

Description of the social varieties used by the Gurage: Fedwet and Fuga

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A Dissertation Submitted to

The Department of Linguistics and Philology

Presented in Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in General Linguistics

Addis Ababa University

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia


June 2019

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

This is to certify that the dissertation prepared by Etaferahu Hailu Tessema, entitled *Description of the social varieties used by the Gurage: Fedwet and Fuga* and submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (in General Linguistics) complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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ABSTRACT

This research is concerned with the linguistic features and the sociolinguistic functions of the linguistic varieties spoken by two minority groups within the Gurage, namely the *Fedwet* (the name of the speakers and the linguistic variety, mainly used by women who were followers of a former local religious tradition in Gurage) and the so-called *Fuga* (a group of handcrafters whose members are said to be not “pure” Gurage). For both social varieties, the qualitative approach of data gathering and analysis was used. Primary data were gathered by elicitation of words, recording of free texts, and interviews. For each social variety 12 informants participated in the interview and 7 of them also participated in the elicitation of words and the performance of texts. The language data analysis is descriptive with frequent examples. The interview responses were quantified for a descriptive statistical analysis.

It was found that the *Fedwet* is not a separate language, but an argot created from the basic language Chaha through different manipulation processes. The main areas of divergence are changes in the morphophonological and lexical patterns of Chaha. The functions of *Fedwet* include the establishment of secret communication among young girls, to form a specific identity, and various religious purposes. The motive of using it is related to the social position of women and the traditional belief system of Gurage.

The Fuga social variety, by contrast, is more divergent. It is not an argot; the data shows that its lexicon is very different from Chaha. However, the Fuga social variety also follows the general pattern of the Chaha grammar. Like Fedwet, it is used to form an in-group, i.e. as a marker of a specific group identity and as a means of secret in-group communication.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks to the Almighty God and His Mother St. Mary.

First of all, my deepest gratitude goes to my supervisor, Dr. Ronny Meyer, for his valuable and constructive suggestions and encouragement during the planning and the progress of this dissertation.

I am grateful to the Norad (Norwegian Aid Agency), funded project on linguistic capacity building tools for the inclusive development of Ethiopia, for providing me financial support while conducting my PhD research. I have benefited from different conferences and research stays in Helsinki and Oslo universities which are important for my academic development and for which I am extremely grateful. I am also indebted to Dr. Biniam Sisay and Dr. Ronny Meyer for helping me to get support from the Norad project. I would also like to thank Dr. Derib Ado, the current Norad project coordinator at Addis Ababa university, for his unlimited support in various aspects.

In addition, I would like to thank members of Oslo University. I am extremely grateful to a special person, Professor Janne Bondi Johannessen, for her love, respect, unlimited administrative support, kindness, encouragement, generosity during my stay in Oslo and in Ethiopia too. I would also like to thank Professor Pritty Patel-Grosz for her comments on part of the chapters and for discussion during my stay in Oslo and for her valuable suggestions on most of the chapters.

My deepest gratitude goes to my examiner Professor Rose Sharon for her invaluable comments and suggestions.

I would like to thank Dr. Fekede Menuta for his comments on the descriptive part of the chapters and for sharing with me his knowledge on the area. I would like to thank

my key informants who tolerated the negative attitude of the society and show their effort and help me to get the required data. I also thank Mr.Sisay for helping me to get my key informants in the area which was a very challenging task during the data collection.

I have got many constructive comments from my friends at Addis Ababa University. My special thank goes to my friend and a PhD candidate, who has an amazing personality, Wossen Mekonnen, for reading and commenting the description part of this paper and for suggesting many valuable ideas. I am very grateful to my MA classmate and PhD candidate, Wendemu Habte. He read descriptive part of the chapters and suggested many comments and helped me with his insight into different points. I am indebted to my friend, my staff and PhD candidate, Tirsit Yitbarek for editing and proof reading most of the chapters. I also thank Shewa Tafa and Tadesse W/Gebrel, PhD candidates and my friends, for their constructive comments. Moreover, I thank my friends here at Addis Ababa University, Helen Ephrem, Siraye Endalew and Helina Sebsebew for being with me in the past reasonable years.

My deepest gratitude goes to my beloved family, my husband, Befekadu Yeseraw, my son, Adoniyas Befekadu (Bucheve), for their endless love throughout all these years. I really thank my husband for his patience while taking care of our son alone, especially during my research stay for three months in Oslo.

Lastly but most importantly, I would like to thank all my immediate family. I thank my Dad, Hailu Tessema, my Mom and my role model, Bezunesh Namaga, for their encouragement and love. My endless love and gratitude go to my younger brother and my best friend Million Hailu for his invaluable moral support. I would also extend my warmest gratitude to my brother and sisters for love and support they have given me: Biruk Hailu, Sentayehu Hailu, Woinshet Hailu, Dr. Meseret Hailu, Mekdelawit Hailu and Frehiwot Hailu. Thank you so much.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

#-	<i>word initially</i>
-#	<i>word finally</i>
-#-	<i>word medial</i>
/	<i>In the environment of</i>
→	<i>Changes</i>
1	<i>First person</i>
2	<i>Second person</i>
3	<i>Third person</i>
ABL	<i>Ablative</i>
ACC	<i>Accusative</i>
ADJ	<i>Adjective</i>
C	<i>Consonant</i>
CONN	<i>Connector</i>
COM	<i>Comitative</i>
CON	<i>Converb</i>
COND	<i>Conditional</i>
CONN	<i>Connector</i>
CONJ	<i>Conjunction</i>
COP	<i>Copula</i>
DAT	<i>Dative</i>
DEF	<i>Definiteness</i>
DEM	<i>Demonstrative</i>
F	<i>Feminine</i>
FUT	<i>Future</i>

<i>INDF</i>	<i>Indefinite</i>
<i>INS</i>	<i>Instrumental</i>
<i>INTR</i>	<i>Interjection</i>
<i>INTRO</i>	<i>Interrogative</i>
<i>IPFV</i>	<i>Imperfective</i>
<i>JUS</i>	<i>Jussive</i>
<i>LOC</i>	<i>Locative</i>
<i>M</i>	<i>Masculine</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>Past</i>
<i>NEG</i>	<i>Negative</i>
<i>NOM</i>	<i>Nominative</i>
<i>NP</i>	<i>Noun phrase</i>
<i>O</i>	<i>Object</i>
<i>P</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>PAS</i>	<i>Past</i>
<i>PASS</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>PFV</i>	<i>Perfective</i>
<i>POSS</i>	<i>possessive</i>
<i>PREP</i>	<i>Preposition</i>
<i>PRO</i>	<i>pronoun</i>
<i>REF</i>	<i>Reflexive</i>
<i>S</i>	<i>Singular</i>
<i>TAM</i>	<i>Tense aspect Mood</i>
<i>V</i>	<i>Vowel</i>
<i>VP</i>	<i>Verb phrase</i>

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Gurage and their language(s)

The term Gurage has been used to designate Semitic-speaking groups surrounded by Cushitic speaking people. The etymology of the name Gurage is still vague. Hetzron (1977:20) noted that the Gurage land is a relatively small area, a Semitic enclave in a Cushitic territory. Geographically, the people of Gurage live approximately 200 km to the southwest of the Ethiopian capital city of Addis Ababa on the road to Jimma bounded by the Rift Valley in the east and northeast and the Awash River (Gebreyesus 1991:1). Currently it is part of the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' Regional state administration (Worku 2000:43).

Economically, the Gurage people are an agriculturalist ethnolinguistic group. Shack (1966:1-6) states that the Gurage people are sedentary agriculturalists. Worku (2000:43) also acknowledges this and states that the major Gurage economic activities are farming, livestock raising and trade. The distinguishing feature of the Gurage village is the extensive growth of the towering banana-like plant called *Ensete*. Because of its similarity to the banana, it is also called False Banana. It has long leaves, a big stem and an edible bulb-like root. Bahru (2002:20) adds that it not only unites all the Gurage, but it is also a shared cultural trait which they share with a number of southwestern peoples. Haile (2009:13-14) says that *Ensete* is

agricultural product of the Sebat Bet ¹Gurage people and it is a source of food. Ensete is referred to as 'Yafeya Gordera' which means 'pole of the soul'. Gordera is a very strong wood used in the Gurage area in house construction. It is true that Ensete is the soul of the Gurage; it is a means of existence and it plays a great role in the Gurage identity.

Like most societies in Ethiopia, the Gurage have social institutions that are based on traditional rules and regulations which play a significant role among the Gurage. Minor and major disagreements in the society are solved in the context of Gurage traditional law through clan elders. According to Bahru (2002), the Gurage system of governance includes Yajoka Qicha and the Gordanna Sera which are the gatherings of the representative of the Sebat Bet and the Kestane respectively. On these occasions, elders come together to agree on the fundamental rules governing their community. The assemblies combine legislative and judiciary functions. Periodic meetings are also held to revise the laws when such revisions are considered necessary. The ultimate result of this process is the assertion of the sets of laws.

However, traditional governance is dominated by men as the Gurage is a male-dominated community in all aspects; not only women were excluded from the decision-making process, but also marginalized groups like the Fuga also suffered from such discrimination. Their skills as craftspeople did not earn them social respect. They were not allowed to mix with other Gurage, and it was unthinkable that they would be allowed into Yajoka or Gordanna meetings (Bahru 2002:24).

¹ refers to seven houses or tribes, referring to the seven main groups of Gurage

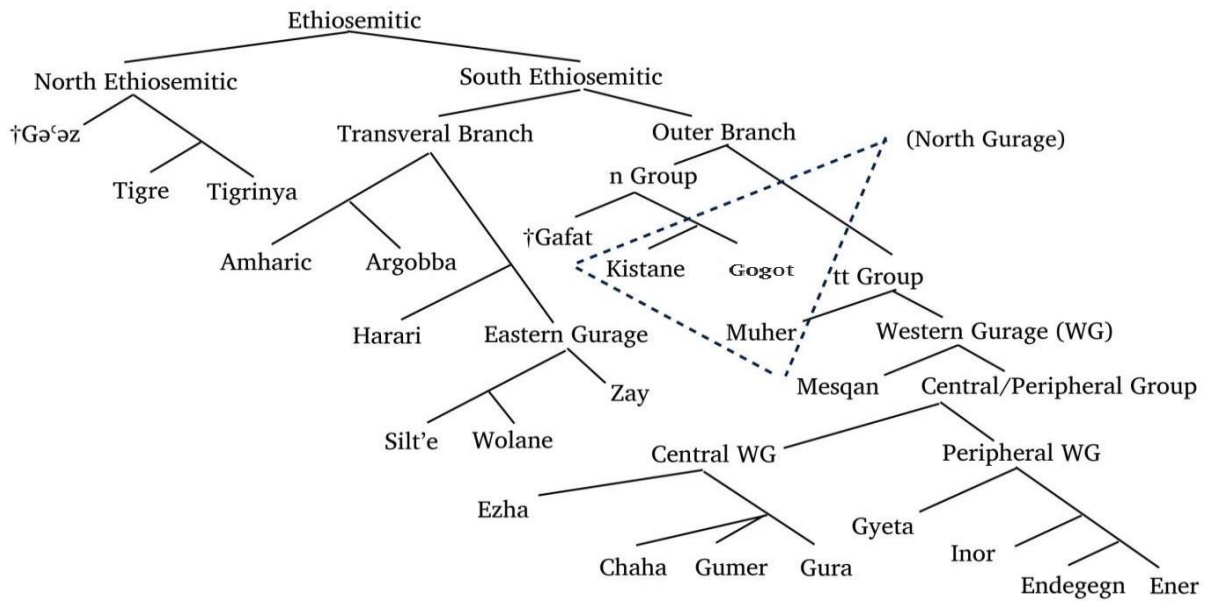
In summary, Gurage society has its own way of traditional dispute resolution and governance system even though it is male dominated and has a discriminating aspect with respect to assumed minorities or those who are lower on the social respect scales such as Fuga.

The linguistic classification of Gurage has not been fully agreed on and is open for question. The term *Guragəŋna* is a collective term probably for multiple languages; the speakers call themselves Gurage. They are mainly spoken languages in the private domain, as has already been noted by Hetzron (1972:5); even today they are rarely used for writing or for official purposes.

According to Hetzron (1977:3), the Outer South Ethiopian languages excluding Gafat form the typological unit of *Gunnən Gurage*, whereas *gunnən* means 'head' in all these languages. He includes the following varieties in this group: Soddo (Kistane), Muher, Goggot (Dobbi), Mäsqaŋ, Ezha, Chaha, Gumer, Gura, Gyeto, Ennemor, Endegeñ and Ener. Meyer (2011a:20) states that besides sharing a number of features there are also differences between Gurage varieties.

Hetzron (1972:119) shows the genealogical relationship between the Ethiopian Semitic languages as follows:

Figure 1 Classification of Ethio-Semitic



Due to the linguistic complexity in the Gurage area, no common agreement exists among linguists about the classification of the Gurage varieties. In addition to the controversy about the classification of Gurage varieties, there is no agreement on the number of Gurage languages or dialects. Different scholars categorized them in different ways. Ullendorff (1955: 18) considers that it is a dialect cluster of a single language while Fekede (2013:14) refers to twelve varieties grouped into North (Kistane and sometimes Dobbi), West (Chaha, Endegegn, Ener, Inor, Ezha, Gumer, Gura, Muher and Mesqan), and East (Welene, Silte and Zay). Others label them dialect continua, and still others, such as (Hetzron 1997b:20) calls some of the varieties languages but other dialects.

Generally, Gurage linguistic groupings are divided into three clusters which correspond to the political and geographical divisions of Gurage groups, namely Eastern, Western, and Northern Gurage (Leslau 1992:298).

Leslau (1966:13) puts the following languages into three groups: West Gurage with Chaha, Ezha, Inor, Endegegn, Geto, a separate branch consisting of Muher, Mask'an and Dobbi, and East Gurage including Silt'e, Wolane and Zay. Kistane is his only representative of North Gurage.

As to Gabreyesus (1991:1), Sebat Bet Gurage includes Ezha, Geto, Mekwerkwer, Muher and Aklil, Endegagn, Chaha, Inor and Enner.

Related to the issue of language vs dialect is the degree of the mutual intelligibility between the Gurage varieties. Here again, there are various reports. For instance, Hetzron (1972:2) states that East Gurage speakers understand each other except the Zay. In the Northern Gurage group Kistane and Dobbi understand each other. Central Western Gurage speakers understand each other and also there is no problem with mutual understanding between speakers of Peripheral Western Gurage. But the Central and Peripheral Western Gurage do not understand each other. However, Meyer (2011:1218) states that Zay and Wolane seem to be more similar to Gunnän Gurage than to Silt'e. Kistane and Dobbi share a number of features with East Gurage and with West Gurage.

Gurage is an interesting region in terms of the linguistic point of view. Despite the area being relatively small, there are twelve dialects/languages spoken which belong to three main groups, Eastern Gurage, Western Gurage, and Northern Gurage (Leslau 1992:298). Chaha is categorized as one of these twelve dialects/varieties under Western Gurage, specifically under central Western Gurage.

Fekede (2013:208) on the other hand argues that Mesk'an is the most intelligible and the best understood Gurage variety by Kistane, Muher, Chaha and Inor and Chaha is very well understood by Inor and Muher. The Northern Gurage group Kistane and the Eastern Gurage group Wolane understand less the other Gurage varieties and are less well understood by other Gurage speakers.

Gutt (1980:57) measured the degree of intelligibility among Gurage varieties using intelligibility testing. His representative varieties were Silt'e (East Gurage), Chaha (West Gurage) and Kistane (North Gurage). His test also includes the degree of intelligibility between Chaha and Inor. Intelligibility among the three groups Silt'e, Kistane and Chaha is low. The degree of intelligibility between Inor and Chaha is found to be unidirectional; Inor understood Chaha but Chaha do not understand Inor.

Meyer (2011:1219) underscores that grammatical descriptions of most Gurage varieties still need further investigation and the classification is still questionable and open for research and discussion. Accordingly, this research is focused on one of the Central Western Gurage group which is Chaha. Within Chaha there are social varieties which are the least studied and endangered called Fedwet and Fuga; both are used by minority groups. The next part focuses on the background of these social varieties.

1.2. Background of the study

The main concern of this research is description and sociolinguistic functions of the social varieties of the Fedwet and the Fuga who live in the Chaha area and speak Chaha as their basic language. The Fedwet social variety is related to the traditional belief system called Damamwit ‘the female cult’. The majority of the Damamwit followers are women called *moyet*². The women who were selected for this group got training and speak a “secret” variety which is called *Fedwet*. In addition to Fedwet, another variety is also observed in Chaha Gurage, namely the social variety of Fuga used by a marginalized group of handcrafters, producing mainly clay and items made from wood and bamboo. They speak Chaha, but also use a distinct social variety when they want to hide their speech from outsiders. This social variety is not studied yet; many people think that the Fuga speak something called the bird language (c.f. Shack 1964:51). Thus, it is important to raise some points which are related to bird language.

According to (Guénon 1969), a mysterious language “the bird language” is common in different religious traditions in the world. It is symbolic for the very importance that is attributed to the knowledge of this language; it has a high initiation privilege.

In the Ethiopia context, it has been taken as a version of one language which makes words, sentences, and conversations unintelligible to untrained listeners. It uses a common language game pattern across languages: the insertion of a fixed ‘dummy’ syllable following another syllable. For example, Amharic *aməsəgginalləhu* ‘thank

² Leslau (1964) referred to it as m^wəyät.

you' will change its syllabification in the bird language by adding an additional syllable, e.g. *fit*, after each letter in the Amharic, except the final one, i.e. original < a-mə-sə-ggi-na-llə-hu > becomes *afit-məfit-səfit-gifit-nafit-ləfit-hu*.

Leslau (1952:361) collects interpreted forms of birds sounds in Ethiopia from Amharic, Chaha, Tigrinya and Oromo speakers. He states that they use the sound of the bird to express moral principles such as proverbs and that they interpret the birds sounds in terms of meaningful speech. This is a different kind of bird language than the insertion of syllables described above. It remains to be seen whether the Fuga social variety is similar to these bird language types.

According to the population and housing census (Central Statistical Agency 2007:57), the total population of Gurage throughout Ethiopia is 1,867, 377. About 1.3 million of the population lives in the Gurage Zone, of which 116,000 are Chaha speakers; who live in Chaha Woreda. Shack (1966:11) stated that the number of Fuga who live in the Gurage area is 5000. However, the figure does not reflect the current number of the Fuga who live in the Gurage area. Because the administration of the woreda counts them (Fuga) as other Gurage who live in area.

The Chaha area was selected for this research because of three reasons: First, the Gurage people believe that Chaha has been the main place of the Moyet tradition. According to Gebreyesus (1991:140-141), the Damamwit was driven out from Muher and then arrived in the land of Chaha, where she (Damamwit) was communicated through some spirit. The cult of Damamwit is celebrated twice a year in two specific places in the Chaha area: *Yebitare* and *Mokjərər*. Thus, Chaha is the place where the tradition of the Damamwit got eventually established over some time (cf. also Leslau

1964). Second, it is important to compare the social varieties with their probable basic language, i.e. Chaha, for which various grammatical and lexical studies are available, while other Gurage varieties, particularly Dobbi,³ are not well studied. Hetzron (1977:25) states that Chaha is the best-studied variety due to the existence of the Catholic mission in Emdibir. Third, the researcher speaks Chaha as a second language, which helps with data collection of the Fedwet and the Fuga data because both groups used Chaha as a basic language.

The social variety of Fedwet, as well as its sociolinguistic function, is not documented yet, as Leslau (1964:17) says the Moyet do not wish to reveal their 'language' to anyone; even today they are not open to give the data. Because of that the variety described in his 1964 article is that of the Gogot Moyet, not the Chaha one, as he couldn't get anyone to give him information on the Chaha variety. In addition to that nowadays most of the people considered the practice of Moyet as outdated, so getting the real situation and enough data is not easy. However, as we have discussed earlier, almost all the group members are female, the researcher is also female and comes from a Chaha family, so they trusted her, and she had got the chance to obtain data.

1.3. Religion and the Damamwit cult

The Gurage people are followers of Muslim and Christian religions, such as Orthodox, Protestant, Catholic and traditional religious beliefs. Shack (1966:173-176) states that there is no discrimination in terms of religion; Even today the people live together peacefully. Both Christianity and Islam were outside religions imposed on the Gurage.

³ Another place where the *Damamwit* cult is celebrated is in Dobbi.

Many also participate in traditional religious practices adding together with their systematized religion⁴.

Among them is an offering to a divinity called Damamwit 'the female cult.' The followers of this cult are exclusively females except their leader, who is a male called *damwam*.⁵

All the group members who are followers of the cult are called Moyet; within the group members, there is a special group who speak a different 'language' through training called Fedwet. Shack (1966:187-190) describes the historical status of the cult and states that there was a hierarchically structured position to which the central position of the cult is the female deity nobody has ever seen. The Gurage believe that Damamwit understood the multiple expressions of her supernatural power to inflict harm. Leslau (1964:14-17) states that the group members are not supposed to be understood by the outsider. He also discusses that the people who are possessed by the spirit 'Damamwit cult' use Fedwet when they perform their traditional belief by changing their ordinary language.

Gebreyesus (1991:140-143) states that the Damamwit was driven out from Muher area and arrived in the land of Chaha and she was communicated with spirit. The culture of Damamwit is celebrated twice a year in the Chaha area; in specific places called Yebitare and Mokyarrar. In practice, the Moyet roam around, singing and shouting in the name of the female spirit. This happens five to eight times a

⁴ It is governed by institutions and recognized by the government unlike traditional belief systems

⁵ Leslau 1964 refers to it as *dämam*

year for a few hours. However, they spend the whole day roaming around singing in particular months.

Shack (1966:177-185) states that, the *tf'ift* 'festival for Gurage men' and Damamwit, particularly exclusively for Gurage females are some of the many ritual ceremonies in Gurage calendar. Females who attend the rituals expect to receive the maximal benefits, such as to be cured of all sickness. During the festival, each of the chiefs of Moyet leads his group of females in the Fedwet songs and dancing for the honor of Damamwit. On that day, the chief of the Moyet has the privilege of hitting with his stick anyone who misbehaves in an unacceptable way. On this occasion the chief will not be held accountable, even if he kills someone, because it is accepted that it is an act of Damamwit and the spirit empowered him. However, this privilege works only for the day of the ritual celebration.

The Fuga also practice their own traditional belief system. According to Shack (1966:9-10), the people of the Gurage believe that the Fuga ritual experts possess rich powers of magic and malediction, for which they are greatly feared. Even if the Fuga are involved with traditional and cultural practices there are no interactions with Gurage when they celebrate the holidays; they gather and participate separately in these practices.

Thus, we can understand that the people of Gurage have different cultural and traditional practices which differ one from the other because they are practiced by special groups which are believed to be speaking a different 'language'. Accordingly, this study is focused on two of these special groups, the Fedwet and the Fuga.

1.4. Minority groups

Lewis and Simons (2016:17) state that the term ‘minority’ is ambiguous and usually applied to local language communities. These communities may not necessarily be categorized as minorities because of their small numbers and because of inequalities in resources and capacity to meet communicative and other needs.

According to Nahu (2003:40) in Gurage, there are three distinct marginalized minority groups. These are *nəfiwura* ‘smiths’, *gezije* ‘tanners’ and *fuga* ‘who are involved in woodwork and pottery’. The Fuga group members have a different identity based on their former hunting background and partly on their relations with the rest of Gurage society. The Fuga live in a different form of settlement which is a small plot of land. It is to the advantage of a village or a wealthy Gurage to permit a Fuga to erect a hut on the land behind his homestead as the landowner gets priority over the services of Fuga.

The people of Gurage identify themselves as *zəra* ‘Gurage of pure birth’. They do not have social interactions with the Fuga group. The reasons are the Fuga people eat dead animals (for the other Gurage, it is religiously and traditionally forbidden to eat animals which are dead before slaughtering), do not have a religion, and are handcrafters. The people of the Fuga who live in Gurage do not have enough resources, like land and cattle, so that they work as a servant for the Gurage. They use a different variety when they want to communicate within the group to hide their information from outsiders or Chaha speakers.

Thus, we can understand that the Gurage Fuga group have been minoritized by the so called "pure" Gurage in related to their occupation and do not have equal rights in terms of resources and social interactions.

1.5. Statement of the problem

Several studies exist on the Chaha language. The problem addressed in this study is whether the social varieties of the Fedwet and Fuga represent a variety of Chaha or are distinct languages.

On Fedwet, some research is available, particularly Leslau (1964) and Sentalem (2005), which, however, only focus on the vocabulary, but do not analyze the linguistic structure and its communicative use. Nevertheless, they argued that Fedwet is distinct from Chaha and other Gurage varieties, but the evidence for such a conclusion is very limited. Fedwet is not a language that is normally acquired by growing children, but it is learnt as a second variety by initiated individuals mainly girls who adhere to the Damamwit cult. These people learn Fedwet as teenagers within a relatively short time. Nothing is known about the process of how this social variety is taught, whether there are distinct Fedwet variants, and how its vocabulary acquires new terms.

Moreover, through the introduction of Christianity and Islam to Gurage, local religious systems are replaced, and related practices like speaking Fedwet are getting lost. Currently, only a few elder women can remember it. Therefore, it is imperative to document and preserve the Fedwet and its functions which is unique to the Gurage before it totally vanishes.

Regarding the variety of the Fuga, Nahu (2003:42) states that they speak a separate language. However, it is not clear to what extent this ‘language’ is similar to Chaha, or to Fedwet. Shack (1966:133), by contrast, is of the opinion that the Fuga speak an argot which is heavily influenced by Fedwet. Moreover, Leslau (1964) states that the Moyet and the Fuga use one and the same ‘language’. However, there is no detailed study available that clearly shows whether the Fuga use an argot or speak a dialect of Chaha, or something else. Similar to the Fedwet, recently Fuga elders stopped transmitting Fuga to their children, i.e. it is no longer used in their day to day activities.

Thus, it is important to describe and preserve these linguistic varieties of two social groups within the Gurage, as they have not been studied in detail before, and are now on the verge of extinction.

1.6. Objective of the study

The main concern of this study is to describe the linguistic features and the sociolinguistic functions of the social varieties of two minority groups, namely the Fedwet (mainly female following the former local Gurage religious tradition) and the so-called Fuga (a group of handcrafters whose members are said to be not “pure”Gurage). Specifically, the present study will

1. Describe the linguistic structure of the linguistic varieties spoken by the Fedwet and the Fuga, i.e. their lexicon, phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics
2. Determine the linguistic status (language on its own, dialect, argot) of the varieties used by the Fedwet and the Fuga within the Gurage cluster
3. Document the functions for which these varieties have been used

1.7. Significance of the study

The Gurage people have different cultural and traditional practices. Among them is the Moyet which is believed to be unique to the Gurage. This unique culture was practiced widely for a long time in Gurage but these days it is not performed as it used to be for different reasons. As a result of this, it is difficult to estimate the number of the Fedwet speakers, but it is certain that they are very few.

Consequently, the culture is endangered through time which might led to extinction. So, documenting this variety before it becomes completely lost is an important thing.

There are a few researchers who studied the Fedwet, namely Leslau (1964) and Sentalem Sija (2005). Sentalem wrote her BA thesis on it. However, she focused only on the folklore part of the culture which left the linguistics part not yet addressed. Leslau in his article describes the vocabulary of the Gogot variety and gives information on reduplication, palatalization, suffixes and consonant substitutions. Hence, this study deals with the description of the Gurage female secret social variety and addresses the question of how related or distinct the Fedwet and the ordinary language Chaha are in terms of their structures. In addition, it addresses the use of it and identifies major manipulation processes that have been applied to Chaha to produce Fedwet. The Fuga lived in Gurage area for long time and the Fuga social variety is endangered through time as the young generations of the community do not use it widely. In addition to this, its linguistic structure is not studied at all.

Both Fedwet and Fuga groups are part of the Gurage society and speak one of the regular Gurage languages. Nevertheless, they acquired group-specific varieties, which

are not understood by outsiders.

Generally speaking, not much is known so far about the mechanism how these varieties are learnt and how they differ from other Gurage languages. Thus, this study will have the following significance:

1. It may help to preserve the Fedwet and the Fuga social varieties which are unique cultural traits of the Gurage, and it provides information for future generations.
2. It identifies the linguistic relatedness between Fedwet, the Fuga variety and the Chaha language.
3. It adds to the cross-linguistic literature on secret language structure, particularly those used in Africa.
4. It provides documentation of data collected from the last speakers

1.8. Limitations of the study

The culture of Moyet was practiced widely for a long time in Gurage, but these days most of the society do not perform it except a few elder women. So, getting a large number of informants who can speak Fedwet is difficult because it is not used openly. In addition to that, age of the informants and restricted use of the variety also affect the linguistic data, so data collection was done only by elicitation, i.e. no actual communication situation is recorded because the practice has fallen out of use through the years. The social variety Fuga also is not used openly and it is endangered. The trend of passing their 'language' to their children is absent.

How these varieties are learnt is not addressed in this study. An empirical research method; using observation, induction, deduction, testing and evaluation would be

preferable. However, because both (Fedwet and Fuga) social varieties are endangered; it is difficult to observe and measure these phenomena. In addition, the cultural practices and historical issues are not covered in this study. It is limited to description and sociolinguistics functions of both Fedwet and Fuga in a specific place of Chaha.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1. Introduction

The literature review has three parts. The first part focuses on previous studies on the social varieties of Fedwet and Fuga and related studies while the second part covers the literature on religious practices of Moyet. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the conceptual framework upon which this research is based.

2.2. Related publications on Fedwet and Fuga

There is not much literature on the Fedwet and the Fuga social varieties. A few scholars, such as Shack and Habte-Mariam (1974), Sentalem (2005), Bustorf (2005), Gabreyesus (1991), conducted research on Moyet particularly from the point of view of traditional and cultural religious practices. Except Leslau (1964), there is not much literature which deals with the linguistic aspects of Fedwet social variety. However, even this work is limited to the lexicon. Similarly, most of the literatures on the social group of the Fuga discussed the ethnological aspects such as their origin, social structure, and especially their marginalization in the society they live in (Braukämper (1983), Pankurst (1999), Teclehaimanot (2007), and Shack (1964)). But there is no published research on the speech of the Fuga available so far other than a few sources mentioning that the Fuga speak a separate language (e.g. Shack 1964; 1966 or and Lesalu 1964).

Despite the lack of available data, Shack (1964:51–52) and Leslau (1964) claim that the Fuga and the Fedwet speak one and the same 'language'. However, there is not enough supporting data for this claim, which makes it important to address the question by investigating whether both groups speak the same social variety and/ or understand each other.

There are not many studies available on social variety, argot, secret language, slang etc. in the Ethiopian context. However, there are some articles which have covered these areas. Leslau (1952:102) worked on an Ethiopian minstrels' 'azmari' argot. He states that the main characteristic of this argot is distortion of the root of their basic language, Amharic. They used metathesis, augmentation, reduplication, substitution of a radical, and shortening procedures.

Anbessa (1987) writes on “women’s speech among the Sidama”. He states that in the traditional Sidama culture, the woman is not allowed to mention the names of her in-laws, her husband, and the sub clan of her husband and also words which have the same initial syllable as any of these three. To avoid these taboo words the women, use different methods, such as circumlocutions, synonyms and initial syllable substitutions. These women's speech systematically varied from the speech of men.

Another secret language has been described by Teshome and Bender (1983). In the article 'An argot of Addis Ababa unattached girls', they compared this argot with the secret language described in Leslau (1964) and conclude that it is similar in several characteristics like reduplication, substitution, and loanwords. However, the two varieties differ in suffixes and productive semantic devices, which are not found

in the argot described in Teshome & Bender (1983). Substitutions of consonants are observed in Leslau's description whereas in this argot the substitution is of vowels.

Outside the Ethiopian context, Manfredi (2008) wrote an article on Rendók, a youth secret language of Sudan which is an Arabic-based secret language. He argues that the secrecy of Rendók is performed through morphological manipulation of the Sudanese Arabic lexicon. Linguistically, it illustrates phono-morphological manipulation like metathesis, phonotactic adaptations, affixation and word truncation. The sociolinguistic function of this argot is for expressing the urban youth culture.

Hale and David (1997) write an article on "Damin and Lardil Phonotactics". Lardil is an Australian language and Damin is a secret language based on Lardil. The origin of Damin is unknown; however, it may have been invented by people who knew Lardil or other languages. Damin has a number of language game properties. The sound systems of Damin stems are quite different from Lardil stems. However, the suffixes and basic grammar of Damin is taken from Lardil. Accordingly, Damin seems the closest model to Fuga; because both (Fuga and Damin) origins are unknown, and Fuga morphosyntax is similar to Chaha, like that of Damin and Lardil. However, Damin has sounds not attested in Lardil, which is different than what Fuga does.

Mous (2004) wrote the book "The Making of a Mixed Language: the case of Ma'a/Mbugu". Located in Tanzania, the Ma'a people speak two languages, the Inner Mbugu (Ma'á) and the Normal Mbugu language. These two languages are basically linked; as they share one grammar and the vocabulary is parallel. The "inner" Mbugu language (Ma'a) has a lot of lexical material which is partly Southern Cushitic in origin, while it does not differ in grammar from "normal" Mbugu. A number of Inner

Mbugu forms seem to be derived from the Normal Mbugu form by altering the vowel and the tone pattern of Normal Mbugu. The Inner Mbugu (Ma'á) forms could be taken from another related source language, but this language could not be identified. Mous also stated that the mixed nature of Ma'á is primarily the result of the diachronic process of parallel lexicon building. Code-switching does occur between Inner Mbugu and Normal Mbugu. Within such stretches intrusions of words from the other parallel lexicon and from Swahili do occur. We can observe in the following examples. Swahili intrusions are underlined and Inner Mbugu elements are in italics. Normal Mbugu elements are in bold.

- a. *i-zina* 1-**áko** u-**táng**-w-a mzee Ishíka Salim Mvewa
 5-name 5-your 2SG-call-PAS-F mister Ishíka Salim Mvewa
 'You are called Mister Ishika Salim Mvewa?'
- b. *u-na* *mi-áka* *mí-ngahi* mpaká *waívi*
 2SG-with 4-year 4-how:many until now
 'How old are you ? (How many years do you have up to now?)'

Wolfer (2011:44) writes research on the 'Arabic secret languages' and he states that the secret languages reflect the rich tradition and culture, as well as its ethnic and religious diversity. He identifies three Arabic secret languages: ludlings, argots and mixed languages. Arabic argots are mainly spoken by closed social groups, occupational groups, religious minorities or peer groups. Most Arabic argots have only a limited lexicon which does not exceed a specific semantic domain. He also discussed about mixed languages and states that they are the product of the intertwining of two languages, one contributing the major part of the lexicon, the other offering the inflections. Thus, we can understand that there are different

linguistic categories under the term secret language.

Storch (2011) writes a book on secret manipulations in detail. It focuses on secret manipulations of a language by its speakers in African context. He distinguishes different types of derived or manipulated languages. Such as spirit languages, secret languages play languages, honorific register, hunting and blacksmithing special purpose register, avoidance languages and word tabooing and ritual languages. He analyzes that like the Fedwet ritual languages are usually used in ceremonial and rituals. They are shaped by social and cultural practices the speaker communities in which they occur. The sociolinguistic parameters of manipulated languages are used in a specific community depend on many factors. The use of manipulated languages is that of hierarchically structured societies in which caste systems or specialists exists. special registers used by blacksmiths have developed. This is related to Fuga in which the Fuga social variety is used by the law caste group.

Another study has been written by Frazier and Saba (2011) on “Correspondence and Reduplication in Language Play: Evidence from Tigrinya and Ludling Typology”. They found that ludlings are best analyzed by treating reduplication as emergent and by using a surface-to-surface correspondence relation to account for similarities between ludling outputs and natural language outputs.

2.2.1 Publications on Fedwet

Leslau (1964) describes the language of the Moyet. ⁶Based on a collection of lexical items, he concludes that this argot is intended to not be understood by outsiders.

⁶ Leslau (1964) referred to it as mwəyät.

This incomprehensibility is obtained by transforming existing roots in a Gurage variety through various phonetic and morphological procedures, or by giving special, non-standard meanings to existing roots. Leslau (1964) worked on the argot of the Gurage-speaking community in the Gogot region and he provides examples for the transformation of roots, like reduplication of a syllable (e.g. ə3a33ə3m from a33ə3m ‘see’, təginannam from təgyennam ‘cross over’), addition of new syllables (e.g. the insertion of r plus vowel e or a in ərebbam from abə3m ‘give’, frakkam from fəkkam ‘go’, tʃʃirabbət’ə3m from təbbət’ə3m ‘hold’). Palatalization may also serve as a device to transform an original root, as in ʃirəmmam from səmmam ‘hear’, ʃiraddəbə3m from səddəbə3m ‘insult’.

Leslau (1964:52) states that the group members believed that when a girl who possessed by the ‘Damam^{wit}’ spirit, the leopard comes and takes her away to the forest and feeds her during her stay there. When she returns home after some weeks, she speaks the language of the Moyet, i.e. Fedwet. Sentalem (2005:15) also argues that the Moyet have their own ‘language’, which is not understood by outsiders, but she did not describe the linguistic features, rather she focused on the folklore part of how to celebrate the culture. She also states that during the selection period of girls for language training, the leopard comes and takes the girl away to the forest when there is no family in the home.

From the Leslau and Sentalem explanations, we can understand that the Moyet group believed that the selection of Fedwet girls was administered by the leopard. However, it needs further investigation what the group members themselves believe in relation to the selection with leopard.

Shack and Habte-Mariam (1974:4) discuss about women's praise poems composed to their goddess Damamwit. They stated that the group members sang during performances at the Moyet rituals, in which they speak the ritual language called Fedwet, which is not understood by men. However, they did not provide examples of the poems in their research.

2.2.2. Publications on Fuga

There are studies which are related to the Fuga historical, sociocultural, ritual and economic issues. Scholars like Shack (1964), Gebreysus (2003), Nahu (2003), Braukämper (1983) and Pankurst (1999) are some of them. However, I could not find literature that shows the description of the Fuga social variety.

Shack (1964: 51-52) states,

“Ritual activities of Fuga in Gurage religious life are widely diffused. The Fuga perform circumcisions, concoct and dispense ritually prepared pharmacopoeia, distribute paraphernalia forwarding-off curses and evil spirits. They are the principal functionaries in the religious association of Gurage girls, the Moyet Religious ceremonials held for Gurage women throughout the year. Initiation begins with girls being spirited away at night by Fuga, symbolizing a ritual abduction. This is followed by a period of seclusion for about one month in huts located in the bush where initiates are kept under the instruction of Fuga ritual experts.”

From the above paragraph we can understand that, the Fuga ritual experts interact with the Gurage in the religious association of girls and the ritual 'language'. He also claimed that the Fedwet is only spoken by Gurage women and Fuga; it is kept carefully hidden from Gurage men and strangers, for it forms an integral part of girls. However, these arguments of Shack contrast with other scholars like Gebreyesus (2003), Braukämper (1983) etc. who did not state that the Fedwet is used by the Gurage women and the Fuga group. In this research it will be addressed whether the 'language' of Fedwet and Fuga is different or if they are using the same language.

Nahu (2003: 30) also says that the Fuga group have a different 'language' and it is possibly related to an argot of specific terms used possibly by the Moyet cult in Gurage. The Fuga have their own gods and ritual practices. Their ritual practices are different from others. It can be understood that Nahu shares with Shack (1964) the opinion that the Fedwet girls and the Fuga use the same 'language'.

Braukämper (1983:176-179) states that the Fuga were the original 'caste' of manual workers in Kambata, Gurage and Yem, and that the smiths were more recent 'non-caste' migrants. The concept of caste is not defined clearly. By context, however, it is widely used for marginalized minorities.

Pankurst (1999: 485-498) divides caste in three spheres: ideological, genetic and structural. He also discusses the Gurage myth related to a father who cursed his son and it is from this son whom the Fuga craftsmen were descended for having suggested that his father body's smelled. Regarding genetic caste he refers to Braukämper's (1983: 176-9) idea that the Fuga members were the original 'caste' of hand workers in Kambata, Gurage and Yem, and that the smiths were more recent 'non-caste' migrants.

Pankurst also explains the factors that determine the migration of craft specialists. The first factor is that craft workers are not tied to the land, the second one is their small numbers and the limited demand for their products. Thus the 'caste' concept is used to describe societies who are marginal to the overall social organization. The Gurage specifically distinguish artisans according to their craft activity; 'woodworkers' are known as *fuga*, 'blacksmiths' as *nəfwərə*⁷ and 'tanners' as *buda* in Chaha.

Pankurst (1999: 502) concludes that there are no uniform ideological culturally diverse origins and histories. He further asserts that the social relations between the dominant groups and the marginalized are not structured in uniform caste ways but rather are related to context. To understand the issue of marginalization one would need to start by analyzing the range of different local outsets, and how endogamy structures differentiation, and is related, though not in a determinate way, to occupation. He stated that “a vibrant investigation of marginalization processes would require tracing migrations, competition for resources, and changing technological, economic, social and cultural relations between craft producers and dominant groups and interactions across ethnic boundaries.”

Brandt, Weedman, and Hundie (1966:50) state that the Gurage hide-workers are representatives of the same ethnic group within which they reside and other than the work which they engage in, and their low economic status, there is nothing physically, culturally to distinguish hide workers from any other social classes.

⁷ The meaning of the word (*nəfwərə* in Chaha) 'blacksmith' it is derived from the verb *nəfam* 'to blow with instrument'.

According to Pankurst and different scholars, marginalization does not use uniform criteria and have different norms in different settings. It is attached with ideology in some places and it is related to genetic factors in other places and still related to occupation in some places. Thus, it does not have conventional intentions; it varies on the situation and context of the dominant and the marginalized groups.

2.2.3 Religious practices of Moyet

Shack and Habte-Mariam (1974:4) state that Moyet⁸ is the name given to post-pubescent girls and women who have been initiated into the possession-cult with the same name. The cult rituals are performed by members of Moyet during a ceremony in which Fedwet is spoken, a secret speech which is incomprehensible to other members of the society. They believe this provides rewards such as overall community wellbeing, and fertility for women and earth. My field interviews show that there is a differentiation between Moyet and Fedwet. I came to understand from the elders and the persons who were the leaders of this cultural cult that the term “Moyet” is used for all the members of this traditional belief. The followers and most of the women gave worship to the Damamwit and attended the ceremony in the previous time.

However, all the Moyets could not speak this secret social variety; it is used by Fedwet girls who are followers of this traditional belief system and a group member of Moyet, but they are selected by the *damwam* (the male Chief of the group). After they have gone through the process of ‘language’ training, they are called Fedwet girls and they used the social variety also called Fedwet. So, all the group members are called Moyet but not all Moyet are the speakers of this social variety. Thus, I use the

⁸ Shack (1974) puts this term as “Mwəyät”

term Fedwet throughout my paper for 'Moyet who speak Fedwet' for both the speaker and the social variety.

Sentalem (2005:17) states the four criteria that were used to select Fedwet groups. The first one is if her ancestor was a Moyet. The second criteria is if the girl is sick and did not get relief by medicine, they give her cultural medicine of Moyet and after that they force the girl to be a Moyet. The third one is the Moyet going to any house and asking the family to offer their girl. The last one according to Sentalem is if there is no person in the house the leopard comes to the home and takes the girl and sits in the forest. Then the family informs the Moyet leader and the leader goes to the forest and prays for the return of the girl. After she returns to her home, she will be a Moyet. She argued that the Moyet have their own code, which is not understood by outsiders.

Leslau (1964:15) states that when a girl becomes ill and the people suspect from the nature of her illness that she is possessed by the female cult called Damamwit and the possessed girl does not speak at all during her possession. The damwam takes her to his place, heals her and trains her in the social variety. According to Lesalu this training takes one month. After this training, she returns to her home and speaks only in this social variety. However, in my fieldwork, I understood that the training is given by the former Fedwet (her friends) not by the Chief of the Moyet.

According to Shack, the traditional belief of Damamwit, [Shack 1966:2 [the female cult] is an aspect of Gurage culture that has not been studied well. The culture of Moyet as well as the social variety of Fedwet became endangered through time because of the expansion of religion, education, modernization and other reasons.

Thus, nowadays most of the people do not practice it; rather they considered it as taboo, sin and outdated culture. Other than these anthropological studies and limited linguistic characterization of the social varieties discussed, a well-researched linguistic description and documentation has not been done and this is what this research set out to do.

2.3 Conceptual framework

This study deals with description and comparative analysis of two unfamiliar social varieties in Gurage. Description of social variety has a sociolinguistic dimension too. To address these, it is difficult trying to stick to a theory and force the data to fit in one theory. So, it is suitable to use insights and related ideas and facts which are related to the analysis of the collected data in this research.

The conceptual framework applied here is a combination of descriptive linguistics (for gathering and description of linguistic data), comparative linguistics (Fedwet and Fuga social varieties compared with Chaha), and sociolinguistics (function of the social varieties). Thus, in this part, concepts which are related to this study are raised and discussed.

2.3.1 Descriptive linguistics

The descriptive approach is concerned with the description and analysis of the ways in which a language operates and is used. Hasplemath (2007:120-129) explains that linguistic description, which is the prerequisite for typological comparison, is based on structural categories of language form. He concludes that pre-established categories cannot be taken for granted as a prior category for both language descriptions, rather

structural categories of language are language particular, and in his book (2010:2), he supports his previous idea that each language has its own categories, and to describe language, a linguist must create a set of categories for it. Structural linguists suppose that languages are best described in their own terms.

The other concern of this research is to identify the category of these social varieties along the lines of linguistic groupings: are they a Gurage dialect; are they argots; are they secret languages or a different language by themselves? Because each of them has their own features, identifying their features is necessary in order to do comparison.

Haspelmath (2004:574) concludes that the descriptive approach is concerned with the description and analysis of the ways in which a language operates and is used by a given set of speakers at a given time. Linguists use different methods to collect data of which elicitation, free texts and recording are listed as some mechanisms.

Payne (1997:367-369) elaborates that elicited data is controlled, limited and static. He also emphasized that controlled, systematic and rule governed parts of language like phonology, morphophonemics, inventory of derivational morphology, inflectional inventory, pronoun inventory, and lexical inventory are best analyzed through elicited data. In addition to that, the semantic and pragmatic parts of language are best analyzed by using a large body of text data.

In this study, the elicitation took place twice, at the beginning, and after collecting the various texts of the social varieties since these texts helps to find the linguistic features of the social variety extensively.

After describing the collected data, the next part is comparing the phonology, morphology, semantics, syntax, lexical, and other linguistics features of the social varieties and the regular language.

Rankin (2003:181) states that the comparative method is a set of techniques usually focused on stages in a family of related languages. It is applicable on elements of phonology, morphology, semantics, syntax, lexical semantics etc. The methods include comparison of cognate material from two or more related languages. The central job of comparative linguistics is the identification of groups of genetically related languages. According to Robins (1964: 6), a comparative linguistic study is made for two purposes: (a) to infer historical relationships among particular languages, dialects and/or social varieties, and (b) to compare resemblances of features between languages, dialects and/or social varieties without any historical considerations. Haspelmath (2010) also claims that comparative linguistics is based on concepts that are explicitly intended for the purpose of comparison that are independent of descriptive categories. Thus, the analysis of particular language and the comparison of language are independent. After the description of the social varieties, we can clearly understand the difference with the basic language Chaha, and we can categorize the place of each social variety.

Leslau's (1964) study and my field work data show that the formation of the Fedwet social variety depends on the alteration of phonology, morphology and semantics of Chaha. However, Fuga differs from Chaha in terms of lexical elements. Thus, the above concept of Robin's on phonology, morphology, semantics, syntax, lexical semantics etc. is applicable in this research through comparison.

According to Bower (2008:8), fieldwork is associated with two things; the first one is the descriptive elements and the other one is the documentation of language as a subfield of linguistics. Such work leads to the production of grammars, dictionaries and descriptive materials. Fieldworkers focus on typology and also conduct research in areas such as semantics, discourse, phonetics, phonology, syntax and morphology. Himmelmann (2006:1) defines language documentation in a short way: "it is a lasting, multipurpose record of a language". Because of the endangerment of both social varieties and the fact that they are no longer actively used, I was not able to document using video.

2.3.2 Sociolinguistics

Language has mainly two key functions which are interactive and symbolic (Evans and Green 2006:1). Edwards (2009:55) also classified language into two: symbolic function and communicative function. The distinction between the communicative and symbolic functions lies in a differentiation between language in its usually understood sense as an instrumental tool and language as a sign or symbol. The two functions of language are separable, and it is possible for the symbolic to remain in the absence of the communicative form.

It is known that mainly language is used as a communication. However, it is also used as a symbolic or identity functions even if it loses its communication function.

When we look at the Fedwet social variety, the speakers had used it as a symbolic function. They were identified as a Fedwet because of their 'language'. It can be understood that language is used as identity formation in addition to interaction.

As for communicative function, interesting points are that language can serve as an interactive function, facilitating and enriching communication in number of ways (Evans and Green (2006:12). Edwards (2009:53) states that a communication system is composed of arbitrary elements whose significance is agreed upon within a community.

The other function of language is Symbolic. It creates linkage with identity. Language diversity creates unique perspectives on reality and protects an important vehicle of culture and tradition (Edwards 2009:54). We can understand that the function of language is beyond communicative instruments in multilingual communities where with its language, a group distinguishes itself. Therefore, a particular language has social meaning and social connotation linked with identities. When we look at Fedwet, it has two functions. The first one is that the speakers use it to communicate hidden information and the other function is they use it to disclose identity.

Coupland (2007:3) summarizes that sociolinguistics is the study of language ‘in society’ or ‘in its social context’. In addition, Coulmas (1998:3) also states, “Language features are the link which binds individual and social identities together. Language offers both the means of creating this link and that of expressing it. Such features imply the whole range of language use, from phonetic features to lexical units, syntactic structures, and personal names”. Thus, the function of language is beyond communication and used to identify people through their speech.

The concept of language is more than to mediate communication because it has an identity formation, groupness and symbolic function. This research also involves the functions of the Fedwet and the Fuga social varieties. Because these groups used

their language to identify themselves, the group members use it to exclude others and establish identity in addition to communication.

Lewis and Simons (2016:16-17) define shared identity and state that it is community referring to any group which is unified by a sense of shared character. Shared identity is a group's conviction that they belong together and that they are different from other groups. It is the sense of identity that causes people who want or belong to a group to behave in ways that will identify them as members of that group. This may be reflected in the place they live, the clothing they wear, the food they eat, the custom they observe, the religion they practice, and the language variety they speak. They also discuss how language and identity link strongly and asserts that language variety is associated with a group's identity. Also, language is so tightly bound to the identity that a group may be identified by the name of their language and, their language may be identified by the name of the group or location where they live. The Fedwet group is identified by the name of their 'language' "Fedwet" and their language is also identified by the name of the group; they use the same word for both identity and their language, and the same is also true in Fuga. Thus, we can understand that language has a strong connection with identity.

Edwards (2009:99-145) also states that even though there is no agreement about the variation of language between men and women, the point that men and women use language, at least some of the time, for different purposes is surely reasonable and common across cultures.

Generally, in this research description, linguistic properties and sociolinguistic functions are analyzed and compared. The sociolinguistic functions and endangerment

of the social varieties are considered in relation to culture, social change and the real situation of the society.

2.4 Social variety and related linguistic codes

Fedwet and Fuga groups use different varieties in addition to their basic language Chaha. However, there is no clear opinion whether these varieties are language secret languages, argots, jargons, etc. Thus, it is important to define the core terminologies of the subject of this research.

Biber and Finegan (1994:20) state, "Sets of identifying markers of dialect, register, and genre variation differ greatly in the degree of cohesiveness they show as systems and the sharpness of the boundaries between them; the more cohesive the systems, the sharper the boundaries, and the more they are perceived by the participants as separate entities, the more useful it is to analyze them as language varieties: dialects, registers, and genres, respectively". Hence, it is important to consider the degree of interconnected structures and perception of the speakers.

2.4.1 Dialect

Biber and Finegan (1994:4) say that dialect is used to refer to language varieties with groups of users in relation to geographic region, education, social class. However, it is different from the terms genre, register and style which have been used to refer to language varieties and which are associated with situations. Biber (1995:1) and Biber and Conrad (2009:5) also classify dialect into two types, geographical and social dialects. They say that geographical dialects are associated with speakers living in

particular location while social dialects are varieties associated with speaker's demographic group, sex or social class.

Thus, a group of language users live in different places or belong to different social classes and may use a dialect of the same language, but such dialects are typically mutually intelligible.

2.4.2 Secret language

Jawiga (2013:17) defines secret language as a form of communication used by special groups. The terminology is ambiguous, but it is an umbrella term for other linguistic codes. The secret category most often includes jargon, slang, argot and so on. The term argot is very often used in a sense of secret language, and a description of the relationship between them is not easy. He also states that secret language and other strategies for secrecy and concealment in the history of social interactions play a great role in establishing a group identity. Identity is also exhibited among the group on the bases of the defining characters they have among themselves a shared way of life, food, religion and the 'language'. We can understand that secret language is a cover term for other linguistic codes like jargon, argot, slang, ludling etc. because these codes are all used to communicate secret issues. Johari et al. (2013:662) state that every discipline, profession, trade, and occupation has its own set of words. The words are used depending on the status of the people using them. These words are sometimes called 'jargon'. Linguists also use jargon words which are related to their discipline, such as phoneme, morpheme, case, lexicon, phrase structure rule, and so on.

Hudson (1996: 12) states clearly what jargon means, "Jargon is a set of vocabulary items used by members of particular professions, that is, their technical terms. For example, linguists have a large vocabulary that is not well understood by non-linguists". We can understand that jargon is used by some group members who are professional on some areas or fields, it is inaccessible to non-specialists. Jargon is not deliberately secretive. This is different than a secret language.

The other linguistic variety which is included under secret language is slang. Hudson (1996:12) states that "slang may be characterized as a very informal language variety that includes new and sometimes not polite words and meaning." Johari et al. (2013:664) states that slang is used in unplanned and playful speech that is deliberately used in place of standard terms for added raciness, humor, irreverence, or other effect. Slang is used by various groups but is often associated with youth, commonly used for informal way of communication and for selling illegal things like drug. Some slang words are not used for long while others become integrated into the standard language.

2.4.3 Mixed language

According to Meakins and Stewart (2019:1), mixed languages result from two languages combined in a situation of bilingualism. They arise during times of significant social change. They serve as an expression of a new identity or the maintenance of an older identity. Thomason (2001:198) notes that mixed languages are created by bilinguals and arise "within a single social or ethnic group because of a desire, or perhaps even a need, for an in-group language".

According to Wolfer (2011), mixed language is sometimes used as secret language. It is the product of the intertwining of two languages, one providing the major part of the lexicon, the other offering the inflectional structure. A mixed language is not meant to be a means of communication with groups speaking a different language, but an in- group language.

2.4.4 Ludling

Frazier and Saba (2011:2) state that the term ludling is a language game that differs from the natural language in the phonology, the morphology, or a combination of the two. This means that ludling and natural language have identical lexicons but that the output of each lexical entry in coded speech differs from the output of the same item in un-encoded speech.

According to Wolfer (2011:44), ludlings are secret languages with a regular mechanism of change by which each word of the colloquial language may be altered. Ludling modify words of the colloquial language by affixes, metathesis, substitution, or a new stem formation, and a word can be regularly transformed according to a fixed rule. It is mainly used by non-closed social groups.

Bagemihl (1995) cited by Katada (2004: 164) states that a ludling is a language game and which meets the following criteria: its morphological system is limited to one or more processes associated with affixing, templatic operations, reversing operations, or replacement. Its affixes are limited to one or at most a handful of lexical items. Thus, we can understand that ludlings refer to language game phenomenon in which phonological forms of words are systematically altered.

2.4.5 Argot

Different scholars define argot in different ways. There is no clear demarcation among argot and other related linguistic terms. According to Jawiga (2013:18-20), the term argot is a secretive language used to conceal of an argotic group. Argot is not suitable for long conversations, usually only short stories. The speakers of argot clearly differentiate their secret vocabulary from the language widely understood in their society. Leslau (1964:58) states that argot is based on incomprehensibility of the standard language. Different principles are applicable to the standard language and transform it through various phonetic procedures, morphological procedures, borrowings and giving special meanings to the standard language.

On the other hand, Akanmu and Raseed (2015: 671) state that an argot is a special vocabulary of some disreputable and underworld subcultures. In this manner, it is similar to a jargon. Argot words are sometimes of unknown origins and in most cases words have special meanings other than their original meanings. From the above definition, an argot is mainly based on a version of the regular language with its own style, and it is used for secrecy or to hide the speech from the larger public. It is usually used by a particular group or class and not widely understood by outsiders.

Wolfer (2011) states that the argot lexicon is not created systematically through one definite rule, but every lexical item is lexicalized. The method by which a certain argot word will be formed is not predictable. Argots are mainly spoken by closed social groups, occupational groups, religious minorities or peer groups.

Leslau (1964: 7-13) sets criteria which have been attested for the argot. These are phonological changes, morphological changes, semantic changes and loanwords that

are taken from surrounding languages or dialects. Thus, an argot is a version of the standard language. It is mainly based on the regular language with its own style and used for secrecy by a particular group or class. Its lexicon is not created systematically through one definite rule, but every lexical item can be lexicalized. According to the definition, Fedwet is an argot used by a specific religious group who are women and the purpose is secrecy. It is based on their major language Chaha through manipulating the base word through various affixation, insertion and reduplication mechanisms.

One the definition of argot seems to match Fedwet (more like a secret language since base words are transformed. However, the rules vary it is difficult to predict for outsiders. I use the term social variety for both Fuga and Fedwet which is an umbrella term.

2.4.6 Register

Biber and Conrad (2009:6) state that “a register is a variety associated with a particular situation of use (including particular communication purposes).The description of a register covers three major components: the situational context, the linguistic features, and the functional relationships context.” Ferguson (1994:20) also associates register with participants, setting, and function and it serves as an identification marker of language structure and language use. Yule (2010:259) states that register is a conventional way of using language that is appropriate in a specific context, which may be identified as situational, occupational, or topical.

Thus, register has a specific demarcation to identify from the other linguistic terms that it is a way of using language in relation to context or setting.

These linguistic codes share many things and there is a lot of overlapping uses and linguistic forms. They share the following characteristics: secret codes, informal means of communication, in-group markers, used by specific groups, parallel to main language and incomprehensible to the uninitiated. However, there are slight differences among them. As we have discussed above ludling is usually used by non-closed groups whereas argot is used by closed groups. Argot does not have definite rules. Ludling has definite rules and the change is systematic. Mixed languages are intertwining of two languages with one providing lexical part and the other language providing the grammatical structure and the source languages are identifiable.

2.4.7 Social variety

Wardhaugh (2006:23) states that human speech patterns, like sounds, words, grammatical features are associated with geographical or social groups. The term social variety is neutral and used to refer to any variant of a language. The differentiation may be social, historical, or a combination of these. Hudson (1996:22-23) states that a language variety is a set of linguistic items with similar social distribution. Variety includes languages, dialects and registers, style and others linguistic items. The advantage of having a general term to cover all these concepts is that it allows us to identify the distinctions among them, like varieties of different languages and different dialects of the same language.

Variety is a general and a flexible term for referring to things which in non-technical terms we call 'languages', 'dialects' or 'styles'. Variety can consist of those items used solely by some particular family or village. The social variety is not

necessarily a full-fledged language; it may be a small set of linguistic items, like argot, cant, slang or jargon.

Accordingly, it is not easy to know where to draw the line between these linguistic codes. The word social variety is used as a cover term that is used to identify social rather than geographical. It is more related to social class and used by some social group who have the same interest and shared identities. I use the term social variety as an umbrella term for set of linguistic items. It includes dialect, register, style, argot, secret language and others in related to social group/class.

In this case, these groups use different social varieties, because of their occupation and traditional belief. Fedwet are a group of females and followers of a traditional belief system and the Fuga are a group of occupational craftspeople. Thus, in this research the term social variety is used for both groups in the sense of the variety used by some social groups

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOGY

3.1 Introduction

In this research, a qualitative approach of data collection and analysis is used. The study focused on primary data collection by using elicitation of words and texts, observation (artificial setting), and interview. The primary data was elicited and recorded from informants who are elders, involved in Moyet practice, and can speak Fedwet, and for Fuga who are from Fuga clan and speak the social variety of Fuga and who were born in Chaha district.

3.2 Research design

In this research, a descriptive design is used for both Fuga and Fedwet; to collect data from informants. The data collection method for both is descriptive linguistic field work. It is used for the purpose of the description of the social varieties, through interaction with speakers in situations where they were using these social varieties undoubtedly in previous times.

For Fuga, this descriptive design was used to collect wordlists, sentences, and texts. For Fedwet, to collect data based on how to manipulate words morphologically, phonologically and semantically to achieve secrecy and the sociolinguistic functions of the social varieties part, an interview design was employed (cf. interview questions Appendix 4 & 5).

Following Bower (2008:33), elicitation starts with basic wordlist items which are basic vocabulary. It is good to start with body parts, natural surrounding or something that can be easily pointed at. Using body parts as the first elicitation device helps naturally to move on to eliciting possessives lexicon and then semantic fields. It's a good idea to start with a wordlist and some very short sentences. It gives us information about phonetics and phonology, as well as word boundaries.

According to Leslau (1964:16), each year the Moyet go out and celebrate the Damamwit cult several times. On that day they sing songs in the 'language' of Fedwet and go around the country. The chief of the Moyet performs a dance in the middle of the Moyet; when he performs his dance, he holds a stick in his hand and if anyone is around, he hits and chases them with that stick. They also play a game and finally they stop and return home. However, this practice has been abandoned, getting the natural setting is lost, and the researcher was obliged to use an artificial setting to record a few photographs.

Elders in the communities were used as informants to get information on sociolinguistic aspects of the varieties. This includes; attitude towards the Fedwet and Fuga, why they prefer to use these social varieties in addition to their ordinary language and the social functions of the two social varieties, when and where they used these social varieties, how they use them, why it is only the females who use Fedwet and also why Fuga use a different social variety. In addition, data on the contemporary situation of the social varieties in terms of their perception and why these social varieties are endangered are addressed.

3.3 Area of the study

The study was conducted in the Gurage area, specifically in the Chaha district for both Fuga and Fedwet secret groups. Both groups, Fuga and Fedwet, are living in all the Gurage districts including the Chaha area. However, the researcher focused on the Chaha district because of three reasons. First, Chaha is the starting place of the culture of the Moyet (cf. Leslau 1964) and my elder informants also argued that the practice of Moyet culture started at Chaha woreda, in the village of *Yabitare*. The second reason is that Chaha is the best-studied language/dialect among the Gurage varieties. These studies of Chaha helped the researcher for the linguistic comparison with these social varieties. The last reason is that both groups (Fedwet and Fuga) are native speakers of Chaha and the researcher also speaks it as a second language.

Regarding Fedwet, I visited different villages of Chaha. However, I collected most of the data at *Yabitare* and *Mokyerer* villages of Chaha. *Yabitare* is far away from the town woreda of *Emdeber*; there is no public transportation. The woreda culture and tourism office supported us (me and my research assistant) by arranging transportation. Different literatures and my elder informants argue that *Yabitare* is the starting place of Moyet practice. The Gurage clan who live around *Yabitare* are called *jəwak'e səb* 'one of the Chaha clan'. These clan members think that they are the owner of this culture. The culture of the Moyet was celebrated throughout the Gurage area, but in some places, it has got more attention than others. The other place that I tried to focus is on *Mokyerer* which is far from *Yabitare*.

I tried to visit most Chaha district woredas and villages to gather data, not only in the Chaha district but also in some other districts, but I could not find enough data. Most

of the people had forgotten it and the others do not want to remember the culture and the social variety because of their current religion and also, they are afraid of the segregation of the society. The same thing was happening at *Yabitare* and *Mokyerer*. Most of the people forgot the social variety, however compared to the other places; they tried to remember it because they thought that they are the owners of this culture. Thus, I got most of the data in these two villages through several fieldwork trips under difficult situations. Gebreyesus (1991:140) argues that the Damamwit feast is celebrated twice a year: one is at *Yabitare* and the other one is *Mokyerer*. So these two villages are important in moyet culture.

The Fuga secret group also do not want to reveal their 'language' to outsiders. In addition, they do not want to be identified as Fuga. So, it was difficult to get Fuga speakers. I visited most Chaha districts and villages; however I got much of the data from two villages. To get better data, it was important to establish friendly relationships Thus; I preferred to collect data from *Yewftche* and *Yendera* villages because I have relatives in these places. Thus, it helped me to have a good approach with the group. *Yewftche* is an hour walk from *Jamgoro* (elementary school), and there is no transportation; it is up and down hills from the school to this village. The other place is *Yendera*. I visited this place because my aunt and her families are living in this village. I tried to create opportunities to discuss with the Fuga through my family.

So, this helped me to convince people and I received a warm welcome So, I worked and collected the data in a friendly atmosphere with my informants and they were willing to tell me about their 'language' and its functions.

3.4 Target population

For Fedwet social variety, the targeted population are women who were group members of Moyet and a special group within the Moyet group who speak Fedwet social variety when they were young. They had got the chance to ‘learn’ this language when they were around 13. However, these days most of the society rejected this social variety and its traditional belief. So, it is only known by adult women who were Fedwet girls and who can remember the social variety.

The chairperson of the Woreda culture and tourist office selected two assistant called Mr. Sisay Demes and Mr. Bekele Derul. They were supported me to locate the Fedwet speakers and their villages. Both were working at the Emdeber woreda office. Mr. Bekle was born at Yabitare, and now he lives in Emdeber with his wife and their children. He is a 60-year-old man. My other assistant was Mr. Sisay Demes; he lives in Mokyerer with his family; he is 43 years old.

My key informants on the Fedwet social variety were Almaz (46 born Mokyerer. Chaha is her mother tongue and she is a house wife) and Berko (62 born in Yabitare village. Chaha is her native language and she is a house wife) the third one is Dulat Bireda (52-years-old born in Yabitare but now she lives in Amorameda village, Chaha district. Chaha is her native language and she works in the woreda culture and tourist office. She was supportive and has a good know how on the the Fedwet social variety and the culture as well. The reason I selected these women as main informants is because of my assistant’s advice and because they were Fedwet when they were young, and they are active members of the community. They were cooperative and supportive during my data collection. I also used four other

informants, who were speakers of the social variety; they were cooperative but had trouble remembering the requested information. However, I could not get any more informants who can speak the social variety of Fedwet. Nevertheless, I did get more information about the sociolinguistic functions of 'the language'.

The other targeted groups are Fuga who are from Chaha region, speakers of the social variety and from the clan of Fuga family. Both males and females participated in this study. I selected three key informants from Yewftche and Yendera villages. These are Ujera and his wife Zergwat from Yendera; he is age 50 and she is age 42. My other informant is Neda from Yewftche; he is age 70 and lives with his wife and their children. I also worked with four other informants in addition to the key informants. I worked with a total of seven informants in different districts of Chaha. All informants live in Chaha and they are part of the Fuga Clan. Regarding age, the Fuga variety is not used by youths and children; because of its endangerment status.

The sampling design used in this study for both Fuga and Fedwet is purposive sampling. According to Ilker et al. (2016:2), purposive sampling is a non-random sampling technique; it is the deliberate seeking out of participants due to the qualities of the participants.

It is simply that the researcher decides what needs to be known and sets out to find people who can and are willing to provide information by virtue of knowledge and experience. Purposive sampling pairs with nominated sampling in which participants were found by asking Chaha speakers to identify those who speak these social varieties. This is because speakers of the social varieties do not have the confidence to say that they speak this social variety because of the attitude of the society and also

for protecting their social variety to keep its secrecy.

The Fuga group also tried to hide their social variety from outsiders (Chaha). It is used by the Fuga community only; the other Gurage who live around them do not understand and use Fuga. It is used by both male and female; however, because of the endangerment most of the children do not speak it. It is neglected by the elder speakers thus the young generation does not practice it.

A sample of 7 respondents from Fedwet speakers and 7 speakers of Fuga were used for this study. The informants who were provided information about the culture, way of life, and traditional practices are not included in this number. Of the fourteen, I selected three informants from Fedwet speakers and three informants from Fuga speakers as main informants. The targeted samples were those residents in the Chaha district who socialized with Moyet culture and can speak Fedwet and those residents in the Chaha district and clan of Fuga who can speak Fuga.

In addition to seven informants for each social variety of the elicited data, five other informants were added who were elders and leaders and had a role in the practice. In total, 12 informants' participated interviews for each social variety (cf. Appendix 6. Informants profile).

3.5 Research instruments and data collection

The research instruments used in this study for both Fedwet and Fuga social varieties were non-structured interview questions (appendix 4& 5) and vocabulary/grammar elicitation (appendix 2 & 3), which were digitally recorded and observation (non-structured). The observation is used to show the cultural clothes and different

materials that were used in the cultural practices of Moyet.

The study was conducted in the Gurage Zone, Southern Ethiopia, Chaha district. Mainly I visited four villages of Chaha district, for Fedwet (Yabitare and Mokyerer) and for Fuga (Yewftche and Yendera). Four field trips were conducted to collect the data. The first field trip was to different Chaha villages to identify places and to ask for information; it lasted for 15 days from June 11 to June 26, 2015. The second field trip was October and November 2015. The third field trip took four months from September to December. The last field trip was January and February 2017 and was used to clarify and fill the gap for both social varieties.

Amharic and Chaha languages were used during data collection. It was difficult to gather the data because of endangerment and attitude of the society. I have tried to check all the data that are collected through elicitation and discussion with these three key informants and put the differences in the analysis part.

3.6 Data analysis

In this research, a descriptive analysis was employed. After description of words, sentences, and texts, a comparison was done with the ordinary language Chaha. The analysis is based on the syntactic structure of Fedwet and Fuga with a comparison of Chaha. In addition to that, the phonological structure of words, description of the morphological structure of words and semantic structure in Fedwet and Fuga social varieties were described and analyzed. Some historical background and current status of both Fuga and Fedwet was also considered. Generally, the data analysis was based on addressing morphology, phonology, semantics, and syntax of both social varieties.

The sociolinguistic functions of each variety were analyzed by using the collected texts. In addition, interview results were used to triangulate the results of the data. The results of interview and data were interpreted in relation to the attitude of the society based on gender and low caste groups.

CHAPTER FOUR

LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF FEDWET

This research argues that Fedwet is not a different dialect or language of the Gurage cluster; it is rather an argot fabricated from Chaha. The speakers of Fedwet group do not wish that their social variety be understood by outsiders, i.e., non-speakers of Fedwet. This incomprehensibility is achieved by using various transformations of the basic language (Chaha). The primary role of Fedwet is to make communication unintelligible to the outsider. The secrecy is performed through morphophonological, semantic and lexical manipulation of Chaha. These procedures helped the speakers to create a Chaha-based social variety, which is unintelligible to those who do not speak Fedwet. The morpho-syntactic patterns of Fedwet are the same as that of Chaha.

There are a number of publications on the linguistic structure of Gurage varieties in general, and on Chaha in particular. Among these, Degif (2000), Rose (2007), Polotsky (1951), Ford (1986) and Leslau (1950, 1957, and 1983) studies are focused on particular aspects of Chaha grammar. All these works and my own knowledge of the language as an advanced L2 speaker of Chaha have been used in the following comparison. The next part focuses on the sound system, morphology and morphosyntax of the Fedwet social variety comparing with their basic language Chaha.

4.1 Sound system of Fedwet

Except for a few sounds, the Fedwet speakers use the same sounds that are in Chaha; instead, Fedwet differs in the structure of words through the processes of sound insertion, deletion, addition and substitution etc. Therefore, in the phonemic inventory, there is no clear difference between Chaha and Fedwet (see table 1) except for a few sounds that occur in Chaha but have not been observed in Fedwet.

Table 1 Consonant inventory of Chaha

	<i>Bilabial</i>		<i>Labio-dental</i>		<i>Alveolar</i>	<i>Alveo-palatal</i>		<i>Palatal</i>	<i>Velar</i>		
<i>Plosive</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p^w</i>			<i>t</i>			<i>k^j</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k^w</i>	(?)
	<i>b</i>	<i>b^w</i>			<i>d</i>			<i>g^j</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g^w</i>	
	(<i>p'</i>)				<i>t'</i>			<i>k^j</i>	<i>k'</i>	<i>k^w</i>	
<i>Fricative</i>	<i>β</i>		<i>f</i>	<i>f^w</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>ʃ</i>		<i>x^j</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>x^w</i>	
					<i>z</i>	<i>ʒ</i>					
<i>Affricate</i>								<i>tʃ</i>			
								<i>ʈ</i>			
								<i>tʃ'</i>			
<i>Nasal</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>m^w</i>			<i>n</i>			<i>ɲ</i>			
<i>Liquid</i>					<i>r</i> (<i>ṛ</i>)						
					<i>l</i>						
<i>Glide</i>	<i>w</i>							<i>j</i>			

(Adapted from Ford 1986:12)

The voiceless, bilabial stop /p/ sound occurs in word-initial, medial and final position in Chaha. However, I could not find it in Fedwet words.

1.		Chaha
	#- <i>pirapirat</i>	‘kind of food’
	#-# <i>g^wope</i>	‘brother’
	-# <i>zap</i>	‘lion’

The consonant sound /ɕ/ occurs in word initial, medial and final positions in Chaha such as *ɕimat* ‘Friday’, *aɕig* ‘borrow’, *əɕ* ‘hand’. However, it does not occur in word-initial position in Fedwet; it only occurs in word-medial and final positions.

2.		Fedwet
	<i>goɕə</i>	<i>iɕiɕ</i>
	‘hyena’	‘hand’

The palatal nasal [ɲ], which is allophone of /n/, does not occur in word-initial and final position in Chaha. It only occurs in word-medial position like *afɲɕə* ‘green pepper’ because it occurs only the process of assimilating to the following alveopalatal sound only occurs allophonically in Chaha. Nevertheless, this sound occurs in Fedwet in medial and final position a context which contrasts with other nasal consonants, medial and final positions, for example:

3	<i>girardəɲa</i>	‘freaky’ 1S
	<i>abəɲ</i>	‘father’

The lateral sound /l/ is quite rare in Chaha and it occurs in a word-initial and medial position while it does not occur in the final position. For example, *ləmtfa* ‘twin’,

səŋk'ala 'small hut'; again, as far as my data shows in Fedwet, it is rare and occurs only in medial position, E.g. *k'olatf'ə* 'frog'.

The trill /r/ occurs in word-medial and final positions in Chaha, for example, *getərə* 'bean' *zəŋgír* 'wall', it does not occur word initially, it also occurs in word medial and final positions in Fedwet; for example: *írík'íjə* 'big'/large', *gurangur* 'boy'.

In Chaha, the trill sound *r* becomes *n* in word-initial position as a result of sound mutation; however, it is not changed to *n* in Fedwet, as in *nəkəβ* 'find', in Chaha but rather an epenthetic [i] is added initially become *írəkəkəβ* 'find' in Fedwet and see examples (4 & 5).

4.

Chaha

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>a. <i>nəkəβəm</i>
<i>nəkəβ-ə-m</i>
acquire-3SM-PAS
'he acquired'</p> | <p>b. <i>jírəxb</i>
<i>ji-rəxb</i>
3SM-acquire.IPFV
'he acquires'</p> |
| <p>c. <i>nəkəsəm</i>
<i>nəkəs-ə-m</i>
bit-3SM-PAS
'he bit'</p> | <p>d. <i>jírəks</i>
<i>ji-rəks</i>
3SM-bite.IPFV
'he bites'</p> |

5.

Fedwet

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>a. <i>írəkəkəβəm</i>
<i>írəkəkəβ-ə-m</i>
find-3SM-PAS
'he found'</p> | <p>b. <i>jírəkəb</i>
<i>ji-rəkəb</i>
3SM-find.IPFV
'he finds'</p> |
| <p>c. <i>írəwəwədəm</i>
<i>írəwəwəd-ə-m</i>
tell-3SM-PAS
'he told'</p> | <p>d. <i>jíríwəwd</i>
<i>ji-ríwəwd</i>
3SM-tell.IPFV
'he tells'</p> |

Leslau (1950:13) identifies nine vowels as phonemes in Chaha whereas Degif (2000:3) comes up with nine phonetic vowels. In addition to the seven vowels, he has added ε , and ɔ . Vowels in Fedwet are the same as those in Chaha (See Table 2). Except the two vowels (ε and ɔ) which we could not find them in Fedwet.

Table 2: Vowels in Chaha

	<i>Front</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>Back</i>
<i>Close</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ɨ</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>Close mid</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>Open-mid</i>	ε		ɔ
<i>open</i>		<i>a</i>	

(Adapted from Degif 2000:3)

Ford (1986:43) states that $[\text{æ}]$, it is Hetzron's ε , must come from the diphthong $[\text{aj}]$ and $[\text{ɔ}]$, Hetzron's ɔ and Ford's ö , must come from the diphthong $[\text{aw}]$. She also discusses that $[\text{ɰ}]$ does not occur in some dialects.

Völlmin (2017:26) states that the the open vowels ε and ɔ occur to a limited extent in Gumer. The combinations of $[\text{aj}]$ and $[\text{aw}]$, especially those speakers closer to the Chaha area, realized as ε and ɔ respectively.

Here are examples from Völlmin:

			<i>Gumer</i>
6.		Völlmin (2017:26)	
	<i>əraj</i>	<i>əɛ</i>	'cows'
	<i>t'aj</i>	<i>t'ɛ</i>	'sheep' <i>k^jtʃ'aw</i>
	<i>k^jtʃ'ɔ</i>	'it is low'	

In this regard, Völlmin agreed with Hetzron and Degif, that Chaha has the open-mid vowels ε and ɔ , and that ε is the result of the combination $a + y/i$, as in əɾɛ (əraj) ‘cows’ and the ɔ is produced from the contraction of $a + w/u$. However, the occurrence of both vowels is rare.

Vowels occurrence in the Fedwet:

7.	Fedwet	Gloss
	<i>[i]</i> <i>tʃafit</i>	'mouth'
	<i>[ị]</i> <i>iməɲ</i>	'mother'
	<i>[u]</i> <i>gudad</i>	'pan'
	<i>[e]</i> <i>enənə</i>	'not exist'
	<i>[ə]</i> <i>fəgər</i>	'hair'
	<i>[o]</i> <i>fojat</i>	'sprit'
	<i>[a]</i> <i>gusarə</i>	'darkness'

All the Fedwet vowels can occur in word initial, medial and final positions except the epenthetic vowel ị , and the high, back vowel $/u/$ and the high front vowel $/i/$. The epenthetic vowel $/ị/$ does not occur in word-final position in Fedwet. The vowels $/u/$ and $/i/$ do not occur word-initially in Fedwet; however, both (i & u) occur in word-initial, medial and final positions in Chaha.

8.	/i/	Chaha
	$\#-$ <i>iβfə</i>	'I will give'
	$\#-\#$ <i>wəβit</i>	'widow'
	$-\#$ <i>wəβi</i>	'donor'

9.	/u/	Chaha
	$\#-$ <i>udfə</i>	'I will talk'
	$\#-\#$ <i>ɪŋk'us</i>	'silent'
	$-\#$ <i>amədaru</i>	'it is cold'

Distribution of Fedwet vowels word-initially, -medially and-finally.

10.	Initially	Medially	Final
/i/	∅	<i>tʃafit</i> 'mouth'	<i>gunanəʃ'i</i> 'slaughter'
/u/	∅	<i>gudad</i> 'pan'	<i>zədaxu</i> 'you 2MP'
/e/	<i>enanə</i> 'not exist'	<i>genanzo</i> 'axe'	<i>zəde</i> 'here'
/ə/	<i>əʒiʒ</i> 'hand'	<i>atədim</i> 'anywhere'	<i>aninə</i> 'exist'
/o/	<i>orat'-a</i> 'extract'	<i>bojə</i> 'food'	<i>genanzo</i> 'axe'
/a/	<i>abəŋ</i> 'father'	<i>binaj</i> 'no'	<i>təgunəsa</i> 'stand up'
/ɨ/	<i>iməŋ</i> 'mother'	<i>firt</i> 'how much'	∅

Furthermore, Ford (1986) and Hetzron (1977) do not agree on the vowel [ɨ]. Hetzron (1977:34) argued that [ɨ] is not a phoneme in Chaha; it is rather an epenthetic vowel. Whereas Ford (1986:44) states that there are cases that it stands as phoneme.

Degif (2000:25-29) states that the close central [ɨ] is an epenthetic vowel. It is used to separate an initial cluster of two distinct consonants (or glides), a final cluster of two consonants (second member is a sonorant) and a cluster of more than two consonants in any position. He identifies the three distinct sites of epenthesis Chaha. The first one is anytwo distinct word-initial consonants, #C₁__C₂ (where C₁ ≠ C₂). A cluster of three consonants C₁C₂C₃ can be broken as C₁C₂ ɨ C₃, C₁ɨC₂C₃ depending on the nature of the consonants, as C₁C₂__C₃ (where C₁ = /r/, C₂C₃ is obstruent-sonorant cluster, C₁C₂C₃ is sonorant-fricative-stop cluster, or C₂ = C₃), C₁-C₂C₃ (where C₁ is an

obstruent and C2C3 is sonorant obstruent or fricative-stop cluster) and C₁C₂-C₃ or C₁-C₂C₃ (elsewhere). He concludes that [i] is not an underlying segment.

It is true that [i] is an epenthetic vowel that is used to break up impermissible consonant sequences. In the example below (11), it is used as an epenthetic vowel.

It is also an epenthetic vowel in Fedwet.

				<i>Chaha</i>
11. a.	ə	<i>zəgər</i>		'bride house'
b.	i	<i>zigər</i>		'jump' 3MS
c.	i	<i>imír</i>		'stone'
d.	a	<i>imar</i>		'donkey'

In addition, a high, central, unrounded vowel can be found in word initial, medial final positions, but it is rare and optional in the final position:

			Chaha
12. a.#-	<i>imat</i>		'one'
b.#-#	<i>t'irə</i>		'expensive'
c. -#	<i>xi</i>		'that'

4.1.1 Phonotactics

With respect to the phonology, there is no clear difference between the consonant and vowel segments of Chaha and Fedwet. Most of the Chaha consonants and vowels occur in Fedwet. There is nothing phonotactically illicit about the Fedwet word. However, the main difference is the morphophonology. Fedwet speakers use different alternation processes than Chaha.

The following example shows that the Fedwet took the Chaha word and duplicated the middle sound and added [i] at the beginning of the word. The purpose is to alter the word form of the Chaha speaker.

13.	<i>nəkəβəm</i>	[n k b]	‘acquire’	Chaha
	<i>irkəkəβəm</i>	[r k k b]	‘acquire’	Fedwet

The use of internal reduplication plus the vowel [a] or [ə] is found in Chaha for the purpose of frequentative form of the verb. So, the Fedwet form is also using a Chaha form but not to convey the same meaning. In addition, because Fedwet has added the vowel [i] at the beginning of the word, the /r/ does not become [n], as it does in Chaha.

14.	<i>k'awa</i>	[k' w]	‘coffee’	Chaha
	<i>k'awk'awjə</i>	[k' w k' w j]	‘coffee’	Fedwet

In (14) we can observe that Fedwet speakers apply techniques of reduplication of the whole word and delete the last vowel with addition of [-jə]. Such a pattern makes the word meaningless in Chaha. However, we can find some Chaha nouns do have a suffix -jə.

The following examples also show Fedwet words which are taken from Chaha. Examples (15a-c) show reduplication and all the examples show addition of another sound. In (15a), the vowels are different, in (15b), there is an additional [r] Chaha does reduplication of the verb *odə* in the frequentative in a similar manner with reduplicated [w]. The root is /awd/. In (16c), vowels are added at the beginning and end.

15.	Fedwet	Chaha	Gloss
a.	<i>burer</i>	<i>bər</i>	‘say’ IMP
b.	<i>irwawədə</i>	<i>odə</i>	‘tell’
c.	<i>izazəfo birerə</i>	<i>zafə</i>	‘pull’

4.1.2 Consonant clusters

Like the ordinary language Chaha, consonant clusters in Fedwet are also permitted: in word-medial and word-final positions except few words. The maximum number of consonants to appear in the cluster is two. Thus, the phonotactic structure of Fedwet is the same as Chaha in that neither allows a sequence of two consonants in word-initial nor a sequence of more than two consonants in word-medial and final positions.

4.1.3 Syllable

The data reveals that there are V, VC, CV, CVC and CVC₁C₂ syllabic structure in Fedwet. These types of syllable structure are also observed in Chaha. In (16), syllable structures of Fedwet are presented.

16.	Syllable pattern	Fedwet	Gloss
a.	V	<i>i</i>	‘amen’
b.	VC	<i>ed</i>	‘okay’
c.	CVC	<i>fɪr</i>	‘what’
d.	CVC ₁ C ₂	<i>guft</i>	‘wife/woman’

Regarding syllable structure, there is no difference between ordinary Chaha and Fedwet. Chaha has open and closed syllable structures; the possible structures are V, CV, VC, CVC, VC₁C₂ and CVC₁C₂. I couldnot find words VCC in Fedwet. It is also the same in Chaha.

Open and closed syllable structures of Chaha:

17.	Syllable structure	Example	Gloss
	V	<i>o</i>	'yes'
	CV	<i>be</i>	'no'
	VC	<i>aβ</i>	'father'
	CVC	<i>wir</i>	'small ox'
	VC ₁ C ₂	<i>artf</i>	'boy'
	CVC ₁ C ₂	<i>gurz</i>	'old woman'

4.1.4 Phonological processes

4.1.4.1 Palatalization

Palatalization is observed in the Fedwet social variety, i.e., non-palatal sounds are palatalized in the second person singular feminine imperative. It is also the same in Chaha (18). Here are Fedwet words which are derived from Chaha through different processes.

				Fedwet	
18.	<i>dirarg</i>	hit (SM)	<i>dirarg^j</i>	hit (SF)	
a.	<i>wiret'</i>	eat (SM)	<i>wiretʃ'</i>	eat (SF)	
b.	<i>təgunasa</i>	Stand (SM)	<i>təgunafə</i>	Stand (SF)	
c.	<i>kraft</i>	Open (SM)	<i>kraftʃ</i>	Open (SF)	
d.	<i>mirak'a</i>	Come (SM)	<i>mirak'^jə</i>	Come (SF)	

In Chaha the masculine form would end in [a] and the feminine in [ə], but the vowel preceding would not change. Like *tərəsa* 'stand' SM and *tərəfə* 'stand' SF. It is different in the Fedwet (see example 18b)

It is also true in Chaha. Alveolar and velar consonants can be palatalized. This usually occurs with second person singular female subjects in imperfective and imperative verbs.

			Chaha
			(Leslau 1950)
19. Alveolar			
<i>d̥im̥d</i>	‘unite (sm)!’	<i>d̥im̥d̥</i>	‘unite (SF)!’
<i>tot</i>	‘do (sm)!’	<i>tot̥</i>	‘do (SF)!’
<i>tora</i>	‘sit down(sm)’	<i>tojə</i>	‘sit down(SF)!’
Velar			
<i>d̥ir̥g</i>	‘hit (sm)!’	<i>d̥ir̥g̊</i>	‘hit (SF)!’
<i>dak̊</i>	‘laugh (sm)!’	<i>dak̊</i>	‘laugh (SF)!’

4.1.4.2 Degemination

In Chaha, voiced geminated obstruent consonant sounds become devoiced. Hetzron (1977: 39) states that the original geminate voiced consonants were devoiced, and they are degeminated in Chaha.

For example, the form *səpər-ə* ‘break.PFV-3SM’ corresponds to Ezha *səbbər-ə* ‘break.PFV-3SM’; gemination does not exist in Chaha. Polotsky (1951:12) argues that the most striking feature of Chaha is the complete loss of original consonant doubling, and its compensation by the un-voicing of voiced geminates. Degif (2000:42) states that devoicing is the surface exponent of gemination, for example *məkər* is the surface form of an underlying form */məggər/* with a CVC₁C₁VC template. Historically, devoicing applied first and then degemination. Thus, degemination applies in Chaha.

Leslau (1950:13) also suggests that there is no gemination in Chaha; originally, gemination existed. There is evidence in the devoicing of original voiced geminates like *zz* > *s* *bəsam* ‘be abundant’ the voiced geminates in related languages become devoiced consonants in Chaha.

However, Lesalu (1950:13) has a different opinion on the above examples. Geminataion may occur as a result of assimilation of two phonemes like *bibinna* derived from *bibirna* ‘when he says to her’. Geminataion also occurs when two identical phonemes meet at morpheme boundaries: *nik’k’ar* ‘much’ derived from two independent words in which the final phoneme of the first word and the first phoneme of the second word are the same, *nik’* and *k’ar* where the former refers to ‘big’ while the latter refers to ‘thing’.

Etaferahu (2011: 21) also states that gemination is not a feature of Chaha. Its feature is devoicing; the main characteristic of Chaha is that voiced geminated consonants historically became devoiced. Nevertheless, regarding *n*, *r*, *l* sounds, if a stem final *r* is followed by *n*, the phoneme *r* is assimilated to *n* totally. In addition, a stem final *r* followed by *r* becomes *ll* at the morpheme boundaries. Here are the examples for this:

20.

- | | | | |
|----|---|---|-------------------|
| a. | <i>waxe k’allo</i>
good thing-COP. 3P
'They are things' | > | <i>k’ar-ro</i> |
| b. | <i>amən-nə-m</i>
'he had done' | > | <i>amər-nə-m.</i> |
| c. | <i>ɕəpən-nə-m</i>
finish.PFV-1P-PAS
'he finished' | > | <i>ɕəpər-rəm</i> |
| d | <i>ji-xəl-lo</i>
3MS-become-3PM
'it is possible for them' | > | <i>jixər-ro</i> |

Thus, the above examples show that assimilation of *r*, *n*, *l* attested across word boundaries. Accordingly, Ford's example *k’ar-lo* becoming *k’allo* is because of the

environment, not true gemination. We can also look at other examples that show sound change because of the environment of neighboring sounds like *bet* 'house' > when we add the locative marker *bə* it becomes *bəβet* 'inside the house' $b > \beta$ it is because of the environment of the neighboring sound.

The originally geminated consonant *d* become devoiced and degeminated into *t* in the penultimate position of the perfective in Chaha, while in Fedwet, the corresponding consonant is voiced, but not geminate. The consonant can be reduplicated (22a,c,e) or the form can undergo insertion of [r] (22b,d).The following examples show this reality:

21.	Fedwet	Chaha	Gloss
a.	<i>təxidədər-</i>	<i>təxətər-</i>	‘wear’
b.	<i>gⁱiraβ-</i>	<i>gəp-</i>	‘get in’
c.	<i>izaz-</i>	<i>af-</i>	‘see’
d.	<i>agⁱiraβ-</i>	<i>agəp-</i>	‘marry’
e.	<i>bizəz-</i>	<i>bəs-</i>	‘much/many’

From the data (a,c,e) above, it can be observed that the voiceless consonant in Chaha, which indicates a former geminate, occurs as voiced in Fedwet. As shown the examples, Fedwet consonants are voiced only if the underlying consonant in Chaha is voiced. For example: the root for 'to wear' is /xdr/ and the root for ‘much’ is /bz/. The voiceless consonant in Chaha, which does not indicate a former geminate, donot become voiced in Fedwet which correspond to Chaha. For example, a root like *kətəf* ‘chop’ in Chaha becomes *kitatəf* in Fedwet.

We can also observe that the degeminated and voiced sound of Fedwet does not reduplicate in a few words, rather they insert *r* as a second consonant.

4.2 Morphology

4.2.1 Nominal morphology

Nouns, in the Fedwet variety, are not inflected for number or gender except few cases and the same is true in Chaha. Nouns are not inflected for number or gender. However, there are few lexically gender specific words.

4.2.1.1 Nominal derivation

The instrumental noun is formed by the prefix *ji-* and the suffix *-bwə*, which are added to some verbs in Fedwet. For example, *ji-mirak'-bo* IPFV-come-INST its extended meaning is 'the thing that used to come' or 'path'.

Here are nominals which are derived from verbs:

				Fedwet
22.	Verb	Gloss	noun	Gloss
a.	<i>mirak'-a</i>	'come'	<i>jimrak'bwə</i>	'Pathway'
b.	<i>izaz-ə</i>	'see'	<i>jizazbwə</i>	'eye'
c.	<i>wirag-a</i>	'poke'	<i>jiwiragbwə</i>	'spear'
d.	<i>wiret'-ə</i>	'eat'	<i>jiwiret'bwə</i>	'throat'
e.	<i>idadər-ə</i>	'spend the night'	<i>jədadərb'bwə</i>	'morning'
f.	<i>fīrəm-a</i>	'hear'	<i>jīsəməbwə</i>	'ear'

However, Chaha usually uses *wə-* or *mə-* prefix for instruments. The process involves verbal nouns followed by the suffix *-ja*. However, the instrumental is not clearly built off the verbal noun stem only. In addition, there are various possible stem shapes there is often palatalization and/or labialization.

23. *wə-* and *-ja*

<i>dənəgəm</i>	'hit'	<i>wədirəgija</i>	'hammer'
<i>nət'ərəm</i>	'melt'	<i>wənt'ija</i>	'liquefier'

Thus we can observe that Fedwet and Chaha both use a circumfix (a combination of a prefix and a suffix) to form the instrumental, the actual affixes used are not the same.

In example (24), the suffix -jə can also be attached to adjectives to form nouns as in the following examples; then, the meaning is extended.

24. Rose (2007:424)

<i>t'ik^wir</i>	‘black’	<i>t'ik^wir-jə</i>	‘black wisa bread’
<i>g^wirz</i>	‘old’	<i>g^wirz-jə</i>	‘child that act like an old person’

In Fedwet, the suffix *-nət* can be added to some adjectival stems and form abstract nominals. The following are nominals that are derived from adjectives. The last syllable *-jə* which marks adjective is omitted, and the nominalizer marker *-nət* is affixed.

				Fedwet
25.	Adjective		Nominal	
	<i>efirerjə</i>	‘ugly’	<i>efirerənət</i>	‘ugliness’
	<i>irk'ijə</i>	‘big(er) or old’	<i>irk'inət</i>	‘greatness’
	<i>jiřirerjə</i>	‘beautiful’	<i>jiřirernət</i>	‘beauty’

The suffix *-nət* is also observed in Chaha. According to Rose (2007:423), the suffix *-nət* is attached to nouns and adjectives to form abstract nouns.

				Chaha
26.	Rose (2007:423)			
	<i>wənəx^wə</i>	‘neighbor’	<i>wənəx^w-nət</i>	‘neighborhood’
	<i>dəngənə</i>	‘rich’	<i>dəngən-nət</i>	‘richness’
	<i>zega</i>	‘poor’	<i>zeg-nət</i>	‘poverty’
	<i>bəřa</i>	‘friend’	<i>bəř-nət</i>	‘friendship’
	<i>barik'</i>	‘old’	<i>barik'-nət</i>	‘old age’
	<i>řik^wir</i>	‘fat’	<i>řik^winnət</i>	‘fatness’

We can also find similar nominals in Völlmin's examples in the Gumer variety of Chaha.

27. Völlmin (2017:195)

<i>nik'</i>	'big'	<i>nik'-nət</i>	'greatness'
<i>tikə</i>	'child'	<i>tik-nət</i>	'childhood'
<i>wəxe</i>	'good'	<i>wəxe-nət</i>	'generous'

4.2.1.2. Number and Gender

Chaha nouns distinguish singular and plural numerals. However, the plural is usually not marked on the noun, but it is marked on the verb and in pronominal usage. For example, *fərəz* 'horse' and 'horses'.

Chaha

28. *fərəzəna tant'əβt'no wərxum*
fərəz-əna t-an-t'əβt'-no wər-xu-m
horse- 1S.POSS NEG-1S-take.IPVF-3P go-1S-PAS
'I did not take my horses'

29. *fərəzəna tant'əβt' wərxum*
fərəz-əna t-an-t'əβ-t' wər-xu-m
'horse-1S-POSS NEG-1S-take.IPVF-go-1S-PAS
'I did not take my horse'
- Chaha

However, a few nouns have a different root for singular and plural (see Leslau 1950:16).

	Singular		Plural	
30.	<i>ətʃ</i>	‘boy’	<i>dəngija</i>	‘boys’
	<i>mɪʃt</i>	‘woman’	<i>ɪʃta</i>	‘women’
	<i>mis</i>	‘man’	<i>gəmja</i>	‘men’
	<i>gərəd</i>	‘girl’	<i>gred</i>	‘girls’

An associative plural can be expressed by the morpheme *n*. It conveys the noun plus similar items, like: *k’ib* ‘butter’ *nə-k’ib* ‘butter and the like’, *zəp* ‘lion’ *nə-zəp* ‘lions and the like’

The Chaha numbers are *at* ‘one’, *x^wet* ‘two’ etc. However, prefixing *g^war* on the Chaha numerals forms the cardinal numbers of Fedwet.

Table 3 Cardinal numbers of Fedwet

Fedwet numbers	Gloss
<i>g^warat</i>	‘one’
<i>g^warx^wet</i>	‘two’
<i>g^warsost</i>	‘three’
<i>g^wararbət</i>	‘four’
<i>g^waramist</i>	‘five’

Adapted from (Sentalem Sija 2005: 17)

The speakers circumfix the ordinary Chaha numbers by prefixing *g^war-* and suffixing-*ada* to form ordinal numerals. However, it is different from Chaha; the Chaha suffix

ana is used to form ordinal numbers. Ford (1986:73) states that in Chaha, cardinal numbers precede the adjective and describe the noun.

The following examples show the ordinal number formation of Fedwet.

31.		Sentalem (2005:18)
	Fedwet	Gloss
	<i>g^waratəda</i>	‘first’
	<i>g^warx^wetəda</i>	‘second’
	<i>g^warsostəda</i>	‘third’
	<i>g^wararbətəda</i>	‘fourth’

The Fedwet speakers also use a few quantifiers which are formed from Chaha through different manipulation processes.

Quantifiers of Fedwet

32.	Fedwet	Gloss
a.	<i>bizəza</i>	‘many/much’
b.	<i>irk’ijə</i>	‘old or big’
c.	<i>atədimk’irar</i>	‘nothing’

There are also other quantifiers (cf. Ford 1986:73).

33.	Chaha	Gloss
	<i>bəsa</i>	‘many/much’
	<i>atat</i>	‘some’
	<i>nik’ijək’ar</i>	‘big/old thing’
	<i>k’irik’ar</i>	‘few /little/’
	<i>atimk’ar</i>	‘nothing’

Gender is not marked on nouns in Fedwet, as in Chaha. It is marked on the verb that indicates a pronominal subject or object.

However, like in Chaha, there are lexically gender-specific words of Fedwet, as illustrated in the examples give in (34).

34. a.	Fedwet	Chaha	Gloss
	<i>gurangur</i>	<i>ərtʃ</i>	‘boy’
b.	<i>zewət</i>	<i>gərəd</i>	‘girl’
c.	<i>ɑβəŋ</i>	<i>ɑβ</i>	‘father’
d.	<i>iməŋ</i>	<i>adot</i>	‘mother’
e.	<i>gus</i>	<i>mis</i>	‘man’
f.	<i>guʃt</i>	<i>mift</i>	‘woman’

4.2.1.3 Case

Case in Fedwet is similarly marked like in Chaha. Hetzron (1977: 54) states that the basic case markers in Chaha appear in the form of prefixes, but subjects are not characterized by case markers.

35. a *k’ib k’əpatʃ*
 k’ib k’əp-atʃ
 butter smear-PFV-3FS
 ‘she smeared (with) butter’
- b. *imar tʃ’an-ə*
 donkey load-PFV-3MS
 ‘he loaded (on a) donkey’

The locative, instrumental, ablative and comitative cases are marked by *bə-* ‘in, at’, *bə-* ‘with’, *tə-* ‘from’, and *tə-* ‘with’ morphemes respectively.

Völlmin (2017:243) also states that the preposition *bə*, expresses locative [in, at] meaning and instrumental meaning [with]. Thus, the case prefixes might have more than one function.

According to Rose (2007:422) a prefix *jə-* is used to mark accusative. The object must have a specific reference, and object agreement appears on the verb. In addition to accusative, oblique cases are also marked with the prefix *jə-*. Thus, we can understand that the prefixes do not have limited functions; they are used to mark several kinds of relations.

36. *jəbik^wirə dənəgx^wənəm*

jə-bik^wirə dənəg-x^wə-n-īm

ACC-mule hit-3SM-2SM-PFV

'you (SM) hit the mule'

Dawit jətʃ'amut bər kəfətəram

Dawit jə-tʃ'amut bər kəfət-ə-ra-m

Dawit DAT-tʃ'amut door open. PFV-3SM-3SF-PFV

'Dawit opened the door for Chamut'

Rose (2007:422) states that the locative and ablative case markers, *tə-* and *bə-* are used to express nominal relationships in combination with postpositions. Ford (1986:57) also argues that the case marker *bə-* is used as instrument and location. Völlmin (2017:246) adds that the case marker *jə-* serves many functions, in addition to the above functions. It marks dative such as recipients, addressees, beneficiaries, and certain direct objects.

37.

Völlmin (2017: 246)

satata jəgərəd aβəm

sat-ətə jə-gərəd aβ-ə-m

watch-3SM.POSS DAT-girl give-3SM-PAS

‘he gave his watch to a girl’

jəkəbbədə gʷəntʃə tʃənəwəm

jə-kəbbədə gʷəntʃə tʃənə-wə-m

DAT-kəbbədə hyena come.PFV.3SM-3SM-PAS

‘a hyena come to Kebede’

The case marker *tə-* serves as partitive, comparative, source and direction. Völlmin (2017:248) also states that the preposition *bə-* has two different functions. It expresses locative meaning and marks instrumental meanings.

Rose (2007: 422) states that the comitative *tə* and the oblique *bə* markers are used for locatives and ablatives, often in combination with postpositions.

38.

Rose (2007:422)

<i>bə-</i>	In	<i>bə-bet</i>	‘at/in the house’
<i>tə-</i>	With/from	<i>tə-gərəd</i>	‘With the girl’
		<i>tə-bet</i>	‘from the house’
<i>bə- dən-e</i>	under	<i>bə-satɪn dən-e</i>	‘under the box’
<i>bə- fʷər</i>	on/above	<i>bə-bet fʷər</i>	‘on the house’
<i>tə- ankʷə</i>	after	<i>tə- gɪnzir ankʷə</i>	‘after breakfast’
<i>tə- məjə</i>	beside	<i>tə- bet məjə</i>	‘beside the house’

Völlmin (2017:249) asserts that the preposition *tə-* functions as a comitative case marker on the one hand and an ablative case marker on the other hand.

39. *təmsəxinəma jītīrakəsəma.*
tə-mis-əxnəma ji-tīrakəs-əma.
 COM-husband-3PF.POSS 3P-quarrel.IPFV-3PF
 ‘They quarrel with their husbands.’
təβīrtik^wan lomi jīfəz
tə-βīrtik^wan lomi ji-fəz
 ABL-orange lemon 3MS-be-better.IPFV
 ‘Lemons are better than oranges.’

As shown below, Fedwet uses the same case markers as Chaha.

Fedwet

40. *bəimaŋəna bəg^wərija inənəf'i tʃ'amburerija*
bə- iməŋ-əna bə-g^wərija inənəf'i tʃ'amburerija
 LOC-mother-1S.POSS LOC-home slaughter meat
 In my mother home slaughtered meat
 ‘there is meat in my mother home’
41. *təgurangurəx'ta bətfəfər fīŋuʃ bīrərətʃīm*
tə-gurangur-əx'ta bə-tfəfər fīŋuʃ bīrər-ətʃ-m
 COM-boy-3SF.POSS LOC-land sit say.PFV-3SF-PAS
 ‘She sat on the ground with her child.’

4.2.1.4 Definiteness

Definiteness is not marked by a separate word in Fedwet; rather the morpheme *-x^wita* is suffixed to 3SM, *-xⁱita* to 3SF, *-xino* to 3PM and *xinəma* to 3PF noun, as in Chaha.

42. *gus -x^wita* ‘the man’
zewət -xⁱita ‘the girl’
guʃt- xⁱita ‘the woman’

As we have seen in the examples, Fedwet uses the same definite markers as Chaha. Rose (2007:421) claims that in Chaha, definiteness is not expressed by a separate word. Rather, it is suffixed to the noun. For example, the 3rd person possessive marker is suffixed to the noun or the 3rd person personal pronoun following the noun.

43.	<i>misx^wita</i>	<i>miftix^tita</i>
	<i>mis- x^wita</i>	<i>mift- x^tita</i>
	man 3MSG.POSS	woman-SFSG.POSS
	'the man'	'the woman'

Lesalu (1950:18) also states that definiteness can be expressed by the personal pronoun of the third person pronoun placed after the noun; however, it has the value of demonstrative pronoun like *artf-x^wita* 'the boy, this boy'. However, it is not only the third person singular feminine and masculine; the choice of the article is determined by the gender and number they are attached to. Like *ifta-xinəma* 'the women', *dəng^ja-xino* 'the boys' (cf. Völlmin 2017:235). As in Chaha, in Fedwet definiteness is also expressed by the personal pronoun and it has the value of demonstrative pronoun. For example: *gurangur- xino* 'the boys', *gus- x^wita* 'the man', 'this man'.

4.2.1.5 Personal, Possessive, and Reflexive Pronouns

In Chaha, the independent personal pronouns distinguish among first, second and third person, singular and plural number, as well as masculine and feminine gender in the second and third persons. However, there is no impersonal pronoun (cf. Leslau 1950:18).

Table 4 Independent personal pronouns

Chaha		
	Singular	Plural
1	<i>ijja</i>	<i>jina</i>
2M	<i>axə</i>	<i>axu</i>
2F	<i>ax^j</i>	<i>axima</i>
3M	<i>xut, xuta</i>	<i>xino</i>
3F	<i>xit, xita</i>	<i>xinəma</i>

Fedwet uses the same word for personal, possessive and reflexive pronouns. For instance, they use *zəd-əna* can mean 'I' (personal) 'mine' (possessive) and 'myself' (reflexive).

However, Chaha uses a different pronoun for each. Meyer (2011:1235) and Rose (2007:422) classify possessive pronouns into two categories: those which prefix agentive case marker to the personal pronoun, such as *ja-xut-bet* (GEN-3SM.POSS-house) 'his house' and those in which possessive suffixes are attached to the noun, example *bet- xuta* (house-3SM.POSS) 'his home'.

Lesalu (1950: 18) states the pronominal suffixes are attached to the noun to express possession; they agree in number and gender with the possessor like *bet-əta* 'his house'.

Chaha		
44.	Singular	Plural
1	<i>-(ə)na</i>	<i>-(ə)nda</i>
2M	<i>-(a)xə</i>	<i>-(a)xu</i>
2F	<i>-(a)x^j</i>	<i>-(a)xna</i>
3M	<i>-(ə)ta</i>	<i>-(ə)^wxna, -(ə)^wxno</i>
3F	<i>-(ə)x^jta</i>	<i>-(ə)xinəma</i>

In Fedwet, the possessive pronouns are also formed in the same way as in Chaha, e.g. *jə-gəg-ata gərəd* ‘his daughter’, is in Fedwet *jə-zəd-ata zewət* ‘his daughter’. They also infix the enclitic (-m-) on the possessive to make it reflexive, however as in Chaha, it is optional, for example: *zəd- m-əna* ‘I myself’, *zəd- m-x’ita* ‘she herself’.

In Chaha, reflexive is expressed by the possessive pronoun suffixed to *gəg* which is 'body' with an optional enclitic *-m*.

Chaha

45.

gəgiməta k’ət’ərəm
gəg-(m) - əta *k’ət’ər-ə-m*
body- REF-3MS-POSS *kill.PFV-3MS-PAS*
 'he killed himself.'

In (46) & (47) show the reflexive pronoun of Fedwet:

46. *zədiməta atf’inafam*
 zəd-m-əta *atf’inaf-a-m*
 body- REF-2SM.POSS *kill.PFV-3MS-PAS*
 ‘he killed himself’

47. *zədiməxjita atf’inafatf*
 zəd-m-xjita *atf’inaf-atf-m*
 body-REF-3SF.POSS *kill.PFV-3SF-PAS*
 ‘She killed herself’

Demonstrative determiners in Fedwet are expressed by two demonstrative bases: *zi* (*d*), *xi* (*d*), *zəde* and *xəde*. They use the Chaha demonstrative determiner and substitute the velar sound [*x*] by the alveolar sound [*d*] and the [*i*] by [*ə*] for here and there. (cf. example 48)

48.	Fedwet	Chaha	Gloss
	<i>zi</i> (<i>d</i>) <i>gus</i>	<i>zi</i> (<i>x</i>) <i>mis</i>	'this man'
	<i>xi</i> (<i>d</i>) <i>gus</i>	<i>xi</i> (<i>x</i>) <i>mis</i>	'that man'
	<i>zəde</i>	<i>zixe</i>	'here'
	<i>xəde</i>	<i>xixe</i>	'there'

Hetzron (1977:56) states that in Chaha the general pattern is *zix/zi* and *zax/za*. Leslau (1950:22) and Völlmin (2017:213) also explain that the two demonstratives *zi* and *xi* are used to show something which is near distant while *za* and *xa* are used to show something far.

49.	Rose (2007:422)
<i>zi</i> (<i>x</i>) <i>mis</i>	'this man'
<i>xi</i> (<i>x</i>) <i>mis</i>	'that man'
<i>zix-əta</i>	'this one'
<i>xix-əta</i>	'that one'
<i>zix -əxino</i>	'these ones'

Ford (1986:69) also agreed with both Leslau and Hetzron on the demonstratives *xa* and *za*, and he noted that these demonstratives can also be used to show sequences of actions or narrations into former and latter. The following example shows this:

50.	<i>zixⁱta</i>	<i>bətfonatf</i>	<i>mədər</i>	<i>xaxⁱta</i>	<i>tfontatfm.</i>
	<i>zi-xⁱta</i>	<i>bə-tfon-atf</i>	<i>mədər</i>	<i>xa-xⁱta</i>	<i>tfon-atf-m.</i>
	DEM.this-3SF	LOC-sit.3SF.PFV	place	DEM.that-3FS	sit.PFV-3SF-PAS
	'That-one- (f.) in-she-sat place that-one- (f.) she - came.				

‘The former one came to the place where the latter one was sitting’

4.2.1.6 Interrogative pronouns

Except in a few cases, most of the Fedwet interrogative pronouns begin with the consonant [f]. The Fedwet question particles are formed based on Chaha interrogative pronouns, which start with the labial sound. Thus, *m* is changed into the labiodental sound *f*. After this change, a prefix or a suffix is added to create new interrogative words. Thus, the interrogative pronoun *m^wan* ‘who’ of Chaha becomes (53) *f^wan* ‘who’ in Fedwet, i.e., [*m^w]* → [*f^w]*; and the prefix *jə-* is added to the newly derived form *f^wan*. As a result, *jə-f^wan* ‘whose’ can be formed but the Chaha equivalent to this is *jə-m^wan*, so that the only thing that’s different is the [m] changes to [f]. The other one is *mīr* ‘what’ in Chaha and the form in Fedwet is *fīr* ‘what’, the prefix *jə* is added to produce the interrogative pronoun *jəfīr* ‘why’; the Chaha equivalent to this is *jəmīr*. By suffixing *-axīr*, the pronoun *fīraxīr* ‘how much’ is formed, and by adding *-wət* the form *fīriwət* ‘how’ can be formed. There is also an exceptional question word that does not start with the aforementioned consonant; rather, it starts with the vowel *e*: *ete* ‘where’ in Chaha and *etate* in Fedwet. The following are some interrogative pronouns of Chaha for comparison.

51. Leslau (1950:21) and Ford (1986:72)

<i>m^wan</i>	‘who’	<i>jəmīr</i>	‘why’
<i>mīr/mīk’ar</i>	‘what/what thing’	<i>etata</i>	‘which’
<i>ete</i>	‘where’	<i>mīraxīr</i>	‘how much/many’
<i>jəm^wan</i>	‘whose’	<i>məmīr</i>	‘how’
<i>mətfīra</i>	‘when (future)’	<i>etaxuna</i>	‘which of them’
<i>mīraxīrgi</i>	‘how many times’		

Therefore, in this case, the Fedwet reduplicate *t* in the Chaha base. Here are some

Fedwet examples, in which interrogative pronouns are included

52.

- a. *etate xurərxəm ?*
etate xurər-xə-m
INTRO go-2SM-PAS
'where did you go?'
- b. *firiwət firiwət tixurer?*
firiwət firiwət ti-xurer?
how 2SF-act.IPFV
'how does she act?'

53. *Interrogative pronouns*

Fedwet Form	Gloss
<i>f^van</i>	'who'
<i>etate</i>	'where'
<i>fir</i>	'what'
<i>jəf^van</i>	'whose'
<i>jəfir</i>	'why'
<i>firt</i>	'how much'
<i>firiwət</i>	'how'

4.2.1.7 Interjections

Interjections may take the place of full sentences, and they frequently occur in response to other than verbal stimuli in Chaha (cf. Ford 1986:52).

54.	Chaha	Gloss
	<i>etfəxu</i>	'awe'
	<i>o</i>	'surprised disappointment'
	<i>ek</i>	'disgust'
	<i>əsam</i>	'greeting to one'
	<i>wəg</i>	'amazement'
	<i>dirədɪg</i>	'protest or dismay'

In Fedwet, few interjections are observed and most are similar to those we observed in Chaha. However, Fedwet uses various processes like insertion, duplication and also totally different words for others. Here are examples for interjection:

55.	<i>Fedwet</i>	<i>Chaha</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
a.	<i>girardo</i>	<i>gido</i>	'unfortunately,'
b.	<i>ijənijo</i>	<i>ijo</i>	'alas'
c.	<i>i</i>	' <i>amen</i> '	'amen'
d.	<i>ed</i>	<i>əgi</i>	'okay'
e.	<i>əw</i>	<i>jo</i>	'yes'

4.2.1.8 Connectors

Regarding connectors, both Chaha and Fedwet use the same morpheme for connecting words and sentences. The morpheme *-m* is used for connecting words or sentences; the other connector is *tə-*; it is also used to link words in the sentence. Both *-m* and *tə-* have commutative function. In addition, these morphemes are also used to mark converb. The examples in (56) show the the commutative function of *m* and *tə*

56. a.	Fedwet	<i>abəɲm iməɲim enane</i>
		<i>abəɲ-m iməɲ-m enan-e</i>
		father-COM mother-COM NEG-1S
	Chaha	<i>aβim adotm ene.</i>
	Gloss	'I do not have both mother and father'

b.	Fedwet	<i>bok'ijə təf'amburijə wiret'əm.</i>		
		<i>bok'jə</i>	<i>tə-f'amburijə</i>	<i>wiret'-ə-m</i>
	Chaha	ensete bread	COM- meat	eat-3SM-PAS
	Chaha	<i>wisa təbəsər bənam.</i>		
	Gloss	He ate bread (ensete) with meat.		

4.2.2 Verb morphology

4.2.2.1 Verbal stem morphology

Regarding verb stem formation, Fedwet follows the pattern of the common features of the Ethio-Semitic languages, i.e., the root and pattern system of combining consonants with vowels. The common feature of all Semitic languages is that verb roots are formed by combining consonant with vowel sounds. The Chaha root and pattern morphology form the three main aspectual verb forms; perfective, imperfective and jussive forms (Rose 2007:403). The Chaha roots /mgr/ 'suppurate', /srf/ 'be afraid', /kft/ 'open' illustrate the verbal root-and-pattern system. She also stated that the medial root consonant is devoiced in the perfective form, or /r/ is changed to [n]. However, Chaha does not have gemination in the imperfective. It shows a single original consonant in the examples in (57). It is the [k] and the [n] which is the reflex of the original germination in the forms of 3ms

57. Rose (2007:404)

	'to suppurate'	'to be afraid'
Perfective	<i>məkər-</i>	<i>sənəf-</i>
Imperfective	<i>ji-məgír</i>	<i>ji-sərf</i>
Jussive	<i>jə-mgír</i>	<i>jə-sírəf</i>

Lesalu (1950:24) states that the structure of the Chaha verb is uniliteral, biliteral, trilateral, quadrilateral and compound descriptive. Trilateral is the basis of the verb type.

Degif (2000:32) categorizes the basic types of verb stems in Chaha. He identifies them in terms of consonants, long and short templates. Short templates have three consonants; the transitive short templates imperative stem form is C₁C₂C₃

58. Degif (2000:32)

Imperative	Imperfective	Perfective	
<i>sɪβir</i>	<i>tɪ-səβir</i>	<i>səpər-xə-m</i>	‘break something’

The long template has four consonants

			<i>Chaha</i>
59. <i>səmbit</i>	<i>tɪ-sirəpit</i>	<i>sirəpət-xə-m</i>	‘sojourn’
<i>mərək'ik'</i>	<i>tɪ-mirək'ək'</i>	<i>mirək'ək'- xə-m</i>	‘come’
<i>gərdif</i>	<i>tɪ-girədəf</i>	<i>girədəf-xə-m</i>	‘Cut in big!’

As the Chaha quadrilateral examples in (59) show, many of them have a sonorant in the second position. Fedwet insert [r] to form quadrilateral a Chaha trilateral verb. In Fedwet, both tri-consonantal and many quadriconsonantal verbs are observed. The reason is that most of the triconsonantal verbs in Chaha become quadri-consonantal verbs in Fedwet through the process of insertion. The verbs in Fedwet are like Chaha quadriconsonantal or frequentative verbs, with vowel changes between perfective/imperfective/jussive.

The Chaha vowel patterns for quadriconsonantal are perfective CiCaCəC, imperfective jə-CəCCiC and the form is CCaCiC for frequentative and jussive jə-CCaCiC form. Fedwet does appear to follow this basic pattern.

60. Fedwet quadriconsonantal forms

	‘break’	‘to carry’	‘run’
Perfective	<i>fɪnabər</i>	<i>tʃʷiwawər-</i>	<i>tə-rwawətʰ-</i>
Imperfective	<i>ji-fɪnabir</i>	<i>ji-tʃʷiwawir</i>	<i>j-triwawətʰ</i>
Jussive	<i>jə-fɪnabir</i>	<i>jə-tʃʷiwawr</i>	<i>jə-triwawətʰ</i>

Some follow the Chaha pattern of a final [a] instead of the final Consonant

For example:

61.	Chaha	Fedwet	Gloss
	<i>fəka</i>	<i>fɪnaka</i>	‘go’ 3SM
	<i>gəpa</i>	<i>giraβa</i>	‘enter’3SM
	<i>agəpa</i>	<i>agiraβa</i>	‘marry’3SM
	<i>səma</i>	<i>firəma</i>	‘hear’3SM

As stated earlier, Chaha verbal stem originally geminate radicals get degeminated and become singleton. However, they still show a reflex of the former geminate, which is a sound mutation; this also includes the liquid *r* to the nasal sound *n* in Chaha.

Mono-radical verbs are rare in Chaha. According to Völlmin (2017:67), the occurrences of mono-radical verbs in Ethio-Semitic languages are rare. They have a palatal radical in the perfective and imperfective and depalatalization in the Jussive form, such as

62.	PFV	IPFV	JUS	
	<i>ʃə</i>	<i>ʃə</i>	<i>saj</i>	‘want’
	<i>tʃə</i>	<i>tʃ</i>	<i>taj</i>	‘leave’
	<i>xʷə</i>	<i>xʷə</i>	<i>xʷaj</i>	‘spill’

The verb $x^wə$ ‘spill’, is another example with labialization. He also includes examples of verbs which have only one consonant in the final position and begins with a vowel like ($aβ$ ‘give’ and od ‘tell’). Leslau (1950:25) also agrees that there are few uniliteral verbs in Chaha; his examples are the same as to Völlmin’s examples, words such as $fə$ ‘want’ and $tfə$ ‘leave’. Whereas as far as my investigation shows, there is no mono-radical verb attested in Fedwet. The reason for this might be related to the different augmentation techniques that are used by Fedwet. Chaha mono-radical verbs become bi-radicals or the bi-radicals become tri-radicals in Fedwet. For instance, od ‘tell’ in Chaha changes to $irwawəd$ in Fedwet; thus, mono-radical verbs in Chaha become biradical, triradical or quadri-radical in Fedwet.

4.2.2.2 Reduplicated verbs

Degif (2000:37) states that Chaha has three kinds of reduplicated verbs. These are medial (frequentative), final and total reduplication. The prefix $a-$, $tə-$ and $at-$ are used to expand reduplicative verbs. Leslau (1950:25) also calls verbs with prefixes derived stems. The biliteral and trilateral verbs can form a frequentative stem, and the stem is formed by the repetition of the second radical with vowel a or $ə$ on the added syllable. The unreduplicated verbs: $səpərə$ ‘break’ and $nəgagədə$ ‘touch’ has been reduplicated productively. Here are the reduplicated verbs examples:

Verbs reduplicated medial (frequentative) -2ms forms

63. Degif (2000:37)

Root	Perfective	Imperative	Imperfective	
(s-β-r)	$sifəpər-xə-m$	$sifəβir$	$ji-sifəp̄ir$	‘smash’
(r-g-d)	$nigagəd-xə-m$	$nigagd-$	$ji-rgagd$	‘stir’

As we have seen the examples, β and p constitute the same phoneme. They are different only voicing and frication. The verb root can be reduplicated. Because of the reduplication, the biradical verb roots become triradical while triradical verb roots become quadraradicals.

The following are representative examples of this:

64. Degif (2000:38)

Root	Perfective	Imperative	Imperfective	
<i>k'-p</i>	<i>k'ipəβ- xə- m</i>	<i>k'ipβiβ</i>	<i>ji-k'əβiβ</i>	'shave'
<i>b-r</i>	<i>bənər-xə-m</i>	<i>birər</i>	<i>ji-βərir</i>	'fly'

The last type of reduplicated verbs undergoes total root reduplication and these are lexical and not derived from another existing non-reduplicated verb.

65. Degif (2000:38)

Root	Perfective	Imperative	Imperfective	
<i>sa</i>	<i>sasa-xə-m</i>	<i>sasa</i>	<i>ji-sasa</i>	'become thin'
<i>t'm</i>	<i>t'imət'am-xə-m</i>	<i>t'ət'im</i>	<i>ji-t'imət'im</i>	'roll'

Fedwet uses two kinds of reduplication techniques to form verbs, the first one takes verbs from Chaha and reduplicates the initial, medial, or final consonant, and the second one is a reduplication of the whole word and addition of the reduplicated word *birerə* 'say' in the Fedwet social variety.

66.

Chaha Chaha freq. Fedwet Verbs reduplicate penultimate root consonant

	Root	Perfective	Jussive	Imperfectiv	
<i>zaf-</i>	<i>zazaf</i>	<i>z-a-f</i>	<i>izazəf-</i>	<i>jə-izazf</i>	<i>ji - izazf</i> 'pull'
<i>adəg-</i>	<i>adadə</i>	<i>a-d-g</i>	<i>idadəg-</i>	<i>jə-dadg</i>	<i>ji - dadg</i> 'down'

67.	Chaha	Fedwet	Chaha frequentative
	<i>nəkəβ-</i>	<i>ɪrkəkəβ-</i>	<i>tə-rkəkəβ-</i>
	<i>məsər-</i>	<i>misəsər-</i>	<i>tə-msəsər-</i>

68.	Chaha	Fedwet Verbs reduplicate medial consonant				
		Root	Perfective	Jussive	Imperfective	
	<i>məsərə</i>	<i>msr</i>	<i>misəsər</i>	<i>jəmsasir</i>	<i>ji -msasir</i>	‘resemble’
	<i>nəkəbə</i>	<i>rkb</i>	<i>ɪrkəkəβ</i>	<i>jərkakib</i>	<i>ji-rkakb</i>	‘acquire’

69.	Chaha	Fedwet Verbs reduplicate final consonant				
		Root	Perfective	Jussive	Imperfective	
	<i>məfə</i>	<i>mʃ</i>	<i>miʃafə</i>	<i>jə-mʃaf</i>	<i>ji-mʃaf</i>	‘become night’
	<i>fəka</i>	<i>fk</i>	<i>ʃikaka</i>	<i>jə-ʃikaka</i>	<i>ji-ʃikaka</i>	‘go’ neg

Fedwet’s manipulation strategies follow Chaha patterns. All forms of 3SM verb frequentative reduplication strategies are similar to the Chaha language. In example (69), basically they are following a Chaha template with an additional [i] at the beginning and the repetition does not have a meaning. The choice of [a] or [ə] as the vowel between the reduplicated consonants is lexically determined.

The same thing goes Fedwet verbs which reduplicate medial consonant. So, Fedwet basically following a Chaha template with an additional [i] at the beginning (67) which prevents /r/ --> [n] word-initially and no intensive/repetition meaning. The vowel [ə] is inserted in Chaha frequentative and it is [a] in Fedwet between the reduplicated consonants.

In Chaha, compound verbs are formed by combining of a reduplicative stem and the verb *barə* ‘say’ or *amənə* ‘make’. The shape of the stem is C₁VC₂C₁VC₂ or C₁VC₂C₁ where V is one of the vowels, [ə], [a] and [i] (Rose 2007:411). The following are

representative examples of this:

Chaha

70. Rose (2007:411)

- | | | |
|----|--|--------------------|
| a. | <i>basbas barə</i> | ‘wander’ |
| b. | <i>bək’bək’ barə</i> | ‘smell bad’ |
| c. | <i>zəfzəf barə</i> | ‘walk gracelessly’ |
| d. | <i>g^wafg^waf barə</i> | ‘fluff out’ |
| e. | <i>t’əβt’əβ barə</i> | ‘drip’ |

This kind of verb is also observed in Fedwet (see example 75). However, the shape of the stem is different from Chaha. However, the Fedwet social variety compound verbs are composed of a reduplicative stem and the verb *birerə* ‘say’ which is based on the Chaha verb *barə*. The stem shape has two types; i.e., $V_1C_1V_2C_1V_3C_2V_4$ + *birerə* (examples a-c), and $V_1C_1C_2V_2C_2V_3C_3V_4$ where $V_1 = i(\emptyset)$, $V_3 = \emptyset$, $V_2 = a$, $V_4 = o$ for both types.

- | 71. | Fedwet | Gloss |
|-----|--------------------------|------------|
| a. | <i>izazəfo birerə</i> | ‘pull’ |
| b. | <i>ədadəgo birerə</i> | ‘down’ |
| c. | <i>əzīnanəfo birerə</i> | ‘threaten’ |
| d. | <i>irwawədo birerə</i> | ‘talk’ |
| e. | <i>ik’irarəmo birerə</i> | ‘insult’ |

4.2.2.3. Derivational verbal prefixes

Rose (2007:411) states that Chaha has three valency changing prefixes, *a-*, *at-*, and *tə-*. These prefixes occur close to the stem, while negation and subject markers are affixed outside the derivational prefixes.

The prefix *tə-* attaches to transitive verbs and results in a passive verb (example 76 b). When the prefix *a-* is attached to verbs, it does not change the internal shape of the stem.

72. Rose (2007:412)

- a. *k'ib nət'ərəm*
k'ib nət'ər-ə-m
butter melt.PFV.3MS-PAS
'the butter melted'
- b. *inǵapa tə-səpər-ə-m*
glass PASS.-break.PFV.-3ms-past
'a glass was broken'
- C *Amadu k'ib arət'ərəm*
Amadu k'ib a-rət'ər-ə-m
Amadu butter cause-melt.PFV-3MS-PAS
'Amadu melted the butter'

According to Rose (2007:413), the prefix *at-* indicates as the causative of the passive. She explains this through examples, *at-səpərə* 'cause to be broken'. She attempts to demonstrate the difference between the prefix *a-* and *at-* by the following example: *not'ə* 'run', *a-rot'ə* 'made someone to run' whereas the verb *at-rot'ə* means 'caused someone to run'. I agree with Rose because the prefixes *at-* and *a-* used to show caused or made. We can add other example here: *bəna* 'eat' *at-bəna* 'forced to

eat' *a- bəna* 'made someone to eat'.

Similar to Chaha, derivational prefixes *a-*, *at-* and *tə* are also affixed in Fedwet. Here are the examples:

73. a. Abebe *gəmbʷənə inənət'əm*.
Abebe *gəmbʷənə inənət'-ə-m*.
Abebe cow slaughter.PFV-3SM-PAS
Abebe slaughtered a cow.
- b. *gəmbʷənə tanint'əm*
gəmbʷənə ta-nint'-ə-m.
Cow PASS-slaughter.PFV-3SM-PAS
'a cow was slaughtered.'

4.2.2.4 Tense and Aspect

Ford (1986:62) discusses the three basic stems of verb forms which are perfective, continuous/ imperfective and Jussive (including imperative). Each stem takes many forms in relation to person, gender and number.

Hetzron (1977:83-86) also states that perfective and imperfective (continuous) aspects can be furnished with the verb *banə* or *ba* 'was' for past tense. The morpheme *-te* and *-ja* are used for future tense. The main verb marker *-m* is attached to the verb in affirmative perfective forms. However, it is not used in negative sentences. Meyer (2016: 159) argues that modern Ethio-Semitic languages are primarily aspect-based, and tense system is secondary. The tense markers are used to distinguish past and non-past time reference.

Rose (2007:413) & Hetzron (1977) also argue that the perfective form has a final suffix *-m*, which has been described as the main verb marker, or past tense marker.

Nevertheless, it does not occur in negative forms and in subordinate clauses. This morpheme occurs in word final position after subject and object markers.

74. Völlmin (2017:177)

Main verb	Negative verb	subordinate verb
<i>tʃənə-xʷ-im</i>	<i>antʃənə-xʷ</i>	<i>bə-tʃənə-xʷ</i>
Come.PFV-1S-PAS	NEG-come.PFV-1S	COND-come-1S
'I came'	'I did not come'	'If I came...'

Fedwet also uses the suffix *-m* as a past tense marker. The two future markers of Chaha also are observed in Fedwet.

75.	Chaha	Fedwet	Gloss
a.	<i>nəkəbə-m</i>	<i>irkəkəβə- m</i>	'acquired'
b.	<i>odə-m</i>	<i>irwawədə-m</i>	'talked'

4.2.2.4.1 Perfective

Völlmin (2017:177-178) states that the perfective is used to express the perfective aspect that is as a completed event. Ford (1986:62) states that perfective aspect is also expressed by the perfect form followed by the verb *banə*: such as *tʃotəm* 'he worked' *tʃotəm banə* 'he had worked'. Here are Ford's examples:

76. a. Ford (1986:62)

Chaha

tʃot-ə-m
work.PFV-3SM-PAS
'he worked'

b. *tʃotəm banə*

tʃot-ə-m banə-ə
work-3SM-PAS Aux.PAS
'he had worked'

- c. *dəgəfu astəmari banə-ə*
 dəgəfu teacher COP-Aux.PAS-3SM
 i.e. 'Degifu was a teacher.'

77. a. *mīrak'-a-m* Fedwet
 come-3SM-PAS
 'he came'
- b. *mīrak'-a-m binanə*
 come-3SM-PAS
 Aux.PAS
 'he had come'

Völlmin also states that action verbs are commonly used to place an event placed in actual time; time adverbs can additionally underline the past and the adverbs are used in the same manner in Fedwet.

Völlmin (2017:175)

78. Chaha
tīrama wisa fak'inəm
tīrama wisa fak'-nə-m
 yesterday ensete scrape.PFV-1P-PAS
 'we scraped wusa bread yesterday.'

79. Chaha
tīrama gərəd tʃənətʃim
tīrama zewət mīrak' atf-m
 Yesterday girl come-3SF-PAS
 'The girl came yesterday.'

4.2.2.4.2 Imperfective

According to Bertinetto (2006: 266) “Imperfective refers to the terminal point of the event not being envisaged.” It is used to express the imperfective aspect in contrast to perfective.

In many cases, the word *barə* is used to express habitual action.

Völlmin (2017:178)

80.

getam g^wəmarəm jitiwaka.

geta-m g^wəmarə-m ji-tawaka.

Geyeto-and Gumer-and 3SM-fight-IPFV

‘The Geto and the Gumer fight each other.’ (regularly).

Ford (1986:62)

81.

Chaha

ji-tʃot

3SM-work

‘He works’

Fedwet also express the imperfective aspect by adding the prefix *ji-*. Here is the example for this:

82. Fedwet

ji-wret’

3SM-eat

‘He eats.’

4.2.2.4.3 Jussive

Völlmin (2017:179) stated that jussive and imperative are related in that both have the same template; imperative is for 2nd person and jussive for 1st and 3rd. They are used to express orders, wishes, intentions, permission and similar meanings. According to Hetzron (1972:103), indefinite future or willingness is expressed by the jussive stem with continuous prefix and suffix plus the suffix -ʃə.

83. Ford (1986:63)

a. *ətotʃə*

ə-tot-ʃə

1S-work-FUT

'I am willing to work'

b. *tibrəmaʃə*

tī-βrəma-ʃə

2P-eat.IPFV.FP-FUT

'you (FP) will/may eat'

Fedwet also uses the Chaha indefinite future without altering the jussive stem with the suffix -ʃə.

Fedwet

84. *jiwretʃə*

ji-wretʃə

3SM-eat-FUT

'he is willing to eat'

4.2.2.4.4 Definite and Indefinite Future

According to Rose (2007:414), there are two future markers in Chaha, *-te* and *-ʃə*, which appear in the final position of the verb, and they only appear in main clauses and in affirmative constructions. In Chaha, the imperfective form is used in present tense forms not in the future tense forms. The future tense is expressed by suffixes

which attached to the end of the verb stem following subject and object markers.

Rose (2007:414)

85.

a. *fəwa jarte?*

fəwa j-ar-te?

Shoa 3SM-go.IPFV.-FUT

'has it been decided?/ will he to go Shawa?

b. *fəwa jiwərjə*

fəwa jī- wər- jə

Shoa 3SM-go-IPFV. -INDEF. FUT.

(i.e., will he be allowed to go, or is it likely he is going to Shoa?)

Leslau (1950:30) states that the imperfective followed by *-te* expresses future tense like *jirəxib-te* 'he will find' and also the jussive followed by *ʃə*, *jinkəβ-ʃə* 'he will find'. In addition, Ford (1986: 63) also claims that definite future is expressed by with the suffix *-te* E.g. *ibərate* 'I will eat' 'I am going to eat'. Indefinite future is expressed. There is no difference regarding the definite future *-te* in Fedwet; they use the Chaha form and it is attached to the present/ imperfective stems, and it refers to predetermined events with external control, like *jimirak'ate* 'it has been decided'. The indefinite future *-jə* which is attached to jussive stems is more subjective; it conveys uncertainty, willingness or desire. The jussive verb stem is used as the base for *-jə*, but the subject markers are those used for imperfective, *jə-mirak-o* 'let them come', *jī-mirak'-o* 'they are coming', *jī mirak-o-ʃə* 'they might come'.

4.2.2.5 Negation

In Chaha, the negative marker is expressed by a prefix *an-* or *a-* attached to the verb in perfective and non-perfective forms respectively. The main tense marker *-m* is omitted (Ford 1986:68) and (Rose 2007:415).

86. a	<i>dəpərəm</i> <i>dəpər-ə-m</i> add-3SM-PAS 'he added'	<i>andəpərə</i> <i>an-dəpər-ə</i> NEG-add-3SM 'he did not add'
b	<i>bənərəm</i> <i>bənər-ə-m</i> flew-3SM-PAS 'he flew'	<i>ambənərə</i> <i>an- bənər-ə</i> NEG-flew.PFV-3SM 'he did not fly'
c.	<i>jidəβr</i> <i>ji-dəβr</i> 3SM-add.IPFV 'he adds'	<i>ajdəβr</i> <i>a- ji-dəβr</i> NEG-3SM-add.IPFV 'he does not add'
d.	<i>jiβərir</i> <i>ji-bərir</i> 3SM-fly.IPFV 'he flies'	<i>a-jbərir</i> <i>a-ji-βərir</i> NEG-3SM-fly.IPFV 'he does not fly'

The prefix *in-* attaches to the perfective stem with the same sense as the negative jussive: E.g. *indəpərə* 'let him not add' (cf. Rose 2007:415).

The prefix *an-* is used as a negative marker for the perfective in both Chaha and Fedwet. The final *m* that marks past is omitted when the negative marker is affixed in both varieties.

87.

a.	<i>irkakəβəm</i>	<i>anirkakəβə</i>
	<i>irkakəβ-ə-m</i>	<i>an-irkakəβ-ə</i>
	acquire-3SM-PAS	Neg-acquire-3SM
	'he acquired'	'he did not acquire'
b.	<i>irwawədəm</i>	<i>anirwawədə</i>
	<i>irwawəd-ə-m</i>	<i>an-irwawəd-ə</i>
	tell-3SM-PAS	Neg-tell-3SM
	'he told'	'he did not tell'
c.	<i>jidirarg</i>	<i>ajdirarg</i>
	<i>ji-drarg</i>	<i>a-ji-dirarg</i>
	3SM-hit	Neg-3SM-hit
	'he hits'	'he does not hit'

4.2.2.6 Converb

In the central and the peripheral Western Gurage, the suffix *-m* and *-tə* are used as converb markers (Meyer 2011:1247). Rose (2007:416) states that a sequence of events can be joined, and the last verb inflects while the first verb is conjugated as a converb. Hetzron (1977:94) stated that the *-m* converb consists of perfect, imperfect, jussive or infinitive followed by *-m*. The *t*-converb is used before negative verbs, and before non-perfective forms (Rose 2007), as in the following example:

88. *nikfitəxə tifiwan*
niks-tə-xə tif-wa-n
 bite.IPFV-CON-2MS spit out.IPAR-3SM
 'bite it and spit out it (2SM)'

Like Chaha, Fedwet also use the converb marker *-m*. It does not carry tense or object markers. It consists of the suffix *-m* attached to the verb of any aspect. Here is the example:

89.....*jiwret'm jifinakate*
ji-wret'-m ji-finaka-te
3SM-eat-CON 3SM-go.IPFV-FUT
 'He will eat and go'

4.2.2.7 Copula

Rose (2007:415) reports that the present tense copula is attached to nouns and adjectives as a word-final suffix in Chaha. All forms have an initial *n*; however, the 3SM and 3P have different forms (see E.g. 93).

90.				Rose (2007:415)
<i>1S</i>	<i>-nx^w</i>	<i>1P</i>	<i>-ndə</i>	
<i>2SM</i>	<i>-nxə</i>	<i>2MP</i>	<i>-nxu</i>	
<i>2SF</i>	<i>-nxj</i>	<i>2FP</i>	<i>-nxma</i>	
<i>3SM</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>3MP</i>	<i>-ro</i>	
<i>3SF</i>	<i>-nja</i>	<i>3FP</i>	<i>-rəma</i>	

The above present tense copula verbs are used to join the subject of a sentence or clause to a subject complement and the negative copula is marked by *an-*, for instance:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>91. Chaha</p> <p>a. <i>zər-u</i>
 summer-COP
 'it is summer'</p> | <p>b. Fedwet</p> <p><i>g^wanguf -u</i>
 old-COP.3SM
 'He is old'</p> |
|---|--|

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|---|
| b. | <i>oḡama- nxima</i>
talkative-COP.2FP
'you (F) are talkative' | b. | <i>irk'ija-u</i>
old-COP-3S
'it is big/old' |
|----|---|----|---|

To summarize, Fedwet speakers follow the common feature of all Semitic languages is that verb root and pattern system of combining consonants with vowels. Like the Chaha, in Fedwet nouns are not inflected for number or gender except few cases. The Fedwet cardinal numbers are formed by prefixing *g^war* on the Chaha numerals. Fedwet uses the same word for personal, possessive and reflexive pronouns. However, Chaha uses different pronouns for each.

4.3 Word order

Ford (1986:76) states that the grammatical structure of Chaha is similar to that of Amharic and other Semitic languages. The usual word order is Subject-Object-Verb (SOV). Dependent clauses are formed by attaching prefixes, and some suffixes, on the stem (See Hetzron 1972:114 and Ford 1986:53). Ford presents example that shows the word order in Chaha-Gurage is SOV,

92.

Chaha	<i>misxuta sost dāng'a f'ənəm</i> <i>mis-xuta sost dāng'a f'ən-ə-m</i> man- DEF. three-children- bore-PFV-3SM-PAS 'The man born three children'
-------	--

The Fedwet group follows the Chaha morphosyntactic pattern. It is similar to the other Ethio-Semitic languages i.e., SOV order. In addition to the word order in sentences, they use the same inflectional morpheme, cases, definiteness marker and connectors.

The following examples show that Fedwet uses its own sentences that are not identical with Chaha concerning morphologically but syntactically the same structure as in the ordinary language of Chaha.

93.

Fedwet	<i>guftiwe tf'amburerjə irbeβətfem</i>
	<i>guft-we tf'amburerjə irbeβ-ətf-e-m</i>
	woman-DEF. meat give.PFV-3SF-1S.OBJ-PAS
Chaha	<i>miftwe bəsər abətfem</i>
	<i>mift-we bəsər ab-ətf-e-m</i>
	woman-DEF.meat give-3SM-1S.POSS-PAS
Gloss	'the woman gave me meat.'

94.

Fedwet	<i>gufirawe bojə wıret'ətfm gufıra-we bojə wıret'-ətf-m</i>
	bride-DEF food eat.PFV-3SF-PAS
Chaha	<i>mıfırax'ıta fərət bənətf-m mıfıra-x'ıta fərət bən-ətf-m</i> bride-Def. food eat-3SF PAS
Gloss	'The bride ate food'

95.

Fedwet	<i>bəmənəna g^Wərija k'inabinja enənə</i>
	<i>bə -imən-ənə g^Wərija k'inbinja enənə</i>
	LOC.mother-1S.POSS home butter not-exist
Chaha	<i>bəadotəna bet k'ib enə</i>
	<i>bə-adot-ənə bet k'ib enə</i>
	Loc-mother-1S.POSS home butter not-exist
Gloss	'there is no butter in my mother's home'

Examples (93-95) demonstrate that the Fedwet and the Chaha sentences are the same regarding word order. The combination of words within the sentence is the same as to that of the Chaha. It can be understood that the Fedwet use the Chaha grammatical structure.

Indeed, it needs further analysis of how Fedwet manipulates the Chaha words so that they are different concerning phonology and morphology. The next part focuses on how Fedwet alters Chaha words.

4.4. Fedwet as a manipulated Chaha variety

The basic grammatical properties of Fedwet have been presented and compared to Chaha. We now show what strategies are utilized in altering the lexical items.' This section reinforces the fact that Fedwet is a type of argot and employs the same type of strategies as language games.

The Fedwet group applies different manipulation processes to form their 'language'. The basic manipulations are morpho-phonological and lexical. The analysis of how they construct the social variety Fedwet from their basic language Chaha is presented in the next part.

4.4.1 Morpho-phonological manipulation

The Fedwet group manipulates Chaha words through different processes. These manipulation processes affect the structure of the words of the ordinary language. Some of these arrangements may lead one to think that the Fedwet variety is not governed by the linguistic principles of Chaha morphophonology. However, this is not the case.

Most Fedwet words are formulated through adding sounds, substituting sounds, reduplication, and adding affixes to Chaha words.

The following examples are meaningful words for Fedwet speakers.

96.	<i>Chaha</i>	<i>Fedwet</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
	<i>gɪfɪr</i>	<i>gɪɾafɪr</i>	'leave/emit'
	<i>enə</i>	<i>enənə</i>	'no/not present'
	<i>aβ</i>	<i>aβəŋ</i>	'father'
	<i>k'əwərə</i>	<i>k'əmb^wənə</i>	'fox'
	<i>t'əβət'ə</i>	<i>tʃ'ɪɾaβət'ə</i>	'catch'
	<i>afər</i>	<i>tʃafər</i>	'land'
	<i>baj/be</i>	<i>bɪnəj</i>	'no'

In (96), the Fedwet follow Chaha syllable constraints in forming words. However, they use different techniques that help them to form different words. Nevertheless, the strategies that are used by Fedwet are varied and not predictable based on the base, so that the others do not have the chance to guess the combination of the sounds by following one rule. The processes that affect phonological structure are discussed below.

4.4.1.1 Substitution

Substitution has been employed to create some lexical words of Fedwet. In this part, I focus on two kinds of substitution. The first one is the substitution of one sound with another sound and the other one is morpheme substitution. As far as my data reveals, morpheme substitution methods concern personal pronouns whereas sound substitution focus on question words and nouns.

97. *Personal and Possessive pronoun forms of Fedwet*

Gloss	singular	Plural
1	<i>zəd-əna</i>	<i>zəd-ənda</i>
2M	<i>zəd-axə</i>	<i>zəd-axu</i>
2F	<i>zəd-axⁱ</i>	<i>zəd-axima</i>
3M	<i>zəd-ata</i>	<i>zəd-əxno</i>
3F	<i>zəd-əxⁱta</i>	<i>zəd-əxinma</i>

The Fedwet speakers take the reflexive pronoun of Chaha and substitute the morpheme *gəg* 'body' by the morpheme *zəd* to form their personal, possessive and reflexive pronouns. The Fedwet use the same word for the independent personal pronoun, and reflexive pronouns while Chaha has three distinct ones. For example, in Chaha *ijja* 'I,' *bet-əna* 'my home', *gəgiməna* 'I myself' are personal, possessive and reflexive pronouns where as in Fedwet *zədəna* 'I', *g^wərj-əna* 'my home', *zədiməna* 'I myself'. Basically, the only thing that has changed is that *gəg* has been replaced with *zəd*. The affixes are the same as Chaha.

Another substitution is that nouns which start with *m > g^w~gu* word-initially if followed by an alveolar obstruent (fricatives *s, ʃ* and plosive *d*). If the noun starts with *m* and followed by the epenthetic vowel [i], the process will be the following:

Noun *mi* → *gu* with the remaining constant

98.	Chaha	Fedwet	Gloss
	<i>mis</i>	<i>gus</i>	'man'
	<i>miʃt</i>	<i>guʃt</i>	'woman'
	<i>miʃira</i>	<i>guʃira</i>	'bride'
	<i>midad</i>	<i>gudad</i>	'pan'

At the same time, notice that the vowel which follows the first consonant that is [i], in Chaha will be change into [u] in Fedwet. This is because $m \rightarrow gw$. The effect of gw on a following [i] is to pronounce it as [gu]. Original *m* becomes *f* (if followed by sonorant *r, m, n*).

99. *mojət* > *fojət* 'spirit'

First sound of the original word *s* is substituted by alveo-palatal [ʃ], and there is an insertion of nasal and liquid in the middle of the word if it is a verb.

The original $s \rightarrow ʃ$

100.	Chaha	Fedwet	Gloss
	<i>səma</i>	<i>ʃirəma</i>	'hear'
	<i>sətəpə</i>	<i>ʃiradəβə</i>	'curse'
	<i>səpərə</i>	<i>ʃinaβərə</i>	'break'
	<i>səna</i>	<i>ʃinəna</i>	'arrive'

From the given examples above, we can consider that substitution is one of the methods that is used by Fedwet; it is based on morpheme and a single sound.

4.4.1.2 Insertion

Insertion of a syllable or sound is another method employed to alter the Chaha words. The *ra/re* is the most productive one in verb formation processes of Fedwet; it is inserted between the first two consonants.

101.	Chaha	Fedwet	Gloss
a.	<i>kafətə</i>	<i>kirafət-ə</i>	'open'
b.	<i>gəpa,</i>	<i>gʰiraβa</i>	'get in'
c.	<i>k'et'ə</i>	<i>k'iret'ə</i>	'tired'
d.	<i>wəsədə</i>	<i>wirasədə</i>	'take'

e.	<i>gəfərə</i>	<i>gɪrefərə</i>	'leave'
.... f.	<i>t'əbat'ə</i>	<i>tʃ'iraβət'ə</i>	'caught'
g.	<i>fəsəsə</i>	<i>fɪresəsəsə</i>	'flow'

In addition to the insertion, we can also observe that, if the verb starts with consonant and followed by the vowel (*i*) the vowel remains intact and *ra/re* is inserted next to the first syllable or as a second syllable. If the verb starts with consonant and followed by other vowels, the vowel is changed into *i* and then the *ra/re* is inserted. Some verbs use insertion of *na* in verb formation processes.

The verb *səpər-ə* 'break' in Chaha, is changed into the word *fɪnaβər-ə* 'break' by insertion of *na* in the middle of the word and form their new verb.

102.	Chaha	Fedwet	Gloss
a.	<i>səpər-ə</i>	<i>fɪnaβər-ə</i>	'break'
b.	<i>fəka</i>	<i>fɪnaka</i>	'go'

In all the previous examples, we have observed that the insertion does not affect the meaning, but it affects the number of syllables, like disyllable in Chaha is changed to tri-syllable in Fedwet. The vowels quality also changed because the new verbs resemble quadrilateral and so seem to adopt the quadrilateral templatic structure with the option of [a] in the penult position.

Insertion, not only works to change disyllable into trisyllables, and also it changes trisyllables into quadra syllables.

Trisyllables will be four syllables through the process of infixation

103.	Chaha		Fedwet		Gloss
	<i>fət'əm-ə</i>		<i>fɪret'əm-ə</i>		'closed'
	<i>k'anəm-ə</i>		<i>k'rerəm-ə</i>		'insult'

4.4.1.3 Reduplication

The other important technique that is used by Fedwet is reduplication. This process involves duplication of a sound, part of a word or the whole word. It is either the beginning or the end of a word that is copied. Word duplication in Fedwet is rare, and my data shows only three words, which undergo this process. Here (108) are the examples:

104.	Chaha		Fedwet		Gloss
	<i>k'awa</i>	<i>k'awa (dup) + jə</i>	<i>k'awk'awjə</i>		'coffee'
	<i>f'ər</i>	<i>f'ər(dup) + jə</i>	<i>f'ərɸ'ərjə</i>		'waterfall'
	<i>k'ijəs</i>	<i>k's (dup)</i>	<i>k'usk'uwas</i>		'priest'

The above examples show that the Fedwet speakers duplicate the Chaha word itself and add a suffix *-jə* in some words; this also changes the number of syllables.

Reduplication applies to the penultimate consonant in verbs and to the final or penultimate consonant in nouns or adjectives. In verbs, there is often an accompanying [a] vowel, so Ca is inserted. This insertion in verbs resembles the reduplication that is observed in Chaha verbs to form the frequentative (ex. *kəfətə* --> *kifafətə*) but there is no frequentative meaning in Fedwet.

105.	<i>Chaha</i>	<i>Fedwet</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
	<i>məsərə</i>	<i>misasə</i>	‘resemble/look’ 3SM
	<i>səna</i>	<i>ʃinana</i>	‘arrive’ 3SM
	<i>jiʃir</i>	<i>jiʃirer</i>	‘it is attractive’ 3S
	<i>genzo</i>	<i>genanzo</i>	‘axe’
	<i>k’ənə</i>	<i>k’inana</i>	‘lost’ 3S

Reduplication also occurs with verbs that are missing the first consonant. This is how Chaha reduplicates these kinds of verb to form the frequentatives. The main difference is that the initial vowel is different: *adəgə* in Chaha would be *adadəgə*, but Fedwet starts its verbs with [i] and there is no frequentative meaning.

106.	<i>Chaha</i>	<i>Fedwet</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
a.	<i>aʃə</i>	<i>iʒaʒə</i>	‘see’
b.	<i>adəgə</i>	<i>idadəgə</i>	‘down, throw’
c.	<i>atərə</i>	<i>idadərə</i>	‘spend the night’
d.	<i>odə</i>	<i>irwawədə</i>	‘tell’
e.	<i>eβin</i>	<i>irbeβin</i>	‘give me!’ 3SF

The above examples, (106a-d), demonstrate that if the verb starts with the central and low vowel *a*, the epenthetic vowel *i* and C₁ is reduplicated as a second consonant in the verb.

4.4.1.4 Prefixation

In Fedwet, an additional consonant is added to Chaha words that begin with a vowel; the Chaha words remain intact except for this consonant. In fact, the consonant does not change the meaning of the word. The sound *tʃ* or *tʰ* is attached to a noun. In the following examples, we can observe that if the noun starts with a vowel, either *tʰ* or *tʃ* is added. Since Chaha requires voiceless stops in words to share the plain/ejective

property (Rose & Walker 2004), adding [t] is not acceptable, so [t'] must be used.

107.	Chaha > Fedwet	Gloss
	$V_1C_1C_2 > t'V_1C_1C_2$	
	<i>im̩ir</i> > <i>t'im̩r</i> > <i>t'im̩ir</i>	'stone'
	$V_1C_1V_2C_2 > t'V_1C_1C_2$	
	<i>af̩ər</i> > <i>tj-af̩ər</i> > <i>tjaf̩ər</i>	'land'
	$V_1C_1C_2V_2C_3 > t'V_1C_1C_2V_2C_3$	
	<i>ink'us .</i> > <i>t'-ink'us</i> > <i>t'ink'us</i>	'silent'
	$V_1C_1C_2 > t'V_1C_1C_2$	
	<i>am̩f</i> > <i>tjaf̩it</i>	'mouth'

However, there are nouns, which begin with a vowel that are not governed by the above rules; as in the word *aβ* 'father' and *adot* 'mother' in Chaha, which are *aβəŋ* and *iməŋ* respectively in Fedwet.

4.4.1.5 Suffixation

Suffixation in Fedwet does not produce a grammatical and semantic change. I have isolated the suffix *-jə* as a recurrent form that is also attested as a suffix in Chaha. Rose (2007: 424) states that the suffix *-jə* changes adjectives into nouns.

108. a	<i>t'ik'w̩ir</i>	'black'	<i>t'ik'w̩irjə</i>	'black <i>w̩issa</i> -bread'
b.	<i>irs</i>	'small'	<i>irsijə</i>	'small'
c.	<i>nik</i>	'big'	<i>nik'jə</i>	big'

All the words that are observed in the examples below are formed using different techniques. For example (109 a) *k'ib̩* is changed into '*k'inəβin-jə*' through the process of *na* insertion and finally *-jə* is added. However, not all nouns do this; it occurs only on certain ones.

109.	Chaha	Fedwet	Gloss
a.	<i>k'ɨβ</i>	<i>k'inaβin-jə</i>	'butter'
b.	<i>bəsər</i>	<i>tʃ'amburerjə/tʃ'ambus-jə</i>	'meat'
c.	<i>ʃərət</i>	<i>bok'-jə</i>	'food'
d.	<i>əsət</i>	<i>kuf-jə</i>	'fire'
e.	<i>bet</i>	<i>g^wər-jə</i>	'house'

4.4.1.6 Metathesis

Metathesis is also observed in Fedwet. It does not change the meaning of the word but it rearranges the sequence of sounds within the word. This process occurs rarely in Fedwet when compared with other manipulations. I was able to find only two words which were formed through the process of metathesis: *zəgər* 'bride house' in Chaha is *gərazə* with the same meaning in Fedwet; and *gunər* 'head' in Chaha changes to *fəgər* 'head' in Fedwet.

110.

	Gloss
<i>zəgər</i> > <i>gərazə</i>	'bride room'
$C_1 \text{ alev} \cdot V_1 C_2 V_2 C_3 > C_2 V_1 C_3 C_1 \text{ alevopal} V_1$	
<i>gunər</i> > <i>fəgər</i>	'head/hair'
$C_1 V_1 C_2 + \text{son} V_2 C_3 > C_2 -\text{son} V_2 C_1 V_3 C_3$	

4.4.2 Lexical manipulation

As we have seen in the previous section, Fedwet phonological processes to alter Chaha words. Fedwet changes the structure by rearranging sounds and changes the words in a way that uniquely identifies them as Fedwet social variety. In this section, we discuss words that are different altogether from Chaha words.

4.4.2.1 Coinage

Coinage refers to the invention of totally new terms, words of unknown etymology. The examples in (111) show the Fedwet coined nouns, which are derived neither from Chaha nor any other neighboring languages. The coined words in (111) are different from Chaha words altogether, and so are not derived via phonological changes. Most of the words that occur in this way are nouns.

111.	Fedwet	Chaha	Gloss
	<i>tʃamburerijə</i>	<i>bəsər</i>	'meat'
	<i>tʃirbit/tʃimburjə</i>	<i>waga</i>	'money'
	<i>fedo</i>	<i>befa</i>	'friend'
	<i>tʃəmaɕə</i>	<i>ambir</i>	'cabbage'
	<i>bojə</i>	<i>ʃərət</i>	'food'
	<i>tingera</i>	<i>gəbijə</i>	'market'
	<i>bokʹjə</i>	<i>wusa</i>	'pith from ensete'

The above list shows that there is a tendency to use totally different words where their sources are not known. These words, indeed, need further linguistic investigation.

Coinages are not limited only to nouns because I have also found a few verbs and adjectives that are not derived from Chaha; thus, their sources are still unknown.

112.	<i>Fedwet</i>	<i>Chaha</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
	<i>tʃinagurə</i>	<i>sijə</i>	'buy'
	<i>baxurəre</i>	<i>imatənə</i>	'lonely'

4.4.2.2 Borrowing

Borrowing is the process of directly taking words as they exist (in the source language) from other languages. Fedwet borrows words from other languages with

some modification; a few of them are from the Amharic language. Note that some of these Amharic originated words may be found in Chaha too.

The following are representative examples.

113.	Chaha	Fedwet	Amharic	Gloss
	<i>danəra</i>	<i>k^wərbija</i>	<i>k'urbət</i>	'leather'
	<i>xəbit</i>	<i>gubit</i>	<i>gubbət</i>	'liver'
	<i>birtukan</i>	<i>biranu</i>	<i>birtukan</i>	'orange'
		Fedwet	Afan oromo	Gloss
	<i>səxər/t'əla</i>	<i>fədəβso</i>	<i>fərso</i>	'cultural drink'

However, the last item is one of the few loans from Afaan Oromo; the reason might be that the Damamwit cult is also celebrated in Oromia region (Weliso) which is neighbors place for Gurage. There is no clear information whether they use the same social variety or a different form with the Gurage Fedwet; this needs further investigation.

4.4.2.3 Ideophones

Some onomatopoeic expressions are also observed in Fedwet, as in *t'izjə* 'drum' (may be imitated from its natural sound "tizz" or "dizz"); it is *andir* in Chaha. The other one is *f^wərj^wərjə* for 'waterfall' because of the water sound when it flows from high area and also *imumi* which is 'hyena' related to its sound when it is barking ("imuu...").

4.4.2.4 Lexical change

Thomason & Kaufman (1988:50) stated that the lexicon is the most volatile part of the language and most likely to undergo change due to influence in language contact situation.

There is a change of lexeme in Fedwet in which two different words are observed for one meaning. I have determined that the difference is related to the age of the informants. The older and the younger speaker use different words, but the meaning is the same. This shows that some of the Fedwet words were changed through time. The change may be related to the loss of secrecy if the meaning of the word is understood by the non-speakers of the social variety. As stated earlier, all of the informants are old; however, some are younger than others. Consider the following examples, (114) & (115)

114.	Young Fedwet	Chaha	Gloss
	<i>tʃʰambusijə</i>	<i>bəsər</i>	‘meat’
	<i>tʃirβit</i>	<i>waga</i>	‘money’
	<i>ɡunanətʃʰi</i>	<i>antʃʰi</i>	‘slaughter’
	<i>imumjə</i>	<i>ɡontʃə</i>	‘hyena’
	<i>ɡʷanguf</i>	<i>ɡurz</i>	‘old person’
	<i>wiretʰə</i>	<i>bəna</i>	‘bite/eat/’
	<i>fojat</i>	<i>mojet</i>	‘sprit of Damamwit’

115.	Old Fedwet	Chaha	Gloss
	<i>tʃʰamburerija</i>	<i>bəsər</i>	‘meat’
	<i>tʃimburijə</i>	<i>waga</i>	‘money’
	<i>inanətʃʰi</i>	<i>antʃʰi</i>	‘slaughter’
	<i>ɡoɖʒə</i>	<i>ɡontʃə</i>	‘hyena’
	<i>ɡurɖʒif</i>	<i>ɡurz</i>	‘old person’
	<i>birara</i>	<i>bəna</i>	‘bite/eat/’
	<i>mojet</i>	<i>mojet</i>	‘sprit of Damamwit’

4.4.3 Semantic manipulation

Semantic manipulation is a process of altering the meaning of words through semantic shift, semantic extension and using different words. Semantic manipulation is a

process that is employed to extend, invert or radically change the meaning of lexemes that are appropriate for Fedwet speakers. Nevertheless, the source language speakers do not understand it. The semantic shift can go towards two different directions: generalization and specification. The Fedwet have changed Chaha meanings with the process of meaning shift and using extended meaning.

The following are representative examples of semantic manipulation:

116.	Chaha	Gloss	Fedwet	Gloss
	a. <i>barik'</i>	'old person'	<i>g^wanguf</i>	'old person'
	b <i>g^warjə</i>	'Variety of ensete'	<i>g^wərjə</i>	'house'
	Amharic	Gloss	Fedwet	Gloss
	c <i>məkəʃkəʃa</i>	'material used to crush'	<i>fəkəskəs</i>	'tooth'

In examples (116), we can observe that the word *barik'* its meaning is 'old person' in Chaha but the Fedwet use its extended meaning *g^wanguf* meaning 'old person'. The example listed in (b) also shows that *g^warjə*, it is 'variety of ensete' in Chaha and the extended meaning is the area that ensete grows at the yard. The Fedwet speaker takes the word *g^warjə* > *g^wərjə* and changes its meaning to 'home'. In the example (c), the word *fəkəskəs* is taken from Amharic *məkəʃkəʃa* that is a kind of material used to crush something, modified and used for 'tooth' that indicates to chew food.

4.4.3.1 Semantic shift

In the ordinary words that we previously had one meaning take on a new meaning in Fedwet. The speakers take the Chaha words as they are or with some modifications and give new or different meaning. All the words that I have found which are

organized in this process are nouns; examples are given (117)

117.	Chaha	Gloss	Fedwet	Gloss
	<i>zəmborə</i>	'kind of knife'	<i>zəmborə</i>	'leopard'
	<i>zəg^warə</i>	'leopard'	<i>zəg^warə</i>	'knife'
	<i>godʒə</i>	'hole'	<i>godʒə</i>	'hyena'
	<i>grangir</i>	'small goat'	<i>gurang</i>	'boy'
	<i>zijə</i>	'adolescent'	<i>ur</i>	'girl'

4.4.3.2 Semantic extension

The Fedwet use other strategies to adjust the meaning of words. They use words of the basic language by expanding meanings. The new word that is created by Fedwet would be interpreted in a broad sense.

118.	Chaha	Gloss	Fedwet	Gloss
	<i>bəna</i>	'eat'	<i>wiret'ə</i>	'swallow'
	<i>k'irərə</i>	'morning'	<i>jədadərbo</i>	'stale from the night'
	<i>ginzir</i>	'breakfast'	<i>jədadərbo bojə</i>	'morning food'
	<i>jiziramd</i>	'snake'	<i>jəsər tʃirə</i>	'walks on its thorax'
	<i>ema</i>	'road/path'	<i>jimirak'ibə</i>	'road/path'

The speakers simply make the word in a broad sense or elaborate the word meaning; as in *bənam* 'eat. 3SM-PAS,' in Chaha is extended as *wiret'əm* 'swallow.3SM-PAS' in Fedwet and the word *k'irərə* 'morning' (in Chaha) is *jədadərbo* in Fedwet its meaning is derived from Chaha *jatərə* 'stale from the night'. Additionally, the word *ginzir* 'breakfast' in Chaha becomes *jədadərbo bojə*, which is a compound word, in Fedwet *jədadərbo* which refers to 'stale from the night' where *bojə* is 'food'; then, the word *jədadərbo bojə* 'morning food' or 'breakfast' is formed. It is common in the Gurage area to use the food that is stale from the dinner for breakfast. Another word is *jiziramd* in Fedwet which is *jəsər tʃirə* in Chaha which means 'snake'; *jiziramd*, has the

meaning 'walks on its thorax'; in Fedwet they give the name for snake by extending its nature of walk. The word *ema* is 'road' in Chaha and *jimirak'ibɔ* 'road' in Fedwet. The Fedwet uses the extended meaning of road which is *jimrak'ibɔ*; it means the thing that used to come/go. It is common in secret languages to use periphrastic constructions.

Generally, the Fedwet use different techniques and create their 'language' or argot reliant on their ordinary language Chaha. Most of the sounds that are used in Chaha are also available in Fedwet. The difference is based on the arrangement of sounds in words. The rules of Chaha syntax is respected in Fedwet, and in verbs, the same inflectional affixes are used. In addition to phonological changes, other techniques are also employed, for instance, borrowing of words from other language with some modification, onomatopoeic expression, semantic extension and shift, and coinage of words are included.

CHAPTER FIVE

LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF FUGA

In this chapter data of the almost unknown social variety in Gurage, namely the social variety of Fuga,⁹ is presented. Fuga has different lexemes from Chaha, which is the source language for Fedwet. However, morpho-syntactically, it is the same as Chaha. This part presents the sketch grammar of the Fuga social variety in comparison with Chaha.

5.1 Sound system of Fuga

Regarding phonology, Fuga uses the same consonant and vowel sounds parallel to Chaha, except for a few sounds. However, it is different from Chaha in the combination of sounds. This section presents the consonant and vowel sounds of Fuga, which have not been described yet.

5.1.1 Consonants

The distribution of consonant sounds is not the same as in Chaha; some of them have a limited distribution and the others have a wider distribution. The distribution of consonant sounds in word initial, medial and final positions is demonstrated (cf. Appendix 3C).

⁹ The term Fuga, indicates both the 'language' and the people, some people call jəfugina for the 'language'

However, these examples only reveal the positional occurrence of sounds in words of this social variety; it does not consider in detail the environments of the sounds.

It can be noticed that the occurrences of consonant sounds of Fuga and Chaha are different. For example, the consonant /p/ rarely occurs in Chaha:

119.			Chaha
	V-	<i>pīrapīrat</i>	‘kind of food’
	V-V	<i>g^wope</i>	‘brother’
	-V	<i>zap</i>	‘lion’

However, it does not occur in Fuga words.

The consonant sound /t/ occurs frequently in Chaha.

120.			Chaha
	#-	<i>tən</i>	‘smoke’
	#-#	<i>tʃotə</i>	‘harvest’
	-#	<i>ʃərət</i>	‘food’

It also occurs in Fuga words; however, its occurrence is infrequent; especially in a word-final position. Here are the examples that show the occurrence of *t* word initially, medially and finally:

			Fuga	
121.	[t]	#-	<i>tək'inəmarəs</i>	‘pregnant’
		#-#	<i>motəs</i>	‘field’
		-#	<i>wəpət</i>	‘path’

The alveolar stop /d/ occurs in initial, medial and rarely in word-final position in Fuga. However, in Chaha, it occurs frequently in word final position.

122. **Chaha**

/d/	#-	<i>dəngənə</i>	‘rich’
	#-#	<i>sənda</i>	‘knife’
	-#	<i>gərəd</i>	‘girl’
	-#	<i>gudid</i>	‘hole’

Fuga

123.	[d]	#-	<i>durəs</i>	‘antelope’
		#-#	<i>madəs</i>	‘evil eye’
		-#	<i>tʃ’ad</i>	‘gore’

The consonant sound /k/ occurs only word initially in Fuga.

124.	#-	<i>kəmfəs</i>	‘hen’
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However, it occurs in various word environments in Chaha.

Chaha

125.	[k]	#-	<i>kas-</i>	‘paid’
		#-#	<i>zəkər-</i>	‘jump’
		-#	<i>ank</i>	‘cave’

I could not find glides [w, j] in word-final position in Fuga; we can find them in other positions. It is the same in Chaha; they appear in word initial and medial positions.

Fuga

126.	[w]	#-	<i>wagəs</i>	‘pure birth (Gurage)’
		#-#	<i>zɪngiwəs</i>	‘sheep’
	[j]	#-#	<i>gojəs</i>	‘tree’
		#-	<i>jəf^uk’ijəsijə</i>	‘talkative’

			Chaha
127.	#-	<i>waga</i>	‘money’
	#-#	<i>k’awa</i>	‘coffee’

			Chaha
128.	#-	<i>jira</i>	‘wet’
	#-#	<i>ijja</i>	‘I’

The voiceless velar ejective consonant sound /k'/ occurs word-initial, medial and final positions in Fuga.

129.	#-	<i>k’orəs</i>	‘buttock’
	#-#	<i>mark’ijəs</i>	‘cheese’
	-#	<i>bek’</i>	‘see kind of order’ (3sm)

It also occurs word-initial, word-medial and final positions in Chaha.

130.	-#	<i>k’əjə</i>	‘palm of hand’
	#-#	<i>nək’ət’ə</i>	‘he kicked’
	#-	<i>fek’</i>	‘goat’

However, this sound frequently occurs in word-initial position in Fuga. (131)

illustrates some examples:

131.	Fuga	Gloss
	<i>k’axəs</i>	‘money’
	<i>k’otf’ərəs</i>	‘children/toddlers’
	<i>k’ijiwəs</i>	‘coffee’
	<i>k’ərtf’əs</i>	‘Food’
	<i>k’it’əs</i>	‘servant’
	<i>k’ijf’-ə</i>	‘hit’
	<i>k’ijəntf’-ə</i>	‘eat’
	<i>k’ijəm-ə</i>	‘become evening’

<i>k'at-ə</i>	'speak'
<i>k'ant-ətʃ</i>	give birth (3FS)

The consonant sound [s] is very frequent in Fuga, the reason behind that is the Fuga nouns end in əs. Though the occurrences of other sounds in the final position are rare in noun forms, I have found two noun words which are different from other nouns; and they end with ət, see (132).

132.	<i>asenwət</i>	'hyena'
	<i>wəŋət</i>	'path'

The consonant sound [ʃ] occurs in word initial and medial positions. It occurs rarely in the final position, I have found only one verb word and it ends with -ʃ, see (133)

133.	#-	<i>ʃijəs</i>	'urine'
	#-#	<i>matʃəs</i>	'wife/woman'
	-#	<i>wəʃ</i>	'drink'

The alveolar sound /z/ does not occur in final position of the words except in the word in (134) and that is due to the phonological process, where medial /z/ targets the final /s/. As a result, /s/ becomes [z] (/s/ → [z]). This sound is not common in either Chaha or Fuga.

134.	<i>gʲəzəs</i>	→	<i>gʲəzəz</i>	'cultural drink'
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The collected data reveals that the sound /ʒ/ does not occur in word-medial and final positions. Its occurrence in the word-initial position is also rare; I have found only one example given in (135).

135. [ʒ] #- *ʒiŋgiwəs* ‘sheep’

It is also the same with the consonant sound /ɕ/, which occurs only word-initially in the case of Fuga. The example in (136) shows the occurrence of /ɕ/ word-initially in Fuga.

136. #- *ɕowəs* ‘pith from ensete’

However, both /ʒ/ and /ɕ/ occur word-initially, -medially and -finally in Chaha.

			Chaha
137.	#-	<i>ɕimat</i>	‘friday’
	#-	<i>aɕig</i>	‘borrow’
	#-	<i>aɕ</i>	‘hand’
	#-	<i>ʒəpərə</i>	‘answer’
	#-	<i>əʒəmənə</i>	‘wedding’
	#-	<i>aŋʒ</i>	‘calf’

The examples in (138) below illustrate the occurrence of *m* in word-initial and intervocalic position.

			Fuga
138.	#-	<i>matarəs</i>	‘cow’
	#-	<i>mitʃirəs</i>	‘Chilies powder’
	#-	<i>muʃəs</i>	‘hundred’
	#-	<i>madəs</i>	‘evil eye’
	#-	<i>motəs</i>	‘field’
	#-	<i>matʃəs</i>	‘wife, woman’
	#-	<i>mat’əs</i>	‘milk’
	#-	<i>muʃə</i>	‘snitch’

#-#	<i>t'aməs</i>	'breast'
#-#	<i>saməs</i>	'cabbage'
#-#	<i>t'əmanəs</i>	'dark, night'
#-#	<i>tək'inamarəs</i>	'pregnant'

As far as the data reveals, the lateral *l* does not occur in Fuga words; its occurrence in Chaha is also rare. The sound *r* frequently occurs word-medially in Fuga, (see 139). However, I could not find it word initially and finally.

139.	#-#	<i>mark'ijəs</i>	'cheese'
	#-#	<i>firəs</i>	'clothe'
	#-#	<i>matarəs</i>	'cow'
	#-#	<i>xarəs</i>	'dog'
	#-#	<i>int'irəs</i>	'market'
	#-#	<i>k'orəs</i>	'buttock'

5.1.2 Vowels

Fuga uses the same seven vowels as Chaha (cf. Ford 1986:43). The following examples show Fuga vowels:

140.		Fuga	Gloss
	[i]	<i>k'ijfwəs</i>	'coffee'
	[i]	<i>int'irəs</i>	'market'
	[u]	<i>xufəs</i>	'hand'
	[e]	<i>enfəs</i>	'sorrow'
	[ə]	<i>əgʷəs</i>	'chief'
	[o]	<i>ofəs</i>	'bamboo'
	[a]	<i>adəs</i>	'man'

The high, central and unrounded vowel [i] does not occur in word final position; however, it occurs in word medial position and frequently occurs in word initial positions, (141):

141.	#-	<i>int'irəs</i>	'market'
	#-	<i>imm</i>	'give'
	#-	<i>itf-ə</i>	'fear'
	#-	<i>int'-ən</i>	'he has'
	#-	<i>imtirəs</i>	'mother'
	#-#	<i>mitfirəs</i>	'chili'
	#-#	<i>tʃiwəs</i>	'cigarette'
	-#	∅	

However, it occurs word-initially, -medially but it is rare in the final position in Chaha.

142.		
-#	<i>imar</i>		'donkey'
#-#	<i>t'irə</i>		'expensive'
-#	<i>xi</i>		'that'

In Fuga, the high, front and unrounded vowel *i* does not occur in word initial position; it occurs word medial and rarely occurs in the final position.

143.	#-	Ø	
	#-#	<i>firəs</i>	‘clothe’
	-#	<i>sutf’-i</i>	‘slaughtered’ 3S

However, this sound occurs word initially, medially and finally in Chaha.

			<i>Chaha</i>
144.	#-	<i>iβsə</i>	‘I will give’
	#-#	<i>wəβit</i>	‘widow’
	-#	<i>wəβi</i>	‘donor’

The high, back and rounded vowel *u* occurs word medially, but it rarely occurs in final positions; it is an inflectional ending [u]. However, it does not occur in the word initial position in Fuga.

145.	#-	Ø	
	#-#	<i>b^wurəs</i>	‘ox’
	-#	<i>wəx-u</i>	‘come’ 1S’

The front, mid and unrounded vowel *e* occurs in word initial, medial and final positions in Fuga.

146.	#-	<i>ek’as</i>	‘meat’
	#-#	<i>asenwət</i>	‘hyena’
	-#	<i>adəs-we</i>	‘the man’

The mid, central and unrounded vowel ə occurs word-initially, and it most frequently occurs in a medial position and rarely occurs word-finally.

147.#-	əg ^w əs	‘chief’	<i>Fuga</i>
	#-#	saməs	‘cabbage’	
	-#	jəf ^w k’ijəsijə	‘talkative’	

The mid, back and rounded vowel o occurs word-initial,- medially and -finally in Fuga.

148.	#-	ofəs	‘bamboo’
	#-#	sonəs	‘hair/head’
	-#	int’əβ ^w o	‘present’ 3P

The low central and unrounded vowel a occurs in word initial, medial and final positions. It is the same as Chaha.

149.	#-	adəs	‘husband/man’
	#-#	matarəs	‘cow’
	-#	siwata	‘smell’

Chaha has [ɛ] and [ɔ], which have a more limited distribution. However, I could not found them in Fuga. It needs further investigation.

5.1.3 Syllable structure and word shapes

Regarding syllable structure, the Fuga syllable follows a similar structure to Chaha. The smallest syllable is V, largest is CVCC, and its inventory is: V, VC, CVC, VCC, CVCC. In addition, there are often three consonants in Chaha whereas the collected data shows that most Fuga verbs are bi radicals. Here are the examples:

Fuga di-consonant verbs

150.	<i>awəx</i>	‘bring’
	<i>tʰim</i>	‘burn’
	<i>wəx</i>	‘come’
	<i>kʰitʃ</i>	‘hit’
	<i>fɪb</i>	‘sleep’
	<i>muf</i>	‘snitch’
	<i>kʰat</i>	‘speak’
	<i>atam</i>	‘take’
	<i>dan-</i>	‘know’
	<i>bek’-</i>	‘see’

Contrastingly, most of the Chaha verbs are tri consonantal patterns. Here are some of the examples:

Chaha tri-consonant verbs

151.	<i>kʰəpʷər-</i>	‘plant’
	<i>məkʰər-</i>	‘burn’
	<i>dəng-</i>	‘hit’
	<i>təgətər-</i>	‘sleep’
	<i>sənək’-</i>	‘snitch’
	<i>zirək’-</i>	‘speak’
	<i>wəsəd-</i>	‘take’

Few Fuga basic stem shapes are aCVC, CVC, VC(C), CVCV, CVCaC(C), which are quite different from most Chaha verb stems. Like *awəx* ‘bring’, *wəx* ‘come’, *amm* ‘go’ *kʰantʃ* ‘eat’ *gijantʃ* ‘pain/trouble’ respectively are some of the examples of the shapes.

In addition to this, almost all Fuga nouns end in a closed syllable that is because the nouns end with a consonant sound s. However, there are verbs which have open and closed syllable pattern.

Here are representative examples of syllable structure of noun in (152).

152.	Word class	Syllable pattern	Fuga	Gloss
	noun	V-CVC	<i>o.fəs</i>	'bamboo'
	noun	CV-CVC	<i>t'a.məs</i>	'breast'
	noun	VC-CVC	<i>en.fəs</i>	'mourning'
	noun	CV-CV-CVC	<i>ma.ta.rəs</i>	'cow'
	noun	CVC-CV-CVC	<i>mar.k'i.jəs</i>	'cheese'

There is no monosyllabic noun in Fuga; the reason is the final *əs* which most nouns bear. There is no meaning for this ending; it is a bound suffix, but it is itself void of meaning unless one interprets it as 'nominal' to mark nouns. The smallest noun has disyllabic structure, and ends in a closed syllable.

Unlike Fuga, we can find monosyllabic nouns in Chaha (see example 157)

153.	Syllable pattern	Chaha	Gloss
	CVC	<i>ʒəp</i>	'lion'
	VC	<i>aβ</i>	'father'
	CVC	<i>k'iβ</i>	'butter'
	CVC	<i>tən</i>	'smoke'

The word *asenwət* 'hyena' is a noun, it is different from other nouns because it ends with *ət*, it breaks the above rule. We can say that, most of the Fuga nouns end with *əs*. Thus, all the Fuga nouns have final VC clusters; we could not found final CC cluster noun; however, there are verbs which have final CC clusters like *amm* 'go', *k'jantf* 'eat', *gijantf* 'pain'. Unlike to Fuga, Chaha has all kinds of final CC clusters.

5.2 .Morphology

5.2.1 Nominal morphology

As far as my data reveals, all nouns have əs at the end of the word except two words. In addition, the Fuga lexicon is very different from Chaha. The words do not look like they are derived from Chaha words like the Fedwet were.

Here are the examples:

154.	Chaha	Fuga	Gloss
	<i>t'uw</i>	<i>t'aməs</i>	'breast'
	<i>ambir</i>	<i>saməs</i>	'cabbage'
	<i>k'esa</i>	<i>mark'ijəs</i>	'cheese'
	<i>t'ok'anət</i>	<i>k'otf'ərəs</i>	'children'
	<i>timbax^əwə</i>	<i>tʃiwəs</i>	'cigarette'
	<i>xuɟir</i>	<i>firəs</i>	'cloth'
	<i>əram</i>	<i>matarəs</i>	'cow'
	<i>gijə</i>	<i>xarəs</i>	'dog'
	<i>gunər</i>	<i>sonəs</i>	'hair'
	<i>əɟ</i>	<i>xufəs</i>	'hand'
	<i>gunər</i>	<i>sonəs</i>	'head'
	<i>bək'ər</i>	<i>mufəs</i>	'hundred'

Shack (1966:133) and Leslau (1964) state that the Fuga speak an argot which is heavily influenced by Fedwet. Furthermore, they state that the Moyet and the Fuga use one and the same 'language'. Thus, it is important to determine if Fedwet and Fuga are distinct language varieties or bear a strong resemblance to each other, as suggested by the above authors. Since, as we have discussed, it is determined that Fedwet mostly alters Chaha words and Fuga uses completely different words, this shows that these two social varieties are different. However, it is also the case that Fedwet uses some distinct words that are not based on Chaha; they are coined

nouns. Example (155) shows that such words are distinct in the two varieties, and none of them resemble Chaha words.

155.	<i>Fedwet</i>	<i>Fuga</i>	<i>Chaha</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
	<i>tʃamburerijə</i>	<i>ek'əs</i>	<i>bəsər</i>	'meat'
	<i>tʃirbit/tʃimburjə</i>	<i>k'axəs</i>	<i>waga</i>	'money'
	<i>bojə</i>	<i>k'ər'tʃ'əs</i>	<i>ʃərət</i>	'food'
	<i>tingera</i>	<i>int'irəs</i>	<i>gəbjə</i>	'market'
	<i>bok'jə</i>	<i>ɕowəs</i>	<i>wisa</i>	'pith from ensete'

5.2.1.1 Derivational morphology of nominal

The Fuga social variety is not productive with affixes to derive nouns and adjectives. However, there are some adjectives derived from nouns through the process of circumfixing the word with the prefix *jə-* and the suffix *-jə*, as in (156).

Also, it is the case that *jə-* is a prefix in Chaha to indicate possession. So both affixes are attested in Chaha, just with different uses, the suffix *-jə* is used in Chaha in the opposite manner to convert adjectives into nouns.

156.				Fuga
a.	<i>fok'ijəs</i>	'garrulity'	<i>jə-fok'ijəs-jə</i>	'chatty'
b.	<i>bik'ijəs</i>	'beauty'	<i>jə-bik'ijəs-jə</i>	'beautiful'

When the suffix *-əs* is added to a verb, it derives a noun (157).

157.				
a.	<i>enf</i>	'cry'	<i>enfəs</i>	'mourning'
b.	<i>k'antʃ'</i>	'eat'	<i>k'ər'tʃ'əs</i>	'food'
c.	<i>tʃ'adə</i>	'gore'	<i>tʃ'adərəs</i>	'dagger/spear'

5.2.1.2 Number and Gender

Like in Chaha, nouns are not inflected for number and gender. Singular and plural noun are not marked in a special way in the nominal morphology of Fuga. However, number and gender are marked in the verb and in the pronoun.

I found only two irregular words which are lexically singular/plural pairs. The first one is *naxət'əs* 'girl', *najəs* 'boy', *k'otf'ərəs* 'children', and the other one is *wagəs/wagimare* 'Gurage/Gurages'(P).

Both Chaha and Fuga use the same cardinal numbers, which are *at* 'one', *x^wet* 'two', *sost* 'three', etc. However, the Fuga use a different word for 'hundred' which is *mufəs* while it is *bək'ər* in Chaha. Ordinal numbers are formed by attaching the suffix *-ənə* like *atənə* 'first', *x^wetənə* 'second' etc. both in Fuga and Chaha.

Gender distinction is not marked in the noun; it is marked in syntactic relations with verbs and pronouns. However, there are a few lexically gender-specific words, which is true in Chaha. In the examples (e and g) words look similar. It needs further investigation whether these words are derived from Chaha or not.

Here are the examples:

158.	Chaha	Fuga	Gloss
a.	<i>mis</i>	<i>adəs</i>	'man'
b.	<i>miʃt</i>	<i>matfəs</i>	'woman/wife'
c.	<i>ərtf</i>	<i>najəs</i>	'boy'
d.	<i>gərəd</i>	<i>naxət'əs</i>	'girl'
e.	<i>b^wəra</i>	<i>b^wurs</i>	'ox'
f.	<i>əram</i>	<i>mata</i>	'cow'
g.	<i>aβ</i>	<i>aβad</i>	'father'
h.	<i>adot</i>	<i>imtirəs</i>	'mother'

5.2.1.3 Possessive, definiteness, and demonstrative

Possessive pronouns are morphologically marked, and a possessor marker is attached to the given noun. Possession markers are the same as Chaha. According to Lesalu (1950: 18), in Chaha, the pronominal suffixes are attached to the noun to express possession; they agree in number and gender with the possessor like *bet-əta* ‘his house’. The same is true in Fuga; it uses the same suffixes Chaha. For example, in Fuga *k’axəs-əna* ‘my money’, *imtirəs-axə* ‘your mother’

159.	Singular	Plural	
1	-(ə)na	-(ə)nda	
2M	-(a)xə	-(a)xu	
2F	-(a)x ^j	-(a)xna	
3M	-(ə)ta	-(ə) ^w xna, -(ə) ^w xno	
3F	-(ə)x ^j ta	-(ə)xinəma	
160.	Chaha	Fuga	
	<i>mis-x^wita</i>	<i>adəs-x^wita</i>	‘the man’
	<i>mift- x^jita</i>	<i>matfəs-x^jita</i>	‘the woman’

Similar to Chaha, there is no specific word or expression for definiteness on the noun in Fuga. Personal pronouns can be used to indicate definiteness; these are *-x^wita* for a singular masculine and *-x^jita* for a singular feminine, which are the same as Chaha.

Demonstrative determiners used in Fuga are the same as Chaha. They use *zix* for ‘this’, *za (x)* for ‘that’. The following, (161), are representative examples:

161.

- a. *bəzixet'əs k'ər'tf'əs k'antfinəm* *Fuga*
bə-zi-xet'əs k'ər'tf'əs k'antf-nə-m
 LOC-DEM-home food eat. PFV- 1P- PAS
 'we ate food in this home.'
- b. *bəzixet'əs matarəs sutf'im*
bə-zi-xet'əs matarəs sutf'-i-m
 Loc.DEM -home cow slaughter.PFV- 3S-PAS
 'cow was slaughtered in this house.'

- a. *bəzibet fərət bənanəm* *Chaha*
bə-zi-bet fərət bəna-nə-m
 LOC-DEM-home eat- 1P- PAS
 'we ate food in this home.'
- b. *bəzibet ərama antf'im*
bə-zi-bet əram antf'-i-m
 Loc.DEM -home cow slaughter- 3S-PAS
 'cow was slaughtered in this house.'

5.2.1.4 Case

Regarding case and definiteness markers, Fuga speakers use the same case and definiteness markers as in Chaha. The locative, instrumental, ablative and comitative cases are marked by *bə* 'in, at', *bə* 'with', *tə* 'from', and *tə* 'with' morphemes respectively.

Chaha

162.

Völlmin (2017: 246)

satəta jəgərəd aβəm
sat-ətə jə-gərəd aβ-ə-m
 watch-3SM.POSS DAT-girl give-3SM-PAS
 'he gave his watch to a girl'

jəkəbbədə g''əntfə fənəwəm
jə-kəbbədə g''əntfə fənə-wə-m

DAT-kəbbədə hyena come.PFV.3SM-3SM-PAS
 ‘a hyena come to Kebede’

163.

marʃəsxʷita jənaxətʷəs kʷiwəs iməʃinam. *Fuga*
marʃəs-xʷita jə-naxətʷəs kʷiwəs iməʃ-na-m
 Woman-Def DAT-girl coffee...give-3SF-PAS
 ‘The woman gave coffee to a girl’

5.2.2 Verb morphology

The inflection of the Fuga verb is not different from Chaha. Like the Chaha, the Fuga also employs the typical root-and-pattern a combination of consonant-vowel, which is also common in Chaha and the same inflectional affixes.

5.2.2.1 Verb types

The patterns of most of the Fuga verbs are bi-radical and tri-radical forms. However, there are a few mono-radical verbs (see example 170). These mono-radical and biradical verbs might have originated from tri-radical verbs; more investigation would be necessary to determine this.

Mono-radical verbs of Fuga:

164.		<i>Fuga</i>	<i>Chaha</i>	
a.	<i>tʃ</i>	<i>itʃ-ə</i>	<i>sənəʃ-ə</i>	‘fear’
b.	<i>m</i>	<i>im-ə</i>	<i>aβ-ə</i>	‘give’
c.	<i>m</i>	<i>am-ə</i>	<i>wər</i>	‘go’

Fuga has bi-radical verbs; the stem of the verbs is different from Chaha.

The following comparison shows this: Examples for biradical verbs:

165.	<i>Fuga</i>	<i>Fuga</i>	<i>Chaha</i>	
a.	<i>w-f</i>	<i>wafə</i>	<i>sətfə</i>	‘drink’
b.	<i>d-n</i>	<i>danə</i>	<i>xarə</i>	‘know’
c.	<i>f-b</i>	<i>fibə</i>	<i>tagətərə</i>	‘sleep’
d.	<i>s-t’</i>	<i>sut’ə</i>	<i>ənt’ə</i>	‘slaughter’
e.	<i>x^l-n</i>	<i>x^linə</i>	<i>motə</i>	‘die’

5.2.2.2 Derivational verbal prefixes

Like the Chaha, Fuga has also valency changing prefixes, such as *a-*, *tə-*, and *at-*. These prefixes occur before the stem, and they are also the same as Chaha’s derivational prefixes. Rose (2007:411) states that Chaha has three valency changing prefixes, *a-*, *at*, and *tə*.

Here are brief examples to show these prefixes in sentences.

166.		Rose (2007:411-412)	
a.	<i>Amadu inɕapa səpərəm</i>		Chaha
	<i>Amadu inɕapa səpər-ə-m</i>		
	Amadu glass break.PFV-3MS.PAS		
	‘Amadu broke a glass’		
b.	<i>inɕapa təsəpərəm</i>		
	<i>inɕapa tə-səpər-ə-m</i>		
	glass pass-break.PFV-3MS-PAS		
	‘a glass was broken’		

When the prefix *tə-* is attached to the verb, it shows the action is completed. In Fuga, we find *k’antf’ə* ‘he eats’ *tə-k’antf’ə* ‘was eaten’, another example is *a-g^wər-ə* ‘he enters something’. The prefix *at-* is used to show that somebody causes another one to do something, for instance, *sut’ə* ‘slaughter’ becomes *at-sut’ə* ‘cause to

slaughter’.

5.2.2.3 Inflectional verbal affixes

Perfective, Imperfective and Jussive aspects of Fuga are formed in the same way as Chaha. For example, in Chaha *ʃən-ə-m* come -3SM-PAS ‘he came’. The tense marker -*m* in Chaha is also observed in Fuga social variety. The Fuga use the -*m* as main verb marker or past tense marker, (see example 167), it is similar in Chaha.

167. *adəswe wəxəm*
adəs-we wəx- ə- m
 man-DEF come.PFV-3SM-PAS.
 ‘The man came.’

Future tense markers of Fuga are also the same in Chaha (-*te* and -*ʃə*) as in the example in below.

168. *Fuga*
dadərəs nidadirnə jək’otf’ərəs k’ərtf’əs jixodʃə
dadrəs ni-dadir-nə jə-k’otf’ərəs k’ərtf’əs ji-xod-ʃə
 basket 1P-work.IPFV-1P.POSS DAT-children food 3SM-use-FUT
k’ərtʃ’at nitotinə jət’ok’anət ʃərət jixriʃə Chaha
 ‘We shall make basket; it will use for children’s food.’(It is common
 sell basket and buy food in the area)

5.3 .Semantic extension and polysemy

Polysemy refers to words with different but related meanings. A word becomes polysemous if it can be used to express different meanings. In Fuga, there are words that have the same sound structure but have different meanings; thus, their meanings can be distinguished contextually. The examples in (169) show Polysemous nouns.

Fuga

169.	Word	Gloss
	<i>gojəs</i>	'tree'/'wood'
	<i>matfəs</i>	'wife'/'woman'
	<i>adəs</i>	'man'/'husband'
	<i>sonəs</i>	'hair'/'head'

These words are also observed in Chaha, but the stems are different:

170.	Word	Gloss
	<i>ətʃə</i>	'tree'/'wood'
	<i>mɪft</i>	'wife'/'woman'
	<i>mis</i>	'man'/'husband'
	<i>gunər.....</i>	'head/hair'

In the Fuga social variety, polysemous verbs are also observed; the following verbs have different but related meanings.

171.

Word	Gloss
<i>fɪb</i>	'Sit'/'Sleep'
<i>sut'</i>	'slaughter'/'circumcise'
<i>amm</i>	'stand'/'go'

However, the Fuga polysemy verbs do not occur in Chaha; they use a different word for each meaning:

172.

Chaha	Word	Gloss
	<i>təgətər</i>	'sleep'
	<i>tora</i>	'stand'
	<i>ərt'</i>	'slaughter'
	<i>t'ebərawə-ra</i>	'circumcise'

<i>wər</i>	‘go’
<i>təsa</i>	‘stand’

5.4 .Word order

Fuga and Chaha use the same basic word order *SOV*. Indeed, the markers of definiteness, case, pronouns, prefixed/suffixed and preverbal elements etc. are the same both in (Chaha and Fuga) with their syntactic pattern. Here are the examples

173.

Fuga *bətʃʼadərəs tʃʼadən*
bə-tʃʼadərəs tʃʼad-ə-n
 INS.- dagger-gore-3sm-3smO
Chaha *bə-tʃʼəxwə wək-a-n*
 He gores him by dagger.

174.

161.

Fuga *zixetʼəs kʼərʼtʃʼəs kʼantʃinəm*
zɪ-xetʼəs kʼərʼtʃʼəs kʼantʃ-nə-m
 DEM-home injer eat. PFV- 1P- PAS
Chaha *bə-zibet bəsər bəna-nə-m*
 ‘we ate injera with meat this house ’

CHAPTER SIX

SOCIOLINGUISTIC FUNCTIONS

6.1 Introduction

The main concern of this study is the description of the two social varieties of Gurage, namely Fuga and Fedwet. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to include some sociolinguistic functions of these two social varieties. The sociolinguistics part addresses only the functions of Fuga and Fedwet social varieties briefly. The data was collected through interviews conducted with elderly people who were the followers of the female cult and elders who were leaders of the Damamwit cult in previous times; in addition, elicited texts and songs are analyzed. For the Fuga group, the researcher interviewed people who are from the Fuga clan and can speak the Fuga social variety, and the elicited texts are also used for analysis.

The Gurage people have different cultural practices and beliefs since early times; however, some cultural practices have become endangered through time. One of them is the cultural practices of Moyet. As the culture becomes endangered, the Fedwet is gradually fading out. My interview question responses show that the low caste occupational group social variety Fuga is also endangered because of two main reasons. The first one is that the skill of the Fuga is not important for the Gurage as it was in previous times; thus the speakers migrate to different places for jobs, specifically to Addis Ababa. As a result, their numbers have become small. The other reason is that the parents do not transmit their language to their children because of fear of stigma.

Fedwet and Fuga groups differ from other Gurage cultures and traditional beliefs because both of them use their own 'language'.

Thus, in this part, the sociolinguistic functions of these varieties are identified by using the elicited data and interview responses which were collected from elders.

6.2. Fedwet

Moyet is one of the Gurage cultures celebrated by females. Even if the culture and the traditional belief systems are celebrated by females, the males also respect, worship and even fear the Damamwit cult. It is celebrated in different times throughout the year. However, the cult of Damamwit is essentially regarded as a female cult in which men are not involved directly except their leader.

The ritual duties and obligations of Gurage women are directly linked to the representative, Yaweeye Damam,¹⁰ through his assistants. The origin of Damamwit is not clear; however, there are different oral mythologies about its starting place and how the practice of Moyet was started; however, it is beyond the scope of this research.

My fieldwork interview (i.e., interview questions no. 17-19) also shows that the leader of Moyet (Yaweeye Damam) is still feared and respected by the society now although the culture is endangered. He is also a member of the leader's association of Gurage.

¹⁰ The current central position is led by Yeweeye Damam Zerfu

He got this position from his father when his father died. According to the rule, the position is passed on to his first son who accepts the culture of Gurage. He does not shake/ touch females; even he does not eat female hens or goats. The reason is not clear, but they said that females are not pure due to their menstrual cycle. However, this reason does not work for animals; it may be related to the 'patriarchal structure' of the Gurage society since they discriminated against females in various social and non-social aspects especially in the previous time.

Shack and Habte-Mariam (1974: 62) also discuss the special style of chant which is used only by Gurage women to praise Damamwit. They also present chant texts which are sung by girls and women when they gather together for different purposes like teamwork, fetching water and so on. However, the songs are presented in ordinary Chaha not in the Fedwet social variety.

Fedwet speakers have acquired their 'language' more informally; they learned in the community and from friends who were Fedwet without much overt instruction. However, the acquisition of this social variety is not considered in this study; rather, it focuses on the functions of this social variety.

6.2.1 Age of the speakers

Different works like Leslau (1964: 2) states that in the previous time, the girls joined the group members and learn the Fedwet social variety at the age of 13 and above. However, currently because of the endangerment of this social variety and culture, it is not used by youths and children. Thus, in the current situation, girls who are teenagers and adolescents do not have the chance to participate in the ceremony and do not

learn the 'language' as well. Due to this, I have relied on adult and elder women who are 38 and above and who learned the Fedwet social variety when they were 13.

Table 5 The age ranges of those who responded on the social variety Fedwet

<i>Age</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
<i>0-30</i>	<i>0</i>
<i>38-40</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>41-55</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>60-70</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>Above 70</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Total</i>	<i>7</i>

The age difference representativeness would help us determine if there are changes of words through time. Thus, the table tells us that the Fedwet social variety is not being used by youths. The elders do not transmit this social variety and culture to the next generation. This study will be used as a document for the coming generation who wish to know about this unique culture and the 'secret language' of Gurage women.

6.2.2 Gender of Fedwet

In this part, sex of male/female informants are addressed. The number which is included in the following table focuses on informants who are speakers of the social variety Fedwet, but it does not include informants who gave information about the culture and the practice of the Moyet.

Table 6: Sex of the informants who speak the Fedwet social variety

	<i>Frequency</i>
<i>Men</i>	1
<i>Women</i>	6
<i>Total</i>	7

From Table 6, the respondents have indicated that this social variety is spoken by women while only one man can speak it. As the researcher tried to ask them, the males do not speak this social variety very well; they were able to speak only a few words. So, it is difficult to consider this male as a speaker of Fedwet social variety; it is mainly used by females. Though the males tried to speak a few words of the Fedwet social variety because they followed the Fedwet girls when they were celebrating the culture, but they might not know the meaning of the words or expressions the girls use. Therefore, it can be logically concluded that the social variety of Fedwet is exclusively used by females.

Trudgill (2004:79-80) argues that there is gender differentiation in language, and this can affect linguistic change. Language is a social phenomenon, which is related to social attitudes. The society imposes different social roles for male and female and expects different behaviors from them. Language can play an important role in indicating speaker's gender identity.

Therefore, the Gurage society, specifically the Chaha Gurage assumed that the social variety of Fedwet is spoken by females even if both male and female gave respect to the cult. The society considered that it is the social role of the female to celebrate the traditional belief of Damamwit. The female also believed that the Damamwit increases their fertility. The women were identified as a special social group, particularly; the

Fedwet speakers are selected by the cult. They also consider themselves as having received a special privilege from the cult.

Many Gurage people used to believe and paid reverence to the Damamwit cult, especially the women since they associate it with their fertility. However, nowadays, the culture is on the verge of extinction. Consequently, the social variety has disappeared through time; it is only known by a few elder women. They do not also want to remember it because of their systematized religion (Christian or Islam) and fear of the society's attitude.

6.2.3 Fedwet as a secret social variety

Sociopolitical issues, economic status, and language contact are some of factors which have contribution to language alteration. Newmeyer (2003:20) discusses the roles of formal and functional factors for language change. The formal principles play a central role by governing the organization of grammars. A functional explanation refers to properties of language users, specifically their interest in producing and comprehending language properly. However, most linguists argued that both formal and functional factors have a great role in language change.

The Fedwet group choose to use their secret 'language' instead of Chaha on different occasions and when they need to hide their information from outsiders. It is important to find out the reasons why they want to use this social variety. To identify and categorize the reasons, the collected data was analyzed and the real situations of Fedwet are considered. There are different reasons that the females have initiated to use a different variety instead of their basic language Chaha. The social position of females

given by society has a great role to lead them to follow traditional beliefs and to use a different 'language' in different instances. Religion also governs the society in all aspects including language. Thus, the social position of Gurage females and religious practices in Gurage may answer the question of why the female use a different 'language'.

6.2.4 Social position of the Gurage women

The socio-cultural situation and the attitude of a society are important aspects in understanding women's social position in any society in general and in Gurage for this study in particular. A lot has been said regarding the fact that Ethiopian society has a male dominated social structure, and the position of women in Ethiopia also follows this line of thought. Accordingly, the question for this research hence is "why the Gurage women use a different 'language'. While the answer might be multifarious, the researcher determined that it is in relation to power.

As stated above, the social hierarchy in the country is male dominated which has a predetermined and unwritten rule that labels women as 'odd' when she is assumed to act in a different way.

In Gurage culture, if a family thought that their girl is at the age of marriage, they selected a husband for her. They did not allow her to choose her partner. Especially in previous times, girls were not even allowed to go to school. Even these days, they do not have the same right for education as boys. Since the high schools are far from their home, the females are often compelled to drop out from school at grade eight. Even if the girls want to continue, the family do not allow them because of the distance of the school, and perceived fear of different things, so most of the Gurage female students

do not have the chance to complete their high school education let alone to join higher institutions. When it comes to property ownership and sharing of family inheritance, the female members of the Gurage society still do not have an equal right that includes land share and ownership. If a girl has brother(s), it is shared among them excluding her.

Girls are expected to acquire home-based skills like fetching water, gathering wood, cooking food etc. When a woman is married, she is expected to perform the labor of childbearing, breastfeeding and caring and handling family responsibilities confined to the household management but generally excluded from any other concrete family decisions.

These situations of low societal position initiate them (Gurage women) to be involved in different traditional belief systems. They also use a special in-group 'language' to express their feelings. These tactics helped them to escape the complex reality that they consider as a societal burden they have to deal with because of their gender.

My interview question response shows that how the culture of Moyet allowed the women to get the right to enjoy with friends during Damamwit celebration days. On that day, a husband does not have the power on his wife; the woman has the right to come back home in the middle of the night.

Thus, this study tried to find out why the Gurage Fedwet use this social variety in different situations instead of their natural language and has identified several explanatory reasons for it.

As we have discussed in the above paragraph, the low social status of women which is given by the society is the first and the most compelling reason to lead them to use a

different 'language' which is not understood by the dominant male group, so that they used this 'secret language' for different circumstances when they want to hide their message.

Texts and poems that are used by the Fedwet and practitioners of Moyet culture show the position of females and their role in the society. In "Gurage" society, talking about private issues openly is restricted especially for females. Accordingly, they do not have the chance to talk openly with their friends. Therefore, it might be a good option for them to communicate secretly with their group members. There are different texts that females use in different situations to express their feelings (cf. Appendix 2D).

6.2.5 Religious practices of Gurage women

The traditional belief Damamwit has a great role in the life of Gurage society. Fedwet girls also use their 'secret language' for the purpose of worshipping Damamwit addressing their prayers to her.

The group members of Moyet followed a local religious cult, whose former adherents have now become Christians or Muslims. Although they are part of the Gurage society and speak one of the "regular" Gurage languages, within the group a special group Fedwet also acquired the group-specific language variety, which is not understood by outsiders. The culture, as well as the social variety, became endangered because of the expansion of the systematized religious education (Islam and Christian) and modernization.

The interview question (20 & 21) response shows that a few females still want to practice this culture however, they are afraid of the exclusion of the society. Nevertheless, the Gurage females practiced the culture and spoke this social variety for a long period of time for religious purposes such as; worshipping Damamwit, for praying, blessing, and cursing etc.

In (175) example, the Fedwet demonstrate their respect to the Damamwit cult with beautiful songs. As we have said earlier, they believed that the Female cult has the power to help them and protect them from different bad things. In the following example, the word *ejawo* is a kind of interjection.

175.

<i>xəde bifiŋakiwi ejawo</i>	when we go there
<i>tʃ'amiburijə abinak'iwɪ ejawo</i>	we do not get meat
<i>jətfi'k'uwak'iwəsine ejawo</i>	we begged it
<i>jətf'ikuwak'wəsine ejawo</i>	we begged it
<i>jəfʷanərbine ejawo</i>	Where we put it
<i>xəɕwəʃ kote ataβinek'eβi</i>	'please take care of me from bad things)

In (176) example, they express their admiration by saying *irk'ija gusto* 'great woman', *imənto* 'our mom' and express their feeling to her by saying 'come here to our village' *afini jəmʷokijərər tʃafər*.

176.

(cf. Appendix 2D)

<i>əxo xo xo</i>	
<i>mʷəwəjəto mʷəwəjəto əxo xo xo</i>	'sprit of moyet'
<i>mʷəwəjəto irk'ija gusto</i>	'great woman'
<i>mʷəwəjəto imənto</i>	'Our mother'

<i>jəm^wokijərər tʃafər ee əxo xo xo</i>	'jamokijarer soil'
<i>afini mijətōee əxo xo xo</i>	'moyet rest'
<i>m^wəwəjəto m^wəwəjəto</i>	Moyet
<i>bifəʃa jədīmamədāee əxo xo xo</i>	'converge with red '
<i>o o o eje eje</i>	

The content of the above song is 'kind of wishing' they asked the spirit to live with them. The place termed "mokijərər" is the name of a village and they believe that it is the starting place of Moyet practice and giving worship for the Damamwit.

Thus, we can understand that the Fedwet speak a different 'language' because of two main reasons. The first one is the social position of the women within the society; it means that the women do not have the power to express their feelings. The other reason is for the purpose of worshipping the female cult, for praying and for recognizing the cult through a different 'language'. If these are the cases that the Fedwet speak a different variety to hide their speech, it is important to identify the specific usages of this social variety. We will look at these in detail in the next part, by analyzing the messages of the data which are collected through elicitation and the interview.

6.2.6 Use of the social variety of Fedwet

The Gurage secret society use a special variety to communicate the hidden life of young girls. Trudgill (2000:66) argues that taboo is one of the explanatory factors that separate language. Taboo has a powerful influence on the growth of separate sex vocabularies. If women are not permitted to use an original language term, then new words or paraphrases are used. In Gurage using taboo words is strictly forbidden especially for females. To address this restriction and to be able to have a mechanism to

express their feeling without exposing themselves to judgment by others mainly the male of the society, they are obliged to use different words or change the phonological shapes of their speech to hide their speech from the perceived outsiders.

As said before, in Gurage males are the dominant group which indicates women are less influential. Therefore, they tried to express this issue of discrimination and disempowerment using their ‘secret language’ through which they criticize others or talk to groups and friends freely. This text (cf. Appendix 2D example i.e. 86)) for instance, is produced to speak private issues that are not used by the society openly.

The females tried to express this issue in their way and discuss with friends and might have got a solution for their problems.

The following text expresses a time when a girl is talking about different feelings with her peers when they are at the age of puberty. This expression is used by a girl who falls in love with a boy or the boy tried to follow her for a different feeling like love, and she is expressing this feeling openly to her female friends to get advice or simply to express her feeling.

177.	<i>jiḥirerjəx^wita gurmasijə jizaze</i>	Fedwet
	<i>ji-ḥirerjə</i>	<i>x^wita gurmasijə jī-zaz-e</i>
	3SM-handsome. DEF boy	3SM-see. IPFV-1S.OM
Gloss	'The handsome boy looks at me'	

178.

Fedwet

nəriwət tatf'inafaxə ginafire jət'abət'o atbirəre.

nəriwət t-a-tf'inafa-xə ginaf-r-e jət'abət'o at-bir-ər-e Spirit 3SF-CAUS-kill.IPFV-2SM leave.IPFV-BEN-1S.OM catch.IPFV NEG - say- 3SM-1S.POSS

Gloss It is a kind of cursing:- 'Damamwit will kill you, do not touch me'

In addition to the texts, the interview (Appendix 4 Interview i.e. 16) answer shows that the Gurage women had a special trust in the cult. They thought that the Damamwit can do anything they asked her. The Gurage males were also fearful of her punishment.

The other function of the language is to exclude the unintended audience. Trudgill (2000:81) also discusses language and context and asserted that the reason why speakers use a different language are not only social class, ethnic group, and gender but also social context which causes speakers to use alternative language to pass their message across to their intended specific group member. It is in this manner that the Fedwet speakers used this social variety in the context of the presence of an unintended audience.

The following text illustrates this reality:

179.

Fedwet	<i>izəzi əf jəginafa efirez zədəta firiwə k'iraru</i>				
	<i>izəz-i</i>	<i>əf</i>	<i>jə-ginafa</i>	<i>e-firer</i>	<i>zədəta firiwə k'irar-u</i>
	See.3SM.-2SF	INTR	3SM-leave-	3SM-	ugly- 3SM.POSS ugly thing-COP
Gloss	'Look at him, leave aside, he is ugly. '				

This speaker talked in the context of when the unintended participant is present, and she expressed her feeling for her friend (she is a girl) about the boy who may ask her for a relationship, and she is stating that she is not interested as much in the relationship, because he is not handsome for her. She considered that he is ugly and decided to reject him.

180. Fedwet *xədiwəʃ zewət niriwawət'inə gurmasijə jimirak'ate*
xədiwəʃ zewət ni-riwawət'-nə gurmas-jə ji-mirak'a-te
INTR girl 1P-run-IPFV-1P boy-DEF 3SM-come.IPFV-FUT
 Gloss "Please girls, let us move; the boy will come"

181. Fedwet *zewət, gurmasijə gʷərijəta nafinakaxʲ burərem.*
zewət, gurmasijə gʷərijə-ta na-finaka-xʲ burər-e-m
girl boy home-3SM.POSS 1S-take-2FS say-3SM-PAS
 Gloss "girl", the boy said to me "let me take you to the house"

In the above consecutive texts, we are going to observe that the girls share their feelings with each other, especially the societal burden they are shouldering and discuss how to overcome this problem by counseling each other. The texts showed that the girls are under the influence of the boys. The boys invade the girls' privacy without their permission and the girls share their feelings with each other and they try to hide it from the boys who pursue them. The following is the continuation of the above conversation by the two girls.

182. Fedwet *jəfir adirargi binanə bəʒiʒaxʲ.*
jəfir a-dirarg-i binanə bə-ʒiʒa-xʲ
INTRO NEG-hit. 3SM-2SF was....INST-hand-2SF
 Gloss 'Why did you not hit him with your hand.'

When the girl shared her feeling to her friend (girl), about the boy and she said, ‘he tried to push her to go to his home without her permission’. Her friend also defended her and said why did not you hit him. This shows that even if males are the head in that society some females oppose this action; they criticize each other and tried to oppose this culture.

The following texts also show this reality. The girls replay and discuss among themselves the issue of that raised in the above texts.

183.

Fedwet

binaj burerəm əzinaanəfo burerəm gʷərijata nafinakaχʲ burərəm

*binaj burer-ə-m əzinaanəfo burer-ə-m gʷərija-ta na-finaka-χʲ
burər-e-m*

no say-3SM-PAS intimidate say-3SM-PAST home-3SM.POSS 1S-go-
2SF say-1S-PAS

Gloss 'He said no and intimidated me to go in his home.'

184.

Fedwet

əzinaanəfo tibirerχʲ binaj bureri binaj atibureri binanə

əzararəfo ti-birer-χʲ binaj burer-i binaj at-bureri binanə

Intimidate 3SM-say-2SF NEG say-3MS NEG-say-2SF-PAS

Gloss 'Say no, why you did not refuse him when he was intimidated you?'

185.

jəkʰirarəmo ji-birə-r-e anxurərə

insult 3SM-say.IPFV-3MS-1S.POSS isn't?

Gloss 'he insults me, isn't that the case?'

The girls are not only imposed upon by the boys; but the society also recognized that males are more powerful than females. If the girl informs her parents that she has been abused by the boy(s), the family will also punish her by de preventing her from

playing outside the home. So, she does not want to talk to her family about this issue; she preferred to go away and play with her friends under this challenging situation. The following text tells us this reality.

186. **Fedwet**
g^wərjax^j girabijəm jəiməŋax^j irwawədo burərija
g^wərj-ax^j girab-jə-m jə-iməŋ-ax^j iriwawədo burəri-ja
 Home-2SF.POSS enter-2SF-CON DAT-mother-2SF tell-IPFV-2SF-3SF
 Gloss 'go to your home and tell your mother'

187. **Fedwet**
ed zewət itfík'jak'ijre iwiraret'e tixurəre anriwawəd
ed zewət i-tfík'jak'ijr-e i-wret'-e ti-xurər-e an-irwawə-d
 INTR girl 1S-play.IPFV-1S 1S-go.IPFV-1S 3SF-refuse-1S NEG-tell-1S
 Gloss ohh girl, 'she does not allow me to play and to go out; I do not tell.'
 I do not want to tell her because she does not allow me to play.

In addition, the girls use Fedwet for the purpose of opposing the culture of early and unwanted marriage within the group members.

They expressed their feeling of discomfort and forced entrance into the relationship of marriage by using this 'secret language' to their age mates; this has the intention of discouraging the girl by insulting her and her husband through songs.

The speakers of Fedwet, not only use sentences to express their feeling of emotion but also they use songs. The following example is representative for this:

188.	
Fedwet	Gloss
<i>abja fedo</i>	'friend'
<i>abja fedo</i>	'friend'
<i>girardo girardo</i>	'alas' 'kind of interjection'

<i>bəxəde guʃira jibnado</i>	'they are taking bride there'
<i>fə fə fə jiwirerjə</i>	'say 'fə' kind of insulting'
<i>gunanəʃ'im ʃ'amburerjə</i>	'slaughtered meat'
<i>gurɔʒifu jagirabax^j</i>	'marry old person'
<i>jəzəʃzəfujə</i>	Taboo
<i>fə bəʃinax^j</i>	'in your body part' 3SF
<i>ʃəfər jagunaf^{wi}</i>	'have soil'

The above song tells us that in the previous time girls tried to oppose early and unwanted marriage. In the Gurage area, most of the time the girls did not have the right to select their husband. At that time, the family may push their daughter to marry even an old person. The family mostly focused on the clan and wealth of the person but not for the interest of their girl. Females were not influential, so that, they tried to express their feeling through chant. They also criticized and opposed the girl who married the old person, even if she did not have the power to reject the unwanted/early marriage. In (188), the song is produced to criticize a girl who married an old person and her husband too. In the above song, her friends tried to protest her marriage because the husband does not belong to her age.

The other function of the social variety of Fedwet is using it as a means of expressing emotions towards the Damamwit cult (see example 175 above). This song shows what happens on the ceremony of Damamwit especially in the months of the true cross. The girls were begging meat by moving door to door in the act of collection. Sometimes if they did not get enough meat as they wished to get, group members use Fedwet to express their sorrow for not achieving particular goals and also express their feeling to the cult through their 'language'.

In addition to the elicited data interpretation that we have discussed above, the study also tried to use interviews; in order to incorporate the functions of the Fedwet social variety and triangulate the data obtained using the elicitation presented in the previous part.

Table 7 use of the Fedwet social variety

<i>Function</i>	<i>Number of times</i>
<i>To communicate private issues</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>To express their feeling of emotion</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>To form identity</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>To criticize the culture of early marriage</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>To worship the female cult</i>	<i>2</i>

From the table above, the total number of the participants in the interview are 12 of these seven of them are included from informants who produced elicited data of the social variety and the other five are added who did not participate in the elicited data. Amongst them, most of the informants responded that they use Fedwet for the purpose of communicating secret issues when unintended audience is presented.

This coincides with the songs and expressions obtained from the other data sources. Its functions are to express their feeling, and for identity formation. In addition, the ‘secret language’ was used as a means to discourage young girls and express the undesired feeling of the union with older men. An insult was also among the responses obtained from the interview data.

6.3 Fuga

There are occupationally marginalized groups in Ethiopia in general and in Gurage in particular that have been engaging in various occupations like handcrafters, artisans, potters and woodworkers. Peoples have been discriminated due to their skill or occupation. The stigma attached to their occupation is given different names in different ethnic groups of Ethiopia, but it is a common act which we might say is in the process of change but yet still exists in societies.

According to Velassery (2005:2), caste is the name of a group which is the hereditary subdivision of an ethnic unit occupying a position of a superior or inferior rank of social class which is associated with a specific occupation. The caste system is the classification of people in different hierarchies ranked according to occupation, religion, wealth, power and ethnicity. The Gurage also divide peoples by their occupation groups, for instance, nafure 'smiths', gize 'tanners' and fuga 'woodworkers'.

Teclehaimanot (2003: 33-34) again states that the government of Ethiopia did not pay attention to these groups (Fuga) or other occupationally low caste until the Italian occupation of Ethiopia. At the time of Italian colonialization, the Italian officials, are said to have been willing to recognize the existence of the Fuga community, which needed support in creating self-identity and awareness in the process of becoming a self-administered community. However, this encouraging policy to the Fuga did not continue after the liberation of Ethiopia.

Gebru (1973: 48-49) also states that the 'history of Fuga is as long as the history of Gurage and neither of them knows the details how the Fuga come to the land of the Gurage.' It is fact that there has been a long existence of Fuga with the Gurage society; this fact is also accepted by the Gurage. However, there are status differences between Fuga and Gurage in economy and social activities including marriage. The skill of the Fuga in the technical requirements was important for the life of the Gurage.

6.3.1 Age of Fuga respondents

According to Trudgill (2000:81), the social class is basically based on occupation, income gender and so on. On the bases of this the marginalized group of Fuga are identified by their occupation and religious practices. Nevertheless, age has a significant role in linguistics research and the researcher tried to cover all the groups to get an understanding of the functionality of the social variety throughout different age groups. However, because the elders did not transmit their 'language' to their children, the social variety Fuga is found to be not in function among the younger generation, confining it to be used only by adults and elders. The following table shows this.

Table 8 Age ranges of those who responded the social variety Fuga

<i>Age</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
<i>35-45</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>45-55</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>60-70</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>70 and Above</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Total</i>	<i>7</i>

In table (8), the social variety of Fuga is used by adults and elders; it is not used by children. This shows that Fuga is on the verge of extinction because the elders do not try to transmit it to the next generation which makes this research very valuable in documenting this highly endangered socially, and linguistically significant language' for the coming generation who might have the desire to know Fuga.

6.3.2 Speakers of Fuga

Milroy and Lesley (1998:53-54) also state that extra linguistic variables are related to language variation as being caused by social class variation. The social variables, socioeconomic and social class are complex variables. The social class depends on income, trade or profession and educational level, while social network depends on density and multiplexity in a social relationship. They also identify simple social variables like age and sex of speakers. In this study, these issues like economy, profession, age and gender are also considered.

The social variety Fuga is not restricted by gender, it is used by a specific community who are marginalized because of their occupation. It is spoken by both male and female equally. Accordingly, the researcher tried to include both male and female informants.

Table 9. Sex of informants who responded the social variety Fuga

	<i>Frequency</i>
<i>Men</i>	4
<i>Women</i>	3
<i>Total</i>	7

The above table illustrates that a nearly equal number of respondents from both sex groups were used to collect data. Since, Fuga is used as a 'secret language' of the community as a whole in an attempt to create a safe linguistic communication mechanism excluding the outsiders; this is unlike the Fedwet groups which were gender specific.

The participants who have identified as Fuga ethnicity speak the ordinary Gurage language Chaha for their day to day activities. In addition, they used the social variety Fuga when they need to hide their message and to express their identity.

The Fuga speakers use their own social variety to communicate with each other. However, the lexicon of the Fuga is restricted in vocabulary as it does not have many words. Because of this they sometimes used the Chaha word as it is. For instance, the following sentence shows this: *at mufəs imə-tf-e-m* meaning 'she gave me one hundred birr'. The word '*at*' in this example is taken from Chaha and the grammatical order and the attached morpheme forms also are the same as in Chaha.

6.3.3 Use of the Fuga social variety

Social relationships like economy, politics, ideology, government administration, communication and education form an upper and lower stratum. This stratum affects the social relations of the speaker's choice of terms to address and refer to each other. The social status of the speaker has an influence on the choice and use of terms in the conversation.

The social position, political and economic situations that represent the low-caste group society might have a role in explaining reasons why the Fuga's use a different

social variety which is not understood by outsiders in different situations. In these circumstances of low social position, Fuga use a social variety to express their emotion when they need to hide their communication from the dominant group *zəra* ‘pure birth’ Gurage. This social variety helps them to talk to each other and to protect themselves from harm.

189.

Fuga

gaməs, wagimare jik’itf’oxəte amm

gaməs wagimare ji-k’itf’-o-xə-te am-m

Fuga, Gurages 3P-kill-3MP-2SM-FUT go.IPFV-3SM

Fuga go ! Gurages (they) will kill you.

In (189) text and fieldwork interview response (cf. appendix 5 i.e. no 11) show that the *zəra* Gurage group were more influential and can do anything to the Fuga group in previous times. The Fuga speaker talks to members of the Fuga clan, he addresses to his clan that his life is at risk because the dominant group *zəra* will kill him. Because of that, he urged his clan to go away. Thus, they use their ‘language’ to keep themselves from harm.

In (190 -191), texts tell us, this group is economically disadvantageous, and they live in the worst poverty situation. They are looking at their neighbors’ activities and talking to each other about the *zəra* group and tried to get something from the others. As we have discussed earlier, they do not have land and cattle so they live in a difficult situation and this situation may lead them to different unethical actions. They use their ‘language’ to hide this kind of unethical issue from the outsiders.

190. Fuga *zexet'əs ek'as ag^wərim*
ze-xet'əs meat ag^wər-i-m
 DEM-home meat enter-3MS-PAS
 'there was meat in this house'

191. Fuga
adəsixuta k'axəs int'ənm imjinte.
adəs-xuta k'axəs int'ə-n-m i-mf-n-te
adəs-DEF money has-3SM-PAS 1S-steal-3SM-FUT

Gloss 'The man is rich; I will steal his money.

In addition to their occupation, the Fuga groups are excluded by the *zəra*, because of eating of dead animals, which have not been slaughtered. This action is not supported by the systematized religion of other Ethiopians (Islam and Christian). Thus, the Fuga group tried to hide this thing from the *zəra* Gurage. They bring dead animals at night when their neighbors slept. My informants told me that, even they do not speak loudly when they bring the dead animals. In such situations they usually talk by using their 'language' to hide this action. The whole text is attached in the appendix (cf. appendix 3D i.e.25)

192. Fuga *wəxum ik'atina tɪnk'atina əg^wər xet'əs fandəs imn ʒɪŋgiwəs nisut'in*
k'otf'ərəs awəx'o nik'antf'inə
wəx-u-m ik'ət-n-a ti-nk'at əg^wər xet'əsə fandəs im-n ʒɪŋgiwəs ni-sut'i-n
 Come- 1S-PAS speak-1S-3FS 1S-speak open door knife give.3SM-1S sheep
 1S-slaughter-3SM

k'otf'ərəs awə-xⁱ-o ni-k'antf-n-ə

children bring-3SF-3P

Gloss I came, speak to her; when I speak, open the door, give me knife slaughter sheep and call children let us eat.

As we have seen in the above examples, the Fuga use their ‘language’ mainly for the purpose of hiding their information from others. However, they also use it to disclose their identity.

193.	Fuga	<i>martʃəs k'ɪʃwəs atnit'ətʃim niwafinə</i>	
		<i>martʃəs k'ɪʃwəs</i>	<i>atnit'-ətʃ-m</i> <i>ni-waf-nə</i>
		woman coffee	prepare.PFV-3FS -PAS 1P-drink-3SM
		'woman prepared coffee, let us drink it'	

The above text is used by two Fuga people and the third party is from the same clan Fuga (the one who has prepared coffee). They discussed that they drink a coffee. As we have discussed in the literature part, it is not common that the Fuga eat and drink with other Gurage members. It is in the environment of their association that they spoke this dialogue. Thus, it can be understood that they use their ‘language’ to disclose identity.

The Fuga speakers also use the social variety for the purpose of excluding an unintended audience when the outsiders are presented. In addition to the data that we have discussed above, the study also tried to use interview results to find out why the speakers of the Fuga choose to speak it instead of Chaha.

Table 10 why use Fuga

<i>Functions</i>	<i>Number of times</i>
<i>To communicate secret issues</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>To protect themselves from harm</i>	<i>8</i>
<i>To form identity</i>	<i>6</i>

From the table (10), most of the time the speakers of Fuga use it to communicate secret issues, to protect themselves and also for the purpose of establishing identity.

6.3.4 Political and economic position of Fuga in Gurage

According to Kraus (2005:7), the low perception of caste group in the social class hierarchy reduced their acceptance in the social and political institutions. The Fuga low caste group do not have the power of controlling the economy as well as politics so they are a disadvantageous group in their life. The reality is that the Fuga community is living under the zəra Gurage domination.

The Fuga community did not participate in political issues and did not have their own land after and before the Italian period. Thus, the Fuga did not exercise their rights which explain their low economic position. This inequality of political power, economic resources, lack of social participation due to the consideration as a lower class motivated them to use a special 'language' in addition to the Chaha language.

6.4 Current status of Fuga and Fedwet

We have observed that, Fedwet is spoken by a specific group who are female and the social variety Fuga is also spoken by a specific group of crafts people. According to Dwyer (2011:1), the degree of endangerment of the language is determined by quantifiable sociolinguistic variables such as number, age of speakers, writing system, education, and media system in the language. Both social varieties are endangered through time; however, there was no evidence that shows the level of endangerment of both Fedwet and Fuga social varieties in the previous research. We argue that Fedwet is not a language and the Fuga involves lexical substitution. It is difficult to

measure language endangerment evaluation techniques of UNESCO Ad Hoc and EGIDS (Expanded Graded Intergenerational distribution scales). However, the endangerment of these social varieties is more related to social change. Thus, the evaluation is based on assessment following the social, cultural changes and the function of these varieties that is connected to endangerment.

6.4.1 Fuga

The Fuga social variety is used as an oral communication in the same ethnic domain and used in the situation when unintended audiences are present. They also prefer to use the regional language Chaha and ignore Fuga which had an identity function for the group members. However, in the current situation the group members do not want to be identified as Fuga because, it is associated with marginality.

My fieldwork interview (Appendix 5 i.e. no. 12) shows that parents who are trying to transmit their 'language' to their children are very few in number. As we have discussed earlier a person who can speak Fuga is identified as a Fuga and he may lose different societal and economic privileges. Thus, the parents are not eager to transmit their 'language' to their children because of the fear of exclusion and stigma.

Regarding the age of the Fuga speakers, the youngest speakers of the Fuga are adults or parents. The number of speakers who are at the age of 30 and above is few but it is not used by children. The grandparents and the parents speak the social variety Fuga. However, if you asked a child to speak Fuga variety, he uses most Chaha words instead of Fuga. We can understand that the Fuga children do not use it and they prefer to use the prestigious language Chaha.

Language is used as a technical, social, and cultural instrument, but it is also a mediator that can transmit culture and knowledge from one generation to the next (Bolbanabad & Hanifi 2014:20). Language and culture are integrated with one another; they are inseparable. If the parents do not transmit the culture to their children, it has also a consequence on language transmission, and as a result, both are endangered.

It is also difficult to get the exact number of Fuga speakers because they live with others. Shack (1966:11) stated that the estimated number of Fuga who live in the Gurage area is 5000. However, that was more than fifty years ago, and they are few in numbers who live in one village. Usually, a small speech community loses its language gradually in favor of that of the majority.

Brenzinger et. al. (2003:9) again states that to evaluate the shifts in language use domains, the questions of where, with whom, the range of the topic for the language should be used. These points are the indicators of whether the language is transmitted to the next generation or not. Using this theoretical explanation, the Fuga loses its ground and parents use the dominant language Chaha in their day to day activities. It is not used in a meeting, in public places and even in the market.

Brenzinger et al. (2003:14) states that the role of speech community attitudes towards their language is a vital role for language endangerment. Some may see it as essential to their community and identity and promote it; they may use it without promoting it; they may be ashamed of it and, therefore, not promote it; or they may see it as a nuisance and actively avoid using it.

The Gurage societies did not consider Fuga as equal to the others for all the reasons especially in the previous time as explained in prior paragraphs. Because of these and other issues, the speakers have developed low self-esteem and do not have confidence in their 'language'. During the interview, I observed that, few of the speakers support and want to use it and the others expressed an indifferent position; it seems that even they do not care if it is lost totally especially among the youngsters.

Regarding documentation, the Fuga social variety is not studied and documented yet. In this research grammatical sketch, wordlists, and texts are addressed.

To summarize, Fuga has lost its communicative and symbolic functions through time. The youngest speakers of the Fuga are parents and the number of speakers is not proportional to the total population. Accordingly, Fuga is at high risk of endangerment.

6.4.2 Fedwet

This research argues that the social variety Fedwet is not a language by itself; it is rather a Chaha based argot. Thus, it is difficult to assess the level of endangerment on the bases of language endangerment and vitality; however, we can examine its level of current status on a different perspective in relation to social change.

Patrick (2007:126) states that the linguistic practices that characterize bilingualism arise out of particular social conditions, which lead people to interact in particular ways in order to live together.

Using a different variety in addition to their first language practices in turn shape new social identities and new ways of interacting socially, culturally, politically and economically.

From the beginning, the Fedwet group have their own natural language which is Chaha. Fedwet did not have L1 speakers and it does not have native speakers at the beginning. However, in the previous time, the speakers associated themselves with the culture as well as the social variety and used it for specific purposes. In the current situation, it has no cohesive community, who associate themselves with it as an identity. This is due to the fact that the culture is endangered, and the society consider it outdated because of religion and modernity. The interview result shows that Fedwet do not have remaining functions assigned to the social variety and it is on the verge of extinction. We can understand that there is an integrated relationship associated with social change and 'language'.

According to my data, we can ascertain that it is not used only by the young generation but also by elders. The data was collected based on the elders attempt to remember and tell the researcher the words and texts when the researcher asked them but, it is not used as in the previous time. Thus, the youngest speakers are of the grandparent generation.

Fishman (1991:17) states that language is not present when culture is absent. Language alone will not be either the sole and sufficient case or the granter of all the cultural patterns associated with it. Maintaining language is not about language description, it is about language in culture. In the case of Fedwet, because of the

endangerment of the culture of Moyet the social variety is also not used by the group members. It shows that it is difficult to separate the 'language' and culture as each has an influence on the other and they are interrelated.

The Fedwet was used for a specific domains and purposes. It was used almost entirely by females for the purpose of religious ceremonies and they also used it to interact with their friends. It was not used at home for the purpose of parents and children interaction. It is used by older generations and grandparents; currently; it is not used for religious practices and also the purpose of secrecy. Consequently, the social variety Fedwet is not transmitted to the children and it is in the position of critically endangered.

The speakers also do not want to promote their 'language'; rather they are ashamed of it now. Only a few members need to maintain the culture, most of the other group members consider that the social variety Fedwet is a burden to social interaction and religious issues. So, they develop negative attitudes toward their culture as well as the social variety. The culture of Moyet and specifically the social variety Fedwet was not studied well and documented prior to this research. There were few studies that addressed the cultural practices of the Moyet. There were no existing materials on the description of the Fedwet. Thus, this study has filled this gap and provided as detailed description as is possible given current limitations on the knowledge and availability of speakers.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Summary of Findings

In the previous chapters, different literature which is relevant and related to Chaha grammar and previous research on the social varieties of this research has been reviewed. In addition, data on the Fedwet and the Fuga social varieties are presented, discussed and their linguistic features analyzed in comparison with their ordinary language Chaha. Furthermore, the sociolinguistic functions of the social varieties and the reasons why the group members use a different 'language' are addressed. The key point on level of endangerment is also discussed in relation to social changes affecting it. So, in this chapter the above discussed points are summarized briefly.

7.1.1 Speakers of Fedwet and Fuga

The interview results and the elicited data discussed in the previous chapters show that Fedwet is used by females; it is an argot spoken by women and not used by men. Fedwet are members of Moyet who speak the language of Fedwet; not all Moyet speak Fedwet because the speakers of Fedwet were selected by different procedures and got training. In the current situation, Fedwet is not used for communication, religious or any other purposes; it does not have symbolic function. It is ignored by the society in relation to the traditional belief of Damamwit.

Regarding age, most of the informants are at the age of 38 and above, as the language has not been transmitted to the next generation and is not in a day to day use among the community. The informants themselves even do not speak it very well and they provided the data by trying to remember it when someone asked them. This goes in conformity with the argument this research made that currently the 'language' is not used by youths and children and it is used only by adult and elder peoples.

Regarding Fuga, the result suggested that it is spoken by both sex groups; male and female. It is a code used by an occupationally marginalized group. This fact further shows that this social variety is mainly spoken among a group of nonreligious people who are engaged in occupationally low status in the hierarchy of the community. The possibility of Fuga becoming endangered is apparent as it is no longer used as a communication and symbolic function to the community.

7.1.2 Linguistic status

This research argues that Fedwet is not its own variety, a language or dialect of Gurage languages. Rather it is an argot. Like other argots, the speakers have their own community language in common which is Chaha. The group members of Fedwet do not use a different 'language'. They have fabricated an argot from their first language, Chaha through different modifications. The main areas of divergence are the manipulation of the morphophonological patterns of their first language (i.e., Chaha); the other divergence is lexical manipulation and semantic areas. The linguistic significance of the morphophonological, semantic and lexical manipulation are that

the speakers alter the meaning, arrangement of sounds, lexeme formation through different distortion methods and form new meanings and new words. The aim of the secrecy is therefore achieved through these processes.

When we talk about the Fuga social variety, unlike the Fedwet, it is not an argot. The characteristics of argot are depending on morphological structure, root pattern formation and semantic manipulation of their ordinary language. In contrast, these manipulating morphological and semantic structures are not observed in the Fuga social variety. Hence, it is totally different from Chaha regarding the lexemes. However, the Fuga uses the same syntactic pattern and inflectional morphemes, definiteness markers, prepositions and case markers as Chaha. The Fuga social variety also does not have equivalent words for every domain; maybe they did once, but since the speakers are elderly, the vocabulary collected was limited. This might relate to its endangerment.

As we have discussed in the review and analysis part, there is little research on the Fuga and what there is focused on their way of life, economic status and occupation whereas there is no research that shows the Fuga use a different language. There are Fuga groups who live in Yem, Kambaata and Gurage, who can marry each other; however, there is no evidence that shows these groups use the same language or a different one from the Fuga who live in the Gurage.

According to the interview result, the Fuga themselves think that they have a separate identity. Others also consider them to have a separate identity, and in addition a separate language. It needs further investigation whether the Gurage Fuga use the same 'language' or a different one from other Fuga who live at Yem and Kambaata. These aspects are not covered in this research as the current study focused on the identification of Fuga from Chaha. It has been shown that the Fuga lexicon is not fabricated from Chaha.

7.1.3 Main findings of the current research

Previous researchers focused on the cultural and traditional practices of the Moyet, except Leslau (1964), who wrote an article and identified that this group used different linguistics methods that help them to achieve secrecy. These linguistics methods include duplication, substitution, loanwords, suffixes and productive semantic devices. However, Leslau did not present texts in his study. In addition, he did not show how far this social variety is related to Chaha and whether the morphosyntactic patterns are related or not. This research provides a detailed description and the social functions of the variety used.

The other thing that Leslau said was that the group of Fedwet have a leader who is a chief and stated that he is from the Fuga clan. This idea leads him to generalize that the chief teaches his 'language' to the females. Thus, Leslau (1964) and Shack (1966) concluded that both Fuga and Fedwet use one and the same language. It is true that the Fedwet group members have a chief or a leader who is a male but not from the Fuga clan rather from their clan; he is *zəra* 'of pure birth'.

The 'language' training is given by their friends who are Fedwet but not the chief of the Moyet. In addition, this research argues that the two social varieties, Fuga and Fedwet, are different.

Leslau (1964:52) and Sentalem (2005) stated that when the girl is possessed by the Damamwit spirit, the leopard comes and takes her away to the forest and feeds her and she learns the 'language' after she returns. However, my field interview question response shows that it is not the leopard that took the girl, but the chief of the Moyet who wears the skin of the leopard and also the training is given not by the chief. He wears the skin of the leopard on the day of the Damamwit celebration and hits her with a stick (see the picture of the chief appendix 7). It shows that she is selected by the Damamwit and took training in the Fedwet 'language' which was given by Fedwet girls.

7.1.4 Social functions

Both groups, Fedwet and Fuga, are marginalized on the bases of gender, religion, and occupation. These groups exercise their right to live as equal to the other members of the dominant group. However, unwritten rules do not allow them to do this. The Fuga groups are socially excluded from economic benefit and social participation whereas the females are excluded from education and sharing of family wealth. Even there are societal restriction and code of conduct about how to speak, when to speak, or what to speak. This societal burden has its own effect to pushing them to create different mechanisms that helps them to escape this reality. The Gurage women and Fuga also related to this issue, because as we have discussed throughout

the paper there are different issues about which they are not allowed to speak openly.

The social function of Fedwet in history is to use it for hidden communication by females to exclude unintended audience, to oppose unwanted activities in the culture like an early marriage and also to express feelings/emotions and religious purposes. The motive of using Fedwet social variety was related to more of the social position of the women and pertaining to the traditional belief system in the society. Thus, they used it for the purpose of communication and identity formation.

The Fuga social variety is used for the purpose of identity formation and to communicate secret issues. They consider themselves as different from their neighbors. Even today, the segregation is not resolved totally. However, because of the fear of isolation from the society and other reasons, they do not use the Fuga social variety freely for the purpose of identity formation and to retain their dignity in the society.

Generally, these groups used their varieties to serve their social needs. Both group members used it to share private issues without fear, expressing feelings/emotion, protect themselves from bad things, criticizing illegal or unwanted happenings, and also to form stronger bond with peers in categories such as religion, sex, clan and occupation. These social varieties helped them to express what they want to speak and to form an in-group communication effectively.

7.1.5 Social varieties and social change

It is clear that language is a social phenomenon and its main function is communication even though it goes beyond communication function and serves multilateral functions that include identity depiction. Nevertheless, these functions are impacted and face endangerment due to social change on culture and language. The endangerment of the Fedwet social variety is related to the change of the society's attitude towards the culture of Moyet and the practice of the traditional belief of Damamwit. This change comes because of modernity and the expansion of systematized religion; i.e. Christian and Islam. Currently, the society converts to these systematized religions and ignores the traditional belief, which considered it as a sin and outdated. The endangerment of the culture and the traditional belief affects the social variety of Fedwet.

There is no clear information about the Fuga regarding their place of origin. However, it is true that the Fuga members have lived in the Gurage area for a long period of time. This group does not use their 'language' for every day to day activity and communication. They use it for different purposes which are privacy and secret information exchange among themselves.

7.1.6 Endangerment status

The Fuga is currently an endangered social variety. It is threatened and definitively endangered because it has lost its functional stability. The younger speakers are not learning from their parents as well as the parents are not transmitting it to their children, too.

The children do not have any communicative or symbolic connection to the language variety. Accordingly, the natural flow of language transmission and maintenance is blocked which evidently indicate that the Fuga variety is in a high risk of extinction holding the hope only on the currently speaking parents which are not in a position to transmit it because of fear of the social exclusion their children will face if they use the variety.

The case of the Fedwet is more concerning even more than that of the Fuga because the Fedwet is not used anywhere. The Fedwet social variety is not used among new generations except elders who themselves have lost linguistic capability with the variety and try to remember the words they know only when they are asked to do so. Currently there are no fluent speakers and there is no motivation to secure the language variety from endangerment within the community. It is almost extinct due to the social change of the culture. Unfortunately, it is not studied and has not been properly documented up to now.

Generally, both social varieties no longer have the chance to continue serving their dual functions of communicative and identity depiction because the society (the speakers) become ashamed of their 'languages', which cuts the natural language transmission and cross generational use by speakers that maintains the natural surviving mechanism of any language and social variety.

This research has tried to record and document the current dying status of the social varieties. Thus, It has a great contribution to use as valuable document in an area that is not discussed deeply, and the sociolinguistic function was not covered before.

7.2 Conclusion

To conclude, both Fedwet and Fuga people are marginalized groups on the bases of gender and occupation respectively. Both use social language varieties for the purpose of secrete communication in addition to other functions as well as using one common language, Chaha, for their day to day activities. This study argues that Fedwet and Fuga are totally different social varieties. The Fuga leader did not ‘train’ Fedwet girls in the Fuga social variety. Fedwet is a version of another language (Chaha). It had symbolic and communication functions before; however, it does not have any function in the current situations. Fuga needs further investigation as to whether the Gurage Fuga uses the same variety as Yem and Kambata Fuga or different from them. The researcher concludes that Fuga is lexically a different social variety from Chaha.

7.3 Areas for further research

Based on the data discussed duly throughout this study, both Fedwet and Fuga social varieties are threatened. Fedwet is almost extinct; because of its endangerment, it will be very difficult to collect further data. Nevertheless, we may get information about the culture of Moyet. In this research, the historical and cultural part of Fedwet is not covered because it is not the objective of this study to include it. Thus, other researcher(s) may investigate this unique cultural ceremony of Gurage. The researcher could not find any research work which was conducted before on the description of the Fuga social variety. Different literatures argue that there are Fugas who live in different places and they can live in the other area and marry each other. Eventually, it needs further investigation to see if it is the same with other Fuga who

live in other places. The finding of this research is focused on description of both Fuga and Fedwet in Chaha district.

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APPENDIX 1 Chaha ⁸

1A. Chaha consonant sound occurrences

			Chaha	Gloss
1.	[p]	#-	<i>pirapirat</i>	'kind of food'
		#-#	<i>g^wope</i>	'brother'
		-#	<i>ʒap</i>	'lion'
2.	[p ^w]	#-#	<i>agəp^wan</i>	'he entered it'
		#-#	<i>k'əp^wərə</i>	'plant'
3.	[b]	#-	<i>bəfa</i>	'friend'
		#-#	<i>sərbət</i>	'hut'
		-#	<i>k'urb</i>	'near'
4.	[β]	#-	∅	
		#-#	<i>anəβət</i>	'mouth'
		-#	<i>aβ</i>	'father'
		-#	<i>k'iβ</i>	'butter'
(5)	#-	#-	<i>b^wonet</i>	'husband sister '
		#-#	<i>tʃənəb^wom</i>	'they came'
		-#	∅	
(6)	#-	#-	<i>tən</i>	'smoke'
		#-#	<i>tʃotə</i>	'harvest'
		-#	<i>ʃərət</i>	'food'

⁸ The Chaha data is taken from Etaferahu's (2011) MA thesis with some modifications

(7)	#-	<i>dəŋgəɲə</i>	'rich'
	#-#	<i>sənda</i>	'knife'
	-#	<i>gərəd</i>	'girl'
(8)	#-	<i>t'əna</i>	'he hated'
	#-#	<i>ant'ə</i>	'he cut'
	-#	<i>k'əmət'</i>	'shame'
(9)	#-	<i>kasə</i>	'he paid'
	#-#	<i>zəkərə</i>	'he jumped'
	-#	<i>aŋk</i>	'cave'
(10)	#-	<i>k^wɥɲtʃ'if</i>	'beard'
	#-#	<i>aŋk^womə</i>	'he did not stand'
	-#	∅	
(11)	#-	<i>k'asa</i>	he accused'
	#-#	<i>zirək'ə</i>	'he spoke'
	-#	<i>tizrək'</i>	'she speaks'
(12)	#-	<i>gudid</i>	'hole'
	#-#	<i>əgir</i>	'foot'
	-#	<i>aɕig</i>	'loan'

(13)	#-	<i>g'ata</i>	'master'
	#-#	<i>deng'a</i>	'young'
	-#	<i>dirg'</i>	'hit (f)!
(14)	-#	<i>k'ajə</i>	'palm of hand'
	#-#	<i>nək'ət'ə</i>	'he kicked'
	#-	<i>fek'</i>	'goat'
(15)	#-	<i>k'et'am</i>	'he is exhausted'
	#-#	<i>mik'ara</i>	'fever'
	-#	<i>mik'</i>	'burn (f) it!'
(16)	#-	<i>k^wənə</i>	'light-brown for coffee'
	#-#	<i>ak^womə</i>	'he erected something'
	-#	∅	
(17)	-#	<i>firt'ət</i>	'headache'
	#-#	<i>amfuna</i>	'nose'
	-#	<i>amf</i>	'mouth'
(18)	#-	<i>f^wor</i>	'above'
	#-#	<i>af^wonə</i>	'he rested'
	-#	<i>amf^w</i>	'bird'
(19)	#-	<i>sənda</i>	'knife'
	#-#	<i>asso</i>	'salt'
	-#	<i>mis</i>	'husband'

(21)	#-	<i>zəβər</i>	'year'
	#-#	<i>fəzəzə</i>	'he recovered'
	#-	<i>gurz</i>	'old'
(22)	#-	<i>ʃərət</i>	'food'
	#-#	<i>k'afə</i>	'it dropped'
	-#	<i>warʃ</i>	'to build'
(23)	#-	<i>zəpərə</i>	'answer'
	#-#	<i>əzəmənə</i>	'wedding'
	-#	<i>anɜ</i>	'calf'
(24)	#-	<i>xətə</i>	'he denied'
	#-#	<i>ataxari</i>	'troublesome'
	-#	<i>zix</i>	'this'
(25)	#-	<i>x'ita</i>	'she'
	#-#	<i>bix'ə</i>	'sorrow'
	-#	<i>bix'</i>	'cry 2sm'
(26)	#-	<i>ʃona</i>	'he sat down'
	#-#	<i>aŋgatʃa</i>	'cat'
	-#	<i>ərʃ</i>	'boy'
(27)	#-	<i>ɕimat</i>	'Friday'
	#-#	<i>aɕig</i>	'borrow'
	-#	<i>əɕ</i>	'hand'

(28)			
(30)	#-	<i>m^wena</i>	‘uncle’
	#-#	<i>am^worim</i>	‘doing something’
31	#-	<i>nəɾə</i>	‘there is’
	#-#	<i>genzo</i>	‘axe’
	-#	<i>gən</i>	‘country’
32	#-	<i>ləmtʃa</i>	‘twin’
	#-#	<i>səŋk’ala</i>	‘small hut’
33	#-#	<i>getərə</i>	‘bean’
	-#	<i>zəŋgɪr</i>	‘wall’
34	-#	<i>waga</i>	‘money’
	#-#	<i>k’awa</i>	‘coffee’
	-#	<i>gijəw</i>	‘It is a dog.’
35	#-	<i>jira</i>	‘wet’
	#-#	<i>ijja</i>	‘I’
	-#	∅	
(36)	#-	<i>tʃ’iŋgur</i>	‘selfish’
	#-#	<i>ətʃ’ə</i>	‘wood’
	#	<i>k’ətʃ’k’ətʃ’</i>	‘he felt bored’
(37)	#-	<i>mena</i>	‘work’
	#-#	<i>azəmənə</i>	‘wedding’
	-#	<i>tʃənəβom</i>	‘they came’

(38)	#-#	<i>zəŋgír</i>	'wall'
	#-#	<i>afɪŋdʒə</i>	'green pepper'

1B. Chaha Vowel sounds distribution

(39)	#-	<i>ɪβʃə</i>	'I will give'
	#-#	<i>wəβit</i>	'widow'
	-#	<i>wəβi</i>	'donor'

(40)	#-	<i>imar</i>	'donkey'
	#-#	<i>t'irə</i>	'expensive'
	-#	<i>xi</i>	'this'

(41)	#-	<i>udʃə</i>	'I will talk'
	#-#	<i>ɪŋk'us</i>	'silent'
	-#	<i>amədaru</i>	'it is cold'

(42)	#-	<i>eʃot</i>	'he doesn't work'
	#-#	<i>zega</i>	'poor'
	-#	<i>aβe</i>	'he gave me'

(43)	#-	<i>ərbat</i>	‘dinner’
	#-#	<i>arbat</i>	‘four’
	#-	<i>tʃə</i>	‘he ignored’
(44)	#-#	<i>atx^ɨerə</i>	‘he announced’
(45)	#-	<i>oɕə</i>	‘talk’
	#-#	<i>adot</i>	‘mother’
	-#	<i>asso</i>	‘salt’
(46)	#-	<i>arbat</i>	‘four’
	#-#	<i>data</i>	‘chest’
	-#	<i>mura</i>	‘full’

APPENDIX 2 Fedwet

2A. wordlist of Fedwat and Chaha

	Gloss		Fedwet	Chaha
1.	acquire	PFV	<i>irkakəb-ə</i>	<i>nəkəb-ə</i>
		IPFV	<i>ji-rkakəb</i>	<i>ji-rəxib</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə-rkakəb</i>	<i>jə-nikəb</i>
2.	alas		<i>ijənjo</i>	<i>ijojo</i>
3.	amen		<i>i</i>	<i>amen</i>
4.	anywhere		<i>atədim</i>	<i>atime</i>
5.	arrive		<i>ʃinəna</i>	<i>səna</i>
6.	attractive		<i>jiʃirerjə</i>	<i>jiʃir/mərkama/</i>
	not attractive		<i>eʃirerjə</i>	<i>eʃr</i>
7.	axe		<i>genanzo</i>	<i>genzo</i>

8	bad		<i>tʃ'irafa</i>	<i>t'ifwə</i>
9	bad smell		<i>jitʃ'rerjə</i>	<i>jitʃ'jə</i>
10	boy		<i>gurangur</i>	<i>ərtʃ</i>
11	boy (adolescent)		<i>gurmasjə</i>	<i>wədəjə</i>
12	break	PFV	<i>ʃinabərə</i>	<i>səpərə</i>
		IPFV	<i>ji-ʃinabir</i>	<i>ji-səbir</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə-ʃinabir</i>	<i>jə- sibir</i>
13	breakfast		<i>jəgusarə bojə</i>	<i>ginzir</i>
14	breast		<i>kutʃfirit</i>	<i>tuw</i>
15	bride		<i>gufira</i>	<i>miʃira</i>
16	bride room		<i>gərazə</i>	<i>zəgər</i>
17	brother		<i>kərsəmja</i>	<i>g^wope</i>
18	burn	PFV	<i>atʃ'irabəs-ə</i>	<i>mək'ər-ə</i>
		IPFV	<i>ji-tʃ'irabəs</i>	<i>ji- mək'ər</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə- atʃ'rabs</i>	<i>jə -mək'ər</i>
19	butter		<i>k'inabinjə</i>	<i>k'ib</i>
20	buttock		<i>fin</i>	<i>k'in</i>
21	buy	PFV	<i>tʃ'inagur-ə</i>	<i>səj-ə</i>
		IPFV	<i>ji-tʃ'inagur</i>	<i>ji-sijə</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə-tʃ'inagur</i>	<i>jə-səjə</i>
22	cabbage		<i>tʃ'əmaɕə</i>	<i>amibir</i>
23	carry	PFV	<i>tʃ'iwawər-ə</i>	<i>t'or-ə</i>

		IPFV	<i>ji-tf'iwawir</i>	<i>ji-t'or</i>
		JUSS	<i>ja-tf'iwawir</i>	<i>ja -t'or</i>
24	catch	PFV	<i>tf'irabat'-ə</i>	<i>t'əbat'-ə</i>
		IPFV	<i>ji- tf'irabt'</i>	<i>ji- t'əbat'</i>
		JUSS	<i>ja-tf'irabt'</i>	<i>ja- t'əbat'</i>
25	chicken		<i>birajə</i>	<i>kutara</i>
26	close	PFV	<i>fīret'amə -ə</i>	<i>fət'am-ə</i>
		IPFV	<i>ji-fīret'am</i>	<i>ji-fət'am</i>
		JUSS	<i>ja-fīret'am</i>	<i>ja-fət'am</i>
27	clothe		<i>gafgafujə</i>	<i>xuɕr</i>
28	Coffee		<i>k'awk'awjə</i>	<i>k'awa</i>
29	come	PFV	<i>mīrak'-a</i>	<i>tfən-ə</i>
		IPFV	<i>ji-mīrak'a</i>	<i>ji-tfən</i>
		JUSS	<i>ja-mīrak'a</i>	<i>ja- tən</i>
	come (kind of order)		<i>jəxiwaxə</i>	<i>nexə</i>
30	cow		<i>gəmiḃ^wanə</i>	<i>əram</i>
31	cultural drink		<i>fədəbso</i>	<i>səxər/t'əla</i>
32	curse		<i>fīradəbə</i>	<i>fətəbə</i>
33	darkness		<i>gusarə</i>	<i>mīsarə</i>
34	die		<i>tətf'nənəfə/mutatə</i>	<i>motə- m</i>
35	down		<i>idadəgə/ ədadəgo</i> <i>bīrerə 3SM</i>	<i>adəgə</i>

36	dress	PFV	<i>təxdadər-ə</i>	<i>təxətər-ə</i>
		IPFV	<i>ji-txidadər</i>	<i>ji-təxətər</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə- txədadər</i>	<i>jə -təxətər</i>
37	drum		<i>tizjə</i>	<i>andir</i>
38	do not speak		<i>tink'us</i>	<i>ink'us</i>
39	ear		<i>jisəmabo</i>	<i>inzir</i>
40	eat	PFV	<i>wiret'-ə</i>	<i>bən-a</i>
		IPFV	<i>ji-wiret'</i>	<i>ji-bəra</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə-wiret'</i>	<i>jə-bəra</i>
41	egg		<i>birajə jiwiretʃ'an</i>	<i>ink'ura</i>
42.	emit/leave	<i>Juss</i>	<i>girafir</i>	<i>gʃfir</i>
		PFV	<i>girefərə</i>	
43	ensete bread/pith		<i>bok'ijə</i>	<i>wisa</i>
44.	enter	PFV	<i>gʃiraba</i>	<i>gəp-a</i>
		IPFV	<i>ji-gʃiraba</i>	<i>ji- gəba</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə-gʃiraba</i>	<i>ji- gəba</i>
45	epoch		<i>arəd</i>	<i>zəbər</i>
46	exist		<i>aninə</i>	<i>nərə</i>
	not exist		<i>enanə</i>	<i>enə</i>
47	evening		<i>jəmʃafə/təmʃafə</i>	<i>məʃə</i>
48	extract		<i>orat'a</i>	<i>ot'a</i>
49	eye		<i>jiʒaʒbo</i>	<i>en</i>

50	fail		<i>kurtfij</i>	<i>wat'ak'a</i>
51	fire		<i>kufija</i>	<i>asat</i>
52	falling water		<i>f^warf^warja</i>	
53	flow		<i>firasasasa/ tafirasasa</i>	<i>fasasa</i>
54	father		<i>abən</i>	<i>ab</i>
55	Female cult/ great woman		<i>irk'ija gust</i>	<i>nik'ija mišt</i>
56	female genital part		<i>fīriro</i>	<i>fija</i>
57	food		<i>boja</i>	<i>šarət</i>
58	four		<i>g^wararibat</i>	<i>aribat</i>
59	fox		<i>k'amb^wənə</i>	<i>k'awərə</i>
60	friend		<i>fedo</i>	<i>befa</i>
61	frog		<i>k'olatf'a</i>	<i>k'ontf'a</i>
62	garlic		<i>tikunkut</i>	<i>tuma</i>
63	get in		<i>giraba</i>	<i>gəpa</i>
64	girl		<i>zewət</i>	<i>gərəd (for adolescent zijə)</i>
65	give	PFV	<i>irbeb-ə</i>	<i>ab-ə</i>
		IPFV	<i>ji-rbeb</i>	<i>ji-ab</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə-rbeb</i>	<i>jə-ab</i>
66	give birth (for female)		<i>idadəgətf</i>	<i>tf'anətf</i>
67	go	PFV	<i>fīnak-a</i>	<i>fəka</i>

		IPFV	<i>ji-finaka</i>	<i>ji- fəka</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə-finaka</i>	<i>ji- fəka</i>
68	god/ great man		<i>irk'ija gus</i>	<i>g^weta</i>
69	hair		<i>fəgər</i>	<i>gunər</i>
70	hand		<i>əɖiɖ</i>	<i>əɖ</i>
71	he		<i>zadata</i>	<i>gəgəta</i>
72	head		<i>fəgər</i>	<i>gunər</i>
73	hear	PFV	<i>firema</i>	<i>səma</i>
		IPFV	<i>ji-firema</i>	<i>ji- səma</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə-firema</i>	<i>jə- səma</i>
74	here		<i>zəde</i>	<i>zixe</i>
75	hit	PFV	<i>dirarəg-ə</i>	<i>dənəg-ə</i>
		IPFV	<i>ji-dirarəg</i>	<i>ji- dərg</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə-dirarəg</i>	<i>jə-dirəg</i>
76	honey		<i>jitf'irem</i>	<i>wijə</i>
77	home		<i>g^wərjə</i>	<i>bet</i>
78	how		<i>fīrwət</i>	<i>məmīr</i>
79	how much		<i>fīrt</i>	<i>mīraxīr</i>
80	husband		<i>gus</i>	<i>mīs</i>
81	hyena		<i>goɖə/imumjə</i>	<i>g^wəntfə</i>
82	I		<i>zədəna</i>	<i>ijja</i>

83	Insult	PFV	<i>k'irerəm-ə ik'irarəmo</i>	<i>k'anəmə</i>
			<i>birerə /</i>	<i>ji-k'ərəm</i>
		IPFV	<i>ji-k'irarm</i>	<i>jə-k'ərəm</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə-k'irarm</i>	
84	kill		<i>af'inafa</i>	<i>k'ət'ərə</i>
85	knife		<i>zəg^warə</i>	<i>zənbərə</i>
86	know		<i>k'irajə</i>	<i>xarə</i>
87	knowledgeable		<i>kiraj-i</i>	<i>xar-i</i>
88	land		<i>tʃafər</i>	<i>afər</i>
89	leather		<i>k^wərbija</i>	<i>danərə</i>
90	lemon		<i>bulalomi</i>	<i>lomi</i>
91	leopard		<i>zənbərə</i>	<i>zəg^warə</i>
92	liver		<i>gubit</i>	<i>xəbt</i>
93	lonely		<i>baxurərə</i>	<i>imatənə</i>
94	lost		<i>k'inanəm</i>	<i>k'anəm</i>
95	male genital part		<i>zafzafujə</i>	<i>k'omba</i>
96	man		<i>gus</i>	<i>mis</i>
97	marry		<i>agⁱiraba</i>	<i>agiba</i>
98	market		<i>tɪngera</i>	<i>gəbija</i>
98	meat		<i>tʃ'amburerijə</i> <i>/tʃ'amibusijə</i>	<i>bəsər</i>
99	milk		<i>fəngəʃə</i>	<i>eb</i>
100	money		<i>tʃirbit/tʃimburjə</i>	<i>waga</i>
101	morning		<i>jədadərbo</i>	<i>k'irərə</i>

102	mother	<i>iməɲ</i>	<i>adot</i>
103	mouth	<i>tʃafit</i>	<i>aɲf</i>
104	much/plenty	<i>bizəza</i>	<i>basa</i>
105	night	<i>mifafə/təmfafə/ jəmfafə birerə</i>	<i>məfə</i>
106	no	<i>binaj</i>	<i>be</i>
107	now and again	<i>əxudm əxudm</i>	<i>əxuwam əxuwam</i>
108	okay	<i>ed</i>	<i>əgi</i>
109	old person	<i>gurgif/ g^wanguf</i>	<i>barik'</i>
110	Old woman	<i>irk'ija guft/ damamwit</i>	<i>nik'jə miʃt</i>
111	open	<i>kirafət-ə</i> <i>ji-kiraft</i> <i>jə- kiraft</i>	<i>kəfət-ə</i> <i>ji-kəft</i> <i>jə-kift</i>
112	orange	<i>biranut</i>	<i>birtukan</i>
113	pan	<i>gudad</i>	<i>midad</i>
114	path	<i>jimirak'ibo</i>	
115	play	<i>fik[']ak[']ər</i>	<i>fik[']r</i>
116	Please (for female)	<i>xəɖiwaf</i>	<i>xədəf</i>
117	poke	<i>wiraga</i>	<i>wəka</i>
118	priest	<i>k'usk'uwas</i>	<i>k'ijəs</i>
119	puff	<i>kuff</i>	<i>iff</i>
120	pull	<i>izazəfə/ jəzazəfo</i>	<i>zafə</i>

		<i>bīrera</i>		
121	resemble/look		<i>misasərə/ jamisasr</i>	<i>məsərə/ jīməs</i>
122	run	PFV	<i>tərwawət'-ə</i>	<i>not'-ə</i>
		IPFV	<i>jī -tərawawət'</i>	<i>jī - rot'</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə-tərawawət'</i>	<i>jə- rot'</i>
123	Say		<i>bīrer-ə/ burer-ə</i>	<i>bar-ə</i>
124	See		<i>izazə</i>	<i>afə</i>
125	sexual relation		<i>girafa</i>	<i>fīra</i>
126	Seven		<i>g^warsəbatəda</i>	<i>səbat</i>
127	she		<i>zədax'ta</i>	<i>x'ta</i>
128	snach		<i>bīrada</i>	<i>bəta</i>
129	Snake		<i>jəsər wədərə</i>	<i>tjīrə</i>
130	silent		<i>t'īnik'us</i>	<i>īnik'us</i>
131	Sit down/sleep		<i>fīnguf</i>	<i>tjona/təgətərə</i>
132	Six		<i>g^warsidistəda</i>	<i>sidsit</i>
133	Slaughtered		<i>gunantfi/īnanətf'i</i>	<i>antf'i/ artf'i</i>
134	Spear		<i>jīwiragbo</i>	<i>tj'əx^wə</i>
135	sprit of damam ^w it		<i>fojat</i>	
136	Stand		<i>k'urəmə</i>	<i>k'omə</i>
137	Stand up		<i>təgunəsa</i>	<i>təsa</i>
138	Stick		<i>k'ət'k'ət'jə</i>	<i>īnt'ar</i>
139	Stone		<i>tjīmir</i>	<i>īmir</i>
140	take		<i>wirasədə</i>	<i>wəsədə</i>

141	tell	<i>irwawədə</i>	<i>oda</i>
142	threaten	<i>əʒinanəfə/əʒinanəfo</i> <i>birerəm</i>	<i>afinanəfə</i>
143	tomorrow	<i>nəgədiʒə</i>	<i>nəgə</i>
144	tooth	<i>fəkəskəs</i>	<i>sin</i>
145	there	<i>xədə</i>	<i>xixe</i>
146	throat	<i>jiwiretf'bo</i>	<i>wirawr</i>
147	tired	<i>k'iret'ə</i>	<i>k'et'ə</i>
148	tomato	<i>timəto</i>	<i>timatim</i>
149	tomorrow	<i>nəgədiʒə</i>	<i>nəgə</i>
150	ugly	<i>efirerjə</i>	<i>efr</i>
151	uncle	<i>jəgirant'o</i>	<i>m^wena</i>
152	unfortunately, (interjection)	<i>girardo</i>	<i>gido</i>
153	waterfall	<i>f^vor^vorjə</i>	<i>f^vaf^vate</i>
154	wear	<i>təxdadərə</i>	<i>təxətə ə</i>
155	where	<i>etate</i>	<i>ete</i>
156	whose	<i>jəf^van</i>	<i>jəm^wan</i>
157	what	<i>fīr</i>	<i>mīr</i>
158	who	<i>f^wan</i>	<i>m^wan</i>
159	why	<i>jəfīr</i>	<i>jəmīr</i>
160	wife	<i>guft</i>	<i>mīft</i>
161	woman	<i>guft</i>	<i>mīft</i>
162	yes	<i>aw</i>	<i>jo</i>

163	You (2SM)	<i>zədaxə</i>	<i>axə</i>
164	You (2SF)	<i>zədax^j</i>	<i>ax^j</i>
165	You (2PM)	<i>zədaxu</i>	<i>axu</i>
166	You (2PF)	<i>zədaxima</i>	<i>axima</i>
167	They (F)	<i>zədəxinəma</i>	<i>xinəma</i>
168.	They (M.)	<i>zədəxino</i>	<i>xino</i>

2D. Texts of Fedwet

1. Fedwet *abənim enane imənim enane zədiməna baxurəre zədiməna jəgusinxu jəgus afirakəwi*
Chaha *abim ene adotim ene ijam imatənanxu jəmisinXu jəmis afikəwi*
Gloss I do not have father and mother, I am alone, separate me from my husband.
2. Fedwet *enane*
Chaha *ene*
Gloss I do not have
3. Fedwet *irbebi*
Chaha *ebi*
Gloss give (2FS) to him!
4. Fedwet *binaj bireri*
Chaha *baj bəji*
Gloss You (2FS)!refuse him' kind of order
5. Fedwet *ijənjo ijənjo gurmasijə jimtate*
Chaha *ijo ijo wədəja jidərgə*
Gloss alas (kind of interjection) he hits me.
6. Fedwet *imumuja jiwert'ete*
Chaha *gontʃə jibərete*
Gloss hyena will have bit me.
7. Fedwet *ətəkuwakuse*
Chaha *əkise*
Gloss wait (2MS) me! kind of intimidation
8. Fedwet *zədiməna izazak'im*

- Chaha *gəgməna afək'im*
- Gloss I saw you (3FS)
9. Fedwet *zədməx'j iribebi zədiməna iribebinte*
- Chaha *gəgax'j ebi gəgəna iwunte*
- Gloss I myself will give him, you yourself give him too.
10. Fedwet *binadem*
- Chaha *bətem*
- Gloss He snatched something from me.
11. Fedwet *bəzədəne bəg'wərxə*
- inanətf'i tʃ'amiburərxə*
- bəʃirerənax'j wıretʃ'i*
- banʃirerənax'j tʃireri*
- Chaha *binabet bəsər anıtf'im/nərə bəsərənax'j bıjə banısarənax'j taji*
- Gloss meat is serving in our home, if you want you can eat if you do not leave it.
12. Fedwet *ırwawətf'im nex'iıwax'j*
- Chaha *notʃ'im nex'j*
- Gloss run and come (2SF)
13. Fedwet *tʃirerimta nex'iıwax'j*
- Chaha *tajimta nex'j*
- Gloss You (2FS) leave it and come.
14. Fedwet *g'wərxəna ıgirabate*
- Chaha *bətəna ıgəbate*
- Gloss I will get my home
15. Fedwet *nex'iıwax'j zewət g'wərxənda nıfınakanə*

- Chaha *nex^j gərə betənda niwərnə*
- Gloss You (2FS) come on let us go to our home !
17. Fedwet *zədiməta anfirerən*
- Chaha *xuta ansarən*
- Gloss He is not happy.
18. Fedwet *zədiməna anfirere anfinaka*
- Chaha *ijja ansare anar*
- Gloss I am not happy; I will not go.
19. Fedwet *babəjnəne g^wərjə idadərxum*
- Chaha *babane bet atərxum*
- Gloss I spend the night in my father home.
20. Fedwet *zewət niwinat'anə*
- Chaha *gərə nit'anə*
- Gloss You (girl) let us go.
21. Fedwet *ijənjə mik^jak^jərem*
- Chaha *ijo ijo mək^jərem*
- Gloss alas!(interjection) it burns me.
22. Fedwet *jəft'at'əro bureri*
- Chaha *nift'ine*
- Gloss let us lie.
23. Fedwet *iniribəbix'i*
- Chaha *inabx'i*
- Gloss do not give (2SF) him
24. Fedwet *binaj anirbeb*
- Chaha *be/ baj anib*

- Gloss no! I do not give
25. Fedwet *jimirak'ate*
- Chaha *jitfante*
- Gloss he will come.
26. Fedwet *narwat tirbebixə*
- Chaha *damam^wit tabixə*
- Gloss May great woman give you (2SM)! kind of blessing
27. Fedwet *irk'ja guft tizəzixə*
- Chaha *nik'jə miŋt tizixə*
- Gloss Let great woman see you (cursing)
28. Fedwet *irk'ja guft tidirarigixə*
- Chaha *nik'jə miŋt tidirigixə*
- Gloss great woman hits you(2SM)
29. Fedwet *gurmasijə mirak'am*
- Chaha *ərtf tʃənəm*
- Gloss He came.
30. Fedwet *nəgədiyə mirak'ate*
- Chaha *nəgə itənfə*
- Gloss I will come tomorrow !
31. Fedwet *animirak'a*
- Chaha *antʃən*
- Gloss I do not come
32. Fedwet *zewət nəgədiyə niŋinakanəfə*
- Chaha *gərə nəgə niwənəfə*
- Gloss You (2SF) ! we will go tomorrow

33. Fedwet *zədəna nəgədiyə anifinaka*
 Chaha *ijja nəgə anifəka/anar*
 Gloss I will not go tomorrow.
34. Fedwet *fə fə fə bəwīrerjə*
bəbəjənə bīmənja
bəbəjənə bəg^wərjə bīməjənə bəg^wərjə
inanətf'im tʃ'amburerjə
bəfrerənax^j wīretʃ'i bənsrerənax^j tʃireri
g^wəriyə jəgīrafax^j bazafuzafujə
 Chaha *fə fə ...bab badotəna bet bəsər anitʃ'im bəsərənax^j bijə bənsərənax^j*
taji betətə jīsdim jagabax^j
 Gloss In our home meat is serving if you need you can eat otherwise
 you can neglect it; He takes you in the house !(kind of order)
 taboo
35. Fedwet *jənərwəte nifinakanə fə fə niwīrernə*
 Chaha *nikiranəm nīrədinəm jəmīribə/nərwət/ miʃt natfək'irnə*
 Gloss let us move to the damamwit and play with her.
36. Fedwet *zewət jəzədax^je gurmasijə idadəgo birerem*
 Chaha *gərə jax^je wədəja dənəgem*
 Gloss Your(2SF) adolescent hits me!
37. Fedwet *jəfīr? g^wərjətə nāfinakax^j burərəm*
 Chaha *jəmīr? betətə nīsdix^j barem*
 Gloss why? He asked me to go his home.
38. Fedwet *ədadəgo birerem əzazəfo birerem jəfīr adirargi binanə bəɟiɟax^j*
binanə binaj birerem jəzazəfo birerem
 Chaha *dənəgem zafem jəmīr atidərgi banə bəɟax^j be barem*

- Gloss he hits me, he pulls me,
why you hit him on our hand?
he refuses me
39. Fedwet *əzɪnanəfo bɪrɪrɛm g^wərijətə nɑfɪnɑkɑx^j bɪrərəm*
Chaha *ɑfɪrɑnəfɛm bɛtətɑ nɪsdɪx^j bərəm*
Gloss he intimidated me and asked me to go his home.
40. Fedwet *əzɪnanəfo tɪbɪrɛrx^j ɑgɪrɑrəfo tɪbɪrɛrx^j bɪnɑj bɪrɪrɪ*
Chaha *tɪjɑfɪrɑnfɪx^j bɛ bəjɪ*
Gloss Refuse (2SF) him , when he intimidates you
41. Fedwet *bɪnɑj bɪrɪrɪ bɪnɑj ɑtɪwɪrɪrɪ bɪnɑnə*
Chaha *bɛ bəjɪ bɛ ɑtɪbɪ bɑnə*
Gloss say no !why did not you say no?
42. Fedwet *ɛjɪd jəfɪr jək^mmɑmɔ jɪwərə ɑnɪxurɛrə*
Chaha *jəmɪr jɪk^jəmɛ ɑnɪxərə*
Gloss INTR. why? he is more powerful than me
43. Fedwet *nəriwət tɑtʃⁿɑf^wɑn jɑtʃⁿɑfɑx^j bɪnɑnə nəriwət tɑtʃⁿɑfɪwɑn*
Chaha *nɪk^jɪjə mɪʃt tɑtʃ^fɪwɑn jət^əfɑx^je bɑnə jɪwəsdx^j bɑnə*
Gloss great woman kills him, would he foil you?
44. Fedwet *gⁱɪrɑb^əm jəbɑɲɑx^j ɪrwawədɔ bɪrɪrɪ*
Chaha *bɛtɑx^j gɪbɪjəmɪtɑ jɛbɑx^j ɔɕjɪ*
Gloss You (2SF) go to home and tell your father.
45. Fedwet *ɛjɪd jəfɪrɑrəfo ɪwɛr ɪfɪrɑnɪf ɑnɪrwawəd jɑbɑɲɑnɑ jəfɪrɑnəfo ɪwɪrɛr*
Chaha *ɑnʊd əsərʃ jɑbɑnɑ ɪsərʃ*
Gloss I do not want to tell my father, I am afraid.
46. Fedwet *jəmɑɲɑx^j ɪrwawədɕɔ bɪrɪrɪjɑ*

- Chaha *jadotax^j oðʒja*
- Gloss tell (2SF) to your mother.
47. Fedwet *ejd zewət ifk^ʰak^ʰʰəre irwawət'e tixurəre anirwawd*
- Chaha *jəfk^ʰir iwət'e tixəre anud*
- Gloss (interjection) she will not allow me to go out for play, I do not tell
48. Fedwet *xəðʒiwəʃ tʃamb^wasijə/tʃamburerjə irbebn*
- Chaha *xəðʒəʃ bəsər nemn*
- Gloss please, give me meat.
49. Fedwet *tʃireʃ firakijə*
- Chaha *fik^ʰə*
- Gloss You (2FS.) get out of my way ! go!
50. Fedwet *gufira wirat'atʃmiwe?*
- Chaha *miʃira fəkatʃimiwe?*
- Gloss does bride go away?
51. Fedwet *k'ət'k'ət'ijə orat'ax^ʰimiwe?*
- Chaha *int'ir otax^ʰimiwe*
- Gloss do you bring out stick?
52. Fedwet *tʃireʃ firaka*
- Chaha *fika*
- Gloss you (3SM) go out.
53. Fedwet *tʃiwawərem*
- Chaha *tʃ'orem*
- Gloss I am in a trouble
55. Fedwet *gusxuta niʃfraranə jibrere*

- Chaha *misxuta ingodk'ar jibre*
 Gloss the man asks me sexual issues
56. Fedwet *nərwət tırbebiχ^j*
 Chaha *nərwət (g^weta) tabiχ^j*
 Gloss May the great woman offer you(2FS)
57. Fedwet *guft wıret'ax^jmiwe?*
 Chaha *miſt bənax^jmiwe?*
 Gloss do you eat(2FS)?
58. Fedwet *zədaxə birak'axəm*
 Chaha *axə tſənəxəm*
 Gloss Did you come?
59. Fedwet *kurfif birerχ^jim zədax^j jəχ^jiwa^j təgunəfə*
 Chaha *wət'ək'ſim ax^j təfə*
 Gloss Did you (2FS) fall down? come on stand up!
60. Fedwet *jədirarəgo bireri*
 Chaha *dirgi*
 Gloss You (2FS) hit him!
61. Fedwet *jədirarəgo birerja fojat enənəbχ^j*
 Chaha *dirgija mojat enəbχ^j*
 Gloss hit her, you do not have a sprit
62. Fedwet *təzədəna inbirak'ax^j fojat enənəbiχ^j*
 Chaha *jijaxe intſənəχ^j mojat enəbiχ^j*
 Gloss Do not come with me, you do not have a sprit.
63. Fedwet *jədirarəgo ibireχ^jte xəde finakijə imbrak'ax^j təzədəna fojat enənəbiχ^j
 jəfir tımırak'i təzədəna əſ xəde finakijə jədirarəgo ibireχ^jte*

- Chaha *təgəgəna intʃənəxʲ moʃət enəbxʲ idərgixʲte xətʃe we*
- Gloss I will hit you; go there do not come to me; you do not have spirit, why you come to me go there.
64. Fedwet *jəfɪr tɪmɪrək'a xədə fɪnaka ɪmbɪrək'axə təzədəna əʃ jədɪrərəgo tɪbɪrərɛw*
- Chaha *jəmɪr tɪʃən xe wər intʃənəx jɪjaxe tɪdərɣew tɪʃən*
- Gloss why you come, go there, do not come to me, do you come to hit me?
65. Fedwet *xədə fɪnəkəma zədaxma ɪdɪrərəgo ɪbɪrərxɪma*
- Chaha *ɪdərgixmate xətʃe wərəma jəmɪr zɪxə tɪʃənəma*
- Gloss go there; I will hit you (2FP)
66. Fedwet *jəxɪwaxɪma xədə nɪfɪnakanə ʃ'amburərjə namɪrək'anəte*
- Chaha *nexɪma xətʃe nɪwənə bəsər natʃənəte*
- Gloss Come (2PF) let us move there, we will bring meat
67. Fedwet *enənə angunanətʃ'i/ɪnanətʃ' jəxəxwaxɪma enənə burərɪm*
- Chaha *anantʃi enə buwarɪm*
- Gloss There is no meat, not slaughtered.
68. Fedwet *jəxɪwaxma nɪfɪnakanə ʃamburərjə enənə burərɪm*
- Chaha *nexma nɪfkanə bəsər enə buwarɪm*
- Gloss come on, let us go there, they said, there is no meat
69. Fedwet *jəxɪwaxma bəzədə jəfɪk'ɪjak'ɪjəro nɪbɪrernə xədə anfɪnakanə*
- Chaha *xətʃe anarnə bəzɪm nɪtɪfəkərnə*
- Gloss come on, we play here; do not go there
70. Fedwet *1. jəxɪwaxɪma bəxədə ʃ'amburərjə jɪwɪrernɪdətə nɪfɪnakanə*
2. buni burərəmajo enənə anɪfɪnakanə

- Chaha *nexma bəxəʃe bəsər jiwundəte niwənə*
be bərojo enə anarnə
- Gloss 1. come on, let us move there, they will give us meat
 2. refuse them, there is no meat, we will not go there
71. Fedwet *atədim anixurernə bəzədime jəfk^ʰak^ʰijəro nibirərnəte*
 Chaha *atime anarinə bizim nitifək^ʰərnəte*
 Gloss we do not go anywhere; we will play here.
72. Fedwet *imumjə ewirert^ʰində atədm ebirərnida*
 Chaha *gontʃə ebəranda atik^ʰar ebrinda*
 Gloss hyena does not bite us.
73. Fedwet *təzədaxu anfinakanə jədīrarəgo tibireronda*
 Chaha *taxu anarnə tidərgonda*
 Gloss we do not go with you; you will hit us
74. Fedwet *tʃ^ʰink^ʰus birerəma bəzəde təgunasəma*
 Chaha *k^ʰus bərəmam imborxima beze torəma*
 Gloss Be Silent and sit here !
75. Fedwet *jixiwaxima nifnakanə tʃ^ʰamiburjə ananə birerom*
jəxiwaxima nifnakanə bəxəde jəf^ʰik^ʰijəro nibrernəʃə
 Chaha *nexma niwərnə bəsər nərə barom niwənə bəxime nitifək^ʰərnəʃə*
 Gloss let us move, they said there is a meat, we will play there
76. Fedwet *abəja fedo fedo*
abəja fedo fedo
girardo girardo
bəxəde gufira jibinado

fə fə fə jəwirerjə
gurenətf'im tʃ'amburerjə
guriɔʒif jaginabaxʲ
bəzafuzafujə
bəfanfɪnak^{wi} bərguz gurage fə
fə fə bəfinaxʲ tʃafər jəginafɪwi guʃ

Chaha

bəsa bəsa
bəsa bəsa
gido gido
bəxətʃe miʃira jiwəsdo
zəgər agəpojam
fə fə jiwiri
bəsər anitʃ'im
barik' jagbaxʲ
bə.....
bək'inaxʲ afər jəxure

Gloss

friend friend
friend friend
alas alas!!!
they are taking bride there
say fə fə/insulting/
slaughtered meat
old person marries you
he gets you in the bride room

		taboo
		put soil in your body
77	Fedwet	<i>xəde bɪfɪnakɪwi ejawo</i>
		<i>ʈ'amiburjə abɪnak'wi ejawo</i>
		<i>jəʈək'wəsne ejawo</i>
		<i>jəʈ'kuwak'wəsne ejawo</i>
		<i>jəʈʷanərbɪni ejawo</i>
		<i>kote atabɪnk'ebi</i>
	Chaha	<i>bɛʃa bɛʃa</i>
		<i>xəʈɛ nɪwənə</i>
		<i>bəsər natənə</i>
		<i>jəʈək'wəsne jəmʷan nibinətə</i>
		<i>bəmʷn norane</i>
		<i>xəʈɛ nɪsɪdɪnem bəxe nagɪbane</i>
		<i>xəʈəʃ atətənɪbi</i>
	Gloss	friend friend
		let us go there
		bring (1P) meat
		that we beg, for whom we give it?
		Where we put it
		Let us take and put there
		Kind of interjection (please care me from bad things)
78	Fedwet	<i>ʈ'amiburjə ɪrbeɪn ʈ'imiburjə ɪrbeɪn</i>
	Chaha	<i>bəsər ebn fɪrank eɪn</i>
	Gloss	give me meat, give me money

- 79 Fedwet *tʃ'amiburjə benanə tʃ'imburjə irbebin zədane enane jəgɪdado birərem*
 Chaha *bəsər benə firank ebin gəgəna ene gadem*
 Gloss if you do not have meat, give me money, I am starved.
- 80 Fedwet *nərwət atiribexə zədaxə jəmətato birer*
 Chaha *damamwit atibixə mut*
 Gloss sprit (nərwət) does not bless you, you got dead (kind of cursing)
- 81 Fedwet *tʃ'amiburjə ex'iraro burerx'inm bəfinaxʃ afər jəginafuwi*
 Chaha *bəsər xənax'nim bək'inaxʃ afər jəxuri*
 Gloss You (2FS) refuse me meat, put soil in your buttock.
- 83 Fedwet *əxo xo xo*
mʷəwəjəto mʷəwəjəto əxo xo xo
mʷəwəjəto irk'ja guʃto
mʷəwəjəto imənto
jəmʷokijərər tʃafər ee əxo xo xo
afini mijətəee əxo xo xo
mʷəwəjəto mʷəwəjəto
bifəsa jədɪmamədəee əxo xo xo
o o o eje eje
 Gloss Kind of blessing for the place where the source of (starting place)
 mʷəjət calls “mʷokijərər”
 Please, the spirit of mʷəjət Come with us and rest here in our
 village
- 84 Fedwet *jək'ibabo nibirerixʃ birerəʃfem*
 Chaha *k'ib nik'baxʃ barəʃfem*
 Gloss she said me, smear on butter

- 85 Fedwet *anitik'naba jätginafani*
 Chaha *anitik'əpa jədəfani*
 Gloss Do not smear me, I do not want
- 86 Fedwet *gusixuta əxudm əxudm nigirafabx^j jibirire*
 Chaha *misxuta əxuwam əxuwam nifiranə jibire*
 Gloss husband-Def now and again-Adverb intercourse- 1P-IPFV. ask-1S
- 87 Fedwet *k'orba təzafzafujə jittf'remo bəgusarjə bətf'atf'i g^wərjə*
 Gloss It is talking about what happens in the night about husband and wife
- 89 Fedwet *jək'irarəmo birerətfem ik'irərminate*
 Chaha *k'anəmətfem ik'ərminate*
 Gloss she insulted me; I will insult her
- 90 Fedwet *g'inafire jət'abət'o atibirere g'inafire*
 Chaha *atit'ibt'e gifire*
 Gloss do not catch me.
- 92 Fedwet *fojat enanəba jəzədimaxə tixurer*
 Chaha *mojət enəba jəgəgimaxə tixir*
 Gloss She does not have a spirit; make her yourself
- 93 Fedwet *təzədimaxə jət'babət'o birerm fīnaka*
 Chaha *gəgimaxə t'ibt'inam fika*
 Gloss you caught her and go with her.
- 94 Fedwet *jəfir timirak'a təzədəna jəwisasədo tibirerew*
 Chaha *jənək'ar tiftən təgəgəna tiwəsdewe*
 Gloss why do you come with me? do you take me?

APPENDIX 3 Fuga

3A. word list of Fuga and Chaha

No.	Gloss	<i>Fuga</i>	<i>Chaha</i>
1.	antelope	<i>durəs</i>	<i>wənk'ə</i>
2.	bamboo	<i>oʃəs</i>	<i>inet</i>
3.	basket	<i>dadərəs</i>	<i>kirtʃ'at</i>
4	boy	<i>najəs</i>	<i>ərtʃ</i>
5	buttock	<i>k'orəs</i>	<i>k'in</i>
6	bean	<i>tʃ'it'əs/ʃit'əs</i>	<i>bak'era</i>
7	breast	<i>t'aməs</i>	<i>t'uw</i>
8	cabbage	<i>saməs</i>	<i>amibir</i>
9	cheese	<i>mark'ijəs</i>	<i>k'esa</i>
10	chicken	<i>kanfəs</i>	<i>kutara</i>
11	chief of Fuga	<i>əg^wəs</i>	<i>dəmam</i>
12	Children	<i>k'otʃ'ərəs</i>	<i>dəngija</i>
13	Chillies powder	<i>mitʃirəs</i>	<i>afinɕə</i>
14	cigarette, tobacco	<i>tʃiwəs</i>	<i>timbaxo</i>
15	clothe	<i>firəs</i>	<i>xuɕir</i>
16	coffee	<i>k'ijiwəs</i>	<i>k'awa</i>
17	cow	<i>matarəs</i>	<i>əram</i>
18	cultural drink (Arak'e)	<i>g'əzəz</i>	<i>arək'e</i>
19	dark, dim	<i>t'əmanəs</i>	<i>t'ənəma</i>
20	dog	<i>xarəs</i>	<i>gijə</i>

21	elder	<i>goganəs</i>	<i>barik'</i>
22	Enjera/Ethiopian food	<i>ʃifuwəs</i>	<i>indʒərə</i>
23	ensete	<i>ajəs</i>	<i>əsət</i>
24	evil eye (the lower caste group)	<i>madəs</i>	<i>buda/fak'i</i>
25	father	<i>abadəs</i>	<i>ab</i>
26	female genital part	<i>bik'ijəs</i>	<i>ʃijə</i>
27	field	<i>motəs</i>	<i>wərajə</i>
28	food	<i>k'ər'tf'əs</i>	<i>ʃərət</i>
29	foot	<i>ʃəmwəs</i>	<i>əgɪr</i>
30	fuga (artisans)	<i>gaməs</i>	<i>fuga</i>
31	gazelle	<i>zak'irəs</i>	<i>g'imbe</i>
32	girl	<i>naxət'əs</i>	<i>gərəd</i>
33	hair	<i>sonəs</i>	<i>gunər</i>
34	hand	<i>xufəs</i>	<i>əɖ</i>
35	head	<i>sonəs</i>	<i>gunər</i>
36	house	<i>xet'əs</i>	<i>bet</i>
37	hundred	<i>mufəs</i>	<i>bək'ər</i>
38	hyena	<i>asenwət</i>	<i>g^wəntʃə</i>
39	knife	<i>ʃandəs</i>	<i>sənda</i>
40	mad	<i>ʃenəs</i>	<i>ʃɪrʃirtənə</i>
41	man	<i>adəs</i>	<i>mɪs</i>
42	market	<i>int'irəs</i>	<i>gəbija</i>

43	meat	<i>ek'əs</i>	<i>bəsər</i>
44	milk	<i>mat'əs</i>	<i>eb</i>
45	money	<i>k'axəs</i>	<i>fīrank/waga</i>
46	mother	<i>imtīrəs</i>	<i>adot</i>
47	mourning	<i>enfəs</i>	<i>bix'ə</i>
48	ox	<i>b^wurəs</i>	<i>bora</i>
49	path	<i>wajət</i>	<i>ema</i>
50	pith from ensete	<i>ɕowəs</i>	<i>wisa</i>
51	potato	<i>gəmb^wəs</i>	<i>dintfa</i>
52	pregnant	<i>tək'inamarəs</i>	<i>x^wetarwa</i>
53	'pure Gurage' (zəra)	<i>wagəs</i>	<i>gurage</i>
54	servant	<i>k'it'əs</i>	<i>jədəmozijə</i>
55	sheep	<i>zɪngiwəs</i>	<i>t'e</i>
56	sorrow	<i>enfəs</i>	<i>bix'ə</i>
57	spear	<i>tʃ'adərəs</i>	<i>tʃ'əx^wə</i>
58	talk (n)	<i>fok'ijəs</i>	<i>oɕə</i>
59	talkative (adj.)	<i>jəfok'ijəsja</i>	<i>oɕama</i>
60	thief	<i>t'iməs</i>	<i>neba</i>
61	tooth	<i>antʃ'əs</i>	<i>sɪn</i>
62	tree	<i>gojəs</i>	<i>atankirt</i>
63	urine	<i>ʃijəs</i>	<i>sɪmat</i>
64	water	<i>xadəs</i>	<i>ixa</i>
65	wife	<i>matʃəs</i>	<i>mɪʃt</i>

66	woman	<i>matfəs</i>	<i>mɪft</i>
67	wood	<i>gojəs</i>	<i>ətʃʼə</i>
68	work	<i>gədəbəs</i>	<i>mena</i>

3B. List of Fuga Verb

Gloss			<i>Fuga</i>	<i>Chaha</i>
69	acquire	PFV	<i>awəx-ə</i>	<i>nəkəb-ə</i>
		IPFV	<i>jɪ-wəx</i>	<i>jɪ-rəxb</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə-wəx</i>	<i>jə-nikəb</i>
70 .	burn (vt)	PFV	<i>tʼim^wə-n</i>	<i>məkʼərə-n</i>
		PFV-obj	<i>tʼim^wu-nm</i>	<i>məkijərə-n</i>
		IPFV	<i>jɪ- tʼim^wu-n</i>	<i>jɪ- məkijərə-n</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə- tʼim^wu-n</i>	<i>jə- məkijərə-n</i>
71	circumfix		<i>Sutʃʼijam</i>	<i>tʼeberawnijam</i>
72	come	PFV	<i>wəx-ə</i>	<i>tʃən-ə</i>
		IPFV	<i>jɪ-wəx</i>	<i>jɪ-tʃən</i>
		Juss	<i>jə-wəx</i>	<i>jə-tʃən</i>
73	become evening		<i>kʼijəməm</i>	<i>məʃəm</i>
74	be frightened	PFV	<i>itʃ-ə</i>	<i>sənəf-ə</i>
		IPFV	<i>jɪ-itʃ</i>	<i>jɪ- sərʃ</i>

		JUSS	<i>jə- itʃ</i>	<i>jə- sɪrʃ</i>
75	cry	PFV	<i>enʃ - ə</i>	<i>bəkʲəm</i>
		IPFV	<i>ji-enʃ</i>	<i>ji-bəkʲ</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə-enʃ</i>	<i>jə-bəkʲ</i>
76	die	PFV	<i>xʲin-ə</i>	<i>mot-ə</i>
		IPFV	<i>ji-xʲin</i>	<i>ji-mot</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə-xʲin</i>	<i>jə-mut</i>
77	drink	PFV	<i>wəʃ-ə</i>	<i>sətʃʹ-ə</i>
		IPFV	<i>ji-wəʃ</i>	<i>ji-sətʃʹ</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə-wəʃ</i>	<i>jə-sətʃʹ</i>
78	eat	PFV	<i>kʲijantʃʹ-ə</i>	<i>bəna-m</i>
		IPFV	<i>ji- kʲijantʃʹ</i>	<i>ji- bəra</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə- kʲijantʃʹ</i>	<i>jə- bəra</i>
79	give	PFV	<i>im-ə</i>	<i>ab-ə</i>
		IPFV	<i>ji-im</i>	<i>ji- ab</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə-im</i>	<i>jə - ab</i>
80	give me		<i>ime</i>	<i>abe/name</i>
81	give birth	PFV	<i>kʲant-ətʃ</i>	<i>tʃʹənətʃ</i>
82	go	PFV	<i>amm-ə</i>	<i>fəka/wər-ə</i>
		IPFV	<i>ji-amm</i>	<i>ji-fəka</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə-amm</i>	<i>jə -fəka</i>
83	hit	PFV	<i>kʲitʃʹ -ə</i>	<i>dənəg-ə</i>

		IPFV	<i>jì-k'ətʃ'</i>	<i>jì-dərəg</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə-k'itʃ'</i>	<i>jə-dirg</i>
84	hold	PFV	<i>ont'-ə</i>	<i>t'əbət'-ə</i>
		IPFV	<i>jì- ont'</i>	<i>jì- t'əbt'</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə-ont'</i>	<i>jə- t'əbt'</i>
85	know	PFV	<i>dan-ə</i>	<i>xar-ə</i>
		IPFV	<i>jì- dan</i>	<i>jì- x'ir</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə- dan</i>	<i>jə- xar</i>
86	Pain/ill	PFV- obj(3SM)	<i>gijantʃ-ənm</i>	<i>k'ijəm^w- ənm</i>
87	see	PFV	<i>bek'-ə</i>	<i>af-ə</i>
		IPFV	<i>jì-bek'</i>	<i>jì-af</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə-bek'</i>	<i>jə- af</i>
88	sit	PFV	<i>fīb-ə</i>	<i>tʃon-a</i>
		IPFV	<i>jì-fīb</i>	<i>jì-tʃon</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə-fīb</i>	<i>jə-tora</i>
89	slaughter	PFV	<i>sut'-ə</i>	<i>ant'-ə</i>
		PFV-obj	<i>sut'-ə-nm</i>	<i>ant'-ə-nm</i>
		IPFV	<i>jì-sut'</i>	<i>jì-art'</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə-sut'</i>	<i>jə-art'</i>
90	sleep	PFV	<i>fīb-ə</i>	<i>təgətər-ə</i>
		IPFV	<i>jì-fīb</i>	<i>jì-təgətər</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə- fīb</i>	<i>jə-təgətə</i>

91	smell		<i>sɪwat-a</i>	<i>afət-a</i>
92	snitch	PFV	<i>muʃ-ə</i>	<i>sənək'-ə</i>
		IPFV	<i>ji-m^waf</i>	<i>ji-sərək'</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə-m^waf</i>	<i>jə sɪrk'</i>
93	speak	PFV	<i>k'at-ə</i>	<i>zɪrək^j- ə</i>
		IPFV	<i>ji-k'at</i>	<i>ji-zɪrək^j</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə-k'at</i>	<i>jə -zɪrək^j</i>
94	take	PFV	<i>atam-ə</i>	<i>wəsəd-ə</i>
		PFV-obj	<i>atam^w-ə-nm</i>	<i>wəsəd-ə-nm</i>
		IPFV	<i>ji-atam</i>	<i>ji-wəsəd</i>
		JUSS	<i>jə -atam</i>	<i>jə-wəsəd</i>

3D. Fuga sentences

1. Fuga *adəsiwe jiwəx*
Chaha *misiwe jifən*
Gloss The man will come
2. Fuga *matarəsənə x'inəm*
Chaha *əraməna motəm*
Gloss My cow is died
3. Fuga *adəswe k'axəsəna anme*
Chaha *misxuta firankəna anabe*
Gloss The man does not give me my money
4. Fuga *kaxəsəna imem*
Chaha *firankəna abem*
Gloss He gives me my money
5. Fuga *mintfirəs anint'anax'iwe*
Chaha *afinǵə enənax'iwe*
Gloss You do not have chilies?
6. Fuga *mark'ijəs awəxum*
Chaha *k'esa atfənəxum*
Gloss I brought cheese.
8. Fuga *matarəs x'inəm k'ijantf'əxunm*
Chaha *əram motəm bənaxunm*
Gloss Cow died, I ate it
9. Fuga *nik'iantfinəm niʃibnə*

- Chaha *nibiranəm nitgətərnə*
 Gloss let us eat and sleep
10. Fuga *x^wet k'otfərəs int'em*
 Chaha *x^wet dəngija nərə*
 Gloss I have two children.
11. Fuga *k'otf'ərəs int'əbo*
 Chaha *dəngija nərəbo*
 Gloss There are children.
12. Fuga *k'otf'ərəs fɪbəbom*
 Chaha *dəngija təgətərom*
 Gloss children are slept .
13. Fuga *k'ifwəs iwaf*
 Chaha *k'awa itk'aw*
 Gloss I drink coffee
14. Fuga *martfəswe k'ifwəs atint'ətf im niwafinə*
 Chaha *mift k'awa afət'ərətfim nitk'awinə*
 Gloss She has prepared coffee let us drink
15. Fuga *zəxet'əs ek'as ag^wərim*
 Chaha *zibet bəsər agəbim*
 Gloss There is a meat in this house.
16. Fuga *bəzixet'əs matarəs sutf'im*
 Chaha *bəzibet arəm antf'im*
 Gloss In this house cow is slaughtered
17. Fuga *imtərəsəna wəxətfm*

- Chaha *adotəna tʃənətʃm*
 Gloss my mother came.
18. Fuga *abadəsməxə imtirəsməxə wəxəbom*
 Chaha *abaməxə adotməxə tʃənəbom*
 Gloss your mother (2SM) and father came.
20. Fuga *mitʃrəs imn*
 Chaha *afinɕə nemen*
 Gloss you (2FS) give me chilies!
21. Fuga *at mufəs imətʃem*
 Chaha *at məto bir abətʃem*
 Gloss she gives me one hundred birrs.
22. Fuga *k'axəs int'anam*
 Chaha *waga nəərəna*
 Gloss she has money
23. Fuga *adaswe k'axəs int'anim*
 Chaha *miswe waga nəərən*
 Gloss The man has money.
24. Fuga *zinguwəs awəxte ɕiwəs atintʃ'*
 Chaha *t'e atʃənte wisa azəgaɕ*
 Gloss you (2SF) prepare ensete pith ! I will bring goat
25. Fuga *wəxum wəxum ik'ətna tink'atna əg^wər xet'əsənam bəg^wərxu
 sandəs imn ik'atna sandəs imn bək'atxuna zinguwəs nisut'ne
 ek'asiwe awəx'i nik'ijantʃ'inə nik'atneja naxət'əs awəx'o
 nik'antʃ'inə*

- Chaha *ʃənəxum ʃənəxum ibrina bər kifʃn sənda nemn ibrina nirt'ine
basər nemi nibranə dəngija nemjo nibranə*
- Gloss I said I came open the door, give me knife and then we
slaughter sheep then I said let us eat bring the meat, you call
the children and let us eat.
26. Fuga *dadirəs nidadirne jənt'irəs jixodʃə*
- Chaha *təbir nitotnə jəgəbja jixiriʃə*
- Gloss we make basket it will be sell (market)
27. Fuga *jənit'irəsə jixodʃə nidadne jənaxət'əsīm k'ərʃ'əs jawəx'wiʃə ofəs
awəxʃə*
- Chaha *təbir narʃinə inet atənfə jət'ok'anət k'aləb jixiriʃə*
- Gloss I will bring bamboo; we will make basket for market and
will use for children's food.
28. Fuga *mat'əs imn k'atina*
- Chaha *eb nemn bəna.*
- Gloss ask her to bring you milk !
29. Fuga *bət'iməs it'imunte*
- Chaha *bəmsarə iməkurnite*
- Gloss I will burn it in the night
30. Fuga *əg^wəsəna wəxəm*
- Chaha *dəmaməna ʃənəm*
- Gloss my chief came.
31. Fuga *ag^wəsəna wəxəmiwe namm*
- Chaha *dəmaməna ʃənəm niʃkawe*
- Gloss my chief came; shall I move?

- 32 Fuga *k'ərtf'əs ik^jantfite*
 Chaha *ʃərət ibərate*
 Gloss I will eat food
- 33 Fuga *ek'as k'antf'əxum*
 Chaha *bəsər bənaxum*
 Gloss I ate meat
34. Fuga *imadəsəna wəxətʃim*
 Chaha *adotəna tʃənətʃim*
 Gloss my mam came.
- 35 Fuga *naxət'əsməna agusiməna wəxəbom*
 Chaha *inm abərus tʃənəm*
 Gloss all my family came.
- 36 Fuga *k'ifiwəs wəʃəma*
 Chaha *k'awa tək'awəma*
 Gloss You drink coffee !
- 37 Fuga *gijəzəz wəʃəxəmwe?*
 Chaha *arək'e tak'awxəmwe*
 Gloss did you (2SM) drink arəke?
- 38 Fuga *xarəs jik^jantf'ixəte*
 Chaha *gijə jibəraxəte*
 Gloss dog will bite you.
- 39 Fuga *wagimare jik'itʃ'oxəte amm*
 Chaha *zəra jidərgoxəte amm*
 Gloss gurage will hit you; go

- 40 Fuga *int'irəs namnə*
 Chaha *gəbja niwərnə*
 Gloss let us move to market
- 41 Fuga *imfīm iwəxfə*
 Chaha *isirik'm itənfə*
 Gloss I steal and will come
- 42 Fuga *k'ərtf'əs atiminwe*
 Chaha *fərət atibiniwe*
 Gloss you do not give me food?
43. Fuga *bətf'adərəs tʃ'adən*
 Chaha *bətf'əxwə wəgan*
 Gloss He gores him by dagger.
- 44 Fuga *bəzixet'əs fɪfuwəs tekəs k'antʃinəm*
 Chaha *bəzibet inɕərə təbəsər bənanəm*
 Gloss 'In this house, we ate injera with meat'
- 45 Fuga *jəmatarəs ʃijəs imn*
 Chaha *jibara nemn*
 Gloss give me muck !
- 46 Fuga *jəmatʃəs sutʃ'əjam*
 Chaha *jəgərəd t'ebər awərijam*
 Gloss The girl is circumcised.
- 47 Fuga *k'axəs bənt'ənaxə timefə*
 Chaha *waga bərapərənaxə tabefə*
 Gloss If you have money, you will give me.

48. Fuga *matfəs k'antətʃim*
 Chaha *mift tʃ'anətʃim*
 Gloss She came.
49. Fuga *jəmatfəs mat'əs imn k'atna*
 Chaha *jəmiʃt eb nemin bəna*
 Gloss You (2SM.) ask the woman, to give you milk
50. Fuga *bawrəs bek'ni*
 Chaha *əram əzni*
 Gloss Look at my cow
51. Fuga *ʃijəsəna wəxəbim*
 Chaha *simatəna tʃənəbim*
 Gloss I need to urinate.
52. Fuga *goganəs gijantʃənm*
 Chaha *barik' k'ijəm^wənm*
 Gloss The old person is in trouble.
53. Fuga *annint'ə k'atʃjo*
 Chaha *enə bəjo*
 Gloss Say, he is not existing.
54. Fuga *aməmə aninit'ə tik'at*
 Chaha *wərəm enə tibir*
 Gloss She speaks, he has gone
55. Fuga *adəsiwe x'inəm*
 Chaha *misiwe motəm*
 Gloss The man died.

Appendix 4: Interview question for Fedwet

1. *ʃimax^j m^wan jiwəri?*

What is your name?

2. *tətɪf'anx^j miraxir zəbər xərəm?*

How old are you?

3. *bete tətɪf'anx^jm?*

Where were you born?

4. *menax^j mik'aru?*

What is your job?

5. *bete tərakx^jim?*

Where did you grow up?

6. *təgurge amf etatawaw enmgi tezirk^j*

What Gurage language/variety do you use daily?

7. *ax^j fedwet banəx^j? memr mert'ok^jm? m^wanu jəmənt'əx^j?*

did you a member of Fedwet group? If yes how did you selected? by whom?

8. *jefiwedwet k'uwankuwa tizrək^jwe*

Do you speak Fedwet?

9. *metʃra niwəʃəx^jm*

When did you learn this language?

10. *miraxr zəbrax^j banə tətirwəʃ*

How many years old when you learn Fedwet?

11. *ete meder et medəru zix jə fedwet tizrək^ji jərəpərə?*

When and where did you use this language?

12. *jəmr jəmr ararma fedwet tet'ek^jəm jərəpərə xema oɕn*

For what purposes do you used Fedwet?

13. *jeFedwet amf jix'r sab tarkabx' ax' zəngot tifə*

If you meet someone who can speak Fedwet do you want to speak with her?

14 *giredax' jefedwet amf jimokrəma*

Are your children tried to speak Fedwet?

15 *jəgiredax' jəfedwet amf tarwəʃjo*

Do you transmit your language (Fedwet) to your girls?

16 *jədamam^wit janənax' aməlkakət məmr banə? əxuwx*

what was and or is your thinking about damam^wit

17 *jəwʃə damam muwanu t'ebeta etew?*

who was the leader damam^wit of and from which clan he is?

18 *xut əxuwa begurage maxbər jag'kir we ikm tʃonam?*

Dose he particpate on different issues in Gurage currentlly?

19 *əga xut jag'kir bəxr jəxut xalfinət mikaru?*

if the answer is yes, what is his responsibility and do the people respect him like the previous?

20. *jemoyet baxlm k'uwanikuməta bitzəpər jifrix?*

If the culture and language of Moyet retrieve how do you feel?

21 *mīr jitsəmax bəfedwtm bəbaxlata k'inot*

what do you think about the lose of the Fedwet and the culture as well?

Appendix 5: Interview question (for Fuga)

1. *ʃimaxʲ(xə) mʷan jiwəri?*
What is your name?
2. *tətfʻənxʲ(xə) miraxir zəbər xərəm?*
How old are you?
3. *bete tətfʻənxʲm(xəm)?*
Where were you born?
4. *menaxʲ(xə) mik'aru?*
What is your job?
5. *bete tərakxʲi(xə)m ?*
Where did you grow up?
9. *bizəgi tizirəkʲ etəta k'uwank'wau?*
What language do you use daily?
10. *ende jəfuga amf jəmr jəmr arama tit'ekʲəm xəma zərzi(r)?*
List out the purposes that used Fuga?
11. *mirgiw jəfugina tizrekʲ? betew tizrekʲ?*
When and where did you use this language?
12. *jət'ok'əntaxu jəfugina tarwəsojo?*
Do you transmit your language to your children?
13. *jəfugina jizrəkʲ səb tərəkəbxə bəfuginaw tazrakʲin wem jəchaxina?*
If you meet someone who can speak Fuga do you want to speak with this language?
14. *t'ok'ənətaxma jəfugina jimökro?*
Are your children tried to speak Fuga?
15. *jəfugina kʲinoteta mir jitsəmaxma (xu)?*

what do you think about the loss of your language (Fuga)

jəfuga t'ib tiwerxu jifrixuwe?

16 Do you like somebody identifies you as a Fuga?

təgurage imat t'ibinxu wey jaxut'ibe təgurage enguwəd k'aru

17. Do you think your clan is the same with Gurage or you have different ethnic

Appendix 6 List of informant's profile

Fedwet informants

No	Name	Age	Sex	place of birth	mother tongue	Data type
1.	Dulat bireda	52	F	Chaha/Yebitare	Chaha	Lan&Int
2.	Almaz wak'e	46	F	Chaha/mokeyer	Chaha	Lan&Int
3.	Berk'o bireda	62	F	Chaha/Yebitare	Chaha	Lan&Int
4.	Amete G/mariam	75	F	Chaha/yeweftch	Chaha	Lan&Int
5	Elfu namaga	65	F	Chaha/emdeber	Chaha	Lan&Int
6.	Azmach Berahnu nurga	72	M	Jejoka/leader	Chaha	Int
7.	wurbaga Derga	78	M	Mokyere/ Chief of moyet	Chaha	Int.
8.	Kebu dender	39	F	Chaha/amorameda	Chaha	Lan&Int
9.	Solomon keder	62	M	Chaha/yeweftche	Chaha	Lan&Int
10.	Zerfu Kergu	72	F	Chaha/emdeber	Chaha	Int.
11.	Keriya bederu	79	F	Chaha/yegende	Chaha	Int.
12	gete kergu	82	F	Chaha/emdeber	Chaha	Int.

Fuga informants

No	Name	Age	Sex	place of birth	mother tongue	Data type
1.	Ujera Gamene	50	M	Chaha	Chaha	Lan/Int
2.	Yerena Enkereta	68	M	Chaha	Chaha	Lan &Int
3.	Neda sorate	70	M	Chaha	Chaha	Lan &Int
4.	Zergwat arga	42	F	Chaha	Chaha	Lan &Int
5.	Tefoshi kergasu	72	M	Chaha	Chaha	Lan &Int
6.	Alemu tefoshi	76	F	Chaha	Chaha	Lan &Int
7.	Namagi burga	62	F	Chaha	Chaha	Lan &Int
8.	Danantchi zebre	54	M	Chaha	Chaha	Int
9.	Dender kerga	80	M	Chaha	Chaha	Int
10.	Sebechi tafes	65	F	Chaha	Chaha	Int
11.	Asma amen	79	F	Chaha	Chaha	Int
12.	Gamene darse	80	M	Chaha	Chaha	Int



Appendix 7: The chief of the Moyet wears skin of the leopard



The Fedwet girls catch this flower on their hand on the Damamwit celebration day



The stick called 'k'at'k'at'eye' that the Chief of the Moyet used to hit