deleted (see Rose 2007:411-13 for Chaha & Bedilu 2010:93 for Kistaninya). For instance, in example (170), in the last data, *tə-ant’ə-> tant’ə* ‘was cut’; the mid central vowel is deleted, and it is replaced by the low central vowel /a/.

In Gura, the passive marker also occurs in imperfective verbal conjugations, and the prefix /tə-/ loses its vowel /ə/ when it is attached to imperfective verbal conjugation. Thus, the **tə-stem** stem becomes **ji-+tə-stem** in imperfective verb forms, but it interfaces semantically with relative verbs. Consider the following

(171)	Base stem	Gloss	Imperfective in the t̄-stem	Gloss
	-səβir-	'break'	-tisəpr-	'one that is broken'
	-qət'ir-	'kill'	-tqətr-	'one that is killed'
	-fem-	'pull'	-tifəm-	'one that is pulled'

On the other hand, the passive marker is appeared on the jussive verbal next to the subject jussive markers. See from the data below.

(172)	Base stem	Gloss	Jussive in the t̄-stem	Gloss
	-f ^w atf'	'harvest'	-tif ^w atf'-	'one that may be harvested'
	-səβir	'break'	-təsβir-	'one that may be break'
	-tfot	'work'	-titfot-	'one that may be worked'

Furthermore, the bound morpheme /t̄ə-/ is also used in reciprocal expressions. It is used to portray actions that have the same chance of affecting each other or one another in Gura (see§5.3.2.4 &3.2.3). Here, the penultimate consonant of the trilateral radical is repeated and in between the first radical, and penultimate radical the low central vowel /a/ is inserted. Consequently, they have the template slot t̄ə-CəCaCəC- in the canonical triradical root morphemes. For instance, the t-stem *təsəpər-* becomes *təsəpapər-o* 'they broke each other'. Let us see the following example.

(173)	Passive	Gloss	Reduplicative stem	Gloss
	t̄ə-səpər-	'was broken'	t̄ə-səpapər-	'break one another'
	t̄ə-fəgər-	'was exchanged'	t̄ə-fəgagər-	'exchange one another'
	t̄ə-agəz-	'was helped'	t̄ə-gagəz-	'help one another'

As in (173), there exists structural change to the template slot already mentioned so far as t̄ə-CəCəC- passive verbal stems. Here, the repetition of the action is expressed by the reduplicater morpheme (a) which is morphologically inserted to the penultimate consonants in the canonical root morphemes.

5.4.2 Causative stem (a/at-)

In Gura, there are two causative markers.³⁵ These are the bound morpheme /a-/ which indicates the direct causative verbal formation in **a-stem**, and the morpheme /at-/ that is used to portray the indirect causative in **at-stem**. The direct and indirect causative stems are discussed in this paper point by point as follows.

5.4.2.1 Direct causative

In Gura, direct causative is derived predominantly from the intransitive stems. Consequently, a new stem/**a-stem** pattern whose subject is switched into transitive or agentive slot is created (cf. Meyer 2006 for Wolane; Bezza 2011 for Amharic & Eyasu 2002 for Endegn). In similar points, Rose (2007:412) insists that this causative marker is attached to any very type of ergative except descend and by citing Degif in Chaha (1996b) which have alternate form of transitive/intransitive.

In Gura, direct causative is expressed by the prefix /a-/, and it is linearly attached to intransitive of any verb types of the three verbal inflections/conjugations. This morpheme brings no internal shape change to verb stems for which it is attached with. The following data illustrate the features of direct causative in Gura.

(174)	Base stems	Gloss	a-stem	Gloss
	<i>tʃən-</i>	‘came’	<i>a-tʃən-</i>	‘make to bring’
	<i>bəsər-</i>	‘ripe’	<i>a-bəsər-</i>	‘make to ripe’
	<i>wənd-</i>	‘descend’	<i>a-wənd-</i>	‘make dismount’

In (174), all the verbs are intransitive forms, and they portray the involvements of single argument. However, when the bound morpheme /a-/ is attached concatenately to these intransitive or unaccusative verbs, these verbs add other participant as an agent. Hence,

³⁵Hetzron (1972) identified the prefix as-/at-, sometimes called ‘double causative’ marker, is clearly of Cushitic origin, and Bezza (2011) argued that these as-stem are marginalized their acceptability in Amharic.

they portray the transfer of an action or an action has other agent to be performed. In connection to this, the description of /a-/ is relatively simple; it applies to basic non-agentive stems to derive simple causative/agentive or transitive verbs (cf. Bezza 2011:53 in Amharic).

In the three basic verbal conjugations, there is vowel change or lowering of the front central vowel /i/ as /a/ in the imperfective causative. Besides, mid central vowel /ə/ becomes /a/ in the jussive causative. For example, it is clearly observed while the intransitive verb *atʃən-* ‘come’ is conjugated as : [a-tʃən-ə = CAUS-come.PFV-3MS.SM = ‘He brought something or somebody’], [j-a-tʃən-te =3MS.SM-CAUS-come.IPVF-FUT = ‘He will bring something or somebody’], and [a-tən=3MS.JUSS-come = ‘May he bring something or somebody’].

This direct causative marker is attached to the imperfective verbal conjugation in Gura. It adds an argument to the verbs as *jiwərd* ‘It/he dismounts’ > *jawənd* ‘He/it makes to dismount’. See the following data.

(175)	Base stem	Gloss	Imperfective	Gloss
	-tʃən-	‘come’	-a-tʃən-	‘one makes to come’
	-βənir-	‘fly’	-a-βənir-	‘one makes to fly’
	-wənd-	‘descend’	-a-wənd-	‘one makes to descend’

As it is realized from the above data, the close central vowel /i/ is deleted and replaced with the lower one/a/ from the imperfective subject marker when it is attached to the causative marker (-a-).

The direct causative can also appeared in the jussive verbal conjugation, and the vowel /ə/ loses, and it is replaced by the low central vowel causative /a-/ as one can realized from the examples below.

(176)	Base stem	Gloss	Causative Jussive	Gloss
	-brir-	‘fly’	-abrir-	‘may one make to fly ’
	-tʃin-	‘come’	-atʃin-	‘may one make to bring ’
	-wind-	‘descend’	-awind-	‘may one make to descend ’

However, after one adds the causative /a-/ to these words, there is no any surface or underlying change in the template except it is simply adjoined in the perfective verbal inflection (cf. Rose 2007). However, there is very slight change in the imperfective and jussive verbal conjugations in Gura.

In this variety, there is morphological alternation when the causative /a-/ is attached to the verbal conjugation in imperfective and jussive due to vowel contact. It is not allowed to appear two or more vowels that is why there exists vowel deletion or replacement of the central vowel both /i/ in the imperfective and /ə/ in the jussive with the low central vowel /a/. Thus, the change is said to be vowel lowering in both cases.

5.4.2.2 Indirect causative (at-)

The indirect causative represents both the causative of the passive and the indirect causatives where in the intransitive verbs are getting an agentive by deriving or affixing with the morpheme /at-/ in Gura.³⁶ Consequently, there is an argument that the morpheme /at-/ is not a single word as its surface usage, but it is the result of two morphologically valued morphemes in Ethio-semitic for which Hetzron (1972) refers as it is derived from Cushitic, and he claimed that it is sometime called the Double causative. Hence, the underlying structure of this causative is both the passive marker /t-/ and the causative /a-/ like *a-t-raxəm-ə* /CAUS-PASS-meet-3MS.SM/ 'He made somebody to connect.' (cf. Hetzron 1977:72; Rose 2007:412 & Bezza 2011:54,).

Therefore, the causativizer /at-/ is combined morphemes which is used in collaboration to express passive causative. See the data below for clarification in Gura.

³⁶Bezza (2011:56) argues that the derivation of an indirect and/or double causative verb cannot be formalized without accounting for the direct or internal causer/agent as either being lexically encoded in the base or as somehow introduced by the causative affix itself or by another intermediate affix. Similarly, the derivation of a verb with a causative of the passive interpretation should be explained in terms of a passive base of the causative affix or as a double function of the affix: simultaneously passivizing while causativizing.

(177) Passive stems		Passive causative	
<i>tə-nəqəm-</i>	‘was picked up’	<i>a-t-raqəm-</i>	‘one made sb to pick sth up’
<i>tə-nəkəb-</i>	‘was joined’	<i>a-t-rakəm-</i>	‘one made to join sb/sth with’
<i>tə-fərəm-</i>	‘was signed’	<i>a-t-fərəm-</i>	‘one made to sign’

As it is clearly indicated in the data above, the passive marker /tə-/ is first attached with the words to portray passive of an action in examples first left column. Indeed, in each of these stems, the underlying causative marker is followed by the passive marker (tə-); in the second column the double causative (causative and passive) are denoted simultaneously by the morpheme (at-).

However, in verbs like *təmar-* ‘was learned one’, this morpheme (t-) portrays the middle verb for which the causative is attached for indicating causer, and cause results both linguistic and conceptually relation. Hence, as has been discussed in the previous section and now, when the passive marker (tə-) is prefixed to the vowel initial verbs either of the vowels are lost.

Besides, the indirect /double causatives are attached to the imperative aspectual verb conjugations. For example, *ji-a-t-təmar* > *jatəmīr* ‘he makes some body to learn’ and *ji-a-ti-fərm* > *jatifərm* ‘he makes some body to sign’. Here, the vowel of the subject marker in the morpheme *ji-* is lost, and the causative marker takes this position. Consider the data below.

(178) Base stem	Gloss	Imperfective at-stem	Gloss
<i>ji-gədid</i>	‘He digs.’	<i>-atgədid-</i>	‘makes sb to dig’
<i>ji-fərm</i>	‘He signs.’	<i>-atfərm-</i>	‘makes sb to sign’
<i>ji-rəkm</i>	‘He meets.’	<i>-atrakm-</i>	‘makes sb to meet’

The jussive marker is deleted when it appears with the causative marker /at/. For instance, the words *ə-at-fərm* and *ə-at-rakm* are realized as *atifərm* ‘May he make to sign’ and *atrakm* ‘May he make to join’. The at-stem in jussive verbal inflection is indicated in the data below.

(179) Base stems	Gloss	Jussive at-stem	Gloss
<i>ə-tmir-</i>	‘may he learn.’	<i>-atmir-</i>	‘let one make to teach’
<i>ə-firm-</i>	‘may he sign’	<i>-atfirm-</i>	‘may one make to sign’
<i>ə-rikm-</i>	‘may he join’	<i>-atrakm-</i>	‘may one make to join’

The prefix /at-/ is also used to express factitive stems when someone has somebody to do something as in the data below.

(180)	Base stems	Gloss	Factive	Gloss
	<i>bəsər-</i>	'be cook'	<i>atbəsər-</i>	'facilitate to cook'
	<i>nəqəm-</i>	'pick up'	<i>atrəqəm-</i>	'facilitate to picked sth up'
	<i>məkər-</i>	'advise'	<i>atməkər-</i>	'facilitate to advise'

Besides, the indirect causative (at-) is attached to the derived stem which expresses semantically reciprocity of an action, and the second radical is morphologically reduplicated for showing this repetition of an action (cf. Bedilu 2010:92 in his *Kistaniniya*). The causative of the reciprocal can realize from the data given below.

(181)	Base stem	at-stem
a)	<i>rəkakəs-</i> 'quarrel again and again'	<i>at-rəkakəs-</i> 'made to quarrel each other'
b)	<i>nəkakəm-</i> 'meet again and again'	<i>at-rəkakəm-</i> 'made to meet each other'
c)	<i>fərarəm-</i> 'sign again and again'	<i>at-fərarəm-</i> 'made to sing each other'

5.4.3 Verbal noun

In Gura, nouns are derived from the jussive stems morphologically. The root-morphemes take the suffixes /-ot/ in order to change category from verb into nouns. In the canonical triradical root consonants, the root morpheme and suffixes are linearly appeared in newly derived nouns except the inserting of the epenthetic vowel to solve consonant constraint in the variety as can be seen from the data below.

(182)	Jussive stems	Gloss	Infinitive	Gloss
	<i>-sriq-</i>	'steal'	<i>siriq-ot</i>	'to steal/stealing'
	<i>-qat'ir-</i>	'tie'	<i>qat'r-ot</i>	'to tie/tying'
	<i>-q^wiq^wir-</i>	'squeeze'	<i>q^wiq^wr-ot</i>	'to squeeze/squeezing'

In Gura, there are biradical verbal noun as sub-type of verb types A, B, C, and D. In such final root vowel verbs, the final vowel is deleted so it is realized with only two root morphemes in the verbal stem. Consider the data below.

(183)	Jussive stems	Gloss	Infinitive	Gloss
	- <i>wit'a-</i>	'leave'	<i>wit'-ot</i>	'to leave/leaving'
	- <i>bra-</i>	'eat'	<i>br-ot</i>	'to eat/eating'
	- <i>fad-</i>	'divide'	<i>fad-ot</i>	'to divide/dividing'
	- <i>ənt'-</i>	'cut'	<i>art'-ot</i>	'to cut/cutting'
	- <i>f^wiqa-</i>	'split'	<i>f^wiq-ot</i>	'to split / splitting'

Besides, the quadriradical root morphemes are applying the same morphological process in derivation of verbal nouns. Here, there are linear syntactic associations between the root morpheme and the verbal suffixes as one can see from the data below.

(184)	Jussive stems	Gloss	Infinitive	Gloss
	- <i>q^wərq^wir-</i>	'build'	<i>q^wərq^wr-ot</i>	'to build/building'
	- <i>qət'qit'-</i>	'castrate'	<i>qət'iqt'-ot</i>	'to castrate/castrating'
	- <i>tərfis-</i>	'breath'	<i>tərfis-ot</i>	'to breath/breathing'

Although it is rarely occurred morphological phenomenon, verbal nouns are also derived from verbs with the morpheme *wə-*. This morpheme is prefixed into the jussive stems. The subject pronouns are suffixed for expressing the subject of the sentences. Consider the data below.

(185)	Jussive stems		Infinitive	Gloss
	- <i>sbir-</i>	'break'	<i>wəsibr</i>	'to break'
	- <i>ərt'-</i>	'cut'	<i>wərt'</i>	'to cut'
	- <i>fiqr-</i>	'change'	<i>wəfgir</i>	'to change'

5.4.4 Verb reduplication

In Gura, verbal stems are derived through morphological reduplication. The extent of verbal semantic is expressed with reduplication of the penultimate root morphemes³⁷. This way of verbal reduplication is applied in all verb types A, B, C and D in Gura. The subtypes of these verb types are also applying this derivational stems. In Gura, such derived stems are functioning in different verbal semantics as distributive, reciprocal and frequentative. The penultimate root consonants are reduplicated with the vowel /a/. The

³⁷Rose (1997:1) argues that in Ethio-Semitic, only root segments are reduplicated, serving one of two functions: phonological copying whose sole purpose is to fulfill a template, and morphological reduplication which fills the more standard morphemic role.

reduplicated canonical triradical verbal stems has template slot $C_1\text{ə}C_2aC_3\text{ə}C_4-$ in which $C_2=C_3$ in all verb types. Consider the data below.

(186)	Perfective stems	Gloss	Reduplicated stems	Gloss
	<i>qət'ər-</i>	'kill'	<i>qət'atər-</i>	'kill again and again'
	<i>met'ər-</i>	'separate'	<i>met'at'ər-</i>	'separate again and again'
	<i>qat'ər-</i>	'tie'	<i>q^wət'atər-</i>	'tie again and again'
	<i>q^wənəs-</i>	'substrate'	<i>q^wənanəs-</i>	'subtract again and again'

Besides, this verb reduplicated stems can be applied in the non-canonical biradical root morphemes. It has the template slot $C_1\text{ə}C_2aC_3-$ in which $C_2=C_3$ as in the data below.

(187)	Perfective stems	Gloss	Reduplicated stems	Gloss
	<i>ləka-</i>	'measure'	<i>ləkaka-</i>	'measure well'
	<i>q^wənə-</i>	'roast'	<i>q^wənanə-</i>	'roast well'
	<i>q'ət'ə-</i>	'tire'	<i>q'ət'atə-</i>	'tire well'

The verb reduplicated stems convey semantically the reciprocity or frequentative of an action (see §3.2.2.2 & 3.2.2.3). Here, the reduplicated stems are attached with the passive marker /tə/ as in the data below.

(188)	Base stem	Gloss	Derivation	Gloss
	<i>qət'at'ər-</i>	'kill again and again'	<i>təqət'at'ər-</i>	'kill each other'
	<i>rakəs-</i>	'quarrel again and again'	<i>tərakəs-</i>	'quarrel each other'
	<i>məkakər-</i>	'advise again and again'	<i>təməkakər-</i>	'advise each other'

In Gura, verbal reduplication stems can appear morphologically in imperfective and jussive verbal conjugations. For instance, in examples (188), the verbs can be conjugated as: *jīqət'at'r* , *əqt'at'r jītrakəs* , *ətraks* , *jītməkakər*, *ətəməkakər* .

5.5 Verbal negation

Gura has three verbal negative markers that are morphologically fit to each aspectual verb conjugations. To this end, the negative marker /an-/ is prefixed to all perfective types of verbs A, B, C and D whereas the bound morpheme /a-/ is concatenated for all imperfective and imperative verb types, and the morpheme /e-/ is annexed for all jussive verb types. Besides, Gura has verbal prohibition which is indicated by the prefix /in-/ that is attached to all verb types. The operational system of negation in the variety is

expressed with prefixes unlike verbal negations in other Ethio-semitic languages such Amharic, Endəgagn and Tigrinya (cf. Baye 2000; Hetzron 1977; 1972; Eyasu 2003 & Tesfaye 2001). Nevertheless, it has the same morphological verbal negation system with Gurage language variety like Kistaniniya, Chaha and Ezha (cf. Bedilu 2010; Fekede 2002 & Hetzron 1977; 1972).

5.5.1 Negation of perfective (an-)

The nature of the verbal inflection together with the negative marker in its perfective verb forms is arranged based on types of verbs. Negation is formed in this aspectual verb conjugation with the morpheme /an-/ that is said to be symmetric or linear (cf. Miestamo; 2005). Let us consider this verbal negation in each verb types in the table below.

Table 20: Negation in perfective verbs

Verb Types	Affirmative	Negative
Type A	<i>səpər-ə</i> break.PFV-3MS.SM 'He broke.'	<i>an-səpər-ə</i> NEG-break.PFV-3MS.SM 'He did not break.'
	<i>kətəf-ə</i> chop.PFV-3MS.SM 'He chopped.'	<i>an-kəfət-ə</i> NEG-break.PFV-3MS.SM 'He did not chop.'
Type B	<i>fəgər-ə</i> sew.PFV-3MS.SM 'He changed.'	<i>an-fəgər-ə</i> NEG-chnge.PFV-3MS.SM 'He did not change.'
	<i>kiesəs-ə</i> induct.PFV-3MS.SM 'He inducted.'	<i>an-kiesəsə -ə</i> NEG-induct.PFV-3MS.SM 'He did not inducted.'
Type C	<i>banər-ə</i> destroy.PFV-3MS.SM 'He destroyed.'	<i>an-banər-ə</i> NEG-swim.PFV-3MS.SM 'He did not destroy.'
	<i>qəqəs-ə</i> beckon.PFV-3MS.SM 'He beckoned.'	<i>an-qəqəs-ə</i> NEG-beckon.PFV-3MS.SM 'He did not beckon.'
Type D	<i>qʷənəs-ə</i> subtract.PFV-3MS.SM 'He subtracted.'	<i>an-qʷənəs-ə</i> NEG-subtract.PFV-3MS.SM 'He did not subtract.'

As one can realize from the Table 20 above, when the morpheme /an-/ is attached to verb initial velar consonants, then the alveolar nasal /n/ is assimilated as /ŋ/ (see §2.6.3. of this

paper and Etaferahu 2011 for similar analysis). Besides, this negative bound morpheme is attached to both the trilateral, billiteral and quadriliterate root consonant stems in the variety under discussion. It is also clear that in these data, there is phonological assimilation in some cases. Nevertheless, in most of the data there no any overt alternation on the affirmative and negative verbal structures, thus, the negation system is both symmetrical and asymmetrical. This phoneme can also be realized as /am̩-/ if the verb initial consonant starts with the labiodentals fricatives.

In addition to this, this morpheme /an-/ is used to construct negation in the conditional (if clauses) in connection with the subordinate morpheme /bə-/. The central mid vowel is delete when the subordinator and negation morphemes are attached morphologically which results in the morpheme realization (*ban-*) (see§6.4.2.1) as one can see from the data below.

- (189) a) *bə-an-tfən-ə*
if-NEG-come.PFV-3MS.SM ‘If/when it did not come,’
- b) *bə-an-rəməd-nə*
if-NEG-like.IPFV-1PL.SM ‘If /when I did not like,’
- c) *bə-an-xər-ə*
if-NEG-be-3MS.SM ‘If/when it is not/unless,’

5.5.2 Negation of imperfective (a-)

In Gura, the negative marker morpheme [a-] is attached to all verb types in the imperfective aspectual verb conjugations. Thus, the system of negation in this verbal inflection is symmetrical (linear), and this morpheme is concatenated to all verb types as exemplified in the table below.

Table 21: Negation in imperfective verbs

Verb Types	Affirmative	Negative
Type A	<i>ji-gərf</i> 3MS-flagellate.IPFV 'He flagellated.'	<i>a-j-gərf</i> NEG-3MS-flagellate.IPFV 'He does/ will not flagellate.'
	<i>ji-k^wim</i> 3MS-stand:up.IPFV 'He stands up/will stand up.'	<i>a-j-k^wim</i> NEG-3MS-stand:up.IPFV 'He does/will not stand.'
Type B	<i>ji-k'əsis</i> 3MS-induct.IPFV 'He inducts.'	<i>a-j- k'əsis</i> NEG-3MS-induct.IPFV 'He does/will not induct.'
Type C	<i>ji-banr</i> 3MS-destroy.IPFV 'He destroys/will destroy.'	<i>a-j-banr</i> NEG-3MS-destroy.IPFV 'He does/will not destroy.'
	<i>ji-qat'r</i> 3MS-tie.IPFV 'He ties /will tie.'	<i>a-j-qat'ir</i> NEG-3MS-tie.IPFV 'He does/will not tie.'
Type D	<i>ji-q^wənis</i> 3MS-subtract.IPFV 'He subtracts /will induct.'	<i>a-j-q^wnis</i> NEG-3MS-subtract.IPFV 'He does/will not subtract.'
	<i>ji-q^wəlf</i> 3MS-lock.IPFV 'He locks/will lock.'	<i>a-j-q^wəlf</i> NEG-3MS-lock.IPFV 'He does/will not lock.'

As it is shown in Table 21, the negative marker morpheme (a-) is concatenatively attached before the subject marker morphemes. In Gura, the central vowel (i) is deleted from the subject marker morphemes while this negative marker (a-) is prefixed morphologically.

5.5.3 Negative of imperative and jussive (a-/e-in-)

In this section, three important verbal negation forms are discussed. These are the imperative verbal negation that is indicated by /a-/, the jussive verbal negation which is portrayed with the morpheme /e-/ and prohibitions or the negative command which is also expressed by the morpheme /in-/.

The imperative forms of verbal conjugations are used for giving command or orders. The arguments or receivers of the action in these verbal conjugations are the second person both singular and plural. Hence, this subject pronoun is expressed by the bound morpheme *ti-* that is prefixed to all the pronominal subjects for every verb. It is also in

concord with the suffixed pronouns in person, gender and number. The negative marker *a-* is attached to the verbs of different types followed by this subject marker *t-* in Gura for imperative verbal conjugations as /*a-t-*/ (cf. Fekede 2002 in Ezha). See the examples below.

- | | | | |
|-------|--------------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| (190) | Affirmative | | Negation |
| | a) <i>kift-əma</i> | | c) <i>a-t-kift-əma</i> |
| | open.IMP-2FPL | ‘You open!’ | NEG-2FPL-open-2FPL.IMP |
| | | | ‘You should not open!’ |
| | b) <i>siβr-i</i> | | d) <i>a-t-siβr-i</i> |
| | break.IMP-2MS | ‘You break!’ | NEG-break.IMP-2MS |
| | | | ‘You should not break!’ |

As can be recognized from the data above, the underlying negative marker is denoted by the morpheme *a-*, and it is prefixed before the person marker in imperative forms of the verb /*-t-*/. The latter morpheme is agreed with the subject marking that appeared in the last position (vantage point) of the verb *t-i* (2MS), *t-i* (2FS), *t-u/o* (2MPL), and *t-əma* (2FPL) as in the examples mentioned above. These subject pronominal markers are used in the imperative verbal inflections thereby the negative imperative marker /*a-*/ is attached for portraying negative imperative such as *atβira*, *atβiji*, *atβiro*, *atβirəma* (you should /don’t eat).

Besides, the prohibition or the negative command is expressed by the morpheme /*in-*/ in Gura variety.³⁸ It is alternatively used with no clear cut realized differences in the variety under discussion like in Tigrinya *ajtmis’a?* vs *kajtməs’?* and Amharic *atmit’a* vs *indatmət’a* as far as the best knowledge of writer of this paper. It is possible to compare and contrast between these usages in Gura variety in the data given below.

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| (191) | Negation with /at-/ | Negation with /in-/ |
| | a) <i>a-t-kift-i</i> | c) <i>in-kift-xə</i> |
| | NEG-2MS-open.IMP-2MS | NEG-open.IMP-2MS |
| | ‘You do not open!’ | ‘You ought not to open!’ |

³⁸The Gurage dialect of Chaha, Ezha, Gyeto, Ennemor, Endagegne and muher use *ən(in)* with the perfect to express prohibition. In all these languages prohibition is also expressed by the negative jussive as is the case in the other Ethiopia and other semitic languages Leslau (1969:140).

- | | |
|--|--|
| b) <i>a-t-br-a</i>
NEG-2MS-eat.IMP-2MS
'You do not eat!' | d) <i>in-bin-axə</i>
NEG-eat.IMP-2MS
'You ought not to eat!' |
|--|--|

As one can understand from the data above, examples on the left column are constructed with the negative imperative marker /a-/ symmetrically, and in the right hand column they are constructed with the prohibition marker (in-) (cf. Rose 1997). Nevertheless, it is difficult to distinguish the clear cut difference among their semantic usage rather they are used interchangeably in the variety. However, in its strict sense, the latter is full of polite just negative advice than the former one that seems to express completely negative command.

In Gura, negation is morphologically inflected with the morpheme /e-/ in jussive. This negative marker morpheme is prefixed to all verb types in jussive aspectual verb conjugation. Here, when the negative marker e- is attached to jussive verbal inflection, the central mid vowel is deleted. See the data below.

- | | | | |
|-------|---|----|---|
| (192) | Affirmative | | Negation |
| a) | <i>ə-kift</i>
3MS-open.JUSS
'Let him open.' | b) | <i>e-kift</i>
3MS.NEG-open.JUSS
'Let him not open.' |
| c) | <i>ə-bira</i>
3MS-eat.JUSS
'Let him eat.' | d) | <i>e-bra</i>
3MS.NEG-eat.JUSS
'Let him not eat.' |

Besides, this morpheme is used in morphological inflection of negative possessive with the existence verb *nəɾə* 'there is', negative obligation *nəɾə* and the malfactive object - b- (see§5.5.2.1). Consider the following data.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|----|------------------|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| (193) | a) | <i>frank</i> | <i>e-nə-j.</i> | | |
| | | money | NEG-exist-1PS.OM | | 'I don't have money.' |
| | b) | <i>hut frank</i> | <i>e-nə-n.</i> | | |
| | | he money | GEN-exist-3MS.OM | | 'He does have money.' |
| | c) | <i>zi dəng'a</i> | <i>sirf-ot</i> | <i>e-nə-β-o.</i> | |
| | | this boy.PL | fear-INF | NEG-exist-MAL-3MPL.SM | |

‘These boys must not be to fear.’

In (193a-b), the prefix *e-* is used to negate the possessive morpheme *anə-* ‘there is’. In this case, the low central vowel /a/ is fronting when the negative marker vowel /e-/ is attached with the vowel initial word *anə-* ‘there is’. Moreover, in example (193c), this free morpheme (*anə*) is used to express prohibitions (negative command) when it is suffixed by the mallicative marker *-b-*. This bound morpheme is fricativized when it appears intervocalic in verb stems as in [-β-] in Gura.

5.6 Copular and existential verb

In this section, the morphosyntactic characteristics of the copular verb /*nə-*/ and the existence verb /*nərə*/ are described in relation to the relevant data from the field word language oriented.

5.6.1 Copular verb

The subject of the sentence is connected to its complement by the linking devices known as the copulars or copulatives. There are about four type of copular construction that appeared in a language as Payne (1997), thus, copular can be categorized as verb, pronoun, invariant particle, and derivational operation.³⁹ In Gura, the present tense copular (verbal copular) is expressed by bound morpheme /*nə-*/ that is prefixed with the subject markers. They are attached at the word final position or vantage point to the subject complete (nouns or adjectives) as in Table 22 below.

³⁹Meyer et al. (2004:4) accepts the first three types of copular for their Ethio-semitic and Cushitic study (Afro-asiatic phylum). They farther attest them; and they group copulate as the verbal versus non-verbal with the former permitted in Ethio-semitic and the latter in the Cushitic and Ethio-semitic Geez and Tigre.

Table 22: Conjugation of the present copular

Person	Copular	Gloss
1PS	<i>nə-x^w</i>	‘I am ’
1PL	<i>nə-ndə</i>	‘we are’
2MS	<i>nə-xə</i>	‘you are’
2FS	<i>nə-x^j</i>	‘you are’
2MPL	<i>nə-xu(m)</i>	‘you are’
2FPL	<i>nə-xima</i>	‘you are’
3MS	<i>-u(-w after vowel)</i>	‘he is ’
3FS	<i>nə-ja</i>	‘she is’
3MPL	<i>no/-o, (-ro after vowel)</i>	‘they are’
3FPL	<i>nə-ma (r-əma afeter vowel)</i>	‘they are’

As can be realized from Table 22 above, present copular verb /*nə-*/ is morphologically attached to nouns preceding the subject agreement markers (cf. Meyer et al. 2005 in Afro-asiatic language families, Hetzron 1972 for South Ethio-semitic for similar realization). In Gura, copula is designated by the morpheme /*nə-*/ that is found prefixed before the subject marked or immediately suffixed to the noun or adjective complement for all persons except the third person singular. However, the third person singular is denoted by the morpheme /-u/ that has the allomorph (-w) when it is followed by final vowel complements; consequently, the third person present copula marker is changed into the semivowel /-w/. In the same fashion, when the third person both feminine and masculine copular marker are suffixed to the vowel final words, then the copular marker /*nə-*/ will have allomorph /*rə-*/ after vowels in the third person plural of both genders (cf. Hetzron 1972). Let us see the following data for additional analysis.

- (194) a) *zi gəg-xima t'e-w.* c) *xinəma bifa-r-əma.*
 this body-3FPL sheep-COP.3MS they red-COP-3FPL
 ‘This sheep is their own sheep.’ ‘They are red.’
- b) *xino bifa-r-o.* d) *huta bifa-w.*
 they red-COP-3MPL he red-COP.3MS
 ‘They are red.’ ‘He is red.’

Furthermore, the negative copular is expressed by the prefix of the negative marker /*an-*/ and the verb *be xərə* ‘it is’, and they form the phrase *ənxərə* that will be interpreted as ‘it is not’. The copula marker here is missed and replaced by the being verb for negating the clause; they are much related to the verbs of existences discussed in the next section of

this unit. It is possible to compare and contrast the difference between the negative and affirmative nominal clause constructions by the copular and be verbs as follows.

- (195) a) *huta təmari-w.*
 he student-COP.3MS
 ‘He is a student.’
- c) *huta təmari an-xər-ə.*
 he Student NEG-be.PFV-3MS
 ‘He is not a student.’
- b) *x’ita təmari-n-ja.*
 she student-COP-3FS
 ‘She is a student.’
- d) *x’ita təmari an-xər-ə- tʃ.*
 she Student NEG-be.PFV-3FS
 ‘She is not a student.’

5.6.2 Existential verb (nərə)

The construction of existence clauses has the predicate involving existence of some linguistic constituents. In Gura, the existence verb is expressed by the free morpheme or auxiliary *nərə* which is interpreted as ‘there is/he is’, and the negative existence is denoted by the morpheme *enə-* which is interpreted as ‘there is not’. This word is the combination of the auxiliary verb *anə-* ‘there is’ and the negative marker morpheme *e-* ‘not’. The data below exemplify this negative existence clause construction in Gura.

- (196) a) *bə-bet bizə atankirit nər-ə.*
 PRE-house many eucalyptus:tree exist-3MS
 ‘There exist many eucalyptuse trees in the church.’
- b) *q’itʃ’a nər-ə.*
 customary law exist-3MS
 ‘There is customary law of Gurage.’
- c) *atqar ixa bə-wəfər e-nə.*
 anything water PRE-pot NEG-exist
 ‘There is no any water in the pot.’

In Gura, the existence verb with the past reading is described by the word *banə*, which is interpreted as ‘it/he was and there was’ as in the data below.

- (197) a) *bizə atankirit ban-ə.*
 many eucalyptus:tree exist.PFV-3MS
 ‘There were many eucalyptus trees.’
- b) *bizə insət ban-ə.*
 many false:banana exist.PFV-3MS
 ‘There were many false bananas.’
- c) *miss t'onama qar ban-ə ji-wr-i.*
 man strong thing exist.PFV-3MS 3MS-say.IPFV-3MS.IMPV
 ‘It is said that there was a strong man.’

The future existence clauses are expressed with the conjugated forms of the verb *be xərə* ‘be /become’ and its future markers as *ji /jixərte* ‘he will be / there will be’.

5.6.2.1 Expression of possession (nərə)

Possession is expressed with the verb of existence /nərə/ in Gura.⁴⁰ This existence verb is attached to the pronominal suffixes for portraying terminable possession (see §3.2.2). The table below exhibited the use of the existence word *nərə* when it is expressing the affirmative and negative possessions.

⁴⁰Possession may be expressed in three combined strategies as the alienable, inalienable and inherent. The possessive construction expresses the relationship between the possessors and possessed whether it is terminable and inherent or no-terminable possessions in a language (Payne 1997).

Table 23: Possession in present tense

Person	Affirmative	Negative
1PS	<i>nər-e</i> exist-1SP.SM 'I have'	<i>e-n-e</i> NEG-exist-1PS.SM 'I have not'
1PL	<i>nərə-ndə</i> exist-1PL.SM 'We have'	<i>e-nə-ndə</i> NEG-exist-3PL.SM 'we have not'
2MS	<i>nərə-naxə</i> exist-2MS.SM.SM 'you have'	<i>e-na-xə</i> NEG-exist-2MS.SM 'you have not'
2FS	<i>nərə-naxⁱ</i> exist-2FS.SM 'you have'	<i>e-n-axⁱ</i> NEG-exist-2FS.SM 'you have not'
2MPL	<i>nərə-naxu</i> exist-2MPL.SM 'you have'	<i>e-n-axu</i> NEG exist-2MPL.SM 'you don't have'
2FPL	<i>nərə-naxima</i> exis-2FPL.SM 'you have'	<i>e-n-axima</i> NEG-exist-2FPL.SM 'you don't have'
3FS	<i>nərə-na</i> exist-3FS.SM 'she has'	<i>e-nə-na</i> NEG-exist-3FS.SM 'she has not'
3MS	<i>nərə-n</i> exist-3MS.SM 'he has'	<i>e-nə-n</i> NEG-exist-3MS.SM 'he has not'
3MPL	<i>nərə-no</i> exist-3MPL.SM 'They have'	<i>e-nə-no</i> NEG-exist-3MPL.SM 'they have not'
3FPL	<i>nərə-nəma</i> exist-3FPL.SM 'they have'	<i>e-nən-əma</i> NEG-exist-3FPL.SM 'they have not'

The copular morpheme (-nə-) is optional in the second person both singular and plural because of the object marker morphemes, that is, it is possible to say *t'e nəraxə/nərənaxə* to mean 'you have a sheep' especially in spontaneous speeches.

Besides, to negate the verb to have, the jussive negation making system is applied. Thus, the lexeme *enə* 'there is not/none' is representing the negation forms in this variety, and it is formed from the verb stem *anə-* 'there is' and the negative marker morpheme /e-/.

Like other verbs, the verb *have* expresses the future action or hope and expectation. The auxiliary verb *nəra* ‘there is’ is conjugated into the imperfective, and the underlying future markers /-te/fə / are added for expressing expectations /hope as in the examples below.

- (198) a) *xīta məs’af jī-rəβr-na-te.*
 she book 3MS-exist.IPFV-3FS-FUT
 ‘She will have a book.’
- b) *axīma məs’af ə-mβīr-xīma-fə.*
 you book 3MS-exist.JUSS-2FPL-FUT
 ‘You will have a book.’
- c) *jīna məs’af jī-rəβri-ndə-te.*
 we book 3MS-exist.IPFV-1PL-FUT
 ‘We will have a book.’

5.7 Tense, aspect, mood and aktionsart

This section is dealing with the relational expression of verbs in Gura vis-à-vis the verbal situation types and its aspects. The relational similarity and difference among these verbs are expressed one after the other below.

5.7.1 Tense

Tense is the grammatical marker that encodes the temporal location of verbs or situations. According Comrie (1985:9) tense is a grammatical category that indicates the time at which a verbal event takes place (cf. Spencer and Arnold 2007 & Payne 1997). Therefore, the basic tense distinction on the base of semantic time conceptualization can be viewed as past, present and future. Meyer (2014) and Baye (2006) argue that Ethio-semitic languages are mixed aspect/tense languages in which aspect is the primary and tense the secondary/new category. Thus, tense in the Ethio-semitic languages are divided into two divisions as the past and non-past.⁴¹

⁴¹We can mention about the tense and aspect distinction in Ethio-Semitic languages such as Baye 2006 in Amharic, Bedilu 2010 in Kistaninya, Meyer 2006 in Wolene, and Rose 2007 in Chaha.

In Gura, tense is morphologically denoted by the auxiliary verbs (*banə*, *anə*, *nərə*, and *tanə*) and the bound morphemes *-te* and *-fə*, and it is described into three basic distinctions as :past, present, and future accordingly. The past reading is portrayed by auxiliary verbs, hence; the perfective aspect indicate the event/s which have carried out before now where as the imperfective aspect is denoting an action happened during the moment of speech which implies present; the imperfective and jussive verbal form has future time readings when it is suffixed with the bound morphemes *-te* and *-fə*. Therefore, the verbs are portraying distinctive deictic relationship with reference to time as present, past and future along with auxiliaries that are described below in detail supported by data from the fieldwork.

5.7.1.1 Present

In Gura, the present reading is not clearly marked instead it is expressed by the inflection of the main verb into its imperfective stem.⁴² Besides, the existence/auxiliary verb *nərə* ‘there is’ is used for expressing present tense readings in the locative clauses/predicates (see §6.4.1.2.1.3). See the following data.

- (199) a) *x'ita t-ija anq'ə ti-tfen.*
 she PRE-I after 3FS.SM-come.IPFV
 ‘She comes behind me.’
- b) *huta g^wədʒə ji-gədid.*
 he hole 3MS.SM -dig.IPFV
 ‘He is digging a hole.’
- c) *bərga x^wet t'e nər-ə-n.*
 berga two sheep has.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘Berga has two sheep.’

⁴²Meyer (2014) suggests the use of this imperfective verbal inflection is portraying the tense reading in affirmative main clauses in the Ethio-semitic languages as:

- a) There is only one language without obligatory tense marking: Ge‘ez.
- b) Obligatory past-tense marking alone is found in Tigre and Tigrinya (North Ethio-semitic), and in the Gunnän Gurage languages Kistane, Mesqan, Muher, Chaha, and Inor.
- c) Obligatory past- and present-tense marking occurs in Amharic, Argobba Harari, Zay, Wolane and Silt’e of the Transversal branch.

As in (199) sentences above, the imperfective verbal conjugation is expressing the non-past on the deictic reference of time in the verbal predicates, but the auxiliary *nərə* ‘there is’ is also used to portray present readings in nonverbal predicates. In Gura, there are not distinct morphological features to distinguish present tense from its distinctive aspects of progressive. So, the verbs in examples (199a and b) are intended to express the habitual or continuity of an action in the present time (cf. Girma and Meyer 2001, Meyer 2014 & Rose 2007).

5.7.1.2 Past

In Gura, past tense is described morphologically in two ways. The inflected perfective verbal forms is obligatorily denoting past reading, and the independent auxiliary verbs *banə* ‘there was’ and *tanə* ‘when it was’ are used for encoding past readings. The perfective verbal forms do not encode a further restriction of verbal action; instead, the adjuncts (adverbs) are attached for further temporal time reference. Consider the following data.

- (200) a) *neda* *ətʃ'ə-huta* *səp^wər-ə-n.*
 neda.NOM wood-DEF break.PFV-3MS-3MS.OM
 ‘Neda broke the wood.’
- b) *xino* *ərɪf-huta* *dənəg^w-o-wi.*
 they.NOM boy-DEF hit.PFV-3MPL.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘They hit the boy.’
- c) *murgat* *idəja-xiita* *bəna-tf.*
 murgat.NOM lunch-3FS.POSS eat.PFV-3FS
 ‘Murgat ate her lunch.’

Past tense is also encoded by the auxiliary verb *banə* ‘there was’. This auxiliary verb is used in the non-verbal predicates which happened in the past (see§6.4.1.2.1). It is also used for expressing the progressive duration of time in the past. In this case, the auxiliary verb is morphosyntactically appeared in conjunction with the imperfective verbs forms. Consider the following simple sentences.

- (201) a) *x'ita tirama ti-zərki banə-tf.*
 she yesterday 3FS.SM-speak.IPFV AUX.PAST-3FS.SM
 'She was speaking yesterday.'
- b) *dirə hut zega ban-ə.*
 in the past he poor AUX.PAST-3MS.SM
 'In the past, he was poor.'
- c) *bərga imir ji-səβir ban-ə.*
 berga stone 3MS.SM-break.IPFV AUX.PAST-3MS.SM
 'Berga was breaking a stone.'

As (201) above, the auxiliary verb is realized as its full forms or it can be reduced into *ba* that is interpreted as 'there was'. Thus, this morpheme is used for encoding the past-completed readings as example (201b), and it portrays the habitual reading in the past (progressive aspect) when it is used along with the imperfective forms of the verbs as in the example (201c and a).

Similarly, the auxiliary verb *tanə* 'when there was' is used for denoting past readings. It is indicating the past durative aspect when it appears with the aforementioned auxiliary verb *banə*. Consider the following data.

- (202) a) *x'ita təmari tə-anə-tf mərkama banə-tf.*
 she student when-AUX-3FS.SM beautiful AUX.PAST-3FS.SM
 'When she was a student, she was beautiful.'
- b) *tikə tə-anə-x^w betkisjan i-x^wər ba.*
 child when-AUX-1PS.SM church 1PS.SM-go AUX.PAST
 'When I was a child, I was going to church.'
- c) *bərga wəlqit'e tə-an-ə g^wəbəz ban-ə.*
 berga welqite when-AUX-3MS.SM brave AUX.PAST-3MS.SM
 'Berga was brave when he was in Welqite.'

So far, it is discussed that main clauses can be negated by bound morphemes. These negative markers (*an-*, *e-* and *a-*) are attached depending on the canonical verbal conjugations. Nevertheless, when the imperfective verb forms are conjoined with the past marker auxiliary, the negative marker is only attached to the main verbs. See the data below.

- (203) a) *huta fur a-j-qətr* *ba.*
 he rat NEG-3MS.SM-kill.IPFV AUX.PAST
 ‘He was not killing a rat.’
- b) *x’ita imir a-ti-səβir* *ban-tf.*
 she stone NEG-3FS.SM-break.IPFV AUX.PFV-3FS.SM
 ‘She was not breaking a stone.’
- c) *bərga imir a-ji-səβir* *ba.*
 berga stone NEG-3MS.SM-break.IPFV AUX.PAST
 ‘Berga was not breaking a stone.’

In (203a-c) above, the past reading is conveyed by the past auxiliary verb *banə-* which appears clause final in Gura. It also portrays the negative progressive aspect of the verbs when it is conjoined to the imperfective verbal conjugations in which the negation marker is prefixed to imperfective verbal forms.

5.7.1.3 Future

In Gura, futurity of an action is expressed by the bound morphemes *-te* or *-fə*, and they concatenated to the aspectual imperfective verb forms for definite and indefinite future readings respectively.⁴³ However, these future markers do not attached to the negative imperfective verbal forms; consequently, the negative imperative stem of the verbs are denoting the future negation morphologically and syntactically as : [*a-ji-gərf^w-ə-n* = NEG-flagellate.IPFV-3MS-3MS.OM] that is interpreted ‘He is not flagellating, He does not flagellate or He will not flagellate’.

In Gura, the morpheme *-te* is attached to the imperfective aspectual verb forms of all verb types, and it is used to distinguish the predetermined future by external control. Thus, it is obligatorily concatenated into the imperfective verb conjugations of all verb types so that to indicate future readings in this variety. Consider the data below.

- (204) a) *hut tə-ija anq’ə ji-tfen-te.*
 he PRE-I after 3MS.SM-come.IPFV-FUT
 ‘He will come behind me.’

⁴³CWG/PWG have two future tenses, a non-past-based definite one when the future action or happening is deemed certain, and a jussive-based indefinite one for un-certainty, thinking, fear of what may happen, etc.(Hetzron 1997:544-5).

- b) *ax^wa ija i-f^watf' ar-te.*
 now I 1PS-harvset.IPFV 1PS.go.IPFV-FUT
 'Now, I will go to harvest.'
- c) * *huta a-ji-dəβr-te.*
 he NEG-3MS.SM-add.IPFV-FUT
 ('He will not add.')

In example (204a), the imperfective verbal forms are attached with the morpheme *-te* for expressing the definite future for the action is arranged in advance by the agent or subject. Similarly, in example (204b) it is used to express the defined future in the juxtaposed main clause for purpose. However, in the last example (204c) it is ill-grammatical because the future morpheme is not permitted to appear with the negative imperfective stems in Gura.

On the other hand, the morpheme *-fə* is attached to jussive verbal stems for describing indefinite future.⁴⁴ The jussive verbal stems together with this bound morpheme convey uncertainty, probability or desire of an action comparing to the above mentioned morpheme (*-te*). Consider the following data.

- (205) a) *ija nəgə ət'ə ni-siβir-fə.*
 I tomorrow wood 1PS.SM-break.JUSS-FUT
 'I will break the wood tomorrow.'
- b) *xino ə-qit'ir-o-fə.*
 they 3MPL.SM-kill.JUSS-3MPL-FUT
 'They will kill.'
- c) *xita nəgə imdibir-njə ti-x^wər-fə.*
 she tomorrow emdbir-PRE 1FS.SM-go.JUSS-FUT
 'She will go to Emdbir tomorrow.'

⁴⁴The Gurage dialects of Ezha, Chaha, Ennemor, and Gyeta use different forms for the present and the future. In these dialects, the present is expressed by the simple imperfect, whereas the future is expressed either by the imperfect followed by *-te*, *-k^we*, or by the jussive followed by *-fä*, *-se*. Thus,

Chaha yəräxəb 'he finds', yəräxəbte 'he will find' and yənkäbjä 'he will find'
 Ezha yəkäft 'he opens', yəkäftəte 'he will open' and yəkəftəfä 'he will open'
 Ennemor yəkəft 'he opens', yəkäftək^we 'he will open' and yəkəftəse 'he will open'
 gyeta yəkäft 'he opens', yəkäftək^we 'he will open' and yəkəftfä 'he will open' (Leslau 1968 :70).

5.7.2 Aspect

According to Comrie (1985), "aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation."⁴⁵ It is distinguished that aspectual categories can be viewed as perfective, imperfective, habitual, continuous, iterative, and inceptive (cf. Bybee 1994; Binnick 1991 & Meyer 2006; 2014).

Baye (2006:196) posits that there are two canonical aspects in Amharic perfective and its counterpart imperfective aspects from which the periphrastic (lexical aspects) are derived. The pattern of these canonical aspects can also be applied for other Ethio-semitic languages (cf. Rose 1997).

In Gura, the perfective and imperfective verb forms render to express aspects primarily. The perfective and imperfective verbal forms do not primarily distinguish the verb forms; they are mainly indicating the state of duration of situation types. Therefore, the verbal conjugation primarily denotes the internal aspect of the verbs from which the tense is formed in relation to time on its vantage point.

Perfective aspect distinguishes the completion of the action independence of time. It has past readings with dynamic verbs, and it describes the verbal situation that completed prior to the temporal reference point as in the data below.

- (206) a) *bərga* *atankirit* *ant'-ə-n.*
 berga eucalyptus:tree cut.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘Berga cut Eucalyptus tree.’
- b) *xino* *dʒəβən-huta* *səpər-o-wi.*
 they coffee:pot-DEF break.PFV-3MPL.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘They broke the coffee pot.’
- c) *mərgat* *kutara* *qət'ərə-tf.*
-

⁴⁵ Arin (2003:6) indicates that the word aspect is derived from the Russian word *vid* ‘view’ even though it was used by philosophers such as Aristotle, it is used by some linguists preferring to represent both the situation type and the aspect of verbs together under the common umbrella term aspect or aspectual forms.

murgat hen kill.PFV-3FS.SM
 ‘Murgat killed hen.’

As in (206) above, the perfective aspect is expressed by the dynamic situational predicates that denote completion of action. On the other hand, perfective aspects overlap with the perfective verbs when the lexical verbs or copular like *fəwa banəx*^w which can be interpreted in English as ‘I had been in Addis Ababa or I was in Addis Ababa.’

As has been discussed above, the perfective forms of the verbs denotes the whole completion of an action with the deictic reference of time.

On the other hand, the imperfective aspect describes the incomplete action. According to Bybee (1994:125) : imperfective is treated in these works as the contrast partner of perfective, and thus views the situation not as a bounded whole, but rather from within, with explicit reference to its internal structure (cf. Baye 2006 and Meyer 2014 for Amharic and Ethio-semitics respectively).

In Gura, imperfective aspect is the primary for tenses are derived from this aspectual stems when the subject affixes are treated in the frame of time. The grammatical incomplete of an action is expressed by imperfective aspects. The data below illustrate the incomplete situational predicates in Gura.

- (207) a) *bərga atankirit-huta j-art’*.
 berga eucalyptus:tree-DEF 3MS.SM-cut.IPFV
 ‘Berga cuts/is cutting / the Eucalyptus tree.’
- b) *xino dzəβən-huta jī-səbr-o-wi*.
 they coffee:pot-DEF 3MPL.SM-break.IPFV-3MPL.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘They break/are breaking/ the coffee pot.’
- c) *mərgat kutara ti-qət’r*.
 murgat hen 3FS.SM-kill.IPFV
 ‘Murgat kills/is killing/hen.’

As in (207a-c) above, it is indicated that the actions in the verbal predicates situation are incomplete, and they are not bounded to the frame of time. Therefore, this canonical aspect types is semantically categorized based on the internal lexical or verb types as

subtypes of imperfective aspects (aktionsart (en)). The semantic lexical viewed as habitual, continuous, and progressive (see Baye 2006 for Amharic), and these lexical or periphrastic subaspects are discussed below as aktionsart and how they are characterized in Gura.

5.7.2.1 Aktionsart

In some Gurage languages , aktionsart is attested as : the way when action types of the verb is expressed lexically or in periphrasis form of the process of the action or activity as progressive, prospective and iterative, incentive and completive (cf. Meyer 2006:115 in Wolane & Bedilu 2010:112 in Kistaninya).

In Gura, aktionsart is expressed with sub-classes in progressive, completive and iterative by the semantics of lexical aspects of verbs as discussed in the sections below.

5.7.2.1.1 Progressive

The progressive aktionsart expresses the action carried out continuously for certain duration of time (cf. Bedilu 2010; Baye 2006 & Hetzron 1972).

In Gura, the progressive of an action is lexically describes by the imperfective stems and auxiliary verbs such as *anə*, *banə*, and *tanə*. The semantic of the imperfective stem verb is very important in relation to the frame of time for describing the progressive of habitual, continuous, and frequency of the action.

The internal situational imperfective verb predicates are semantically describing the habitual continuity of action in the past when they are used along with auxiliary verbs in Gura. Consider the following data.

(208) a) *ija kʷas i-tfʷawid ba*
 I foot:ball 1PS.SM-paly.IPFV AUX.PAST
 ‘I used to play football.’

b) *xʷita tikə t-anə-tf ti-zəmir ban-ətʃ*
 she child when-exist-3FS.SM 3FS.SM-sing.IPFV AUX-3FS.SM
 ‘She used to sing when she was a child.’

- c) *bərga kutara j-art' ban-ə*
 berga hen 3MS.SM-slaughter.IPFV AUX-3MS.SM
 'Berga used to slaughter a hen.'

The lexical verb semantic features are also used in the description of the continuity of action when it is used the imperative stems together with the auxiliary verbs. The auxiliary verb *bane* is used with the past progressive readings where its counterexamples such as *anə* and *janə* are used in the present progressive reading. See the data below.

- (209) a) *murgat kutara ti-art' anə-tf*
 murgat hen 3FS.SM-slaughter.IPFV exist-3FS.SM
 'Murgat is slaughtering hen.'
- b) *x'ita ətf'ə ti-səbr ban-ətf*
 she wood 3FS.SM-break.IPFV AUX-3FS.SM
 'She was breaking wood.'
- c) *ti-j-ar-o tə-an-o*
 when-3MPL.SM-go.IPFV-3MPL.SM When-exist-3MPL
q^waf-o-wi
 left.PFV-3MPL.SM-3MS.OM
 'When they are going, they left it/him.'

In Gura, this specific semantic verbal event is denoted by simple or complex nouns modified by the relational morpheme *bə-*, and it is complemented by non-verbal predicates (copular clauses). Consider the following data.

- (210) a) *jina əx^wa bə-mena ni-ndə.*
 we now LOC-work COP-1PL.SM
 'Now, we are working /we are at work at the moment.'
- b) *ija tirama bə-mena ban -x^w.*
 I now LOC-work COP-3FS.SM
 'Yesterday, I was at work.'
- c) *axima bə-siβr-ot nə-xima.*
 you LOC-break-INF COP-2FPL.SM
 'You are at breaking.'

In (210a and b), the lexical aspects are semantically conveyed by non-verbal predicates which can be interpreted as 'we are' and 'she is' respectively. And the simple noun *mena* 'work' is premodified by the relational morpheme *bə-* that is used as semantically

progressive verb in the realm of such syntactic sentence. Similarly, in (210c), the complex noun/gerundive noun is morphologically modified by the relational morpheme *bə-*, and it is syntactically complemented by the non-verbal predicate *nəxima* ‘you are’. The state predicate in this case is expressed by with no change of verbs in relation to time, so the state predicate is carried out in the non-verbal predicates.

5.7.2.1.2 Completive

Completive⁴⁶ is the subtypes of aspects which is used in the adverbial subordinate clauses. In Gura, the completion of adverbial subordinate converb (neutral aspect) is syntactically dependent, and this type of action is expressed with the subordinate converb and the main verbs (cf. Desalegn 2016 in Amharic). Consider the following data.

- (211) a) *fenəg^w-ə-n-ta* *wəsəd-ə-n*
 carry-3MS-3MS.OM-CVB take.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘Having he carried and he took him.’
- b) *bən-a-ta* *setf’-ə.*
 eat-3MS-CVB drink.PFV-3MS.SM
 ‘Having he ate and he drunk.’
- c) *tj’əq^wəs-əma-ta* *dar-əma*
 beg-3FPL-CVB bless.PFV-3FPL.SM
 ‘Having they begged and they blessed.’

5.7.2.1.3 Iterative

According to Bybee (1994: 160), the iterative is a commonly occurring aspectual gram of rather specific meaning. It signals that an action is repeated on a single occasion and differs from the habitual and frequentative, which both signal that the repetition occurred on different occasions.

⁴⁶ Baye (2006:197) suggests that... (perfective and imperfective) canonical types, I recognize four sub-aspectual types, three derived from the imperfective, and one derived from the perfective stem. I call these derived types, prospective, inceptive, progressive and completive.

5.7.3 Mood

Mood and modality are terms used in some related concepts in linguistics. The former is related to the grammatical whereas the latter for semantic realizations.⁴⁷ In Gura, verbs are grammaticalized for expressing the attitude of speakers. The modality of the verbs may have different realizations that are categorized into types such as agent-oriented, speaker-oriented, epistemic, and subordinating (Bybee et al.1994:177-81). Thus, each of these types has their own sub types and there may be an intertwining of function among these types. This section talks about the first two for last two are discussed on the next chapter (chapter six).

5.7.3.1 Agent-oriented modality

In this verbal modality, there are set of sub-classes such as obligation, necessity, ability and desire (Bybee et al. 1994:177-9). In Gura, the essence and moral duty for ones or others life is morphologically distinctive, and they are expressed by the auxiliary/existence verbs *nəṛə-/banə*⁴⁸ and the applicative (object malfactive) marker -b-. The following Table 24 illustrates the morphological expression of moral duty of speakers in Gura.

⁴⁷ Bybee et al. (1994) posit the linguistic technical term “grams” as an inclusive for mood and modality.

⁴⁸ The underlying linguistics forms of the two lexemes may be derived from the proto-Ethio-Semitic roots **n-b-r** and **h-l-w** for *nəṛə-* and *banə-* respectively. The penultimate root in the first and ultimate in the second examples are diachronically eroded. They can be realized as *nəḃər-* and *haləw-* in Geez as to Kidane Wold (1938). I can also argue for the second auxiliary *banə-* in Gura that it is derived from relational morpheme *bə-* and the auxiliary *anə/ haləwə* to form complex auxiliary . Therefore ,it carries out the following morphological operation *bə-haləwə > bə-anə > banə*

Table 24: Obligation modality

Person	Obligation	Gloss
1PS	<i>nə̀rə-β-i</i> exist-MAL-1SP.OM	‘I must’
1PL	<i>nə̀rə-β-ndə</i> exist-MAL-1PL.OM	‘we must’
2MS	<i>nə̀rə-β-xə</i> exist-MAL-2MS.OM	‘you must’
2FS	<i>nə̀rə-β-xi</i> exist-MAL-2FS.OM	‘you must’
2MPL	<i>nə̀rə-β-xu(m)</i> exist-3MS-MAL-2MPL.OM	‘you must ’
2FPL	<i>nə̀rə-β-xima</i> <i>exis-MAL-2FPL.OM</i>	‘you must ’
3FS	<i>nə̀rə-β-a</i> exist-MAL-3FS.OM	‘she must’
3MS	<i>nə̀rə-w-ə</i> exist-MAL-3MS.OM	‘he must’
3MPL	<i>nə̀rə-β-o</i> exist-MAL-3MPL.OM	‘they must’
3FPL	<i>nə̀rə-β-əma</i> exist-MAL-3FPL.OM	‘they must ’

As in Table 24, the existence verb *nə̀rə-* together with the malifactive marker /-b-/ are used to describe state of compulsion. In this morphological process, the malifactive marker is followed by the object pronominal suffixes. The data below exemplify the obligatory expressions in Gura.

- (214) a) *zi dəngia tigadir-ot nə̀rə-β-om.*
 this boy.PL sleep-INF exist-MAL-3MPL.OM
 ‘These boys must sleep.’
- b) *zi gərəd ətʃʼə ərɪ'-ot nə̀rə-β-a.*
 this girl wood be: cut-INF exist-MAL-3FS.OM
 ‘This girl must have cut wood.’
- c) *xi gred t'ənkir-ot nə̀rə-β-əma.*
 that girl.PL be: strong-INF exist-MAL-3FPL.OM
 ‘Those girls must be strong.’

The verb [nərə] has its equivalent past marker in this variety. It is marked with the word [banə or ba] which can be represented as ‘there was’, and it is suffixed by the mal-factive and object markers. Consider the following examples.

- (215) a) *ija hakimbet wə-xir banə-β-i.*
 I hospital INF-go AUX-exist-MAL-1PS.OM
 ‘I should go to Hospital.’
- b) *axə əf‘ə ərt’-ot banə-βi-xə.*
 you wood cut-INF AUX-exist-1PS-2MS.OM
 ‘You should have to cut a wood.’
- c) *ax^j fərat br-ot an-nəpər-ə-β-x^j.*
 you food eat-INF NEG- live.PFV-3MS-MAL-2FS.OM
 ‘You should not have eaten food.’

As has been realized from the data above, the free morpheme [banə/ba] expresses continuous action in the past. Thus, it is used for both affirmative and negative main clauses, but in the negation of the clause, it is prefixed to the main verb where in the last alveolar nasal /n/ is geminated for portraying both the negation and parts of the verb as in example (c).

5.7.3.2 Speaker-oriented modality

The directive attitude of the speakers is expressed morphologically. The speaker here may impose or propose someone to do something. There are sub-types of speaker-oriented modalities such as imperative, prohibitive, optative, admonitive, and permissive (Bybee et al. 1994:179). In Gura, jussive verbal stem expresses directive or permissive modality for the third person (see §5.4.3). Consider the data below.

- (216) a) *hut zi əf‘ə ə-sibir.*
 he this wood 3MS.SM-break.JUSS
 ‘Let him/ May he break this wood.’
- b) *x^jita tⁱ-f^wat^f’.*
 she 3FS.SM-collect.JUSS
 ‘Let her / May she collect.’
- c) *xino ə-x^wər-o.*
 they 3MPL.SM-go.JUSS-3MPL
 ‘Let them/May they go.’

As can be realized from data above, the permissive and directive speakers' attitudes are denoted in the jussive verbal conjugation. Therefore, the listeners simultaneously conceptualize the imposition or proposition of the speaker in Gura. Besides, jussive verbal conjugation denotes prohibitive modality when the negative morpheme *e-* is attached to its stem base (see §5.4.3).

On the other hand, the directive modality for second person is encoded with imperative verbal conjugations. The syntactic subject of imperative verb form is 'you' which may be interpreted as 2MS, 2FS, 2MPL and 2FPL (cf. § 5.3.1.4). See the data below.

- (217) a) *gred zi ətʃə sibir-ma!*
 girl.PL this wood break.IMP-2FPL.SM
 'You, girls break this wood !'
- b) *ərtf xi t'eff fʷatf'-i!*
 boy that teff mow.IMP-3MS.SM
 'You, boy mow that teff.'
- c) *gəmja bet-axu xʷir-u !*
 man.PL house-2MPL.POSS go.IMP-3MPL.SM
 'You men go to your house.'

Negative command (prohibitive) modality is expressed morphologically (see §5.4.3). The morphemes *a-*, and *-in*, are attached to the imperative verbal forms for morphological negation in Gura. These morphemes are conveying the same semantic concepts as in (218).

- (218) a) *xi sanqa a-t-kift-əma*
 that door NEG-3FPL-open.IMP-3FPL
 'Do not open that door!'
- b) *xi sanqa in-kift-əma.*
 that door NEG-open.IMP-3FPL 'You ought not to open that door!'
- c) *a-t-br-a*
 NEG-2MS-eat.IMP-2MS 'Do not eat!'
- d) *in-bin-axə*
 NEG-eat.IMP-2MS 'You ought not to eat!'

On the other hand, prohibitive modality is encoded with the negation forms of existence verb *anə* ‘there is’ and the applicative marker *-b-* followed by the object affixes (see § 5.7.3.1). The speakers’ attitude is negatively commanded or proposed something for someone else in this way. In Gura, the underlying structure of *e-anə-b-* clause is realized as *e-nə-β-* where in the central low vowel (a) is erroded in spontaneous speeches, and the bilabial stop *-b-* is fricativize intervocalically as in Table 25 below.

Table 25: Prohibitive modality

Person	Prohibitive	Gloss
1PS	<i>e-nə-β-i</i> NEG-exist-MAL-1SP.OM	‘I must not ’
1PL	<i>e-nə-β-ndə</i> NEG-exist-MAL-1PL.OM	‘we must not’
2MS	<i>e-nə-β-xə</i> NEG-exist-MAL-2MS.OM	‘you must not’
2FS	<i>e-na-β-xⁱ</i> NEG-exist-MAL-2FS.OM	‘you must not ’
2MPL	<i>e-nə-β-xu</i> NEG- exist-MAL-2MPL.OM	‘you must not ’
2FPL	<i>e-nə-β-xima</i> NEG-exist-MAL-2FPL.OM	‘you must not ’
3FS	<i>e-nə-β-a</i> NEG-exist-MAL-3FS.OM	‘she must not ’
3MS	<i>e-nə-w-ə</i> NEG-exist-MAL-3MS.OM	‘he must not’
3MPL	<i>e-nə-β-o</i> NEG-exist-MAL-3MPL.OM	‘they must not’
3FPL	<i>e-nə-β-əma</i> NEG-exist-MAL-3FPL.OM	‘they must not ’

In Table 25 above, all the expressions are used to express refrain of some action due to certain do’s and don’ts (norms). In Gura, prohibitions expressions appeared clause final that are preceded by gerundive nouns as in (219) below.

- (219) a) *zi ətʃ‘ə ət’-ot e-nə-β-i.*
 this wood cut-INF NEG-exist.PFV-MAL-1PS.OM
 ‘I must not cut this wood.’
- b) *zi kutara ət’-ot e-nə-w-ə.*
 this hen slaughter -INF NEG-exist.PFV-MAL-3MS.OM

‘He must not slaughter this hen.’

- c) *xīt əx^wa təgdir -ot e-nə-β-a.*
 she now sleep-INF NEG-exist.PFV-MAL-3FS.OM
 ‘Now, she must not sleep.’

5.8 Impersonal verbs

In impersonal verb, the exact subject of the sentences is not determined or known rather the action is portrayed on the object form of the sentences (cf. Comrie1989:14; Payne 1997:204 & Meyer 2006:124). In Gura, such types of action is morphologically expressed by pronominal suffixes which are attached to the verbs like *qətər-ə* ‘He killed’ become *q^wətər-i* ‘one killed him’ which is semantically the same with the passive construction expressed by the morpheme (prefix) *tə-qətər-ə* ‘He was killed by ...’. The following table illustrates this morphological phenomenon.

Table 26: Impersonal vers

Person	Pronominal	Marker	Examples
1PS	<i>-n</i>	Impersonal	<i>q^wət'ər-n</i> kill.PFV-1PS.IMPER.OM ‘One killed me.’
	<i>-e</i>	Light object	<i>qət'ər-ə-e</i> kill.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM ‘He killed me.’
	<i>-n</i>	Heavy object	<i>qət'ər-o-n</i> kill.PFV-3MPL.SM-1PS.OM ‘They killed me.’
1PL	<i>-nrə</i>	Impersonal	<i>q^wət'ər-nrə</i> kill.PFV-1PL.IMPER.OM ‘One killed us.’
	<i>-ndə</i>	Light object	<i>qət'ər-ə-ndə</i> kill.PFV-3MS.SM-1PL.OM ‘He killed us.’
	<i>-ndə</i>	Heavy object	<i>qət'ər-o-ndə</i> kill.PFV-3MPL.SM-1PL.OM ‘They killed us.’
2FS	<i>-k^j</i>	Impersonal	<i>q^wət'ər-k^j</i> kill.PFV-2FS.SM-2FS.IMPER.OM ‘One killed you.’
	<i>-x^j</i>	Light object	<i>qət'ər-ə-x^j</i> kill.PFV-3MS.SM-2FS.IMPER.OM ‘He killed you.’
	<i>-k^j</i>	Heavy object	<i>qət'ər-o-k^j</i> kill.PFV-3MPL.SM-2MS.IMPER.OM ‘They killed you.’
2FPL	<i>-kima</i>	Impersonal	<i>q^wət'ər-kima</i> kill.PFV-2FPL.SM-2FPL.IMPER.OM ‘One killed you.’

	<i>-xima</i>	Light object	qət'ər-ə-xima kill.PFV-3MS.SM-2FPL.IMPER.OM 'He killed you.'
	<i>-kima</i>	Heavy object	qət'ər-o-kima kill.PFV-3MPL.SM-2FPL.IMPER.OM 'They killed you.'
2MS	<i>-kə</i>	Impersonal	q ^w ət'ər-kə kill.PFV-2MS.IMPER.OM 'One killed you.'
	<i>-xə</i>	Light object	qət'ər-ə-xə kill.PFV-3MS.SM-1PL.IMPER.OM 'He killed you.'
	<i>-kə</i>	Heavy object	qət'ər-o-kə kill.PFV-3MPL.SM-2MS.IMPER.OM 'They killed you.'
2MPL	<i>-ku</i>	Impersonal	q ^w ət'ər-ku kill.PFV-2MPL.IMPER.OM 'One killed you.'
	<i>-xu</i>	Light object	qət'ər-ə-xu kill.PFV-3MS.SM-2MPL.IMPER.OM 'He killed you.'
	<i>-ku</i>	Heavy object	qə't'ər-o-ku kill.PFV-3MPL.SM-2MPL.IMPER.OM 'They killed you.'
3FS	<i>-ija</i>	Impersonal	q ^w ət'ər-ija kill.PFV-3FS.IMPER.OM 'One killed her.'
	<i>-na</i>	Light object	qət'ər-ə-na kill.PFV-3MS.SM-3FS.IMPER.OM 'He killed her.'
	<i>-ja</i>	Heavy object	qət'ər-o-ja kill.PFV-3MPL.SM-3FS.IMPER.OM 'They killed her.'
3FPL	<i>-joma</i>	Impersonal	q ^w ət'ər-joma kill.PFV-3FPL.IMPER.OM 'One killed them.'
	<i>-nəma</i>	Light object	qət'ər-ə-nəma kill.PFV-3MS.SM-3FPL.IMPER.OM 'He killed them.'
	<i>-jəma</i>	Heavy object	qət'ər-o-jəma kill.PFV-3MPL.SM-3FPL.IMPER.OM 'They killed them.'
3MS	<i>-i</i>	Impersonal	q ^w ət'ər-i kill.PFV-3MS.IMPER.OM 'One killed him.'
	<i>-n</i>	Light object	q ^w ət'ər-ə-n kill.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.IMPER.OM 'He killed him.'
	<i>-wi</i>	Heavy object	qət'ər-o-wi kill.PFV-3MPL.SM-3MS.IMPER.OM 'They killed him.'
3MPL	<i>-jo</i>	Impersonal	q ^w ət'ər-jo kill.PFV-3MPL.IMPER.OM 'One killed them.'
	<i>-no</i>	Light object	qət'ər-ə-no kill.PFV-3MS.SM-3MPL.IMPER.OM 'He killed them.'
	<i>-jo</i>	Heavy object	qət'ər-o-jo kill.PFV-3MPL.SM-3MPL.IMPER.OM 'They killed them.'

As in (Table 26) above, when the pronominal suffixes are attached to the impersonal verbs, there exist both labialization of non-coronal sounds and palatalization of coronal sounds. For instance, sentential verb *wəsədx^w* ‘I took’ becomes *wəsədʒk^wn* ‘someone took me’, and it is portrayed that the velar sound in the first word of the verb *qət’ərə* become labialized *k^wət’əri* as mentioned above. Above all, these impersonal pronominal suffixes are attached into the imperfective and jussive forms of the verbs as in the data below.

- (220) a) *q^wət’ər-i*
kill.PFV-3MS.IMPV.OM ‘One killed him.’
- b) *ji-q^wət’ər-i-te*
3MS-kill.IPFV-3MS.IMPV.OM-FUT ‘One will kill him.’
- c) *ə-q^wət’ər-i*
3MS-kill.JUSS-3MS.IMPV.OM ‘Let one kill him.’

5.9 Relative verbs

Verbs are morphologically relativized in the canonical perfective and imperfective verb conjugations, and they contain verbal information with specific syntactic usages (cf. Meyer 2006:125 & Hetzron 1997:482).

In Gura, verbs are relativized by the bound morpheme (*ʔə-*) explicitly and imperfective subject markers implicitly. Thus, relative verb is relativized verb in either imperfective or perfective verbal forms. As in verbs in main clauses, verbs in relativized verb must agree with their subject, and they may agree with their direct object if there is. The relative marker overtly occurs on perfective verbal inflection. Thus, the relative verb is marked with the morpheme */ʔə/* which is also used as genitive marker and head of the relative clauses (see §2.2.4.2.1.). This morpheme is prefixed to the verb as nominalizer in the noun phrase as head in the table below.

Table 27: Relative verbs in perfective

Person	Examples	Gloss
1PS	<i>ʔə-məkər-x^w</i> RC-advise.PFV-1PS.SM	‘I who advised’
1PL	<i>ʔə-məkər-nə</i> RC-advise.PFV-1PL.SM	‘we who advised’
2MS	<i>ʔə-məkər-xə</i> RC-advise.PFV-2MS.SM	‘you who advised’
2MPL	<i>ʔə-məkər-xu</i> RC-advise.PFV-2MPL.SM	‘you who advised’
2FS	<i>ʔə-məkər-xi</i> RC-advise.PFV-2FS.SM	‘you who advised’
2FPL	<i>ʔə-məkər-xima</i> RC-advise.PFV-2FPL.SM	‘you who advised’
3MS	<i>ʔə-məkər-ə</i> RC-advise.PFV-3MS.SM	‘He who advised’
3MPL	<i>ʔə-məkər-o</i> RC-advise.PFV-3MPL.SM	‘They who advised’
3FS	<i>ʔə-məkər-ətʃ</i> RC-advise.PFV-3FS.SM	‘she who advised’
3FPL	<i>ʔə-məkər-əma</i> RC-advise.PFV-3FPL.SM	‘they who advised’

The relative verb in the imperfective verbal conjugation is not clearly indicated like in the perfective. The subject imperfective markers are used as the relativizer as morphemes. Consider the following data.

- (221) a) *zika* ***ji-zəzki*** *miss* *ija* *g^wəpe-w*.
 here 3MS-speak.IPFV man I brother-COP.3MS
 ‘The man who is speaking here is my brother.’
- b) *xi* ***ji-tʃot-əma*** *gred* *tir-a-ni*
 that 3FPL-work.IPFV-3FPL girl.PL call.IMP-3MS-1PS.BEN
 ‘Call for me! Those girls who are working.’
- c) *zi* ***ti-tʃən*** *mift* *astəmari-n-ja*
 this 3FS-come.IPFV woman teacher-COP-3FS
 ‘This woman who is coming is a teacher.’

However, the existence verb *nəpərə* ‘there was/it was’ is relativized so as to portray relativized verb forms in imperfective in Gura. This free morpheme encodes duration aspect in the past in conjunction with imperfective verb forms. Besides, the auxiliary *anə* is also used for denoting present aspectual readings. For instance, the relativized verbs in the phrases *ətʃ’ə isəbr ʔərəpərə* and *ətʃ’ə isəbr janəx*” can be interpreted as ‘I who was breaking wood,’ and ‘I who is breaking wood’ respectively. Therefore, tense reading is denoted with present and past marker auxiliary *anə* and *nəpərə* respectively, and they are expressing relativization clauses in Gura.

5.10 Converb verbs

Converbs have morphosyntactic, semantic and functional concepts in a language.⁴⁹ Azeb and Dimmendaal (2006) suggest that this linguistic phenomenon is found in Afro-asiatic languages of Ethiopia.

In Gura, converb is denoted by the suffix *-ta*. This bound suffix is attached next to the subject morphemes to the perfective, imperfective and jussive/imperative stem bases. Most of the time converbs are constructed with the perfective verbal forms. Thus, it is realized as they depicted in the table below.

⁴⁹As Hetzron (1972:99) posits that the term converb is first devised by polotsky (1951) originally coined for Mongolia to replace the less adequate term ‘gerund’. Besides, Haspelmath and König (1995:381) named it as participles, gerund, medial, and converbs and soon.

Table 26: Converb based on perfective

Person	Examples	Gloss
1PS	<i>səbər-x^w-ta</i> break.PFV-1PS-CVB	‘I having broken’
1PL	<i>səbərə-nə-ta</i> break.PFV-1PL-CVB	‘ we having broken’
2MS	<i>səbər-xə-ta</i> break.PFV-2MS-CVB	‘you having broken’
2MPL	<i>səbər-xu-ta</i> break.PFV-2MPL-CVB	‘you having broken’
2FS	<i>səbər-xⁱ-ta</i> break.PFV-2FS-CVB	‘you having broken’
2FPL	<i>səbər-xima-ta</i> break.PFV-2FPL-CVB	‘you having broken’
3MS	<i>səbər-ə-ta</i> break.PFV-3MS-CVB	‘he having broken’
3MPL	<i>səbər-o-ta</i> break.PFV-3MPL-CVB	‘they having broken’
3FS	<i>səbər-əf-ta</i> break.PFV-3FS-CVB	‘she having broken’
3FPL	<i>səbər-əma-ta</i> break.PFV-3FPL-CVB	‘they having broken’

As can be realized from Table 27, converbal suffix is attached to all forms of verbal conjugations in the perfective followed by subject suffixes markers. Although the subject agreement markers are concatenated preceding the converb suffix to the verb stems, these verbs are infinite (they do not portray TAM) in Gura. They cannot even stand by themselves as single sentences alone in the discourses or texts. The semantic and morphosyntactic use of the phrase is carried in the last verb as final verbs. Consider the data below.

- (222) a) *kift-əta* *gib-a*.
 open.IMP-CVB enter.IMP-2MS.SM
 ‘After you should open ! Entered!’
- b) *ixa* *gəd-a-ta* *setf’-ə*.
 water fetch.PFV-3MS-CVB drink.PFV-3MS.SM
 ‘Drink! After you have fetched water.’
- c) *ji-səbr-o-ta* *ji-wət’-o*.
 3MPL-break.IPFV-3MPL-CVB 3MPL-go.IPFV-3MPL.SM

‘They are going out after they have broken.’

As can be realized from the data above, the converbs marker is also attached with the imperfective and jussive verbal conjugations in Gura.

In Gura, it is possible to use consecutive series of juxtaposed verbs without the use of this converbal morpheme (-ta). Consider the data below.

- (223) a) *hut bən-a setf’-ə dar-ə.*
he eat.PFV-3MS.SM drink.PFV-3MS.SM bless.PFV-3MS.SM
‘He ate, drank, and blessed.’
- b) *x’ita tərawət’-ətʃ təmaribet gəβa-ətʃ.*
she run.PFV-3FS.SM school enter.PFV-3FS.SM
‘She run and entered the school.’
- c) *nəda ɪxa awəj-ə wər-ə.*
neda water fetch.PFV-3MS.SM go.PFV-3MS.SM
‘Neda fetched water and he went out.’

5.11 Summary

In this chapter, the morphological features of Gura verbs are discussed. The canonical and non-canonical verbs are basically inflected for three verbal conjugations (perfective, imperfective, and jussive) in addition to other verbal affixes. The verbs are both simple and complex in forms, and the simple verbs are formed from the root-consonants through the formative vowels interdigitated into C-slot (consonant template). The other method is derivation of verbs from the simple verbs by affixes.

In Gura, verbs are typologized into types on the base of their morphophonemic features and number of root-consonants. The former, is applied for the canonical tri-consonant roots whereas the latter is considered as subtypes of the former one since they share partial characteristics of them. Due to the morphophonemic and vowel qualities, Gura verbs are classified as verb type A, B, C, and D. The verb type A is characterized by insertion of the vowel (ə) among C-skeleton. In the verb type B, the vowel (e) is inserted following the first root-consonant; it is also characterized with the palatal or palatalized initial root-consonant followed by the vowel (ə). Verb type C is characterized by the insertion of the

vowel (a) following the first root-consonant, and verb type D is characterized by labialized initial root consonant followed by the vowel (ə/a).

The verb stem is formed by root-and-consonant or derivational affixes. In the former case, the stems are formed from the root-consonants that have different formative vowels on basic verbal conjugations. The passive stems are derived from simple verbs by the prefix *tə-*, and the direct and indirect causatives are derived by the morphemes *a-* or *at-* respectively. The verbal nouns are derived either by the suffix *-ot* or the prefix *wə-*. On the other hand, verbs are inflected for negation, and the verbal negation markers (*an-*, *a-*, and *e-*) are concatenated to perfective, imperfective and jussive verbal conjugation respectively.

The copular verb is expressed with bound morpheme *nə-* that is attached to all persons except the third person singular masculine that is described by *-u/w*. These copular morphemes are prefixed or followed by other pronominal suffixes, and the existence verb is described with the morpheme *nərə* that expresses possession in the present time. The latter morpheme describes deontic /obligation when it is followed by malfactive marker *b-*. In Gura, subject and object are agreed with the affixes attached to the verbs in the basic verbal inflections. The latter has especial inflections in addition to the normal object suffixes benefactive and malfactives that are licensed on the verbal inflection next to other verbal conjugations.

In Gura, present, past and future tenses are explicitly marked by auxiliary verbs and obligatory morphemes *-te* and *-fə*. Aspect are expressed by the imperfective forms of the verbs and some auxiliary verbs such *ba* or *banə* or *tanə*. In very rare case the progressive aspect is expressed with the nouns described with the auxiliary *anə*, and converbs and their reduplication are expressing iterative in lexicalized forms.

There are also morphosyntactic verbs with special semantic realizations in Gura. The impersonal verbs are expressing the impersonal passive. These are syntactically marker with special pronominal suffixes. The other point, the relative verbs are encoded with the relativized prefixes on the perfective, but it is not marked in the imperfective verbal

conjugations. In the former case, the relativizer ʔə- morpheme is prefixed to the verbs overtly, but in imperfective forms of the verbs the relativizer morpheme is covert that is semantically cling to the subject affixes. The converbs are expressed with the morpheme *-ta*. This morpheme is suffixed to the perfective and imperfective forms of the verbs, but the serial verbs are also used to express series of actions in discourses or texts.

CHAPTER SIX

SYNTAX

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the internal structure of phrases, clauses and their syntactic structures are described vis-à-vis fieldwork language oriented. The semantic moods of sentences and modality of the verbs in clauses are also described, and the aspects of word order are attested. Gura is syntactically complex in which all syntactic information is licensed on verbs like other Ethio-semitic languages (cf. Bedilu 2010 for kistaninya, Baye 2000 Amharic, & Degif 2000 Chaha). In this variety, the basic word order is **SOV** at sentence level, and phrase is constructed with the head and its modifiers/complements whereas clauses are constructed from different morphological constituents that can be simple, complex, dependent or main in the realm of linguistic discourses or texts.

6.2 Word order

A sentence is the combination of at least the basic elements (subject, verb and object). These sentences constituents distinguish syntactically the word order typology in the variety. Rubin (2010) argues that Proto-Semitic seems to have been VSO languages, that is, the standard word order was **Verb-Subject-Object**. However, now days both the ancient and modern languages are deviated from this archaic standard word order forms into different other new forms due to the influence of other languages that most of the Ethio-semitic languages are remarkably changed to the **SOV** due to the influence of the Cushitic languages.

In Gura, word order is the same as other Ethio-semitic languages. It has the surface structure of **SOV** in which V is determined by nature of the verbs. The nature of the verbs is very important to consider because verbs can be transitive, intransitive, and linking (copular). Thus, in the intransitive verbs such as *tʃən-ə*, *x^wər-ə*, *asəβ-ə*, *wət'-a* there are only two arguments (SV) which lack an object instead subject complement is syntactically adjunct as S(C)V. Consider the data below.

- (224) a) *bajsikil-huta* *tfən-ə.*
 cycle.NOM-DEF come.PFV-3MS.SM
 ‘The bicycle came.’
- b) *hut* *tə-ija* *anqʲə* *ji-tfen-te.*
 he.NOM PRE-I after 3MS.SM-come.IPFV-FUT
 ‘He will come after me.’
- c) *huta* *dən-e* *gəp^w-a.*
 he.NOM inside-to enter.PFV-3MS.SM
 ‘He entered inside.’

Word order in sentence constituents is associated by linking verb that tends to be SO(C) V. In Gura, the subject and complement of sentences are associated with copula verbs. Copulas are grammatical linking devices that are attached to nouns or pronouns preceding subject suffixes. The data below illustrate this syntactic reality.

- (225) a) *xa* *mɪss* *gef-u.*
 that man.NOM tall-COP.3MS.SM
 ‘That man is tall.’
- b) *xɪ* *gred* *mərkama-nə-ma.*
 those girl. PL.NOM beautiful-COP-3FPL.SM.
 ‘Those girls are beautiful’
- c) *zɪ* *dəngʲa* *təmari-n-o.*
 these boy.PL.NOM student-COP-3PL-3MPL.SM
 ‘These boys are students’

Indeed, word order phenomenon is quite clear in transitive verbs in relation to the agent/subject and object in sentences/clauses. Hence, basic word order in the variety is **SOV** as discussed above and previous literatures. Consider the data below for further clarifications.

- (226) a) *huta* *g^wədʒə* *ji-gədid.*
 he.NOM hole 3MS.SM-dig.IPFV
 ‘He is digging a hole.’
- b) *məskot-huta* *kift-tʃi.*
 window-3MS open.IMP-2FS.SM
 ‘You open the door!’

- c) *at-əm-ndə* *idəja* *an-bəna-nə.*
 one-CONJ-1PL lunch NEG-eat.PFV-1PL.SM
 ‘None of us ate lunch.’

As in (226) above, the underlying basic word order is structured as **subject-object-verb** in clauses/sentences in Gura. However, the subject of the clauses can be missed specially the pronominal subject and the understood subject in command (imperative mood). As the variety is one of the pro-drop (null subject) morphology from the Ethio-Semitic languages, and most of their grammatical information is found in the inflection of the verb. For instance, in the sentential verbs *səjəx^win* ‘I bought it’, *təf^wawədənə* ‘we played’, and *tʃənətʃ* ‘she came’ the subject, object, gender, and tense of these verbs are portrayed on each verbal inflections. Thus, it is possible to identify the order of the sentences which is indicated morphosyntactically, and they are semantically understood their function between the listener and speakers.

The constituents of a phrase are revolved around the head of the phrases, and it is completed with the predicative or modifier of difference word classes. Hence, the order of the words in the NP is right-headed/head final; that is, the modifiers are found or placed to the left of the head, but there are cases when the head is post modified in Gura. Therefore, its surface structure is left-headed as in the NP *bajsi kihuta*.⁵⁰ In some cases, there exist movements of the headword so; the word order in the phrase in this variety is not rigid. In connection this proposition, Tsarfaty (retrieved 2017:10) asserts that due to the rich system of morphological argument marking, the word-order patterns in Semitic clauses are less rigid than in English.

In Gura, there is drifting of the head word in the clause or phrase from the underlying order to the right-headed when they are restricted with definite markers and some postpositions as in the phrase headed by *bajsi kl* ‘bicycle’ and *emdibr* ‘emdibr’ in the following data.

⁵⁰Most of the Ethio-semitic Noun phrases are preceded with the modifiers such adjectives, genitives and relatives. Consequently, the underlying position of the modifier in the variety is head-final unlike Tigrinya which is head-initial (Rubin 2010:60).

phrases are united or adhered together for representing certain syntactic phenomenon (cf. Baye 2000:238 for Amharic and Endale 2016:54 for Ezha).

In Gura, as it is noticed above the main (head) word in the noun phrase is the noun. It appears in the noun phrase to the right of its modifiers, and the phrase is said to be the **right-headed or head-final phrase** (cf. Baye 2000 in Amharic & Endalew 2016 in Ezha) , but it is unlike Tigrinya as far as the best knowledge of the writer of this paper. The modifiers in the noun phrase can be of different classes of words such as adjectives, genitives, relatives, and demonstratives.

In Gura, NP (noun phrase) can syntactically stand alone or it can be modified with other word classes that are dependent to the head noun. In the following data, head itself or bare noun constructs the NP.

- (228) a) *fəɾəz* *tʃən-ə*
horse Come.PFV-3MS.SM 'Horse came.'
- b) *gərə* *bəkj-ətʃ*
girl Cry.PFV-3FS.SM 'Girl cried.'
- c) *atankirit* *tə-ant'-ə*
eucalyptus:tree PASS-cut.PFV-3MS 'Eucalyptus tree was cut.'

The head noun is pre-modified by simple or complex adjectives. In Gura, two or more than two modifiers are used to make the NPs more complex in the phrase structure rules. Consider the following data.

- (229) a) *bərga* *təbat* *santʃa* *fəɾəz* *səj-ə*.
Berga male light:grey horse buy.PFV-3MS.SM
'Berga bought lightbrown male horse.'
- b) *dəngənə* *gərəd* *tʃən-ətʃ*.
rich girl come.PFV-3FS.SM
'Rich girl came.'

and it may have the same basic semantic properties and functional possibilities as its head (cf. Dixon 2010:106).

- c) *murt' sɔb ʔəkʷa zɪrəkɪ-ə.*
 bald man today speak.PFV-3MS.SM
 'Bald man spoke today.'

Besides, the demonstrative pronouns *xɪ* 'that, those' and *zɪ* 'this, these' are indicating deictic relationship in Gura. These pronouns determined the morphosyntactic function of nouns by pre-modifying them in main clauses. They tend to indicate the distal or proximal in reference to the speaker (see §3.2.4.1). These demonstrative pronouns are used to construct complex NPs as in (230).

- (230) a) *zɪ gʷad mɪft tʃʷən-ətʃ.*
 this white woman give:birth.PFV-3FS.SM
 'This white woman gave birth.'
- b) *xɪ dɔngənə ɔrtʃ wəfər-ə.*
 that black boy be:fat.PFV-3MS.SM
 'That rich boy became fat.'
- c) *zɪ mɔrkama gred sarə-nəma*
 these beautiful girl.PL please.PFV-3FPL.SM
 'These beautiful girls pleased.'

In Gura, the demonstratives pronouns are syntactically appeared before the adverb *niqar* 'very', and it is used to construct more complex NP phrases as in (231).

- (231) a) *ɪja zɪ niqar bətɪt bet səjə-xʷ*
 I this very wide house buy.PFV-1PS.SM
 'I bought this very wide house.'
- c) *xɪ niqar nafa gərəd qawa qʷən-ətʃ*
 that very gentle girl coffee raost.PFV-3FS.SM
 'That very gentle girl roasted coffee.'
- c) *zɪ niqar dɔngənə ɔrtʃ tən-ə*
 this very rich boy swear.PFV-3MS.SM
 'This very rich boy swore.'

Moreover, pronominal affixes are suffixed into nouns in order to construct complex NPs in Gura (see §3.2.2.1). These pronominal affixes are attached to nouns to construct noun phrases that are headed by nouns, but their positions can be shifted from the underlying order (right-headed) into the left-headed as in the following data.

- (232) a) *ginzira-xino* *bən-no*
break:fast-3MPLPOSS eat.PFV-3MPL.SM
‘They ate their breakfast.’
- b) *dəbtər-x’ita* q^waf-ətʃ
exercise:book-3FS.POSS lost.PFV-3FS.SM
‘She lost her exercise book’
- c) *ʔə-gən-ənda* *mədər* zik-u
GEN-country-1PL.POSS land this-COP.3MS
‘This is land of our country.’

In each of the above data, the nouns are post attached by the pronominal suffixes that are attributed to each person. Apart from this, such phrasal construction can be prolonged with the addition of another noun as a head of the phrase. Thus, the weight or length of the NPs depend on nature of the headword whether it gets more modifiers or not as in (233).

- (233) a) *aβa-na* *niqjə* *g^wəpe*
father-1PS.POSS elder brother ‘my father’s elder bother’
- b) *ʔə-befa-x’ita* *g^wəpe*
GEN-brother-3FS.POSS brother ‘her father’s brother’
- c) *ʔə-bahl-ənda* *dəmb*
GEN-culture-1PL.POSS rule ‘our cultures’ rule ’

In Gura, some nouns are pre-modified by the relativized noun. Consequently, they form relativized NPs since such relativized nouns are modifying the headed nouns. The relativization in the imperfective verbal inflection overlaps with the imperfective verbal inflection. Thus, it is difficult to clearly distinguish morphosyntactically the relativization in the imperfective verbal inflections as in the following data.

- (234) a) *xino* *ji-tfən* *miss-huta* *dənəg^w-o-wi*
they 3MS.REL-come.IPFV man-DEF hit.PFV-3MPL.SM-3MS.OM
‘They hit the man who is coming.’
- b) *huta* *ji-tfən* *feq* səj-ə.
he 3MS.REL-give: birth.IPFV goat buy.PFV-3MS.SM
‘He bought a goat which can give birth. ’

- c) *ija ti-tfən mift nəməd-x^w-na*
 I 3MS.REL-come.IPFV woman love.PFV-1PS.SM-3FS.OM
 ‘I loved woman who is coming.’

In Gura, words are also modified by the possessive (genitive) marker morpheme *ʔə-*, and it is prefixed to the pronouns or nouns for portraying possession; consequently, complex NPs are morphosyntactically formed. Consider the following data.

- (235) a) *ʔə-feq ajm* b) *ʔə-t'e bəsər*
 GEN-goat milk GEN-sheep meat
 ‘milk of goat’ ‘meat of sheep’
- c) *ʔə-bahl fərət*
 GEN-culture food ‘food of cultural’

In Gura, quantifiers are also used to modify the nouns in the phrasal constructions. Most commonly the word *irsijə*, *inn*, *ing^wəd* are used for quantifying the mass and countable nouns as in exhibited in the data below.

- (236) a) *irsijə tikə*
 small boy ‘small boy’
- b) *irsijə dəngja*
 few boy.PL ‘few boys’
- c) *irsijə ixa*
 little water ‘little water’
- d) *ing^wəd awi*
 other animal ‘other animal’

As can be realized from the data above, the quantifier *irsijə* is representing for the quantification of mass and countable nouns. It represents the concepts expressed with few, a few, little and a little in English. Likewise, the word *niqar* ‘many, very’ is used for pre-modifying nouns in the construction of noun phrases in Gura. The latter is the combination of two words *niq* ‘big, elder’ and *qar* ‘thing, speech’ that extends its meanings as ‘very big, wise, many, much thing’. Furthermore, these words are combined with the adjective marker (-jə); consequently, it is used as a pre-modifier morpheme in the phrasal construction of NPs in Gura as illustrated in the data below.

- (237) a) *niqjə bet*
 large house 'large house'
- b) *niqjə fird bet*
 large court 'higher court'
- c) *niqjə ʔə-dəng'ja-xino* mamər
 large GEN-boy.PL-3MPL association
 'large youths' association'

To wind up, in Gura, NPs are constructed with a noun and its constituents. Thus, the underlying structures of NPs are head final or right headed as in Amharic and Ežha (cf. Baye 2000 & Endalew 2016 respectively). However, the structural constituent of the phrases are shifted in their surface structures in some rare cases may be due to the dependent and scant nature of the words.

6.3.2 Verb phrases

Verb phrases are headed by the verbs, but they are determined based on their temporal argument structure and event structures. Verbs have many distinct features or natures thereby linguists have been classified accordingly (cf. Baye 2000; Dixon 2010 & Wunderlich 2005).

Gura is one of the morphologically richest Ethio-semitic languages in which the verbs are inflected for many syntactic functions. Thus, the verbs are accompanied with many syntactic adjuncts. To this end, to realize Gura verb phrase, it is important to consider the temporal argument structure and event structures of the Gura verbs. Verb phrases can be constructed with or without complements. In Gura, transitive verb phrases are syntactically used as predicate of main clauses. In fact, the head of the phrase is the transitive verbs of different event types. The argument structure lies on the semantic nature of the verbs that are used as head of the phrase whether it is di-transitive or mono-transitive. Thus, the category of the verbs on the transitive and intransitive lies on the inherent verbal semantics in this variety, but there are not any syntactic markers of transitive or intransitive forms of the verbs on the complements.

First, let us consider the features of VPs those are constructed by intransitive verbs as head. The phrase structures that are constructed by intransitive verbs can have an obligatory complement or null complement. For instance, the following intransitive verbs have not complement in Gura.

- (238) a) *Wake* **wəfər-ə.**
 Wake be:fat.PFV-3MS.SM ‘Wake became fat.’
- b) *imar-xʼita* **mʷət-ətʃ.**
 donkey-DEF die.PFV-3FS.SM ‘The donkey (F) died.’
- c) *axə* **tinəfəs-xə.**
 you breath.PFV-2MS.SM ‘You breathed.’

However, in the event types of verb classes, they are expressing the state of an action in which the action is remained on the doer him/herself. They indicate state of becoming rather the argument has an obligatory complement (NP) as in (239).

- (239) a) *xino* **dəngənə** **xər-o.**
 they rich be.PFV-3MPL.SM
 ‘They became rich.’
- b) *sara* **sistər** **xərə-tʃ.**
 sara Nun be.PFV-3FS.SM
 ‘Sara became a nun.’
- c) *hut* **adot-ata** **ji-məsɾ.**
 he mother-3MS.POSS 3MS.SM-resemble.IPFV
 ‘He looks like his mother.’

Thus, the head of the phrase in the above sentences are portraying the state of becoming or changing of the performer from one event/state into another. They are expressing changing of characters from within. Hence, each of the verb phrases must be completed by changing events; consequently, their complement is agreed with the subject not with the action of the verbs (cf. Baye 2000 for similar analysis in Amharic).

Predicates are the complement of the subject that can be constructed the main verb and its complements, and they are followed by one or two arguments together with other

complements.⁵³ Thus, in Gura, intransitive verbs are head of the verb phrases, and they are completed by other postpositional or prepositional phrases as in (240).

- (240) a) *Murad indibir-njə kən-a.*
 Murad emdibr-PRE go:up.PFV-3MS.SM
 ‘Murad went up towards Emdibr.’
- b) *Sara tə-wəlqt’e bə-məkina tfən-ətʃ.*
 Sara PRE-welkte PRE-car come.PFV-3FS.SM
 ‘Sara came from Welkite by car.’
- c) *bərga qirərə qirərə betkisja-njə inn*
 berga morning morning church-PRE all
kərə j-ar.
 day 3MS.SM-go.IPFV
 ‘He always goes to school every morning.’

As in (240), the verb phrases are the predicates of the sentences. Here, the verbs are constructed or have complements even more than two type of phrases. Nevertheless, they have only one argument in each case that makes intransitive verbs simpler than transitive. There is no transferring of an action from agent to its receipt or patient rather the action is remained in the agent itself-the intransitive subject.

In Gura, verb phrases are also constructed by head copula verbs and an obligatory complements. The obligatory complements can be simple or complex. Hence, copular verbs are used to denote relational interaction with subjects and objects, and they belong to the inflectional morphology. The following copula verbs illustrate such phrasal constructions in Gura.

- (241) a) *x’ita ʔə-itəm^m-əna tikə-n-ja.*
 she GEN-aunt-1PS.POSS child -COP-3FL
 ‘She is my aunt’s child.’
- b) *murgat gef-n-ja.*
 Murgat tall-COP-3FS
 ‘Murgat is tall.’

⁵³Verbs can be classified according to the quality, quantity and features of their complements. They can be viewed as verb with complement and with no complement, and those with complements have either one, two or more than two, and based on the kind of the complements verb can be classified as transitive, and intransitive (my own translation) Baye (2000:253-4).

- c) *huta niqar dzadənə astəmari-w.*
 he very hard worker teacher-COP.3MS
 ‘He is very hard worker teacher.’

As in (241) above, the copular verb is head of the phrasal rules, and this headword can have simple obligatory complements like in (241b). This copula head can also be complex that has more PP, NP and AdjP complements as in the examples in (241a and c) above.

In Gura, head auxiliary and an obligatory complements are also used to construct verb phrase (VP: head auxiliary +complement). Consider the following data.

- (242) a) *huta dirə dəngənə ban-ə.*
 he in the past rich AUX.PAST-3MS.SM
 ‘He was rich in the past.’
- b) *murgat əx^wa bə-bet-xiita anə-tf.*
 Murgat now PRE-house-DEF AUX.PR-3FS.SM
 ‘Now, Murgat is in the house.’
- c) *bə-za tinkjə bizə ixa nər-ə*
 PRE-this pot much water AUX.PR-3MS.SM
 ‘There is much water in this pot.’

On the other hand, head and object/complement are used to construct verb phrase (VP: head plus objects). The objects can be direct object, indirect object, and applicative object in Gura. The features of phrases that are constructed by these grammatical forms are discussed vis-à-vis data below.

In Gura, transitive verb forms are engaged in the construction of phrasal structures, and the phrasal head gets obligatory direct object complements. For instance, the following data illustrate verb phrases with direct object as a complement.

- (243) a) *bərga dʒəβən-huta bə-imir səp^wər-ə-n.*
 Berga kittle-DEF INST-stone break.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘Berga broke kittle with stone.’
- b) *nəda məşaf-huta g^wədəd-ə-n*
 Neda book-DEF tear.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘Neda tore a book.’

- c) *t'ankir atankirit-huta j-art'-te.*
 tenkr eucalyptus:tree-DEF 3MS.SM-cut.IPFV-FUT
 'Tenkr will cut the eucalyptus tree.'

As can be seen from the data above, the action verb stems *səpər-*, *-art-* and *gədəd-* are complementing by other phrases; consequently, they become head of the verb phrase in each sentences. Besides, these verb phrases portray the involvements of an argument agent and patient. Hence, there are movements of an action out of the performer to receive.

In similar manner, some transitive verbs can take more than one arguments. Consequently, they labeled as di-transitive verbs. Therefore, in Gura, such verb phrases will have two obligatory complements in phrasal construction. The following examples illustrate this syntactic reality.

- (244) a) *ija zi gijə ?ə-murad nax-x"-n.*
 I this dog DAT-Murad send.PFV-1PS-3MS.OM
 'I sent this dog to Murad.'
- b) *huta xi məşaf ?ə-waqe am"-ə-n.*
 he that book DAT-Wake give.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
 'He gave this book to wake.'
- c) *bərga ?ə-tikə-na zi zəŋga*
 Berga DAT-child-1PS.POSS this speech
od-ə-n.
 tell.PFV-3MS-3MS.OM
 'Berga told my child this speech.'

As in (244a-c) above, the verbal stems *naxə-*, *odə* and *amə-* have two noun phrases (NPs) which are used as complements of these verbs. These are the direct object and indirect object of these transitive verbs. The direct object of the verb is found nearest to the transitive subject that has zero morphemes. Thus, the direct object of the verb in this variety is not marked unlike the indirect object. Nevertheless, the indirect object of the verbs is marker with the morpheme */?ə-/* that is attached to the noun or pronoun as in the examples above.

In Gura, verb phrase are designated by the head and applicative and object complements, and there are malffective and benefactive object applicative. These morphosyntactic forms are constructed on the light and heavy allomorphs which are attached to the pronominal affixes (see §5.3.2.2). Thus, the applicative head obligatorily get simple or complex objects preceding the verbs as in illustrated in the examples below.

- (245) a) *huta məşhaf-xiita gədəd-ə-βa.*
 he book-DEF tear.PFV-3MS.SM-3FS.MAL
 ‘He tore the book for her detriment.’
- b) *zi gəmjə atankrit-əta adəg-o-kʷə*
 these man.PL eucalyptus -3MS.POSS cut.PFV-3MPL-3MS.MAL
 ‘These men cut his Eucalyptus tree for his detriment.’
- c) *bərga ʔə-tikə-na məşaf səj-ə-ra.*
 Berga DAT-child-1PS.POSS book buy.PFV-3MS.SM-3FS.BEN
 ‘Berga bought a book for my child.’

In (245) above, the applicative phrases have also another simple or complex complements obligatorily. For instance, in examples (245a and b), the head verbs have the malffective object affixes which syntactically form PPs, and they are again complemented by other NPs *məşhaf-xiita* ‘the book’ and *atankrit-əta* ‘his Eucalyptus tree’ respectively. Similarly, in example (245c), the head verb has object malffective that is interpreted as ‘bought for’, and it has another PP complement.

In Gura, some intransitive verbs are becoming transitive in certain morphological cases.⁵⁴ For example, some intransitive verbs can be extended their agreement structures from one into two by adding the causative marker /-a/ to verbs as one can realize from the data in the examples below.

- (246) a) *ləsa tə-imdibr qawa a-tfən-ə.*
 lesa PRE-emdibr coffee CAUS-come.PFV-3MS.SM
 ‘Lesa made to bring coffee from Emdibr’
- b) *sara təmari-huta a-wət’a-tf-n.*
 sara student- DEF CAUS-LEAVE-3FS.SM-OM

⁵⁴This process is said to be by some linguists such as Wunderlich (2005:12) the transitivized the reverse is intransitivized.

‘Sara made the student to leave out.’

- c) *dawit-m lesa-m mäsaf a-tfän-ow-rə.*
 dawit-CONJlesa-CONJ book CAUS-come.PFV-3MPL.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘They brought a book for him.’

In (246) above, the head of the phases are causative intransitive verb forms, and they got two arguments due to the causative marker /a-/. This causative marker or bound morpheme augments the argument numbers in the main clause from one into two. These verbs have an obligatorily simple or complex complements.

The finite versus infinite verbal realization is related to these considerations of the verbal form in the clause with the simple verb and its inflectional modifiers such the tense, aspect and mood (TAM) and the verbal agreements with the subject (cf. Meyer 2013). In Gura, it has been already discussed the finite verbs above which indicate the object, tense, mood and other relational suffixes. Nevertheless, now it is important to see the verbal phrase that is constructed by using the non-finite verbs such as the converbs and infinitives.

In Gura, converb is one of the verbal form in which an action is expressed with two verbs occurring in subsequent series. On the other hand, converbs do not indicate tense, aspect and mood, but these verbal forms are indicated on the main verbs final clauses (see§5.10). The syntactic verbal inflection is portrayed at final head verb as in (247).

- (247) a) *bəfridu dʒəβən səpər-ə-ta wət'-a.*
 Befrdu coffee:pot break-3MS-CVB IMP-2MS.SM
 ‘Having broken coffee pot, Befrdu went out.’
- b) *xिता гинзир-хита бəна-тf-та x"ər-ətʃ.*
 she breakfast-3FS.POSS eat-3FS-CVB go.PFV-3FS.SM
 ‘Having eaten her breakfast, she went.’
- c) *huta bən-a-ta dar-ə*
 he eat-3MS-CVB bless.PFV-3MS.SM
 ‘Having eaten, he blessed.’

In (247a-c) above, the converb expressions *sibrta* and *bənata* cannot occur on their own right on discourses/texts, and they have not formal tense and mood contrast unlike the

verbs in the main clauses *wit'a*, *xʷərə*, and *darə*. In this case, verb phase is constructed by head and the non-finite verb complements (VP: head +the non-finite verb) as in illustrated in the above examples.

The other non-finite verbal phrase is the infinitive verbs in this variety that are denoted by either the prefix *wə-* or the suffixes *-ot* (see §2.3.1.2). These non-finite verbal forms are syntactically used in the construction of verb phrases. Here, VP is constructed by head and the obligatory complement (verbal nouns) as in illustrated in the data below.

- (248) a) *huta birot-ata wəxe qar-u.*
 he to eat-3MS.POSS good thing-3MS.COP
 ‘His way of eating is good.’
- b) *xino niqar sit’ot ji-rəmd-o.*
 she much to drink 3MPL-like.IPFV-3MPL.SM
 ‘They like to drink too much.’
- c) *ija atf’ə ət’-ot xʷərə-xʷ*
 I wood cut-INF go.PFV-1PS.SM
 ‘I went to cut wood.’

In (248a-c), the non-finite verbs *birot*, *sit’ot* and *ət’ot* do not permit the contrast of tense and mood, but they are used as syntactically complements.

6.3.3 Adjective phrases

In Gura, adjectives have the same morphosyntactic features with nouns though their occurrences are rare comparing to nouns like other central Gurage language varieties.⁵⁵ This scant occurrence of adjective makes difficult to deal with adjectival phrases. However, there are classes of adjectives that can serve as the head of the phrases in adjectival phrases in Gura. For instance, the nominal adjective *matəna* ‘spitfire’, *zanžitəna* ‘slow’ and verbal adjective such as : *bəlt* ‘cunning’, *gurz* ‘old woman’ can

⁵⁵Rose (1997) claims that the adjective and nouns in the Central western Gurage languages (Chaha) are exhibited the same features since they are derived from other classes of content words nouns and verbs.

function as head of adjective phrases syntactically (see §4.2.1.2). Therefore, as discussed so far in chapter four, adjectives are simple and complex in Gura. Therefore, in phrase construction, adjectives can take complement or may stand alone. For instance, the simple adjectives that have not equivalent verbs exhibited phrasal constructions with the verbs *be* and copular verbs as in the data below.

- (249) a) *huta bəlt'-u*
 he cunning-COP.3MS.SM 'He is cunning.'
- b) *xino gef-no*
 they tall-3MPL.SM 'They are tall.'
- c) *x'ita dəngənə-n-ja.*
 she black-COP-3FS.SM 'She is rich.'

As in the above data, head (adjectives) themselves without complements in the phrase structure rules construct AdjP. Here, the copular verbs are used to relate the simple adjectives with the specifiers, and they are attributed to make relationship or equating the subject with the semantic of the adjective phrases (see §6.4.3.1.1.2).

In Gura, head and modifiers also construct adjective phrases. The determiner *niqar* 'very', *huta* 'the' and possessive pronominal affixes are pre-modified the simple or complex adjectives in the phrase structure rules. The determiner *niqar* 'very' is pre-modifying both the derived and simple adjective as in the following examples.

- (250) a) *x'ita niqar zanzitənə ərtf a-gəpa-tf.*
 she very slow boy CCA-get.PFV-3FS.SM
 'She married very slow boy.'
- b) *xi niqar dəngənə ərtf nəməd-x^w-n.*
 that very rich boy love.PFV-1PS-3MS.SM
 'I loved that very black boy.'
- c) *niqar nətʃ'ə gef miʃt tʃən-ətʃ.*
 very white tall woman come.PFV-3FS.SM
 'A very red tall woman came.'

On the other hand, derived and simple adjectives are restricted or modified for definiteness with the morpheme *-huta*; consequently, the adjective phrases become larger and this determiner morpheme is suffixed to them. Consider the following data.

- (251) a) *idənjə-huta* *xʷər-ə*.
 rapacious-DEF go.PFV-3MS.SM
 ‘The rapacious went.’
- b) *isinjə-huta* *qʷətʃ-i*.
 buck:toothed-DEF punish.PFV-3MS.IMPER.SM
 ‘The buck-toothed was punished.’
- c) *dəngənə-huta* *kʷəsəs-e*.
 rich-DEF accuse.PFV-1PS.OM
 ‘The rich one accused me.’

As in the data above, the definite marker *-huta*, post modifies the adjectives; consequently, the attributive types of adjective phrases are constructed. Here, the head of the phrase is shifted from its underlying positions head-final to its initial positions. It also possible to pre-modify (demonstrate) these AdjP with the determiners *zɪ* ‘this’ and *xɪ* ‘that’ so as to construct a larger phrase such as *xɪ idənjəhuta* ‘that the rapacious’, *zɪ gəmbənəhuta* ‘this black’. Thus, the positions of these determiners (demonstratives) are at the beginning of the phrases in Gura.

In Gura, small adjectival phrases can be prolonged when they are constructed together with other determiners or PPs as one can see from the data given below.

- (252) a) *huta adot-ətə* *xəma gef-u*.
 he mother-3MS.POSS like tall-COP.3MS
 ‘He is tall like his mother.’
- b) *xɪta aβa-xɪta* *xəma niqar xari-n-ja*.
 she father-3FS.POSS like very wise-COP-3FS.OM
 ‘She is very wise like her father.’
- c) *bəfridu aβa-ta* *xəma atʃʷir-u*.
 Befrdu father-3MS.POSS like short-COP.3MS.SM
 ‘Befrdu is short like his father.’

As in (252), simple adjective phrases can be larger when they are constructed with other determiner phrases. For instance, in (252a) the adjective (verbal adjective) *gef* ‘tall’ is the head of the larger phrase that is modified by the prepositional phrase *adotata xəma* ‘like his mother’. Similarly, in (252b) this PP is headed with the adverb *niqar* ‘very’ and it becomes larger than its proceedings. In (252c), the adjective phrase is headed by the simple adjectives that can be larger when they are constructed with the PP in Gura. Besides, adjective phrases are syntactically predicative and attributives functioning like adjectives (see §4.2.3). Adjectives are bare words or modified with other functional or content words in Gura.

6.3.4 Adverb phrases

In Gura, apart from the adverbial (see§ 4.4). , adverbs are not expressed lexically; however, they can be expressed semantically oriented by nouns, NPs and PPs. These syntactic functions are categorized into time, location, manner, and place, and they are discussed here based on their phrasal distribution on Gura texts or discourses.

Therefore, phrases can be AdvP, NP, or PP depending on the functional uses in the texts or discourse. As discussed so far, the head of the phrases are right-headed or head-initial phrases like other Semitic language (cf. Baye 2000 in Amharic).⁵⁶ Adverb phrases are describing the function of Gura verbs that answers questions such as when, where, how, how often and in what manner (see§ 4.4). For instance, the adverbial phrase of time is constructed. Consider the data below.

- (253) a) *xinəma nəgə kīrərə* j-ar-əma-te.
they tomorrow morning 3FPL-go.IPFV-3FPL-FUT
 ‘They will go tomorrow morning.’
- b) *ija əxʷa sant imdibir i-kəra-te.*

⁵⁶Adverbs have unique features that differs them from other classes of content words that they don’t take complement and they are expressed on the nominal clause, prepositional clauses or independent sentence , but they are constructed on the base of the head (Baye 2000:280).

I now week emdibr 1PS-go:up.IPFV-FUT
 ‘I will go to Emdbr next week.’

- c) *ginzr-ata* *bə-bən-a* *anq’ə*
 break:fast-3MS.POSS PRE-eat.PFV-3MS.SM after
 təmaribet x^wər-ə
 school go.PFV-3MS.SM
 ‘He went to school after he had eaten his breakfast.’

In (253a-b) above, all the phases are NPs which modify function of verbs so they are functioning as an adverbs phrase. Similarly, in (253c) is PP that determines function of verbs in discourse in Gura. The adverbials are restricting the function of the verb in the sentences, and they use prepositions as pre-modifying noun or pronoun. They are also conjoining with independent time adverbs as one can realized in the discussion above. Here, the surface structure of the word order in the phrase is shifted from head final into head-initial⁵⁷. In contrast, there is some rare case that the canonical phrasal structure of the bound morphemes (-njə) keeps its underlying word order as [*imdibr-njə*=emdibr-PRE] ‘to Emdbir’ and [*gabəja-njə* = market-PRE] ‘to market’.

The adverbial of manner is also expressed in the variety when the nouns/adjectives are conjoined with the relational morphemes (see §4.4.4). Consequently, these PPs are meant to describe in what manner the action in the sentences are carried out as in (254).

- (254) a) *huta* *bəwəxenət* *nəpər-ə*
 he happily live.PFV-3MS.SM
 ‘He lived happily.’
- b) *axə* *bərtfinət* *ʃəkət-xə*
 you bravely work.PFV-2MS.SM
 ‘You worked bravely.’
- c) *murgat* *bərutf’a* *tʃən-ətʃ*
 Murgat quickly come.PFV-3FS.SM
 ‘Murgaat came quickly.’

⁵⁷I cannot agree more with the idea of Baye (2000 in Amharic) that this is happened because of the dependent nature of the head words in the language. However, the underlying phrasal structure is head-final or right headed like Amharic but unlike Tigrinya.

In (254a-c), all the phrases are PPs which are headed by the relational morpheme (bə-), but these phrases are semantically distinguishing function of the verbs. Thus, as one can understand from these data above, the manner adverb is expressed by the abstract nominals, adjectives, and nouns that are pre-modified by the relational marker /bə-/.

The preposition *xəma* ‘like’ is becoming the head of the phrase which is modified by other NPs. It is used to prolong the weight of the phrases, so such phrases (PPs) are modifying the verbs rather than the subject or objects of the sentences. Consider the underlined phrase in the following data.

- (255) a) *huta ʔə-gʷəpe-ta xəma atfir-u*
 he GEN-brother-3MS.POSS like short-COP.3MS
 ‘He is short like his brother.’
- b) *murad ʔə-bəfa-ta xəma gef-u*
 murad GEN-friend-3MS.POSS like tall-COP.3MS
 ‘Murad is tall like his friend.’
- c) *xit ʔə-bərga xəma. dzadənə-n-ja*
 she GEN-Berga like energetic-COP-3FS
 ‘She is energetic like Berga.’

The adverb *qitjə* ‘exactly’ is also used to construct the adverbial phrases that can get a complement NPs, or it can stand alone in sentences. See the examples in the data below.

- (256) a) *dzəmal-m berga-m qitjə-r-o*
 Jemal-CONJ berga-CONJ equal-COP-3MPL
 ‘Jemal and Berga are equal.’
- b) *huta qitjə adot-əta ji-məsr.*
 he exactly mother-3MS.POSS 3MS.SM-resemble.IPFV
 ‘He looks exactly like his mother.’
- c) *xita qitjə əfa-xita ti-məsr.*
 she exactly father-3FS.POSS 3FS.SM-resemble.IPFV
 ‘She looks exactly like her father.’

There are also adverb phrases that do not need any complement, but they stand without complement as in the word ‘*katf*’. This word is occurred conjoined with the verb to say ‘*bər*’ that represents the semantic function ‘quickly’ in English. Consider the data below.

- (257) a) *bə-tamaribet* *katf* *barə-tf* *tʃənə-tf.*
 PRE-school be:quick say.PFV-3FS come.PFV-3FS
 ‘She came quickly from school.’
- b) *katf* *baj-i* *xʷaj-i!*
 be:quick say.IMP-2FS go.IMP-2FS ‘Go quickly!’
- c) *katf* *bər-i* *xʷər-i*
 be:quick say.IMP-2MS go.IMP-2MS ‘Go quickly!’

6.3.5 Prepositional phrases

The prepositions are bound morpheme that cannot stand independently by their own right. Thus, to be completed they must attach to other independent class of words, therefore, they are functional words, but there are very few words of this class that can stand-alone.⁵⁸

Prepositions are also used as the head of phrase. Thus, most of the functional words in such classes are attached into their complements for transferring complete thought. Consequently, they are drifting their normal phrase structure in the surface realization as left-headed or head-initial (cf. Baye 2000 in Amharic).

In Gura, prepositions are described by both the dependent and independent morphemes. The dependent morphemes are the relational prefixes or suffixes that occurred attached to the nouns or pronouns otherwise they are not transferring a complete thought. In contrast to this, the independent words (adpositions) are those which can stand alone adjoined as parts of the sentences (see § 4.5). Hence, although they have rare occurrences and

⁵⁸As to Baye prepositions cannot be stand alone; therefore, they have to attach to other complementing at its beginning but there are also independent words in Amharic as his data indicates on page 285 such (2000:285).

deviating from the underlying phrasal structures, they can be head of the phrase in Gura. Let us see the relational morphemes as a prepositional head phrases.

The prefix *tə-* is used as the head of the phrases as parts of a sentence. It is interpreted as ‘from, with, in’ on the base of its semantic usage in this variety. Consider the data below.

- (258) a) *jina tə-bet-əndə trama tʃən-ənə*
 we PRE-house-1PL.POSS yesterday come.PFV-1PL.SM
 ‘We came from our house yesterday.’
- b) *bərga tə-gumre tə-ʒəpər-ə*
 Berga PRE-gumre PASS-turn.PFV-3MS.SM
 ‘Berga returned from Gumre.’
- c) *bəfrdu tə-inn-m xino ji-fz*
 befrdu PRE-all-FOC they 3MS-be:better.IPFV
 ‘Befrdu is best of all.’

The NP that may be single noun follows these prepositional phrases in the sentences; pronoun or compounded nouns are adjunct before VP. The NP or single noun that appears immediately after the prepositions is the object of the prepositions (OP). The prepositions can occur in compound forms that they make complex prepositions. Consider the data below.

- (259) a) *berga tə-inn-m xino qəla ji-βir.*
 berga PRE-all-FOC 3MPL be: red 3MS.SM-say.IPFV
 ‘Berga is the reddest of all them.’
- b) *feq bə-gʷəntʃə tə-bəna-tʃ.*
 goat PRE-hyena PASS-eat.PFV-3FS.SM
 ‘Goat is eaten by hyena.’
- c) *bərga indibir-njə xʷər-ə.*
 Berga emdbir-PRE go.PFV-3MS.SM
 ‘Berga went towards Emdbir.’

There are also complex prepositions that describe the relational position of subject for time, place, and objects. Here, two or more of the relational morphemes are used together with the independent prepositions. Consider the data below.

- (260) a) *xīta t̄a-asir z̄aβ̄ar b̄a-fʷar wəlqit'e ban̄a- t̄f.*
 she PRE-ten year PRE-above welkite exist.PFV-3FS.SM
 'Before ten year she has been in Welkite.'
- b) *ija n̄aḡa t̄a-aβ̄a-na gamʷa imdibr-n̄j̄a*
 I tomorrow PRE-father -1PS.POSS together emdbir-PRE
i-k̄ara-te.
 1PS-go:up.IPFV-FUT
 'Tomorrow, I will go towards Emdbir with my father.'
- c) *hut t̄a-afit'r m̄agnase sin̄aga t̄a-aβ̄a-ta*
 he PRE-aft'r megnase until PRE-father-3MS.POSS
imate xʷar-ə.
 together go.PFV-3MS.SM
 'He went with his father from Aftir to Megnase.'

As in (260) above, the relational morphemes are conjoined with independent morphemes in order to express the position of the subject of the sentences in relation to other things, places or objects.

In Gura, the genitive marker ʔa- is head of the phrase like other semantically independent morphemes. This relational morpheme (preposition) is used to express NPs, so this modifier appears at the beginning of phrases in Gura as in (261).

- (261) a) *ʔa-t'e aījm*
 GEN-sheep milk 'milk of the sheep'
- b) *ʔa-bifa feq bas̄ar*
 GEN-red goat meat 'meat of the red goat'
- c) *ʔa-d̄anḡia xino mahb̄ar*
 GEN-boy.PL they association 'association of the boys'

Moreover, the relational prefix b̄a- is used as the head of the phrases for describing the NP in Gura. This relational preposition is prefixed before the nouns or NP in phrasal constructions. Consider following the data below.

- (262) a) *b̄a-bet* c) *b̄a-m̄asq̄al*
 PRE-house 'in house' PRE-meskel feast 'at meskel feast'
- b) *b̄a-igr* d) *b̄a-asir s̄aʔat*
 PRE-foot 'on foot' PRE-ten hour 'at ten o'clock'

This relational morpheme is used with other counter relational morphemes which may create a complex preposition in the sentences in the variety (see §4.5.3). Therefore, the surface structure of the constituent structure is left headed may be due to this dependent feature in the variety (cf. Baye 2000). In Gura, the prepositional phrase are expressed by the relational bound morphemes such /tə-/ , and /bə-/ , and there are very rarely occurred independent words too.

6.4 Clauses

Clauses are categorized based on the sense of grammatical and semantic completeness in certain languages as the dependent and independent clauses⁵⁹. In Gura, subordination of clause is formed through the relational morphemes (tə- and bə-) whereas the main clause is treated in relation to their internal constituents (predicates) and their semantic functions. Thus, in this section clausal constructions and types are discussed thoroughly in Gura.

6.4.1 Main clause

The main clause is the independent sentence that can stand by its own right syntactically and semantically. The simple sentence is semantically marked for different sentence moods viz. interrogative (request), declarative (assertive), and command (imperative), and the internal structures of simple sentences are dealt as well.

⁵⁹There are four distinguishing criteria internal structure of clause such as: one way is in terms of the distinction between declarative, interrogative, and imperative sentences. A second sense of clause type is represented by the distinction between main clause and subordinate clause, and among different types of subordinate clauses. A third sense of clause type concerns the way the same event or situation can be spoken about, from different perspectives, with grammatical consequences such as voice and pragmatic consequences such as topic and focus. The fourth sense, the one discussed in this involves different types of clauses in terms of their internal structure, primarily surrounding different types of predicates. Here, the most basic distinction is between verbal and nonverbal predicates (Dryer 2001).

6.4.1.1 Types of sentences

6.4.1.1.1 Interrogative sentences

In Gura, interrogative sentences are formed by either the independent question-words or sentential intonations. The question words are the interrogative pronouns and their relations (see§3.2.8)⁶⁰. In Gura, questions can be constructed by the help of wh-question words such as *m̄ir* ‘what’, *m̄am̄ir* ‘how’, *m̄ʷan* ‘who’, *ete* ‘where’, *m̄at̄f̄ə* ‘when’, and *ʔam̄ʷan* ‘whose’ (see§3.2.8). These wh-questions words are used for enquiring bits of information about certain things, events, persons or situations.

The wh-question word *m̄ir* ‘what’ occurs with the word *qar* ‘thing’ most of the time, and they form compound word *m̄irqar* ‘what thing’. In spontaneous speeches, the latter is realized as *m̄iqar* where in the trill sound /r/ is deleted as can be exemplified in the example below.

- (263) a) *m̄iqar* *hasab* *n̄ər̄ə-nx̄ə?*
what idea exist-2MS.SM
‘What is your idea?’
- b) *zi* *d̄ənḡia* *m̄ir* *ji-t̄f̄ot-o?*
these boy.PL what 3MPL.SM-work.IPFV-3MPL.SM
‘What are these boys doing?’
- c) *m̄ir* *bar-x̄ə-j*
what say.PFV-2MS.SM-1PS.OM
‘What did you say to me?’

As in (263), the wh-question word is complemented with both the non-verbal and verbal predicate clauses. Besides, this word is used together with other verbal forms for expressing further usages. It is compounded with imperfective forms of the verb being *x̄ər̄ə-* ‘be’ so that to produce the new semantically unified word *m̄ir jax̄ir*, which is interpreted as ‘how much / many’. Consider the following data.

⁶⁰As to Payne (1997:295), within the class of interrogative clauses, languages typically distinguish two subtypes: those for which the information requested is a simple affirmation or disaffirmation (yes or no), and those for which the requested information is a more elaborate locution - a phrase, a proposition, or an entire discourse

- (264) a) *xinəma m̄ir j-a-x̄ir* *amə-ma-xə ?*
 they what 3MS-CAUS- be.IPFV give.PFV-3FPL-2MS.OM
 ‘How much did they give for you?’
- b) *zi səʔat franka-ta m̄ir j-ax̄ir-u ?*
 this watch money-DEF what 3MS-be.IPFV-COP.3MS
 ‘How much is the price of this watch?’
- c) *m̄ir j-a-x̄ir* *səʔat-u ?*
 what 3MS-CAUS-be.IPFV watch-COP.3MS
 ‘What time is it?’

In Gura, the other ways of asking bits of information is by using the *məmir* ‘how’. This wh-question word is used for asking manner, extent, and quality or quantity of something. The greeting can also be asked with the sentence intonations. There is no any question words here, but simply the accent /tone of the word is changed when they are going to be used for asking questions and statements. Consider the following examples.

- (265) a) *zi səʔat məmir ji-tfot?*
 this watch how 3MS.SM-work.IPFV
 ‘How this watch works?’
- b) *gərad məmir-n-x̄i?*
 girl how-COP-2FS.SM ‘How are you girl?’
- c) *wəxe warə-xə ?*
 good spend the day-2MS.SM ‘Good afternoon?’
- d) *wəxe warə -x̄i ?*
 good spend the day-2FS.SM ‘Good afternoon?’

In Gura, the wh-question word *m^wan* ‘who’ is also used for enquiring person or doer of the action in the sentences. It is also used with the genitive marked /ʔə-/ for indicating possession, and it forms compound word *ʔə^wm^wan* which is interpreted as ‘whose’. See the following example.

- (266) a) *f̄im-axə* *m^wan-u ?*
 name-2MS.POSS who-COP.3MS.SM ‘What is your name?’
- b) *m^wan-u* *f̄im-əta ?*
 who-COP.3MS.SM name-3MS.POSS ‘What is his name?’

- c) *ʔə-mʷan qar-u ?*
 GEN-who thing-COP.3MS ‘Whose it is?’
- d) *zi imar ʔə-mʷan qar-u?*
 this donkey GEN-who this-COP.3MS.SM Whose donkey is this?

In (266a, c and d), this question word is appeared as verb final clause for which the copular verbs are attached; however, if the question word is followed by the word *qar* ‘thing’, the copular verb is attached to this word. Similarly, in (266b), this question word appears at clause initial position. Therefore, these question words can be clause final or initial position when the subject is connected with its complements by copula verbs in Gura.

The wh-question word *ete* ‘where’ is used for enquiring elaborations regarding the source or destination of the person or thing spoken to. The person or thing spoken to is enquired for his destination or location with *ete* ‘where’ placed at the beginning of the clause if the subject is pronoun otherwise it is found next to the subject or NP used as the subject in the simple sentences. The data below exemplify this usage.

- (267) a) *xino ete j-ar-o?*
 they where 3MPL.SM-go.IPFV-3MPL.SM
 ‘Where are they going?’
- b) *zi gired ete j-ar-əma?*
 these girl.PL where 3FPL.SM-go.IPFV-3FPL.SM
 ‘Where are these girls going?’
- c) *dəbtər-huta ete awən-axə-n?*
 exercise book-DEF where put.PFV-2MS.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘Where did you put the exercise book?’

The whereabouts of something or somebody is enquired using this word (te). It carried out morphological process while it is attached to the location marker /preposition *tə-* ‘from’. Consequently, the exact word is /te/ ‘from where’ which appears attached to the verbs in the clauses in the variety under discussion.

- (268) a) *axima te tʃənə-xima ?*
 they where come.PFV-2FPL.SM
 ‘Where did you come from?’

- b) *te* *a-tʃənə-xə* *xino?*
 where CAUS-come.IPFV-2MS.SM they
 ‘From where did you bring them?’
- c) *te* *tʃənə -xə?*
 where come.PFV-2MS.SM
 ‘Where did you come from?’

In connection to this, this word is attached with the particles -ta for producing the question word *eteta* ‘which one’. As an alternative usage the speakers use the word *indətə* ‘which one’, and it has the same syntactic position in Gura sentence. These words have the same syntactic position and semantic usage as one can realize from the data below.

- (269) a) *eteta* *məʃaf-no* *ʃə-axə ?*
 which book-PL want.PFV-2MS.SM
 ‘Which one of the books did you like?’
- b) *indətə* *məʃaf-no* *ʃə-axə ?*
 which one book-PL want.PFV-2MS.SM
 ‘Which one the books did you want?’
- c) *indətə* *ti-ʃə ?*
 which one 2MS.SM-want
 ‘Which one do you like?’

The wh-question word *mətʃə* ‘when’ is syntactically precedes the verbs in the main clauses, and it is used for asking time or action in relation to time. The following data illustrates the syntactic features the wh-question word *mətʃə* ‘when’.

- (270) a) *imdibir* *mətʃə* *ni-x^wər-nə?*
 emdibir when 1PL-go.IPFV-1PL.SM
 ‘When are we going to Emdibir?’
- b) *mətʃə* *ti-ar-te?*
 when 2FS.SM-go- FUT ‘When will you go?’
- c) *wənbər-huta* *mətʃə-ra* *səpər-x^wə-n?*
 chair-DEF when-PST break.PFV-2MS.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘When did you break the chair?’

As in (270) above, the position of the wh-question word is taking the first position, but it is after an adverb of time or object (NP) if there is. This wh-question word is morphologically marked for future and past with the morphemes -ə and -ra respectively (see §4.4.1). And the verbs in this case are the imperfective forms of the verbs for portraying the simple future or present tense in examples (b and a) whereas perfective verb form expressing the past reading as in example (c) above.

Furthermore, yes or no types of question forms are expressed by sentence or sentential verb intonations⁶¹ in Gura. The morpheme *wəj* is also used for asking questions that appears syntactically clause final position. Here, the question forms are not shown as wh-question words do rather they are expressed by the use of some intonations or the question particle *wəj*. Consider the examples below.

- (271) a) *axə avocato ʔi-f-e?*
 you avocado 2MS.SM-want.IPFV-1PS.OM
 ‘Do you want avocado?’
- b) *sara idəja-xiita bəna-tf wəj ?*
 sara lunch-3FS.POSS eat.PFV-2MS.SM *Q*
 ‘Did Sara ate her lunch.’
- c) *zi gənə hig e'-nə-ə?*
 this country law NEG-exist-3MS.SM
 ‘Is not there law in this country?’

In example (271 a and c) above, the sentential verbs are semantically realized as request or assertion on the base of the pitch the speaker applies. If the speaker uttered out these sentential verbs with less intonation in the tonic, they are used as an assertive sentences. On the other hand, these are used as requesting when they are pronounced with the loudness of voice or the rising at the final position. Thus, the rising of pitch is marked yes/no question forms in Gura. This yes/no question formulation based on intonation is

⁶¹According to Payne (1997:271) the use of intonation is fairly self-evident - speakers adjust the pragmatic status of parts of their clauses by pronouncing them with varying degrees of loudness and levels of pitch.

true in both affirmative and negative sentences. Besides, the question particle *wəj* is used for constructing the yes or no question forms as in example (271b) above. The yes or no questions are expressed with sentence/clause intonation as one can realize from the above data. The rising of the pitch lies on verbs. Thus, the use of the intonation in the yes and no question pattern is universal, and most of the time it is expressed by rising tone as in English and fall tone as in Russian according to Payne (1997).

6.4.1.1.2 Declarative sentences

In Gura, declarative sentence is not marked. It is normally constructed syntactically by the **SOV** word order as a statement. In this case, the verbs convey the normal assertions, opinions or facts in contrast with other verbal moods. Consider the following examples.

- (272) a) *bərga dzəβən an-səpər-ə.*
 Berga coffee:pot NEG-break.PFV-3MS.SM
 ‘Berga did not break coffee pot.’
- b) *neda zag^wəra qət’ər-ə.*
 Neda tiger kill.PFV-3MS.SM
 ‘Neda killed a tiger.’
- c) *dzəβən tə-səpər-ə.*
 coffee:pot PASS-break.PFV-3MS.SM
 ‘A coffee pot is broken.’

In (272a), the action verb conveys both negative and active notion to the audiences. It normally transforms the message that what Berga did not do. Similarly, in (272b), the action verb transforms that an active mood in contrast to (272c) which conveys passive in which emphasis is shifted from the doer to the receiver of the action.

6.4.1.1.3 Imperative sentences

In Gura, command is expressed by either the jussive or imperative aspectual mood of verbal conjugations. This directive mood is given from the addresser to the addressee, and the addressees are all the second person plural and singular of both genders. Consider the data below.

- (273) a) *xɪ məskot kift-əma!*
 that window open.IMP-2FPL.SM ‘Open that window!’
- b) *zɪ ətʃ’ə sibir-i!*
 this wood break.IMP-2MS.SM ‘Break this wood!’
- c) *məskot-huta kiftf-i!*
 window-DEF open.IMP-2FS.SM
 ‘You open the window!’

These sentences, in (273) above, can be negated by the negative prefix marker *at-* (see § 5.4.3). The addressee gets negative command that he/she is expected not to do/perform event unless he/she has permission from the addresser. Consider the data below.

- (274) a) *xɪ məskot a-t-kift-əma!*
 that window NEG-2FPL.SM-open.IMP-2FPL.SM
 ‘Don not open that window’
- b) *zɪ ətʃ’ə a-t-sibr-i!*
 this wood NEG-2MS.SM-break.IMP-2MS.SM
 ‘Do not break this wood.’
- c) *məskot-huta a-t-kiftf-i!*
 window-DEF NEG-2FS.SM-open.IMP-2FS.SM
 ‘Do not open the window!’

Besides, negative command or prohibition is expressed with the morpheme /*in*/ which is prefixed to the verbs (see §5.4.3). This negative command sentence marker creates blur with the aforementioned negative marker /*at-*/. The speakers are using them alternatively without difference in meaning. See the data below.

- (275) a) *tɪmhirtbet-njə in-bʷər-xə!*
 school-PRE NEG -go.IPFV -2MS.SM
 ‘You ought not to go to school’
- b) *zɪ-e in-tʃən-axə!*
 here-PRE NEG-come.IPFV-2MS.SM
 ‘You ought not to come here!’
- c) *zɪ sanqa in-kəfət-xə!*
 this door NEG-open.PFV-2MS.SM
 ‘You ought not to open this door!’

In addition to this, jussive verbal conjugation is functionally expressing command in Gura. The third person plural and singular of both gender are subject of the discussion here. There are subjective verbal markers in Gura (see §5.4.3). They are indicating referential relation in the third person singular, plural and both gender cases as , *əmb̥ir* ‘let him live’ , *t̥imβ̥ir* ‘let her live’ , *əmb̥iro* ‘let them live’ , *əmb̥ərəma* ‘let them live’ . Consider the following data.

- (276) a) *huta səbatənə kifl ə-tmar.*
 he seventh class 3MS.SM-learn.JUSS
 ‘Let him learn in seventh grade.’
- b) *x̥ita t̥’ef-huta t̥i-f̥watf̥’-n*
 she teff-DEF 3FS.SM-mow.JUSS-3MS.OM
 ‘Let her mow the Teff!’
- c) *z̥i imr ə-sβ̥ir-o.*
 this stone 3MPL.SM-break.JUSS-3MPL.SM
 ‘Let them break this stone!’

The negations of these types of simple sentences are constructed by the addition of the prefix /e-/ to these verbal conjugations. Hence, the sentences will have the structure as *huta səbatənə kifl etmar* ‘Let him not learn in seventh grade ’. This verbal conjugation is functioning as asking permission when it is used with the sentential intonation. This can be represented with the word ‘can’ as in the following data.

- (277) a) *z̥i ətf̥’ə ni-sw-n.*
 this wood 1PS.SM-break.JUSS-3MS.OM
 ‘Can/may I break this wood?’
- b) *wənbər-huta n-amə-na.*
 chair-DEF 1PS.SM-give.JUSS-3FS.OM
 ‘Bring her the chair?’
- c) *z̥i ətf̥’ə t̥i-sw-n.*
 this wood 3FS.SM-break.JUSS-3MS.OM
 ‘Can she break this wood?’

In Gura, polite sentences are expressed when the imperative verbs are accompanied by the benefactive object markers (see §5.6.2.2). Consider the following simple polite sentences.

- (278) a) *bərga wem t'ənkir t'ir-a-ro.*
 Berga or tenkr call.PFV-2MS.SM-3PLM.BEN
 'Please, call Berga or Tenkr for them.'
- b) *axə zɪ gʷədʒə gidid-i-ni.*
 you this hole dig.IMP-2MS.SM-1PS.BEN
 ' please, you dug this hole for my own benefit.'
- c) *axu ətʃ'ə sibr-u-rə*
 you wood break.IMP-2MPL.SM-3MS.BEN
 'Please, break wood for his benefit.'

6.4.1.1.4 Exclamatory sentences

The strong feeling of hatred, love, surprise, and sadness are denoted by words such as *xadəf* 'please', *wijo* 'alas !', *ijə* 'wow!' and *wij g'wejta* 'oh! My God!' These words lack grammatical structures in sentences; they have more of pragmatic usages, and they are expressing strong emotions. Consequently, these extra linguistic words appeared with some sentences for describing an exclamation of action for the speaker in Gura. Consider the following examples.

- (279) a) *ijə/o! zɪ gared məmir ti-fr!*
 wow this girl how 3FS.SM-be:smart.IPFV
 'Wow !, what a beautiful girl she is !'
- b) *wijo ʔəkʷa mir kər-u.*
 Alas! today what day-COP.3MS
 'Alas! What an awful day it is!'
- c) *wij ʔəkʷa t'anəq-e.*
 oh! today panick.PFV-1PS.OM
 'Oh! I panicked today!'

As in (279), the intonation marker words independently appeared in the discourses/texts. They are exacerbated the feeling of the speaker which is expressed next to it with full sentences. Besides, the feeling of emotions are expressed by question words like *məmir*

‘how’ and *mir* ‘what’. For instance, in (279a-b), the speaker expressed his/her feeling of surprise with the emotional words that appeared at the beginning, and they are consolidated by the grammatical sentence for the beauty of the girls. However, the question word is not obligatorily for expressing the emotion. It is possible to annex the emotional words with other sentences types constructed by the absence of the wh-words discussed so far in (279c).

6.4.1.1.5 Comparative sentences

The comparative sentence denotes the comparison of one subject with other subject based on certain qualities.⁶² Thus, comparable subjects may be two or more than two who are involved in the degree of comparisons. Gura has both quality words and imperfective subject prefixes (ji- and ti-) for describing whether a subject has similar or different in quality, quantity or degree.

In Gura, degree of equality is syntactically expressed with the word *xəma* ‘like’, *qit’jə* ‘equal’ and *imat* ‘one/same’. Consider the examples below.

- (280) a) *bərga ʔə-murgat xəma gef-u.*
 Berga GEN-murgat like tall-COP.3MS.SM
 ‘Berga is as tall as murgat.’
- b) *murgat ʔə-bərga xəma at’ir-n-ja.*
 Murgat GEN-berga like short-COP-3FS
 ‘Murgat is as short as Berga.’
- c) *bərga-m murgat-m qumət-xino imat-n-o.*
 berga-CONJ murgat-CONJ height-3PL.POSS same-COP-3PL
 ‘Both Berga and Murgat have the same height.’

The positive degree of comparison is also indicated by the imperfective verb *axəɾə* ‘is enough’, so comparative construction is depending on the subject of this imperfective verb forms.

⁶² The prototypical comparative construction compares two participants in terms of the degree of some gradable property relating to them (cf. Payne 1997, Meyer 2006 & Dixon 2010).

Besides, two or more subjects of sentences that have different distinctive qualities are compared, and the relational morpheme /tə/ is attached to the second noun or NP. This morpheme is used as a device to compare two or more NPs in Gura. The verbs are in concord with the modified NPs. See the examples given below.

- (281) a) *murgat tə-bərga ti-gərɸ^w-n.*
Murgat PRE-Berga 3FS.SM-enlarge.IPFV-3MS.OM
‘Murgat is taller than Berga or Berga is shorter than Murgat.’
- b) *sara tə-murgat bə-məlk-xiita ti-fəz.*
Sara PRE-Murgat PRE-appearance-DEF 3FS.SM-be: better.IPFV
‘Sara is more beautiful than Murgat.’
- c) *murgat tə-bərga t-ars.*
Murgat PRE-Berga 3FS.SM-be: small.IPFV
‘Murgat is shorter than Berga.’

In Gura, when the comparable nouns are more than two, these nouns are connected by the coordinative conjunction /-m/ as in (282).

- (282) a) *sara tə-murgat-m tə-bərga-m ti-fəz.*
Sara PRE-Murga-CONJ PRE-Berga-CONJ 3FS.SM-be: better.IPFV
‘Sara is better than Murgat and Berga.’
- b) *murgat tə-berga-m tə-sara-m atf’ir-n-ja.*
Murgat PRE-Berga-CONJ PRE-Sara-CONJ short-COP-3FS.OM
‘Murgat is shorter than Berga and Sara.’
- c) *bərga-m sara-m tə-murgat ji-fəz-o.*
Berga-CONJ Sara-CONJ PRE-Murgat 3PL.SM-be: better-3PL.SM
‘Berga and Sara are better than Murgat.’

On the other hand, the word *inn* ‘all’ is used for expressing the superlative sentences when it is prefixed by the relational morphemes *bə* and *tə*. It is used for portraying that one thing or person has different quality from others. Consider the following examples.

- (283) a) *murgat bə-inn-m bə-miss bə- miɸt ti-rq.*
Murgat PRE-all-CONJ PRE-man PRE-woman 3FS.SM- enlarge.IPFV
‘Murgat is tallest of all men and women.’
- b) *bərga b-inn xino qumət-ta gef-u.*
Berga PRE-all they height-3MS.POSS tall-COP.3MS

‘Berga is the tallest of all them.’

- c) *murgat* *b-inn-m* *b-ərtf* *bə-gərəd* *gef-n-ja*.
Murgat PRE-all-CONJ PRE-boy PRE-girl tall-COP-3FS.OM
‘Muragat is tallest from all boys and girls.’

In (283a-c), the intensifier *inn* ‘all’ appeared between two objects to be compared. The verbs are agreed with the first nouns ‘Murgat’ in all cases. The quality of subject is compared with more than two things.

6.4.1.2 Sentence predicates

The main clauses are most of the time simple sentences that have subject, verb and complements. They are appearing independently in texts or discourses, and they are used as the complements of the dependent or subordinate clauses in complex sentences. Syntactically, sentences or main clauses have two main constituents, the subject and predicate, and the latter is very important for classifying the clauses as verbal and nonverbal predicate (cf. Meyer 2006 & Dryer 2001). In Gura, these verbal and nonverbal predicate clauses are discussed vis-à-vis data below.

6.4.1.2.1 Nonverbal predicate

In Gura, the nonverbal predicate clauses are classified into nominal predicate, adjectival predicate and locative predicate. Each of these predicative clauses is described in relation to their syntactic features in the variety.

6.4.1.2.1.1 Nominal predicates

The copular verbs are bound morphemes that are attached to the noun, NPs and adjectives (cf. Hetzron 1977; Meyer 2007 & Meyer et al. 2004).

In Gura, nominal predicates are preceded with copular verbs (see §5.5.1.). In the nominal clauses, the NPs syntactically functions as subject, object, and complement of the sentences. The copular verbs are syntactically agreed with the object pronominal or nominal affixes. Consider the example below.

- (284) a) *x'ita astəmari-n-ja.* .
 she teacher-COPL-3FS.OM 'She is a teacher.'
- b) *xino zəmari-n-o*
 they singer-COPL-3MPL.OM. 'They are singers.'
- c) *xinəma astəmari-n-əma.*
 they teacher-COP-3FPL.OM 'They are teachers.'

In the above data, the predicate nominal affixes are sensitive for number, person, and gender, and they are marked for TAM. These verbal inflections are carried out in the copular present marker *-nə-*. This nominal predicate is also syntactically functioned as subject complement in complex sentences. Thus, the nominal predicate is portrayed with copular verb, and it appeared at the end of the clause. In Gura, the copular verb is also used to create relationship, and it links two simple or complex nouns together with the subject. For instance, the nouns *astəmari* and *zəmari* are linked with independent pronouns by the copula *-nə-* in the above example (284b and c).

In the variety, nominal predicates is switched its positions clauses, and it is possible to reverse its syntactic positions. The positions of subject and complement are illustrated in the example below.

- (285) a) *x'ita zəmari-n-ja.*
 she singer-COP-3FS.OM 'She is a singer.'
- b) *zəmari-n-ja x'ita.*
 singer-COP-3FS.OM she 'She is singer.'

As can be realized from the data above, the copular verb is suffixed to the predicate noun phrases or nouns in Gura. Thus, copular verb is attached to the noun or noun phrase before the object agreement markers. It is also possible to realize from this data that the subjects of the main clauses are omitted because they are understood or marker on the noun or noun phrases next to the copular.

In this type clauses, negations are constructed by the verb existence *xərə* and the negative marker /an-/, and the latter is attached to the verbs. Therefore, the negative main clause is

constructed by the nonverbal nominal predicates modified by other verbal predicates. Compare the examples given in below.

- (286) a) *hata aβa-na buqar-u an-xər-ə.*
 that father-1PS.POSS mule-3MS.COP NEG-be-3MS.SM
 ‘That is not my father’s mule.’
- b) *huta astəmari an-xər-ə.*
 he teacher NEG-be-3MS.SM
 ‘He is not a teacher.’
- c) *xʻita zəmari an-xər-tf.*
 she singer NEG-be-3FS.SM
 ‘She is not a singer.’

In the simple sentences with the nominal predicates, the nouns or noun phrase are modified by the genitive case marker, but the copular does not change its place. There seems problematic for identifying the exact place of the copular in the nonverbal predicated clauses. It is sometimes attached to the modified NPs rather than to the nominal complement. Nevertheless, most of the time, it is attached to the nominal predicates. See examples below.

- (287) a) *zɪ ərɪf axə miɪft ərɪf-u*
 this boy you wife boy-3MS.COP ‘This boy is your wife’s son.’
- b) *zɪ angatʃa gəmbəne-n-ja*
 this cat black-COP-3FS ‘This cat is black.’
- c) *xɪ gred dəngənə-nə-ma*
 those girl.PL rich-COP-3FPL ‘Those girls are rich.’

Furthermore, the simple sentences with the nonverbal predicate are applied in Gura in interrogative statements. The position of the copular is predictable as verb final clauses like in the simple statements. When the interrogative statement is without complement but indefinite complement *qar* ‘thing /something’ is added, the copular is attached to this word as one can realize from the data given below.

- (288) a) *zɪ bet ʔə-mʻwan qar-u?*
 this house GEN-who thing-COP.3MS
 ‘Whose house is this?’

- b) *zɪ* *ʔə-qʷərqoro* *bet* *ʔə-mʷan qar-u?*
 this GEN-corrugated iron house GEN-who thing-COP.3MS
 ‘Whose is this corrugated iron house?’
- c) *xɪ* *bərəs* *əram* *arsit-n-ja.*
 that black and white cow femal-COP-3FS
 ‘That black and white cow is female.’

6.4.1.2.1.2 Adjectival predicates

Adjectival predicate is one of the nonverbal predicates that are linked with copular verbs. In this case, adjectives or adjective phrases are predicated to the subject by copular verb (see §4.2.3). Therefore, adjectival predicates are used after the subject followed by the copular marker as in the following examples.

- (289) a) *zɪ* *səb* *nətʃʷə-w.*
 this man white-COP.3MS.SM ‘This man is white.’
- b) *xə* *mɪʃt* *xari-n-ja.*
 that woman wise-COP-3FS.SM ‘That woman is wise.’
- c) *xʷita* *atʃʷir-n-ja.*
 she short-COP-3FS.SM ‘She is short.’

The adjectival predicates are syntactically similar with predicate nominal for they share common syntactic features (see § 6.4.1.2.1.1). The copular is portrayed by the morphemes *-nə-* followed by subject suffixes as *gefɪnja* ‘she is tall’, *gefu* ‘he is tall’, *gefɪnəma* ‘they are tall’ and soon. The copular verbs are not marked for gender and number rather they are distinguished with the subject marker affixes, and they appeared in concord with the pronominal subjects as: [*mərkəma-n-əma* =beautiful-COP-3FPM] ‘they are beautiful’, [*mərkəma-n-ja* =beautiful-COP-3FS] ‘she is beautiful’ and [*nɪqe-n-o* =big-COP-3MPL] ‘they are wise’. Therefore, adjectives are associated with the pronominal subjects that are structured in agreement for number, person and gender, and copular is syntactically used in the present tense when it is meant to express past the auxiliary verb *banə* is adjoined as verb final clauses.

6.4.1.2.1.3 Locative predicates

The presence of something in certain place is expressed with the locative predicative clauses. In Gura, the location of things, persons or events is exhibited with the existence verb *nəra* ‘there exist/there is’ and prepositional phrases. This auxiliary verb is used to construct locative clause, existential clause, and predicate; besides, it denotes possession and obligation of simple sentences.

6.4.1.2.1.3.1 Locative clauses

The locative verb expresses the existence of something or someone in certain places. In Gura, the existences verb *nəra* ‘there is’ is used in construction of the locative predicate clause, and it is also used in the construction of present negative main clauses. Here, the word *nəra* ‘there is’ is changed into the *ənə* ‘there is no’. Consider the data below.

- (290) a) *zi gənə wəxe afər nəra-ə.*
this place good soil exist.IPFV-3MS.SM
‘There is a fertile land in this place.’
- b) *bə-za wikir bizə səb nəra-ə.*
PRE-this meeting many person exist.IPFV-3MS.SM
‘There are many people in this meeting.’
- c) *gijə bə-bet-ən-ndə e-nə-ə.*
dog PRE-house-COP-1PL NEG-exist.IPFV-3MS.SM
‘There is no dog in our house.’

Here, the verb expresses the existence of an object or thing in a certain place, and it is indicating the location of these things as in the examples above. Besides, the speaker utters out these simple sentences to show the existence of something or if there is stress or long press on the verb, it is indicating that the speaker is asking question.

In Gura, simple sentences that have locative predicate clauses are use in complex sentences. Here, the locative clauses are used as the complements of the dependent clauses as can be recognized in the data below.

- (291) a) *xino ti-tf’awəd-o abəbətʃ an-nəpər-ətʃ.*
they when-play.IPFV-3MPL.SM abebech NEG-exist.PFV-3FS.SM
‘When they were playing Abebech was not there.’

b) *xino ti-tf'awəd-o abəbətʃ banə-tʃ.*
 they when-paly.IPFV-3MPL.SM abebech exist.PFV-3FS.SM
 'When they were playing Abebech was there.'

c) *sər ti-βər-o bə-diβr badʒa nəɾə-ə.*
 grass when-eat.IPFV-3MPL.SM PRE-forest grass exist-3MS.SM
 'When they were grazing, there was grass in the forest.'

In the above data, both the affirmative and negative locative clauses are indicated. The past existence verb is different from the present which represents *nəɾə* and *banə/βa*, *anneperərə* in the past negation, present and past tense respectively. The past marker *banə* is realized as *βa* in the spontaneous speeches in the variety. There is different realization in the past marking with this time referential in the negation and affirmative expressions as one can understand from the above data. The existence verb *banə* that expresses the past reading is changing into the verb live *nəpərə* 'lived/he lived' pre-modified with the negative marker /an-/ for the same present readings.

The existence verbs that are used for indicating the locative predicate in the simple sentence are also used in the past tense by the word *banə* in the affirmative and *annəpərə* in the negative main verb constructions. See the following examples.

(292) a) *gijə bə-bet-əndə banə-ə.*
 dog PRE-house-1PL.COP exist.PFV-3MS.SM
 'There was a dog in our house.'

b) *gijə bə-bet-əndə an-nəpər-ə*
 dog PRE-house-1PL.COP NEG-live.PFV-3MS.SM
 'There was not a dog in our house.'

6.4.1.2.1.3.2 Possession clauses

In Gura, the verb (*nəɾə-*) is used to express simple action in possession as predicate clauses. The negative form of such predicate clause is constructed by the negative morpheme /e-/ and the existence verb *nəɾə*, and these two morphemes are combined as a result they form new word *enə* that is interpreted as 'there is not/ it is not' (see §5.4.2.1). Here, the subject of the sentences could be pronouns or other simple or complex noun. Consider the data below.

- (293) a) *jina arβet t'e nərə-ndə.*
 we four sheep exist-1PL.POSS 'We have four sheep.'
- b) *x^wet feq nərə-j*
 two goat exist-1PS.POSS 'I have two goats.'
- c) *jina t'e e-nə-ndə.*
 we sheep NEG-exist-1PL.POSS 'We do not have sheep.'

As in (293a-c) above, all are simple sentences (clauses) which express the possession of certain things. The subjects of the sentence are predicated by the VPs headed by the existence verb *nərə*.

6.4.1.2.1.3.3 Obligation clauses

In Gura, the existence verb *nərə* is used to express an obligatory action. It is used with the nominal as the complements, and this word is not free when it is used as an obligation. This auxiliary verb (*nərə*) is attached to the pronominal suffixes preceded by the malifactive object marker /-b-/ (see §5.7.3). The obligation clause can be affirmative or negative as in (294).

- (294) a) *xi gred t'ankr-ot nərə-β-əma.*
 those girl.PL be:strong-INF exist-MAL-3FPL.SM
 'Those girls must be stronger.'
- b) *təmaribet wə-wir e-nə-β-i.*
 school INF-go NEG-exist-MAL-3LP.SM
 'I should not go to the school.'
- c) *bet-x'ita wə-wir nərə-β-a.*
 house-3FS.POSS INF-go exist-MAL-3FS.SM
 'She must go to her house.'

As in (294a-c) above, the existence verb is attached with the object pronominal suffixes, and they are preceded by malifactive marker in the affirmative clauses. However, the morpheme /e/ is prefixed into the existence verb followed by the malifactive marker to express negation as in example (b) above. Thus, the bound morpheme -b- is preceded by the object suffix accusative markers. Therefore, the obligation is formally indicated on the existence verb, and the malifactive object becomes *nərəβ-* for representing 'must'.

6.4.1.2.2 Verbal predicates

So far, we have seen the predicate of simple sentences or clauses that are headed by the non-verbal constituents. Now, the focus of this section is on the predicates headed by the verbs or verbal predicates (cf. Payne 1997; Dryer 2001 & Meyer 2006; 2007). The verbal predicates can be the temporal events or arguments in its nature (see §6.3.2).

The verbal predicates can be intransitive, transitive or ditransitive predicates based on the nature of verb valence (number of arguments). The intransitive predicates are the intransitive clauses that have no object; instead, they are obliged to have subject complements. On the other hand, the transitive predicate is the transitive clauses which have an object as a complement. The distinction of the transitive and intransitive verbal clause is identified by the number of arguments and inherent semantic of the verbs. For instance, the sentential verbs *səpər-* ‘broke’, *amə-* ‘give’, and *tʃənə-* ‘came’ are analytically having different realizations in relation to their subject and object arguments. Thus, verbs such as the first can get two arguments (subject and object), and like the second may have three argument (subject, direct object and indirect object); but the last has only one argument.

There are simple sentences in which the subjects of the sentences are not expressing the change of states or being, but they serve as doer of an action. Thus, the subject in such type of inherent verbs is the agentive or the doer of the action. The clauses in this verb type are constructed with both intransitive predicate and the transitive predicate as the constituents of the sentences.

The intransitive predicate is constructed with the intransitive verb as the head of the clause. The clause in this type of simple sentences has complements of the subjects. Consider the following examples.

- (295) a) *bərga tə-imdibir tʃən-ə.*
berga PRE-emdibr come.PFV-3MS.SM
‘Berga came from Emdibr.’
- b) *nəda imdibir-njə x^wər-ə.*
neda emdibr-PRE go.PFV-3MS.SM

‘Neda went towards Emdibr.’

- c) *hut zəgəd-ə*
he remember.PFV-3MS.SM
‘He remembered.’

The simple sentences which are constructed with the temporal event of state verbs have state verbal predicates which have an obligatory complement. These clauses are expressing the state of being or change of state as in (296).

- (296) a) *huta aβa xər-ə.*
he father be.PFV-3MS.SM ‘My brother became a monk.’
- b) *neda nikar wəfər-ə.*
Neda very be:fat.PFV-3MS.SM ‘Neda became very fat.’
- c) *g^wəpe-na astəmari xər-ə.*
brother-1PS.POSS teacher be.PFV-3MS.SM
‘My brother became a teacher.’

The temporal event verb type determines the predicate types whether it gets complement or object complement. Simple sentences are constructed with the intransitive verbs as the head of the phrase in the verbal predicate such *bək'ətʃ* ‘she cried’, *daqə* ‘he laughed’, *asəβə* ‘he thought’ and soon.

The data below indicate that the main clauses required two arguments. One is serving as the subject of the clause whereas the other is used as the receiver of the action carried out or performed by the subject. Thus, the proper noun *bəfirdu* did the action of breaking that lays on *dzəβən*. Consider the data below.

- (297) a) *bəfirdu dzəβən səpər-ə.*
befirdu coffee:pot break.PFV-3MS.SM
‘Befirdu broke kittle/coffee pot.’
- b) *tat'ək' dzəβən-xino səpərə-no.*
tatek kittle-PL break.PFV-3PL.OM
‘Tatek broke kittles.’
- c) *dawit-m waqe-m atankirit-huta*
dawit-CONJ wake-CONJ Eucalyptus-DEF
bə-genzo ant'-o-wi.

PRE-axe cut.PFV-3PL.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘Dawit and Wake cut the eucalyptus tree with an axe.’

In Gura, the transitive predicates appeared with more than two arguments. There are some verbs that take two objects -the direct object and the indirect object of sentences. Consider the data below.

- (298) a) *zi məʃaf ʔə-waqe nax-x^w-n.*
 this book DAT-wake send.PFV-1PS.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘I sent this book to/for wake.’
- b) *ixa a-tʃənə-wo-n-xⁱ.*
 water CAUS-come-3MPL.SM-COP-2FS.OM
 ‘They brought water for your benefit.’
- c) *nəda ʔə-bərga mət’af am^w-ə-n.*
 Neda DAT-berga book give.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘Neda gave a book for Berga ’

In the above data, the perfective verb stems *naxə-* ‘sent’, *a-tʃənə-* ‘brought’ and *amə-* ‘gave’ are taking two objects. Consequently, they make the simple sentences to possess three arguments (external argument) the subject of the main clause, the direct object and the indirect object of the sentences.

6.4.2 Subordinate clauses

In Gura, complex expressions have multi-verbs in subsequence series, and they are syntactically juxtaposed with both dependent and independent clauses. The independent clauses are complete by themselves that can be integrated into the discourse whereas dependent clause must be combined into other main clauses for integration into discourse. Subordinate clauses are denoted by different multiple verbs and the relational syntactic morphemes *tə-* and *bə-*.⁶³ These bound morphemes (*bə-* and *tə-*) are used for

⁶³The multiple verbs in sentences in languages are classified into six general types the grammatical qualities that integrate into the verbs as: serial verbs complement clauses, adverbial clauses, clause chains, relative clauses, conditional clauses (cf.Kroeger 2005 & Payne 1997).

expressing the protasis and apodosis condition when they are attached to the perfective and imperfective verb forms respectively.

6.4.2.1 Subordination with (bə-)

In Gura, the subordinate clauses are expressed by using the relational bound morpheme *bə-*, and this morpheme is attached or prefixed to the perfective verb forms to portray probability of an action (epistemic modality). The perfective verb form is expressing complete past action before they are attached to the relational morpheme *bə-*; however, after this relational morpheme is syntactically attached to it, it becomes subordinate clause. Table 28 below illustrates the construction of the main and subordinate clauses in Gura.

Table 27: Subordinate and main clauses in perfective

A) Main verb (perfective)		B) Dependent verb (perfective)	
<i>səpər-x^w</i> break.PFV-1PS.SM	‘I broke’	<i>bə-səpər-x^w</i> if-break.PFV-1PS.SM	‘if I broke’
<i>səpər-ənə</i> break.PFV-1PL.SM	‘we broke’	<i>bə-səpər-ənə</i> if-break.PFV-1PL.SM	‘if we broke’
<i>səpər-xə</i> break.PFV-2MS.SM	‘you broke’	<i>bə-səpər-xə</i> if-break.PFV-2MS.SM	‘if you broke’
<i>səpər-xⁱ</i> break.PFV-2FS.SM	‘you broke’	<i>bə-səpər-xⁱ</i> if-break.PFV-2FS.SM	‘if you broke’
<i>səpərə-xum</i> break.PFV-2MPL.SM	‘you broke’	<i>bə-səpərə-xum</i> if-break.PFV-2MPL.SM	‘if you broke’
<i>səpər-xima</i> if-break.PFV-2FPL.SM	‘you broke’	<i>bə-səpər-xima</i> if-break.PFV-2FPL.SM	‘if you broke’
<i>səpər-ətʃ</i> break.PFV-3FS.SM	‘she broke’	<i>bə-səpər-ətʃ</i> if-break.PFV-3FS.SM	‘if she broke’
<i>səpər-ə</i> break.PFV-3MS.SM	‘ he broke’	<i>bə-səpər-ə</i> if-break.PFV-3MS.SM	‘if he broke’
<i>səpər-o</i> break.PFV-3MPL.SM	‘they broke’	<i>bə-səpər-o</i> if-break.PFV-3MPL.SM	‘if they broke’
<i>səpər-əma</i> break.PFV-3FPL.SM	‘ they broke’	<i>bə-səpər-əma</i> if-break.PFV-3FPL.SM	‘ if they broke’

In Table 28 above, the sentential verbs in (A) are in their perfective forms, and they have past reading in which the subject pronouns of all gender, singular and plural as the subjects of the sentential verbs, which are indicated by suffixed to the verbs. These sentential verbs are subordinated by the help of the relational morpheme *bə-* in (B). Thus, this morpheme is prefixed to the perfective forms of the verbs in Gura; consequently, these subordinate clauses need another clause or main clause to become complete. Semantically, they are expressing condition, probability and likely of an action that if these actions are happened something bad or good could be the results.

Besides, subordinate clauses can be negated with the bound morpheme *an-*. This negative marker is immediately attached before the perfective verb forms, and this is also the case for the point in the main clauses. Consider the data below.

- (299) a) *zi wənbər b-an-səpər-ə*
 this chair if-NEG-break.PFV-3MS.SM
a-ji-q^wətʃ^ʻ-o-wi.
 NEG-3MPL.SM-punish.IPFV-3MPL.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘If he did not break this chair, they will not punish him.’
- b) *b-an-tʃən-axə ija imate-na ar-te.*
 if-NEG-come.PFV-2MS.SM I alone-1PS.POSS 1PS.SM-go.IPFV-FUT
 ‘If you do not come, I will go alone.’
- c) *zag^wəra b-an-qət^ʻər-ə a-ji-q^wətʃ^ʻ-i*
 tiger if-NEG-kill.IPFV-3MS.SM NEG-3MS.SM-punish.IPFV-3MS.IMPER
 ‘If he did not kill tiger, he is not punished.’

As in (299a-b), the negative marker morpheme is preceded by the subordinate marker. It denotes the epistemic or hypothetical modality, and the value of the resulting or main clause depends on it. The negative marker affix (a) is also concatenatively prefixed to the main clauses as in (299c).

6.4.2.2 Subordination with (tə-)

In Gura, subordinate clauses in imperfective verbal conjugation are denoted by the relational morpheme *tə-*, and this bound morpheme is attached to imperfective verb forms immediately before imperfective subject pronominal affixes. Like in the perfective

(see §6.4.2.1), in this type of verbal conjugations, the sentential verbs before they are attached to the subordinate marker *tə-* transfer complete thought /sense to their audiences as present or aspectual reading. In the following Table 29 the imperfective main and subordinates Gura clauses are illustrated vis-à-vis data.

Table 28: Subordinate and main clauses in imperfective

A) Main verb(imperfective)	B) Dependent verb (imperfective) tə-
<i>i-səβr</i> 1PS.SM-break.IMP 'I break/am breaking'	<i>tī-n-səβr</i> when-1PS.SM-break.IMP 'when I breaks/am breaking'
<i>nī-səβr-nə</i> 1PL.SM-break.IMP-1PL.SM 'we break/are breaking '	<i>tī-n-səβr-nə</i> when-1PL.SM-break.IMP-1PL.SM ' when we break/are breaking '
<i>tī-səβr-i</i> 2MS.SM-break.IMP-2MS.SM 'you break/are breaking '	<i>tī-tī-səβr-i</i> when-2MS.SM-break.IMP-2MS.SM 'when you break/are breaking '
<i>tī-səβr-i</i> 2FS.SM-break.IMP-2FS.SM 'you break/are breaking '	<i>tī-tī-səβr-i</i> when-2FS.SM-break.IMP-2FS.SM 'when you break/are breaking '
<i>tī-səβr-u</i> 2MPL.SM-break.IMP-2MPL.SM 'you break/are breaking '	<i>tī-tī-səβr-u</i> when-2MPL.SM-break.IMP-2MPL.SM 'when you break/are breaking'
<i>tī-səβr-əma</i> 2FPL.SM-break.IMP-2FPL .SM 'you break/are breaking'	<i>tī-tī-səβr-əma</i> when-2FPL.SM-break.IMP-2FPL.SM 'when you break/are breaking'
<i>tī-səββr</i> 3FS.SM-break.IMP 'she breaks/is breaking '	<i>tī-tī-səββr</i> when-3FS.SM-break.IMP 'when she breaks/is breaking'
<i>jī-səβr</i> 3MS.SM-break.IMP 'he breaks /is breaking '	<i>tī-jī-səβr</i> when-3MS.SM-break.IMP 'when he breaks/is breaking'
<i>jī-səβr-o</i> 3MPL.SM-break.IMP-3MPL.SM 'they break/are breaking'	<i>tī-jī-səβr-o</i> when-3MPL.SM-break.IMP-3MPL.SM 'when they break/are breaking'
<i>jī-səβr-əma</i> 3FPL.SM-break.IMP-3FPL.SM ' they break/are breaking'	<i>tī-jī-səβr-əma</i> when-3FPL.SM-break.IMP-3FPL.SM 'when they break/are breaking'

As in Table 29, the imperfective verbal conjugations are attached with the subordinate marker bound morpheme *tə-*; consequently, the simple sentences are become subordinate

clauses. These clauses do not transfer complete thought as have been discussed earlier, so they need another main clause to be completed. The following examples illustrate this syntactic realization in Gura.

- (300) a) *huta mena-ta tə-ji-dzəpr-te*
 he work-3MS.POSS when- 3MS.SM-finish.IPFV-FUT
imate n-ar-nə-te.
 together 1PL.SM-go.IPFV-1PL.SM-FUT
 ‘When he is going to/will finish his work, we will go together.’
- b) *idəja-x’ita t-a-ti-bra x^wərə-tf*
 lunch-3FS.POSS when-NEG-3FS.SM-eat.IPFV go.PFV-3FS.SM
 ‘When she is not eating her lunch, she went.’
- c) *imr t-a-ji-səbir-o ija banə-x^w.*
 stone when-NEG-3PL.SM-break.IPFV-3PL.SM I exist.PFV-1PS.SM
 ‘When they are not breaking the stone I was there.’

In all the above complex sentences, there are two clauses. The dependent clauses are introduced by the bound morpheme *tə-* that is attached to the imperfective verb forms. Indeed, these clauses need another complement to give complete thought; thus, the main clauses are there to complete such incomplete sentences in complex expressions. Moreover, in (299 b and c), the imperfective negative marker morpheme (*a-*) is found in between the subject and subordinator markers, and it is preceded by subject marker and followed by the imperfective subordinator morpheme.

This morpheme is used repeatedly more than one time in a single complex sentence, and it is also attached to the auxiliary verb *anə* ‘exist’ which is used in the complex sentences for indicating continuity of an action (aspect). Compare the examples in the following data.

- (301) a) *bet-njə tə-ti-ar tə-anə-tf*
 house-PRE when-3FS.SM-go.IPFV when-exist.IPFV-3FS.SM
iskirbito q^wafə-tf.
 pen lose.PFV-3FS.SM
 ‘When she is going towards house, she lost a pen.’
- b) *ti-j-ar t-an-ə*
 when-3MS.SM-go.IPFV when-exist-3MS.SM

iskirbito q^waf-ə.
 pen lose.PFV-3MS.SM
 ‘when he is going , he lost a pen’

- c) *bərga t’ef ti-ji-f^watf’ tə-an-ə*
 berga teff when-3MS.SM mow.IPFV when -exist -3MS.SM
ija bə-bet banə-x^w.
 I PRE- house exist.PFV-1PS.SM
 ‘When Berga was harvesting teff , I was in house.’

6.4.2.3 Converb clauses

In Gura, the sequence of actions is juxtaposed through finite or infinite verbs.⁶⁴ The nonfinite clauses are expressed morphosyntactically by the converbs (see§5.10), and they are ambiguous to distinguish from serial verbs (cf. Asfawessen 2012).⁶⁵ Converb is occurring in dependent or nonfinite verbal constructions even though the subject and object of the sentences are the same, there are subordinate clauses as a complex expressions as in the data exemplified below.

- (302) a) *idəja-ta bəna-ta x^wər-ə*
 lunch-3MS.POSS eat-CVB go.PFV-3MS.SM
 ‘Having eaten his lunch, he went.’
- b) *ginzir-xiita bəna-tf-ta darə-tf.*
 breakfast-3FS.POSS eat-3FS-CVB bless.PFV-3FS.SM
 ‘Having eaten her breakfast, she blessed.’
- c) *məstawət səbər-ta gərəd dənəg-ə-na.*
 mirror break.CVB girl hit.PFV-3MS.SM-3FS.OM
 ‘Having broken a mirror, he hit the girl.’

⁶⁴Payne (1997:07) argues that two or more verb roots which are found in sequence have neither compounded or parts of the separate clauses, and he insists that this type of verb is found in every languages but more commonly in the isolating or with little / no verbal morphology(cf. Rose 2009).

⁶⁵These cannot be verbs that appeared in the main verb as predicate but they are in the subordinates which need other verb to be completed. Azeb and Dimmendaal (2006) claim that these sequences of verbs are absent in other middle east Semitic languages so deed sure it may appear in the Ethio-semitic languages due to the influence of the Cushitic or Omotic (cf. Meyer 2006:265).

As can be realized from the above data, the converb construction portrays the dependency of the main clauses for integrating into the discourses. Thus, they have the semantic realization of present participle or gerundive that serves as the complements of the verbs in the main clause, and such multiple verb construction is expressing complex expression in the variety like other Ethio-semitic languages (cf. Meyer 2006 & Azeb and Dimmendaal 2006).

The sequence of the verbs in a sentence can be more than two. They can appear in sequences with the converb marker in the second sequences of the verbs. They are also juxtaposed in sequence without any connector (coordinator) that interrupts their sequence. The converb marker is preceded by the subject marker of the verb forms. Consider the following sentences.

- (303) a) *ginzir-xiita* *bəna-tf* *ixa* *setf'ə-tf-ta.*
breakfast-3FS.POSS eat.PFV-3FS water drink-3FS-CVB
darə-tf *x^wərə-tf*
bless.PFV-3FS.SM go.PFV-3FS.SM
‘She ate her breakfast; having drunk water; she blessed, and she went.’
- b) *idəja* *bərə-ma* *ixa* *setf'ə-ma-ta*
lunch eat-3FPL water drink -3FPL-CVB
darə-ma *x^wər-əma.*
bless.PFV-3FPL.SM go.PFV-3FPL.SM
‘They ate lunch; having they drunk water; they blessed, and they went’

However, it is also possible to use the consecutive of series of juxtaposed verbs without the use of the converb markers as in (304).

- (304) a) *bən-a* *setf'-ə* *dar-ə*
eat.PFV-3MS.SM drink.PFV-3MS.SM bless.PFV-3MS.SM
x^wər-ə.
go.PFV-3MS.SM
‘He ate; he drank; he blessed, and he went.’
- b) *tərawət'-tf* *timhirtbet* *gəβa-tf.*
run.PFV-3FS.SM school enter.PFV-3FS.SM
‘She run and entered the school.’
- c) *bən-o* *x^wər-o.*
eat.PFV-3MPL.SM go.PFV-3MPL.SM
‘They ate and went.’

Therefore, complex expressions are constructed with multiple verb type of both finite and nonfinite. Converb is one of the nonfinite verb forms in Gura. The clause constructed with this verb is dependent which needs other main verb to be semantically complete. However, main verbs are juxtaposed to express complex sentences. These sequences of sentential verbs are syntactically inflected for tenses, aspect and mood unlike the former one (Converbs).

6.4.2.4 Relative clauses

In complex sentence, two clauses may share similar syntactic subjects. These are : the main clause MC and relative clause RC (cf. Dixon 2010:313). In Gura, relative clauses are constructed by the relativizer morpheme (ʔə-) in perfective verb forms.⁶⁶ However, relativization is not overtly marked in the imperfective verb forms so, the imperfective subject marker affixes are contextually used as relativizers (see § 6.4.3.2.4). The morpheme ʔə is syntactically prefixed into the verbs as in the following data.

- (305) a) *ʔə-murgat* *ʔə-qənəm-o-ja* *dəngia*
 PRE-murgat RC-insult.PFV-3MPL.SM-3FS.OM boy.PL
 ‘Boys who insulted for Murgat,’
- b) *tirama* *ʔə-kas-x^w-n* *mɨss*
 yesterday RC-pay.PFV-1PS.SM-3MS.OM man
 ‘The man whom I paid yesterday,’
- c) *zəx^wərə* *ʔə-qət’ər-ə* *ərtf*
 elephant RC.kill.PFV-3MS.SM boy
 ‘Boy who killed an elephant,’

As can be realized from the above data, the relative clause is marked by the relativizer relational marker /ʔə-/, and the subject of the relative clause who restricted the usage in clause is portrayed by the 3MPL pronominal marker /-o/, 1PS pronominal /-x^w/ and 3MS

⁶⁶Relative clause is marked (cf. Rose 2007 /jə-/ in Chaha; Meyer 2006 /jɛ-/ in Wolene & Ford 1986 /jə-/ in Chaha). The formation of relative clause in a language has many facets but in the Ethio-semitic languages like Amharic they are formed with leaving the clitic pronouns in the relativized position (cf. Mullen 1986:393 & Alemayehu 1990:23).

- (307) a) *xi j̄i-tʃot-əma gred*
 that 3FPL.SM-work.IPFV-3FPL.SM girl.PL
amə-ma-xə.
 give.PFV-3FPL.SM-2MS.OM
 ‘Those girls who are working gave you.’
- b) *ətʃʰə-huta ʔə-səpər-x^w-n ija-tn-x^w.*
 wood-DEF RC-break.PFV-1PS.SM-3MS.OM I-COP-1PS.SM
 ‘It was me who broke the wood.’
- c) *zi ətʃ ʔə-dənəgⁱə-tʃ-n xiʔita-n-ja.*
 this boy RC-hit.PFV-3FS.SM-3MS.OM she-COP-3FS.SM
 ‘It was she who hit this boy.’

In this complex sentence (307a), the relative clause is *xi j̄itʃotəma gred* ‘those girls who are working’, the subject argument is found outside the relative clause *gred* ‘girls’. Therefore, the relative clause is externally headed or it is found outside the clause. However, the subject of RC is indicated in concord with the pronominal affix */-əma/* with the externally mentioned arguments *gred* ‘girls’. The head of the clause to be modified is found to the right of the relative clause/pronominal or the relative clause is to the left of the head noun (cf. Alemayehu 1990 in Chaha & Rwda 2003 in Silte). In examples (307b and c), the head of the RC is internally denoted with pronominal object and subject affixes as *-x^w-* and *-tʃ-* for the subject of RC respectively. The third person singular object marker *-n* denotes for the object of RC which is externally portrayed for *ətʃʰə* and *ətʃ*.

The head of the relative clause may lexically left out, which is implicitly indicated even outside the clause. Consider the following data.

- (308) a) *tə-murgat ʔə-bas-o gef-n-o.*
 PRE-murgat RC-be-3MPL.SM tall-COP-3MPL
 ‘They, who are taller than Murgat.’
- b) *tə-bərga ji-riq gef-u.*
 PRE-berga 3MS.SM-be: far tall-3MS.COP
 ‘He, who is taller, than Berga.’
- c) *tə-berga ʔə-basə-tʃ atʃʰr-n-ja.*
 PRE-berga RC-very-3FS.SM short-COP-3FS.OM
 ‘She, who is shorter, than Berga.’

NPs in the sentences attached to the relative verbs, but the matrix clause is completed with the copular verbs as one can see from the data below.

- (310) a) *murgat tə-aβa-xiita ʔə-basə-tf matama-n-ja.*
 murgat PRE-father-3FS RC-worse-3FS.SM misbehave-COP-3FS
 ‘Murgat, who is more misbehave than her father.’
- b) *dərəgu tə-inn-m xino ʔə-bas-ə atf’r-u*
 dərəgu PRE-all they RC-worse-3MS.SM short-COP.3MS
 ‘Deregu, who is the shortest of all of them.’

The relational morpheme /ʔə-/ is used as the relativizer to connect the head noun or pronominal affixes with relative clause in the perfective verbs. It is attached to the relativized verbs in the sentences or discourses as prefix. Thus, it is introducing for all types of relative usages in the subject, object for all persons, things and places.

6.4.2.5 Adverbial clauses

The word adverbial is used for expressing or restricting the function of the verb or verb phrases or clauses. It is sometimes referred to as the adjunct in opposition to the complement since it is attached to the matrix clause without any argument difference, but it is used to express the main clause if they are adjunct in the simple sentences (cf. Payne 1997& Kroeger 2005). There are many type of adverbial clause depending on their semantic functions in the complex expressions. These are the adverbial clause of time, adverbial clause of place, adverbial clause of reason, adverbial clause of concession, adverbial clause of purpose and adverbial clause of condition (cf. Payne 1997:317 & Meyer 2006). In Gura, each of these types of adverbials is described in relation to the relevant data from Gura below.

6.4.2.5.1 Temporal clauses

The temporal clauses can be used to express the simultaneous actions or sequence of actions in the complex expression. In Gura, the temporal relations of the dependent and independent (main) clauses are expressed by the relational markers *tə-* and *bə-*. The former is syntactically attached to the imperfective verbal conjugations, and the latter is concatenated to the perfective forms of the verbs. These relational morphemes are used in

conjunction with adpositions such as prepositions, postpositions and circumposition (see § 4.5).

In the matrix clause, the prefix *bə-* is used in order to express the quality of the verbs. It is used to indicate the temporal relation of the clause in the complex expression in the perfective verb forms as one can understand from the following data.

- (311) a) *bə-βəna-tf* *anq'ə* *təmaribet* *x^wərə-tf*.
 PRE-eat.PFV-3FS.SM after school go.PFV-3FS.SM
 'After she had eaten, she went to the school.'
- b) *bə-βən-a* *anq'ə* *ʔə-imdibir* *an-wər-ə*.
 PRE-eat.PFV-3MS.SM after to-emdbir NEG-go.PFV-3MS.SM
 'After he had eaten, he did not go to emdbir.'
- c) *qawa* *bə-fəkət-tf* *anq'ə* *asso* *xəna-tf*.
 coffee PRE-cook.PFV-3FS.SM after salt add.PFV-3FS.SM
 'After she had cooked coffee she added salt.'

In the data above, the relational prefix *bə-* in connection with the lexical *anq'ə* 'after' are expressing the complex expression in Gura. Here, the relation of the verbs in the dependent and independent clauses are describing two actions that come about one after the other. Thus, in the complex sentence, the subordinate verb *bəβənatf* 'if she ate,' and independent verb *wərətʃ* 'she went.' denote that when the subjects of the verbs have done one action first and followed by another action.

The relational prefix marker /*tə-*/ is used to portray the temporal relation in the complex expressions. The subordinate clause is expressed with the existence verb *anə-* 'there is' pre-modified with this relational morpheme whereas the independent clause is constructed with the imperfective forms of the verbs followed by the past auxiliary verb *banə/ba-* 'there was'. These clauses are used for expressing the habitual action in the past. The data below illustrates these complex expressions in Gura.

- (312) a) *tikə* *tə-anə-x^w* *k^was* *i-tʃ^wawəd* *ba* .
 child when-exist-1PS.SM football 1PS.SM-play.IPFV AUX.PST
 'When I was a child, I used to play football.'
- b) *tikə* *tə-anə-tf* *betkisjan* *tī-x^wr* *banə-tf*

child when-exist-3FS.SM church 3FS.SM-go.IPFV AUX.PST-3FS
 ‘When she was a child, she used to go to church.’

- c) *tikə tə-anə-x^w k^{was} b-an-tf[’]awəd ba.*
 child when-exist-1PS.SM football AUX-NEG-play.IPFV AUX.PST
 ‘When I was a child, I did not use to play football.’

On the other hand, the temporal clause/complex expression is expressed with the relational morpheme *tə-* in Gura. It is attached to the imperfective verbal conjugations. This relational prefix has much verbal function in such complex expression together with other verbs forms for the finite verbs in the matrix clauses or main clauses. This is used in the complex expression in the dependent clauses for indicating when the action in the main clause comes about at the same time when another action was carried out. Thus, it is portraying the simultaneous happenings with two different doers of the same agent. Consider the data below.

- (313) a) *bərga t’ef t-ji-f^watf’ ija bet banə-x^w.*
 berga teff when-3MS.SM-chop.IPFV I house AUX.PST-1PS.SM
 ‘When Berga was harvesting ‘teff’, I was at house.’
- b) *ija məşaf ti-n-arəβib bərga ji-tfot ba.*
 I book when-1PS.SM-read.IPFV berga 3MS-work.IPFV AUX.PST
 ‘When I was reading a book, Berga was ploughing.’
- c) *murgat ti-ti-kər-a bərga bet-ətə*
 murgat when-3FS.SM-go:up.IPFV-3FS.SM berga house-DEF
ji-tfən ba.
 3MS.SM-come.IPFV AUX.PFV
 ‘When Murgat was going up, Berga was coming to his home.’

As one can see from the data above, verbs in the dependent clauses are the nonfinite verbs that do not indicate the TAM, but they seem that they have the present tense readings, which are incongruent with the tense of the verbs in the independent clauses. However, their semantic perception has the past reading that is equivalent to the finite verbs in the independent clauses.

The temporal clause is also expressing duration or period of time when the morpheme (*tə-*) is prefixed to the perfective verbs as it is exemplified in the data below.

- (314) a) *zi mədər tə-tfənə-x^w* *at zəβər xər-e.*
 this place PRE-come-1PS.SM one year be.PFV-1PS.OM
 ‘It is one year since I came to this place.’
- b) *idəja tə-βənə-x^w* *x^wet səʔat xər-e.*
 lunch PRE-eat.PFV-1PS.SM two hour be.PFV-1PS.OM
 ‘It is now two hours since I ate lunch.’
- c) *t-imbir tə-tfən-tf* *arβət səʔat xərə-na .*
 PRE-emdbir PRE-come.PFV-3FS.SM four hour be.PFV-3FS.OM
 ‘It is now four hours since she came from Emdbir.’

6.4.2.5.2 Manner causes

Manner clause is used for expressing the way an action is performed in complex sentences. It expresses the way in which something is happened or done in relation to the action verbs. In Gura, manner clause is expressed in subordinate clause that is denoted by the relational morpheme *tə-* in collaboration with the lexical *xəma* ‘like’. Consider the data below.

- (315) a) *x'ita tə-ti-zrə-tf* *ʔə-q'əm^wə-n*
 she when-3FS.SM-speak.IPFV-3FS.SM RC-patient.PFV-3MS.OM
səb xəma-w.
 person like-COP.3MS
 ‘When she speaks, she is like a person who is patient.’
- b) *huta aβa-ta* *xəma ti-ji-zir.*
 he father-3MS.POSS like when-3MS.SM-speak.IPFV
 ‘When he speaks, he is like his father.’
- c) *hut ti-ji-tfot* *ʔə-bərg xəma-w.*
 he when-3MS.SM-work.IPFV PRE-berga like-COP.3MS
 ‘When he works, he is like Berga.’

As one can realize from the above data, the subordinate clauses are modified with the manner clauses that are related by the independent word *xəma* ‘like’. In the variety, the exchange position of the subordinate and manner clause in the complex sentences are possible.

The stem verb *məsər-* ‘resembled’ is also used for expressing manner clauses. It is used in the complex expressions to the complete subordinate clauses. Consider the examples below.

- (316) a) *xino qirfi j-anə-no qar*
 they money 3MPL.SM-have-3MPL.SM thing
ji-məsr-o.
 3MPL.SM-resemble.IPFV-3MPL.SM
 ‘They act as if they had money.’
- b) *zəx^wərə ji-məsr bə-dbir nəqəw-ə.*
 lion 3MS.SM-seem.IPFV PRE-forest bark.PFV-3MS.SM
 ‘He barked like a lion in the forest.’
- c) *gərəd ji-məsr faf taxətər-ə.*
 girl 3MS.SM-seem.IPFV scarf clothe.PFV-3MS.SM
 ‘He wore a scarf like a girl.’

6.4.2.5.3 Purpose clauses

This clause is used to express for what purpose/why is the action carried out. The action in the predicate is going to be modified with motive; therefore, the relationship between the clauses is purposive. In Gura, purpose clause is described by the lexeme *xəma* ‘like’. This word is preceded by the purposive clauses in which the main clauses appeared the first or second position in the complex expressions. Besides, purposive clause is expressed its continuity in the main clause with the auxiliary verb *anə-* ‘exist’. Consider the data below.

- (317) a) *huta fətəna- hut ji-tgʷən-o xəma*
 he exam-DEF 3PL.SM-pass.IPFV-3PL.SM like
məxər-ə-no.
 advise.PFV-3MS.SM-3PL.OM
 ‘He advised them to pass the exam.’
- b) *xʷita t-arəbib ji-anə wəxə murit*
 she 3FS.SM-read.PFV 3MS-exist good result
ti-rəxib xəma-w.
 3FS.SM- get.IPFV like-COP.3MS
 ‘She is reading in order to get a good result.’
- c) *ija i-tmər j-anə-x^w niqar qərfi*
 I 1PS.SM-learn.IPFV exist.IPFV-1PS.SM much money
i-rəxb xəma-w.
 1PS.SM-get.IPFV like-COP.3MS
 ‘I am learning in order to get enough money.’

In Gura, the purpose clause is also denoted by the suffix *-xə* that is suffixed linearly to the perfective or imperfective stems verb finally, and it is preceded by the subject or object affixes. The data below illustrate the syntactic function of this morpheme.

- (318) a) *inn-m-ta* *gibtə* *bə-qitʃ'a* *ji-rəβr-o-xə* *bə-dʒək^wa*
all-CONJ-DEF medium PRE- system 3PL-live.IPFV-3PL-as PRE-tree
a-wət-'a-n *qitʃ'a*.
CAUS-draw.PFV-3MS-OM system
‘A system is drawn in order to live equally with this law under the auspice of the tree.’
- b) *za* *zematʃə* *ərə* *dənəg-ə* *tʃən-ə-xə*.
this shepherd cattle drive:graze.PFV-3MS come.PFV-3MS-as
‘This shepherd derived the cattle to graze as he came.’
- c) *igzħar* *nərə-ə* *anə-xə* *t-e-ji-ʃir*.
god exist-3MS exist-as when-NEG-3MS-know.IPFV
‘He does not know as God exists; God is there.’

In this variety, juxtaposition of two or more clauses without any connector is possibly used in the construction of complex expressions to describe purposes like *ija ifatʃ' arte* ‘I will go to harvest.’

6.4.2.5.4 Causal clauses

The causal clause is the dependent clause in complex sentences that indicates the cause-and-effect relationship between two actions. The causal clauses are expressed in different forms depending on the nature of the languages. The question is whether the clause in such complex sentence is in the coordination or subordination in their process that they were formed. Besides, whether the argument in the sentence are cause to each other or one effect the other , and the connectors that involved in relating such causal relationship of arguments matters.

In Gura, the reason clause or causal is expressed by the morpheme *e-* that is suffixed to the relativized existences verb *xərə-*. Consider the examples given below.

- (319) a) *fətəna ji-anə* *ʔə-xər-e* *niqar*
 exam 3MS.SM-exist.IPFV RC-be-because many
təmari tʃən-o.
 student come.PFV-3PL.SM
 ‘Many students came because there is exam.’
- b) *ʔə-qʻəm^wə-n* *ʔə-xər-e* *an-tʃən-ə.*
 REL-feel:ill.PFV-3MS.OM RC-be-because NEG-come.PFV-3MS
 ‘He did not come because he got ill.’
- c) *dʒad ba-x^w j-arəbəb-x^w ʔə-xər-e*
 hard say-1PS 3PS-read.IPFV-1PS RC-be-because
fətəna-huta təg^wənə-x^w-n
 test-DEF pass.PFV-1PS-OM
 ‘I passed the exam because I studied hard.’

Concession clause is also described with the subordinate clauses introduced by the relational morpheme *bə-*, and the main (complement) clauses are negative statements. In this complex expression, the proposition and the ends are contrasting semantically. Concession clause is duly illustrated in the data below.

- (320) a) *bə-t-arəbīb-m* *fətəna-huta*
 if-3FS.SM-read.IPFV-FOC exam-DEF
a-tgʻəna-tʃ-n.
 NEG-pass.PFV-3FS.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘Although she has studied hard, she did not pass the exam.’
- b) *zīrab niqar bi-ji-rəbr-m zīnə niqar*
 rainfall much when-3MS.SM-exist.PFV-FOC crop many
an-nəm-a.
 NEG-develop.PFV-3MS.SM
 ‘Even though there was enough rain falls, the crops are not satisfactory.’
- c) *tʃəwatʃ ʔə-zərab zīnə bə-siβəsīb-o*
 farmer PRE-rain crop if- collect.PFV-3MPL.SM
gam^wə zīrab wəzīrb banə-ə.
 time rain to rain AUX.PST-3MS
 ‘Although it was raining the farmers were harvesting their crops.’

In (320a-c) data above, the complex expressions are describing two unequal grammatical valued clauses when the resulting complement clauses are unwillingly happened. The subordinate clause is introduced by the relational morpheme *bə-*, which is syntactically concatenated to both the perfective and imperfective stem verbs. The degree of

contrasting is escalated when this morpheme is syntactically attached into the imperfective stems like in examples (320a and b) above.

6.4.2.5.5 Conditional clauses

The conditional clause expresses the probability of an action or the extent it is expected to come about. It is denoted by complex expressions in which two or more clauses are combined syntactically together. These are the protasis (if-clause) and apodosis or then-cause (cf. Dancygier and Sweetser 2005, Meyer and Debela 2006, Alotaibi 2014). There is a causal relationship between the two clauses in such types of expression that is the fulfillments of the clause in the main or matrix clause and subordinate or dependent clauses. In Gura, most of the time, the conditional clause that expresses the counterfactual situation or the protasis is appeared in the sentence before the apodosis (expressing the factual situation).

We can see that the conditional clause is the combination of two clauses so that to create a causal relationship among them, and logically they need a conjunction or connector to adhere the two clauses together. In Gura, this conditional subornation is formed when the relational marker *bə-* and *tə-* are attached to perfective and imperfective verb forms respectively; consequently, complex clauses are formed.

The conditional clauses are of having difference conceptual realization on the base of the semantic and pragmatic functions of the prediction or imagination of the speaker. The conditional clauses are divided into real and unreal that are occurring in almost all languages as cited in Debela and Meyer (2006:71).

The complex conditional expressions are constructed by the relational prefix *bə-* and *tə-* in the subordinate clauses (protasis), and they are completed by independent (apodosis) clauses. The relational prefix *bə-* is used for expressing the probable condition; thus, if the action in the subordinate clause is fulfilled then the action in the main clause will be completed. In this case, the subordinate and main clauses in such complex expression is exhibiting the interdependency of action to come about.

6.4.2.5.5.1 Real conditionals

In Gura, conditional clause can be used when the speaker is not clearly know whether the actions is going be happened. Nevertheless, there is probability to come about if certain thing or criteria are fulfilled. The certainties of the real conditional clauses are shown on the protasis for their prediction is portrayed by the apodosi to fulfill, and such real conditional clauses are expressed by the morpheme *bə-* which is prefixed to main the verbs as in (321).

- (321) a) *g^wəpe-na* *bə-agəz-x^w* *wəxε* *qar-u.*
 brother-1PS.POSS if-help.PFV-1PS.SM good thing-3MS.COP
 ‘It is nice if I helped my brother.’
- b) *bə-tfon-axə* *ji-t-səβr-te.*
 if-sit:down.PFV-2MS.SM 3MS.SM-PASS-break.IPFV-FUT
 ‘If you sat on it, it will be broken.’
- c) *bə-tfan-x^j* *imate* *n-an-əte.*
 if-come.PFV-2FS.SM together 1PS.SM-go.IPFV-FUT
 ‘If you came, we will go together.’

The negative conditional sentences are also constructed by adding the negative marker to real subordinated clauses. The negative marker is preceded by the subordinator morpheme. Consider the following examples.

- (322) a) *bə-an-tfan-əxima* *imat-əna* *ar-te.*
 if-NEG-come.PFV-3FPL.SM together-1PS.POSS go.1S.SM.IPFV-FUT
 ‘If you did not come, I will go alone.’
- b) *bə-təmaribet* *atənə* *bə-an-wət’a-tf* *tf’ama*
 PRE-school first if-NEG-stand.PFV-3FS.SM shoes
an-səjə-x^w-x^j-te.
 NEG-buy.PFV-1PS.SM-2FS.OM- FUT
 ‘If you do not stand first in the class, I will not buy shoes.’
- c) *g^wəpe-ta* *bə-an-agəz-ə* *wəxε.* *qar*
 brother-3MS.POSS if-NEG-help.PFV-3MS.SM good thing
an-xər-ə
 NEG-be.PFV-3MS.SM
 ‘It is not good if he did not help his brother.’

The negation system is used in both the real and unreal conditional sentences. The negation marker is attached to the verbs both in the protasis and in apodosis preceded by the conditional markers.

6.4.2.5.5.2 Improbable conditionals

The improbable (hypothetical) condition or unreal condition is denoted by the relational prefix /tə-/ and the auxiliary verb *ba/banə-*. The relational prefix is attached to the perfective verb thereby the clause is becoming unreal or it is impossible to come about whereas the matrix clause is expressed with the perfective verb forms unlike the real condition discussed above (see §6.4.2.5.5.1). In this case, the speaker has a complete negative cognitive belief about the fulfillments of the conditionals; however, the matrix clause is accompanied by the auxiliary verb *ba/banə-* that express past reading in the variety. Consider the following data.

- (323) a) *ija axə tə-xər-x^w* *wəxε bet*
 I you If-be.PFV-1PS.SM nice house
i-səjə ba.
 1PS.SM-buy.IPFV AUX.PST
 ‘If I were you, I would buy nice house.’
- b) *birr tə-nəpər-e* *wəxε bet*
 money if-have.PFV-1PS.OM good house
i-səjə ba.
 1PS.SM- AUX.PST
 buy.IPFV
 ‘If I had had money, I would buy a nice house.’
- c) *ija amf^w tə-xər-x^w* *bə-səme i-βər* *ba.*
 I bird if-be.PFV-1PS PRE-sky 1PS-fly.IPFV AUX.PST
 ‘If I were a bird, I would fly on the sky.’

The relational prefixes *tə-* and the auxiliary *ba-* are also used to express the counterfactual expressions in the complex conditional clauses. They are expressing complete hope that cannot be realistic in the normal discourses.

The unreal conditional clause is used for expressing sort of advices in the complex expressions. They are constructed in both the affirmative and negative forms. The

negation marker in this case is expressed on the matrix clause as one can realized from the data below.

- (324) a) *ija axə tə-xər-x^w zɪ bet*
 I you if-be.PFV-1PS.SM this house
b-an-səjə-x^w-n.
 if-NEG-buy.PFV-1PS.SM-3MS.OM
 ‘If I were you, I would not buy this house.’
- b) *axə tə-xər-x^w hakim bet i-x^wər ba.*
 you if-be.PFV-1PS.SM hospital 1PS.SM-go.IPFV AUX.PST
 ‘If I were you I would go to hospital.’
- c) *hakimbet bi-t-ar wəxɛ qar-u.*
 hospital if-2FS.SM-go.IPFV good thing-COP.3MS
 ‘It is good if you go to hospital.’

6.4.2.5.5.3 Concessive conditional

In Gura, the propositions in the dependent clause and the prediction in the main clause are contrasting each other in complex sentences. The structure is the same as in the hypothetical clause that is indicated by the relational morpheme /bə/. However, this contrastive nature is exhibited semantically in these clauses, and both the subordinate and independent clauses are connected together for portraying the contrastive connotations with the coordinator (-m) which is involved to both the sentential verbs. Similarly, the negative marker is attached at both the dependent and consequent clauses as illustrated in the examples below.

- (325) a) *bə-an-fə-n-m an-rəməd-m.*
 if-NEG-know.PFV-3MS.OM-CONJ NEG-like.PFV-CONJ
 ‘Even though I don’t know him, I don’t like him.’
- b) *zɪ miss b-an-fə-n-m an-səf^v-n.*
 this man if-NEG-know.PFV-3MS.OM-CONJ NEG-fear.PFV-3MS.OM
 ‘Even though I don’t know this man, I don’t fear him.’
- c) *bə-an-t’əna-xi-m an-rəməd-xi-m.*
 if-NEG-hate.PFV-2FS.SM-3MS.CONJ NEG-like.PFV-2FS.SM-CONJ
 ‘Even though I did not hate you, I did not like you.’

So far, it is clearly stated that the complex conditional is the combination of two things, the protasis and apodosis together, and these clauses are not connected by independent words. Nevertheless, the propositional and prediction of such sentences are linked thoroughly by the relational morphemes. These relational morphemes are also used for indicating other grammatical function in the variety under discussion. Therefore, there are two relational morphemes that are used to connect or relate the two clauses in the conditional sentences. In Gura, the relational morphemes *bə-* and *tə-* are used for relating or connecting the conditional with the matrix clauses.

6. 5 Summary

This chapter discusses the syntactic features of phrases, clauses and word order in Gura. The syntactic order of sentences constituents is characterized by linear occurrences of the basic words such as the syntactic subject, object and verb. Thus, the canonical word order is **SOV** even though there may be missing of the middle in intransitive sentences, and it is alleged that this canonical feature of word order is resulted through the sociolinguistic spheres of influences from Cushitic languages from **VSO**.

The phrases are the middle ground of structural constituents between the cause and word, and they are named after the head or the content words viz. nouns, verbs, adjective, adverbs and prepositions with some ambiguity in the latter two (adverb and preposition). There are phrases that are named after these content words as : noun phrases, verb phrases, adjective phrases, and prepositional phrases. Gura is final-head or right-headed; the main word is found to the right of its modifiers. A noun can be bare that can stand as NP in the sentences or it may have many modifiers. The temporal event and argument features distinguish verb phrases, and they are constructed with obligatory, optional complements and without complements. The nonfinite verbs are also can have nonfinite complements as modifier for the verb phrases by *-ta* and *-ot* such as the converb, and gerundive markers respectively. In the case of the adverb, adjective and prepositional phrase, it is difficult to treat in phrase structure, but an adjective can be predicative of the subject whether they are bare or modified. The adverbs of time, place, frequency, and

manner can be easily understood by NPs or PPs, but the adpositions can also function as the prepositions.

In Gura, the main clauses are treated both in the forms of their functional and internal structural to ease out discussion. The main clause is the simple sentences that can function in the semantic and pragmatic usages as the interrogative, declarative, and exclamatory. For discussion purpose, the comparative sentences are included in this section. Wh-question words such as *m^wan*, *məm̄r*, *ete*, *m̄ir*, *ʔəm^wan*, *mət̄fə*, and *eteta* are used for asking question, and the morpheme *wəj* and sentence intonation are used for asking yes or no types of questions. The assertion of information is not marker in this variety, and command is expressed both in the imperative and jussive verbal conjugations for second and third person respectively. On the other hand, the strong feeling of hatred, affections, sadness, and surprise are expressed by extra linguistic elements such as *wijo* ‘alas’, *wij* ‘oh’ followed by main clauses. The comparative sentences can have positive, comparative and superlative forms. The positive degree of comparison is expressed with the words such *xəma* ‘like’, *imat* ‘one’, *qit̄jə* and ‘equal’ whereas the comparisons of difference and similarity is expressed with the morpheme *tə-* which is attached to the compared nouns followed by relativized verbs, and this *tə-* can be prefixed to the adverb *inn* ‘all’ for comparing more than two things.

On the other hand, the main clauses are described by considering their internal predicates structures. Based on this, the main clauses are divided as verbal and nonverbal predicates, and the non-verbal predicates encompass nominal, locative, and obligation predicates. The verbal predicate is distinguished with the internal temporal event verbs and the arguments structures.

In Gura, complex expressions are expressed by the juxtaposition of different clauses. The juxtaposition of the clauses, the subordinates and main clauses are involved in the same syntactic context. The subordinate clauses are constructed from the main clause by adding the morphemes *bə-* and *tə-* in perfective and imperfective verbal forms respectively. The converb marker *-ta* and the relative marker *ʔə-* are important in the constructions of subordinations in the complex expressions. Complex constructions are

involved in the adverbial clauses that are expressing the temporal, manner, purpose, and conditions. In the temporal adverbial clause is constructed by adpositions that are adjoined to sentences. The manner clause is constructed by the word *xəma* ‘like’ and *məsər* and ‘resemble’, and purpose clause is constructed by imperfective verb forms plus the lexicals *xəma* ‘like’ and *-xə* . The conditional clause has two parts-protasis and apodosis. The former is the if clause which is constructed as : *bə-* plus the perfective verb form or *bə-* plus negation marker plus the perfective verb forms whereas the latter is the result /consequent which is the main clause (affirmative or negative). In the unreal conditions, the bound morpheme *tə-* plus perfective verb forms in the protasis and the main clause in the apodosis are used so as to construct such a complex expressions.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Summary and Conclusion

The natural and essential realization of Gura morphology and syntax are described in this dissertation. Besides, some aspects of genres, registers of social and cultural values of Gura are documented using ELAN and flex, and the basic concepts of phonology are noted as they are useful in reading morphology and syntax. Gura is expected to be sub-dialect of Chaha in some linguists, but Hetzron posits that Gura is separate language in the western Gurage language varieties. Thus, this study may provide a handful evidence to fill the gap and revealed the linguistic confusion in this area. The main objective of this work is to document Gura and describe its morphology and syntax supplemented by language technology tools.

Gura people are found in Chaha wereda just west of its administrative town called Emdibir that is found about 200km away from Addis Ababa. The total population of Gura is difficult to estimate because they are dwelling amalgamated with other Gurage communities between the river Gotama and Qecher west of Emdibr. They form separate location as Gura themselves from other Chaha speakers that are known as *ʔadəbe/Adebe*. They called their tongues as *gurana* that is classified as one of the central west Gurage language varieties such Chaha, Ezha, Gumer (cf. Hetzron 1972 &1977) of these Gura is the least studied variety. Like other Gurage language varieties, it is found under the influence of other Gurage language varieties such as Innemor, Chaha, Ezha, and Gumer. Gura is also suppressed with the official language Amharic, and they are indirectly influenced by other giant languages such as Oromifa and Hadiya. The imperial language_ English directly prejudiced Gura.

Gura has thirty seven consonant and seven vowels phonemes. There are also borrowed phonemes such as /s'/ and /p'/may be from Amharic. In Gura, consonant gemination is not phonemic, and consonant cluster is not permitted word-initially; cluster of more than two consonant is not allowed even in the word medial and final position. Thus, the epenthetic vowel (central high vowel /i/) is used to break the consonant constraints in

Gura .The smallest syllable is V, and the largest is CVCC in this language variety. The most practiced morphophonemic processes are assimilation, labialization, palatalization and deletion. Two consonants are more alike when they are connected in spontaneous discourses as a result the phoneme /n/ > [m], [ŋ], [ɲ] after labiodentals /b/, velars / g, k, q, x /, and palatal /tʃ, tʃ̣/ respectively. The non-coronal sounds are labialized when the accusative marker /-n/ is suffixed to verbs in the third person masculine singular, and in impersonal passive. Besides, the coronal sounds are palatalized in the second person feminine in imperative verbs.

The comprehensive sample of genres and registers are documented using the discourse-centered approaches, but the description its morphology and syntax is language oriented. To collect the primary and secondary data, audio and video tools through elicitation and participant observation methods. The collected data are transcribed using IPA, and these are translated to the wider communication (English). The data are annotated and glossed based on conventional interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme (Leipzig glossing rules).

In Gura, nouns are morphologically complex or simple; they are inflected for number, gender, definiteness, and case. Plural nouns are marked by internal vowel modification and suppletion for kinship terms. It is also indirectly indicated by the third person pronouns like *xinəma* and *xino* the latter one is commonly used that is suffixed to all nouns, and they are denoted indirectly syntactically on the verbs.

In Gura, gender is marked as masculine and feminine, and they are indicated lexically in kinship terms and domestic animals. However, in other animate and inanimate nouns these are pre-modified by the words *arist/wənad* ‘female’ and *təbat* ‘male’ for portraying morphological gender. Nouns are also indirectly defined by third person pronouns most commonly by the third person singular masculine *-huta* for all types of nouns and the third person feminine *-xʷita* for third person singular and diminutive cases. Besides, nouns are inflected for a case that is dichotomized as the syntactic and semantic cases. The syntactic case includes nominative, accusative and dative whereas the semantic case encompasses locative, vocative, genitive, instrumental, and comitative. The nominative case is zero morphemes, but accusative case can be marked by the morpheme ʔə-

especially for pronouns. Like nominative case, accusative case can also be zero morpheme which is licensed on the verbs by the object markers. Nevertheless, both dative and genitive cases are marked by the morpheme ʔə- . In general, the relational morphemes $tə-$, $bə-$, and ʔə- play a pivotal semantic role to denote case.

In Gura, nouns are morphologically formed or derived, and the formed nouns characterized by the insertion of formative vowels (v-slot) into the radical root consonants. Nouns are also formed from the composition of two or more lexemes that creates a single semantic unit. However, most of Gura nouns are resulted from derivational process by affixes such as $-nət$, $-i$, $-ot/wə-$, $-ənə$, $-na$, and $-k^wə$.

Personal pronouns are encoded by independent lexemes that are designated for number, gender and person. Unlike other Ethio-semitic languages (Amharic and Wolane), gender is encoded in the second and third person both plural and singular in Gura. There are also pronominal suffixes, which are affixed to the nouns for portraying possessive, reflexive, and reciprocity. The pronominal suffixes are expressing an NP when they are attached to the nouns as an adjective. Pronominal suffixes are also attached to the word $gəg$ 'body' so as to describe reflexive of an action, and the independent pronouns are compounded with the pronominal suffixes by the coordinator $-m$ to encode reflexive of an action. The word $gəg$ can also describe reciprocity process when it is reduplicated by the relational morpheme $-tə-$ as $gəgtəgəg$ 'each other or one another'. It is also true with the reduplication of the independent pronouns which are connected by the morpheme $-tə-$ as $xinotəxino$ 'one another'.

Demonstrative pronouns are described by independent words (zi and xi) which portray proximal and distal relation to the speaker's reference point. These demonstrative pronouns are attached with pronominal suffixes for representing single semantic unit in Gura.

Indefinite pronouns are described by the simple lexemes, and they can be derived from other classes of words. Complex indefinite pronouns are derived from simple lexemes such as inn , at , af , etc; consequently, we can have compound indefinite pronouns such as

atatgize ‘sometimes’, *atatsəb* ‘someone’, *atatənde* ‘each of us’, *ʔaxərə səb* ‘any one’ and soon.

Besides, interrogative pronouns are encoded by simple words or complex constructions. The complex interrogative pronouns are derived from the simple ones by affixes, and word formation process.

In Gura, most of the adjectives are resulted from morphological formation and derivation processes. Adjectives are formed from consonant roots, which is interdigitated with the formative v-slot. Moreover, adjectives are derived from other word class (simple nouns) by affixes such as *i-jə*, *-jə*, *-əma*, *-ənə*, and *-wi*. Adjectives are also inflected for number, case and definiteness. The plural number is indirectly portrayed by the third person plural masculine (*-xino*) which is suffixed to the simple and complex forms. Some adjectives are fully reduplicated for showing plural number. Moreover, adjectives are also inflected for accusative, genitive, and vocative cases by the morphemes *ʔə-* and *-o* respectively. Definiteness of adjective is indirectly encoded by the third person masculine plural *-huta*, and adjectives have three syntactic functions, that is, attributive adjective, predicative adjectives or substantive adjectives. In Gura, cardinal numbers are decimal numeral system whereas ordinal numbers are derived from this decimal numeral system by the suffix *-ənə*, and these numeral systems are morphosyntactically used as adjectives to modify nouns or noun phrases.

The function of the verbs is restricted by adverbs that are classified as adverbs of time; frequency, place, and manner, and they are attested to simple nouns, noun phrases or prepositions morphologically. In Gura, there are also adpositions that include the preposition, postposition, and circumposition in rare case. Thus, the adpositions are expressed lexically or by the relational morphemes *tə-*, *bə-*, and *ʔə-*.

Moreover, two or more words are connected by simple words or affixes. These can have morphologically paratactic and hypotactic functions, and two or more words are connected with the coordinator (*-m*) and disjunctive (*wəjim*). The hypotactic concept is expressed by the relational morphemes *tə-* and *bə-*. These relational morphemes are

tending to subordinate the main verbs. The former is used in the imperfective verbal conjugations and the latter with the perfective verbal conjugation.

In Gura, the canonical tri-radical verbs are inflected for three verbal conjugations into perfective, imperfective, and jussive in addition to other verbal valences. The verbs are both simple and complex in forms, and the simple verbs are formed by the root-consonants through the formative vowels that are interdigitated into the C-slot (consonant template). The other method is derivation of verbs from the simple verbs by affixes.

The verbs are typologized into types on the base of their morphophonemic features and number of root-consonants. The former is applied for the canonical tri-radical consonant roots whereas the latter is considered as the subtypes of the former one since they share partial characteristics of them. Due to the morphophonemic and vowel qualities, Gura verbs are classified as verb type A, B, C, and D. Thus, verb type A is characterized by the insertion of the aspectual vowel /ə/ through non-continuous series into the root consonants in perfective that is totally lost in the jussive, but it is interleaved preceding the penultimate radical root morphemes in the imperfective verbal conjugations. In the verb type B, the aspectual vowel /ə/ is inserted following and preceding the penultimate root morpheme in perfective; it is also placed following the first root morphemes in imperfective, but it is totally lost in the jussive verbal conjugations. The first radical is palatal or palatalized consonantal root in all these cases if not the canonical first root consonant is followed by /e/. The verb type C is characterized by the insertion of the vowel /a/ between first and penultimate root consonants, and the vowel /ə/ is placed between the penultimate and ultimate root consonants in perfective. The former vowel is remained keeping its positions in the imperfective and jussive aspectual verb conjugations. In the verb type D, the aspectual vowel /ə/ is non-continuously inserted into the C-slots, but this aspectual vowel is only interdigitated between the first and penultimate root consonants in the imperfective and jussive aspectual verb conjugations. Here, each initial root consonant is labialized, and they are followed by the vowel /ə/.

The verb stem is formed by root-and-consonant or derived from the simple verbs by affixes. In the former case, stems are formed from the root-consonants that have different

formative vowels on basic verbal conjugations. Besides, the stems can be derived from simple verbs by the affixes *tə-*, *a/at-* and *-ot* or prefix *wə-*. The passive stems are derived from the simple verbs by the prefix *tə-*. The causative stems are derived from the simple verbs by adding *a-* or *at-* for direct and indirect causatives respectively.

The prefixes *an-*, *a-* and *e-* are attached to the perfective, imperfective, and jussive stems respectively so as to portray the notion of negation, and negative command or prohibition is formed by morpheme *in-* which is attached to jussive verbal stems.

The copular verb is denoted by the bound morpheme *-nə-* that is attached to all personal pronouns except the third person singular masculine. The third person singular masculine is described by the morpheme *-u* and *-w* after vowels. The existence verb is described by the morpheme '*nərə*' which expresses possession in the present time, and it also describes deontic /obligation when it is followed by the malfactive marker *-b-*. The subject and object markers are agreed with the affixes which are attached to the verbs in the basic verbal inflections such as : perfective, imperfective, and jussive. Thus, the object agreements pronominal affixes are morphologically conditioned when they are attaching to plural, singular and impersonal subjects, so they have 'light' or 'heavy' allomorphic counterparts. Moreover, the object agreement pronominal affixes are applied more emphasis to the types of the objects rather than the relationship between the subject and object. These are morphologically denoted by the morphemes *-n-* and *-b-* as object benefactive and malfactives suffixes respectively.

The perfective and imperfective verb conjugations are primary indicating canonical aspects as complete and incomplete verbal situations from which tense is derived when considering the subject affixes in relation to frame of time. Thus, future tenses are explicitly marker by the morpheme *-te* which is obligatorily concatenated to the imperfective verb conjugations. The past reading is also denoted by the perfective verb conjugations and the auxiliary verbs *ba* or *banə* and *nəpərə*. The imperfective forms of the verbs are describing the present readings, and the auxiliary verbs *anə* and *nərə* in the locative predicates indicate present readings. There are subtypes of aspects in which the lexical verb semantics are important to consider in relation to the time frame. The

progressive aspect is described by the auxiliary *anə*, *tanə*, and *banə* plus the imperfective forms of the verb conjugations, and iterative aspect are indicated by the lexical reduplication as subtypes of aspect named as aktiosart (en).

There are also morphosyntactic verbs with special semantic realizations in Gura. The impersonal verbs are expressing the impersonal passive; they are syntactically marked by special pronominal suffixes. The relativizer (?ə-) morpheme is prefixed to the verbs overtly for perfective verb forms, but in imperfective forms of the verbs the relativizer morpheme is covert that is semantically cling to the subject affixes. On the other hand, converbs are expressed by the morpheme (-ta). This morpheme is suffixed to the perfective, imperfective and jussive forms of the verbs, but the serial verbs are also used to express series of actions in discourses or texts.

In Gura, the syntactic order of constituents in sentences is characterized by the linear occurrences of the basic words such as the syntactic subject, object and verb. Thus, the canonical word order is **SOV** even though there may be missing of the middle in intransitive sentences. It is alleged that this canonical feature of word order is resulted from sociolinguistic spheres of influences of Cushitic languages from its archaic standard **VSO**.

Phrases are middle ground of structural constituents between clause and word, and they are attested that phrases are named after the head or the content words. In Gura, nouns, verbs, adjective, adverbs and prepositions are content words with some ambiguity in the latter two (adverb and preposition), and phrases are named after these content words viz. noun phrases, verb phrases, adjective phrases, and prepositional phrases. Gura is final-head or right-headed in which the main word is found to the right of its modifiers. A noun can be barely syntactic subject or predicate, and it may have many modifiers. Verb phrases are distinguished by the temporal events and argument features, and they have bare, obligatory and optional complements in the phrase structural rules. The nonfinite verbs are also can have nonfinite complements as modifier for the verb phrases constructed by *-ta* and *-ot* such as the converb, and gerundive markers respectively. In the case of the adverb, adjective and prepositional phrase, it is difficult to treat them.

However, an adjective can be predicative of the subject bare or modified. The adverbs of time, place, frequency, and manner can be semantically understood in the variety. The adpositions can also function as the prepositions or adverbs semantically.

The main clauses are treated both in the forms of their functional and internal structural to ease out discussion. The main clause is the simple sentences that can function in the semantic and pragmatic usages as the interrogative, declarative, exclamatory. In Gura, wh-question words such as *m^wan*, *məmr*, *ete*, *mīr*, *ʔəm^wan*, *mətʃə*, and *eteta* are used for asking question, and the particle *wəj* and sentence intonation are used for asking yes or no types of questions. However, assertion of information is not marker, and command is expressed both in the imperative and jussive verbal conjugations for second and third person respectively. on the other hand, the strong feeling of hatred, affections, sadness, and surprise are expressed by extra linguistic elements such as *wijo* ‘alas’, *wij* ‘oh’ followed by main clauses. The comparative sentences can be conceptualized as positive, comparative and superlative. The positive degree of comparison is expressed by the words such *xəma* ‘like’, *imat* ‘one’, *qitʃə* and ‘equal’ whereas to compare different and similar qualities the morpheme *tə-* attached to the compared nouns followed by relativized verbs. This *tə-* can be prefixed to the adverb *inn* ‘all’ for comparing more than two objects.

On the other hand, the main clause is described by considering its internal constituents. Based on this, the main clause can have many different features of predicates. The predicates can be verbal and nonverbal predicates. The non-verbal predicates encompass the nominal, locative, and obligatory predicates, but the verbal predicate is distinguished by the internal temporal event verbs and the arguments structures.

The complex expressions are expressed by the juxtaposition of different clauses together. The juxtaposition of the clauses, the subordinates and main clauses are involved in the same syntactic context. The subordinate clauses are constructed from the main clause by adding the morphemes *bə-* for perfective and *tə-* for imperfective verbal forms. The converb marker *-ta* and the relative marker *ʔə-* are important in the constructions of subordinations in the complex expressions. Besides, the complex constructions are

involved in the adverbial clauses. The adverbial clauses are expressing the temporal, manner, purpose, and conditions. The temporal adverbial clause is described by adpositions, but the manner clause is constructed by the word *xəma* ‘like’ and *məsər* and ‘resemble’ whereas purpose clause is constructed by the imperfective verb forms plus the lexical *xəma* ‘like’ and *-xə*. The conditional clause has two parts protasis and apodosis. The former is the if-clause that is constructed as : *bə-* plus the perfective verb form or *bə-* plus negation marker plus the perfective verb forms whereas the latter is the result /consequent clause that is the main clause (affirmative or negative). In the unreal conditions, the bound morpheme *tə-* plus perfective verb forms in the protasis and the main clause in the apodosis.

Finally, the researcher recommends that any private or governmental organizations, linguistic scholars or researchers should carry out depth study on this area. Because, it is believed that the sociolinguistic aspects of Gura are not well distinguished. Thus, Gura is not duly attested whether it is separate language or sub-dialect of Chaha (cf. Hetzron 1977 & Rose 2007). There is not clear distinction (linguistic isogloss) where the residence of Gura speaker is geographically located. Therefore, to ease out these and other linguistic constraints it must be concern of research.

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Appendix

The documentation parts of this work are available as printed sample from the archived corpus by (ELAN and FLEX). This data is collected from different key informants through the staged communicative event of different genres of Gura. It encompasses cultural selecting of fiancé or fiancée, performance of mourning ceremony, preparation of traditional foods; and intera and inter community sociopolitical relationship etc. However, the story of the tiger and rabbit is included as part of this paper as sample from comprehensive data by ELAN. The writer randomly selects it.

The documentation uses some abbreviations which are representing as follows : Ref =reference of the labeled sentence, PT= Phonetic transcription, MB = Morpheme break, GL = Gloss =FT= free translation.

1. Sample Documents from ELAN

The story of tiger and rabbit

Interviewed from

Getahun Welde (tatf wirər of Megnase kebele)

- Ref zag^wəra 01
PT missəma tijar
MB miss-əma ti-j-ar
GL man-FOC when-3MS.SM-go.IPFV-
FT 'when a man goes , '
- Ref zag^wəra 02
PT jadzig^wərən jar
MB j-adzig^wərən-n j-ar
GL 3MS.SM-problem.IPFV-3MS.OM 3MS.SM-go.IPFV
FT 'He went with full of problems.'
- Ref zag^wəra 03
PT m^wərə t'əβət'ə
MB m^wərə t'əβət'-ə
GL edge hold.PFV-3MS.SM
FT 'He held an edge.'
- Ref zag^wəra 04
PT m^wərə t'əβət'ə jar
MB m^wərə t'əβət'-ə j-ar
GL edge hold.PFV-3MS.SM 3MS.SM-go.IPFV

FT 'He held an edge and he goes.'

Ref zag^{wə}ra 05

PT tijar ʔə ..

MB ti-j-ar ʔə ..

GL when-3MS.SM-go.IPFV INTER

FT 'when he goes hmmm! ,'

Ref zag^{wə}ra 06

PT bər diβr gəpa tigəβa ʔa ..

MB bər diβr gəp-a

GL get way forest enter.PFV-3MS.SM

MB ti-ji-gəβ-a ʔa ..

GL when-3MS.SM-enter-3MS.SM INTER

FT 'It entered in to get way of the forest when he entered.'

Ref zag^{wə}ra 07

PT zag^{wə}ra

MB zag^{wə}ra

GL tiger

FT 'tiger '

Ref zag^{wə}ra 08

PT səb jisədibowi jasadədowi

MB səb ji-sədib-o-wi

GL person 3MPL.SM-curse.IPFV-3MPL.SM-3MS.OM

MB j-asadəd-o-wi

GL 3MPL.SM-CAUS-chase.IPFV-3MPL.SM-3MS.OM

FT 'People curse the tiger and chase it.'

Ref zag^{wə}ra 09

PT zag^{wə}ra zag^{wə}ra bərot ʔə....

MB zag^{wə}ra zag^{wə}ra bər-ot ʔə....

GL tiger tiger say-INF INTER

FT 'Tiger means ahhh..!.'

Ref zag^{wə}ra 10

PT səb jiqət'rowite tijasədīdowi bəzamiss tʃənə mægəna gəpa

MB səb ji-qət'r-o-wi-te ti-j-a-sədīd-o-wi

GL person 3MPL.SM-kill.IPFV-3MPL.SM-3MS.OM-FUT when-3MPL.SM-CAUS-chase-3MS.OM

bə-za miss tʃən-ə mægəna gəp-a

PRE-this man come.PFV-3M.SM refuge/protection enter.PFV-3MS.SM

FT 'When people chased him to kill, he came to this man to protect himself as refugee on the man. '

Ref zag^{wə}ra 11

PT misso biwn jo
 MB miss-o bi-w-n jo
 GL man-VOC when-.3MS.SM.say-3MS.OM yes
 FT 'When said to him "Hey man" and he answered "Yes!"

Ref zag^wəra 12
 PT not' g^wənaxə xire
 MB not'-i g^wən-axə xir-e
 GL run.IMP-2MS.SM back:yard-2MS.POSS put.PFV-1PS.OM
 FT 'Run! and put me on your backyard

Ref zag^wəra 13
 PT agide bəg^wənaxə xire b^warən
 MB agid-e bə-g^wən-axə xir-e
 GL tie.IMP-1PS.OM backyard-2MS.POSS put.IMP-1PS.OM
 b^war-ə-n
 say.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
 FT 'He said to him, "Tie me and put me on your backyard."

Ref zag^wəra 14
 PT məmr biwn zɪ jiqət'roni jasadədon b^warən
 MB məmr bi-w-n zɪ ji-qət'r-o-ni
 GL how when-say.3MS.SM-3MS.OM this 3MPL.SM-kill.IPFV-3MPL.SM-1PS.BEN
 j-asadəd-o-ni b^war-ə-n
 3MPL.SM-chase.IPFV-3MPL-1PS.BEN say.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
 FT 'When he said to him "What is up?" he said to him, "They chased me so as to kill me."

Ref zag^wəra 15
 PT əgji barə
 MB əgji bar-ə
 GL ok say.PFV-3MS.Sm
 FT 'He said, "Ok !!"

Ref zag^wəra 16
 PT bəza bəwəna agədə
 MB bə-za bə-wəna agəd-ə
 GL with-this PRE-empty tie.PFV-3MS.SM
 FT 'He tied him on this empty place.'

Ref zag^wəra 17
 PT fenge b^warən fenəg^wən
 MB feng-e b^war-ə-n fenəg^w-ə-n
 GL carry.PFV-1PS.OM say.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM carry.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
 FT 'He said to him, "Carry me" And he carried him.'

Ref zag^wəra 18

PT fenəg^wənta
 MB fenəg^w-ə-n-ta
 GL carry-3MS.SM-3MS.OM-CVB
 FT 'Having he carried him ,'

Ref zag^wəra 19
 PT wəsədən
 MB wəsəd-ə-n
 GL take.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
 FT 'He took him.'

Ref zag^wəra 20
 PT za jiqət'rowi səb tʃənəwə miss-o jo zag^wura afə-xə wəj b-bir-ə-wi
 MB za ji-qət'r-o-wi səb tʃənə-wə
 GL this 3MS.SM-kill.IPFV-3MPL.SM-3MS.OM person come.PFV-3MS.MAL
 misso jo zag^wura afəxə wəj bibirəwi
 man-VOC yes tiger see-2MS.SM Q when-say.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
 FT 'This man whom they will kill him came for his detriment when they said to him
 "Hey man !" He said "Yes" and they said Whether he has seen a tiger.'

Ref zag^wəra 21
 PT ija anaɣx^w barə
 MB ija an-af-x^w bar-ə
 GL I NEG-see.PFV-1PS.SM say.PFV-3MS.SM
 FT 'He said, "I did not see."

Ref zag^wəra 22
 PT anaɣx^w barə tʃ'orən ingidh
 MB an-af-x^w bar-ə t'or-ə-n
 GL NEG-see.PFV-1PS.SM say.PFV-3MS.SM carry.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
 ingidh
 then
 FT 'Then he said, "I did not see while he carried him."

Ref zag^wəra 23
 PT ija anaɣx^wn b^warən
 MB iya an-af-x^w-n b^war-ə-n
 GL I NEG-see.PFV-1PS.SM-3MS.OM say.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
 FT 'He said, "I did not see him/it."

Ref zag^wəra 24
 PT anaɣx^w b^warən zata wəro
 MB an-af-x^w b^war-ə-n zata wər-o
 GL NEG-see.PFV-1PS.SM say.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM these go.PFV-3MPL .SM
 FT 'He said, "I did not see him." and these ones went.'

Ref zag^wəra 25
 PT bəwərə bijaro bijaro misso biwn jo əx^wa səb te nərəwə biwon
 MB bə-wər-ə bi-j-ar-o bi-j-ar-o
 GL if-go.PFV-3MS.SM if-3MP.SM-go.IPFV-3MPL.SM if-3MP.SM-go.IPFV-3MPL.SM
 miss-o bi-w-o-n jo əx^wa
 man-VOC when-3MPL.SM.say-3MPL.SM-3MS.OM yes now
 səb Te nərə-ə-wə bi-w-n
 person where exist.PFV-3MS.OM-3MS.MAL when-say-OM
 FT 'After he had left when they go well ; when they said hey man .He said, "Yes"
 Where are the people?'

Ref zag^wəra 26
 PT eno wərom fəkom b^warən
 MB e-anə-o wər-o-m
 GL NEG-exist.PFV-3MPL.SM go.PFV-3MPL.SM-CONJ
 fək-o-m b^war-ə-n
 escape.PFV-3MPL.SM- CONJ say.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
 FT 'He said to him, "They are not here; they went out and escaped."

Ref zag^wəra 27
 PT awirde b^warən
 MB a-wird-e b^war-ə-n
 GL CAUS-descend-1PS.OM say.PFV-3MS.Sm-3MS.OM
 FT 'He said to him,"May you dismount me."

Ref zag^wəra 28
 PT iβraxte b^warən
 MB i-βra-x-te bar-ə-n
 GL 1PS.SM-eat.IPFV-2MS.OM-FUT say.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
 FT 'He said to him, "I will eat you."

Ref zag^wəra 29
 PT iβraxte awride b^warən
 MB i-βra-x-te a-wrid-e bar-ə-n
 GL 1PS.SM-eat.IPFV-2MS.OM-FUT CAUS-descend-1PS.OM say.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
 FT 'He said to him, "I will eat you and descend me."

Ref zag^wəra 30
 PT ʔəw ! mimr tiβre
 MB ʔəw ! mimr ti-βr-e
 GL oh! how 2MS.SM-eat.IPFV-1PS.OM
 FT 'What! How do you eat me?'

Ref zag^wəra 31
 PT bəza axirqar atənəfx^wkə tiqət'rxə atənəfx^wkə fenge baxe fenəgx^wikə

MB bə-za axırqar a-tənəf-x^w-kə
 GL PRE-this of all things CAUS-save.PFV-1PS.SM-2MS.OM
 ti-ji-qət'r-xə a-tənəf-x^w-kə
 when-3MPL.SM-kill.IPFV-2MS.OM CUAS-save.PFV-1PS.SM-2MS.OM
 feng-e
 carry.PFV-1PS.OM
 bax-e fenəg-x^w-kə
 say.PFV-1PS.OM carry.PFV-1PS.SM-2MS.OM
 FT 'I saved you from this all things and you said to me to carry you and I carried you.'

Ref zag^wəra 32
 PT əx^wa tiβəraxə məmr
 MB əx^wa ti-βər-axe məmr
 GL now 2MS.SM-eat.IPFV-2MS.OM how
 FT 'Now, how are you going to eat me?'

Ref zag^wəra 33
 PT ʔa ..! ifədaxəte
 MB ʔa ..! i-fəda-xə-te
 GL ah! 1PS.SM-untie.IPFV-2MS.OM-FUT
 FT 'Well! I will unite you.'

Ref zag^wəra 34
 PT iβraxəte awride gade b^warən
 MB i-βra-xə-te a-wrid-e
 GL 1PS.SM-eat.IPFV-2MS.OM-FUT CAUS-dismount.PFV-1PS.OM
 gad-e b^war-ə-n
 get:hungry.PFV-1PS.OM say.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
 FT 'He said to him, " I got hungry and dismounted me I will eat you."'

Ref zag^wəra 35
 PT gade b^warən
 MB gad-e b^war-ə-n
 GL hungry.PFV-1SP.OM say.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
 FT 'He said to him, "I got hungry."'

Ref zag^wəra 36
 PT əga
 MB əga
 GL what of it
 FT 'What of it?'

Ref zag^wəra 37
 PT ing^wəd awi əfirde
 MB ing^wəd awi ə-fird-e
 GL other animal 3MS.SM-judge.JUSS-1PS.OM

FT 'May other animal judged me.'

Ref zag^wəra 38

PT awi /awijə ifirde əga naməno b^warən

MB awi i-fird-e əga

GL animal 1PS.SM-judge.IPFV-1PS.OM What of it?

n-amə-no b^war-ə-n

1PS.SM-give.IPFV-3MPL.OM say.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM

FT "May other animal judge me what of it? May you bring them?" He said to him.'

Ref zag^wəra 39

PT ifi barə əgi barə awi t'ənəjo ing^wəd awi

MB ifi bar-ə əgi bar-ə awi

GL Ok say.PFV-3MS.SM ok say.PFV-3MS.SM animal

t'ən-ə-jo ing^wəd awi

call.PFV-3MS.SM-3MPL.OM other animal

FT 'He said "Ok!" and he called other animals.'

Ref zag^wəra 40

PT awi t'ənəwom

MB awi t'ən-ə-wo-m

GL animal call.PFV-3MS.SM-3MPL.OM-CONJ

FT 'And he called for the animals.'

Ref zag^wəra 41

PT tʃənəwom mik'aru biwn zika zag^wəra

MB tʃənə-wo-m mik'ar-u

GL come.PFV- 3MS.SM-FOC what thing-3MS.COP

bi-w-n zika zag^wəra

when-3MS.SM.say.IPFV-3MS.OM here Tiger

FT 'When he says, "They came and what is up here tiger?"

Ref zag^wəra 42

PT miss səb tik'^wət'n

MB miss səb ti-k'^wət'-n

GL man person 2MS.SM-kill.IPFV-3MS.OM

FT 'When a man kills a person,'

Ref zag^wəra 43

PT g^wənə xire bare fenəgx^wn

MB g^wənə xir-e bar-e fenəg-x^w-n

GL garden put.IMP-1PS.OM say.PFV-1PS.OM carry.PFV-1PS.SM-3MS.OM

FT 'He said to me, "Carry me and I carried him."

Ref zag^wəra 44

PT əx^wa iβeraxəte

MB əx^wa i-βer-axə-te
GL now 1PS.SM-eat-2MS.OM-FUT
FT 'Now, I will eat you.'

Ref zag^wəra 45
PT awirde bare
MB a-wird-e bar-e
GL CAUS-descend-1PS.OM say.PFV-1PS.OM
FT 'He told me, "Descend me!".

Ref zag^wəra 46
PT mir tiβru barəno
MB mir ti-βr-u bar-ə-no
GL what 2MPL.SM-say.IPFV-2MPL.SM say.PFV-3MS.SM-3MPL.OM
FT 'He said to them, "what are you saying?"

Ref zag^wəra 47
PT ʔəw! ijaxu zih
MB ʔəw! ija axu zih
GL oh! I you this
FT 'Oh! Here I am for you.'

Ref zag^wəra 48
PT zaxr zag^wəra wəj zaxr k'aru
MB Zaxr zag^wəra wəj zaxr k'ar-u
GL this much tiger Q this much thing-COP.3MS
FT 'This much is the tiger or this much this it is.'

Ref zag^wəra 49
PT huta iβraxəte bəbarənaxə ga mir namənəte niβnə qar enə
MB huta iβra-xə-te bə-bar-ə-n-axə
GL he 1PS.SM-eat.IPFV-2MS.OM-FUT when-say.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
mir n-amən-te ni-βr-nə qar e-anə-ə
what 1PS.SM-do.IPFV-FUT 1PL.SM-say-1PL.SM thing NEG-exist-3MS.SM
FT 'If he said that he will eat you we have nothing to do and to say.'

Ref zag^wəra 50
PT jina baro tawo wəro
MB jina bar-o taw-o wər-o
GL we say.PFV-3MPL.SM leave.PFV-3MPL.SM go.PFV-3MPL.SM
FT 'They said 'We' and they left out him.'

Ref zag^wəra 51
PT inn awi tʃənə fəndəwə bəzamiss
MB inn Awi tʃən-ə fənd-ə-wə
GL all animal come.PFV-3MS.SM jugde.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.MAL

bə-za miss
 PRE-this Man
 FT 'All animals came and judged for the detriment of this man.'

Ref zag^{wə}ra 52
 PT imat tʃita tənəfə
 MB imat tʃita tənəf-ə
 GL only rabbit leave.PFV-3MS.SM
 FT 'The rabbit left alone.'

Ref zag^{wə}ra 53
 PT ingidh tʃita bərot
 MB ingidh tʃita bər-ot
 GL then rabbit say-INF
 FT 'Then , rabbit means, '

Ref zag^{wə}ra 54
 PT bəqa tʃita jiwri awi tʃənə, tʃita jiwri awi tʃənə
 MB bəqa tʃita ji-wr-i awi
 GL enough! rabbit 3MS.SM-say.IPFV-3MS.IMPER animal
 tʃən-ə tʃita ji-wri awi tʃən-ə
 come.PFV-3MS.SM rabbit 3MS.SM-say-3MS.IMPER come.PFV-3MS.SM
 FT 'Enough, it is an animal called rabbit came.'

Ref zag^{wə}ra 55
 PT tinn awi jars qaru
 MB t-inn awi j-ars qar-u
 GL PRE-all animal 3MS.SM-be:small.IPFV thing-3MS.COP
 FT 'It is the smallest of all animals.'

Ref zag^{wə}ra 56
 PT tinn awi jars qaru tʃita tʃənə.
 MB t-inn awi j-ars qar-u
 GL PRE-all animal 3MS.SM-be:small.IPFV thing-3MS.COP
 tʃita tʃən-ə
 rabbit come.PFV-3MS.SM
 FT 'It is the smallest of all animals; rabbit came.'

Ref zag^{wə}ra 57
 PT ingidh jiro^twə
 MB ingidh ji-rot'-wə
 GL then 3MS.SM-run.IPFV-INST
 FT 'Then, it to run on/with.'

Ref zag^{wə}ra 58
 PT fitʃən

MB fitʃə-n
GL untie.IMP.2MS-3MS.OM
FT 'May you untie him? '

Ref zag^{wə}ra 59
PT ete əx^wa dar ga timr aterxə.
MB ete əx^wa dar ga tə-mir ater-xə
GL where now still time PRE-why be:late-2MS.SM
FT 'Where were you have been late till now and now why are going to eat me?'

Ref zag^{wə}ra 60
PT inn awi tʃənə fəndə
MB inn Awi tʃən-ə fənd-ə
GL all animal come.PFV-3MS.SM judge.PFV-3MS.SM.
FT 'All animals came and judged.'

Ref zag^{wə}ra 61
PT ete jar b^warən zag^{wə}ra biwn.
MB ete j-ar b^war-ə-n
GL where 3MS.SM-go.IPFV say.PFV-3MS.SM-OM
zag^{wə}ra bə-barə-n
tiger if-say.IPFV-3MS.OM
FT 'When he said to him tiger," Where it is going? "He said.'

Ref zag^{wə}ra 62
PT zika ija qiriqar
MB zika ija qiriqar
GL here I Small
FT 'Here I small,'

Ref zag^{wə}ra 63
PT bəqiri zənga at təsəb g^wəʃə banəβi axə g^wətʃə mir jit'əβt'xə
MB bə-qiri zənga at tə-səb g^wətʃə
GL PRE-small thing one PRE-person meeting
ba-anə-βi axə g^wətʃə mir ji-t'əβt'-xə
when-exist.PFV-1PS.MAL you meeting what 3MS.SM-hold.PFV-2MS.SM
FT 'I do have a small meeting with one person what about you?'

Ref zag^{wə}ra 64
PT zih irsijaxə zih
MB zih irsijə-axə zih
GL this small-2MS this
FT 'This very small you ,'

Ref zag^{wə}ra 65
PT zaxə miqar bədef^wa tiwət'axə b^warən

MB zɪ axə miqar bə-def^{va} ti-wət'a-axə
 GL this you What PRE-bend:head 2MS.SM-go.IPFV-2MS.SM
 b^{wa}r-ə-n
 say.PFV-3MS.OM
 FT 'He said to him, "Why did you go out bending your head."'

Ref zag^{wə}ra 66
 PT misso əmir t'ənaxe biwn
 MB miss-o ʔə-mir t'ər-a-ax-e
 GL man-VOC PRE-what call.PFV-3MS.SM-2MS-1PS.OM
 bə-ji-barə-n
 when-3MS.SM-say-3MS.OM
 FT 'He said to him," Hey man, Why are you calling me?''

Ref zag^{wə}ra 67
 PT zɪ zag^{wə}ra zɪka zɪka zɪka atənəfx^{wn}
 MB zɪ zag^{wə}ra zɪka zɪka zɪka a-tənəf-x^w-n
 GL this Tiger so so so CAUS-save.PFV-1PS.SM-3MS.OM.
 FT 'I saved the life of this tiger like this.'

Ref zag^{wə}ra 68
 PT əx^{wa} bəg^{wənər}na agəd^{xw} fenəgx^w tik^{wət}'ri atənəfx^{wn}
 MB əx^{wa} bə-g^{wənər}-na agəd-x^w fenəg-x^w
 GL now PRE-head-1PS.POSS tie.PFV-1PS.SM carry.PFV-1PS.SM
 ti-k^{wət}'r-i a-tənəf-x^w-n
 when-kill-3MS.IMPER CAUS-save.PFV-1PS.SM-3MS.OM
 FT 'Now, I tied, carried in my head and I saved him when it is to be killed.'

Ref zag^{wə}ra 69
 PT əx^{wa} fida gifre iβəraxəte bare
 MB əx^{wa} fid-a gifr-e
 GL now untie.IMP-1PS.OM release.IMP-1PS.OM
 i-βəra-xə-te bar-e
 1PS.SM-eat.IPFV-2MS.OM-FUT say.PFV-3MS.SM-1PS.OM
 FT 'Now, he said to me, "May you untie! Release me! I will eat you!''

Ref zag^{wə}ra 70
 PT ih ɪng^{wəd} awi anfəndə awi
 MB ih ɪng^{wəd} awi an-fənd-ə awi
 GL yes Other animal NEG-judge.PFV-3MS.SM animal
 FT 'Yes! other animal, other animal who did not judge,'

Ref zag^{wə}ra 71
 PT fəndə
 MB fənd-ə
 GL judge.PFV-3MS.SM

FT 'He judged.'

Ref zag^wəra 72

PT ing^wəd awi miɾ barə

MB ing^wəd awi miɾ bar-ə

GL other animal what say.PFV-3MS.SM

FT 'What did other animals said?'

Ref zag^wəra 73

PT əβraxə fudan b^warən

MB ə-βra-xə fud-a-n

GL 3MS.SM-eat.JUSS-2MS.OM untie.IMP-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
b^war-ə-n

say.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM

FT 'He said to me that untie him may he eat me. '

Ref zag^wəra 74

PT ih!

MB ih!

GL INTER .oh!

FT oh!

Ref zag^wəra 75

PT əga! iqət'qt'xə

MB əga! ə-qət'qt'-xə

GL what of it 3MS.SM-eat.JUSS-2MS.OM

FT 'What of it! May he eat you?'

Ref zag^wəra 76

PT tʃəx^wa batə idzaxə

MB tʃəx^wa b-atə idz-axə

GL spear PRE-one hand-2MS.POSS

FT 'The spear is in one of your hands.'

Ref zag^wəra 77

PT zag^wəra bəwənə bəgunəraxə

MB zag^wəra bə-wən-ə bə-gunə-axə

GL tiger if-go.PFV-3MS.SM PRE-head-2MS.POSS

FT 'If the tiger was going it is in your head.'

Ref zag^wəra 78

PT əh! bəsarən əqit'qt'xə

MB əh! bə-sar-ə-n ə-qit'qt'-xə

GL ah! when-want-3MS.SM-3MS.OM 3MS.SM-kill.JUSS-2MS.OM

FT 'Well! When he wants may he kill you?'

Ref zag^wəra 79
 PT mirbaxe biwn
 MB mir bar-ax-e bi-w-n
 GL What say.PFV-2MS.-1PS.OM when-say-3MS.OM
 FT 'When he said, "What did you say me?''

Ref zag^wəra 80
 PT tʃəx^wa bədʒaxə ingidh
 MB tʃəx^wa bə-dʒ-axə ingidh
 GL spear PRE-hand-2MS.POSS then
 FT 'Then, the spear is in your hand.'

Ref zag^wəra 81
 PT tʃəx^wa bədʒaxə
 MB tʃəx^wa b-ədʒ-axə
 GL spear PRE-hand-2MS.POSS
 FT 'The spear is in your hand.'

Ref zag^wəra 82
 PT zag^wəra agət^wən
 MB zag^wəra agət^w-ə-n
 GL tiger tie.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
 FT 'You tied the tiger.'

Ref zag^wəra 83
 PT bəwənə bəgunəraxə əqitkte b^warən
 MB bə-wən-ə bə-gunər-axə ə-qit'k-te
 GL if-go.PFV-3MS.SM PRE-head-2MS.POSS 3MS.SM-kill.JUSS-FUT
 b^war-ə-n
 say.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
 FT 'He said to him, "when it went out it is on your head."'

Ref zag^wəra 84
 PT sostə ga bəbarən gam^wə ʔih barə
 MB sostə Ga bə-bar-ə-n gam^wə ʔih bar-ə
 GL three Tim when-say-3MS.SM-3MS.OM time Ok say.PFV-3MS.SM
 e !
 FT 'When he said to him three times; "He said ok!''

Ref zag^wəra 85
 PT za zag^wəra bəwənə adəg^wənta bəza tʃəx^wa
 MB za zag^wəra bə-wən-ə adəg^wə-n-ta
 GL this Tiger when-go.PFV-3MS.SM desert-3MS.OM-CVB
 bə-za tʃəx^wa
 with- this spear
 FT 'When this tiger went out having desert with this spear, '

Ref zag^wəra 86
 PT əx^wa atbərəf barə wəka qətərə
 MB əx^wa a-t-bər-e-ʃ bar-ə
 now NEG-2MS.SM-eat.JUSS-1PS.OM-FUT say.PFV-3MS.SM
 wək-a qətər-ə
 pierce.PFV-3MS.SM kill.PFV-3MS.SM
 FT He said, "Now you will not eat me; he pierced and killed him."

Ref zag^wəra 87
 PT bəqa m^wərə t'əβət'ə wəsədən
 MB bəqa m^wərə t'əβət'-ə wəsəd-ə-n
 GL enough edge hold.PFV-3MS.SM take.PFV-3MS.SM-3MS.OM
 FT 'Enough! He held an edge and took him.'

2 sample of the word list from flex

In flex, word list of different morphological features are electronically documented. Most of these word lists are collected through elicitation in the fieldwork. These word lists are directly or indirectly used in the description of Gura morphology and syntax in this thesis.

A a

a (ptcp) negation marker 1. attfæn 2. atβæra 1. You should not go or do not you come?(with sentence intonation) 2. You should not eat or Do not you eat?(with the sentence intonation)
abog^wæda (n) friend
ab^wæ (n)bone marrow
adægə (v) cut, rain , drop or contribute
e.g 1. waqem dawitim atankirt adægowi
Waqe and Dawit cut the eucalyptus tree.
adot (n)mother
adzət(n)lady
afər (n) land
afərama(adj) brown color
afija(n)health
afijanət (n) health
aga (n) turn
agat (n) arm
agədə (v) tie
agəsəsə (v) clear a forest
ag^wat (n) shoulder
ag^wədzi (n) captive
ajim (n) milk
ambir (n) cabbage
amə (v) give , provide with
amər (n) conduct
amərə (v) swear, state or promise solemnly /on oath
amərənə (adj)
amərəxə (v) worship
amf (n) mouth
amibr (n) cabbage
amj^fw (n) bird
amj^fwina(n) nose
an (ptcp) not
andirndrum
anə (v) there exists
anəmət (n) tongue
anəqə (v) finish
anərə (v) burn
anəβətəma (adj) talkative
anf^wanəf^wat (adj) fussy
angatfa (n) cat
anguwa (n) whey

anqəfo (n) dipper , spoon
ant'ə (v) cut , slaughter , chop
antf'ə (adv)after
anzu (n) heifer
aq^wəmə (v) plant
arəbəbə (v) read
arəmə (v) correct
arəqo (n) warm
arəq^wətj'ə (v) thresh
arəsa (n) adult male
arəsə (v) build a house , moist , wet
arəfə (v) weave
arməsura (adj) idle , vacant , inactive
arsit (n) female 1. arsit gijə, arsit feq ,
arsit t'e female dog ,goat ,sheep
arwət (n) soul, life
arβət (adj) four
arβətənə (adj) fourth
asəsə (v) sweep
asəβə (v) think or meditate
asirəkəbə (v) give or provide
asso (n) salt
astəmari (n) teacher
afam (inter) encouragement in work
afe (v) he saw me
afə (v) want
afə (v) see
afəwa (n) sand
afqar (pro) many thing , something
at (adj) 1. one
at səb (pro) none , one person
at'əβə (v) wash
at'im (n) bone
at'imit' (n) gruel
atankirt (n) eucalyptus tree
atat (pro-form) one
atat gize (pro-form) some times
atatəndə (pro-form) one /each of us
atətxinəma (pro-form) one/each of them
atətxino (pro-form) one/each of them
atətxu (pro-form) one of you
atəxre (pro-form) somewhere
atədərə (v) make to pass the night
atərə (v) be late
atən (v)cause to bring some thing
atənə (adj) first

atər (n) bean
 atgapa (v) induce
 atim (conn) also
 atqar (pro-form) none /nothing
 atʃatʃ (n) meat prepare to sell on market
 with small amount
 atʃənə (v) make to feel sick
 atʃem (pro-form) none
 atʃənə (v) cause to bring some thing
 atʃʳ (adj) short
 awədawə (n) barely
 awədʒə (v) make to marry
 awəna (v) put
 awəndə(v)make to dismount
 awi (n) wild animal
 awıran (v) cause some body to eat
 awzat (n) porridge
 axə (pro) you
 axəna(v) carouse
 axəna (v) bark
 axıma (pro) you
 axıramət'ə (v) smack or taste
 axı (pro) you
 axu (pro) you
 aβa(n) father
 aβedətʃe (n) wall of stone in a farm
 aβənərə (v) yawn1.bəsəb jıft aβınrot
 wəxe qar aηxərəIt is not good to yawn
 before a man.
 aβəsərə (v) bake or make 'enjera'
 aβijə(n)cock
B b
 ba (v) there was
 unspec. var. banə
 bahre (n) culture
 banaxıma (v) you were
 banexı (v) you were
 banə {unspec. var. of ba}
 banə (v) there was
 banəma (v) they were
 banənə (v) we were
 banərə (v) demolish, destroy
 banətʃ (v) she was
 banəxə (v) you were
 banəxu (v) you were
 banəx^w (v) I was

bano (v) they were
 banxərə (conn) besides
 barə(v) say 1.əgi barə 'He said 'ok.'
 bariq (n) old man
 basə(v) be bad
 baʃə (n) patient
 bazəra (n)newcomer
 be (v) no
 bef^wər (adp) from above, over
 beʃa(n) friend
 beʃanət (n) friendship
 bet (n) house
 bə (pre)to, with , on , in
 bəf^wər (adv) before
 bəkərə (v) miss
 bəlt' (adj) cunning
 bəm^war (adv) by chance
 bəna (v) eat
 bənə (n) month
 bənərə (v) fly
 bənət (adj) bold head
 bər (n) river
 bər (n) get way
 bəre (n) calf
 bərəs (adj) white and black
 bərutʃa (adv) quickly
 bəsər (n) meat
 bəsərə (v) ripe
 bətıt (adj) wide , vast
 bəx'ə (v) cry
 bəza (v) be plenty
 biηtʃ'ıt (n) happiness
 biqbiq barə (v) drop ine.g biqbiq barətʃ
 wərətʃ She dropped in well and she went
 out .
 biqr (n) malt
 birə (n) food
 birəzəzə (v) dream
 birot (n) to eat or eating
 birq (v) feel angry
 biʃa (adj) colour red
 biʃa tuma (n) red onion
 bix'ə (n) sorrow
 bizə(adj) many
 bratʃə (v) adjourn, bestrew, cast away,
 fritter

brət (n) iron
brotəna (n) my way of eating
brotənda (n) our way of eating
brotəta(n) his way of eating
brotəxime (n) your way of eating
buqarə (n) mule

b^wb^w

b^wərtʃima (n) stool
b^wənət (n) the sister of your wife
b^wənəsə (v) be alone
b^wəra(n) ox
b^wərədʒə (adp) out side
b^wərət'a(n) piece of wood
b^wəzə(n)thunder
b^wonə(n)The wife of your brother
b^wura (adj) esurient

D d

dak'i (adj) laughter
daməra(n)cloud
daqə (v) laugh
dar (adp) still
daradʒə (v) swim
darədʒənə(n)swimmer
daβəra (n) fog , mist
dəb^wə (n) relative
dəfa (n) bow
dəf^wa (v) excuse
dəm (n) blood
dəmənə (adj) enemey
dən (adp) inside
dənəgə (v) hit
dənəgəgə (v) define
dəngənə (adj) rich
dəng'ia (n) boys
dənigr (n) arch of the foot
dəpərə (v) add
dərar (n) inner house
dərəgn (p) ower , capacity
dərəfə (v) pick up
dəβət (n) cypress
dibr (n)forest
dimd (n) couple
dingo(n) hunk of meat
dintʃa(n) potato
diqdiq (adj) successive order
dirə (adv) in the past

dirətərə (v) be fat

dʒdʒ

dʒadənə(adj) brave
dʒebərə (v) tax
dʒəpərə (v) finish , complete
dʒəβən (n) kittle
dʒimbe (n) antelope
dʒiβə (n) mat of fiber

E e

ema (n) road
emanə (n) pedestrian
emənə (n) passenger
en (n) eye
enə (v) there not
enəwə (v) he must not
enəβa (v) she must not
enəβəma (v) they must not
enəβi (v) I must not
enəβndə (v) we must not
enəβo (v) they must not
enəβxə (v) you must not
enəβxima (v) you must not
enəβxi (v) you must not
enəβxu (v) you must not
epə (v) do
ete (adv) where
eteta (pro-form) which one
etme (adj) small

Ə ə

ədar (n) night
ədʒəkə(n) large tree under which the
Gurage drawn their traditional law
əfeq əjim (NP) milk of the goat
əga (interj) what of it ?
əgəna tʃəwəda (n) hockey
əg'i (interj) ok
əgr (n) leg
ək^wa (adv) today
ələmtʃijə (n) twins e.g ija əmenajə tinar
ələmtʃjə dəng'ia əfəx^wn When I am going
to words word I saw the twins boys .
əm'ir (interj) because
əm^wan (pro-form) whose
əram (n) cow
ərbat (n) dinner
ərt'ot (n) to cut or cutting

ertf (n) boy
 əsət (n) false banana
 əstəja igr (n) ankle
 əfəg^wərə bet (n) house of the wizard,
 magician /sorcerer/
 ət'e sox (n) thorn of the sheep (type of
 thorn)
 ətən (v) let him come in /may he come in
 ətʃə (n) wood
 ətʃr (n) fence
 ətʃərə (v) adze/shape a wood
 ətʃiba (n) pillar of the house
 əxərə səb (pro) someone /some body
 əx^wa (adv) now
 əx^waməx^wam (adv) always
F f
 faqi (adj) tanner
 feq (n) goat
 fet'ət'ə (v) separate
 fədʒə (v) make an engagement , select
 fiancée/fiancé
 fəka (v) escape , go away
 fəndə (v) judge , decide
 fəngə (v) carry , lift
 fəngija (n) thief
 fənt'ə (v) split into two parts
 fəqa(v) split
 fəqədə (v) permit
 fərara (adj) open place
 fəraxi (adj) tolerant
 fərdətʃe (n) brick of stone
 fərəmə (v) sign
 fərəz (n) horse
 fərəzənə (n) horse man/woman
 fət'an (adj) fast
 fət'ərə (v) lie
 fəta (v) untie
 fəzə (v) be better , get by
 fiqur (adj) fat
 firt'ət(n)head ache
 funr (adj) cute
 fur (n) rat
f^vf^w
 f^vaf^wa barə (v)
 f^vatʃ'ə (v) chop, harvest
 f^wənf^we (n) seedling

f^vəxə (v) wipe
 f^wiQur (n)lamb
G g
 gadə (v) hungry
 gadr (n) byre,corral, silo or stall
 gam^wə(adp) together , with
 e.g 1. taβana gam^wə imdbirnjə ikərate
 I will go to Emdbir with my father.
 gamzjə (n)oven
 gan (n) pot
 gan (n) large pot
 gafə (v) pillage
 gef (adj) tall, long , large
 genzo (n) axe
 gəbat (adv) evening
 gədədə (v) dig , tear
 gədər (adj) new
 gəfa (v) push
 gəfərə (v) divorce
 gəg (n) body: This word is used
 syntactically in the construction of
 reflexive and reciprocity of an action .
 1. ija gəgəna tʃotx^wn
 2. gəgtəgəg tərāmədo 1. I did it myself 2.
 They loved each other.
 gəmbənə (adj) black
 gəmja (n) men, people
 gənə (n) country, village
 gəpat /if^wajat (n) snack
 gəp^wa (v) enter
 gərəd (n) girl
 gərəfə (v) flagellate
 gəri (n) cold
 gəta (v) pour
 gətərə (n) chick pea
 gətʃərə (v) arrange
 gəza (v) bleach
 gəβəja (n) market /market place
 gibr (n) tool
 gididot (n) to dig or digging
 gjjə (n) dog
 ginzir (n) breakfast
 giramət'ə (v) shoot angry glances
 girangirnjefijəl lidʒ
 git (adj) medle
 giʃf (n) back

gred(n) girls
 gunər (n) head , hair
 gunər firt'ət (n) head ache
 gunərjə (adj) hairy
 gurə idz (n) left hand
 gurmasa (adj) poor
 gurmət (n) knee
 gurz (adj) old woman
 gutə (n) dust
g^wg^w
 g^wad (adj)white
 g^wad tuma (n) white onion
 g^wanze (n) trivet
 g^wədʒə(n) hole
 g^wəga(n) horn
 g^wəjta (n) God
 g^wəmra (n) stick for worshipping in the
 traditional practices
 g^wənə (n) backyard
 g^wəntʃə (n) hyena
 g^wəpe(n)brother
 g^wərdəra(n)wall
 g^wətʃə(n)appointment
 g^wuwa(adj) cheap

H h

hakimbet (n) hospital
 hata(pro-form) that
 huma(n) heel
 hut (pro) he

I i

ink (adp) like that

I i

idəja (n) lunch
 idənʒə (adj) esurient
 idz (n) hand
 igdot (n)to tie/ tying
 ija (pro) I
 iks (adv) late
 imar (n) donkey
 imat (adj) one , equall,
 imatjə (adv) lonely or solely
 imb^wəja (n)flood
 imjə (adv) around , near
 imot (n) female hen
 imr (n) stone

in (ptcp) negation marker in the
imperative verb forms

1. aft'ir imb^wərxə

you should not go to Aftir .

indi (pro-form) where

indiβera (n) fiber mat

ing^wəba (n) bush

ing^wət' qar (pro-form) other , another
thing

inn (adv) 1. all, whole ,completely

inn gize (pro-form) all times

inn kərə (adv) always

inn mədər (pro-form) anywhere /in all
places , where ever you go

inqibne (n) mind

inqura (n) egg

inqusjə (adj) silent/quiet

int'ar(n) stick

intʃə (interj) what is it name ?

inzir (n) ear

inʒif (interj) it is so !

inʒət' (n) roasted barely

inʒurt (n) stumbling block, hindrance,
obstacle

irsijə (adj) small

isinjə (adj) toothed

isr (n) root

ifinjə (adj)wise

ifta (n) women

ixa (n) water

ixr (n) barely

J j

jartʃ^wə qar (n) an instrument to cut with

jatʃər^we wəjsa(n) an axe to cut with
/used for cutting

jatʃər^wə (n) something to

jatʃər^wə mədər (n) a place to adze in

jibərak^wə qar (n) something to eat with

jift (n) before , face

jina (pro) we

jiqəbrjə/qəbari (adj) burrier

jisətʃ^wə hotel (n) a hotel in which he
drinks

jisətʃ^wə bet (n) hotel

jitʃən sant (adv) the coming week

jiwri (v) it is said

e.g qitʃ'a jiwri qar nərə
There is what is called traditional
Gurage law .

jix'ir (adj) wise

jofərajim (n) curd /yogurt

K k

kak'eda (v) carry out , perform

kasə (v) pay

ker (n) peace

kəfe (n) wanza

kəfətə (v) open

kənə idz (n) right hand

kəra (v) go up

kətəfə (v) chop

kirm (n) year

kitfo(n) hash

kitʃa (n) anxiety

k'əsəsə (v) accuse

e.g huta ija k'əsəsə

He accused me.

ko (interj) crying for help

koramto (adj) brave , gallant

korəmto (adj) her

korma (adj) young

kutara (n) hen

k^wə (ptcp) nominalizer

x'ita titʃotiwə mädər wərətʃ

'she went to her work place .

k^wuntʃ'if (n) beard

L l

ləka (v) measure

ləkəfə (v) haras

limat (n) development

M m

m (conn) coordinator

e.g 1. ədəngiam əgredim qet'nət

equality of the boys and girls

magar (n) a narrow open on which
animals feed on

mag^wəno (adj) idle

manəxə (v) capture

mat'ə (v) estimate , assess

mena (v) pour

mena (n) road

menanə (n) worker

menaxə amej (v) do your own business.

met'ərə (v) clear

mädər (n) place

məgəna (n) refuge/protection

məgərgi ' (n) Tuesday

əro (n) Wednesday

xamis (n) Thursday

dzimət (n) Friday

sədən hadir (n) Saturday

wur sənbat (n) Sunday

məja (n) road

məjə (n) rib,flank

məkərə (v) advise

e.g asitəmari ətəmarita məkərəno

məmər (n) neck

məmr (adv) how

mənt'ə (v) rip

mərat (n) pride

mərkama (adj) beautiful

mərtəd (n) sickle

məsərə (v) resemble

mətʃə (pro) when1. imdibr mətʃə tarte 2.

timdibr mətʃərə tʃənətʃ1.when will she

go to Emdibr ? 2 .When did she come

from Emdibr ?

mətʃəbja (n) the son of your son

mətʃərə (v) burn

məxari (adj) advisor

məza (n) wound

məzənə (adj) wounded

məzərə (v) count

midad (n) griddle

midr (n) place

mikat (n) problem

miqar (pro-form) what is that?

mir (pro-form) what

mir jaxir (adv) how much or many

mirə səb (pro-form) anybody /all

mirəgize (pro-form) what time

misəkərə (v) testify

misjə (n) body

miskir (n) witness

miss (n) man

miʃt (n) wife

1. za x'ita əhuta miʃtənanja

she is his wife.

mizgəba (n) registration

mosa (n) calf
 motə (v) die
 mut'it' (adj) bad
 m^wam^waka (n) tale
 m^wan (pro-form) who
 m^waqə (v) be hot
 m^war (n) chance, fate
 m^wafə (v) clean, rub slightly
 m^watfə (v) angry
 m^wena (n) uncle
 m^wəd (adj) jealousy
 m^wəgʲə (v) burry
 m^wəjat (n) jealousy
 m^wənə (n) sack
 m^wərə (n) agent
 m^wət'əsə (v) cut in to two pieces

N n

n (v) copular morpheme
 najə (n) porcupine, hedge hog, echidna
 nasə (v) lick
 nasona (adj) some limited
 naxə/raxə (v) send 1. zi məsaf əbərga
 nax^win I sent this book for Berga .
 nexə (v) come ! e.g 1. ərə dəngʲa nexu
 You boys . Come on !
 nəbatə (adv) two days after
 tomorrow/later
 nəbatəra (adv) four days before /ago
 nəbnət (n) theft
 nədədə (v) burn
 nəfəsə (v) blow
 nəf^wanə (v) swell
 nəga (v) clot
 nəkəbə (v) get, obtain
 nəkəsə (v) bite
 nən (adv) above
 nəpərə (v) live
 nəqəmə (v) pick
 nəqərə (v) up root
 nəqəwə (v) bark
 nərə (v) there is
 nərəwə (v) he must
 nərəβəma (v) they must
 nərəβəndə (v) we must
 nərəβi (v) I must
 nərəβxə (v) you must

nərəβxima (v) you must
 nərəβxʲi (v) you must
 nətʃə (adj) red for appearance
 nifas (v) wind
 nīpam (n) joiner or maker of wooden
 furniture
 niq (adj) big, large
 niqar (adv) very much, many ,extremely
 njə (adv) to wards , to e.g 1. imdbirnjə
 bəqirərə wərə He went towards Emdbir
 in the morning .
 notəri (n) measurement for coffee
 nozənə (adj) ugly

O o

o/i (interj) yes
 odə (v) tell
 oj (interj) crying of idol in the
 traditional practice
 ongero (adj) small house
 oze (n) evil eye
 oʒə (n) malevolent

Q q

qar (n) thing
 qare (n) green paper
 qat'ərə (v) tie, fasten , wrap together
 qawa (n) coffee
 qent'ə (v) make valueless
 qesa (n) cheese
 qet'ə (v) tire
 qəjə (n) village or camp
 qəjə (v) keep
 qənə (v) disappear
 qənəmə (v) insult
 qənəsə (v) subtract
 qənt'ə (v) be contempt
 qəpərə (v) bury
 qəp^wərə (n) type false banana seedlings
 qəri (adj) small
 qət'a (v) punish
 qət'ərə (v) kill
 qətʃin (adj) thin
 qətʃot (n) diligence
 qən (n) buttocks
 qib (n) butter
 qimar (n) louse
 qin (n) main part of enset

qinb (n) eye borrow
 qiraqərə (v) mix
 qirawərə (v) keep for latter use
 qirəqʷərə (v) build
 qirərə (adv) morning
 qirət'əmə (v) behead , cut
 qiri (adj) near
 qirqir (n) mixture
 qit'əqət'ə (v) castrate
 qit'ər (n) leaf
 qit'ərjə (adj) green
 qit'je (adj) equal
 qitərjə (adj) leafed
 qomət(n) calabash, gourd
 qot'ra (n) ocean or sea
 qufat (n) obstacle
 qulf (n) spine
 qut' epə (v) collect
 qʷəfə (v) cut , throw
 qʷələfə (v) lock
 qʷəmə (v) stand , stop, cease
 qʷənə (adj) clear sky
 qʷənərə (v) 1. make hut
 qʷəqʷərə (v) squeeze
 qʷər (n) navel
 qʷərə (n) roasted grain
 qʷət'at'ərə (v) kill badly1. huta
 qʷət'at'ərən He killed badly .
 qʷət'əri (v) one killed him
 qʷət'ərja (v) one killed her
 qʷət'ərjəma (v) one killed them
 qʷət'ərjo (v) one killed them
 qʷija (n) hockey
 qʷirət'əfə (v) cut, chop
 qʷuja (n) border for place
R r
 raximət (n) blessing of God
 rəgə/nəgə (adv) tomorrow
 rəmədə (v) love
 rən (adp) above
 rəfə (v) awake
 rot'e/not'ə (v) run
 ruq (adj) far
S s
 şafə (v) write
 şafi (n) writer

sambʷa (n) lung
 samə (v) kiss
 sanqa (n) door
 sant (n) week
 sanxəra (n) shin
 sapəra,fərazjə (n) stage of false banana
 sara (adj) sharp object
 sarə (v) be smart
 sat'in (n) coffer
 seb (n) person
 sefə (v) sew
 seme (n) sky
 sera (n) discipline
 səbnət (n) personality
 səjə (v) buy
 səma (v) hear
 səna (v) reach, ripe, be matured, be a
 potential father
 səna tikə (adj) adolescent
 sənda(n) knif
 səne (n) wheat
 sənəf (adj) cowardly
 sənəfə (v) fear
 sənəqə (v) steal
 sənxʷəra (n) calf of the human leg
 səpapərə (v) break well1
 e.g. bəfridu zi ətʃ'ə səpapʷərən
 Befrdu broke well this wood.
 səpərə (v) break
 sər bet (n) hut
 sərama (adj) green ,grassy
 səstə (adv) the day after tomorrow
 səstənə (adj) fourth
 səstəra (adv) three days before
 sətīt (adj) smooth
 sətʃ'ə (v) drink
 sibəsəbə (v) collect
 sibsəba (n) meeting
 şihfət (n) writing
 simut (n) eight
 sin (n) tooth
 sinəga (adp) until
 siqur (adp) above
 sirt (n) hold up/the traditional law of
 Gura which used when wife and husband
 sit'ot (n) to drink ,drinking

sixəsəkə (v) pest

ʃʃ

ʃadə (v) pay

ʃamə (v) drag

ʃaf (n) gauze

ʃemə (v) hide

ʃeʔə (v) want

ʃəbra (n) fig tree

ʃəgərə (v) exchange , change

ʃəkətə (v) arrange

ʃəkətənə (adj) chanceful

ʃəkurt(n) thank

ʃələmə(v) prize

ʃərət (n)food

ʃərət bet (n) restaurant

ʃin (n) heart

T t

t'anaqa (n) mood

t'e (n) sheep

t'eβər (n) circumcision

t'eβərənə (adj) circumcised child

t'əf^wo (adj) strong

t'ələfə (v) kidnap.e.g imdbrnjə titar bəma

t'ələfoja They kidnaped her when she goes to Emdbir .

t'əma (v) be thirsty

t'əna (v) hate

t'ənama (adj) strong

t'ənama (adj) dark

t'ənəq^wən (v) worry

t'ərəq (adj) dry

t'əβəsə (v) roast

t'əβət'ə (v) hold

t'irəw gibr (n) expensive good

t'iro (adj) expensive

t'ot (n) candle, flammable substance such as wax, tallow , or paraffin

t'u (n) breast

tattəxima (pro-form) one/each of you

te (ptcp) passive or middle marker morpheme

1. sanqahuta təsəpərə

The door is broken

2. igrəta tat'əβə

He washed his leg himself.

təgapə v like

təgədərə v sleep

təgⁱəna (v) pass

təmarə (v) learn

təmari nəx^w (v) I am a student

təmaribet (n)school

təmarində (v) we are a student

təmarinəma (v)they are student

təmarinja (v)she is a student

təmarino (v)they are student

təmarinxə (v) you are a student

təmarinxima (v)you are a student

təmarinx^j (v) you are a student

təmarinxu (v) you are a student

təmariw (v)he is a student

təmhiirt (n) education

təm^wan (pro-form) with whom

tən (n) smoke

tənə (v) swear

tərakəsə (v) quarrel

təragə antʃ'ə (adv) after tomorrow

tərəsa (v) stand up

təsarə (v) ask, request, inquire

təsfanə (n) optimist

təʃjə (v) hide

tət (adv) below

tətʃ'epərə (v) accept, care

təwandə (v) disregard

təxətərə (v) cloth, wear , put on

təxⁱəwə (v) blee

təxⁱnəx^j (adv) slowly

tibərak^wə hotel (n) a hotel in which she was fed

tikə (n) child

tikənət (n) childhood

tinəfəsə (v) breath

tinkijə (n) small pot

tirama(adv) yesterday

tirəw gibr (n) treasure

titʃ'əwada (v) play

titʃotk^wə mədər (n) a place in which she works

tora (v) sir down

trama (adv) yesterday

tʃ'amə (v) sick

tʃ'amənə (n) attorney, counselor, solicitor

tʃawəda (n) play
 tʃəfo (n) lake
 tʃəjə (v) smell
 tʃənətʃ (v) give birth
 tʃəqne (n) wood
 tʃəqʷəsə(v) beg
 tʃəfə(v) hepl
 tʃəwəda (n) play
 tʃinət (n) stench or disgusting odor
 tʃiza (n) medicine
 tʃorə(v) carry
 tʃotamʷə (adj) hot tempered
 tʃapjə (n) food prepared from roasted barely
 tʃəg (n) marriage/cultural marriage
 promise in Gura
 tʃəmba (n) foot
 tʃəmərə (v) heap
 tʃənə (v)
 tʃət (n) sun
 tʃirə (n) snake
 tʃirtʃir (n) armpit
 tʃona (v) sit down
 tʃotə (v) work
 tuma (n) onion
W w
 waʔərə (v) spend the day
 wabi (n) donner
 wabinət (n) charity
 waga(n) money
 wana(adv) noon
 wandzət (n) falcon
 waqe (n) God
 wədəja (n) adolescent
 wədərə (n) rope
 wəfərə (v) be fat
 wəg (n) secret
 wəgʷəret (n) peace
 wəgʷəβətʃa (n) worshipping place or river bank (in the traditional practice)
 wəjm (conn) or
 wəjsa (n) axe
 wəka (v) pirce
 wəna (adj) empty , devoid of
 wəndə (v) dismount
 wəne (n) plough

wənəxə (n) neighbour
 wənfir (n) young bull
 wəqasa (n) reprimand
 wəret (n) speep
 wərə (v) go
 wərə at'eβ (n) toe nail
 wərəβo (n) bamboo tree
 wərtʃ (n) thigh
 wəsədə (v) take , snatch
 wəsədəwə (v) he took for his detrimant
 wəsifə (n) edge tool
 wəfər (n) pot
 wət'a (v) stand first
 wət'a (v) go out
 e.g huta bəki'atənə wət'a
 He stood first in class.
 wət'əqə (v) fail
 wətərə (v) tie and rare animal
 wəxe (adj) nice, good
 wəxe məja (n) anniversary
 wəxenət (n) goodness
 wəxʷət (adv) direction
 wiha (n) anfarm
 wijə (n) honey
 wir (n) young bull
 wirə (n) yes in tag quest on form or conversation
 wisa (n) one of the stage of false banana
 wit'ot (n) to leave , going out
 wit'ot (n) Monday
 wītara (n) small tall pole
 wizamo (adj) gloomy
 wodzo (n) turn in the Gura in the driving and keeping of cattle
 wodzo (n) lie
 wodzomo(adj) liar
 wurtjə (adj) sleepy
X x
 xabxu (adv) again
 xamar (conn) if not
 xara (n) bark of tree
 xarə (v) know
 xari (adj) knowledgeable, wise
 xarinət (n) wisdom
 xarinət (n) wisdom
 xawət(adp) beyond

xaxinəma (pro-form) those ones (3FPL)
 xaxino (pro-form) those ones (3MPL)
 xax'ita (pro-form) that one (3FS)
 xaβe (adv) agian
 xəbr (n) meadow
 xəjə (n) mountain
 xəra (v) add
 xəra (v) be
 xərt(n) liver
 xəta (v) deny
 xi (pro-form) that
 xi/xika (pro-form) there
 xijət (n) lamentation
 e.g xi xijət inqar qarū jisəme
 I heard this lamentation from
 somewhere.
 xijət (n) protector ,keeper
 ximəga (adv) soon
 ximəməja (adv) over there
 xinəma (pro) they
 xino (pro) they
 xiɬfəwə (n) pumpkin
 xixəta (pro-form) that one
 xi'it (pro) she
 xudzir (n) clothe
 x^wax^wa barə (v) knock at
 x^wetənə (adj) second
Z z
 zamf^wa (n) placenta
 zandzərə (n) monkey
 zanze barə (v) wonder
 zapa (n) roof of the hut
 zata (pro-form) this one (3MS)
 zaxinəma (pro-form) these ones (3FPL)
 zaxino (pro-form) these ones (3MPL)
 zax'ita (pro-form) this one (3FS)

zega (adj) poor
 zeganət (n) poorness
 zəbər (n) year
 zəga (v) lock
 zəgədə (v) remember/recall
 zəgər (n) small hut
 zəmantfə (n) shepherd
 zəmərə (v) sing
 zənga (n) speech
 zər (n) summer
 zəβo (adj) sharp
 ziza (adj) cold
 zi (pro-form) this
 zi/h, zika (pro-form) here
 zigug (adj) forgetful
 zijə (adj) maiden
 ziləzələ (v) cut a meat
 zimamədə (v) mix up
 zim^wam^wədzat (n) mixed butter and
 kocho
 ziram (n) rain
 zirətə (v) speak
3 3
 zanzitənə (adj) slow
 zəpərə (v) answer, turn
 1. izəpərn qar nərə
 Do I have return change?
 zəfəjə (v) be feel cold
 zir (n) arm strip
?
 ?ik/ə (interj) yes