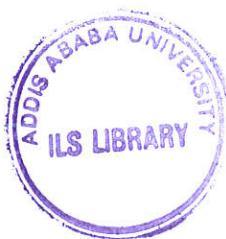


**THE MORPHOLOGY OF KEMANTNEY: A STEP
TOWARD THE DOCUMENTATION OF THE
LANGUAGE**

**A THESIS PRESENTED TO THE
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**

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THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF
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ABSTRAT

This research is entitled "The Morphology of Kemantney: A step toward the documentation of the language". The purpose of the research is to provide the basic description of the morphology of the language. It is a descriptive account of both inflectional and derivational properties of nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs.

The first chapter deals with conceptual framework, background of the study, the objective, significant of the research, delimitation of the research, and method of the study.

The second chapter of the thesis deals with inflectional and derivational morphology of Kemantney nouns. It is observed that Kemantney nouns are inflected for number, gender and different cases. In the derivation of nouns, suffixes deriving nominals such as infinitival, agentive and abstract are identified. The other section shows the forms of pronouns and their inflections. The personal pronouns are divided into two, subjects and object and are marked for the grammatical categories of number and case. Different kinds of pronouns such as possessive (dependent and independent), demonstrative, interrogative and reflexive pronouns are also presented in this chapter.

In the third chapter, the inflectional and derivational morphology of Kemantney verbs are described. The morpheme that mark person, gender, number, aspect (tense), and mood are shown in the inflection part. In the derivation part, the suffixes and stem patterns that mark passive, causative, reciprocal and frequentative are clearly identified.

In the fourth chapter, the thesis deals with adjectives, postpositions, numerals and adverbs. Pure adjectives in Kemantney are rare and derived adjective are derived from verbal roots but it is still rare. Finally, the last chapter gives the summary and conclusion of the thesis.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Abs- abstract
Acc- accusative case
Vl- voiceless
Vd- voiced
Eje- ejectives
V- vowel
C- consonant
PL-plural
Nom- nominative
Fem- feminine
Mas- masculine
PT- past tense
SG- singular
Fs – feminine singular
Ms- masculine singular
AG- agentive
Neg- negative
Gen- genitive
Loc- locative
Imp- imperatives
Aux- auxiliary
P- person
1PL first plural
2PL second plural
1SG first singular
Ger- gerundive
Prog- progressive
Juss- jussive
Con- conditional

Q- question

Pass- passive

Caus- causative

Fre- frequentative

Abl- ablative

Dat- dative

Obj objective

{ } morpheme

[] surface form (phonetic form)

/ / phonemic representation

() option, alteration, additional reference

/ in the environment

- indicate morpheme boundary

~ or

‘ ’ enclose glosses

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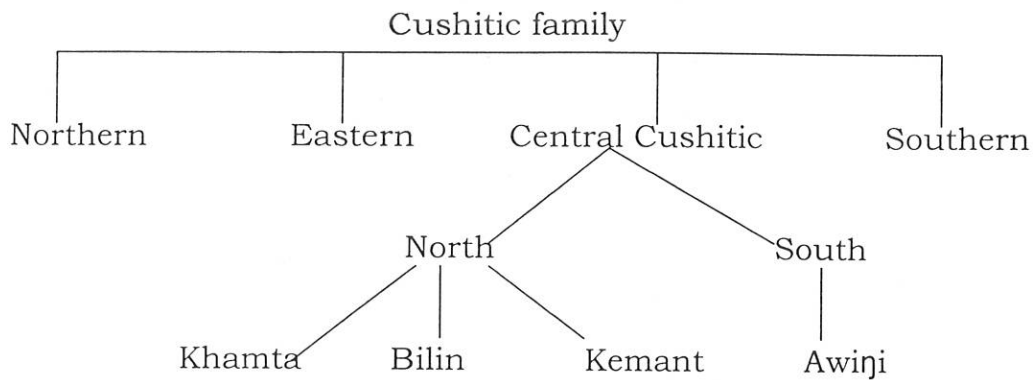
CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Background of the Study

So far, there has not been adequate work done on Kemantney language the worst of all is that the language is on the verge of extinction. This paper is therefore, part of an ongoing effort for documentation, in particular the morphology of the language before the language gets extinction. The major aspect of this paper deals with the morphology of Kemantney, a language under the central Cushitic cluster within Afro-Asiatic family. This chapter gives the background information of the people and the language. It also presents previous and current works done on the language.

Conti Rossini (1912) and Gamst (1969) refer to the language as “Qemant”. Other scholars like Appleyard (1975) and Sasse (1973) refer to it as “Kemant” while Appleyard (1987) and Zelealem (2003) call it “Kemantney”. According to my informants, the people call themselves “Kemant” and their language “Kemantney”.

The Central Cushitic (Agaw) language family includes four genetically interrelated languages: Kemantney, Bilin, Ximt’aṇa, and Awnji. These four languages are again grouped into two branches as Northern and Southern. The Northern branch includes Bilin, spoken in Eritrea; Ximt’aṇa, spoken in Wollo; and Kemantney, spoken in Gondar while the Southern branch include Awnji spoken in Gojjam (Appleyard, 1984: 357). The position of Kemant within the branch of Central Cushitic is shown in the following diagram.



(Adapted from, Bender1976:232)

Zealealm (2003:30) states that Kemantney is spoken in North Gondar Particularly around Chilaga. According to the population and census of Ethiopia (1994:vol.2:68), Kemantney is spoken by the total number of 1,650 people as a mother tongue and by 3,181 people as a second language. The total number of Kemant people is 172,327. From this number 86,906 are males and 85,421 are females. The people of Kemant make their living by cultivating different food crops and by breeding animals. They cultivate maize, wheat, barley and other cereals. They are also engaged in breeding animals such as, donkeys, cows, sheep and goats. Almost all of the Kemant people are Orthodox Tewahido Christians (99.7%). The remaining very small proportions are followers of the Kemant traditional religion.

1.2 Objective of the study

It is clear that the two scholars, Zelalem and Appleyard, made extensive researches on the language which the writer believes are fundamental sources for her study. Particularly, the writer greatly appreciates Zelealem (2003) for his clear and compressive study made on the language. Therefore, the aim of this study is neither to comment on the works of the above researchers nor to fill the gap on their study. Rather, it aims at the collection and analysis of data that can contribute to the documentation of linguistic data of the language and to give relevant and supplementary

information that may help other scholars to make further studies in years to come.

The writer aims at analyzing and describing, the various aspects of the morphological components of Kemantney with the following specific objectives:

- ④ Identify inflectional and derivational morphemes of nouns, pronouns, verbs, adpositions and adverbs.
- Identify the functions of the morphemes marking nominals and verbal inflections.
- Identify some morphophonemic processes in the language.
- Show the word formation processes in the derivation on nominal and verbal.

1.3 Significance of the study

As indicated in the previous sections, Kemantney is an endangered language. The outcome of this study will serve for the following different purposes.

- It helps to document the linguistic data of the language.
- It may help other researchers in their study on either the areas of phonology or syntax as the study of morphology incorporates both of these components.
- It would contribute to our understanding of some features of Kemantney language in particular and Agaw languages in general.

1.4 Previous works on the Language

There are a few descriptive studies made on the language. Among them Reinisch (1887), works entitled "Die Quarasprache in Abessinien" which includes list of the vocabularies and sketch of the grammar. As Zelealem (2003:23), claims, "His work has contributed a great deal to the study of Agaw languages and most of his linguistic materials are based on Biblical texts as a result of which complete grammatical descriptions are lacking."

The other work is done by Conti Rossini (1912), entitled "La langue des Kemant en" in which he covered an extensive word list. As Zelealem (2003:23), states, the first major problem of his work is the reliability of the data. As he acknowledged he did not collect the data from the place where the language was spoken."

Whereas "A descriptive outline of Kemant" ,by Appleyard (1975), is found to be the most relevant one to this study. In his work of phonemic inventory, he has identified twenty eight consonants and a seven vowels system each of which have syllable structure. He has shown four patterns: V (word initially only), CV, VC (word initially only), and CVC.

Beside the work of the foreign scholars, the first valid and systematic work is done by Zelealem (2003), entitled "The Kemantney Language: A sociolinguistics and of Grammatical Study of language Replacement". He has identified thirty three consonant inventory and seven vowel phoneme. And his study includes historical description of the external setting, sociolinguistic analysis of the speech behavior and a linguistic description of the overall grammar of the language.

So far the above scholars Appleyard (1975) and Zelealem (2003) described the morphology of Kemantney. However; the main intention of this study is to give an exhaustive and detailed description with comprehensive data for documentation of the morphology of Kemantney.

1.5 Theoretical (Conceptual) Framework

The model which will be used in this study is descriptive approach. It involves, as much as possible, the objective and non-judgmental description of language uses. The researcher believes that theorizing should come only after comprehensive descriptive work is attained.

According to Adger (2003:15), the approach should contain sufficient means to adequately describe all of the different structures found in the language under investigation, as well as capturing the myriad interactions between these, there by providing analysis of the structures of the possible sentences of the language.

Asher (1994, vol. 10:5111), claims that Descriptive approach is the study of a language at a given point in time with the intention of producing a description of the language, i.e, a systematic, comprehensive and precise account, based on objective observation of its structures and usage. Data like these can be better accounted for by descriptive approach as outlined in Robey (1973:13), the notion of combination or relation of linguistic unit was based on mere successive concatenation that is base plus affix. Moreover, McCarthy (1981:373 – 418), states that as natural languages, morphology could also be expressed by non concatenative means such as using internal modification (vocalic change, germination e.t.c).

The descriptive approach is applicable to a linguistic theory in general for all possible human languages. As there is little descriptive work done on Kemantney, the researcher prefers descriptive approach as the guiding principle in studying Kemantney morphology.

1.6 Procedure and Methodology of the study

The writer of this thesis used the following style to analyze and describe the inflectional and derivational aspects of the morphological components of Kemantney. Books and works relevant to the study were reviewed. The data was collected using elicitation method during two months field trips to Chilga and near by villages in north Gondar zone. The data includes words, phrases, clauses and sentences. Prior to the data collection, linguistic questionnaire, which comprises of word paradigms, phrases, clauses and sentences showing the derivation and inflection features were prepared in Amharic and Kemantney. The data was collected by using the conjugation of grammatical categories such as nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs in the form of interview from native informants. Then, it was cross checked by other informants. Finally, it was organized and analyzed based on descriptive approach. To complement the elicited data, text were recorded.

1.7 Delimitation of the study

In spite of the hard effort the writer has made, the study on the language have the following delimitations that greatly challenged the work.

- Lack of native vocabulary items for most of English equivalents that limited data collection which in turn limited the description and analysis made on each topic.
- Due to the fact that Kemantney is greatly influenced by Amharic language, most indigenous words in Kemantney are substituted by Amharic words.
- Most native Kemants are ashamed of themselves of being Kemant due to the ever existed oral tradition that claims Kemant people are descended from a tree. This made many natives to be reluctant in giving relevant information on the language.

- Most informants having the ability only to communicate in the language, they are unable to tell stories in the language.
- It seems that almost all informants are vowed not to be contacted by the researcher alone. So, those known people in the society who are believed to have better knowledge on the language gather together to give data to a researcher and to share equal amount of money that may be paid by the researcher. Moreover, some people developed the belief that the researchers benefit from the sale of their study conducted on the language. As the result, they are unwilling to give required information that can promote the study on the language.

1.8 Some Aspects of Kemantney Phonology

Although, the main objective of this thesis is to analyze and describe the various aspects of the morphological component of Kemantney grammar, it is necessary to give some basic information on the sound system of Kemantney because giving phonological information of the language in advance would facilitate better understanding of the morphological description. In this section, the researcher tried to provide the phonemic inventory and some common suprasegmental features of Kemantney. Some of the morphophonemic processes that are exhibited in the morphology of the language are also treated in the same section.

1.8.1 Consonant Phonemes

Kemantney has 28 consonant phonemes (Appleyard (1975:317). According to my findings and Zelealem (2003:150), it has 33 consonant phones including ejectives and affricates. This fact is shown as follows.

Place of articulation							
Manner of articulation	bilabial	Labio dental	alveolar	palatals	velars	Labio velar	Glottal
Stop Vl	b		t		k	k ^w	
Vd			d		g	g ^w	
Eje.			t'		k'		
Fricatives Vl	β	f	s	ʃ	x	x ^w	
Vd		v	z		ɣ	ɣ ^w	h
Eje.			s'				
Affricates Vl				tʃ			
Vd				ɬ			
Eje				č'			
Nasals Vd	m		n	ɲ	ŋ	ŋ ^w	
Liquids Vd			l				
Lateral Vd			r				
Semi - vowels	w			y			

Table 1: The consonant phonetic chart

(Adapted from Zelealem Leyew, 2003:150)¹

The minimal pairs used to identify the consonant phonemes of Kemantney are presented below.

Contrasting phonemes	Examples	Gloss
/t/ vs /d/	/diya/	‘cold area’
	/tiya/	‘cotton’
/k ^w / vs /g ^w /	/k ^w aŋ-/	‘chew’
	/g ^w aŋ-/	‘dig’
/k/ vs /k ^w /	/kar/	‘soup’
	/k ^w ara/	‘sun’
/g /vs /g ^w /	/gaŋ -/	‘run’
	/g ^w äŋ-/	‘well’
/g ^w / vs /x ^w /	/iŋg ^w i /	‘breast’
	/iŋx ^w i/	‘ear’

[1] Sasse (1973:120) claims that Kemantney has 24 phonemes.

/k/ vs /n/	/kɪŋa/	‘death’
	/niŋa/	‘two’
/k/ vs /g/	/kɪz-/	‘sell’
	/gɪzɪn/	‘dog’
/x/ vs /ʎ/	/ʃɪx /	‘urine’
	/ʃɪʎ/	‘summer’
/s /vs/ʃ/	/sɪka/	‘silent’
	/ʃɪka/	‘ten’
/z /vs /s /	/zän/	‘brother’
	/ʃän/	‘sister’
/ʎ/ vs /ʎʷ/	/laʎ/	‘one’
	/laʎʷ/	‘come on’
/x /vs /xʷ/	/ʃax /	‘urine’
	/ʃaxʷ/	‘wot’
/r /vs /l/	/gäl /	‘nearest people’
	/gär /	‘calf’
/s/ vs /z /	/sän/	‘Monday’
	/zän/	‘brother’
/l/ vs /n/	/nan/	‘hand’
	/lal /	‘bread’
/m/ vs /n/	/ʃam/	‘thin wood’
	/ʃan/	‘load’
/ŋ/ vs /ŋʷ/	/dʒaŋ- /	‘a sleep’
	/ʃaŋʷ/	‘name’
/w/ vs /y/	/ʃiw -/	‘beg’
	/ʃiy-/	‘hold’

The distribution of each consonant phoneme is shown in the following table:

Consonants	Initial	Medial	final
/b/	biɣ ^w a 'gourd'	kɪbna 'forest'	ʃäb 'milk'
	bira 'ox'	ʃɪbka 'hair'	kab 'help'
/t/	tɪla 'medicine'	wältä 'six'	wayt 'buy'
	tab 'teff'	surta 'onion'	mɪwt 'carry'
/d/	dɪrma 'truth'	naydew 'they'	ad 'Sunday'
	dɪx ^w ara 'donkey'	ardɪnwax 'locust'	Kälmed 'shepherd'
/k/	kɪrɲa 'stone'	täɲkal 'arm'	dik 'if'
	kɪrf 'mucus'	mɪkäy 'mouth'	nik 'all'
/g/	gär 'calf'	guɲ 'run'	säg 'shoulder'
	gäna 'mother'	laɲgɪla 'nail'	ag 'uncle'
/k ^w /	k ^w ɪz 'cover'	ank ^w a 'five'	yɪk ^w 'scratch'
	k ^w äɲ 'chew'	ɪrk ^w 'foot'	-
/g ^w /	g ^w äzɪg ^w 'belly'	sɪg ^w aɣ 'small'	-
	g ^w äɲ ^w 'well'	ɪɲg ^w ɪ 'breast'	-
/x ^w /	x ^w ɪmba 'nose'	bɪx ^w ɪra 'porrage'	bɪrtx ^w 'jump'
	x ^w ɪm 'neck'	bɪrx ^w ɪ 'saliva'	ax ^w 'water'
/ɣ ^w /	-	seɣ ^w a 'three'	lay ^w 'one'
	-	saɣ ^w äyɪɲ 'thirty'	fuɣ ^w 'tear'
/ɣ/	-	waɣär 'game'	kagaɣ 'dry'
	-	ʃɪɣa 'mud'	ʃäyaɣ 'white'
/ɲ ^w /	-	ardɲ ^w aɣ 'locust'	ʃɪɲ ^w 'name'
	-	-	-
	-	kɪrɲa 'stone'	tiɲ 'find'

/ŋ/	-	ɨŋgiya	'horn'	gaŋ	'run'	
/f/	fɨntɨra	'goat'	ɨnfära	'baby'	ɨlf	'million'
	faɣn	'marry'	-	-	-	
/v/	-	avin	'guest'	-	-	
	-	lävo	'Wednesday'	-	-	
/h/	habt	'wealth'	sahin	'dish'	sahin	'dish'
	-	-	-	-	-	
/s/	sɨya	'meat'	missɨɣ ^w	'I forget'	tas	'hit'
	sɨwa	'rain'	sässe	'nine'	ɖʒaxs	'insult'
/z/	zän	'brother'	wɨza	'ash'	kɨz	'sell'
	-	-	farza	'horse'	sälɨz	'Tuesday'
/ʃ/	ʃɨbka	'hair'	aʃa	'leaf'	aʃ	'harvest'
	ʃäyay	'white'	x ^w aʃa	'bad'	laʃ	'bring'
/x/	xɨsa	'worm'	daxar	'divorce'	ʃax	'urine'
	xɨrf	'mucus'	maxala	'friend'	lax	'flour'
/ʃ/	ɖʒɨwäsay	'big bird'	sädʒɖʒa	'four'	gändʒ	'sleep'
	ɖʒägra	'monkey'	andʒɨn	'yesterday'	-	-
/m/	mɨkāy	'mouth'	timta	'bull'	ʃam	'branch'
	mɨrk ^w i	'kitchen'	tɨmb	'stand'	ʃum	'fast'
/n/	naʃ	'bone'	ʃanka	'grass'	duʃän	'curse'
	nan	'now'	langɨla	'nail'	ʃän	'sister'
/w/	wɨza	'ash'	sɨwa	'rain'	aw	'who'
	was	'hear'	fiwa	'breath'	dɨw	'tell'
	-	-	gɨrɨba	'knee'	ir	'man'

/r/	-	säraɣ	‘good’	xir	‘night’	
/l/	lävo	‘before’	laxla	‘bee’	yɪkäl	‘love’
	läläma	‘baby’	ɪllɪ	‘here’	kal	‘break’
/y/	yɪɣ ^w	‘say’	xayaɣ	‘big’	dʒɪray	‘tail’
	yix ^w ay	‘laugh	ɪyya	‘yes’	fɪŋgay	‘wind’

Table 2: The distribution of consonant phonemes

As indicated above, the distribution of consonant phonemes are found every where. Whereas, some of the consonants such as /ɣ^w /, /ɣ/, /ŋ/, /ɣ^w/, /v/, and /r/ do not occur in syllable initial (onset) positions.

1.8.2 Suprasegmentals

The suprasegmental features are those which operate on longer stretches of speech, such as length of consonants and vowels, stress, tone, relative timing and rhythm, intonation, pitch and voice quality as opposed to the segmental features which are referred to as the individual sounds (Roach,1983). Among such features, some of them will be considered in this section.

1.8.2.1 Consonant Gemination

Consonant germination in Kemantney is non – phonemic, across morpheme boundaries. Geminated consonants occur only in word medial position. Consider the following examples.

- (1) abba ‘father’
 amma ‘pumpkin’
 annew ‘we’
 ayya ‘market’
 azza ‘pine’
 ɪlla ‘null’
 ɪllɪ ‘here’

As indicated in the above examples consonant germination doesn't bring about meaning difference in words.

1.8.3 Phonotactics

Phonotactics refers to co-occurrence restriction among the consonant phonemes of the language. In Kemantney, the following Phonotactics constraints discussed.

1.8.3.1 Consonant cluster

In Kemantney the maximum number of consonants in a cluster is two. The cluster could contain two different (C₁ C₂) consonants. Such cluster only occur syllable medially or at a syllable boundary. (Zealealem, 2003:162). Some illustrative examples are given bellow.

(2)	Medial		Final
ʃɨbka	'hair'	k'äbd	'advanced money'
kɨbna	'forest'	käläbt	'receive'
labra	'together'	habt	'wealth'
ʃanka	'grass'	faɣn	'to marry'
ʃɨnfə	'fly'	kagɣ	'cause to dry'

1.8.3 The Vowel Phonemes

In the works of Sasse (1973), Appleyard (1975) and Zealealem (2003), we find similar report with regard to the vowels. They all report Kemantney to have seven phonemic vowels. The vowel phonemes of Kemantney are given below.

Front	Center	Back
i	ɨ	u
e	ä	o
	a	

Table 3: Vowel phonemes of Kemantney.

From: Zelealem, 2003:158.

The vowel /ɨ/ also used as epenthetic which splits the impermissible sequence of consonants in the language. Thus, the vowel /ɨ/ is treated as a basic vowel phoneme and epenthetic in this thesis.

The seven phonemic vowels reported in earlier works such as Sasse (1973), Appleyard (1975) and Zelealem (2003) are /i/, /a/, /ɨ/, /ä/, /u/ and /o/. Since this vowels has a wide distribution and can also bring meaning difference, it can be said that they are a phonemes in Kemantney. Consider the following minimal pairs.

(3)

/ɨ/ : /a/	ɨrfa	‘maize’	/ɨ /:/a/	ɨyya	‘yes’
	arfa	‘month’		ayya	‘market’
/i/ : /a/	kinbit	‘stick’	/a/ : /ä /	käb	‘cut’
	kanbit	‘wing’		kab	‘help’
/i/ : /ɨ/	kiz	‘better’	/i/ : / ɨ/	gɨt	‘buttock’
	kɨz	‘sell’		git	‘ripen’
/a/ : /u/	sama	‘money’			
	suma	‘garlic’			
/a/ : /ä/	kawɨya	‘ant’			
	käwɨya	‘guinea fowl			
/i/ : / ä /	sän	‘Monday’			
	sin	‘before’			

1.8.3.1 Vowel Length

In Kemantney language, there is no vowel length. So we can say that no sequence of vowels.

1.8.3.2 Vowel Distribution

Most words in Kemantney end in vowels and all vowels occur in word medial and final position except the vowels /ɨ/ and /a/. The following table shows occurrence of such vowels.

Vowels	Initial	Medial	Final
/i/	-	liy 'hundred'	ni 'he /she'
	-	niṇa 'two'	azi 'new'
/e/	-	annew 'we'	fe 'go out'
	-	sey ^w a 'three'	sile 'yoke'
/ɨ/	ɨyya 'yes'	gizɨn 'dog'	ɨŋx ^w ɨ 'ear'
	ɨrfa 'maiz'	lɨk ^w 'foot'	ɨrk ^w ɨ 'tooth'
/ä/	-	avär 'dream'	wä 'what'
	-	maxäla 'friend'	-
/a/	argi 'bed'	naɟ 'bone'	ɟɨbka 'hair'
	avar 'dream'	was 'hear'	ɟanka 'grass'
/u/	-	bilu 'warm'	amu 'thorn'
	-	surta 'onion'	ayru 'you(F)'
/o/	-	doɟa 'frog'	lävo 'Wednesday'
	-	dorn 'tear'	dʒavo 'before'

Table 4: The distribution of vowel phonemes

1.8.4 Syllable Structures

Syllable is a group of phonemes consisting of a vowel alone or combination of with consonants which represent a complete articulation consisting of a unit of word formation (Pei, 1954:134). The syllable in Kemantney is composed of two open and two closed syllable types have been identified. They are V (syllable initial only), CV, VC (syllable initially), CVC (Appleyard, 1975:322 and Zelealem 2003:160-1). The following are possible syllable structures of Kemantney.

(4)

Syllable type

V-C	ir	'person'
V- CV	a -fa	'leaf'
VC₁ - C₁V	az -za	'pine'
CVC₁ - C₂V	fɨb -ka	'hair'
CV - CVC	ʃä-yäw	'ice'
VC₁ - C₂V	ɨr - fa	'maize'
CV - CV	bä - wu	'forehead'
V - CVC	a - wär	'roast'
CVC₁ - C₁V	kʷɨn - na	'night'
CVC₁ - C₂VC	käl-med	'shepherd'
VC - CV - CV	ʃä-mä-na	'black'
CV -CV - CVC	tä-kʷä -säm	'sit
CV C₁- C₂V - CV	mɨz- bä- ra	'moon'
CVC₁ - C₂VC₁ - C₂V	kin - ʃän -ta	'teacher'

The most frequently occurring syllable structure is CVC. Where as, the least frequently recorded is CV.

1.8.5 Morphophonemic Processes

As mentioned in the previous section, in Kemantney, the maximum number of consonant sequences is two. Thus, all the morphophonemic processes and the syllable structure rules arise from these. Some of the morphophonemic processes that are observed in Kemantney are vowel deletion, insertion and assimilation. Each of which is discussed in the following subsections.

1.8.5.1 Deletion

According to Zelealem (2003), the deletion of the stem final V across morpheme boundaries is common characteristics in Kemantney. It also observed that the language doesn't allow sequence of two vowel phonemes. This is also a typical feature of Kemantney as can be seen from the following examples.

(5)	yɨ + ag	yag	'my uncle'
	ti + ɨŋxwɨ	tiŋxwɨ	'your ear'
	anä + aba	anaba	'our father'
	ɨntɨ + ara	ɨntara	'your (PL) grain'

As can be seen from the above data in (5), when two vowels occur at morpheme boundary, one of the vowels is deleted.

(6) At word and morpheme boundaries, /y/ is deleted

yɨndän + yɨr	yɨndänir	'the man'
ɨnni + yɨr	innir	'this man'
ni + yɨwna	niwna	'his wife'

As shown in the examples above, the semi-vowel /y/ is deleted when it is appears between a consonant and the high central vowel /ɨ/. And also at syllable and morpheme boundaries /y/ is deleted and the vowel /ɨ/ is fronted.

1.8.5.2 Insertion

In Kemantney, a sequence of two or more cluster of consonants at word initial position or a sequence of more than two cluster of consonant at morpheme boundary is not possible. So the epenthetic vowel /ɨ/ is inserted to break up clusters with more than two consonants as shown below:

(6)	anb -ra	anbɨra	'cabbage'
	fɨnt -ra	fɨntɨra	'goat'
	ard - ɨway	ardɨɨway	'locust'
	miss- ɣ ^w	missɨɣ ^w	'I forgot'
	aɣs - ra	aɣsɨra	'earth'

As it is indicated in the above examples, when the vowel /ɨ/ inserted breaking up consonant cluster at word medial position.

1.8.5.3 Assimilation

Assimilation is other type of phonological process in which the consonant sounds become more like its neighboring sounds (Crystal, 1997). In Kemantney, different consonants undergo such processes either partial or total it takes place so as to assure the correct syllable structures which are permitted in the language.

a. Total Assimilation

The consonant assimilations like the change of the passive and causative verbs. In passive verbs, the stem final /z/ changes to /s/:

(9)	kɨdɨz 'die'	kɨdɨz-s-	kɨdis-s-	'be died'
	azäz 'order'	azäz-s-	azäs-s-	'be ordered'
	fäz 'sew'	fäz-s-	fäs-s-	'be sewed'
	kɨz 'sell'	kɨz-s-	kɨs-s-	'be sold'

In causative verbs, a stem final /z/ changes to /ʃ/ as shown below.

tixiz	'smoke'	tixiz-ʃ-	tixiʃ-ʃ-	'cause to smoke'
kiz	'sell'	kiz-ʃ-	kiʃ-ʃ-	'cause to sell'

b. Partial Assimilation

The alveolar /n/ for example, has different manifestation in different contexts as shown in the following examples.

(7) a. /käränbiya/ – [kärämbiya] / 'drum'

/tɪnb/ – [tɪmb] / 'stand'

/anbɪra/ → [ambɪra] / 'cabbage'

/laŋɟɪla/ → [laŋɟɪla] / 'nail'

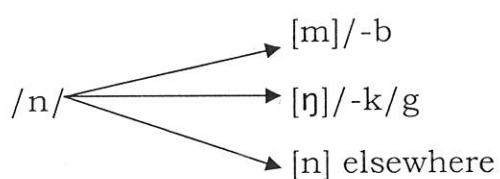
/tänkäl/ → [täŋkäl] / 'arm'

/fängay/ → [fäŋgay] / 'wind'

/dangwa/ → [daŋgwa] / 'beehive'

As can be seen from these examples, /n/ changes to [m] when it is followed by bilabial stops. It also changes to [ŋ] when it is followed by velar stops. The following rule can be formulated for the different manifestations of the consonant.

(8)



To sum up, this chapter, it has been attempted to provide some information about the language and the people. The objective, the methodology, the significance and the delimitation of the study have been indicated. Finally, some phonological information is given. The following chapter is concerned with the morphology of noun and pronouns.

CHAPTER TWO

Noun Morphology

2. Introduction

In the previous chapter, we have seen the phonological systems of the language such as, sound inventory, phonotactics, suprasegmental features, syllable structures and morphophonemic processes as a base for the morphological description which will be presented in this chapter which is primarily concerned with the description of noun inflections and derivations. The description of noun inflection is presented first followed by the discussion of noun derivations.

2.1 Noun

Noun is a form class often marked in English by the ability to take plural and possessive suffixes; for example, dog, dogs and man, men, men's (Wardhough, 1977: 247). In Kemantney, there are monosyllabic, disyllabic and polysyllabic nouns.

(1)

Monosyllabic

ag 'uncle'

ar 'grain'

ax^w 'water'

Disyllabic

wizɪn 'fire'

sälzi 'Tuesday'

ʃäyāw 'ice'

Polysyllabic

ʃayɪya 'honey'

g^wäzānta 'farmer'

maxāla 'friend'

Usually Kemantney nouns end in a vowel, rarely in a consonant. Of the seven phonemic vowels /a/ attested in the terminal position of the noun. Some examples from each class are presented in (2).

(2)

Noun		Noun	
lanxa	'tongue'	xwimba	'nose'
sinkwäta	'axe'	dʒigra	'monkey'
bira	'ox'	farza	'horse'
käma	'cow'	mäyila	'mule'
xwira	'child'	gämäna	'lion'
gäna	'mother'	ʃinʃa	'fly'
ʃinʃiwa	'ape'	infära	'baby'
aba	'father'	wiya	'hyena'
yiba	'tiger'	ingwi	'breast'

As can be seen from (2), the nouns don't affect the phonological features of the occurrence of the terminal vowels. It is unpredictable and only lexically determined. Such a terminal vowel is deleted or changed when a noun undergoes a process of suffixation as in the following examples.

(4)

a. **bir-i wayt -Ø- iɣ^w**

ox-Nom buy-1SG-PT

'The ox bought.'

b. **fintir-i kiz- Ø - iɣ^w**

goat-Nom sell-1SG-PT

'The goat sold.'

c. **farz- i ʃanka xwiɣ-iɣ^w**

horse-Nom grass eat- PT

'The horse ate grass.'

d. **dixwar- i xwira tiŋkib- iɣ^w**

donkey-Nom child push - PT

'The donkey pushed a child.'

e. x^wir-i t- i^yw
 child-Nom come-PT
 'The child came.'

As indicated in the above examples, the nominative case marker /-i/ appears with nouns that end vowel and masculine nouns.

2.2 Noun Inflection

Inflection is the grammatical function of words in phrases without altering their meaning (Beard, 2001:44). In this section, the inflectional categories of noun such as gender, number and case will be discussed briefly.

2.2.1 Gender

Gender is one of the categorization of nouns, pronouns and adjectives in to masculine and feminine and in some language neuter based on whether a noun is considered as male, female or without sex respectively (Lyons, 1968:283). According to Crystal (1997: 165), gender is of two types: natural and grammatical. The former refers to the natural sex of animate things; while the later indicates morphologically marked gender. In the case of Kemantney, animate nouns are marked, as shown either for masculine or feminine gender. Animate nouns have suppletive forms distinguishing masculine and feminine genders as in (5) below.

(5) Masculine		Feminine	
aba	'father'	gäna	'mother'
zän	'brother'	jän	'sister'
ag	'uncle'	tiyar	'aunt'
bira	'ox'	käma	'cow'
timta	'bull'	mein	'heifer'
gırwa	'male'	yıwna	'woman'
gırwa	'husband'	yıwna	'wife'
an	'grand father'	tän	'grand mother'

As illustrated above in (5), gender distinction between natural nouns is expressed by using totally different stems. There is no morphological process which is worked to indicate the gender distinction of nouns.

In Kemantney, the non animate (neuter) nouns are assigned the feminine gender. For example, non animates like **kwära** 'sun', **mizbära** 'moon', are classified as feminine (See also Appleyard, 1975:321).

In Kemantney, the use of gender attributes is also another way of distinguishing between masculine and feminine gender in animate nouns , i.e. adjectives of verbal origin and quantifiers both feminine and masculine gender are morphologically marked the suffix **/-y/** and **/-ɣ/** for feminine and masculine respectively (Appleyard, 1975:326 and Zelealem, 2003: 227). Consider the following examples.

(6)

a. ʃigwe - y dixwära

small – Fem. donkey

'A small donkey.'

b. ʃigwe - ɣ dixwära

small – Mas. donkey

'A small donkey.'

c. ʃigwe - y giziŋ

small – Fem. dog

'A small bitch.'

d. ʃigwe - ɣ giziŋ

small – Mas. dog

'A small dog.'

e. ʃigwe - y dirwa

small – Fem. hen

'A small hen.'

f. ʃigwe - ɣ dirwa

small – Mas. hen

'A small cock.'

g. ʃämäna - y gämäna

black – Fem. lion

'A black lioness.'

h. ʃämäna - ɣ gämäna

black – Mas. lion

'A black lion.'

i. lägäza - y yiba

tall – Fem. tiger

'A tall tigress.'

j. lägäza - ɣ yiba

tall – Mas. tiger

'A tall tiger.'

k.faya - y farza

white- Fem. horse

'A white horse.'

m. fira - y damiya

big - Fem. cat

'A big tabby (cat).'

l.faya - γ farza

white - Mas. horse

'A white mare.'

n.fira - γ damiya

big - Mas. cat

'A big tom (cat).'

As can be seen in (6) above, a grammatical gender is the characterization of animate things into masculine and feminine gender. In Awnji, nouns are inflected for gender. This is expressed in terms of masculine and feminine. And masculinity is marked by the suffix */-i/* while femininity is marked by the suffix */-a/* (Yonas, 1999:7). In Bilin, masculine and feminine grammatical genders are distinguished. And these masculine and feminine distinctions are made by the last syllable. If the last syllable ends with the morpheme */-i/* it is feminine, and if this morpheme */-i/* is deleted then it is masculine. In other words, masculine is represented by a */ϕ/* (Yosief, 1988:10). Consider the following examples.

Masculine

- (7) a. dur- i 'coke'
b. wuz- i 'lion'
c. nigus-i 'prince'

Feminine

- dur- a 'hen'
wuz- a 'lioness'
nigus-a 'princess'

Gender is the grammatical category for which nouns are inflected. There are two types of gender in Irob (Ewunetu 2005), such as natural and grammatical. Natural gender is designated lexically without an overt inflectional morpheme.

To summarize, in Kemantney, the majority of the nouns (except proper nouns) are unmarked for gender. Animate nouns use a gender distinction attributive to distinguish between masculine and feminine. As earlier mention some non animate nouns are assigned to feminine gender. Nouns adjectival origin and quantifiers suffixes distinguish between masculine and feminine.

2.2.2 Number

The grammatical category of number refers to the distinction between singular and plural and such distinction nearly rests upon the recognition of persons, animals and objects which can be enumerated as one as or more than one and referred to individually or collectively by means to nouns (Lyons, 1968:281). Number in Kemantney is divided into two sub-types: singular and plural. Nouns in Kemantney, with the ending */-a/*, show singular number whereas, plural nouns are marked in various forms (Appleyard, 1975, Sasse, 1984 and Zelealem, 2003). Some of the examples are as follows:

(7) Noun

wiza	'ash'	mizbära	'moon'
ḡibka	'hair'	kirfa	'check'
bita	'louse'	kirna	'stone'
arfa	'month'	käwa	'ant'
sink ^w äta	'axe'	tıla	'medicine'
x ^w imba	'nose'	ḡax ^w a	'iron'
yixäxa	'ice'	ḡiwa	'salt'
aḡsira	'earth'	maxäla	'friend'
bira	'ox'	xif ^w a	'worm'
aḡfa	'leaf'	biḡ ^w a	'gourd'
ayya	'market'	farza	'horse'
x ^w ira	'child'	timta	'bull'
doḡfa	'frog'	fintira	'goat'

As can be seen from the data in (7) above, singular nouns are not marked morphologically. Moreover, in this language some nouns have irregular singular forms as in (8) below.

(8)	ad	'Sunday'	ag	'uncle'	bir	'blood'
	bi	'soil'	nan	'hand'	wizɪŋ	'fire'
	amu	'thorn'	käw	'village'	ʃäb	'milk'
	yɪl	'eye'	tab	'teff'	gäʃ	'face'
	ɪŋgʷɪ	'breast'	fɪŋgäy	'wind'	xʷɪm	'neck'
	gär	'calf'	nɪŋ	'house'	ʃax	'urine'
	bäntäle	'rabbit'	naʃ	'bone'	ɪŋxʷɪ	'ear'
	ar	'grain'	säg	'back'	lax	'flour'

As the above examples demonstrate, Kemantney singular nouns are marked by zero morpheme i.e. there are a number of nouns which end either in a consonant or a vowel other than /-a/ shows singular. As Kemantney, Awñi the singular nouns are indicated by zero morpheme.

The plural form in Kemantney is formed by suffixing the morpheme: /ä/, /Ø/, /k(ɪ)/, /tɪ/, /diw/, /iw/, and reduplication (Zealelem 2003:229 and Appleyard 1975:323). Let's see these in turn below.

- i. Some nouns form their plurals by deleting the stem final vowel as in illustrated below.

Singular		Plural	
Noun	Gloss	Noun	Gloss
(9) yɪwna	'woman'	yɪwn	'women'
käma	'cow'	käm	'cows'
wiya	'hyena'	wiy	'hyenas'
xʷäräyʷina	'egg'	xʷäräyʷɪn	'eggs'
fɪntɪra	'goat'	fɪntɪr	'goats'
maxäla	'friend'	maxäl	'friends'
farza	'goat'	farzɪ	'goats'

As can be seen from the data in (9), the singular nouns that end in **/-a/** changes in to plural either by deleting the ending **/-a/** or adding the epenthetic vowel **/ɨ/**.

ii. Other nouns that end in the vowel or **/ø/**, add **/tɨ/** or changing the stem final consonant **/r/** to **/l/**.

(10)	bira	‘ox’	biltɨ	‘oxen’ ²
	nan	‘hand’	nantɨ	‘hands’
	gär	‘calf’	gältɨ	‘calves’ ²
	dixwära	‘donkey’	dixwältɨ	‘donkeys’ ²
	tiyar	‘aunt’	tirtɨ	‘aunts’
	yɨl	‘eye’	yɨltɨ	‘eyes’

In the above data, some singular nouns that end in **/-a/** or **/ø/** to form plural by suffixing **/-tɨ/** because the vowel **/ɨ/** is used an epenthetic vowel to separate consonant cluster in final position as mentioned earlier section **(1.8.5.2)**.

iii. Some nouns take the plural marker **/-k(ɨ)/**

(11)	damiya	‘cat’	dami-k	‘cats’
	ʃaliya	‘knife’	ʃali-k	‘knives’
	ɨŋgiya	‘horn’	ɨŋgi – k	‘horns’
	käw	‘village’	käw – kɨ	‘villages’
	nɨŋ	‘house’	nɨŋ-kɨ	‘houses’
	gɨzɨn	‘dog’	gɨzɨn – kɨ	‘dogs’
	ʃɨŋ ^w	‘name’	ʃɨŋ ^w – kɨ	‘names’
	dʒäla	‘bird’	dʒäl-kɨ	‘birds’

[2] Sometimes singular nouns which end in **/r/** change into plural it becomes **/l/**.

As illustrated above, some singular nouns form their plural by adding the suffixes **/-k/** and **/-k(i)/**. The former is suffixed to by deleting the final syllable **/-ya/** while the latter is suffixed plural nouns end consonant because of the epenthetic vowel **/i/** is used to separate consonant cluster.

iv. Other nouns including kinship suffix **/-diw/** and **/-iw/**

(12)	zän	‘brother’	zändiw	‘brother’
	ʃän	‘sister’	ʃändiw	‘sisters’
	aba	‘father’	abiw	‘fathers’
	gäna	‘mother’	gäniw	‘mothers’

In the above data, the singular nouns end in **Ø** and **/a/** to form plural by suffixing the morpheme **/-diw/** and **/-iw/** respectively. These morphemes are restricted their occurrence, found only in kinship terms (See Appleyard, 1975:323). Moreover, in this language nouns have to form plural by reduplication (partial) as in (13) below.

v. **Partial reduplication:** some other nouns form their plurals through partial reduplication and by deleting the final vowel and suffixing **/-äkʷ/**.

(13)	ɪrkʷɪ	‘tooth’	ɪrkʷäkʷ	‘teeth’
	likʷa	‘foot’	likʷäkʷ	‘feet’

As can be seen from the above data, nouns that end **Ø** forming plural are by partial reduplication. In partial reduplication, reduplicate the final consonant of the singular form and inserting the vowel **-ä-**. In Awnji, The plural marker is the suffix **/-ka/** (Yonas, 1999:7-8). In Bilin (Yosief 1988:8), claims that nouns are either singular or plural. There are many ways of forming plural nouns. That is to say, there are various ways of forming noun plurals and the particular method employed in each individual case can not be predicted from the form or meaning of the singular noun which acts as the base form.

Generally, Kemantney has only two types of number: singular and plural. Plural marking is heterogeneous (Zealealem, 2003: 229). Appleyard (1975: 321) identifies eight types of plural marking in Kemantney. The main methods of Kemantney plural marking are suffixation, deletion, reduplication, vowel change, vowel addition, consonant change and gemination.

2.2.3 Case

Case is a grammatical category that distinguishes the various relations that a noun phrase bears to a governing head (Stump, 2001:27). According to him, cases used to encode relations of this sort include the nominative case (subject), the accusative case (direct object), the dative case (indirect object), the genitive case and others. In Kemantney, nouns are inflected for the nominative, accusative, genitive, locative, dative and ablative cases. Nouns in Kemantney morphologically case marked. We shall discuss the different case categories below.

2.2.3.1 Nominative case

The main use of nominative case is to indicate that the noun is a subject of a sentence (or a clause) (Palmer, 1978:106). Nominative case in Kemantney is morphologically indicated by the suffix */-i/* similar to like other Cushitic languages such as Saho (Tsegay 2005), (Selamawit 2008) and (Awash 1987). However, in Awñi (Yaregal 2007) and (Yonas 1999), Ximt'ana (Teshome 2007), Bilin (Yosief 1988) and Irob (Ewunetu 2005), nominative case is not morphologically marked. Consider the following examples.

(14)

Absolute /a/		Nominative cases	'Gloss'
farza	'horse'	farz-i	'horse'
xw'ira	'child'	xw'ir-i	'child'
gāmāna	'lion'	gāmān- i	'lion'

dʒäna	‘elephant’	dʒän- i	‘elephant’
xafänta	‘thief’	xafänt- i	‘thief’
siya	‘meat’	siy- i	‘meat’
yɪba	‘tiger’	yɪb- i	‘tiger’
ʃɪnfə	‘fly’	ʃɪnf- i	‘fly’
biɣwa	‘gourd’	biɣw- i	‘gourd’
gʷärwa	‘road’	gʷärw- i	‘road’
kɪβna	‘forest’	kɪβn- i	‘forest’
kʷara	‘sun’	kʷar- i	‘sun’
käwa	‘ant’	käw- i	‘ant’
käma	‘cow’	käm- i	‘cow’
timta	‘bull’	timt- i	‘bull’
bira	‘ox’	bir- i	‘ox’
doʃa	‘frog’	doʃ- i	‘frog’
ʃaliya	‘meat’	ʃali- i	‘meat’
ʃäbika	‘hair’	ʃäbɪk- i	‘hair’
säwa	‘rain’	säw- i	‘rain’
ʃanka	‘grass’	ʃank- i	‘grass’
läläma	‘baby’	läläm - i	‘baby’
arfa	‘month’	arf- i	‘month’
dʒäla	‘bird’	dʒäl- i	‘bird’
layla	‘bee’	layl- i	‘bee’
maxäla	‘friend’	maxäl- i	‘friend’
sɪna	‘butter’	sɪn- i	‘butter’
kɪrna	‘stone’	kɪrn- i	‘stone’

As indicated in (14), the terminal segments of nouns in Kemantney are vowels. The nominative case is indicated by dropping such terminal vowels from the noun stems and suffixing the vowel /-i/. Consider the following sentential examples.

(15)

a. **yɪ maxäl - i andʒɪn t - ɪɣʷ**

my friend -Nom yesterday come- PT

'My friend came yesterday.'

b. **kas - i mɪz xʷɪy - ɪɣʷ**

kasa -Nom lunch eat - PT

'Kasa ate lunch.'

c. **yɪ ab - i yɪxʷɪm t - ɪɣʷ**

my father -Nom last year come-PT

'My father came last year.'

d. **yɪb - i xʷɪra kʷɪ - ɪɣʷ**

tiger-Nom child kill- PT

'The tiger killed a child.'

e. **gämän - i fɪntɪra xʷɪy - ɪɣʷ**

lion - Nom goat eat - PT

'The lion ate a goat.'

f. **yɪwn - i t - ɪɣʷ**

woman -Nom come -PT

'The woman came.'

g. **bir -i kärtäma kal- ɪɣʷ**

ox -Nom pot break -PT

'The ox broke the pot.'

h. **xʷɪr- i nɪʃ tas - ɪɣʷ**

child -Nom her hit -PT

'The child hit her.'

A noun ends in either a vowel other than /a/ or a consonant, the nominative case marker /-i/ doesn't appear. Let's see the following examples.

(16)

a. **alemu was- Ø - iɣ^w**

Alemu hear-3MS-PT

'Alemu heard.'

b. **inti yib - iy - k^wi - iɣ^w**

you tiger - 2P- kill -PT

'You killed the tiger.'

c. **naydew bira kiz- in - iɣ^w**

they ox sell- PL-PT

'They sold an ox.'

d. **almaz lalla - Ø - kiz - iɣ^w**

Almaz bread - 3FS- sell -PT

'Almaz sold bread'

e. **yir andʒin t - iɣ^w**

man yesterday come- PT

'The man came yesterday.'

f. **hagos xwira dʒay - iɣ^w**

Hagos child insult- PT

'Hagos insulted the child.'

g. **yonas miz x^wiy - iɣ^w**

yonas lunch eat -PT

'Yonas ate lunch.'

2.2.3.2 Accusative case

Accusative case refers to the inflection of a noun used as a direct object of a sentence. A noun or a pronoun is in the accusative when it is a direct object of a verb (Trask 1993:4). In Kemantney, an accusative case is marked by /-(i)s/ and /-(i)t/ add to masculine and plural nouns and a small number of nouns mostly in kinship terms and feminine respectively (See also Zelealem (2003:239) and Appleyard (1975:225). Consider the following examples.

Nouns that takes /-(i)s/

(17) a. **yir fintr- is way-t - iɣ^w**

man goat- Acc buy-Pass-PT

'The man bought goat.'

c. **kam - i janik - is x^wiy- iɣ^w**

cow - Nom grass - Acc eat - PT

'The cow ate grass.'

b. **xwir-i kas - is dʒay - iɣ^w**

child-Nom kasa -Acc insult -PT

'The child insulted Kasa.'

d. **gwäzänt-i bir -is kiz - iɣ^w**

farmer-Nom ox-Acc sell-PT

'The farmer sold an ox.'

e. **gämän - i yib - is xwiy - iɣ^w**

lion - Nom tiger -Acc eat - PT

'The lion ate tiger.'

f. **yir siy-is x^w -iɣ^w**

man meat-Acc eat -PT

'The man ate the meat.'

g. **yɪwn- i yir- is dʒaɣ - iɣ^w**

woman-Nom man-Acc insult -PT

'The woman insulted the man.'

As can be observed from the data in (17) above, the suffix **/-(i)s/** is shown masculine and plural nouns. It also occurs immediately the verb. And also noun end in either a vowel or other than **/a/** or a consonant, the nominative case marker **/-i/** doesn't appear overtly like example (a and f).

Nouns that take **/-(i) t/**

(18)

a. **an ti- aba - t ax - äg - ir**

I your father -Acc know -Neg -PT

'I don't know your father.'

d. **an yi gäna - t yikäl - iɣ^w**

I my mother - Acc love - PT

'I loved my mother.'

b. **yir yiwna - t yikäl - iɣ^w**

man woman -Acc love - PT

'The man loved the woman.'

e. **yir yiwna - t k^w - iɣ^w**

man woman -Acc kill -PT

'The man killed the woman.'

c. **an yi gäna - t andʒiŋ kab- iɣ^w**

I my mother -Acc yesterday help -PT

'I helped my mother yesterday.'

As can be seen from the above examples (17) and (18), accusative case is marked **/-s/** for masculine nouns. The marker **/-t/** is found only on a small number of nouns specially kinship terms and feminine nouns. The vowel **/i/**, as mentioned earlier, is inserted to separate consonant cluster. In Bilin, accusative case is marked by the morpheme **/-äs/** (Yosief, 1988:10).

2.2.3.3 Genitive case

Genitive case is one aspect of a noun inflection in which an entity denoted by a noun is expressed as a possessor or a source of an object (Anderson, 1985: 185). The possessive genitive relation between the possessor and the possessed expresses the fact that one noun is subordinate to and a modifier of another. According to Baye (1986:155), genitive is a much wider concept than possessive which generally functions to express a whole range of relations between nouns such as genitive of possession, genitive of source, genitive of purposive and genitive of location. In Kemantney, genitive case is indicated through different types of case markers such as: **/-i/**, **/-ey/**, **/-Ø/** and **/di/** (Zealealem, 2003:241). Genitive in Kemantney can be categorized in this material to source, purpose and possessive. Each of them will be discussed below. Before looking at the details of each, observe the list of the genitive pronouns in the language in table (5).

Singular			Plural	
Genitive pronoun		Gloss	Genitive pronoun	Gloss
1	yɨ	‘my’	anä	‘our’
2	ti	‘your’	ɨntä	‘your’
3 M	ni	‘his’	na	‘their’
F	nif	‘her’	na	‘their’

Table 5: Genitive pronouns in Kemantney

As we can observe from the above table, genitive pronouns differ according to person, number and gender. They occur before the possessed noun. The data in (19) are illustrative of this.

- (19) yɨ aba ‘my father’
 anä gäna ‘our mother’

ti nan	'your hand'
intä aɣ ^w ay	'your(PL) head'
ni fän	'his sister'
nif niŋ	'her house'
.na käw	'their village'

As can be seen in (19) above, the possessive prefixes of the pronouns are attached to the possessed nouns as shown in (20).

(20)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>a. an <u>yɪ niŋ</u> f - iɣ^w
 I my house go-PT
 'I went to my house.'</p> | <p>b. <u>nif aba</u> kwɪ -iɣ^w
 her father die -PT
 'Her father died.'</p> |
| <p>c. <u>ti yɪl</u> firay gayɪlla
 your eye big they are
 'Your eyes are big.'</p> | <p>d. an <u>ni- bir- i</u> kɪz -iɣ^w
 I his ox-Nom sell-PT
 'I sold his ox.'</p> |

The noun phrases in underlined in (20a-d) above, are nouns with possessive genitive suffixes. In Kemantney, genitive case is indicated by juxtaposition of nouns i.e., possessor noun is positioned before the possessed. Such strategy is used for both definite and indefinite nouns. The deletion of final vowel occurs as a result of juxtaposition of two nouns (possessor and possessed).

1. Source Genitives

Source genitives are marked by the suffix /-i/

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(21) a. kɪrn - i niŋ
 stone - Gen house
 'house of stone'</p> | <p>b. tab - i ara
 teff -Gen injera
 'injera of teff'</p> |
| <p>c. bälɣ - i sɪlaya
 surghum-Gen t'ella
 't'ella of sorghum'</p> | <p>d. dawf -i lalla
 millet - Gen bread
 'Bread of millet'</p> |

e. bäl - i kana

door -Gen wood
'door of wood'

g. kwärb - i säyɪŋ

skin- Gen cloth
'cloth of skin'

i. tiya- ϕ säyɪŋ

cotton-Gen cloth
'cloth of cotton'

k. ʃank-i nɪŋ

grass-Gen hose
'house of grass'

f. siya - ϕ ʃaxʷ

meat- Gen wot'
'wot of meat'.

h. say - i miz

honey-Gen mead
'mead of honey'

j. kan- i argɪ

wood-Gen bed
'bed of wood'

As the data above show the source genitive marker /-i/ and /ϕ/ is suffixed to the modifier. The position of the modifier is always preceding the head noun.

2. Purposive Genitives

The examples below are purposive genitives in Kemantney.

(22)

a. say -ɪ ŋ tiya

cloth -Gen cotton
'cotton for cloth'

b. nɪŋ - i ʃanka

house -Gen grass
'grass for house'

c. say - ɪ ŋ kwärbäy

cloth- Gen skin
'skin for cloth'

d. wot' - i siya

wot' -Gen meat
'meat for wot'

e. kärt äm-i axʷ

pot- Gen water
'A pot for water'

f. gwäz i- bi

farm-Gen earth
'land for farm'

g. sɪlay -i bälga

t'ella-Gen barley
'barley for t'ella'

h. miz -i sayiya

mead-gen honey
'honey for mead'

As the examples in (22) demonstrate, the purposive genitive, like source genitive shown by the suffix **/-i/** and **/-Ø/** attached to a modifier.

3. Possessive Genitives

Possessive genitives are marked by the suffix **/-i/** and **/-äy/** as illustrated in (23) below.

(23)

a. iwɪn - äy ʃɪbka

woman -Gen hair
'A woman's hair'

b. ɪnni ir - i ʃän

this man - Gen sister
'This man's sister.'

c. käm - äy ʃäbs

cow - Gen milk
'A cow's milk'

d. miräwa - i yɪl

snake - Gen eye
'Eye's of snake'

e. yɪb - i ɪrkʷɪ

tiger - Gen tooth
'A tiger's tooth'

f. axʷ - äy ʃɪbka

head -Gen hair
'Hair of head'

g. ni tir - i xwära

he aunt - Gen child
'His cousin'

h. bir - i giya

ox -Gen horn
'Horn of an ox'

i. ki ag - dɪ ʃänʷ

your uncle - Gen name
'Your uncle's name'

j. langɪl -i nan

nail - Gen hand
'Nail of a finger'

k. dirw - äy ʃafun

hen - Gen chickens
'Chicken's of hen'

l. niʃ zän - dɪ bäga

her brother- Gen sheep
'Her brother's sheep'

m. zaf - i ʃam
 tree - Gen branch
 'A branch of tree'

As in the examples (23 a-n), possessive genitives are morphologically marked by different suffixes such as /-äy/, /-i/ and /-di/. The suffix /-äy/ denotes feminine noun. Whereas, the possessive genitive marker /-i/ is similar to Kemantney nominative case marker.

In Awnji, (Yaregal 2007) identified different types of genitive case markers such as /-w/, /-t/ and /-ku/. /-w/ is suffixed to the pronoun or noun when the thing possessed is singular and masculine. /-t/ is suffixed to the base noun to indicate singular and feminine nouns or possessions. /-ku/ is suffixed all base nouns when things possessed is plural. In Bilin, (Yosief 1988), claims that genitive case is marked by the morpheme /-i/.

2.2.3.4 Locative case

Locative case refers to the inflection of a noun to indicate destination, i.e, it indicates the location of an entry or action (Crystal, 1997: 227). In Kemantney the location is marked the suffix /-il(i)/ as in the following examples.

(24) **a. kan - ili ankʷa dʒela xal- äkʷ**
 tree -Loc five bird see-Imp
 'I can see five birds on the tree.'

b. kʷir - il tiŋ wan -äkʷ
 river - Loc find Aux- Imp
 'It was found in the river.'

c. naydew säbär - il täkʷäsäm - in-iŋʷ
 they place - Loc sit - PL- PT
 'They sat down in their places.'

d. **gʷit - ɪli bɪzuw ən kɪrɪn - ɪk - wan- äkʷ - ɪn**

mountain - Loc many stone- PL- Aux- Imp - PL

'On the mountain there are many stones.'

e. **xʷira argig - li gändʒ- ɪxʷ**

child bed -Loc sleep -PT

'The child slept on the bed.'

f. **naydew kamion- ɪli gaɪɪlla**

they car- Loc they are

'They are in the car.'

As can be seen a locative relationship between an entity and the place it is located is indicated by /-(ɪ)li/ shows the fixed position, it fails the exact location of a person or an object denoted by a noun. Thus, adverbial expression such as *dʒab* 'front', *daga* 'top', *lud-* 'inside', and *sɪr* 'root' are used to specify the exact location of a noun (Appleyard, 1975: 322). The location of a noun in (24f) for example can be specified as in (25a) below

(25)

a. **naydew kamion -lud - ɪli təkʷäsm - ɪn gaɪɪlla**

they car - inside-Loc sit - PL they are

'They are in the car seated.'

In Awnji, the locative case marker is /-axʷda/ (Yonas, 1999:14).

2.2.3.5 Ablative case

Ablative case shows the source of direction of an act or occurrence. According to Pie and Gaynor (1954:3) it is called locative case because it explains ideas of sources. In Kemantney, the suffix /-z/ marks the ablative case. Consider the following example nouns are inflected for ablative case.

(26)

a. **inni xwära ayya - z t - iɣw**

this child market -Abl come -PT

'This boy came from the market.'

b. **yɪwna ayya - z t - iɣw**

woman market - Abl come-PT

'The women came from the market.'

c. **an bale - z t - iɣw**

I Bale - Abl come -PT

'I came from Bale.'

d. **ni wolayita -z t - iɣw**

he Wolayita- Abl come- PT

'He came from Wolayita.'

e. **xwira niŋ-iɣ t - iɣw**

child house-Abl come-PT

'The child came from home.'

f. **yɪwna kwar- iɣ axw laɟ - iɣw**

woman river-Abl water bring-PT

'The woman brought water from river.'

f. **kwar-iɣ**

river-Abl

'From river.'

g. **č'ilga-z**

Chilga-Abl

'From Chilga'

In Awnji, ablative case is marked by the suffix **/-des/** (Yonas, 1999:14-15).

The ablative case marker in Bilin is **/-iläd/** (Yosief 1988:11).

2.2.3.6 Dative case

Dative case is a grammatical inflection which is used in nouns to express the recipient of something, or it is that in which a noun is used when it is the indirect object of a sentence. According to Palmer (1978:106) describes the dative case as "The dative case indicates the person to whom something is given". It is grammatical case that marks typically the indirect object of a verb, the object of some prepositions or a possessor. In Kemantney, the morpheme /-(i)ʃ/ show as a dative marker (see also Appleyard, 1975:327). Consider the following examples.

(27)

a. an xwära -ʃ lall - is iw - iɣw
I boy -Dat bread -Acc give -PT
'I gave bread to the boy.'

b. ni kam-iʃ kas- is kiz-iɣw
he cow-dat kasa-Acc sell -PT
'He sold a cow to kasa.'

c. ni yiwna -ʃ mät'af -is iw - iɣw
he woman -Dat book - Acc give -PT
'He gave a book to the woman.'

d. ni käma- ʃ ʃanka-s iw- iɣw
he cow- Dat grass-Acc give-PT
'He gave grass to the cow.'

e. gäna xwir- ʃ way-t - iɣw
mother child-Dat buy-Pass-PT
'The mother bought bread to her daughter'

f. an niʃ - iʃ way-t säyiŋ- s- iɣw
I her-Dat buy-Pass cloth-Acc-PT
'I bought a cloth to her.'

g. Abebe niʃ - ʃ axw - is iw- iɣw
Abebe her -Dat water-Acc give-PT
'Abebe gave water to her.'

h. gwäzänta tarik - iʃ diw -iɣw
farmer story-Dat tell-PT
'The farmer told a story to the girl.'

As shown in (27) above, the dative marker /-ʃ/ is suffixed to nouns and pronouns assuming the role of the indirect object. In Awnji, a noun with indirect object function takes the suffix /-s/ (Yonas, 1999:13). In Bilin, the dative case is marked by the morpheme /-äd/ (Yosief, 1988:10).

Moreover, in summarizing this and other types of grammatical processes under the general theory of case, Lyons (1968:292-93) states that any general theory of case must recognize two facts: that the same case may realize more than one syntactic function and, ii. that a particular syntactic function may be realized by a variety of means in the same languages.

2.3 Noun Derivation

Derivation is the morphological process by which new words are formed from other words or roots. In other words, derivation is the process of creating new lexemes from other lexemes through affixation, reduplication, compounding, etc (Beard, 2001:64). In Kemantney, nominals are derived from other nominals, adjectival stems and verbal stems.

In the following section, deals different kinds of nominals found in Kemantney such as infinitival, abstract and agentive nominals. Appleyard (1975:340) states that the noun derivations are infinitival and agentive. In my finding and Zelalem (2003:123), Kemantney has the noun derivations such as infinitival, abstract and agentive.

2.3.1 Infinitival Nominal

The non-finite form of the verb is regarded as the unmarked or base form and used to cite a particular verb. In Kemantney, infinitival nominals are derived from verbs by suffixing **/(i)na/** to the verb stems (Appleyard, 1975:340 and Zelealem, 2003:246).

(3o) Verb	Gloss	Infinitival nominal	
was-	'hear'	was -na	'to hear'
x ^w -	'eat'	x ^w -ina	'to eat'
k ^w -	'kill'	k ^w -ina	'to eat'

dʒax-	'drink'	dʒxa-na	'to drink'
g ^w äz-	'plough'	g ^w äz-na	'to plough'
fäläg-	'desire'	fäläg-na	'to desire'
kilɪŋ-	'dance'	kilɪŋ-na	'to dance'
dint-	'swim'	dint-ina	'to swim'
xal-	'see'	xal-na	'to see'
t	'come'	tɪ-na	'to come'
ax-	'know'	ax-na	'to know'
wan-	'have'	wan-na	'to exist'
g ^w aŋ-	'dig'	g ^w aŋ-na	'to dig'
tɪŋ-	'find'	tɪŋ-na	'to find'
dɪŋ-	'finish'	dɪŋ-na	'to finish'
kɪna-	'like'	kɪna-na	'to like'
k ^w iz-	'cover'	k ^w iz-na	'to cover'
saβs-	'fight'	saβs-ina	'to fight'
awɪt	'where'	awɪt - na	'to where'
aɾ	'be'	aɾ-ina	'to be'

Generally, Kemantney infinitive forms are not inflected for number, person and gender. The occurrences of such nominals are shown in the following sentences.

(31) a. ni kilɪŋ -na fäläg - äk^w

he dance-Inf want -Impr

'He wants to dance.'

b. Hagos dʒax-na fäläg - äk^w

Hagos drink-Inf want -Impr

'Hagos wants to drink.'

c. **ni gändʒ -ina fäläg - ä - ti**

she sleep-Inf want- Imp-FS

'She wants to sleep.'

d. **naydew x^w -na fäläg - äk^w - in**

they eat -Inf want- Impr- PL

'They want to eat.'

In Awnji, infinitival nominals are formed by suffixing the allomorphs **/-n/** or **/-in/** on verbal bases. The latter is used when the verb ends in consonant and the former elsewhere. The same morpheme derives gerundive nominals from the verbal bases (Samuel 2007).

The negative infinitive is a combination of two verbs, a main verb and an auxiliary. The main verb takes the negative suffix **/-(i)gi/** which appears in embedded verbs and the auxiliary (Appleyard, 1975:340 and Zelealem, 2003:246).

(32)

was - gi - na 'not to hear'

x^w ig -na 'not to eat'

k^wigi - na 'not to kill'

dʒax gi - na 'not to drink'

g^wäz gi -na 'not to plough'

fälägi -na 'not to desire'

kiliŋ gi-na 'not to dance'

As it can be seen from (33) above, the morpheme **/-(i)gi/** is a negative marker in the infinitive verbs and **/i/** is the epenthetic vowel used to separate consonant cluster as mentioned previously.

2.3.2 Agentive nominal

Agentive nominal are derived from verbs of action and have the meaning like "one who does the action of the verb" (Comrie et.al 1985: 35). In Kemantney, such nominals are derived from verbs adding the suffix **/-änta/** (Zealealem, 2003:124). Consider the following examples in (33).

(33)

Verb root	gloss	Nominalizer	agent nominal	gloss
tas	'hit'	-änta	tasänta	'hitter'
s'af	'write'	-änta	s'afänta	'writer'
kint	'learn'	-änta	kintänta	'learner'
faɣ	'bake'	-änta	faɣ änta	'baker'
säbs	'fight'	-änta	säbsänta	'fighter'
dʒax	'drink'	-änta	dʒaxänta	'drunker'
dɪw	'tell'	-änta	dɪwänta	'teller'
waf	'lie'	-änta	wafänta	'liar'
gaŋ	'run'	-änta	gaŋ anta	'runner'

As illustrated in the above data, the agentive nominal marker **/-änta/** is suffixed to the verb. Examples in (35) below demonstrate this clearly.

(34)

a. ni s'af – änta gala

he farm – AG he is
'He is a writer.'

b. ni tas – änta gala

he hit -AG he is
'He is a hitter.'

c. ni gaŋ – änta gayla

she run – AG she is
'She is learner.'

d. ni waf - änta gayla

she lie - AG she is

'She is a liar.'

e. ni kilin - änta gayla

she dance - AG she is

'She is a dancer.'

f. ni fax - änta gala

he bake - AG he is

'He is a baker.'

g. annew jaw - änta gayla

we ask - AG we are

'We are beggars.'

h. intändew säbs - änta gaxlla

you (PL) fight - AG you are

'You are fighters.'

i. naydew säbs - änta gaxila

they fight - AG they are

'They are fighters.'

As can be observed, such suffixal elements are used in the process of the derivation of verbal resultative nouns. In Awnji (Yonas 1999), agentive nominals are derived from the root verbs by the suffix **/-ant/**. This suffix occurs immediately after the root verb. Feminine or masculine agent noun can be derived by adding the suffix **/-a/** or **/-i/** after the agent marker **/-ant/**. Thus {gorx/ant/ a} 'female digger' and {gorx/ant/i} 'male digger'

2.3.3 Abstract Nominals

Abstract nominals are derived by adding the suffixal elements **/-näy/** to the nominal base, and the same morpheme to the adjectival base. Below are some of the examples of abstract nominals derived from nominal base via suffixation of **-näy**.

(35)

Abstract nominal derived from nominal base by suffixing the morpheme-**näy**

Noun stems	Gloss	Nominalizer	Abstract nominal	Gloss
x ^w ira	'child'	- näy	x ^w ira -näy	'child hood'
y ⁱ wna	'woman'	- näy	y ⁱ wna-näy	'womanhood'
aba	'father'	- näy	aba-näy	'fatherhood'
y ⁱ wna	'female'	- näy	y ⁱ w ⁱ n-näy	'femaleness'
g ⁱ rwa	'male'	- näy	g ⁱ rw-näy	'maleness'

As illustrated above in (35), abstract nominal are derived from nominal base by suffixing - **näy** to nouns and deleting terminal vowel/a/.

Abstract nominal also can be derived from adjectival bases with the nominalizer suffix -**näy** as illustrated in the following examples.

(36)

Noun stems	Gloss	Nominalizer	abstract nominal	Gloss
x ^w aɸa	'bad'	-näy	x ^w aɸ-näy	'badness'
ɸig ^w ey	'small'	-näy	ɸig ^w ey-näy	'smallness'
ɸiraɣ	'big'	-näy	ɸiraɣ-näy	'bigness'
dɪxa	'poor'	-näy	dɪx-näy	'poorness'
habɪtam	'rich'	-näy	habɪtam-näy	'richness'
säraɣ	'red'	-näy	säraɣ-näy	'redness'
ɸäraɣ	'good'	-näy	ɸäraɣ-näy	'goodness'

As can be observed in (35) and (36), above result nominals are derived from the nominal and adjectival base by suffixing the morpheme -**näy**. Since the derived items are abstract nouns, we can surely consider the suffix -**näy** as an abstract nominalizer morpheme. In Awnji (Yonas 1999:20), abstract nominal are derived from an adjectival stem by adding the suffix /-t/.

2.4 Pronouns

In the previous section, we have seen various inflections of Kemantney nouns for different grammatical categories such as number, gender and case. Further more, different kinds of derived nominals have been identified and discussed. In this sub section, we shall consider inflections of personal pronouns for grammatical categories such as number, gender and case. We shall also consider different categories of pronouns such as possessive, demonstrative, reflexive and interrogative.

2.4.1 Personal pronouns and their inflections

Pronouns like I/me, we/us, you, he/him, she/her, it/they/them, are called personal pronouns not because they denote people, but because they encode the grammatical property of a person (Radford,1997:48). In Kemantney, personal pronouns are grouped as subject, object and possessive each having singular and plural as well as masculine and feminine forms. (See also Zelelem (2003), Appleyard (1975) and Conti Rossini (1912).

2.4.1.1 Subject Personal pronoun

There are seven subject personal pronouns in Kemantney. The gender distinction between masculine and feminine is not made in subject personal pronouns especially for the first, second and third person singular pronouns. This can be seen on the table given below.

Number	Person	Subject personal pronoun	Gloss
singular	1 st	An	‘I’
	2 nd	inti	‘you’
	3 rd	Ni	‘he/she’
	1 st	Anew	‘we’

plural	2 nd	intändew/intädew	'you'
	3 rd	naydew/nadew	'they'

Table 6: Subject personal pronouns

As shown in table (6), the plural number in Kemantney personal pronouns is designated by **/-V(C) dew/** added to the singular pronouns. The V is **/ä/** in 2PL and **/a/** in the 3PL. The optional consonant is **/-n/** in the 2PL and **/-y/** in the 3PL.

Inflections do not make a word change its syntactic category (Spencer, 1991:9). In Kemantney, subject personal pronouns are inflected for number. The plural marking **/-new/** and **/-dew/** are clearly identified to the first, second and third person singular, respectively. Besides, we can see gemination and vowel substitution when singular pronouns are inflected for number. Consider the following examples for subject personal pronouns.

(37) Singular

a. an gwäzän - t gayil

I farm - Pass I am
'I am a farmer.'

c. an kemantney gämär - iɣw

I Kemantney speak - PT
'I spoke Kemantney.'

e. inti bira way - t - iɣw

you ox buy - Pass- PT
'You (SG) bought ox.'

g. ni kinɣ' - änt gala

he teach - AG he is
'He is a teacher.'

Plural

b. annew kemantney kint - in- iɣw

we kemantney learn-PL- PT
'We learned Kemantney.'

d. annew kemantney gämär -in- iɣw

we kemantney speak- PL- PT
'We spoke Kemantney.'

f. intandew bira way- t - in- iɣw

you ox buy-Pass -PL- PT
'You (PL) bought an ox.'

h. annew sama as -in-iɣw

we many take -PL-PT
'We took many.'

i. **ni kint - änt gayla**

she learn - AG she is

'She is a student.'

j. **naydew bira kiz- n- iɣw**

they ox sell-PL-PT

'They sold an ox.'

2.4.1.2 Object personal pronouns

In Kemantney, there are seven object personal pronouns. The first and the second object pronouns employ new words that are different from their subject personal pronoun counterparts. However, the third person singular and all plural object pronouns are derived from their subject pronoun counterparts by adding the morphemes */-(i)t/* and */-(i)s/* for singular objective pronouns to feminine nouns and plural object pronoun to masculine noun respectively /see Zelealem 2003: 173/.

Person	Number	Object personal pronouns	Gloss
1 st	SG	yɪ- t	'me'
	PL	annew - is	'us'
2 nd	SG	kʷɪ-t	'you'
	PL	intändew - is	'you'
3 rd	SG	ni-t	'she'
		ni-t	'he'
	PL	naydew - is	'them'

Table 7: Object personal pronouns

The following data show the use of object personal pronouns.

(38) Singular

a. **ni yɪ - t tas - Ø - iɣw**

he me Obj hit - 3MS - PT

'He hit me.'

Plural

b. **naydew annew - is ax - n - iɣw**

they we - Obj know -PL - PT

'They knew us.'

c. **ni** **yɨ** - **t** **xal** - **Ø** - **ɨɣʷ** d. **annew** **naydew** - **ɨs** **waf** - **n** - **ɨɣʷ**
 she me - Obj see - 3F- PT we they - Obj lie - PL - PT
 'She saw me.' 'We lay them.'

e. **an** **ni** - **t** **yikal** - **Ø** - **ɨɣʷ** f. **inti** **naydew** - **ɨs** - **was** - **n** - **ɨɣʷ**
 I he - Obj love - 1SG - PT you they - Obj - hear - PL - PT
 'I loved him.' 'You (PL) heard them.'

g. **an** **ni** - **t** **xal** - **Ø** - **ɨɣʷ** h. **annew** **naydew** - **ɨs** **iw** - **n** - **ɨɣʷ**
 I she - Obj see - 1SG - PT we they - Obj give - PL - PT
 'I saw her.' 'We gave them.'

From the data presented above one can observe that, except the first and second person singular similar to Ximt'ana (Teshome, 2007:28), the plural forms of the pronouns are made by suffixing **/-(ɨ)t/** and **/-(ɨ)s/**. **/-t/** is suffixed to the singular object personal pronouns whereas **/-ɨs/** added to the plural counterparts. This implies that third person masculine and feminine singular object personal pronouns are derived from subject personal pronouns but the first singular and second singular forms are totally different.

2.4.2 Possessive pronouns

There are two types of possessive pronouns in Kemantney. The first is the one that indicates the possessor pronoun only (Independent possessive pronoun), and the second is the one that indicates both the possessor and the possessed (dependent possessive pronouns) (Zealelem 2003:175 and Appleyard 1975:321).

The independent possessive pronouns occur independently without attaching themselves to other words. They are marked by the suffixes **/-(ɨ)ɣʷ/** and **/-ax/** that show possessive case for singular and plural pronouns respectively.

Persons	Number	Possessive pronoun	Gloss
1 st	SG	yɨ - ɨɣ ^w	'mine'
	PL	ana - aɣ	'our'
2 nd	SG	ti - ɨɣ ^w	'yours'
	PL	ɨntɨ - aɣ	'yours'
3 rd	SG	nɨɟ - ɨɣ ^w	'hers'
		nɨ - ɨɣ ^w	'his'
	PL	na - aɣ	'theirs'

Table 8: Independent Possessive pronouns

Unlike the subject and object pronouns, the possessive pronouns show gender distinction in the third person singular. And also when the possessed noun is feminine, the suffixes change to /-ɨy/ and /-äy/ the singular and plural respectively. The following empirical data show the use of possessive pronouns.

(39)

a. yɨn kama yɨ - ɨɣ^w gayla
that cow my - Poss she is
'That cow is mine.'

b. yɨn xwära yɨ - ɨɣ^w gayla
that child my - Poss she is
'That child is mine.'

c. yɨn bir - i anä - aɣ gala
that ox - Nom our - Poss he is
'That ox is ours.'

d. yɪn bāyla anä - äy gayla

that mule our -Poss she is

'That Mule is ours.'

e. yɪn dam - i - ti - ɪɣ^w gala

that cat - Nom- your-Poss he is

'That cat is yours (SG).'

f. yɪn diɣwār - i - ti - ɪɣ^w gala

that donkey -Nom your- Poss he is

'That donkey is yours.'

g. yɪn kām - i ɪntä - äy gayla

that cow - Nom your -Poss she is

'That cow is yours (PL).'

h. yɪn timta ɪnti - aɣ gala

that bull your -Poss he is

'That bull is yours.'

i. yɪn kām - i - ni - ɪy gayla

that cow -Nom his -Poss she is

'That cow is his.'

j. yɪn bir - i niɟ - ɪɣ^w gala

that ox - Nom her -Poss he is

'That ox is hers.'

k. yɪn kām - i na - äy gayla

that cow -Nom their - Poss she is

'That cow is theirs.'

l. yɪn dʒägr - i na - aɣ gala

that monkey- Nom their-Poss he is

'That Monkey is theirs.'

In this language, the morphological markers show the possessive relationship between the possessor and possessed noun.

The dependent possessive pronouns in Kemantney are said to be the short variants of the independent possessive pronouns. Such kinds of pronouns can not stand alone by themselves unless they are in a structure. In Kemantney, only the root forms of the dependent possessive pronouns are used to show possession and are not inflected for grammatical categories except for gender in the third person singular (see also Zelcalem, 2003:177). The following table shows this clearly.

Number	Person	Bound possessive Pronoun	Gloss	Remark
SG	1 st	yɨ -	'my'	
	2 nd	ti -	'your'	
	3 rd	ni-ʃ	'her'	
		ni-	'his'	
PL	1 st	anä-	'our'	
	2 nd	ɨntä-	'your'	
	3 rd	na-	'their'	

Table 9: Dependent Possessive Pronouns

These dependent pronouns are position restricted; they can be at a subject position as the following examples illustrate.

(40)

yɨ xwära	my child	'my child'
yɨ - gäna	my mother	'my mother'
ti - käw	your(SG) village	'your village'
ti - yɨwna	your(SG) wife	'your wife'
nɨʃ - tän	her grandmother	'her grandmother'
nɨʃ - an	her grandfather	'her grandfather'

ni – aba	his father	‘his father’
anä – gɪzɪŋ	our dog	‘our dog’
ɪntä – xʷära	your(PL) child	‘your child’
na – käw	their village	‘their house’

As it has been already indicated in the above examples the dependent possessive pronouns are not inflected for person and case. However, both the independent and the dependent possessive pronouns can be used alternatively at a subject position, but the dependent pronouns are more preferred for indicating emphasis.

2.4.3 Demonstrative pronouns

In Kemantney there are two types of demonstrative pronouns for spatial identity of objects. The first one is indicating nearness and the second is for farness of something and each having singular and plural contrasts (See also Appleyard (1975:321) and Zelealem (2003:179). In Kemantney demonstrative pronouns are expressed using words /ɪnni/ ‘this’, /ɪndäw/ ‘these’, which refer to objects (referents) that are closer to the speaker. /yɪnni/ ‘that’, /yɪndäw/ ‘those’, referents are relatively far away from the speaker. These are shown in the following table (11).

Demonstrative Pronoun	Gloss	Distance
ɪnni	‘this’	near (SG)
ɪndäw	‘these’	near (PL)
yɪnni	‘that’	far (SG)
yɪndäw	‘those’	far (PL)

Table 10: demonstrative pronouns

The following data shows the use of demonstrative pronouns.

(41)

a. inni damiya

this cat

'This cat'

c. indäw dami - k

these cat - PL

'These cats'

e. yinni niŋ

that house

'That house'

g. yindäw xwirra

those child- PL

'Those children'

i. inni käma

this cow

'This cow'

k. indäw yi farz - i gaʃilla

these my horse-Nom they are

'These are my horses.'

m. yindäw niʃ xwärra gaʃilla

those her child-PL they are

'Those are her children.'

o. inni kʷira

'This river'

q. yinni kʷira

'That river'

b. inni xwära

this child

'This child'

d. indäw xwärla

these child(PL)

'These children'

f. yinni fintira

that goat

'That Goat'

h. yindäw бага-k

those sheep(PL)

'Those sheep'

j. yinni ni zän gala

that his brother he is

'That is his brother.'

l. inni yi gäna gayla

this my mother she is

'This is my mother.'

n. yinni ni - jän gayla

that his - sister she is

'That is his sister.'

p. yinni käw

'That village'

r. yindäw kʷir- ik

'Those river (PL)'

As can be observed, demonstrative pronouns in Kemantney distinguish different grammatical categories such as number, gender, case and distance. Both near and far demonstratives are shown with regard to speaker oriented situation. Both of them are used in general for determining or defining a noun. The choice of demonstratives depends largely on the direction (location) of the referred objects.

3.3 Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns refer to persons or things about which questions are asked. The common interrogative pronouns of Kemantney are the following.

(42) Interrogative pronouns	Gloss
aw	‘who’
wä	‘what’
waɣ	‘how’
wiɣ	‘why’
awɪn	‘when’
awtɪni	‘whom’
wixa	‘how many’
awɪnni	‘which’
awɪt	‘where’

As shown in (42) above, some of the interrogative pronouns are complex forms including more than one morpheme. For instance, **/awɪtɪni/** is a combination of **/awɪt/** ‘where’ and the particle **/-ɪni/** ‘is’. Similarly **/awɪnni/** ‘which’ is also made up of **/awɪn/** ‘when’ and the particle **/-ɪni/** ‘is’ (See Appleyard, 1975:321). The pronouns are used in structures like those (43) below.

(43)

a. **inti awit f-ät - iɣ^w**
 you where go-2P- PT
 'Where did you go?'

c. **an awin t - iɣ^w**
 I when come - PT
 'When did I come?'

e. **yinni aw ni-ma**
 that who is -Q
 'Who is that?'

i. **inti aw ni-ma**
 you who is -Q
 'Who are you?'

k. **wä säraɣ sab - ni-ma**
 what do Ger - is-Q
 'What are you doing?'

m. **an awin t - iɣ^w**
 I when come - PT
 'When did I come?'

o. **inti ti - ʃiŋ^w aw - ni-ma**
 you your name who - is -Q
 'What is your name?'

q. **inti ti xwar-la wixa - ni-ma**
 you your child-PL how many -is-Q
 'How many are your children?'

b. **inni aw - i bäga ni-ma**
 this who -of sheep is - Q
 'Whose sheep is this?'

d. **inti ti - ʃiŋ^w aw - ni-ma**
 you your - name who - is - Q
 'What is your name?'

f. **ni aw ni-ma**
 she who is - Q
 'Who is she?'

j. **ni aw ni-ma**
 he who is -Q
 'Who is he?'

l. **inti ti - xwära aw - ni-ma**
 you your - child who is -Q
 'Who is your child?'

n. **inti awit f-ät - iɣ^w**
 you where go-2P -PT
 'Why did you go?'

p. **inni aw - i bäga - ni-ma**
 this who - of sheep - is -Q
 'Whose sheep is this?'

r. **awin ti t- i-ma**
 when her- 3F-PT -Q
 'When did she come?'

From the facts presented above, one can observe that in (43), interrogative pronouns can do the function of nouns. In addition, interrogative pronouns are inflected for gender and number. For instance, in (43r) feminine gender is marked by the suffix /-t/ and in (43q) plurality is morphologically marked

by the suffix **/-la/**. So, it is possible to say that interrogative pronouns in Kemantney are inflected for gender and number.

3.4 Reflexive pronouns

The reflexive pronouns in Kemantney are formed by suffixing the word **/-aɣwäy/** meaning ‘**head**’ to the genitive pronouns form to render the meaning ‘oneself’ (Zealelem 2003:181). The examples in (44) present how the reflexive pronouns in Kemantney are formed.

(44) Singular	Plural
a. an yi - aɣwäy I my – head ‘I myself’	b. annew anä - aɣwäy we our - head ‘We ourselves’
b. inti ti - aɣwäy you your – head ‘You (SG) yourself’	c. intändew intä - aɣwäy you your - head ‘You (PL) yourselves’
d. ni ni - aɣwäy he his – head ‘He himself’	h. naydew na - aɣwäy they their - head ‘They themselves’
e. ni niɸ - aɣwäy she her - head ‘She herself’	

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to examine the inflectional and derivational properties of nouns and pronouns. In the discussion regarding inflections, we have seen inflections for gender, number and case. The other section of this chapter also deals with the derivation of infinitival, agentive, and abstract nominals. Finally, different categories of pronouns such as personal pronoun (subject, object and possessive), demonstrative, interrogative and reflexive pronouns have been discussed. It has also been shown that the personal pronouns of the language are inflected for different grammatical categories such as number, gender, person and case.

CHAPTER THREE

Verb Morphology

3.1 Verbs

In the preceding chapter, the inflectional and derivational morphology of nouns and pronouns have been presented. In this chapter, a descriptive analysis of the verb morphology of the language will be discussed. The chapter begins with the classification of verbal stems, followed by inflectional and derivational morphology of the language.

The word order of Kemantney is SOV Zelealem (2003), Appleyared (1975), Sasse (1984). Other sister languages such as Ximt'ana Mengistu (1984), Awñi Samuel (2007), and Bilin Palmer (1958) also have SOV word order. Consider the following examples.

(1) a. **kasa fɪntɪra kɪz-ɪɣ^w**

kasa goat sell-PT

'Kasa bought a goat.'

b. **nɪŋ tak'atal -ɪɣ^w**

house burn - PT

'The house was burnt.'

c. **kasa andʒɪn f -ɪɣ^w**

kasa yesterday go-PT

'Kasa went to yesterday.'

d. **yɪr ara xɪy - ɪɣ^w**

man food eat- PT

'The man ate food.'

e. **ni gändʒ -ɸ- ɪɣ^w**

he sleep -3MS- PT

'He slept.'

f. **kasa käma way- t - ɪɣ^w**

kasa cow buy-Pass-PT

'Kasa bought a cow.'

g. **x^wɪra yɪ dʒax - ɪn - ɪɣ^w**

child me insult -PL- PT

'The children insulted me.'

h. **damiya ɪnʃwa k^w- ɪɣ^w**

cat rat kill-PT

'The cat killed the rat.'

From the above data one can observe that, verbs occur on the final position. However, the entire sentence will be ungrammatical if a verb is substituted by a noun or an adjectives, this will result in ungrammatical sentence. This

does not mean that verbs are different from other categories. For example, in Kemantney, verbs are inflected for number and gender similar to nominals. However, they differ morphologically from all other categories in that they are inflected for person, tense/aspect and mood.

Classification of Verb Stems

Verb stems in Kemantney end in consonants and classified as mono-consonantal, mono-Syllabic, di -Syllabic and tri-Syllabic based on the number of consonants they show in their surface forms. The patterns of simple verb stems are listed below with their corresponding CV structures and glosses. The hyphen shows that their being affixed by inflectional elements in order to form a phonological word.

(2)

i. Mono -consonantal

The following are mono consonantal verb stems in Kemantney.

	<u>Verb stem</u>	<u>C structure</u>	<u>gloss</u>
(2)	C-	/t-/	‘come’
	C-	/y-/	‘say’
	C-	/f-/	‘go’
	C-	/b-/	‘leave’
	C-	/x ^w -/	‘eat’
	C-	/k ^w -/	‘kill’
	C-	/g ^w -/	‘rise’

ii. Mono -Syllabic

Some of the verb stems in Kemantney are mono-syllabic. Consider the following examples.

	<u>CV/VC/CVC structures</u>	<u>Verb stem</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(3)	VC	/aʃ-/	‘be’
	VC	/ax-/	‘know’

VC	/as-/	‘take’
VC	/aʃ-/	‘harvest’
CV	/bi-/	‘dust’
CVC	/kiz-/	‘sell’
CVC	/gaŋ-/	‘run’
CVC	/g ^w aŋ-/	‘dig’
CVC	/k ^w aŋ-/	‘chew’
CVC	/ʃiy-/	‘hold’
CVC	/kab-/	‘cut’
CVC	/dɪw-/	‘tell’

iii. Di – Syllabic

In Kemantney, di-syllabic verb stems are very common. Let’s examine the following examples.

CVCV structure	verb stem	Gloss
(4) VCVC	awär-	roast’
VCVC	awɪŋ-	‘cry’
CVCV	kɪŋa	‘death’
CVCV	kɪna	‘wood’
CVCVC	kɪlɪŋ-	‘dance’
CVC ₁ C ₂ VC –	xiyraf	‘smell’

iv. Tri –Syllabic

Like the bi-syllabic verb stems, the tri-syllabic verb stems are also common in Kemantney. Consider the following examples.

CVCVC structure	verb stem	Gloss
(5)		

CVCVC ₁ VC ₂ -	waxärt	‘play’
	tak ^w äsɨm-	‘sit’
CVCVCVC -	g ^w äläläy	‘depart’

Of the four groups above, the bi-syllabic and tri-syllabic verb stems are the most common. As it can be seen from the examples above, all verb stems end in consonant.

The verb stems are followed by different grammatical markers such as person, number, gender, tense result and mood. Having presented this classification, the processes of inflection and its results will be discussed in the following sections.

3.2 Verb inflections

Verbs in Kemantney are inflected for person, number, gender, tense/aspect and mood. In this section, I shall discuss the way these inflectional categories are expressed.

3.2.1 Person

The category ‘person’ distinguishes between the speaker (1st person) the addressee (2nd person) and the non- participant (3rd person). It also does between inclusive (speaker plus addressee plus perhaps others) and exclusive (speaker plus others excluding addressee) forms (Anderson, 1985:197).

In Kemantney, pronominal suffixes are attached to the verb stem to show agreement between the subject and the verb of a sentence. The person marking morphemes are the following.

(6)	Singular	Plural
1 st	-ø-	-ø-
2 nd	-(i)y	-(i)y
3 rd M.	-ø-	-ø-
F.	-ø-	-ø-

As shown above (6), the morpheme /**ə**/ shows first person singular and plural, third person masculine and feminine singular and plural. The second person singular and plural are marked by /-(**i**)**y**/ as mentioned in section (1.8.5.2) earlier and the vowel /**i**/ is an epenthesis vowel. Let's consider the following examples.

Singular	Plural
(7) a. an läbät -ə-iɣ^w I fall -1SG-PT 'I fell.'	b. annew x^w -in -iɣ^w we eat-PL-PT 'We ate.'
c. an gändɟ - ə - iɣ^w I sleep-1SG-PT 'I slept.'	d. annew gändɟ-in-iɣ^w we sleep-PL-PT 'We slept.'
e. inti ni xal -y-iɣ^w you he see-2P-PT 'You saw him.'	f. intändew niɟ xal -y-in-iɣ^w you her see-2P-PL-PT 'You saw her.'
g. ni dɟax - ə - iɣ^w he drink-1SG-PT 'He drank.'	h. naydew dɟax -n-iɣ^w they drink-PL-PT 'They drank.'
i. ni tas -i-t she hit -PT-F 'She hit.'	j. naydew ayya fäy -n-iɣ^w they market go-PL-PT 'They went to market.'

As can be seen in (7 e, f, g, h) above, in Kemantney, person markers are overtly shown in second person singular and plural forms. However, in Ximt'aja (Mengistu 1984) claims that there are three persons, distinguished from each other by the markers /**n**/, /**r**/ and /**ə**/ for first, second and third persons respectively.

3.2.2 Number

Spencer and Zwicky (2001, 27) define numbers "a category of morphosyntactic properties used to distinguish the quantity to which a noun phrase refers." There are different types of numbers. These include singular (one item), plural (more than one), dual (two), trial (three), and paucal (a few).

In Kemantney, verbs are distinguished between singular and plural. The distinction is shown in the following conjugation.

(8)	Singular	Plural
1 st	-Ø-	1 st -(i)n-
2 nd	-Ø-	2 nd -n
3 rd M/F	-Ø-	3 rd -(i)n-

Singularity is marked the first and third person masculine by **-Ø-**. The plural marking morpheme is **/-(i)n/** and occurs in the conjugation of the first ,second and third person plural forms. The vowel **/i/** which appears as an epenthetic vowel is inserted to break up consonant cluster. Consider the following examples.

(9)	Singular	Plural
a.	an läbät -Ø- iɣw I fall -1SG-PT 'I fell.'	b. annew läbät - n - iɣw we fall - PL- PT 'We fell.'
c.	an gändʒ - φ - iɣw I sleep- 1SG-PT 'I slept.'	d. annew gändʒ - in - iɣw we sleep -PL - PT 'They slept.'
e.	inti tas - y - iɣw you hit - 2P- PT 'You (SG) hit.'	f. intändew tas - y - in - iɣw you hit - 2P - PL - PT 'You (PL) hit.'

g. inti gändʒ - iy - iɣ^w you sleep 2P - PT 'You (SG) slept.'	h. intändew gändʒ - iy - n - iɣ^w you sleep - 2P - PL -PT 'You (PL) slept.'
i. ni waɣärt- i - ti she play - PT - F 'She played.'	j. naydew waɣärt-in- iɣ^w they play - PL -PT 'They played.'
k. ni fäy - i - ti she go - PT - F 'She went.'	l. naydew fäy - in - iɣ^w they go - PL - PT 'They went.'

As shown above (9), the morpheme /Ø/ shows first and third person singular masculine pronouns. The second person singular and plural are marked by /-y/. The suffix /-ti/ shows that feminine gender in third person singular. The plural number is marked by /-(i)n/ being inflected to the first, second and third persons, /-i/ is an epenthetic vowel as mentions in earlier section.

3.2.3 Gender

Gender is a classification of words usually related in someway to the sex of the referent between masculine and feminine or to the biological condition is of being male or female. In Kemantney, verbs distinguish between masculine and feminine genders. The distinction is shown in the following conjugation.

(10)	Singular	Plural
1 st	-Ø-	-Ø-
2 nd	-Ø-	-Ø-
3 rd M.	-Ø-	-Ø-
F.	-t(i)-	

As can be seen in (10) above, in the third person /-t(i)/ marks 'feminine' while the masculine is marked by zero. As in Kahmtanga (Mengistu 1984),

similar to Kemantney, the distinction of gender is found in the third person singular only. It is the case that masculinity is usually unmarked in verbs. The summary of markers in the past tense conjugation is given in the table below.

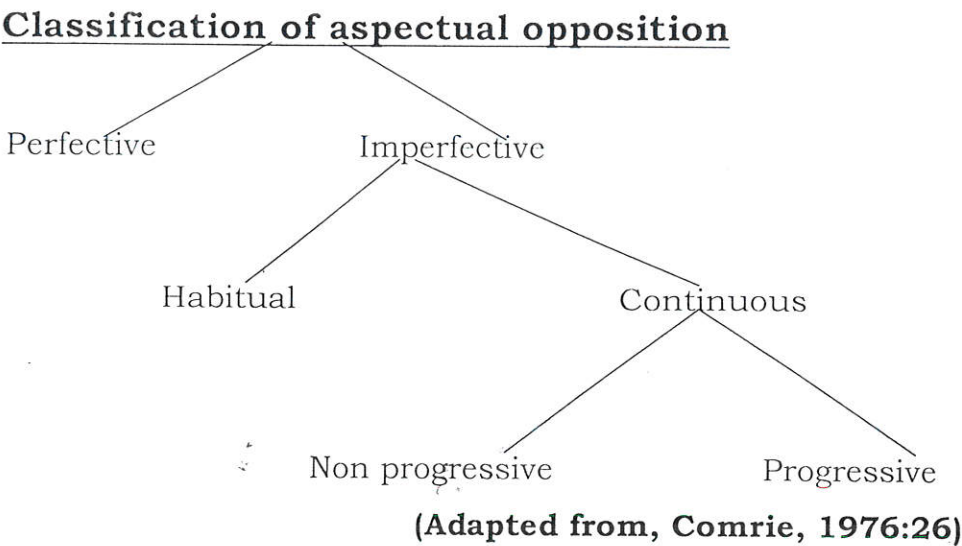
Person	Verb stem	Person marker	Number	Past tense marker
1 st	k ^w ɨ	Ø		-ɨɣ ^w
2 nd	k ^w ɨ	-y		-ɨɣ ^w
3 rd M	k ^w ɨ	Ø		-ɨɣ ^w
F	k ^w	-t		-ɨ
1 st	k ^w ɨ	Ø	-n-	-ɨɣ ^w
2 nd	k ^w ɨ	-y	-n-	-ɨɣ ^w
3 rd	k ^w ɨ	Ø	-n-	-ɨɣ ^w

Table 12: Summary of the tense conjugation

3.2.2 Tense and Aspect

Tense is a deictic category that relates an event to some reference time, usually to the moment of utterance (Payne, 1997:236). According to him, reference point of time can be the present moment or some other time determined by context. Aspect is a grammatical category showing the internal temporal constituent of events or states (Payne, 1997:238). According to Comrie (1976:3), aspect is concerned with the action of the verb, its beginning continuity and completion. This can be categorized into perfective, imperfective, habitual, prospective, progressive and inceptive e.t.c aspects. However, not all of these are morphologically realized in all languages. In Kemantney, there are three aspects as well as different tenses. The aspects are perfective, imperfective and progressive (Zealealem, 2003:192).⁵ In Bilin, tense and aspect are related in they go together (Yosief,

1988:24). In the following sub sections the aspectual categories will be discussed.



3.2.2.1 Perfective Aspect

The perfective aspect is characterized by the fact that the time for which an assertion is made has a common sub-interval with the source state as well as with the target state (Comrie, 1976:28). The perfective aspect is commonly used in expressing complete action. In Kemantney, the perfective aspect can be categorized as the simple past, remote past and present perfect. Such aspectual categories will be dealt in the sections below.

⁵Anbessa (2000:72) claims that Sidama and other highland east Cushitic languages do not have distinct formatives for tense and aspect. They are fused together and hence the same formative functioning both as tense and aspect marker. Moges (1984:11) also claims that in Hadiyya there is no clear cut distinction between aspect and tense. Aspect and tense seems to completely tied up with one another.

3.2.2.1.1 The Simple Past Tense

The past tense locates actions at time prior to a present moment (Comrie, 1985:41). In Kemantney, the simple past tense is expressed with the suffix /-i/ and /-iɣw/ which occur next to the verb stem (Zealealem, 2003:192). The former expresses the third person feminine singular, while the later indicates all the rest person. The simple past tense in Kemantney is used to express an action completed in the recent past as shown in (11) below.

(11) Singular

a. an ni was - Ø - iɣw

I he hear -1SG- PT
'I heard him.'

c. an inɣwa kwɪ- Ø - iɣw

I rat kill-1SG-PT
'I killed a rat.'

e. intɪ bāla kal - y- iɣw

you door break -2P -PT
'You(SG) broke the door.'

e. ni gāmān-i kwɪ - Ø - iɣw

he lion-Nom kill - 3MS-PT
'He killed the lion.'

g. ni inɣiwa kwɪ - t - i

she rat kill - PT -3FS
'She killed the rat.'

Plural

b. annew ni was -in-iɣw

we he hear -PL-PT
'We heard him.'

d. annew mirāwa kwɪ-n-iɣw

we snake kill -PL-PT
'We killed a snake.'

f. intāndew bāla kal - y- in-iɣw

you door break -2P-PL- PT
'You(PL) broke the door.'

f. naydew damiya kwɪ - n - iɣw

they cat kill- PL -PT
'They killed the cat.'

h. naydew yɪb-i kina - n-iɣw

they tiger-Nom like -PL-PT
'They liked the tiger.'

As shown in the above examples, the verb stem is followed by number, person and tense markers. In such conjugation, the simple past tense is expressed by the suffixes /- iɣw/ and /-i/ which occur the verb stem and number marker in plural and singular persons respectively.

As Khamta (Mengistu 1984) the past tense marker is the morpheme /-u-/ it occurs before person or number markers. In Bilin, the simple past tense marked by the morpheme /-u/ and /-i/ feminine respectively (Yosief, 1988:24).

3.2.2.1.2 The Present Perfect Tense

This tense expresses an action that started at some point in the past and was completed in the near past (Comrie, 1985). In Kemantney, it is expressed by the morphemes /ä/ which occurs with third feminine singular, and /-äk^w/ which occur else where. Consider the following examples in (12) below.

(12) Singular

Plural

a. an dʒäna xal - wan -äk^w

I elephant see - Aux - Impr

'I have seen elephant.'

c. an injera x^w -wan- äk^w

I injera eat -Aux-Impr

'I have eaten injera.'

e. inti wayt - iy - an - y - äk^w

you buy - 2P - Aux -2P - Impr

'You have bought.'

g. inti was -y-an-y- äk^w

you hear-2p-Aux-Impr

'You have heard.'

i.ni kiz - wan - äk^w

he sell - Aux - Imp

'He has sold.'

b. annew injwa xal-ni -wan-n - äk^w

we rat see-PL-Aux-PL-Impr

'We have seen rat.'

d. annew x^{wa} - n - wan - n - äk^w

we eat - PL - Aux -PL- Impr

'We have eaten.'

f. intändew wayt -iy-in-wan-y-äk^w-in

you buy-2p-PL-Aux-2p-Impr-PL

'You have bought.'

h. intändew was -y-in-wan-y-äk^w-in

you hear-2P-PL-Aux-2P-Impr-PL

'You have heard.'

j. naydew kiz -n- wan- äk^w- in

they sell -PL-Aux-Impr-PL

'They have sold.'

k. ni fä - y - an - ä - t
 she see - 3P - Aux - Imp-F
 'She has gone.'

l. naydew fä- n- wan-äk^w -in
 they go-PL-Aux-Impr-PL
 'They have gone.'

m. ni waṛärt-ɨ wan-äk^w
 he play-Aux- Impr
 'He has played.'

h. naydew waṛärt-nɨ-wan-äk^w- n
 they play - PL - Aux - Imp - PL
 'They have played'.

As can be observed from (12) above, the present perfect in Kemantney, consists of the verb, the auxiliary and the imperfective marker. In addition to this, second person marker appears both in the main and auxiliary verbs. Number and aspect markers are interchangeable within the second and third person plural. In the present perfect tense and imperfective aspect, there is double plural marker have in the second person plural and third person plural. And also the main verb is inflected in the past, while the auxiliary inflected in the past has a present meaning. This is true of a number other languages, like Amharic. As Bilin, (Yosief 1988), the present perfect tense markers are /-o/ and /-ro/ for masculine and feminine respectively.

3.2.2.1.3 The Remote Past /Past Perfect/

The remote past/past perfect indicates actions that started and completed in the remote past (Pintzuk, 2000:128). In Kemantney, the remote past is expressed by the combination of the gerundive form of verb and the past marker /**simb-**/ (Zealealem, 2003:194 and Appleyard, 1975). Let's as examine the following examples.

(13) Singular

a. an diw - wä simb - φ - eɣ^w
 I tell -Ger be -1SG -PT
 'I had told.'

Plural

b. annew diw- in-wä- simb-in-eɣ^w
 we tell- PL-Gcr be- PL-PT
 'We had told.'

c. an wayt- iwä simb- φ- eɣ^w

I buy-Ger be-1SG-PT

'I had bought.'

e. an tiŋ wä simb- Ø - eɣ^w

I find-Ger be-1SG-PT

'I had found.'

g. an kint - ä simb-Ø- eɣ^w

I learn -Ger be - 1SG -PT

'I had learnt.'

i. inti as - y - ä simb - iy - eɣ^w

you take-2P-Ger be - 2P - PT

'You had taken.'

k. inti sär - y - ä simb - i - ti

you make - 2P- Ger be- 2P -PT

'You (SG) had made.'

m. inti x - y - ä simb - iy eɣ^w

you wash - 2P -Ger be - 2P - PT

'You had washed.'

o. ni faɣ - y - ä simb - i - ti

she marry-3Fs -Ger be -PT -3Fs

'She had married.'

q.ni kaʃin-y-ä simb-i-ti

ni call-2p-Ger be-PT-3Fs

'You had called.'

s. ni yikal-y- ä simb-i-ti

she love-2p-Ger be-PT-3Fs

'She had loved.'

d.annew wayt-in- wä simb - in - eɣ^w

we buy - PL -Ger be - 1PL -PT

'We had bought.'

f. annew tiŋ-in-wä simb-in-eɣ^w

we find-PL-Ger be-PL-PT

'We had found.'

h. annew kint- in- wä simb- in- eɣ^w

we learn-PL- Ger be-PL-PT

'We had learnt.'

j. intändew as -y-in-wä simb-i-n-eɣ^w

you take-2p-PL-Ger be-2p-PL-PT

'You had taken.'

l. intändew sär -y- in-wä simb-i-n- eɣ^w

you make-2p-PL-Ger be -2p-PL-PT

'You had made.'

n.intändew x -y- in-wä simb-i-n- eɣ^w

you wash-2p-PL-Ger be- 2p-PL-PT

'You had washed.'

p. naydew faɣ-y-in-wä simb -i-n- eɣ^w

they marry-2p-PL-Ger be-2p-PL-PT

'They had married.'

r.naydew kaʃin-y-in-wä simb-i-in- eɣ^w

you call - 2P -PL- Ger be - 2P - PL - PT

'You (PL) had called.'

t. naydew yikäl - ni - wä simb - in - eɣ^w

they love - PL- Ger - be - PL - PT

'They had loved.'

u. ni gändʒ - y -ä simb - i - ti v. naydew gändʒ-in-wä simb-in-ɛʷ
 she sleep -3Fs -Ger be -PT -3Fs they sleep-PL-Ger be -PL-PT
 'She had slept.' 'They had slept.'

w. ni xafänt -iwä simb-ø-ɛʷ x. naydew xafänt-in - wä simb -in-ɛʷ
 he steal -Ger be -1SG-PT they steal -PL - Ger be - PL - PT
 'He had stolen.' 'They had stolen.'

As can be observed from the above examples, the gerundive marker and the verb to be show that person, gender and number inflections. The tense also indicated by the verb to be **simb-**. The gerundive marker **/-wä/** is **/w/** deleted in the second person singular and third feminine singular followed by the person marker **/y/**. And also the past marker of the auxiliary changes in third feminine singular is the front high vowel **/i/**.

3.2.2.2 The Imperfective Aspect (non-past tense)

The imperfective aspect in the language can be categorized into the progressive and non-progressive. According to Crystal (1997:191), imperfective aspect is used in the grammatical analysis of aspect, referring to those forms of the verbs which mark the way in which the internal time structure of a situation is viewed. A form of the verb in Kemantney expresses an action or event that is not completed prior to the time of speaking. In Kemantney, the imperfective aspect of the present or future tense contains the suffixes **/-ä/** and **/-äkʷ/**. The former occurs in the third person feminine singular while the later else where. This will be seen in the sections below.

3.2.2.2.1 Non-Progressive

In Kemantney, the non-progressive aspect is formed by the suffix contains the mid central vowel **/ä/** which occurs in the third person feminine singular and **/äkʷ/** elsewhere. This form is used to express an action occurring in

the present and future moment. That is, in Kemantney, the present and future tenses are equally expressed by the same morpheme (Zealealem 2003: 194). Consider the following examples.

(14)

a. an kaʃiŋ - äkw

I call - Impr

'I (will) call you.'

b. ni wayt - äkw

he buy - Impr

'He (will) buy.'

c. annew gändʒ - n - äkw

we sleep - PL - Impr

'We (will) see.'

d. naydew tas - äkw - in

they hit - Impr - PL

'They (will) hit.'

e. ni xaʃant - ä - t

she steal - Impr - 3FS

'She (will) steal.'

f. annew ʃiw - n - äkw

we beg - PL - Impr

'We (will) beg.'

g. naydew kiz - äkw - in

they sell - Impr - PL

'They (will) sell.'

i. inti tiw - y - äkw

you come - 2P - Impr

'You (SG) (will) come.'

j. ni waxärt - ä - t

she play - Impr - 3Fs

'She (will) play.'

k. intandew sär - y - äkw - in

you do - 2P - Impr - PL

'You (PL) (will) do.'

l. an timb - äkw

I stand - Impr

'I (will) stand.'

m. ni kint - äkw

he learn - Impr

'He (will) learn.'

n. intandew was - y - äkw - in

you hear - 2P - Impr - PL

'You (PL) (will) hear.'

o. an gämär - äkw

I talk - Impr

'I (will) talk.'

h. annew täk^wäsäm – n – äk^w

we sit – PL – Impr
'We (will) sit.'

As can be seen in the above examples, the form is used to express an action occurring in the present and future moments. The number and aspect marker are interchangeable in the second person plural and third person plural. As Khamta (Mengistu 1984), the present /future tense marker is -ək-. In Bilin, the present tense marked by the morpheme /-ä/ for masculine and feminine suffixed to the verb (Yosief 1988).

3.2.2.2.2 Progressive Imperfective

a. Present Progressive

The present progressive denotes the continuation of an action either sometimes in the past (past progressive) or during the time of utterance (present progressive) (Kroch, 2000:711). The progressive imperfective aspect in Kemantney is expressed by the morpheme /-sab/. In the processes of progressive imperfective aspect formation such suffix is attached to the main verb and the imperfective marker /-ä/. Consider the following examples.

(15) Singular

a. an was – ä – sab gayil

I listen-Impr-Prog I am
'I am hearing.'

c. an gan – ä – sab – gayil

I run -Imp-Prog - I am
'I am running.'

e. an bāla inʃ – ä- sab gayil

I door open-Impr-Prog I am
'I am opening the door.'

Plural

b. annew was – in – ä – sab – gayilla

we hear -2P-Impr- Prog – we are
'We are hearing.'

d. annew gan – in – ä – sab gayilla

we run – PL -Imp-Prog we are
'We are running.'

f. annew bāla inʃ – in – ä – sab gayilla

we door open-PL- Imp -Prog we are
'We are opening the door.'

g. an kăna kăb - ä - sab gayil

I tree cut -Imp -Prog I am
'I am cutting the tree.'

h. annew kăna kăb- ä-sab gaɣilla

we tree cut-Impr-Prog we are
'We are cutting the tree.'

i. intî kîlîŋ- y- ä - sab gaɣilla

you dance-2p-Impr-Prog you are
'You are dancing.'

j. intändewkîlîŋ-y-än-ä-sab gaɣilla

you dance-2P-PL-Impr-Prog you are
'You are dancing.'

k. ni fäy - y - ä - sab - gayla

she go -3Fs-Impr-Prog - she is
'She is going.'

l. naydew fä - in- ä- sab gaɣilla

they go- PL-Impr-Prog they are
'They are going.'

m. ni lif -ä- sab gala

he shave-Impr-Prog he is
'He is shaving.'

n. naydew lif - än - ä - sab gaɣilla

they shave -PL -Imp- Prog they are
'They are shaving.'

o. ni tîxîz - ä - sab gala

he smoke-Impr-Prog he is
'He is smoking.'

h. naydew tîxîz - än - ä - sab gaɣilla

they smoke - PL- Imp -Prog they are
'They are smoking.'

As can be observed (15) above, the suffix **-sab**, which is attached to the main verb and in addition to that, the progressive marker, the main verb is inflected for the imperfective marker. As Bilin, (Yosief 1988), the progressive tense is marked by the independent morpheme /**unku-**/.

b. Past Progressive

The past progressive is made by the auxiliary in the past /- **sîmb**/

(16) Singular

a. an waɣxâr - ä - sab sîmb- eɣ^w

I ask - Imp - Prog be - PT
'I was asking.'

b. an kinʃ - ä - sab sɪmb - eɣ^w

I teach - Imp-Prog be - PT

'I was teaching.'

c. an ʃiɰ - ä - sab sɪmb - eɣ^w

I beg - Imp-Prog be - PT

'I was begging.'

d. an dʒax - ä - sab sɪmb - eɣ^w

I drink - Imp- Prog be - PT

'I was drinking.'

e. an kilɪŋ - ä - sab sɪmb - eɣ^w

he dance - Imp-Prog be - PT

'I was dancing.'

f. ɪntɪ gändʒ - y - ä - sab sɪmb - iɣ - eɣ^w

you sleep - 2P - Impr-Prog be - 2P - PT

'You (SG) were sleeping.'

g. ɪntɪ x^w - iɣ - ä - sab - sɪmb - iɣ - eɣ^w

you eat - 2P - Impr-Prog be - 2P - PT

'You (SG) were eating.'

h. ni käläbt - ä - sab sɪmb - eɣ^w

he receive - Impr-Prog be - PT

'He was receiving.'

i. ni biwt - y - ä - sab sɪmb - i - ti

she flow - 3FS - Impr -Prog be - PT- 3FS

'She was flowing.'

j. ni was - ä - sab sɪmb - eɣ^w

he hear - Impr- Prog be - PT

'He was hearing.'

k. ni täk^wäsäm - y - ä - sab sɪmb - i - ti

she sit - 3FS- Impr- Prog be - PT - 3FS

‘She was sitting.’

l. ni tɪŋkɪb - ä - sab sɪmb - eɣ^w

he push - Impr-Prog be - PT

‘He was pushing.’

Plural

m. annew ʃayt - ɪn - ä - sab sɪmb - ɪn - eɣ^w

we burn -PL -Impr-Prog be - PL - PT

‘We were burning.’

n. annew gämär - ɪn - ä - sab sɪmb - i - n - eɣ^w

We speak - PL- Impr-Prog be - 2P -PL - PT

‘We were speaking.’

o. annew wəɪnt - ɪn - ä - sab sɪmb - ɪn - eɣ^w

we swim - PL - Impr - Prog be - PL - PT

‘We were swimming.’

p. ɪntändew kɪlɪŋ - y - än - ä - sab sɪmb - i - n - eɣ^w

you dance - 2P -PL -Impr - Prog be - 2P - PL - PT

‘You (PL) were dancing.’

q. ɪntändew x^w - ɪy- än - ä - sab sɪmb - i - n - eɣ^w

You eat - 2P -PL- Impr -Prog be - 2P -PL- PT

‘You (PL) were eating.’

r. ɪntändew was - y - än - ä - sab sɪmb - i - n - eɣ^w

you hear - 2P - PL-Impr -Prog be - 2P-PL -PT

‘You (PL) were hearing.’

s. **naydew wayt – än – ä – sab simb – in – eɣ^w**

they buy – PL – Impr-Prog be – PL – PT

'They were buying.'

t. **naydew tiɣ^w än – ä – sab simb – in – eɣ^w**

they come – PL – Impr-Prog be – PL – PT

'They were coming.'

As can be observed (16) above, the structure is made up of the main verb which is inflected for number, person, perfective aspect and the past - **simb** plus the auxiliary inflected for number, aspect and person. As Bilin, (Yosief 1988), the past progressive is expressed by suffixing **/-ru/** for feminine and **/-u/** for masculine.

3.2.3 Mood

Mood is a distinction in verb forms that distinguishes the way in which an utterance expresses a speaker's attitude to what he is saying (Stump 2001:29). Some linguists prefer to restrict the use of the term 'mood' to the types expressed by verbal inflections. Others use as 'modality' to those label for the grammatical category as a whole. In this subsection, the term 'mood' is used as all types that mentioned before.

3.2.3.1 The Gerundive Mood

Gerundive mood is the future passive participle in Latin, functioning as verbal adjective and expressing the fitness or necessity of the action to be performed (Crystal, 1997). Zelealem (2003:208), claims that the gerundive markers in Kemantney are **/-ä/** and **/-(i) wä/**. The former is used with second person singular and third person feminine singular marker, while the later else where. Consider the following example.

(17)

a. an dʒax - wä

I drink - Ger
'I having drunk.'

c. ni dʒax - wä

he drink - Ger
'He, having drunk'

e. intändew dʒax - i - n - wä

you drink - 2P- PL - Ger
'You (PL) having drunk.'

g. naydew dʒax - in - wä

they Sdrink - PL - Ger
'They having drunk'

b. inti dʒax - iy - ä

you drink - 2P - Ger
'You (SG) having drunk.'

d. ni dʒax - iy - ä

she drink - 3FS - Ger
'She having drunk.'

f. annew dʒax - in - wä

we drink - PL - Ger
'We having drunk.'

As can be observed the above examples, the morpheme /-ä/ appears in the second person singular and third person feminine singular where /w/ is deleted.

3.2.3.2 The Jussive Mood

Jussive is a command directed to someone other than a second person addressee. It is sometimes referred to as 'third person imperative (Palmer, 1986:24). The jussive mood expresses an indirect command request, permission or polite question for the first person plural and third person singular and plural. In Kemantney, the suffix /-iw/ is used for the first person singular and /-(i)wä/ is used for the other persons similar to gerundive mood but the suffix /-(i)d/ appears as a third masculine singular and third plural marker in the jussive mood. And also the morpheme /-(i)d/ changes to its counterpart in the third feminine singular. The jussive marker occurs following a person marker as shown stems /gämär-/ 'speak', /was-/ 'hear', /waṣärt-/ 'play'.

(18)

an gämär – iw	I speak – Jus	‘let me speak’
ni gämär – d – iwä	he speaks – 3MS – Jus	‘let him speak’
ni – gämär – t – iwä	she speaks 3FS – Jus	‘let her speak’
annew gämär – n – iwä	we speak – PL – Jus	‘let us speak’
naydew gämär – d – in – wä	they speak – 3P – PL – Jus	‘let them speak’
an was – iw	I hear – Jus	‘let me hear’
ni – was – d – iwä	he hears – 3MS – Jus	‘let him hear’
ni – was – t – iwä	she hears – 3FS – Jus	‘let her hear’
annew was – n – iwä	we hear – PL – Jus	‘let us hear’
naydew was – d – in – wä	they hear – 3P – PL – Jus	‘let them hear’
an waxärt – iw	I play – Jus	‘let me play’
ni – waxär – d – iwä	he plays – 3MS – Jus	‘let him play’
ni waxär – t – iwä	she plays – 3FS – Jus	‘let her play’
annew waxär – n – iwä	we play – PL – Jus	‘let us play’
naydew waxär – d – in – wä	they play – 3P – PL – Jus	‘let them play’

As can be seen from the above data, unlike the imperative, the jussive verb is inflected for person, number and gender and the feature [-imperative] is assigned to the jussive, in order to distinguish it from the imperative. The third person singular and plural jussive form consists of verb stem plus the person marker morphemes. But in the case of the first person singular and plural jussive form is different, and attached to the verb stem and is suffixed by the jussive marker morpheme.

As Ximt’ana (Mengistu 1984:39) affirmative and negative jussive mood is formed by the root of the main verb, plus person, number and gender markers and a suffix **/-na/** and **/-yi-/** respectively.

3.2.3.3 The Imperative Mood

The imperative is a mood category associated with command expression. This form of the verb expresses a command given to the second person singular and plural (Palmer, 1986: 22). According to Zelealem (2003:212), in Kemantney, the imperative is expressed in four different ways:

- a. complete change of a verb
- b. suffixation of /-a/
- c. a bare stem
- d. a combination of the first two

However, in this material imperative mood is expressed by a bare stem in the singular form, whereas in the plural it is expressed using /-a/. Let's see the following example.

(19)

a.	xal-	'see'	b. kint-	'learn'
	xal-	'you (SG) look!'	kint -	'you (SG) learn!'
	xal - a	'you (PL) look!'	kint - a	'you (PL) learn!'
c.	kinf -	'teach '	d. täkwäsäm-	'sit'
	kinf -	'you (SG) teach!'	täkwäsäm -	'you (SG) sit!'
	kinf - a	'you (PL) teach!'	täkwäsäm - a	'you (PL) sit!'
e.	wayt-	'buy'	f. was-	'hear'
	wayt-'	'you (SG) buy!'	was-	'you (SG) listen!'
	wayt - a	'you (PL) buy!'	was- a	'you (PL) listen!'
g.	x ^w -	'eat'	h. fäy-	'go'
	x ^w -	'you (SG) eat!'	fäy-	'you (SG) go!'
	x ^w -a	'you (PL) eat!'	fäy-a	'you (PL) go!'
i.	iw-	'give'	j. kiz -	'sell'
	iw-	'you (SG) give!'	kiz -	'you (SG) sell!'
	iw-a	'you (PL) give!'	kiz- a	'you (PL) sell!'

k.	tɪŋ-	‘find’	l. gāmār-	‘speak’
	tɪŋ-	‘you (SG) find!’	gāmār-	‘you (SG) speak!’
	tɪŋ- a	‘you (PL) find!’	gāmār – a	‘you (PL) speak!’
m.	dʒax-	‘drink’	n. kāb-	‘cut’
	dʒax- ‘	‘you (SG) drink!’	kāb-	‘you (SG) cut!’
	dʒax – a	‘you (PL) drink!’	kāb – a	‘you (PL) cut!’
o.	kʷɪ-	‘kill’	p. kaʃɪŋ-	‘call’
	kʷɪ-	‘you (SG) kill!’	kaʃɪŋ-	‘you (SG) call!’
	kʷɪ -a	‘you (PL) kill!’	kaʃɪŋ – a	‘you (PL) call!’

As can be seen in (19) above, in the process of bare stem and suffixation of a singular and plural affirmative imperative mood forms respectively. A command is given to the second person singular and plural forms. The plural form is marked overtly, while the singular form is not marked by any suffix.

According to (Mengistu 1984), in Xɪmt’aŋa imperative mood is formed by a suffix **/-ta/** plus person and number markers for only second person and it is like a direct command.

3.2.3.4 The Conditional Mood

In Kemantney, the suffix **/-dɪ(k)/** marks conditional or hypothetical mood (Zealealem, 2003:214).

(20)

a. an yɪkāl – a – dɪ(k)	I love – Imp – Con	‘if I love’
b. ɪntɪ yɪkāl – y – ä – dɪ(k)	you love – 2P – Imp – Con	‘if you(SG) love’
c. ni yɪkāl – ä – dɪ(k)	he love - Imp - Con	‘if he loves’
d. ni yɪkāl – y – ä – dɪ(k)	she love-3FS-Imp – Con	‘if she love’

e. annew yikäl - n - ä - dɨ(k)	we love - PL - Imp - Con	‘if we love’
f. intändew yikäl-y- in- ä-dɨ(k)	you love-2P-PL- Imp -Con	‘if you(PL) love’
g. naydew yikäl - n - ä -dɨ(k)	they love -PL- Imp - Con	‘if they love’
a. an xal - ä- dɨ(k)	I see- Imp -Con	‘if I see’
b. intɨ-xal- y-ä - dɨ(k)	you see-2P - Imp - Con	‘if you (SG) see’
c. ni xal - ä - dɨ(k)	he see - Imp - Con	‘if he sees’
d. ni xal - y - ä - dɨ(k)	she see -3FS-Imp -Con	‘if she sees’
e. annew xal - in - ä - dɨ(k)	we see - PL - Imp - Con	‘if we see’
f. intändew xal- y - in - ä - dɨ(k)	you see 2P-PL- Imp - Con	‘if you (PL) see’
g. naydew xal - n - ä- dɨ(k)	they see -PL - Imp - Con	‘if they see’

According to (Mengistu 1984), in Ximt’aja there are two types of conditional mood. These mood type are conditional I and conditional II. The conditional I, is formed by the main verb root, plus person, number and gender markers and a suffix **/-an/**. The conditional II is formed by the main verb stem plus, number and gender marker and a conditional suffix **/ʃ/**.

3.2.3.5 The Interrogative Mood

In Kemantney, there are three types of interrogative marking morphemes. The suffix **/-i/** attached to the verb stems as in the first person singular and third person masculine. The suffix **/-ma/** appears following the interrogative indicator **/i/** and the suffix **/a/** is used when the verb is in simple past tense. As Kemantney, Awnji interrogative form the suffix **/-ma/** always appears to the particle **/-ni/**. They will be dealt in the following section.

(21)

a. an yɨr xal - ø- i

I man run -1SG-Q
‘Do I see the man?’

d. ni yɨr xal - y - i - ma

she man see- 3F- Q - Q
‘Does she see the man?’

b. inti yir xal - y - i

you man run-2P-Q

'Do you see the man?'

e. an yir xal - ø - a

I man see -1SG-Q

'Did I see the man?'

c. ni yir xal - i - ma

he man see - Q - Q

'Does he see the man?'

f. naydew yir xal - n- a

they man see -PL-Q

'Did they see?'

As can be observed in the above example, the interrogative marker **/-i/**, **/-a/** and **/-ma/** are suffixed to verb stems as in the first person singular and third masculine singular.

The other types of interrogative forms are **wh-** words. They are formed by using **wh-** words including the following:

(22)

a. inni aw - i niŋ - ni -ma

this who - of house - is -Q

'Whose house is this?'

b. ni wä sab - y - ä - sab - ni -ma

he what do - 3Fs- Imp-Prog - is -Q

'What is she doing?'

c. yin aw -ni -ma

that who-is -Q

'Who is that?'

d. girg awin ni

day what

'What is today?'

e. inni aw - xwira -ni -ma

this who- child -is -Q

'Whose child is this?'

f. amär wa ni -ma

tomorrow

'What is tomorrow?'

g. ni awin was - y - iɣw

she when,hear-3Fs-PT

'When did she come?'

h. andžin wä simb- iɣw

yesterday what be-PT

'What was yesterday?'

The morpheme **/-ma/** is used to form the interrogative counterparts of both the affirmative and negative verbs as shown below.

(23)

a. **ni yir xal -ä - k - äy - ma**

she man see-Imp-Neg-3Fs -Q

'Doesn't she see the man?'

b. **an yir xal - ä - g - ma**

I man see-Imp-Neg -Q

'Don't I see the man?'

c. **an yir xal - ä -g-ma**

I man see -Imp-Neg-Q

'Don't I see the man?'

d. **ni yir xal - ä -g-ma**

she man see -Imp-Neg-Q

'Doesn't he see the man?'

e. **an injera xw -ä -g-ma**

I injera eat -Imp-Neg-Q

'Didn't I eat injera?'

f. **ni injera xw- ä -g-ma**

he injera eat -Imp-Neg-Q

'Didn't he eat injera?'

As can be observed, the negative markers /-g-/ and /-k-/ occur preceding the interrogative marker /-ma/ in the formation of negative interrogative.

3.3 Negation

This section deals with negative marking in tense /aspect, imperative mood, jussive mood and interrogative mood. Negation is the process of denial or contradiction of or dissent from something asserted. In Kemantney, negative is marked by means of suffixing the negative particles /-l/, /-la/, /-k-/ and /-g-/ which are equivalent to 'not'.

3.3.1 Negative Perfective verb

a. Negation in Simple Past Tense

Negative in the simple past tense is marked by the suffixes /-la/ and /-l/.

The former is used in all persons while the latter is used in first person singular.

(24) Singular

a. **an was - i - l**

I hear-PT-Neg

'I did not hear.'

Plural

c. **annew was - i -l- la**

we hear -PT-PL-Neg

'We did not hear.'

b. intɪ kal -y - ɪ - la
 you break-2P-PT-Neg
 ‘You did not break.’

d. intandew kal - y - ɪ -l- la
 you break- 2P-PT-PL-Neg
 ‘You did not break.’

e. ni was - ɪ- la
 he hear-PT-Neg
 ‘He did not hear.’

f. naydew was - ɪ- l - la
 they hear -PT-PL-Neg
 ‘They did not hear.’

g. ni was -y- ɪ-la
 she hear-3P-PT-Neg
 ‘She did not hear.’

As we can observed from the above data, the negative markers **/-la/** and **/-l/** appear following the person, number and tense markers. In the conjugation of the negative form of the past tense marker morpheme **/-ɪɣw/** is changed to all persons and the third feminine past tense marker **/-ɪ/** is attached to the verb stem and is followed by the negative marker morphemes **/-la/** and **/-l/**.

The morphemes that mark the simple past tense in both affirmative and negative can be summarized as follows.

	Person	Verb root		Simple past tense	Person	Negative marker
singular	1 st	k ^w ɪ -		- ɪɣ ^w	Ø	-l
	2 nd	k ^w ɪ -		- ɪɣ ^w	- y	-la
	3 rd M.	k ^w ɪ -		- ɪɣ ^w	Ø	-la
	F.	k ^w ɪ -		- ɪ	- t	-la
Plural	1 st	k ^w ɪ -	- ɪn-	- ɪɣ ^w	Ø	-la
	2 nd	k ^w ɪ -	- ɪn-	- ɪɣ ^w	-y	-la
	3 rd	k ^w ɪ -	- ɪn-	- ɪɣ ^w	Ø	-la

Table 12: The simple past tense marker in affirmative and negative verb

b. Negation in Present Perfect Tense

In Kemantney, there is no distinction between the simple past and present perfect tense in the negative construction. In other words, the difference is shown in the affirmative. This fact is illustrated below (6).

(25)

Simple past (Affirmative)

naydew sama as - n- iɣ^w
they money take -PL- PT
'They took the money.'

Present perfect (Affirmative)

inti sama as -y - an - y -äkw
you take-2P-Aux-2P-Imp
'You have taken money.'

Simple past negative

naydew sama as - i - l - la
they money take -PT-PL-Neg
'They did not take money.'

Present perfect negative

inti sama as - y - l - la
you money take- 2P-PL-Neg
'You did not take money.'

From the above data, one can observe that in Kemantney one couldn't get differences between the simple past and present perfect when they are negatives. The difference lies on the affirmatives. Let's see negation in perfect tense.

(26) Singular

a. an sama as - i- l

I money take-PT-Neg
'I did not take money.'

c. an bira wayt - i-l

I ox buy -PT-Neg
'I did not buy an ox.'

e. inti sama as -y- i-la

you money take -2P-PT-Neg
'You did not take money.'

Plural

b. annew sama as - i-l-la

we money take -PT-PL-Neg
'We did not take money.'

d. annew mät'af laɟ - i-l-la

we book bring-PT-PL-Neg
'We did not bring the book.'

f. intändew sama as y- i-l-la

you money take 2P-PT-PL-Neg
'You did not take money.'

g. inti bāga kiz -y- i-la

you sheep sell-2p-PT-Neg
'You did not sell a sheep.'

h. intāndew sīlaxa dʒax -y- i-l-la

you beer drink -2p-PT-PL-Neg
'You did not drink local beer.'

e. ni sama as - i-la

he money take PT-Neg
'He did not take money.'

f. naydew sama as - i-l-la

they money take -PT-PL-Neg
'They did not take the money.'

c. Negation in the Remote Past Tense

According to Zelcalem (2003:221), the negative markers of subordinate verbs are different from the main verbs. In Kemantney, the negative of the remote past tense is expressed by the morphemes **/-g/** and **/-k/**. Consider the following examples.

(27)

a. an diw - g - wä simb - eɣ^w

I tell - Neg- Ger be - PT
'I had not told.'

b. inti as - k - y - ä simb - iy - eɣ^w

you take-Neg- 2P-Ger be - 2P - PT
'You had not taken.'

c. ni xal - g - wä simb - Ø - eɣ^w

he see -Neg Ger be - 1PL -PT
'He had not seen.'

d. ni faɣ - k - y - ä simb - i - ti

she marry- Neg-3FS - Ger be - PT - 3FS
'She had not married.'

From the above data, the negative marker occurs between the main verb and the auxiliary.

3.3.2 Negative verbs in the Imperfective Aspect

Non progressive

The negation of this form is similar to perfective aspect in simple past tense marked by the suffix /-l/ and /-la/. /-l/ is used for first person singular and plural and /-la/ is used for the rest persons respectively and it occur next to the agreement marker. Consider the following examples.

(28) Singular

a. an kafɨŋ - ä - l

I call -Impr-Neg
'I will not call.'

c. intɨ waxärt -y- ä - la

you play -3F-Impr-Neg
'You will not play.'

e. ni gamar- ä - la

he speak- Impr-Neg
'He will not speak.'

Plural

b. annew gändʒ - ɨn - ä - l

we sleep- PL-Impr-Neg
'We will not sleep.'

d. intändew tiw - y - ä - l- la

you come- 2P-Impr-PL-Neg
'You will not come.'

f. naydew din- y- ä - l- la

they finish-2p-Impr-PL-Neg
'They will not finish.'

As can be seen above, the second person singular and plural marker /-ɨy/ and /l/, third person feminine singular marker /-y/ and first person plural /-ɨn/ distinguish person, number, and gender respectively.

3.3.3 Negation in Mood

a. Negative Jussive Mood

The negative jussive is marked on the first and third person singular and plural. The morphemes /l/, /-g/ ~ /-k/ are used to mark the negative jussive. /l/ occurs in the first person singular and plural whereas, /g/ and /k/ occur in the third person masculine and feminine singular. But, the suffix /ɨn/ is used for the others (Zealelem 2003:211). Consider the following examples.

(29)

a. an kinʃ - l - Ø	I teach - Neg	'let me not teach'
b. ni kinʃ - g - in	he teach - Neg - Jus	'let him not teach'
c. ni kinʃ - k - in	she teach - Neg - Jus	'let us not teach'
d. annew kinʃ - in - l - Ø	we teach - PL - Neg	'let us not teach'
e. naydew kinʃ - ɨg - in - in	they teach - Neg - PL - Jus	'let them not teach'
a. an wayt - l - φ	I buy - Neg	'let me not buy'
b. ni wayt - ɨg - in	he buy - Neg - Jus	'let him not buy'
c. ni way - ɨk - in	she buy - Neg - Jus	'let her not buy'
d. annew wayt - in - l - φ	we sleep - PL - Neg	'let her not sleep'
e. naydew wayt - ɨg - in - in	they buy - Neg - PL - Jus	'let them not buy'
a. an gändʒ - l - φ	I sleep - Neg	'let me not sleep'
b. ni gändʒ - ɨg - in	he sleep - Neg - Jus	'let him not sleep'
c. ni gändʒ - ɨk - in	she sleep - Neg - Jus	'let her not sleep'
d. annew gändʒ - in - l - φ	we sleep - PL - Neg	'let us not sleep'
e. naydew gändʒ - ɨg - in - in	they sleep - Neg - PL - Jus	'let them not sleep'
a. an gaŋ - l - φ	I run - Neg	'let me not run'
b. ni gaŋ - g - in	he run - Neg - Jus	'let him not run'
c. ni gaŋ - k - in	she run - Neg - Jus	'let her not run'
d. annew gaŋ - n - l - φ	we run - PL - Neg	'let us not run'
e. naydew gaŋ - g - in - in	they run - Neg - PL - Jus	'let them not run'

As can be observed above, the negative jussive marker **/-in/** which is not used to all persons, in the first person singular and plural is covert. The other thing can be seen the first and third person in the negative marker different. The negation of jussive is marked by **/-l/** in the first person, **/-g/** and **/-k/** in the third person.

b. Negative in Imperative Mood

As shown below, the negative imperative in Kemantney is expressed by adding the suffix */-t/* to both the second person singular and plural forms. Consider the following examples.

(30)

a. kint - learn

kint - it - a	learn - Neg - Imp	'You (SG) do not learn!'
kint - it - in - a	learn - Neg - PL - Imp	'You (PL) do not learn!'

b. kinɸ - teach

kinɸ - it - a	teach - Neg - Imp	'You (SG) do not teach!'
kinɸ - it - n - a	teach - Neg - PL - Imp	'You (PL) do not teach!'

c. täkwäsäm - sit

täkwäsäm - t - a	sit - Neg - Imp	'You(SG) do not sit!'
täkwäsäm - t - in - a	sit - Neg - PL - Imp	'You (PL) do not sit!'

d. wayt - buy

wayt - it - a	buy - Neg - Imp	'You (SG) do not buy!'
wayt - it - n - a	buy - Neg - PL - Imp	'You (PL) do not buy!'

e. was - hear

was - t - a	hear - Neg - Imp	'You (SG) do not hear!'
was - t - a	hear - Neg - PL - Imp	'You (PL) do not hear!'

f. x^w - eat

x ^w - it - a	eat - Neg - Imp	'You (SG) do not eat!'
x ^w - it - in - a	eat - Neg - PL - Imp	'You (PL) do not eat!'

g. fäy - go

fäy - t - a	go - Neg - Imp	'You (SG) do not go!'
fäy - t - in - a	go - Neg - PL - Imp	'You (PL) do not go!'

h.iw - give		
iw - t - a	give - Neg - Imp	'You (SG) do not give!'
iw - t- in - a	give - Neg - PL- Imp	'You (PL) do not give!'
i. kiz - sell		
kiz - t- a	sell - Neg - Imp	'You (SG) do not sell!'
kiz - t- in - a	sell- Neg - PL- Imp	'You (PL) do not sell!'
j. tɪŋ - find		
tɪŋ - t- a	find - Neg - Imp	'You (SG) do not find!'
tɪŋ - t- in - a	find- Neg - PL - Imp	'You (PL) do not find !'
k. gämär - speak		
gämär -t- a	speak - Neg - Imp	'You (SG) do not speak!'
gämär - t- in - a	speak - Neg - PL - Imp	'You(PL) do not speak!'
l. dʒax - drink		
dʒax - t -a	drink - Neg - Imp	'You (SG) do not drink!'
dʒax - t - in - a	drink - Neg - PL - Imp	'You (PL) do not drink!'
m.käb - cut		
käb - t-a	cut - Neg - Imp	'You (SG) do not cut!'
käb -t -in- a	cut - Neg - PL- Imp	'You (PL) do not cut!'
n. kwɪ - kill		
kwɪ - t - a	kill - Neg - Imp	'You(SG) do not kill!'
kwɪ - t - n - a	kill - Neg - PL - Imp	'You (PL) do not kill!'
o. kaʃɪŋ - call		
kaʃɪŋ - t - a	call - Neg- Imp	'You (SG) do not call!'
kaʃɪŋ -t -in-a	call - Neg -PL - Imp	'You (PL) do not call!'

As can be seen (30) above, the imperative ending appears only in the plural affirmative, whereas in the negative also imperative it has zero personal marking. Negation is marked by the morpheme **-t-**, unlike the element **-g-** found else where in the verb.

From the situation seen so far, the fact with mood marking in Kemantney can be summarized in the table below.

Mood	Purpose	Person	Mood Marker			
			Singular		Plural	
			Affirmative	Negative	Affirmative	Negative
Gerundive	necessity of the action	1 st ,2 nd ,3 rd	(t) wä & ä	Ø	-wä	Ø
Jussive	request, indirect command	1 st ,3 rd	(t) wä	l ,g & k	(t) wä	l & g
Imperative	order, direct command	2 nd	Ø	-t	-a	-t
Conditional	hypothesis	1 st ,2 nd ,3 rd	d† (k)	Ø	d† (k)	Ø
Interrogative	new information	1 st ,2 nd ,3 rd	-ma,-a,-i	-g-,-k-	-ma,-a,-i	-g-

Table 13: Mood markers of Kemantney

3.4 Verb Derivation

In the preceding section, we have seen the different kinds of verb inflections. In this section, the process of verb derivation is treated. In Kemantney, the derivations of various verb stems are possible by suffixing morphemes to verb stems or by reduplication of part of the verb stems. Some of the various verb stems derived by either of these word formation processes are: passive, causative, frequentative and reciprocal. Each of these has been dealt with below in turn.

3.4.1 The Passive Stems

It is a process whereby a direct object nominal of an active voice clause is promoted to a subject in the passive counterpart (Spencer and Zwicky, 2001:75). In Kemantney, the passive verb stem is formed by suffixing either **/-s/** or **/-t/** to the verb stems. The examples in (22) below show the passive verb formation in Kemantney.

(31)

Verb stem	gloss	Passive verb stem	gloss
käl-	'break'	käl-t-	'be broken'
käb-	'cut'	käb-t-	'be cut'
yib-	'blow'	yib-t-	'be blown'
infäw-	'bind'	infäw-s-	'be bound'
was-	'hear'	was -s-	'be heard'
käbän-	'birth'	käbän-s-	'be seen'
xal-	'see'	xal-s-	'be seen'
tiŋ -	'find'	tiŋ-s -	'be found'
y-	'say'	y -is-	'be said'
inf-	'open'	inf-is -	'be opened'
xafänt-	'steal'	xafänt-is-	'be stolen'
mal-	'destroy'	mal-s-	'be destroyed'

In the above data, one can observe that suffixation of the morphemes **s** and **t** on the verb stems to derive passive verbs. The suffix **/-t/** is not clear cut appearance because Appleyard (1975) says that the suffix **/-t/** is an innovation in Kemantney. The same to that Zelealem (2003) says that the suffix **/-t/** in Kemantney makes it difficult to give explanations. So, this thing needs another investigation. Whereas, the suffix **/-s/** is function as a transitivizer. However, in Billin, Xamir and Awŋi the passive is marked by the suffix **-(ə)r** or **(ə)t**, the alternation between **t** or **r** and **-s** respectively (Appleyard, 1986:3-13). As Khamta (Mengistu 1984) the passive is marked by the suffix **/f-/**.

According to Katamba (1993: 215), passivization changes objects into subjects and may allow the deletion of the original subjects thus, reducing the number of arguments of a verb. Consider the following illustrative sentences.

(32)

a. **Almu gämän- i kʷi - iɣʷ**

Alemu lion-Nom kill- PT

'Alemu killed the lion.'

b. **gämän -i Alemu - by kʷi - s - iɣʷ**

lion -Nom Alemu- z kill -Pass-PT

'The lion was killed by Alemu.'

c. **ni käma xal - iɣʷ**

he cow see -PT

'He saw the cow.'

d. **käma ni - z xal -s - iɣʷ**

cow he -by see-Pass -PT

'The cow was seen by him.'

e. **ni fɪntɪra xafänt - iɣʷ**

he goat steal - PT

'He stole the goat.'

f. **fɪntɪra ni - z xafän - s - iɣʷ**

goat he - by steal -Pass -PT

'The goat was stolen by him.'

g. **ni kintäk yɪkäl - iɣʷ**

he student love -PT

'He loved the student.'

h. **ni kintäk - z - yɪkäl - t- iɣʷ**

he student-by -love-Pass-PT

'The student was loved by him.'

As can be shown in (32) above, **alemu**, the subject in (32a), is demoted the object part in (32b). Thus, the number of arguments is reduced to one with

the object occurring as a subject of the clause and the original subject missing. That is the agent of the passive (the former subject) is not marked passive predicates require less argument than their corresponding active predicates. The active clause in (32a) bears two arguments (Agent- Alemu and Patient -Lion), whereas, the passive clause (32b), since the agentive argument of (32a) doesn't appear, it has only one.

3.4.2 The Causative Stems

According to Comrie (1981:158), "any causative situation involves two component situations, the cause and its effect." In the process of causativization of a verb there is an addition of an argument. The structural subject of the causativized verb is understood as some one who causes some other person to do something.

The causative verb stems can be formed from both intransitive and transitive verb stems and change the form of the verb into mono and di – transitive verbs, respectively (Katamba, 1993: 274). The syntactic effect of the causative morpheme is that it changes intransitive into transitive and transitive into causative. In Kemantney the causative marker /-(ɨ)ʃ/ appear like passive immediately after the verb stem. The vowel /ɨ/ is used as an epenthetic vowel. Appleyard (1975), Conti Rossini (1912) and Zelealem (2003) identify the same morpheme.

(33)

Verbal root		Causative stem	
dʒax-	'drink'	dʒax-ʃ-	'cause to drink'
xal-	'see'	xal-ʃ-	'show'
wäntär-	'give back'	wäntär-ʃ-	'reply'
dan-	'get well'	dan-ʃ-	'cure'
ax-	'know'	ax-ʃ-	'inform'

x-	'wash'	x-ɨf-	'wash something'
kint-	'learn'	kin-f-	'teach'
waɸ-	'lie'	wa ɸ -ɨf-	'cause to lie'
fäy-	'go'	fä-f-	'cause to go'
aɸ-	'harvest'	aɸ-f -	'cause to harvest'
dixär-	'divorce'	dixär-f-	'cause to divorce'
kal-	'break'	kal-f-	'cause to brake'
kʷ-	'kill'	kʷ-ɨf-	'cause to kill'
gändʒ-	'sleep'	gändʒ-ɨf-	'cause to sleep'

As can be observed from the above examples, the causative marker /-(ɨ)ɸ/ is used in the transitive verbs with an epenthetic vowel. In Bilin there are three distinct causative markers (with the vowel ɨ preserved throughout the paradigm), -s (with the variant - ɨs with apparently epenthetic ɨ) and -d (similar with a variant ɨd). Xamir the causative marker is - (ɨ) for all stem types (Appleyared, 1986:3-7). In Awnji, also causative verbs are derived by suffixing /-ɨf/ to verbal, adjectival and nominal bases (Samuel 2007). A double causative also occur in Awnji, marked as in those other Agaw languages where such a form occurs by repetition of the causative marker - ɨf ɨf. Based on the data in (33) above, let's examine (34) below.

(34)

a. an käläbät - ɸ - ɨɣʷ

I receive-Caus- PT

'I caused to receive.'

b. ni dʒax - ɸ - ɨɣʷ

he drink -Caus- PT

'He caused to drink.'

c. ni xal - ɸ - ɨɣʷ

he see-Caus -PT

'He caused to see.'

d. an fä - ɸ - ɨɣʷ

I go-Caus-PT

'I caused to go out'

e. **ni ax** - ʃ - ɪɣ^w

he know-Caus-PT

'He caused to Know.'

f. **naydew inʃ** - ɪʃ - ɪɣ^w

they open -Caus - PT

'They caused to open (sth).'

g. **yɪr kăbăn** - ʃ - ɪɣ^w

man birth- Caus-PT

'The man caused to born.'

h. **an wăntăr** - ʃ - ɪɣ^w

I give back - Caus-PT

'I caused to back.'

As can be observed, /dʒax-/ 'drink' is an intransitive verb in (33) and transitivized in by the addition of /-ʃ/ 'cause'. In a similar way, /xal-/ 'see' is transitive verb as (33), and is causativized in (34c).

Comrie (1981:168) claims that, "the morphological causative has a valency one higher than the corresponding non-causative, since in addition to the arguments of that non causative predicate, there is also the causer." Consider this difference in the following examples.

(35) a. **gwärwa yɪwna-s kɪrŋa-s as** - ʃ - äk^w

boy woman-Acc stone-Acc take-Caus -Impr

'The boy made the girl take the stone.'

b. **aba ni-s kana-s ʃɪy-** ɪʃ - ɪɣ^w

father he-Acc wood-Acc hold -Caus-PT

'The father made him to hold the wood.'

c. **yɪwna xwɪra-s dɪnʃ - ɪs awăr-ɪʃ** - äk^w

woman child-Acc potato-Acc roast-Caus-Impr

'The woman made the child roast potatoes.'

As shown the above examples, in causativization, there is an increase of arguments. This can be seen from the entries **as** (ɪ)ʃ 'cause to take', ʃɪy- ɪʃ 'cause to hold' and **awăr** - ɪʃ 'cause to roast' as in (36) below.

(36)	as - ɨf	‘cause to take’
	ʃɨy- ɨf	‘cause to hold’
	awär- ɨf	‘cause to roast’

From the above examples, we can understand that causativization does not only change the sub categorization frames by increasing the number of arguments, but also shifts thematic roles.

3.4.3 The Frequentative Stems

The frequentative verb is used to express action, which are performed frequently or intensively. Aikhenvald (1988:12) states that, in most of the Cushitic languages as well as in a great many Afro Asiatic languages, intensives are formed by reduplication of a whole verbal stem or part of it. In Kemantney, frequentative is formed by complete reduplication of the verb stem and by inserting the linking vowel /-ä/ (See also Zelealem, 2003:202).

(37) Verb stems	Gloss	Freq. Vb. Form	Gloss
fäz-	‘open’	fäz-ä-fäz	‘bleed again and again’
fäɣ-	‘marry’	faɣ-ä-faɣ	‘marry again and again’
dɨŋ ^w -	‘find’	dɨŋ ^w - ä- dɨŋ ^w	‘find again and again’
sär-	‘do’	sär-ä-sär	‘do again and again’
dɨw-	‘tell’	dɨw-ä-dɨw	‘tell again and again’
xal-	‘see’	xal-ä-xal	‘see again and again’
kɨz-	‘sell’	kɨz-ä-kɨz	‘sell repeatedly’
tas-	‘hit’	tas-ä-tas	‘hit again and again’
tɨw-	‘come’	tɨw-ä-tɨw	‘come repeatedly’
ɨnf-	‘open’	ɨnf- ä -ɨnf	‘open repeatedly’
gaŋ-	‘run’	gaŋ- ä -gaŋ	‘run repeatedly’
kab-	‘cut’	kab-ä-kab	‘cut into pieces’
was-	‘hear’	was- ä-was	‘hear repeatedly’

The data above indicated that the derivation of the frequentatives takes place through complete reduplication of the verb stem. Besides, the first verb stem terminates in mid central vowel /-ä-/ is inserted as a connector element throughout the examples. So a frequentative does not change the basic verb stems to other lexical category.

3.4.4 Reciprocal Stems

Reciprocal verbs express an action performed by two or more participants who are both agents and patients at the same time. In other words, reciprocals are characterized by the fact that the subjects are involved not only in performing the actions but also in undergoing them. Thus, they are both agents and patients simultaneously (Sigurdsson, 1989:80).

The ways of expressing reciprocity in Kemantney is through total reduplication of the stem and insertions of the linking vowel /-ä-/ and suffixing the passive marker /-s/ on the verb stem. The following examples illustrate the formation of reciprocal verb stem.

(38)

xal	‘see’	xal-s-ä- xal-s-	‘see each other’
ax	‘know’	ax-s-ä-ax-s-	‘know each other’
tay	‘hit’	ta-s- ä-ta -s-	‘hit each other’
dʒax	‘insult’	dʒax -s-ä- dʒax -s-	‘insult each other’

As we can see in the above examples monosyllabic verb stems form their reciprocity is by total reduplication of the stem and insert the linking vowel -ä- and suffixing the passive marker /-s/. Consider the following sentential examples in (39) below.

(39) a. **naydew y+kä- ä- käl- s - in- iɣw**

they love- lin-red-pass-PL-PT
 ‘They love each other.’

b. naydew gäm- ä -mär -s - in- iɣ^w

they speak -lin-red-pass-PL-PT
 'They speak each other.'

c. naydew kid- ä- dizi-s- in- iɣ^w

they die -lin-red-pass-PL-PT
 'They kill each other.'

The second type of reciprocity is expressed by partial reduplication of the verb stems. Consider the following examples.

(40)

gämär-	'speak'	gämä-mär-s-	'speak with other'
kariŋ-	'be angry'	kari-riŋ-s-	'angry each other'
kint	'learn'	kint -s-	'learn each other'
way-t-	'buy'	way-t-s-	'buy each other'
waxärt-	'play'	waxärt-s-	'play each other'

From the above data, one can observe that reciprocal used for actions that presuppose the presence of two or more participants in the actions denoted by the verb.

(Samuel 2007), Hetzron (1967) and Appleyard (1987), identify /-ŋ/ as the reciprocal marker in Awnji. It is suffixed to infinitival nominals derived from verbs.

Whereas, in Bilin reciprocal is regularly marked by the suffix -əŋ add to the passive form of the verb. Xamir reciprocal is marked by similar to Kemantney, by the total reduplication of the verb stem plus the passive marker (ə) s.

To sum up, in this chapter we have discussed different categories of verb inflection and derivation. In the verb inflection verbs are inflected for

gender, number and person, tense and aspect (perfective aspect and imperfective aspect), mood (gerundive, jussive, imperative, conditional and interrogative) and in the verb derivation the passive, the causative, frequentative and reciprocal verb stem of the language are shown.

3.5. Adjectives

In the previous section, we have seen Kemantney verbs inflecting for different grammatical categories such as aspect, tense and mood; furthermore; different types of derived verbs such as, passive, causative, frequentative and reciprocal have been discussed. This section deals with the morphology of adjectives, adverbs and numerals of Kemantney.

Adjectives behave as modifiers semantically and typically express properties of entities (Van Valin, 2001:7). In Kemantney, non-derived adjectives are very rare as in other Agaw languages like Awnji and Ximt'aṇa. Some of the true adjectives in the language are listed in (1) below.

(41)	xwäfa	'bad'
	säraṣ	'good'
	azi	'new'
	fämäna	'back'
	firaṣ	'big'

As can be observed above, the number of non-derived adjectives is limited one, on the other hand derived adjectives also rare. They are derived from verbal base with the suffix */-a/*. So, Kemantney is an adjectival verb language (Zealelem 2003). Let's see derived adjectives in the following examples.

(42)	Verbal base		derived adjectives	
	dʒika	'be heavy'	dʒikäk-a	'heavy'
	gwiṣwiy	'be mad'	gwiṣwiy-a	'mad'

tayt-	'be near'	tayt-ɨ	'near'
axänt-	'know'	axänt-a	'wise'
x ^w äɸ-	'be bad'	x ^w äɸ-a	'bad'
kart-	'be far'	kart-ɨ	'far'

As can be seen above, in (tayt and kart) the suffix changes to /ɨ/ because of consonant cluster.

3.5.1 Types of Adjective

Adjectives always precede nouns they modify by expressing their size, quality, color, e.t.c. According to Dixon (1982), as quoted in Azeb (2003:133), adjectives have been grouped into various semantic fields such as value, age, color, speed, size, physical property and human propensity. Adjectives in Kemantney can be categorized into the following semantic fields:

(43)

a. size

firaɣ	'big'
lägäza	'tall'
kartɨ	'far'
ɸigwey	'small'
yizän	'fat'
säffi	'wide'
täytɨ	'near'

b. color

ɸäraɣ	'red'
ɸämäna	'black'
ɸayaɣ	'white'
lämäläma	'green'

c. physical property

kag	‘dry’
dʒɪkäka	‘heavy’
ʃum	‘fast’
nis’uh	‘clean’

d. human propensity

moŋŋ	‘foolish’
axänta	‘wise’
yɪzɪm	‘weak’
gʷäzɡʷäm	‘greedy’
gʷɪɣʷɪya	‘mad’

e. value

säraɣ	‘good’
xʷäʃa	‘bad’
gänaɣ	‘old’

Generally, in Kemantney, simple adjectives are not as productive as other parts of speech such as nouns and verbs. The following examples show the use of adjectives in Kemantney.

(44)

- a. **an fɪraɣ säraɣ bira kɪz-Ø- ɪɣʷ** ‘I sold a big red ox.’
 I big red ox sell-1SG-PT
- b. **an rɪkaʃ wai-z kɪz- Ø - ɪɣʷ** ‘I sold by cheap price.’
 I cheap price-by sell-1SG-PT
- c. **an lägäza yɪr xal - Ø - ɪɣʷ** ‘I saw a tall man.’
 I tall man see-1SG-PT
- d. **an fɪraɣ bäga wayt- Ø - ɪɣʷ** ‘I bought a big sheep.’
 I big sheep buy -1SG-PT

- e. an fāmāna fīntra way-t - iɣ^w

I black goat buy-Pass - PT

‘I bought a black goat.’
- f. ni jayaɣ kamiwāl-z t - iɣ^w

she white car - by come-PT

‘He came by a white car.’

As can be seen in (44), in Kemantney, when adjectives are used in attributive positions and they always precede the noun they modify.

- (45) a. k’ondʒo y+wna

‘beautiful girl’
- b. sārax yir

‘good person
- c. k’ondʒo säy+ŋ

‘good cloth’

3.5.2 Postposition

Postposition is a particle in which fulfils the functions of a preposition comes after the noun it modifies (Asher, 1994:5048-89). Kemantney has postposition, which follow immediately after nouns with meaning such as front, top, middle, inside, root, e.t.c. The following are commonly used postpositions in the language.

(46)	Postposition	gloss
	dʒab	‘front’
	daga	‘top’
	git	‘rear’ ⁷
	lud	‘middle/ inside’
	sir	‘root’
	dʒaβo	‘before’
	gito	‘after’

The following examples show the occurrence of some of postposition in sentences.

⁷ The other meaning is ‘bottom’

(47) a. **yir yiba dʒaβo t - ɪɣʷ**
 man tiger before come- PT
 'The man came before a tiger.'

b. **yɪwna niŋ lud siɪm- ɪɣʷ**
 woman house inside live -PT
 'The woman lived inside the house.'

c. **xʷira argi siɪr gändʒ - ɪɣʷ**
 child bed root sleep-PT
 'The child slept under the bed.'

d. **axʷ - ɪz**
 water- in
 'in water'

e. **yir yi dʒaβo t- ɪɣʷ**
 man me before come-PT
 'The man came before me.'

f. **kamiol-ɪz**
 car- by
 'by car'

g. **yi- dʒaβo**
 me-before
 'before me'

h. **niŋ- lud**
 house -inside
 'inside house'

i. **inti giɪ**
 you after
 'after you'

j. **inti - ɪz dʒab**
 you-in front
 'in front of you'

As can be seen, the above example Kemantney postpositions always follow immediately after a noun.

3.5.3 Quantifiers in Kemantney

According to Baye (1986:283), quantifiers are related to the questions 'how many' rather than "Which" and "What". He also concludes that quantifiers are specifies of the type which denotes quantity rather than entity. Radford (1997), explains that quantifiers are special type of determiners that denote quantity.

Quantifiers can be classified into definite and indefinite Baye claims that definite quantifiers are related to objects of reference that are of countable or measurable size whereas, indefinite quantifiers relate to objects of mass or abstract reference that can not be counted. However, in this material the definite quantifiers are presented.

Definite Quantifiers

Definite quantifiers are elements that can be involved in determining the referent of nouns to some amount. The amount of size may be quantified directly by counting as individual units. Definite quantifiers comprise numerals and measure phrases (Lyons 1977:46, Baye 1986:604).

3.5.3.1 Numeral Quantifiers

Based on their function numerals can be classified into two: cardinal and ordinal: Pie and Gynor (1954:149) claims that numerals can be categorized into two cardinal and ordinal. Cardinal numerals refer to class of numbers like (one, two, three---) whereas ordinal numerals refer to class numbers like (first, second, third---).

Kemantney has two types of numerals: cardinal and ordinal counting numerals (Zelealem, 2003:233, Appleyard, 1975:329). Both the cardinal and the ordinal numerals are given below.

3.5.3.1.1 Cardinal Numerals

In Kemantney, numeral system of ten bases, which is a quinary number system, as outlined Appleyard (1975) and Zelealem (2003). This, simple lexical words that are used for the basic counting cardinal numbers are form one up to ten, as indicated below.

(48)	laɣ ^w	‘one’
	niŋa	‘two’
	seɣ ^{wa}	‘three’
	sädʒdʒa	‘four’
	aŋk ^{wa}	‘five’
	wälta	‘six’
	näŋäta	‘seven’
	saɣ ^{wä} ta	‘eight’

sässa	‘nine’
ʃika	‘ten’

As can be seen in the above data, numerals from six to eight contain a common ending **/-ta/** as a second numbers while numbers nine and ten are expressed by using a simple lexical word *sässa* and *ʃika*.

Numerals from eleven to nineteen are formed by combining numbers from one to nine together with connecting vowel **/i/** and number ten. Thus, the word for ten ‘*ʃika*’ precedes the lower numerals. Let’s see this fact in the following examples.

(49)	ʃika-i-laʃ	‘eleven’
	ʃik-i-niɲa	‘twelve’
	ʃik-i-seʃwa	‘thirteen’
	ʃik-i-sädʒdʒa	‘fourteen’
	ʃik-i - aɲkwa	‘fifteen’
	ʃik-i- wälta	‘sixteen’
	ʃik-i- näɲäta	‘seventeen’
	ʃik-i- saʃwäta	‘eighteen’
	ʃik-i- sässa	‘nineteen’

As shown in (8), the terminal vowel **/-a/** *ʃika* ‘ten’ is changed to **/-i/** when it is used as a modifier component in the language.

Numerals from twenty to ninety are formed by a common morpheme **/-yɪŋ/** suffixed to simple numerals from two to nine forms numerals of ten bases. Observe the following forms in (50) below.

(50)	näɲäyɪŋ	‘twenty’
	saʃwäyɪŋ	‘thirty’
	arba	‘forty’ (borrow)

aŋk ^w iɣiŋ	‘fifty’
wältiŋ	‘sixty’
näŋätiŋ	‘seventy’
šaɣ ^w ätiŋ	‘eighty’
sässin	‘ninety’

However, hundred is expressed with single word ‘liɣ’ that combine the single digits with the word hundred form numerals that express hundreds.

(51)	niŋa- liɣ	‘two hundred’
	sewä- liɣ	‘three hundred’
	sädʒdʒa- liɣ	‘four hundred’
	aŋk ^w ä -liɣ	‘five hundred’
	wältä -liɣ	‘six hundred’
	näŋätä -liɣ	‘seven hundred’
	saɣ ^w äta -liɣ	‘eight hundred’
	sässa- liɣ	‘nine hundred’

Thousands is expressed with a compound word **laɣ-ʃi**

The use of cardinal numerals in Kemantney is illustrated by the following examples (52).

a. laɣ bäga ‘one shcep’	b. niŋa fintiri ‘two goats’	c. sädʒdʒa kām ‘four cows’
d. seɣ^wa yiwna f-iɣ^w tree girl go-PT ‘Threc girls went.’		e. näŋäta kāma t- iɣ^w seven cow come-PT ‘Seven cows came.’
f. ʃika-i-sässa x^wira kidiz -iɣ^w nineteen child die -PT ‘Nineteen children dead.’		g. ʃika sama ten birr ‘Ten birr’

h. y+indāw sädʒdʒa ʃämāna g+z+ŋ siya x^wiy- iʃ^w

those four blak dog meat eat-PT
'Those four black dogs ate meat.'

i. +indāw niŋa lägäza x^wira t-iʃ^w

these two long child come-PT
'These two tall children came.'

As the example in (52) illustrate, the distribution of the cardinal numerals always occur before the noun they quantify. The nouns do not take plural marker when they are preceded by cardinal numerals. And also it can be easily understood that a quantifier, a demonstrative and an adjective can co occur to modify the noun.

3.5.3.1.2 Ordinal Numerals

In Kemantney, ordinal numerals are derived from their cardinal counterparts by using the suffix **/-ta/** (Appleyared, 1975:329 and Zelealem 2003:236). Consider (53) below.

(53)	laʃ ^w -ta	'first'
	niŋä-ta	'second'
	saʃ ^w ä-ta	'third'
	sädʒdʒä- ta	'fourth'
	aŋk ^w ä-ta	'fifth'
	wältä -ta	'sixth'

a. laʃ^w- ta x^wira kid+z-iʃ^w
one -Ord child die -PT
'The first child is dead.'

e. laʃ^w- ta x^wira käbäns- iʃ^w
one-Ord child birth- PT
'The first child was born.'

b. niŋä-ta amäy t- iʃ^w
two -Ord- year come-PT
'The second year came.'

c. sädʒdʒä-ta arfa dʒämär-ɨɣʷ

four -Ord month start-PT

'The fourth month started.'

d. sädʒdʒä-ta arfa t - ɨɣʷ

four- Ord month come-PT

'The fourth month came.'

As the above examples show, the ordinal numerals have similar distribution as the cardinal numerals.

3.5.3.2 Measure phrase

As we have seen earlier, numerals are used with count nouns. Measure phrases quantify the amount by measuring it with units of measurements. Such nouns which are specified by measure phrases may be countable or uncountable. Consider the following examples.

(54) a. kasa wälta madiga tab kiz- ɨɣʷ

Kasa six sack teff sell-PT

'Kasa sold six sacks of teff.'

b. Hagos aŋkʷa madiga ɨrfa wayt- ɨɣʷ

Hagos five sack maize buy-PT

'Hagos bought five sacks of maize.'

c. an niŋa barbeɣʷa sɨlaxa dʒax -ø- ɨɣʷ

I two glass beer drink 1sG-PT

'I drank two glasses of beer.'

d. ni seɣʷa fɨndʒal bun dʒax -ø- ɨɣʷ

he three cup coffee drink -3SG-Pt

'He drank three cup of coffee.'

e. ni sädʒdʒa fɪndʒal sɪna way-t-ɪ-ti

she four cup butter buy-Pass-PT-F

‘She,bought three cup of butter.’

f. ɪntɪ laɪw barbeɪwa ʃäb dʒax - y- ɪɪw

you one glass milk drink -2p-PT

‘You drank one glass of milk.’

As we can observe from the data, the measure phrases comprise a numeral, a unit measurement and a measure head noun.

3.6 Adverb

An Adverb is a term used in the grammatical classification of words to refer to a heterogeneous group of items whose most frequent function is to specify the mood of action of the verbs (Crystal, 1997: 11). In Kemantney, there is little number of adverbs which appear immediately preceding verbs (Zealealem, 2003:249). Based on their function, these adverbs are categorized such as time, manner adverb.

The fist groups of adverbs are time adverbials: adverb of time show when an action indicated by the verb is performed. In Kemantney, most commonly used adverbs are time adverbs like the following:

(55)	andʒɪn	‘yesterday’	g ^w ɪy	‘wake up’
	amär	‘tomorrow’	taɪäʃ	‘until’
	yɪx ^w ɪm	‘last year’	sab	‘whilst’
	ʃaɪwä	‘next year’	ɪz	‘in’
	nan	‘now’	nɪŋ	‘today’

The above nouns are used as adverbs of time in the language. Some of the following sentences illustrate the use of time adverbs in the language.

(56)

a. nɪŋ sālz gala

today tuesday it is
'Today is Tuesday.'

b. nɪŋ arb gala

today friday it is
'Today is Friday.'

c. amär sänabt gala

tomorrow saturday it is
'Tomorrow is Saturday.'

d. andʒɪn sän gala

yesterday monday it is
'Yesterday was Monday.'

e. an ʃaɾwä fäy - ø - äkw

I next year go -1SG-Impr
'I will go next year.'

f. an nan t- ä- sab gayil

I now come-Impr-Prog I am
'I am coming now.'

The second groups of adverbs are manner adverbials: in Kemantney, there are few adverbs, which show the manner of actions. Theses adverbs are derived from adjectives as the following examples show.

(57)

- | | |
|------------|---------------|
| a. ʃārʃɪ | 'very' |
| b. säsiyäf | 'immediately' |
| c. wäɪf | 'quickly' |
| d. gwäŋw | 'well' |

a. ni ʃärʃi lägäza gala

he very tall he is
'He is very tall.'

b. ni säsiyäf t- iɣw

he immediately come-PT
'He came immediately.'

c. ni wäif gaŋ - iɣw

he quickly run-PT
'He ran quickly.'

To sum up, in this section adjective, postposition, quantifiers and adverbs have been discussed. There are different kinds of small number of adjectives such as dimension, value, physical propensity, e.t.c. In the same section the numeral system, that is, both the cardinal and ordinal numerals are considered. And also adverbs can be categorized such as manner and time adverb. The next and last chapter of the thesis will present the summary and conclusion of the preceding chapters.

CHAPTER FOUR

Summary and Conclusion

In the previous chapters an attempt is made to analyze the morphology of Kemantney, which is classified under the central Cushitic cluster within Afro-Asiatic family. The morphological description includes the morphology of nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and numerals. In this chapter also attempt is made to summarize the major points that have been dealt with in the preceding chapters.

The major aim of this study is to present mainly descriptive account of Kemantney morphology, which includes the structure of nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. To this effect the study is divided into four chapters that are with specific roles and is summarized as follows.

The first chapter a brief introductory background about the people and the language, the research purpose, the importance and the methodology of the study has been presented. In addition to this, it gives conceptual framework and review of the literature. Delimitation of the study and some phonological aspects of the language have been presented. In this section the study states only 33 consonant phones and seven vowel phonemes of the language. Further more, suprasegmental, phonotactics, syllable structures and the major morphophonemic processes have been also presented.

The second chapter tries to describe the inflectional and derivational morphology of nouns. But, before detail discussion, the forms of Kemantney nouns are discussed as a hint to the following discussion. Thus, based on the citation form, nouns are grouped into two, i.e. simple nouns and derived nouns. One common characteristic of most nouns in Kemantney is that they end in a vowel. And such terminal vowel is deleted or changed when a noun

undergoes a process of suffixation vowels. Kemantney nouns are inflected for number, gender and case. The majority of the nouns are unmarked for gender. They are expressed lexically. Number in Kemantney nouns shows a two way distinction singular and plural. Such number forms are marked covertly i.e. nouns end **/a/** show singulative and some nouns end other than **/a/** also show singular. However, pluralization is made either by deleting or changing the vowel or suffixing different morphemes.

Gender is expressed in two ways by natural gender of some animate nouns as indicated in section **2.2.1** in page **24**. Gender is also expressed adjectives of verbal origin and quantifiers by the suffixing **/-y/** and **/-ɣ/** that are used for feminine and masculine respectively.

In Kemantney, nouns are inflected for different types of cases such as nominative, accusative, locative and genitive cases. Thus, nouns that are considered to be definite are not marked for case while the indefinite nouns are marked by the suffix **/-i/**. In addition, in the definite nouns **/-i/** is used to indicate nominative case in proper nouns. The accusative case is also expressed by using the morpheme **/-is/** and **/-at/** in the direct object .The accusative markers **/-is/** and **/-at/** are suffixed to all nouns and a small number of nouns mostly kinship terms. Genitive case is also expressed using different morphemes **/-i/**, **/-äy/**, **Ø**, and **/-di/**. The locative case is marked by adding the morpheme **/-(i)li/**.

Nouns are derived from other nouns, adjectival stems, verbal stems and verbal roots. The infinitival nominals are derived from verb stem by suffixing the morpheme **/-(i) na/** and the negative infinitive is formed the negative suffix **/-(i)gi/** which appear embedded verbs and the auxiliary. Agent nominals are derived from verbs of action by suffixing the morpheme **/-änta/**. Abstract nominals are also formed in two ways: nominals derived

from nominal bases and nominals derived from adjectival bases with the nominalizer suffixing the morpheme **/-näy/**. In addition to this, the different types of pronouns in Kemantney such as personal, possessive, demonstrative, interrogative and reflexive have been discussed. The personal pronouns are divided as subject and object personal pronouns. There are seven subject pronouns. These pronouns are not inflected for gender but inflected for number.

The possessive pronouns are formed in two ways independent and bound possessive pronouns. The independent possessive pronouns are marked by the suffixes **/-iɣʷ/** and **/-aɣ/** that show possessive case for singular and plural pronouns respectively. The bound possessive pronouns show possession but are not inflected for grammatical categories except for gender for the third person singular.

There are two types of demonstrative pronouns that indicate nearness and farness object or persons. These pronouns are also inflected for case as shown in section **2.4.3** page **68**. Interrogative pronouns also form the bases of several interrogative adverb particles and relative pronouns. Reflexive pronouns are shown by the suffix **/-aɣwäy/** meaning head plus the pronoun.

In chapter three the morphology of verbs, adjectives and adverbs have been discussed. The classifications of verbs on the bases of their forms are presented. Thus, these verb stems are mono radicals, bi-radicals, tri radicals and quadric radicals. Based on this classification verb inflections and derivations have been treated in some detail.

Verbs are inflected for gender, number, person, aspect and tense. Thus, person, number and gender can be marked by different morpheme. For example in **intändew gändɟ -iy - n - iɣʷ** ‘**You (PL) slept**’, the morpheme **/-iy/**, **/-n/** marks second person and plural respectively.

In Kemantney, there are two aspectual oppositions the perfective and imperfective. Both are marked morphologically. The perfective aspect includes simple past, present perfect and remote past. The simple past is expressed by adding the suffixes **/-i/** and **/-iɣʷ/** which occur next to the verb root. The former expresses third feminine singular while the later expresses the rest persons. The present perfect tense is marked by the morpheme **-ä** and **-äkʷ** that occur with third feminine singular and elsewhere. The remote past tense is expressed by the suffix plus the gerundive form of a verb and the past copular **/sɪmb-/**.

There are five types of mood that is the gerundive, the jussive, the imperative, the conditional and the interrogative mood. The gerundive mood is marked by the suffixing **/-iyä/** and **/-iwä/** for both the second person singular, third feminine singular and the rest person respectively.

The negatives have also been discussed in the previous sections. In Kemantney the negative markers have two different forms, such as **/-l/**, **/-la/**, **/-k/** and **/-g/**. The negative form in the perfective is marked by **/-l/** and **/-la/** in the first person singular and plural and the rest person respectively, while the imperfective negative is marked by **/-l/** and **/-la/** for the first person singular and plural and the rest respectively. The negative gerundive is marked by the morpheme **/-k/** and **/-g/** for second person singular and plural and the rest person respectively. The negative imperative is also marked by **/-t/** for second person. The negative interrogative is marked by **/-k/** for third person singular and plural.

In section 3.3 four types of verb derivations have been presented. Derived verb stems such as passive, causative, frequentatives and reciprocal have been discussed. The passive verb stem is derived by suffixing **/-(i)s/** and **/-(i)t/** to a verb root. The causative verb stem is derived from verb stems by suffixing the morpheme **/-(i)ʃ/**. The frequentative is derived in two ways.

The first type of frequentative is formed by inserting the linking vowel /-ä/ and the second type is expressed by reduplicating the verb stem and by adding an auxiliary to carry inflectional elements. Finally, the reciprocal is derived by total reduplication of the stem, insertion of the linking vowel /-ä/ and suffixing the passive /-s/ with both the reduplicated stems.

In section 3.4 lists of adjectives have been presented. In Kemantney, adjectives were classified into simple and derived but they are less in number and are not productive. Some adjectives in this language are derived from verbs suffixing the morpheme /-änta/.

In 4.3 postpositions have been discussed Kemantney has only a postposition words, which follow, immediately after nouns. Finally, Kemantney numerals are described in section 4.4. This language has a numeral system of five and ten bases. And also these numerals are classified into two as cardinal and ordinal numerals. The list of cardinal and ordinal numerals are presented and discussed in detail.

To sum up, this thesis attempts to give general information on both noun and verb morphology of Kemantney. It describes both the inflectional and derivational morphology of nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, postpositions and numerals. It is believed that this study might be helpful for documentation of the language.

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Appendixes-1

Vocabulary

A – a

Above	k ^w äzäl
Age	ɪdme
All	nik
Alone	bitʃtʃa
And	ɪzɪk ^w
Ant	ˈkäwa
Ape	ʃɪʃwa
Arm	tänkäl
Arrow	kʼast
Asa	asi
Ashes	wiza
Ask	waŋxär
Aunt	tiyär
Axe	sɪnk ^w äta

B-b

Babay	läläm	Baby	ɪnfɪra
Back	yɪwyäw	Bad	x ^w äʃ
Barley	bäga	Basket	kärtäma
Be	aɤ	Bed	argɪ
Bed bug	tix ^w äna	Bee	laxla
Beehive	daŋg ^w a	Before	ɖʒäβo
Beg	ʃɪw	Belly	g ^w äzɪg ^w
Better	kiz	Big bird	ɖʒɪwäsäy
Big	fɪraɤ	Big	xayaɤ
Bird	ɖʒäla	Bite	ɪŋɪɤ ^w
Black	ʃämäna	Blood	bɪr
Blow	yɪb	Bone	naʃ
Bow down	x ^w ɪb	Branch	ʃam
Break	kal	Breast	ɪng ^w ɪ
Breath	fiwa	Bring	laʃ
Brother	zän	Bull	timta
Burn	ʃayt	Burry	däb
But	gɪna	Butter	sɪna
Buttock	gɪt	Buy	wayt
But	ax ^w ar	Blade	sarda

C-c

Cabbage	amɪbra
Call	kafɪn
Check	kɪrfa
Chickpea	azär
Church	dabir
Clay	kärtäma
Cloth	säyɪŋ
Cold area	diya
Come	tiɣ ^w
Cover	k ^w ɪz
Curse	dufän
Chase	fämät

Calf	gär
Cat	damiya
Chew	k ^w aŋ
Child	x ^w ɪra
Claw	laŋgɪla
Cliff	gaxa
Cloud	dämäna
Cold	kämba
Cotton	tiya
Cow	käma
Cut	kab
Change	läwäy

D-d

Dance	kɪlɪŋ
Deaf	wäsäla
Desire	xɪyr
Die	kidizɪɣ ^w
Disperse	bätän
Dog	gɪzɪn
Door	bäla
Drink	dʒax
Dry	kag
Dust	bi

Days	girga
Death	kɪŋa
Diarrhea	dʒäläb
Dig	g ^w arära
Divorce	daxär
Donkey	dix ^w ära
Dream	avär
Drum	kärämbiya
Dusk	g ^w ah

E-e

Ear	ɪŋx ^w ɪ
East	'israk'
Egg	x ^w ɪraɣna
Elephant	dʒäna
Enter	tɪw
Exist	wan

Earth	aɣsɪra
Eat	x ^w
Eight	saɣwäta
Enemy	g ^w ärtax
Excrement	daɣra
Eye	yɪl

F-f

Face	gaɟ
Farm	g ^w az
Fast	fum
Father	aba

Far	karti
Farmer	g ^w äzänta
Fat	yɪzän
Feather	kambi

Female	yɪwna
Fight	säbs
Finish	dɪŋ
Fish	asi
Flour	lax
Fly	ʃɪnʃa
Forehead	bäw
Four	sadʒdʒa
Friday	arb
Frog	doʃa

G-g

Game	waʃär
Girl	yɪwna
Go	fäy
God	yɪdära
Gourd	bixʷa
Grass	ʃanka
Guest	avɪn
Guinea fowl	zigɪra

H-h

Hair	ʃɪbka
Hand	nan
Have	wan
Head	aʃwäy
Heart	lɪbäka
Heifer	mein
Hen	dirwa
Herds man	kälmed
Hide	tɪbʃ
Hold	ʃɪy
Horn	giya
House	nɪŋ
Husband	gʷɪrwa

Field	wɪlaʃa
Find	tɪŋ
Fire	wäzɪŋ
Five	aŋkʷa
Flow	bɪwt
Foot	lɪkʷ
Forest	käbna
Fresh dung	ʃaʃa
Friend	maxäla
Fruit	fɪr

Garlic	suma
Give	iw
Goat	fɪntɪra
Good	säraʃ
Grain	ar
Griddle	mɪgʷäna
Guest	avɪn

Half	gɪβar
Harvest	as
He	ni
Hear	was
Heavy	dʒɪkäka
Help	kab
Her	nɪʃ
Here	ɪlli
Hit	tas
Honey	aʃiya
Horse	farza
hundred	liʃ

I-i

I	an
Ice	ʃayäw
If	dik
Insult	dʒax

J-j

Jump	birtx ^w
------	--------------------

K-k

Kill	k ^w i
Kitchen	mirk ^w i
Knee	girtb
Knife	ʃaliya
Know	ax

L-l

Laugh	yix ^w äy	Leaf	asa
Learn	kint	Leopard	yiba
Lie	was	Like	kina
Lion	gämäna	Live	sım
Liver	sänkäkay	Load	ʃan
Locust	ardinj ^{wa}	Long	lägäza
Louse	bita	Love	yikāla
Lunch	miz	lenient	ʃirwa

M-m

Maize	irfa	Man	yir
Mantel	kabba	Many	adʒix ^w
Market	ayya	Marry	faɣ
Master	gwiya	Meat	siya
Medicine	tila	Milk	ʃäb
Millet	dawʃa	Million	ilf
Monday	sän	Money	sama
Monkey	dʒigra	Month	arfa
Moon	mizbära	Morning	kisinj
Mother	gäna	Mountain	diba
Mouse	injfiwa	Mouth	mikäy

Mucus	xɪrf	Mud	sɪʁa
Mule	bäyla	Mead	miz

N-n

Nail	langila	Name	sɪŋ ^w
Naughty	yɪzɪm	Navel	g ^w mbirda
Neck	x ^w ɪm	new	azi
ni	he/she	Night	xiyr
Nil	illa	nine	sässa
Nose	x ^w ɪmba	Now	nan

O-o

Oak tree	darg ^w ina
Old	liʁ
One	laʁ ^w
Onion	surta
Order	azaz
Other	ayɪʁ ^w
Ox	bira

P-p

Palate	lanxa	Parent	wäladʒ
Pass	däw	Peas	aräng ^{wa}
Person	yɪr	Pierce	tɪbs
Pine	azza	Pitcher	gan
Play	waxärt	Plough	dindäx ^{wa}
Porridge	bɪx ^w ira	Pot	kärtäma
Pour	bɪwt	Present	wan
Priest	kämāzāna	Pumpkin	amma
Push	tɪŋkɪb		

R-r

Rabbit	banttle	Rain	sɪwa
Receive	käläbät	Red	säraʁ
Relative	yɪzāmādän	Right hand	lɪwugi
Road	g ^w ärwa	Roast	awär
Roasted grain	taz	Root	sɪr
Run	gaŋ		

S-s

Sand	afäwa
Say	y
See	xal
Seed	fäzän
Sit	täk ^w äsäm
Skin	k ^w ärbäy
Sleep	gändʒ
Small	ʃig ^w aɣ
Snake	miräwa
Stand	timb
Stone	kirɲa
Sun	k ^w ara
Swim	waxint
Stick	kimbɪ
Shade	lämda
Shepherd	kälmed
Sunday	ad
Shoulder	säg
Sister	ʃän
Summer	ʃaɣ
Steal	xafant
Sickle	abäla
Scratch	yɪk
Spill	bɪws
Smoke	tɪxɪz

speak	gämär
smell	xɪyr
swallow	sɪŋ
stitch	ʃämätäɣ
soil	bi
sew	fäz
shelter	daz
silent	sika
soup	kar
snow	bäräd
sorghum	bälga
sorrow	täkâzâna
six	waltɪta
Saturday	sänabt
sleep	gändʒ
saliva	bɪrx ^w ɪ
shoes	madi
stool	dɪk ^w a
Spent	kiy
Sell	kɪz
Swallow	sɪŋ
Salt	ʃɪwa
Sell	kɪz
Single	faxgaɣ

T-t

Tail	dʒɪrây
Tall	lägäza
Teacher	kinfänta
Teff	tab
Ten	ʃika
Thin	ʃaxay
This	inni
Thursday	amɪz
Together	labara
Tongue	lanxa
Truth	dirma

Take	as
Teacher	kinfänta
Tear	fuɣ ^w
Tell	dɪw
They	naydew
Thirty	saɣ ^w aɣyɪŋ
Three	sevwa
Tiger	yɪba
Tomorrow	amär
Tooth	ɪrk ^w ɪ
Tuesday	sälɪz

Two niŋa

U-u

Urine ʃax
Uncle ag
Until taxäʃ

V-v

Value waya
Village kăw
Very ʃärʃi

W-w

Warm biɫu
We annew
Wednesday labo
Wet xʷitāna
When awɪn
Whey ʃɪlaɣʷ
White ʃäyaɣ
wife yiwna
wing kambɪ
Woman yiwna
Worm xiʃa

Water axʷ
Weak yiɪzm
Well gʷana
What wä
Where awti
Whey gʷarambi
Who aw
Wind fiŋgäy
wise axänta
wood kana
Win xaɣ

Y-y

Year amäy
Yes iyya
Yesterday andʒɪn
Yoke siɫe
You ɪntändew
You ɪnti
You(f) ayiru
You(m) ayiku

Objects

Barley	bälga	Cotton	tiya
Door	bäla	Dura	mäy+la
Earth	aʕsira	Farm	gʷäz
Grass	ʃanka	House	n+iŋ
Maize	irfa	Moon	mizbra
Mountain	diba	River	kura
Road	gwärwa	Sea	bar
Stone	kirŋa	Sun	kʷara
Water	axʷ	Wind	fingay

Domestic animals

Bull	timta	Heifer	mein
Dog	giz+in	Cat	damiya
Cow	käma	Ox	bira
Chicken	ʃafun	Hen	dirwa
Calf	gär	Donkey	dixʷära
Mule	bäyla	Horse	farza
Sheep	bäga	Goat	fintir+ia

Wild animals

Lion	gämäna
Tiger	yiba
Hyena	wiya
Elephant	džana
Snake	miräwa
Ape	ʃifäwa
Monkey	džigra
Sparrow	gʷänkiya

Types of food

Injera	ar	Butter	sina
Milk	ʃäb	Meat	siya
Egg	xʷäraʕna	Bread	lalla
Cabbage	ambir	Porridge	bixʷära
Potato	dinfa	Curd	irgʷi
Salt	ʃ+wa	Coffee	bun

Lunch	miz	Local beer	sɪlaxa
Cheese	ʃälax ^{wi} fɪr	Green pepper	k'et'o
Rye	adʒdʒä	Pepper	arfi ⁿ itʃ
Dura	mäyɪla	Mead	miz

Parts of the body

Head	aɣwäy	Bone	naɟ
Hair	ʃɪbka	Face	gäɟ
Blood	bɪr	Forehead	bäw
Eye	yɪl	Nose	x ^{wi} mɪba
Tongue	lanxa	Tooth	ɪrk ^{wi}
Pens	x ^{wi} intʃa	Lip	mɪkäy
Check	kɪrʃa	Neck	x ^{wi} m
Eyelash	ʃɪmärk	Shoulder	säg
Mouth	mɪkäy	Ear	ɪnx ^{wi}
Finger	naɟ	Intestine	dʒɪr
Hand	nan	Belly	g ^{wä} zg ^{wi}
Foot	lɪk ^{wi}	Arm	tänkäl
Vagina	kɪma	Heart	lɪbäka
Skin	k ^{wä} rbäy	Knee	gɪrbi
Breast	ɪng ^{wi}		

Personal Pronouns as a subject case

I	an
You	ɪntɪ
He/She	ni
We	annew
You	ɪntändew
They	naydew

Examples

a. an kinʃantä gayil
'I am a teacher.'

c. ɪntɪ kintät gaɣilla
'You are a student'

b. an kint- it gayil
'I am a student.'

d. ɪntɪ kinʃantä kinʃantä
'You are a teacher.'

e. **ni kintät gala**
'She is a student.'

f. **ni kemantney gämär - ø- iɣ^w**
'He spoke kemantney.'

g. **ni g'wäzäntä gala**
'He is a farmer.'

h. **annew wäört- in- äw - gaɣilla**
'We are playing.'

i. **intändew police gaɣilla**
'You are a police man.'

j. **naydew doctor gaɣilla**
'They are doctors.'

k. **naydew gaŋdɜ- in- äw- sab gaɣilla** l. **naydew biɣwa gaɣilla**
'They are sleeping.' 'They are gourds.'

Personal Pronouns as object case

Me	yɪ-t
You	kʷɪ-t
He/She	ni-t
Us	annew-is
Them	naydew-is
You	intändew-is

Examples

ni yɪ-t was - ø- iɣ^w
'He heard me.'

ni yɪ-t yɪkal- ø- iɣ^w
'He loves me.'

ni yɪ-t kʷɪ - ø- iɣ^w
'She killed me.'

ni yɪ-t tas- ø- iɣ^w
'She hit me.'

an ni-t was - ø- iɣ^w
'I heard them.'

an ni-t iw - ø- iɣ^w
'I gave him.'

naydew annew -is xal -n- iɣ^w
'They saw us.'

an ni-t d iw - ø- iɣ^w
'I told her.'

Personal pronouns as possessive case

Mine	yɪ- iɣ ^w
Yours	ti- iɣ ^w
Hers	niɟ- iɣ ^w
His	ni- iɣ ^w
Yours	inti -aɣ
Ours	anä-aɣ
Theirs	na-aɣ

Examples

yin käma ni-iɣʷ gayla
'That cow is his.'

inni bäga niɸ -iɣʷ' gala
'This sheep is hers.'

inni bira ana -aɣ gala
'This ox is ours.'

inni niŋ ti -iɣʷ' gala
'This house is yours.'

yin xwira na-aɣ gala
'That child is theirs.'

Possessive adjective

My	yɨ
Yours	ti
Her	niɸ
His	ni
Yours	intä
Our	anä
Their	na

Examples

My father	yɨ aba
Your ox	ti -bira
Her cow's	niɸ- käm
His child	ni- xwira
Our house	an- niŋ
Your sheep	intä- bäga
Their village	na-käw

Sentences

niŋ säliz gala
'Today is Thursday.'

ni kintätä gala
'He is a student.'

an siɱaɣ Awassa gayɨl
'I live in Awassa.'

ni lägäza gayla
'She is tall.'

naydew kina waxärt -äw -sab gaxila
'They like plying.'

an kinʃintä gayil
'I am a teacher.'

inni giri muk'ät gala
'This day is vey hot.'

andʒin sän simb -iɣ^w
'Yesterday was Monday.'

ni police gala
'He was a police man.'

ʃile näbayil simb -iɣ^w
'I was in č'ilga.'

kintät simb -in-iɣ^w
'They were a student.'

andʒin silax dʒax simb -iɣ^w
'I drank t'ela yesterday.'

ʃäb dʒax -in simb -in-iɣ^w
'They drank milk.'

Past tense

intändew waxärt- in- iɣ^w

annew miz x^w- in - iɣ^w

an läba- iɣ^w

ni wilaɣt- iɣ^w

ni täk^wäsäm- iɣ^w

'They played.'

'We ate lunch.'

'I fell.'

'She drove.'

'He sat.'

Present perfect

naydew waxärt in-wan- äk^w- in

annew x^w- in -wan-n- äk^w

an läba- wan-äk^w

ni wilaɣt - y-an-t

ni t-wan- äk^w

ni täk^wäsäm-wan- äk^w

'You have played.'

'We have eaten.'

'I have fallen.'

'She has droven.'

'He has come.'

'He has sat.'

Question

yini wā ni
inni wā ni
yini aw ni
ni wā ni
wiɣw yini fāy-ti
awin tātāna
awin titi
awin ni dixwār
awin t - iy - ākw

‘What is that?’
‘What is this?’
‘Who is that?’
‘Who is she?’
‘Why did she go there?’
‘When did they come?’
‘When did she come?’
‘Which donkey?’
‘When will you come?’

Salutation

dankāwm kinfānta

‘Good morning teacher?’

dangārgiya Abera

‘Good after noon Abera?’

Mamo dangkinya

‘Good evening Mamo?’

dangäſki aba

‘Good night father’

dangigirg yitātāra

‘Good bye my darling.’

Dang sänäbātiya

‘How are you?’

Text one

saɣwāta ʃi xwiri ni mikäy sarda ni säyiŋ ʃayaɣ

yäsimitäŋnaw ʃi lidz afu mīlač’ lībsu näč’ (Amharic)

‘Eighth thousand children is his mouth razor his cloth white.’

ni ʃäbki gaʃäk^w ni idme käbtäk^w

s’äguru rädzīm idmew ač’ir (Amharic)

‘His hair long his age short.’

kawinto xwiri ni mikäy dīda ni säyiŋ adäfik^{wi}

yädräo lidz afu dūda lībsu adafa (Amharic)

‘The ancient time child his mouth claim, his cloth dirty.’

ni fäbki gafäla ni idme täzänafa
s'äguru ač'ir dmew rädžim (Amharic)
'His hair short, his age long.'

Text two- Proverbs

waṣänt kina dik täskar kimänän wä ni
kalafäru minalä bätäskar bizäfnu (Amharic)
'A little learning is a dangerous thing.'

k'älal tän finso kinb laxtäw
läk'äläblaba amat siso bitr alat (Amharic)
'Lend your money and loose your friend.'

yaṣwäyis kwiräbo fägwiqli
läras sik'orsu ayasanisu (Amharic)
'Every one thinks his own garden the heaviest.'

dabänäy dabäyitna dabäno inti säkw
sirot'u yätat'äk'ut sirot'u yifätal (Amharic)
'More haste, less speed: The fastest you attempt to go, the less progress you will actually make.'

wälifin wäliṣin dżämäwna gidgida sänbälet'
yänätolo tolo bet gidgidaw sänbälet' (Amharic)
'The farthest way round in the nearest way home.'

fintiri inni diw yinni
fiyäl wädih k'izmizim wädiya (Amharic)
'A whisper here a word there.'

ni likwäz tät'äyäfaṣi ni gitiz gadäk
lägiru yätät'äyäfä läk'it'u atäräfä (Amharic)
'he who fights and runs away may live to fight another day.'

dżigra nij mälat'e xalsäla nij aṣwyis xalsäla
zindżäro yärasua mälat'a ayitayatim (Amharic)
'Those who live in glass house should not throw stones. One should not accuse others of faults that oneself commits.'

damiya mäläkäse nij amäls lela
dimät mälkusa amäluan atiräsa (Amharic)
'A liar is not believed when he speaks the truth/ As well hang a dog as give him a bad name once a person has lost his reputation, it is difficult for him to regain it because others continue to suspect him.'

kämä girgina k'iz kubät yixwä rä läk'ämsäk^w

läm balwaläbät kubät läk'äma (Amharic)

'Fast bind, fast find: It is a thing is put away securely it will be quickly found'

an kiṅ särdon bāk^wä lti dīxwä rä

ine kmotku särdō ayibk'al alät'f ahiya (Amharic)

'Every one thinks his own garden the heaviest.'

yirz kiṅ ṣigwäxⁱyiti k'äbäro

läsäw mot anäsäw alät'f kábäro (Amharic)

'A good dog deserves a good bone.'

käwe senädza mizgizig nenädza

k'ok wädih mizgizig wädiya

'A whisper here a word there.'

gämäni x^w adäyⁱto wäkäfäla aw gämäro

anbäsa m+n yibälal täbädro m+n yikäflal man tănagro (Amharic)

'An English man's is his castle: An English person's home is a place where he may be private and safe and do as he wishes.'

firaṣ mäyila agädäms firäk^w

afira yaläw mafila tägadimo yafäral (Amharic)

'Every cloud has a silver lining: In every trouble and difficulty, there is hope or expectation of an improvement in the circumstances./ For every evil under the sun there is a remedy or none.'

gizⁱṅ wifaxäx gwäzil

wuṣa m+n agäbaṣ kärṣa (Amharic)

'Lend your money loose your friend.'

xwⁱrä gäna ṣätak' ṣilaxⁱy ink^wiyäla

yä lidz inat yäyazät'f^w č'älaha ayibäräktim (Amharic)

'A jack of all trade is master of none: A person who follows many divers occupations is never at any.'

moṇṇi fuṣ g^wirbäsäy

yämoṇṇi läk'so gäsa läbso (Amharic)

'Many a true word is spoken in jest.'

Text 3- Biography_1

yɪ kǎw tǎnbǎrǎ gala
'My village is Tenbera.'

yɪ gǎna liyawɪʃ yɪsǎki
'My mother name is Liyawsh.'

yaba bǎkǎlǎ yiskʷ tǎnbǎrǎ yɪ kǎw
'My father name is Bekele, his village Tenbera.'

t'ǎlǎlu zǎlǎk'ǎ yɪ bǎkɪr gayla
'Telelu Zeleke my first daughter.'

alǎmnǎʃ mǎra mǎk'urǎč'č'a gayla
'Alemnesh Mcra is my last daughter.'

Text 4 Biography_2

an kǎbǎns- ɪxʷ tǎnbǎrǎ gala
'I was born Tenbera.'

tǎnbǎrǎ ɪyǎsus yɪsɪǎkʷ
'It is Tenbera.'

kǎbǎns- ɪxʷ tǎnbǎrǎ gǎʃaɣ tǎtǎra yɪsǎkʷ
'I was grown up Tenbera.'

yaba nǎgǎʃ mǎkǎtǎ yɪsǎkʷ
'My father name is Negash Mekete.'

gʷǎrwa tɪwaɣ yɪdudaza yɪsǎkʷ
'I married my husband Daza.'

yɪ gʷǎriliz daxar saɣ mǎkan axʷ
'My husband divorces me he knows I can not bear a child.'

yɪ ɪdmes an axal
'I do not know my age.'

t'ɪlian fe- ɪxʷ nɪŋa amǎy sɪmb- ɪxʷ
'When Italy went I am two years old.'

yɪ ɪdme nɪŋa amǎy sɪmb - ɪxʷ
'My age two years old.'

axaɣ ʃǎyɪl ɪdmes
'I have many years.'

an yɪr yǎlfɪŋ mǎkǎtǎ yɪsǎkʷ k'ɪmant balabat gayɪl
'I am Yelfign Mekete Kemant lord.'

Text 5- Biograpghy_3

sime wänbär mulunäh gala
'My name is Wenber Muluneh.'

yí +dme näjätin sässa
'I am seventy nine years old.'

saxwätin jan jiyanäk^w
'I have eight sisters.'

Text 6 -Some of Smiles are given below

xiyr dʒäla kina gärktil käläla
'As blined as a bat.'

gämäni kina birtula
'As brave as a lion.'

laxiläy kina g^wbäz gayla
'As busy as a bee.'

damiya kina zimtäy
'As claim as a cat.'

yibi kina wälifax
'As fast as a tiger.'

ʃanki kina lämälätax
'As green as a grass.'

sarda kina sälaʃ
'As sharp as razor.'

sini kina läsɫasa
'As soft as butter.'

bäräd kina ʃayaʃ
'As white as snow.'

saxäy kina antäk^wu
'As sweet as honey.'

wärki kinäy yibuʃak^w
'As yellow as gold'

gundan kinä tatari
'As busy as an ant.'

agazän kinä fät'an
'As fast as a deer.'

mäb+räk' kīnā gāmāra
'As loud as thunder.'

Text 4 - Expressions of blessings made by priests

sāmay b+koni wārāsānā m+zgāni wārāsab

bāsāmay gum +ndāwārāsāw bām+dr sārdo +ndāwārāsāw yāmt+wär+ yar+g+ (Amha)

'May you grow and control your the earth like 'Serdo' (a kind of low growing grass that covers its areas as it grows horizontally) and like clouds that covers the sky.'

y+mzm+is karta mälaks+ täyta

kifun bärük' mälkamun bāk'+rb yarg+lf+ (Amharic)

'May kidus (God) take away the evil from you and bring the good to you!!'

k'wāzāz+ta +sk'wāzāz+ta sabolāb+iz gāz

bābāt+tf yāmāt'aw+in bāgam +f+oh yāmitat'är bābālay yāmāt'aw+in bāfāsa+ w+ha yasali+fl+ (Amharic)

'May kidus protect you from the evil that come below you by the fence of torn and wash away the evil that come above you by the flood (running water).'

kägāz+is asāmab+za kägāz+is tf+lot gāz+is l+bona

gāz+win l+bona y+st'āw tf+lot y+st'āw (Amharic)

'May (kidus) give the rulers the fair mind and to the subject the justice.'

daynās d+ld+li ayyas b+ti+liya fābin

da+aw+in d+ld+l gābāyaw+in t'+gab yargāw (Amharic)

'May kidus make the rulers stabilized and the market fully supplied.'

tāk'wāsaya tāyaga wārāwārā sābāga

yātāk'wāsā yāmay+māta+ yawārāwārā yāmay+wāga+ (Amharic)

'May you be protected from the bullet fired to you dangerous things thrown on you.'

gaga k'ādāmāga

yārot'ā yāmay+k'ādm+ (Amharic)

'May you not be overtaken by your competent (on a race).'

+ntā mälak+is tāwārāga

kāmālki+ gar yāmt+nori yarg+ (Amharic)

'May your beauty last long.'

+ntā wuk'abis gāfāga

wuk'abi+n ay+gi+fāfāw' (Amharic)

'May your spirit be wearing you off (removed from you!!).'

mäb+räk' kinä gämära
'As loud as thunder.'

Text 4 - Expressions of blessings made by priests

sämay bikoni wärasänä mizgäni wärasab

bäsämay gum indäwärasäw bäm+dr sardo indäwärasäw yämtiwärf yar+gi]
(Amha)

'May you grow and control your the earth like 'Serdo' (a kind of low growing grass that covers its areas as it grows horizontally) and like clouds that covers the sky.'

y+mzmis karta mälaks+ täyta

kifun bärük' mälkamun bäk'rb yarg+lf+ (Amharic)

'May kidus (God) take away the evil from you and bring the good to you!!'

k'wäzäzita +sk'wäzäzita saboläb+gäz

bäbätaf] yämät'awin bägam +f]oh yämitat'är bäbäläy yämät'awin bäfäsa] wiha
yasali+fi] (Amharic)

'May kidus protect you from the evil that come below you by the fence of torn and wash away the evil that come above you by the flood (running water).'

kägäz+is asämab+za kägäz+is t]ilot gäz+is libona

gäz+win libona y+st'aw t]ilot y+st'aw (Amharic)

'May (kidus) give the rulers the fair mind and to the subject the justice.'

daynäs d+ld+li ayyas b+ti+liya jäbin

dañawin d+ld+il gäbäyawin t'igab yargäw(Amharic)

'May kidus make the rulers stabilized and the market fully supplied.'

täk'wäsaya täyaga wäräwäwä säbäga

yätäk'wäsä yämay+mäta] yäwäwäwä yämay+wäga] (Amharic)

'May you be protected from the bullet fired to you dangerous things thrown on you.'

gaga k'ädämäga

yärot'ä yämay+k'ädmi] (Amharic)

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kämälki] gar yämt+nori yargi] (Amharic)

'May your beauty last long.'

+ntä wuk'abis gäfäga

wuk'abi]n ay+gi+fäfäw'(Amharic)

'May your spirit be wearing you off (removed from you!!).'

tʃigär mälku dāwāāga sisay tābārāha

‘tʃigär yit’ifa sisay kābārāha yimt’a.’ (Amharic)

‘May hunger disappear from you and fortune may come to you from desert.’

iyabatih idär bāfāma tāk’ābär zäy+nāga jābin

babatif hay+manot yām+tnori yarigfi.(Amharic)

‘May you live following the ways of your forefathers and be buried by Shemma (a respected traditional garment).’

xanäl fizaral funäy kwāran

yām+inč’ wuha ay+insa (Amharic)

‘You may not lack water from spring or river.’

yizim wafāga yizim xwābifāga abilmazāz yir fāt’ārās sāxw+sew saxwisa,

karewsew array, jāwtʃfāw wintʃisa , jāgāra dāsiya

sāwin yāfāt’ārā amilak :- yātamāmā yāmidin, yātāt’ala yāmitarāk’, yātasārā

yāmifāta, yātāt’āgārā dās yāmilāw yargāw (Amharic)

The creator of the human being:

- May heal the sick
- May reconcile the quarreled
- May release the prisoner
- May give delight to people in problems

yir gwāzgw+iyā ,kāma sirdi ,gidzwā sākāy gwārābet sākāy

yāsaw igrūz ,yākābāt igrūz gorābet yāmayisāmaw mit’ yist’atʃihu (Amharic)

‘Kidus may make the delivery of both human beings and animals so easy and simple so that even the neighbors would not hear.’

kinbit gāḥār dangwāya dāra dangwāya kābārāt adāga

k’āfo sītsāk’ilu gāmādu yāmitamān yihun (yāmayibāt’ās) (Amharic)

‘May the rope of the beehive be strong and trusted when you hung it on a tree.’

idme silāgāfa ara sābifa

idmeḥin irādzim indžāraḥin bizu yargāw’ (Amharic)

‘May you live long and your bread be multiplied.’

mik’ānas gārāfa

mik’ānaḥin yadikimilf (Amharic)

‘May those who with your downfall be weakened.’

wādadzis bārāfa

wādadziḥin yabizalif (Amharic)

‘May your friends be multiplied.’

gawintena dāwfa

yāmit’alafin yat’faw (Amharic)

‘May those who hate you be doomed (vanished)’

dzäktiwiſ yi wärk+na k'alälſa

yäkäbädäw+in bä ahunu wär yak'iliſ (Amharic)

'May what become a barden for you are fall down this month.'

zämän kázämän aſägagärſa

zämän kázämän yaſägagirſ (Amharic)

'May He pass you from year to year peacefully.'

intä birhan intä tidar dikw+inſa

käbirhan+iſ kät+dar+iſ gar yämtamäſ yarg+iſ (Amharic)

'May He make you last with your light (life) and marriage.'

ſägwäyte gaſ+itena

t+in+inſotſu yämt+goläm+isu yarga tſ+ihu' (Amharic)

'May you young grow to adults.'

dzäwsi darenar k'wärenar

t+ilik'o tſu yämt+idru yämt+kulu yargatſ+ihu' (Amharic)

'May He make you able to get pleasure from the marriage of your sons and daughters.'

bad+ima särdwäyanä

indä bad+ima särd+o yämt+isäfu yargatſ+ihu (Amharic)

'May He make you grow in all sides like 'Serdo' (a kind of low growing grass that widens horizontally as it grows in uncultivated land).'

wasin gärfäna xanil däwiſ+na libona ſäy+ga libona, xw+irä ſäy+ga xw+irä, samä

ſäy+ga samä, idme ſäy+ga idme , t'ena ſäy+ga t'ena y+iwäſäbin

lib lälelāw lib , lidz lälelāwä lidz, gänzäb lälelāw gänzäb, idme lälelāw idme,

t'ena lälelāw t'ena y+ist'atſ+ihu. (Amharic)

'May He may make you a person that gives on ear to the deaf, eye to the blind , a sound mind to the mindless, sons and daughters to those who have no children, money to the poor and health to the sick.'

t'ena mädu idmes k'ät'äldu

tenaſ+in abädz+ito idmeſ+in k'ät'lo y+ist'+iſ (Amharic)

'May He gives a sound health and prolong your life.'

Declaration

This thesis is my original work and all source of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name -----

Signature-----

Date-----

This thesis has been submitted for examination with our proposal as university advisors.

1. Name:-----

Signature:-----

2. Name:-----

Signature:-----