

OROMO SUBSTANTIVES: SOME ASPECTS
OF THEIR MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

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A B S T R A C T

This study is an attempt made to describe Oromo NOUNS and ADJECTIVES. The purpose of the study is to see if NOUNS and ADJECTIVES in Oromo can be treated as constituents of just one class instead of the traditional two. To this end, the formal and distributional characteristics of NOUNS and ADJECTIVES have been examined in six chapters.

In chapter one, reviews of previous works, and purposes and limitations of the study have been made. In the second and third chapters, the inflectional and derivational affixes of Oromo NOUNS and ADJECTIVES have been examined and compared. The inflectional affixes for such grammatical categories as number, gender, and case have been examined and explained. Regarding their derivations the roots from which NOUNS and ADJECTIVES may be derived and the affixes that derive them have been identified.

Chapter five deals with some processes of nominalization and adjectivizations. Here, attempts have been made to describe the processes of compounding and relativization.

In chapter five, the syntactic positions and functions of NOUNS and ADJECTIVES along with those of pronouns, demonstratives, and numerals have been considered.

Chapter six summarizes the discussion and suggests as a possible conclusion that NOUNS and ADJECTIVES may be considered as constituents of the class of substantives on the basis of their morphological similarity.

CHAPTER 1

1.0. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Problem: Oromo NOUNS and ADJECTIVES¹ have been treated as two separate word classes by almost all those who have dealt with the grammar of the language. Such a classification seems to be based on meaning — a subject about which people entertain varying opinions. A re-examination of these seemingly "two independent classes" may, therefore, be essential perhaps from a different point of view.

1.2. Statement of the Problem: It is the purpose of this study to describe Oromo NOUNS and ADJECTIVES from the point of view of their formal and distributional characteristics. In this regard, attempts will be made to examine

(a) inflectional forms

(b) derivational forms

(c) syntactic positions and functions of both NOUNS and ADJECTIVES and that of pronouns, demonstratives, and numerals since these may have basic similarities as well. The description is based on data collected with the help of a native informant.

1.3. Importance of the Study: "The ~~tribe~~ (Oromo) probably comprise the largest single tribal grouping in Africa."² They inhabit a large area that stretches from southern Tigray in the north to northern Kenya in the south.³ Their number, although not exactly known, seems to be over ten million.⁴

Their language, with a variety of dialects, is one of the major languages in the country, for it has the largest number of native speakers⁵ covering quite an extensive area of land. Despite such facts, however, very little has been done towards its development, and it has, as such, remained a vernacular for many years.

7 Pros any one who read this Thesis
don't Respect this word, simply use
the special one. In suit
is forbidden!

MARR

Encouraging at least in principle, the N.D.R.P. (National Democratic Revolution Programme) states that,

... the history, culture, language
and religion of each nationality will
have equal recognition in accordance
with the spirit of socialism.⁶

This can serve as a call for researchers to make extensive studies regarding languages like Oromo, which hitherto have been given little or no attention. It is, therefore, with the aim of making a modest contribution that this study has been undertaken.

It is hoped that the study will make the following contributions:

(a) Since effective language teaching and/or learning demands a systematic description of the language to be taught, the attempt made in this study to describe Oromo NOUNS and ADJECTIVES may facilitate the teaching and/or learning of Oromo.

(b) The findings of the study may induce other researchers to make further studies on the same topic or different areas of the language.

(c) The classification of words into such parts of speech as NOUNS and ADJECTIVES, for example, seems to have been based on the model of traditional grammar. This study is an attempt to re-examine some of the aspects of NOUNS and ADJECTIVES purely from a descriptive point of view with the aim of re-classifying them on the basis of their morphological and syntactic characteristics.

1.4. Limitations: This study is limited in two ways: first, it is limited in scope: it deals with the formal description of NOUNS and ADJECTIVES, and the syntactic behaviour of these and other categories

like pronouns, numerals, and demonstratives. Second, the description is based on the Meccá variety of Oromo which is spoken in the south western parts of the country. It does not, therefore, claim to represent the whole language.

1.5. Review of the Literature: Much of the literature in Oromo is in Italian or German. There is very little written in English, and the material available in Oromo itself is quite insignificant to the present study.

The earliest works deal with the language in general from the point of view of its lexicon and grammar with the purpose of intensifying missionary activity and Italian Colonial rule in areas where it is predominantly spoken.

Among such works are Karl Tutschek's (1844) Lexicon der ^{Oromo} ~~Galla~~ Sprache, and Onesimus Nesib's (1882) Oromo-Swedish Dictionary. Both works seem to cover much of the lexicon without, however, due recognition of dialectal differences. Another dictionary published much later was E. C. Foot's (1913) ^{Oromo} ~~Galla~~-English and English-^{Oromo} ~~Galla~~ Dictionary, compiled during his travel in the country.

Then appeared Hodson and Walker's (1922) ~~Galla~~ ^{Oromo} Grammar, the practical purpose of which seems to have been to guide one in learning the language. This is one of the first attempts made to analyse the grammar of the language.

During the Italian occupation, scholars like Martino Moreno took extensive interest in linguistic field work and published the Grammatica della Lingua Oromo (1935). This is the most comprehensive work produced, with independent treatments of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of the language. Following Moreno, Da Thiene (1939) compiled the

best dictionary available on the language.

Still another work worth mentioning is Martin Nordfeldt's (1949) A ^{Oromo} Galla Grammar, based on the data of the Oromo of Wellega which Onesimus had supplied. Like Moreno, Nordfeldt has tried to describe the phonology of the language but in a somewhat superficial manner.

Since world war II, scholars like B. W. Andrezejewski (1960) and Johannes Launhardt (1973) have carried out considerable research on the language. Andrezejewski's work on the dialect of Borana will serve as a valuable source for future research on a comparative study of the various dialects of the language. Launhardt's Guide to Oromo, based again on the dialect of Wellega, is a systematic attempt to present the language to anyone wishing to learn it.

Last but not least are the works of Gene Gragg (1976) "Oromo of Wellega", Mulugeta Eteffa and M. L. Bender's (1976) "Galla" in which they present a brief description of the language starting with its phonology and going through its syntax.

Gragg's forthcoming Oromo-English-Oromo Dictionary promises to be an important contribution.

Apart from such major works, there are still others like, for example, Desalegn Seyoum's (1978) description of the gender affixes of indefinite ADJECTIVES, and Eshetu Kebede's (1963 E.C.) phonemic description of the language (both are in Amharic, and typed).

In all the works cited, however, NOUNS and ADJECTIVES have been treated as independent classes despite their formal similarities. In the early works, the efforts made by such people as Tutschek or Foot were directed at collecting a host of vocabulary items that would provide the ground work for translating and disseminating biblical litera-

ture. Thus, their works could be said to have been more pedagogical than linguistic.

In later periods, however, real linguistic analysis of the language began with such works as those mentioned by Moreno and Gragg on which the present study depends for much of the information it needed. However, it is evident that even in these works, the traditional classification of NOUNS and ADJECTIVES has been maintained.

In addition, some inflectional affixes seem to have been under analysed in the morphological analysis of NOUNS and ADJECTIVES. Such instances are not infrequent in most of the works. Definiteness, for example, according to Moreno or Gragg, is a feature marked by /-ičča/⁷ in the masculine and /-ittii/ in the feminine. However, only /-čča/ and /-ttii/ have been found to be the real markers for the two genders /-i/ being an epenthetic vowel. Furthermore, Moreno believes that /-ečča/ and /-etti/⁸ are the gender morphemes indicating masculine and feminine respectively. But it has been discovered in this study that the masculine is indicated by the suffixes /-čča~ -ssa~ -aa/ and the feminine by /-tuu~ -ttii~ -oo/.

In this study, I attempt to answer the question: to what extent do NOUNS and ADJECTIVES share inflectional, derivational, and syntactic patterns? Can they meaningfully be combined into a single class of substantives?

Subsidiary issues are correcting some under analysis of morphemes and examining other classes such as demonstratives, numerals, and pronouns alongside substantives.

(mde)

CHAPTER 2

2.0. INFLECTION

In languages, there are content as well as function words.⁹ Content words are those which have dictionary meanings and function words are those which have grammatical significance only.¹⁰

Among the content words are those which have traditionally been labelled ADJECTIVES, NOUNS, verbs, adverbs or others. ADJECTIVES and NOUNS may differ from the others both morphologically and syntactically.¹¹

In this study, attempts will be made to describe Oromo NOUNS and ADJECTIVES from the point of view of their morphological and syntactic characteristics. In this chapter, attention will be given to a systematic investigation and subsequent description of the inflectional affixes that NOUNS and ADJECTIVES may be characterized by and to the general pattern that they form.

2.1. ADJECTIVES: Morphologically, Oromo ADJECTIVES may fall into two classes or sets. On the one hand, there are those which may never be inflected for such grammatical categories as number, gender, case, and definiteness; and on the other, there are those which may be so inflected. For convenience, we may refer to them as uninflected and inflected stems respectively.

2.1.1. Uninflected ADJECTIVES: The ADJECTIVES in this group are morphologically simple since they are not inflected. Table 1 presents some examples of uninflected ADJECTIVES.

| Form | gloss |
|----------|--------|
| haær aa | 'new' |
| guutuu | 'full' |
| gowwaa | 'fool' |
| deedi | 'raw' |
| hap'p'ii | 'thin' |

Table 1 Morphologically uninflected ADJECTIVES

The forms in Table 1 have traditionally been labelled ADJECTIVES, probably on notional grounds as forms denoting qualities.¹²

These forms, unlike others which are morphologically complex, do not take inflectional affixes for any of the grammatical categories mentioned earlier. They are, therefore, free as opposed to others which are bound.

2.1.2. Inflected ADJECTIVES: The ADJECTIVES in this class may be inflected for number, gender, case, and definiteness.

2.1.2.1. Number: Most ADJECTIVES in Oromo form their plural stems by adding the suffix {-ota}¹³ as shown in the following table:

| sg. mas. stem | Plural mas./fem. stem | Gloss |
|---------------|-----------------------|---------|
| /gurra-čča/ | /gurra-čč-ota/ | 'black' |
| /deer-aa/ | /deer-ota/ | 'tall' |
| /jarjar-aa/ | /jarjar-ota/ | 'hasty' |
| /diim-aa/ | /diim-ota/ | 'red' |
| /ham-aa/ | /ham-ota/ | 'bad' |
| /sore-ssa/ | /sore-ss-ota/ | 'rich' |
| /pökkol-aa/ | /pökkol-ota/ | 'lame' |

Table 2 Plural stems of ADJECTIVES

As can be observed from Table 2, the plural morpheme {-ota} is found immediately after the gender suffixes /-čča~ssa~aa/¹⁴ of each singular stem.

Oromo stems generally have two alternants: stems with final consonants and/or vowels, depending on whether the following affix begins with a vowel or a consonant. Thus, we have alternants like the following:

- /ʔokkol-~ʔkkolaa/ 'lame'
- /deer-~deeraa/ 'tall'
- /jarjar-~jarjaraa/ 'hasty'
- /diim-~diimaa/ 'red'

The alternation is phonologically conditioned. **Consonant final stems occur** with affixes such as {-ota} which begin with a vowel as in the following examples:

- /ʔkkol- → ʔkkol-ota * ʔokkolaa-ota/ 'lame'
- /deer- → deer-ota * deeraa-ota/ 'tall'
- /jarjar- → jarjar-ota * jarjaraa-ota/ 'hasty'
- /diim- → diim-ota * diimaa-ota/ 'red'

In addition, there is a class of ADJECTIVES which forms its plural stem by partially reduplicating the initial syllable of the root. Such a class of ADJECTIVES is presented below.

| sg.mas. stem | plural stem | gloss |
|---------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| /bak'ak'aa/ | /ba-bbak'ak'aa/ | 'ragged' |
| /k'op'p'aʔaa/ | /k'o-k'k'op'aʔaa/ | 'ready' |
| /baredaa/ | /ba-bbaredaa/ | 'beautiful' |
| /salp'aa/ | /sa-ssalp'aa/ | 'light, not heavy' |

Table 3 Partially Reduplicating ADJECTIVES

The above ADJECTIVES do not take the plural suffix {-ota} and forms like:

*/bak'ak'-ota/

*/k'op'p'aʔ -ota/

are unacceptable.

However, there are also other ADJECTIVES which form their plurals in either of the following ways:

(a) by suffixing {-ota}

(b) by reduplicating the initial syllable of the root and geminating the initial consonant of the root, or

(c) by both processes (a) and (b) as in the following examples:

| Sg. mas. stem | plural stems | gloss |
|---------------|--------------------------------|----------|
| /gurračča/ | /gu-ggurračča~gu-ggurračč-ota/ | 'black' |
| /diimaa/ | /di-ddiimaa~di-ddiim-ota/ | 'red' |
| /deeraa/ | /de-ddeeraa~de-ddeer-ota/ | 'tall' |
| /gababaa/ | /ga-ggababaa~ga-ggabab-ota/ | 'short' |
| /j̄abaa/ | /j̄a-j̄jabaa~j̄a-j̄jab-ota/ | 'strong' |

Table 4 Both Reduplicating and Affixing ADJECTIVES

Most ADJECTIVES form their plural by affixing {-ota} to a stem, or by partially reduplicating their initial syllable and geminating the first consonant of the copied syllable. Those ADJECTIVES in Table 4 undergo both processes of pluralization. They may, therefore, be treated as cases influenced by either or both of the processes. However, since the common tendency seems to add {-ota} to a stem, forms with reduplicated syllables may not appear strongly plural in which case the addition of {-ota} makes it more apparent.

In summary, we can say that Oromo ADJECTIVES fall into four classes according to whether or not they are inflected and according to the way they form their plural stems.

- (a) uninflected
- (b) inflected by suffixing {-ota} only,
- (c) inflected by reduplicating the initial syllables of their stems and geminating the initial consonant of the root.
- (d) by both processes of (b) and (c)

2.1.2.2. Gender: In Oromo, ADJECTIVES may be inflected for gender, masculine or feminine.

(a) Masculine: The masculine suffixes are /-čča~--sa~--aa/ ¹⁵ as can be seen in the following table:

| Roots | mas. stem | gloss |
|------------|--------------|------------|
| /gurra-/ | /gurra-čča/ | 'black' |
| /dala-/ | /dala-čča/ | 'grey' |
| /ham-/ | /ham-aa/ | 'bad/evil' |
| /furd-/ | /furd-aa/ | 'fat' |
| /gudd-/ | /gudd-aa/ | 'big' |
| /sore-/ | /sore-ssa/ | 'rich' |
| /jab-/ | /jab-aa/ | 'strong' |
| /bač'-/ | /bač'-aa/ | 'proud' |
| /bak'ak'-/ | /bak'ak'-aa/ | 'ragged' |
| /baʔ e-/ | /baʔ e-ssa/ | 'nice' |
| /ofjaǰ-/ | /ofjaǰ-aa/ | 'proud' |

Table 5 Masculine stems of ADJECTIVES



We can observe from the above table that the masculine affixes /-čča~-ssa~-aa/ occur in the position immediately after the roots.

The alternation of the suffixes is phonologically accountable. The masculine morpheme { -čča } has the following allomorphs:

/-ssa/ occurs with roots that end in high or mid vowels.

/-aa/ occurs with roots that end in consonants.

/-čča/ occurs elsewhere.

(b) Feminine: Table 6, below, presents the feminine stems of ADJECTIVES.

| Roots | Feminine Stems | gloss |
|------------|----------------|----------|
| /gurra-/ | /gurra-ttii/ | 'black' |
| /dala-/ | /dala-ttii/ | 'grey' |
| /ham-/ | /ham-tuu/ | 'bad' |
| /furd-/ | /furd-oo/ | 'fat' |
| /gudd-/ | /gudd-oo/ | 'big' |
| /sore-/ | /sore-ttii/ | 'rich' |
| /bač-/ | /bač-c'uu/ | 'proud' |
| /bak'ak'-/ | /bak'ak-t'tuu/ | 'ragged' |
| /baʔe-/ | /baʔe-ttii/ | 'nice' |
| /ofjaǰ-/ | /ofjaǰ-ǰuu/ | 'proud' |
| /ǰab-/ | /ǰab-duu/ | 'strong' |

Table 6 Feminine stems of ADJECTIVES

We can see from Table 6 that the feminine suffixes /-ttii~-tuv~-oo/¹⁶ occur in the position following the root.

The alternation of the suffixes is also phonologically accountable. The morpheme { -ttuu } has the following allomorphs:

- (a) /-ttii/ occurs with vowel-final roots
- (b) /-oo/¹⁷ occurs with roots that end in consonant clusters
- (c) /-tuu/ occurs elsewhere

Assimilation: Morpheme initial /-t-/ is assimilated in point or manner of articulation, or both when it occurs after root final /k', j', č'/ as indicated below.

/bak'ak'- →* bak'ak'-tuu → bak'ak'-t'uu/
 /ofjaǰ- →* ofjaǰ-tuu → ofjaǰ-ǰuu/
 /bač'- →* bač'-tuu → bač'-č'uu/

2.1.2.3. Case: Oromo ADJECTIVES are inflected for case, nominative, dative, ablative (instrumental), etc.

(A) Nominative: Table 7 below presents the nominative stems of both masculine and feminine ADJECTIVES.

| Mas. acc. ¹⁸ | Mas. nom. | Fem. acc. | Fem. nom. | gloss |
|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------|
| /gurračča/ | /gurračč-i/ | /gurrattii/ | /gurrattii-n/ | 'black' |
| /deeraa/ | /deeraa-n/ | /deertuu/ | /deertuu-n/ | 'tall' |
| /guddaa/ | /guddaa-n/ | /guddoo/ | /guddoo-n/ | 'big' |
| /diimaa/ | /diimaa-n/ | /diimtuu/ | /diimtuu-n/ | 'red' |
| /soressa/ | /soress-i/ | /sorettii/ | /sorettii-n/ | 'rich' |
| /dalačča/ | /dalačč-i/ | /dalattii/ | /dalattii-n/ | 'grey' |
| /hamaa/ | /hammaa-n/ | /hamtuu/ | /hamtuu-n/ | 'bad' |

Table 7 Nominative Forms of ADJECTIVES

As shown in Table 7, the nominative morpheme is {-n} in both masculine and feminine stems¹⁹. The alternation between /-n/ and /-i/ is phonologically predictable.

The morpheme { -n } has the following allomorphs:

(a) /-i/ occurs with stems that end in short vowels in their underlying representations. After /-i/ has been affixed to such stems, the short vowel is subsequently deleted.

/-n/ occurs elsewhere

(B) Dative: Table 8 below, presents the dative forms of both masculine and feminine stems.

| Roots | Mas. dative | Fem. dative | gloss |
|----------|----------------|----------------|-------------|
| /diim-/ | /diim-aa-f/ | /diim-tuu-f/ | 'red' |
| /furd-/ | /furd-aa-f/ | /furd-oo-f/ | 'fat' |
| /gabab-/ | /gabab-aa-f/ | /gabab-duu-f/ | 'short' |
| /sore-/ | /sore-ssa-af/ | /sore-ttii-f/ | 'rich' |
| /bared-/ | /bared-aa-f/ | /bared-duu-f/ | 'beautiful' |
| /ʔyye-/ | /ʔyye-ssa-af/ | /ʔyye-ttii-f/ | 'poor' |
| /gurra-/ | /gurra-čča-af/ | /gurra-ttii-f/ | 'black' |

Table 8 Dative forms of ADJECTIVES

As can be seen from Table 8, above, the dative suffixes /-af/ and /-f/ ²⁰ are placed immediately after the gender affixes. Their distribution is also phonologically predictable.

The morpheme { -af } has the following allomorphs:

(a) /-f/ occurs with stems that end in long vowels.

(b) /-af/ occurs elsewhere.

(C) Ablative (instrumental): The following table shows the ablative stems of both masculine and feminine ADJECTIVES.

| Roots | Mas. ablative | Fem. ablative | gloss |
|----------|----------------|------------------|---------|
| /gurra-/ | /gurra-čča-an/ | /gurra-ttii-dan/ | 'black' |
| /diim-/ | /diim-aa-dan/ | /diim-tuu-dan/ | 'red' |
| /furd-/ | /furd-aa-dan/ | /furd-oo-dan/ | 'fat' |
| /deer-/ | /deer-aa-dan/ | /deer-tuu-dan/ | 'tall' |
| /gabab-/ | /gabab-aa-dan/ | /gabab-duu-dan/ | 'short' |
| /k'all-/ | /k'all-aa-dan/ | /k'all-oo-dan/ | 'thin' |
| /dala-/ | /dala-čča-an/ | /dala-ttii-dan/ | 'grey' |

Table 9 Ablative forms of ADJECTIVES

As can be observed from the above table the suffixes /-dan/ and /-an/²¹ indicate the ablative stems of both masculine and feminine ADJECTIVES. Their alternation is phonologically accountable.

The ablative morpheme { -dan } has the following allomorphs:

- (a) /-an/ occurs with stems that end in short vowel.
- (b) /-dan/ occurs elsewhere.

2.1.2.4. Definiteness: Apart from such features as gender, number, and case, Oromo ADJECTIVES may also be inflected for definiteness.

| Sg. Mas. stem | Sg. Mas. def. | gloss |
|-----------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| /gurračča ~ gurračč-/ | /gurračč-ičča/ | 'the black one' |
| /deeraa ~ deer-/ | /deer-ičča/ | 'the tall one' |
| /diimaa ~ diim-/ | /diim-ičča/ | 'the red one' |
| /furdaa ~ furd-/ | /furd-ičča/ | 'the fat one' |
| /soressa ~ soress-/ | /soress-ičča/ | 'the rich one' |
| /gababaa ~ gabab-/ | /gabab-ičča/ | 'the short one' |
| /dalačča ~ dalačč-/ | /dalačč-ičča/ | 'the grey one' |
| /hamaa ~ ham-/ | /ham-ičča/ | 'the bad one' |

Table 10 Definite stems of masculine ADJECTIVES

As can be seen from Table 10, above, the definite suffix is

{-iĉĉa}²²

and it occurs in the position following the masculine affix. In forms where there is alternation between open and closed syllabic stems, {-iĉĉa} 'definite' is attached to the closed syllabic alternant as in,

/deer-~deeraa-→deer-iĉĉa-→* deeraa-iĉĉa/ 'the tall one'
 /furd-~furdaa-→furd-iĉĉa-→* furdaa-iĉĉa/ 'the fat one'

A close look at the following table also reveals a more or less similar situation regarding the feminine.

| sg. fem. stem | sg. fem. def. stem | gloss |
|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| /gurrattii/ | /gurrattii-ttii/ | 'the black one' |
| /deertuu~deert-/ | /deert-ittii/ | 'the tall one' |
| /diimtuu~diimt-/ | /diimt-ittii/ | 'the red one' |
| /furdoo~furd-/ | /furd-ittii/ | 'the fat one' |
| /sorettii/ | /sorettii-ttii/ | 'the rich one' |
| /gababaa~gababd-/ | /gababd-ittii/ | 'the short one' |
| /dalattii/ | /dalattii-ttii/ | 'the grey one' |

Table 11 Definite stems of ADJECTIVES (Fem)

From the above table, we can deduce that definiteness in the feminine is signalled by /-ttii/ and /-ittii/. Their distribution is phonologically accountable:

The definite morpheme {-ttii}²³ has the following allomorphs:
 /-ittii/ occurs with stems ending in consonants.
 /-ttii/ occurs elsewhere.

2.2. NOUNS: Parallel with ADJECTIVES, NOUNS may be divided into those which may be inflected and those which are uninflected for

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number, gender, case, definiteness, ... etc.

2.2.1. Uninflected NOUNS: Some NOUNS are uninflected for the grammatical categories of number, gender, case, definiteness, ... etc., and, therefore, they belong to a class of uninflected forms. The following table provides examples of such NOUNS.

| Forms | Gloss |
|---------|---------|
| midaan | 'grain' |
| k'oraan | 'wood' |
| bišaan | 'water' |
| ʔannan | 'milk' |

Table 12 Morphologically uninflected NOUNS

Such forms as the above are phonologically distinct since they end in closed syllables as opposed to most NOUNS and ADJECTIVES which end in open syllables.

The main reason why such NOUNS are never inflected is that, semantically, they belong to a sub-set of NOUNS which are uncountable as opposed to those which are countable.

2.2.2. Inflected NOUNS: Parallel with inflected ADJECTIVES most Oromo NOUNS may be inflected for number, gender, case, definiteness ... etc.

2.1.2.1. Number: Table 13, below, presents some examples of NOUNS which may be inflected for the plural number.

| Singular stems | plural stems | gloss |
|---------------------|---------------|----------|
| /muka~muk-/ | /muk-ota/ | 'trees' |
| /simbirro~simbirr-/ | /simbirr-ota/ | 'birds' |
| /mana~man-/ | /man-ota/ | 'houses' |
| /nama~nam-/ | /nam-ota/ | 'men' |
| /holaa~hol-/ | /hol-ota/ | 'sheep' |
| /farda~fard-/ | /fard-ota/ | 'horses' |
| /laga~lag-/ | /lag-ota/ | 'rivers' |

Table 13 Plural stems of NOUNS

As shown in the above table, the plural suffix is {-ota}²⁴ and it is affixed to the alternant that ends in closed syllable.

Unlike ADJECTIVES, Oromo NOUNS cannot be pluralized by a process of partially reduplicating the initial syllable of the root. This may be considered one significant morphological difference between Oromo NOUNS and ADJECTIVES.²⁵

2.1.2.2 Gender: In NOUNS, gender, in particular the masculine, is indicated by independent morphemes such as {korma} 'male' which occurs preceding the NOUN. The masculine gender is not, therefore, a feature of inflection in the strict sense of the term. Nevertheless, a few examples are presented below for purposes of comparison with inflected forms of ADJECTIVES.

(A) Masculine: Apart from such kinship terms as /ʔabba/ 'father' and /hada/ 'mother' which are semantically male and female, respectively, most Oromo NOUNS are inherently masculine.

Moreover, the masculine gender of NOUNS referring to living things may be indicated by an independent morpheme such as {korma} 'male' preceding the NOUN, as in the examples below.

/korma lenč'a/ 'lion'
 /korma farda/ 'horse'
 /korma saree/ 'dog'

(B) Feminine: In most NOUNS the feminine gender is indicated by the morpheme {daltu} 'female' which occurs following the NOUN, as in the examples below:

/lenč'a daltu/ 'lioness'
 /saree daltu/ 'bitch'
 /farda daltu/ 'mare'

However, as in ADJECTIVES, the affix /-ttii/ and /-ittii/ may be used to indicate the feminine gender or the meaning "diminutive" as exemplified by the following table:

| masculine stem | Fem/diminutive | gloss |
|-------------------|----------------|-----------|
| /lenč'a ~ lenč'-/ | /lenč'-ittii/ | 'lioness' |
| /farda ~ fard-/ | /fard-ittii/ | 'mare' |
| /saree/ | /saree-ttii/ | 'bitch' |
| /mana ~ man-/ | /man-ittii/ | 'houses' |
| /muka ~ muk-/ | /muk-ittii/ | 'tree' |

Table 14 Feminine or Diminutive forms of NOUNS

It can be seen from the above table that /-ttii/ and /-ittii/ alternate to show the feminine gender or the meaning 'diminutive'. Their distribution is phonologically accountable.²⁷

From what has been noted so far, in NOUNS the feminine gender is indicated by either the morpheme {daltu} 'female' placed after the NOUN, or the suffix {-ttii} affixed to the NOUN. But {-ttii} is not exclusively a feminine suffix for NOUNS, since it can also be used with such forms as /nama/ 'man' which naturally is masculine. Its meaning in such cases is that of diminutiveness.

2.2.2.3. Case: Oromo NOUNS, like ADJECTIVES, may be inflected for case, nominative, dative, ablative ... etc.

(A) Nominative: The suffix {-ni} 'nominative' and its alternants /-n~ -i~ -ni/ are affixed to NOUNS as in the examples in Table 15 below.

| acc. stem | nominative stem | gloss |
|-----------------|-----------------|---------|
| /nama ~nam-/ | /nam-ni/ | 'man' |
| /mučaa ~muč.-/ | /muč'aa-n/ | 'child' |
| /farda ~fard-/ | /fard-i/ | 'horse' |
| /holaa ~hol-/ | /holaa-n/ | 'sheep' |
| /mana ~man-/ | /man-ni/ | 'house' |
| /harree ~harr-/ | /harree-n/ | 'ass' |

Table 15 Nominative forms of NOUNS

The alternants of the morpheme {-ni} 'nominative' are phonologically conditioned and they are distributed as follows:

/-n/ occurs with stems ending in vowels

/-i/ occurs with stems ending in consonant clusters

/-ni/ occurs elsewhere.

(B) Dative: As in ADJECTIVES, the dative in NOUNS is indicated

by the morpheme [-af] and its alternant /-f/.

Table 16 below presents examples of NOUNS with the dative suffix.

| acc. stem | Dative | gloss |
|-----------|------------|------------|
| /durba/ | /durba-af/ | 'to girl' |
| /nama/ | /nama-af/ | 'to man' |
| /gofta/ | /gofta-af/ | 'to lord' |
| /farda/ | /farda-af/ | 'to horse' |
| /sanga/ | /sanga-af/ | 'to bull' |
| /nučaa/ | /nučaa-f/ | 'to child' |
| /holaa/ | /holaa-f/ | 'to sheep' |

the killed a lion

Table 16 Dative forms of NOUNS

As shown above the distribution of the dative suffixes /-af/ and /-f/ is phonologically predictable.²⁸

(C) Ablative (Instrumental): As in ADJECTIVES, NOUNS are inflected for the ablative case. Table 17 below provides some examples of ablative stems.

| Acc. stem | Ablative Forms | gloss |
|-------------|----------------|---------------|
| /ullee/ | /ullee-dan/ | 'with stick' |
| /ʔalbee/ | /ʔalbee-dan/ | 'with knife' |
| /dadii/ | /dadii-dan/ | 'with wine' |
| /harka/ | /harka-an/ | 'by hand' |
| /buddena/ | /budena-an/ | 'with injera' |
| /šɨggut'ii/ | /šɨggutii-dan/ | 'with pistol' |
| /buna/ | /buna-an/ | 'with coffee' |
| /sibiila/ | /sibiila-an/ | 'with steel' |
| /muka/ | /muka-an/ | 'with wood' |

Table 17 Ablative forms of NOUNS

As is shown in the above table, the morpheme {-an} with its alternant /-dan/ indicates the ablative case. Their distribution is also phonologically accountable.²⁹

2.2.2.4. Definiteness: Oromo NOUNS are inflected for the feature definiteness. The morpheme meaning 'definite', {-ičča} occurs with both ADJECTIVES and NOUNS as in the examples in Table 18.

| Indef. Mas. | Def. Mas. | gloss |
|--------------------|--------------|-------------|
| /nama ~ nam-/ | /nam-ičča/ | 'the man' |
| /farda ~ fard-/ | /fard-ičča/ | 'the horse' |
| /mana ~ man-/ | /man-ičča/ | 'the house' |
| /lenč'aa ~ lenč'-/ | /lenc'-ičča/ | 'the lion' |

Table 18 Definite stems of NOUNS

The definite morpheme is {-ičča}, and it comes immediately following the closed syllable alternant.

Moreover, the suffixes /-ittii/ and /-ttii/ may alternate to show the definite or diminutive stems of NOUNS. The table below presents some examples.

| Indefinite | Definite/diminutive | gloss |
|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| /muka ~ muk-/ | /muk-ittii/ | 'the tree (small)' |
| /farda ~ fard-/ | /fard-ittii/ | 'the mare (small)' |
| /mana ~ man-/ | /man-ittii/ | 'the house (small)' |
| /lenč'aa ~ lenč'-/ | /lenč'-ittii/ | 'the lion or lioness (small)' |
| harree ~ harr-/ | /harree-ttii/ | 'the ass (small)' |

Table 19 Definite or Diminutive forms of NOUNS

The alternation of the definite or diminutive suffixes /-ittii/ and /-ttii/ is phonologically predictable.³⁰

Furthermore, these suffixes are identical to one of the alternants of the feminine morpheme we have seen in ADJECTIVES.

From what has been discussed so far, the following concluding statements may be made regarding the morphology of Oromo NOUNS and ADJECTIVES.

(a) A small sub-set of both NOUNS and ADJECTIVES are uninflected.

(b) Most NOUNS and ADJECTIVES are inflected for number, gender, case, and definiteness.

(c) The morpheme { -ota } indicates plurality in both NOUNS and ADJECTIVES.

(d) The morpheme { -ni } with its allomorphs /-ni/ and /-i/, indicates the nominative case.

(e) The dative morpheme in both ADJECTIVES and NOUNS is { -af } and has the allomorphs /-f/ and /-af/.

(f) The meaning 'definite' is indicated by { -ičča } in the masculine, by /-ittii/ and /-ttii/ in the feminine or in the diminutive.

However, it is worth mentioning the fact that NOUNS, unlike ADJECTIVES, indicate gender by means of independent morphemes such as { korma } 'male' and { daltu } 'female'.

Since it is evident that their similarities outweigh their differences, it may be possible to treat NOUNS and ADJECTIVES as members of a single class which I shall label substantive.

CHAPTER 3

3.0. DERIVATION

We have seen in the preceding chapter that ADJECTIVES and NOUNS may be inflected for gender, number, case, and definiteness. In this part of the study, we will examine how NOUNS and ADJECTIVES are derived from other classes of words.

3.1. Derivation of ADJECTIVES: ADJECTIVES may be derived from roots as indicated in Table 20 below:

| Roots ³¹ | ADJECTIVES | | Gloss |
|---------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------|
| | Ind. Mas. Sg. | Ind. Fem. Sg. | |
| /k'op'p'aʔ-/ | /k'op'p'aʔ-aa/ | /ko'p'p'of-tuu/ | 'ready' |
| /k'ulk'ullaʔ-/ | /k'ulk'ullaʔ-aa/ | /k'ulk'ullof-tuu/ | 'pure' |
| /t'uraʔ-/ | /t'ura -aa/ | /t'uʀof-tuu/ | 'dirty' |
| /k'abbanaʔ-/ | /k'abbanaʔ-aa/ | /kabbanof-tuu/ | 'cold' |
| /midag-/ | /midag-aa/ | /midag-duu/ | 'pretty' |
| /dekam-/ | /dekam-aa/ | /dekam-tuu/ | 'angry' |
| /ʃam-/ | /ʃam-aa/ | /ʃam-tuu/ | 'blind' |
| /k'aʃel-/ | /k'aʃel-aa/ | /k'aʃel-tuu/ | 'straight' |
| /ʔokkol-/ | /ʔokkol-aa/ | /ʔokkol-tuu/ | 'lame' |

Table 20 Masculine and Feminine forms of Derived ADJECTIVES

As is evident from the above table, the affix /-aa/ is suffixed to the roots to derive ADJECTIVES. The feminine derived forms are indicated by the suffix {-tuu}.

As in other ADJECTIVES, the nominative case is indicated by the suffix {-n} as in the following examples:

| | | | |
|------|----------------|-----------------|---------|
| | Masculine | feminine | gloss |
| acc. | k'op'p'aʔ aa | k'op'p'of-tuu | 'ready' |
| nom. | k'op'p'aʔ aa-n | k'op'p'of-tuu-n | 'ready' |

The following morpheme alternations are also observable.

- /k'op'p'aʔ ~ k'op'p'of-/
- /k'ulk'ullaʔ ~ k'ulk'ullof-/
- /t'uraʔ ~ t'urof-/
- /k'abbanaʔ ~ k'abbanof-/³²

The feminine morpheme { -tuu } is affixed to the alternants that end in /f/.

Furthermore, unlike most ADJECTIVES, derived ADJECTIVES form their plural stems by reduplicating their first syllable and geminating the first consonant of the root as in the examples in Table 21.

| A D J E C T I V E S | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| Singular (Mas.) | Plural (Fem./Mas.) | gloss |
| /k'op'p'aʔ aa/ | /k'o-k'k'op'p'aʔ aa/ | 'those who are ready' |
| /midagaa/ | /mi-mmidagaa/ | 'those who are pretty' |
| /t'uraʔ aa/ | /t'u-t't'uraʔ aa/ | 'those who are dirty' |
| /k'abbanaʔ aa/ | /k'a-k'k'abbanaʔ aa/ | 'those who are cold' |
| /dɛkkamaa/ | /dɛ-dɛkkamaa/ | 'those who are angry' |
| /ʃamaa/ | /ʃa-ʃʃamaa/ | 'those who are blind' |
| /ʔokkolaa/ | /ʔo-ʔokkolaa/ | 'those who are lame' |

Table 21 Plural Stems of Derived ADJECTIVES

The first consonant, except the glottal stop [ʔ], of each root is geminated in the process of reduplication.

3.2. Derivation of NOUNS: Like ADJECTIVES, NOUNS may also be derived from roots by affixing /-aa/. Table 22 presents examples of such NOUNS.

| Roots | NOUNS Sg. | gloss |
|-----------------------|-----------|----------|
| /kenn-/ ³³ | /kenn-aa/ | 'gift' |
| /buʔ -/ | /buʔ -aa/ | 'profit' |
| /duʔ -/ | /duʔ -aa/ | 'death' |
| /fayy-/ | /fayy-aa/ | 'health' |



Table 22 Derived forms of NOUNS

The process of derivation is identical in both NOUNS and ADJECTIVES. However, unlike most other NOUNS or derived ADJECTIVES, derived NOUNS do not form their plural stems by taking the suffix {-ota} or by reduplicating their first syllable and geminating the initial consonant of their roots. Thus, forms like,

*/duʔ -ota/ or */du-dduʔ-aa/ 'death'

are not acceptable. The reason may have to do with semantics since such NOUNS as /duʔ-aa/ 'death' or /fayy-aa/ 'health' appear to be [-count].

As in most NOUNS or ADJECTIVES, the suffix {-ittii} may be added to indicate the feminine gender or diminutiveness as in,

/kenn-ittii/ 'very small gift'

In addition to such NOUNS which have the derivational ending /-aa/, there are also others with the affix /-uma/. Table 23 shows such NOUNS.

| Roots | NOUNS | gloss |
|---------|------------|----------------|
| /fayy-/ | /fayy-uma/ | 'goodness' |
| /nag-/ | /nag-uma/ | 'peacefulness' |
| /wak'-/ | /wak'-uma/ | 'Godness' |
| /mot-/ | /mot-uma/ | 'kingness' |

Table 23 Derived forms of NOUNS with the suffix /-uma/³⁴

As is clear from the above table, the derivational affix /-uma/ is suffixed to each root. However, it is also possible to derive other NOUNS from these same roots by affixing /-aa/ as in,

| | | |
|---------|-----------|------------------|
| /fayy-/ | /fayy-aa/ | 'healthy/health' |
| /nag-/ | /nag-aa/ | 'peaceful/peace' |

Thus, derived NOUNS such as /fayyaa/ or /nagaa/ can be treated as ADJECTIVES since there is no formal distinction between them and ADJECTIVES such as /k'op'p'aʔ -aa/ 'ready' or /k'ulk'ullaʔ -aa/ 'pure' as shown in Table 20. However, there is a difference between NOUNS which are derived with the suffix /-uma/ as in Table 23, above, and other NOUNS derived with the suffix /-ina/ as in Table 24.

| ADJECTIVAL roots ³⁵ | gloss | NOUN | gloss |
|--------------------------------|----------|------------|-------------|
| /jabaa~jab-/ | 'strong' | /jab-ina/ | 'strength' |
| /guddaa~gudd-/ | 'big' | /guddina/ | 'bigness' |
| /deeraa~deer-/ | 'tall' | /deer-ina/ | 'tallness' |
| /bayyee~bayy-/ | 'much' | /bayy-ina/ | 'abundance' |

Table 24 Derived NOUNS with the suffix /-ina/

From Tables 23 and 24, it can be concluded that NOUNS which are [+ abstract] can be derived from other NOUNS when the suffix /-uma/ is added and from ADJECTIVES when /-ina/ is suffixed.

NOUNS with the suffixes /-uma/ and /-ina/ are not inflected for categories like gender or number which may be a point of distinction between them and other NOUNS or ADJECTIVES which are inflected for gender or number. The reason could perhaps be that such NOUNS as /gudd-ina/ 'bigness' or /jab-ina/ 'strength' are [-count].

From what has been discussed in this chapter, the following generalizations may be made:

(a) NOUNS and ADJECTIVES can be derived from the same roots, and the derivational affixes that derive them are also identical.

(b) Only NOUNS derived with the suffix /-uma/ and /-ina/ are distinguishable from other NOUNS and ADJECTIVES.

(c) Derived ADJECTIVES may reduplicate their first syllable and geminate the initial consonant of their root to form their plural stems whereas derived NOUNS do not form plurals at all.

4.0. ADJECTIVIZATION AND NOMINALIZATION



4.1. ADJECTIVIZATION: We have seen in chapter two that Oromo NOUNS and ADJECTIVES may be derived from the same kind of roots and that their derivational affixes are also identical. In this section, we will examine, among other things, how ADJECTIVES are formed by a process we will call ADJECTIVIZATION from other form classes such as verbs and NOUNS as in the following examples:

| NOUNS sg. | gloss | verb | gloss | Gender | | Case | |
|--------------|-----------|---------|-----------|--------|-------|--------------------|------|
| | | | | mas. | fem. | nominative mas. | fem. |
| /hojja/ | 'height' | /k'abe/ | 'having' | -ssa | -ttii | -i | -n |
| /nagaa/ | 'peace' | /k'abe/ | 'having' | -ssa | -ttii | -i | -n |
| /humna/ | 'power' | /dabe/ | 'lacking' | -ssa | -ttii | -i | -n |
| /garaa/ | 'stomach' | /laafe/ | 'soften' | -ssa | -ttii | -i | -n |
| /galata/ | 'thank' | /k'abe/ | 'having' | -ssa | -ttii | -i | -n |

Table 25 ADJECTIVIZATION: NOUN-VERB-Affix construction

By stringing the above forms and affixes in the order N-V-Af (NOUN-verb-affix) Adjectivals like the following may be formed.

| ADJECTIVALS | Gloss |
|-------------------|--------------------------|
| /hojja k'abessa/ | 'height having'/tall' |
| /nagaak'abessa/ | 'peace having/peaceful' |
| /humna dabessa/ | 'power lacking/ weak' |
| /garaa lafessa/ | 'smooth hearted/tender' |
| /galata k'abessa/ | 'thanks having/thankful' |

Table 26 ADJECTIVALS of NOUN-verb-Affix construction

The above adjectivals like other ADJECTIVES may be inflected for the categories of number, gender or case as is shown below.

| | Mas. Sg. | Fem. Sg. | gloss |
|------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|--------|
| acc. | /hojʃʃak'abessa/ | /hojʃʃak'abettii/ | 'tall' |
| nom. | /hojʃʃak'abess-i/ | /hojʃʃak'abettii-n/ | 'tall' |
| gen. | /kanhojʃʃak'abessa ³⁶ / | /kanhojʃʃak'abettii/ | 'tall' |
| dat. | /hojʃʃak'abessa-a:f/ | /hojʃʃak'abettii-f/ | 'tall' |
| abl. | /hojʃʃak'abessa-an/ | /hojʃʃak'abettii-ɖan/ | 'tall' |

Table 27 Inflected Forms of Adjectivals

The plural stems are indicated by the suffix {-ota} only, since adjectivals, unlike ADJECTIVES do not reduplicate their first syllable and geminate the initial consonant of their roots. Thus, we have

| Singular | Plural | |
|------------------|------------------|------------|
| /hojʃʃak'abessa/ | /hojʃʃak'ab-ota/ | 'tall' |
| /negaak'abessa/ | /negaak'ab-ota/ | 'peaceful' |

Furthermore, the construction /hojʃʃak'abe/ 'tall' alternates with /hojʃʃak'ab-/ before the gender and the plural affixes. Thus, the form with an open syllable /hojʃʃak'abe/ appears before the masculine suffix /-ssa/ or the feminine /-ttii/ which begins with consonants and the form with a closed syllable /hojʃʃak'ab-/ appears before the plural suffix {-ota} which begins with a vowel as in the following examples:

| | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| /hojʃʃak'abe-ssa/ | 'tall' mas. |
| /hojʃʃak'abe-ttii/ | 'tall' fem. |
| but /hojʃʃak'ab-ota/ | 'tall' mas. /fem. pl. |

It is also possible that adjectivals of the N-V-A type of construction may have resulted from sentences like,

/nam-ni hojjak'abe/'(A) man has power',

adjectivized as,

/nama hojjak'abessa/ lit. 'man height having'

and finally resulting into,

/hojjak'abessa/ 'height having' 'tall'

by a process of deleting the NOUN head /nama/ 'man'.

It, therefore, seems that adjectivals like /hojjak'abessa/ 'tall' are results of adjectivization and deletion of the NOUN head in the underlying structures, which may, perhaps, be represented as:

NP₁-NP₂-V

It is also not uncommon in Oromo to form adjectivals by joining two NOUNS, the first of which is /ʔabba/ 'father' or 'master' as in the table below.

| NOUN sg. | NOUN sg. | gloss | Adjectivals | gloss |
|-------------|--------------|------------|-------------------|---------------|
| /ʔabba/ | /sobaa/ | 'lie' | /ʔabba sobaa/ | liar |
| 'father' | | | | |
| /ʔabba/ | /duufuu/ | 'fart' | /ʔabba duufuu/ | 'farter' |
| /ʔabba/ | /dubbii/ | 'talk' | /ʔabba dubbii/ | 'talkative' |
| /ʔabba/ | /(h)irribba/ | 'sleep' | /ʔabba(h)irribba/ | 'sleepy' |
| /ʔabba/ | /fira/ | 'sympathy' | /ʔabba fira/ | 'sympathetic' |

Table 28 NOUN-NOUN Construction of Adjectivals

As can be seen from Table 28, the first of the two NOUNS forming the adjectivals is /ʔabba/ 'father' or 'master'.

The plural of such adjectivals as /ʔabba sobaa/ 'liar' is, unlike other ADJECTIVES, signalled not by the suffix {-ota}, but by an

independent morpheme /warra/ which also means 'origin' or 'source'.
It occurs in the position preceding the adjectival. Thus, we have,

/warra abba sobaa/ 'those masters of lie or 'liars' along
with,

A + AHA
/warra sobduu/ those masters of lie or liars (fem.)

But like in other ADJECTIVES or NOUNS, the genitive and the nominative
are indicated by the preposition /kan/ 'of' and the suffixes /-n-i/
respectively as in,

/kan ʔabba sobaa/ 'of masters of lie' or 'liars' genitive.

/ʔabba sobaa-n/ 'masters of lie' or 'liars' nominative

However, when the plural /warra ʔabba sobaa/ 'those masters of lie'
is in the nominative, the nominative suffix /-i/ is added to the
plural morpheme /warra/ and not to either of the NOUNS forming the
adjectival. Thus, we have,

/ʔabba sobaa/ 'master of lie' or 'liar' singular accusative

/warra ʔabba sobaa/ 'masters of lie' or 'liars' plural
accusative.

/ʔabba sobaa-n/ 'master of lie' or liar' singular nominative

/warr-i ʔabba sobaa/ 'masters of lie' or 'liar' plural nominative

Moreover in structures of modification and complementation,
adjectivals like /ʔabba firraa/ 'sympathetic' can be used in the same
slot that other ADJECTIVES occur as in the following examples:

1 (a) namičč-i gurračč-i deeraa da
man-def.nom. black-nom. tall is
'the black man is tall'

(b) namičč-i ʔabba firraa-n deeraa da
man-def.-nom. sympathetic-nom. tall is
'the sympathetic man is tall'

2 (a) namičč-i gurračč-a (da)
 man-def-nom. black-nom. is
 'The man is black'

(b) namičč-i ḡabba firaa (da)
 man-def-nom. sympathetic is
 'The man is sympathetic'

In sentences (1b) and (2b), above /ḡabba firaa/ 'sympathetic' occurs in the same position as the ADJECTIVE /gurračča/ 'black'

4.2. Nominalization: Just as there are adjectivals of the NOUN-NOUN construction, there are also nominals of the head-modifier construction as shown in Table 29.

| NOUN Sg. | gloss | NOUN Sg. | gloss | Nominals | gloss |
|-------------|----------|-------------|-----------|----------------|-------------------------|
| /mana/ | 'house' | /tamari/ | 'student' | /mana tamari/ | 'school' |
| /budena/ | 'injera' | /t'afi/ | 't'ef' | /budena t'afi/ | 'injera made from t'ef' |
| /mana/ | 'house' | /dabbo/ | 'bread' | /mana dabbo | 'bakery' |

Table 29 Head-Modifier construction of Nominals

These structures may be considered to have an underlying genitive or locative structure of the type,

tamari mana k'aba
 student¹ house² has
 '(A) student has (a) house'

nominalized as,

NP₁ NP₂ ⇒ NP₂ NP₁ \emptyset

and finally resulting into /mana tamari/ 'school'.

The underlying structure of nominals like,

/mana tamari/ 'school'

and that of adjectivals like,

/ʔabba sobaa/ 'liar'

may not be the same since in /mana tamari/ it is /tamari/ which is the possessor whereas in /ʔabba sobaa/ it is /ʔabba/.

Moreover, unlike adjectivals, such nominals cannot be pluralized since forms like */manota tamari/ are not acceptable. But like other NOUNS, nominals can be used nominatively, accusatively ... etc., in structures of sentences as in the following examples:

(3) (a) man-ičč-i tamari gudda da
house-def-nom. student big is

'The school is big'

(b) man-ičča tamari gubne
house-def-acc. student burn-we-past

'We burnt the school'

We may conclude from the foregoing discussion that adjectivals and nominals are very much alike both formally and syntactically.

CHAPTER 5

5.0. THE SYNTACTIC POSITIONS OF ADJECTIVES AND NOUNS

We have seen so far the formal characteristics of ADJECTIVES and NOUNS. In the rest of this chapter, we will examine the syntactic positions of ADJECTIVES and NOUNS in sentences, along with that of pronouns, demonstratives, and numerals with the assumption that these too, may have similar characteristics³⁷.

Let us consider the following sentences:

1. nam-ni dufe
man-nom. come-past
'(A) man came'

2. *dufe nam-ni

The pattern of the grammatical sentence (1) is N-nom.-Verb, that is, a NOUN in the nominative case followed by a verb.

The NOUN-nominative /nam-ni/'(a) man' of sentence (1) can be made definite as in sentence (3).

3. nam-ičč-i dufe
man-def-nom. come-past
'The man came'

- *4. dufe nam-ičč-i

And sentence (3) can be extended as (5)

5. nam-ičč-i gurračč-i dufe
man-def-nom. black-nom. come-past
'The black man came'

- 6*. gurračč-i nam-ičč-i dufe

It appears that the ADJECTIVE /gurračč-i/ 'black-nom.' follows the NOUN /nam-ičč-i/ 'the man-nom.'. Thus, the pattern of sentence (5) is as follows:

N-def-nom. + (ADJECTIVE-nom.) + verb-past

The NOUN /nam-ičč-i/ 'the man-nom.' of sentence (5), may be replaced by a pronoun like /inni/ 'he' in the same context as in,

7. Inni gurračč-i dufe
he-nom. black-nom. come-past
'He, the black one, came'

8. *gurračč-i inni dufe

/nam-ičč-i/ 'the man-def.' cannot, however, be replaced by numerals and demonstratives since sentences like the following are unacceptable.

9. *tokko gurračč-i dufe
one black-nom. come-past

10. *kun(i) gurračč-i dufe
this-nom. black-nom. come-past

It, therefore, appears that only NOUNS and pronouns substitute for each other in the position of /nam-ičč-i/ 'the man-nom.' of sentence (5).

Let us also examine the following sentences:

11. nam-ni gurračč-i sun(i) dufe
man-nom. black-nom. that-nom. come-past
'That black man came'

12. *nam-ni sun(i) gurračč-i dufe

The pattern of the grammatical sentence (11) is,

NOUN-nom. + (ADJECTIVE-nom.) + (Demonstrative-nom.) + Verb-past

As is evident from the above pattern, in structures of sentences like (11), the position of demonstratives like /sun(i)/ 'that' is after ADJECTIVES. Sentence (12) is ungrammatical because /sun(i)/ 'that' precedes the ADJECTIVE /gurračč-i/ 'black-nom.'

Sentence (11) can be extended to include numerals like /l² maa/
'two' as in,

13. nam-on-ni guggurračč-i lamaa-n sun(i) dufan
man-pl.-nom. black-pl.-nom. two-nom. those-nom. come-pl.past
'Those two black men came'

14. *nom-on-ni guggurračč-i sun(i) lamaa-n dufan

In structures of sentences like (13) in which ADJECTIVES, numerals, and demonstratives appear, the order of sequence is as follows:

NOUN-nom. + (ADJ. -nom.) + (Num-nom.) + (Dem.-nom.) + Verb

The position of numerals like /lamaa-n/ 'two-nom.' is, therefore, after ADJECTIVES like /gurračč-i/ 'black-nom.' and preceding demonstratives like /sun(i)/ 'that-nom.'. Other word orders, like (14) in which the numeral followed the demonstrative, may lead to ungrammatical sentences.

Despite their distinct syntactic positions, as shown in sentence (13) above, ADJECTIVES, numerals, and demonstratives may substitute for each other in the optional slot, preceding a verb and following a NOUN-nom. Thus, we have sentences like the following:

15. nam-ni (————) dufe
man-nom. come-past
'(A) man came.'

16. nam-ni gurračč-i dufe
man-nom. black-nom.
'(A) black man came.'

17. nam-ni sun(i) dufe
man-nom. that-nom.
'that man came'

18. nam-ni tokko dufe
man-nom. one-nom.
'One man came.'



The pattern of these sentences (15 - 18) may be stated as,

NOUN-nom. + ({ Adj.
Dem.
Num. }) -nom. + verb

NOUNS, like ADJECTIVES, demonstratives, and numerals, may also occur in the optional slot of the above pattern, since sentences like (19) and (20) are grammatical.

19. nam-ni shewa dufe
man-nom. come-past
'(A) man of Shewa came'.

20. fard-i Kebede dufe
horse-nom. come-past
'Kebede's horse came'.

Sentences (19) and (20) are, however, different from those of (15 - 18). The structure in (19) and (20) is that of locative and genitive respectively. The difference is formally indicated by the absence of the nominative suffix { -ni } in /Shewa/ or /Kebede/ of sentences (19) and (20). The pattern of sentences (15 - 18) may, therefore, be extended to include NOUNS as well.

In the position of the NOUN-nom. /nam-ni/ of sentence (15), ADJECTIVES, numerals, and demonstratives may occur as in,

21. gurra^{kk}-i dufe
black-nom. come-past
'(A) black came'.

22. kuni dufe
this-nom. come-past
'this came'

23. tokko dufe
one-nom. come-past
'one came'

But these sentences cannot initiate conversations or speech. They may be used only in reference to a NOUN like /nam-ni/ 'man-nom.' which has been already mentioned. Furthermore, ADJECTIVES, numerals, and demonstratives, cannot be followed by modifiers since sentences like the following are ungrammatical:

24. *guračč-i deeraan dufe
tall-nom.

25. *kuni deeraan dufe

26. *tokko deeraan dufe

But since sentences like (27) and (28) are possible, it may be concluded that only pronouns and NOUNS substitute for each other in the position of NOUN-nom. as in,

27. nam-ni gurračč-i dufe
man-nom. black-nom. come-past
'(A) black man came'

28. inni gurračč-i dufe
he-nom. black-nom. come-past
'He, that is black, came'

Let us also consider the following sentences:

29. dabala-n nama arge³⁸
Dabala-nom. man-acc. see-past
'Dabala saw (a) man'.

30. dabala-n nama gurračča arge
Dabala-nom. man-acc. black-acc. see-past
'Dabala saw the black man'.



He's son

Quon

31. dabala-n nama gurračča sana arge
Dabala-nom. man-acc. black-acc. that-acc. see-past
'Dabala saw that black man'.

32. dabala-n nomata guggurračča lamma sana arge
Dabala-nom. man-pl. black-pl. acc. two those see-past
'Dabla saw those two black men'

The pattern of sentences (29 - 32) is the same as that of sentence (13). But in the above sentences, only the NOUN Dabala is in the nominative case; the rest of the forms considered are in the accusative case.

In the context of sentence (29) sentences like, (33 - 36) are possible.

33. dabala-n isa arge
Dabala-nom. he-acc. see-past
'Dabala saw him'

34. dabala-n gurračča arge
Dabala-nom. black-acc. see-past
'Dabala saw black'

35. dabala-n kana arge
Dabala-nom. this-acc. see-past
'Dabala saw this'

36. dabala-n tokko arge
Dabala-nom. one-acc. see-past
'Dabala saw one'

The apparent substitutability among the forms considered in the slot following the NOUN/Dabala-n/ is, however, superficial since,

(a) there is an underlying NOUN like /nama/ 'man' referred to when such sentences are uttered,

(b) such sentences as (33 - 36) cannot initiate conversation.

However, in the slot preceding the copula /da/ 'is', substitutability seems holding. Let us examine the following sentences:

37. dabala-n gurračča da

Dabala-nom. black is

'Dabala is black'

38. dabala-n kana (da)

this is

'Dabala is this'

39. dabala-n isa (da)

he is

'Dabala is he/him'

40. dabala-n tokko (da)

one is

'Dabala is one'

41. dabala-n akimii da

physician is

'Dabala is a physician'

It may, therefore, be said that in the optional slot of

NOUN-nom. (——) copula

NOUNS, pronouns, ADJECTIVES, demonstratives, and numerals may substitute for each other.

But if an intensifier morpheme like { bayyee } 'very' is introduced into the above pattern, we may have,

NOUN-nom. (intensifier) ——— copula

and in the slot following the optional intensifier { bayyee } 'very', only ADJECTIVES can occur. Thus, only sentence (42) below is grammatical.

42. dabala-n bayyee deeraa da
 very tall is
 'Dabala is very tall'
43. *dabala-n bayyee kana (da)
 this
44. *dabala-n bayyee akimii (da)
 physician
45. *dabala-n bayyee tokko (da)
 one
46. *dabala-n bayyee isa (da)
 him

Moreover, in sentences of the pattern $N_1 - N_2 - N_3 - V$; ADJECTIVES and numerals (ordinals) may occur in the position of N_3 as in the following examples:

47. dabala-n gammačču irriyassa godate
 Dabala-nom. Gammačču-acc. friend-acc. make-his-past
 'Dabala made Gammačču his friend.'
48. dabala-n gammačču guddaa god?e
 big-acc. make-past
 'Dabala made Gammačču big'
49. dabala-n gammačču tokkoffa god e
 first-acc.
 'Dabala made Gammačču first'
50. *dabala-n gammačču isa god?e
 he-acc.
51. *dabala-n gammačču kana god?e
 this-acc.

However, the ADJECTIVE /guddaa/ 'big', and the ordinal /tokkoffa/ 'first' in sentences (48) and (49) respectively, substitute for the NOUN / irriyassa/ 'friend' in sentence (47) only

superficially. The underlying or intermediate representation of such sentences as (48) or (49) may be as follows:

dabala-n gammačču nama guddaa godre
Dabala-nom. Gammačč-acc. man-acc. big-acc. make-past
'Dabala made Gammačču a big man'

This structure results into sentences like 49 above after the NOUN /nama/ 'man' has been deleted.

In other sentences such as,

52. dabala-n fayyuma ittidaga? ame
Dabala-nom. healthiness feel-passive-past
'Dabala felt healthy'

in which the verb is one of state, no other forms except NOUNS of the /-uma/ ending are substitutable. Thus, only sentences like (52) above and (53) below are grammatical.

53. dabala-n naguma ittidaga? ame
Dabala-nom. peacefulness feel-passive-past
'Dabala felt peace'

54. *dabala-n gurračča ittidaga? ame
black

55. *dabala-n kana ittidaga? ame
this

56. *dabala-n tokko ittidaga? ame
one

57. *dabala-n isa ittidaga? ame
he-acc.

It seems that verbs like /ittidaga? ame/ 'feel-past' perhaps require NOUNS with the feature specification $\bar{[+ abstract]}$ signalled by the suffix /-uma/.

Comparison: The comparative degree of ADJECTIVES is indicated in Oromo by {irra} 'from' and {woyya} 'better'. {irra} has the alternant /-irra/ after stems ending in vowels.

58. ?ad ii-rra diimaa woyya
white-from red better
'Red (is) better than white'

59. *woyya ?adii-rra diimaa

60. furdaa-rra k'allo woyya
fat-from thin better
'Fat (is) better than thin'

Sentences (58) and (60) cannot, however, be used as initiators of conversation. They are used only after a sentence like (61) has been uttered.

61. farda ?adii-rra farda diimaa woyya
horse white-from horse red better
'(A) White horse is better than a red horse.'

The above structures of comparison may, therefore, be assumed to have resulted from intermediate structures of the type:

NOUN + ADJECTIVE-rra + NOUN + ADJECTIVE + woyya

NOUNS can also be compared without ADJECTIVES modifying them as in the following examples:

62. dabala-rra asteri woyya
Dabala-from Aster better
'Aster is better than Dabala'

63. birri-rra work'i woyya
silver-from gold better
'Gold is better than silver'

64. farso-rra bišaani woyya
tella-from water better
'Water is better than tella'

Sentences (52 - 64) follow the pattern,

NOUN-rra + NOUN + woyya

Such sentences as (62 - 64) would semantically be anomalous if an ADJECTIVE like /furdaa/ 'fat' is used in the position of one of the NOUNS being compared as in,

65. *furdaa-rra Asteri woyya
fat-from Aster better

The ADJECTIVE /furdaa/ 'fat' should be made definite in order for such sentences as (65) to be grammatical. Thus, we have

66. furdičča-rra asteri wayya
fat-def-from Aster better
'Aster is better than the fat one'

This sentence can, however, be used only in reference to a NOUN already mentioned.

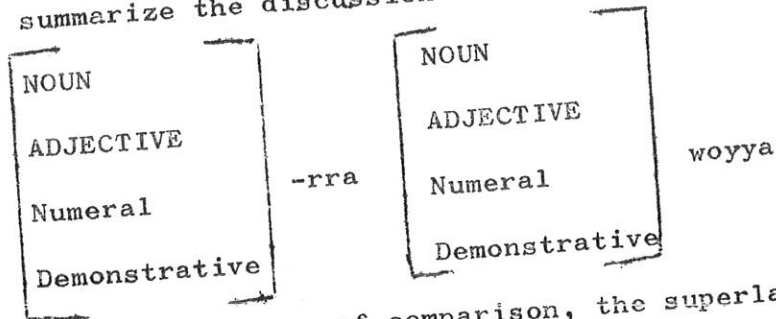
In the same way as in ADJECTIVES, pronouns, demonstratives, and numerals may also be compared quite superficially as in the following examples.

67. sana-rra kana woyya
that-from this better
'This (is) better than that'

68. ana-rra isa woyya
~~me~~ I-from he better
'He (is) better than me'

69. tokko-rra lamaa woyya
one-from two better
'Two (is) better than one'

We can summarize the discussion on the second degree of comparison as



The third degree of comparison, the superlative, is analysable into, /hunduma-rra/ 'of all' and /woyya/ 'better' as in the following sentences:

- 70. nama hunduma-rra abebe woyya
man all-from Abebe better
'Abebe (is) the best of all the men'
- 71. nama hunduma-rra nama kana woyya
man all-from man this better
'This man is the best of all the men'
- 72. nama hunduma-rra isa woyya
man all-from he better
'He is the best of all the men'
- 73. nama hunduma-rra namičča gurračča woyya
man all-from man-def. black better
'The black man is the best of all the men'

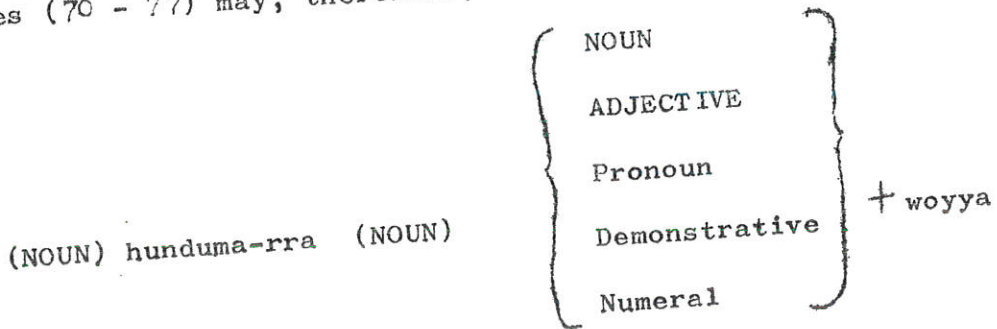
Once the first NOUNS in sentences (70 - 73) have been known, it is possible to reduce the sentences into the following:

- 74. hunduma-rra abebe woyya
all-from Abebe better
'Abebe (is) the best of all'
- 75. hunduma-rra kana woyya
all-from this better
'This (is) the best of all'

76. hunduma-rra isa woyya
 all-from he better
 'He is the best of all'

77. hunduma-rra gurračča woyya
 all-from black better
 'Black is the best of all'

Sentences (70 - 77) may, therefore, fall into the following pattern:



Let us also consider the following sentences.

75. iŷolle hunduma-rra dabala-n deeraa da
 boys all-from Dabala-nom. tall is
 'Dabala is the tallest of all boys'

79. iŷolle hunduma-rra dabala-n gababaa da
 boys all-from short
 'Dabala is the shortest of all boys'

80. hunduma-rra dabala-n gababaa da
 all-from Dabala-nom short is
 'Dabala is the shortest of all'

81. hunduma-rra dabala-n deeraa da
 all-from tall
 'Dabala is the tallest of all'

The pattern of the above four sentences is as follows:

(NOUN) + hunduma-rra + ADJECTIVE + da

In the position of the ADJECTIVE only numerals (ordinal) may

occur as in,

82. ijole hunduma-rra dabala-n tokkoffa da
first

'Dabala is the first of all boys'

Pronouns, NOUNS, and demonstratives cannot substitute for each other in the position of the ADJECTIVE since sentences like (83 - 85) are ungrammatical.

83. *ijole hunduma-rra dabala-n isa da
he-acc.

84. *ijole hunduma-rra dabala-n kana da
this-acc.

85. *ijole hunduma-rra dabala-n akimii da

However, in the position of /dabala/, the forms considered may superficially substitute for each other as sentences like the following are possible in a defined situation.

86. ijole hunduma-rra inni deeraa da
boys all-from he-nom. tall is
'He is the tallest of all boys'

87. ijole hunduma-rra kun(i) deeraa da
boys all-from this-nom. tall is
'This is the tallest of all the boys'

88. ijole hunduma-rra gurračč-ičč deeraa da
boys all-from black-def. tall is
'The black one is the tallest of all'

89. ijole hunduma-rra tokkoffan deeraa da
boys all-from first tall is
'The first one is the tallest of all the boys'

It may, therefore, be possible to say that there is a greater superficial substitutability in the position of the NOUN /Dabala/ in sentence (78) than in the position preceding the copula /da/ 'is'.

From the discussion so far, the following statements can be made:

(a) NOUNS, ADJECTIVES, demonstratives, and numerals have defined syntactic positions in structures of sentences. The pattern is always the following:

NOUN - (ADJECTIVE) - (Numeral) - (Demonstrative) - Verb

(b) Substitutability among NOUNS, ADJECTIVES, numerals, and demonstratives is possible, but superficial, since the reference is always to a NOUN implicitly understood, and since one cannot begin a conversation with ADJECTIVES, numerals, and demonstratives without a defined context or situation;

(c) that only NOUNS and pronouns seem to have the same syntactic positions.

CHAPTER 6

6.1. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In the last four chapters, we have tried to examine the formal characteristics of Oromo NOUNS and ADJECTIVES and the syntactic relations they share with pronouns, demonstratives, and numerals.

Morphologically, it has been noted that ADJECTIVES and NOUNS may be classed into those inflected for number, gender, case and definiteness on the one hand, and those which are uninflected, on the other.

Both NOUNS and ADJECTIVES may be pluralized with the affix {-ota}. However, some derived ADJECTIVES form their plural by reduplicating their first syllable and geminating the first consonant of the syllable (e.g. CV → CVCCV). Nevertheless, according to Kebede Hordafa³⁹, forms like /ru-rrukutta/ 'hits' derived from the verb /ru-rrukute/ 'he hit repeatedly', occur as NOUNS. These forms, like derived ADJECTIVES, form their plurals by reduplicating their initial syllable and geminating their first consonant.

Furthermore, in forming their genders, /-čča~ -ssa~ -aa/ are affixed to ADJECTIVES in the masculine and /-ttii~ -tuu~ -oo/ in the feminine, whereas in NOUNS, morphemes like {korma} 'male' or {daltu} 'female' are used to denote the gender of living beings. The feminine affix /-ttii~ -tii/ may be used with all NOUNS to signal the meaning 'diminutive'. Thus, it can generally be said that both NOUNS and ADJECTIVES are inflected for gender.

* It has also been noted that both NOUNS and ADJECTIVES are cited in lexicons in the accusative case, and that they form their nominatives

by affixing /-ni~ -n~ -i/. In both, the dative case is indicated by /-af~ -f/, and the ablative by /-an~ -dan/.

The category of definiteness is indicated in both NOUNS and ADJECTIVES by /-ičča~ -čča/ in the masculine, and /-ttii/ in the feminine. It, therefore, appears that NOUNS and ADJECTIVES share quite a lot of inflectional affixes.

The situation is not different as regards the derivation of NOUNS and ADJECTIVES since both can be derived from the same roots. A noticeable difference between the two, however, is the fact that there are NOUNS derived from other NOUNS with the suffix /-uma/.

Regarding the processes of ADJECTIVIZATION and NOMINALIZATION, there are Adjectivals and Nominals of the type head-modifier. However, the head-in Adjectivals is always /ʔabba/ 'father' as in /ʔabba sobaa/ 'liar'. There are also Adjectivals of the type N-V-Affix as in /nagakabessa/ 'peaceful' or /hojĵakabessa/ 'tall'.

Finally we have seen that NOUNS, ADJECTIVES, demonstratives, and numerals have defined syntactic positions. Only NOUNS and pronouns seem to substitute for each other since they occur in the same syntactic position. ADJECTIVES cannot substitute for NOUNS. Furthermore, sentences with ADJECTIVES cannot initiate a conversation. They may, however, be used in subsequent sentences but still with reference to the NOUN they modify in antecedent sentences.

It may, however, be possible to treat NOUNS and ADJECTIVES as constituents of the class of substantives on the basis of their morphological similarity.



¹The terms adjectives and nouns are written in upper case letters throughout this study to tacitly question their apparent status as two independent classes, instead of just one, which I believe to be the case.

²M. L. Bender, Mulugeta Eteffa, and D. L. Stinson, "Two Cushitic Languages," in M. L. Bender et. al. (ed), Language in Ethiopia (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 130.

³Gene Gragg, "Oromo of Wellega," in M. L. Bender (ed.) The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia (Michigan: Michigan University Press, 1976), p. 166.

⁴Both the figure and geographical diversity may definitely be controversial, but in the absence of recent statistical information it may be used as a clue.

⁵J. B. Pride and J. Holmes (ed.) Sociolinguistics (London: Hazell Watson and Viney Ltd., 1972), p. 115.

⁶Programme of the National Democratic Revolution of Ethiopia (Addis Abeba: Central Printing Press, 1976), p. 16.

⁷Gragg, op.cit. p. 182.

⁸Martino Moreno, Grammatica Della Lingua ~~Balla~~ ^{Balla} (Milano: Casa Editrice A. Mondadori, 1938), p.48.

⁹Gérard Despatie, Introduction to Language and Linguistics (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University, 1978), p. 110.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Morphologically, verbs may be inflected for person, tense, mood, and voice; whereas ADJECTIVES and NOUNS may be inflected for such features as number, gender, and case. Syntactically, verbs, ADJECTIVES and NOUNS do not substitute for each other.

¹²Martin Nordfeldt, ~~Academia~~ ^{Balla} Grammar (Lund: Le Monde Oriental, 1947), p. 61.
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¹³Moreno, op. cit. p. 49.

¹⁴ cf. Gender under 2.1.2.2.

¹⁵ Nordfeldt op. cit. p. 55.

¹⁶ ደባለኝ ሰዎች በአርባ ለጠባብ ቀጽሎች ላይ ፀታን ለጣዕልነት የሚገቡ ምዕላዶች /አዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ፣ 1970 ዓ.ም./ ገጽ 33 .

¹⁷ We could perhaps assume that at the underlying level the suffix is /-too/. There is, however, a constraint at the phonetic level which disallows a cluster of three consonants. In just those cases where a root ends in consonant clusters, a low level phonetic rule deletes the /t/, thus resulting in the realization of the morph by /-oo/ and at the same time simplifying the consonant clusters. Thus we have,

| | | |
|------------|--------------|--------|
| /furd-oo/ | */furd-too/ | 'fat' |
| /gudd-oo/ | */gudd-too/ | 'big' |
| /salp'-oo/ | */salp'-too/ | 'thin' |

¹⁸ It is the accusative stem which appears in the Oromo lexicon. Thus, it is,

| | | | |
|------|------------|---------|---------|
| acc. | /gurračča/ | 'black' | and not |
| nom. | /gurračči/ | 'black' | |

which appears in the dictionary.

¹⁹ Johannes Launhardt, Guide to Learning the Oromo Language (Addis Ababa: 1973), p. 151.

²⁰ Nordfeldt, op. cit., p. 63.

²¹ Ibid.

²² It may be possible to assume that the actual definite affix is {-čča} and that the vowel segment preceding it is an epenthetic vowel that breaks up the structurally non-permissible clusters of three or more consonants in which case our conclusion would inescapably be that the masculine definite affix is homophonous with one of the alternants of the masculine gender morpheme, /-čča/. We may, therefore, postulate the morphemes {-čča} and {-čča} to mean "definite" and "masculine" respectively.

²³ The argument here is the same as in (22) above.

²⁴ Nordfeldt, op. cit., p. 27.

²⁵This difference does not seem to be absolute since according to Kebede Hordofa, who was working on 'Oromo Derivatives' at the time this study was being done, forms like /ru-rrukkuta/ 'hits' derived from verbs of repeated actions such as /ru-rrukkutte/ 'he hit repeatedly' may be NOUNS.

²⁶cf. note 22.

²⁷cf. p. 15.

²⁸cf. p. 13.

²⁹cf. p. 14.

³⁰cf. p. 15

³¹Verbs, like ADJECTIVES, may be derived from these same roots by adding the suffix /-e/ which may be a past tense morpheme. Thus, we have,

| | |
|-----------------|--------------------------|
| /k'op'p'aʔ -e/ | 'he became ready' |
| /k'ulk'ulaʔ -e/ | 'he became pure' |
| /k'op'p'oŋt-e/ | 'you became ready' |
| /k'op'p'oŋtani/ | 'you (pl.) became ready' |
| /k'op'p'aʔani/ | 'they became ready' |

It may be said that there is at a higher level a root like /k'op'p'aʔ-/ which is ± verb. Thus, it becomes an ADJECTIVE when /-aa/ is suffixed and a verb when /-e/ is added.

³²The change of /a/ to /o/, and /ʔ/ to /f/ seems to have resulted from the fact that forms in which such changes are apparent have infinitives like,

| | |
|----------------|-------------------|
| /k'op'p'aʔ u/ | 'to become ready' |
| /k'ulk'ulaʔ u/ | 'to become pure' |

when the suffix /-tuu/ is added to such forms, we notice changes like the following:

ʔ → w/-u
a → o/-w
w → f/-c

The changes may be explained phonologically as being one of weakening and rounding. It also seems that the rules are ordered since /a/ should change to / o / before / w / changes to / f /. There are also such cases in the verb system.

| | |
|-------------|---------------------|
| /maččaʔ u/ | 'to get drunk' |
| /maččaʔ -e/ | 'he or I got drunk' |
| /maččofte/ | 'you sg. got drunk' |
| /maččofne/ | 'we got drunk' |

| | |
|--------------|---------------------|
| /maččofte/ | 'She got drunk' |
| /maččoftani/ | 'you pl. got drunk' |
| /maččaʔ ani/ | 'they got drunk' |

³³ Verbs can also be derived from these same roots by affixing /-e/.

Examples,

| | |
|----------|-------------|
| /kenn-e/ | 'he gave' |
| /buʔ-e/ | 'he gained' |
| /duʔ-e/ | 'he died' |
| /fayy-e/ | 'he became' |

³⁴ Moreno, op. cit., p. 127, believes that NOUNS ending in /-una/ are abstract NOUNS derived from other NOUNS.

³⁵ Moreno, op. cit., p. 127.

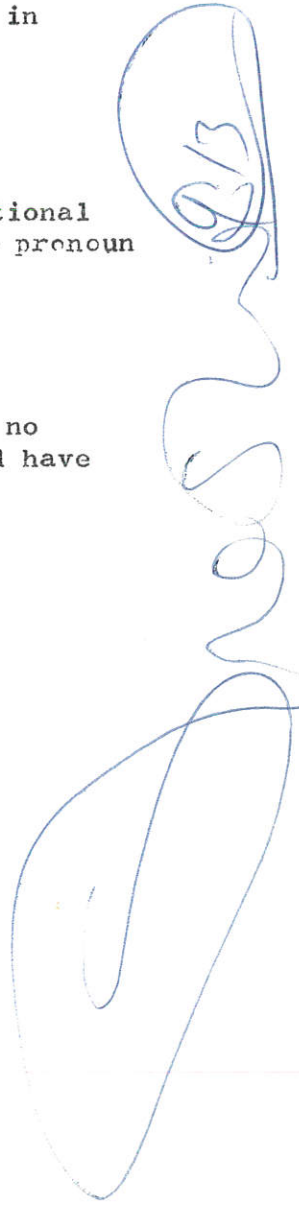
³⁶ The genitive is indicated in Oromo not by an inflectional affix but by a preposition such as {kan} 'of' or a possessive pronoun like /koo/ 'my' as in,

| | |
|----------------------|---------------|
| /kan hojʃjak'abessa/ | 'of tall' |
| /hojʃjak'abessakoo/ | 'my tall one' |

³⁷ Pronouns, demonstratives, and numerals seem to have no identifiable formal similarities with NOUNS or ADJECTIVES and have not been treated as such in the analysis made so far.

³⁸ The general sentence pattern in Oromo is S. O. V.

³⁹ cf. note 25.



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ደሳለኝ ሰዎ፣ በአርባኛ ሊጠቀም ቀጽሎች ላይ ፀታን ለማጠቃለያ የሚገቡ ምዕላዎች፣
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አብ ተከባ፣ የአርባኛና ~~ግላግ~~ ደምፀ ልሳኖች፣ /የተተየበ/ አዲስ አበባ፣
ቀዳማዊ ኃይለ ሥላሴ ዩኒቨርሲቲ፣ 1963.

D E C L A R A T I O N

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my work
and that all sources of material used for this thesis have been
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