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SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

MORPHOLOGY OF MALO

BY

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Key to signs, symbols and abbreviations

{ } : encloses morphemic items

// : enclose phonemic items

→ : becomes

◻ : high tone

◻ : low tone

* : un grammatical structure

ə : central mid vowel

+ : central high vowel

abl : ablative

acc : accusative

adj : adjective

adv : adverb

aux : auxiliary

b/m : become

C : consonant

caus : causative

car : cardinal

com : commutative

cont : continuous

dat : dative

def : definiteness

df : definite future

dep : dependent

eje : ejective

fem : feminine

idf : indefinite future

imp : imperfective

impl : implosive

indp : independent

ins : instrumental

int : interrogative

man : manner

mas : masculine

NI : negative interrogative

nom : nominative

num : number

ord : ordinal

pass : passive

per : perfective

pl : plural

pol : polarity

poss : possessive

rec : reciprocal

res : result

sc : subordinate conjunction

sg : singular

V : vowel

vd : voiced

vl : voiceless

Abstract

This study presents the morphological description of Malo, an Omotic language that belongs to the North Omoto cluster (Fleming 1976). Malo is spoken in Southern Nation Nationalities and People Regional State.

The study examines the different inflectional affixes and investigates the word formation processes involved in the derivation of nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and numerals. This thesis is organized into six chapters. In the introductory part of the paper an attempt is made to introduce the objective, research methodology, and the significance of the paper. In addition some points about the Malo people and the language have been mentioned. Review of the literature and description of the phonology are also included in the same chapter.

The second chapter of the thesis deals with the inflectional and derivational morphology of nouns. It presents that nouns in Malo are inflected for number, definiteness, and case. It shows that nouns in Malo may be derived from other nouns, verbs and adjectives. Compound noun formation is also presented in the same chapter. The third chapter presents the different types of pronouns of Malo such as personal, possessive, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns.

The fourth chapter deals with the inflection and derivation of Malo verbs.

It is shown that Malo verbs are inflected for aspect, tense and mood. Further more it is shown that suffixing different morphemes to the verb root derives different verbal stems.

Chapter five presents adjectives, adverbs and numerals. The last chapter of the paper presents summary and conclusion of the thesis.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCITON

1.1 The peope

Malo is the name of the people who speak the language, a speech variety, and a place bounded by Dawuro in the north, Konta in the west, Basketto in the south, Gofa in the east, and Southern Omo Zone in the southwest.

According to the 1994 population census the total population number of Malo is 74,922. From the whole population about 98% of the population is living in the rural area, while 2% of the total population lives in urban areas. According to Betta Tsemato (2001), Most of the area is sloppy and hilly with some plains in the low land. The total area coverage is calculated to be 1614.85 sq/km. The climate zone is composed of high lands, intermediate and low lands.

According to the same author, farming and animal breeding are the major economic bases of the people. Their major agricultural products include teff, maize, wheat, barley, sorghum, false banana and banana. The cash crops include coffee and cotton. Among the major animals raised cattle, sheep, goat, horse and chicken are the main ones. At present most of the people are followers of protestant religion. In the region Gofa is used as a media of instruction of education.

1.2 The language

Malo, which is the focus of this study, is grouped under the North Omoto cluster in the Omotic family (Fleming, 1976). Malo is spoken in Southern Nation Nationalities and People Regional State.

1.3 Literature review

Malo is one of the least studied member of Omoto. As far as the linguistic description of Malo is concerned there has not been any adequate work done. The only linguistic work found is that of Alemayehu Abebe's (1994), 'Malo: an unknown Omoto Language'. In this preliminary sketch, he presented some of the grammatical features of Malo nouns and verbs like number, definiteness, aspect and mood. He also tries to say some about Malo adjectives and postpositions. In addition he elicited 200-word list.

Concerning the noun of Malo Alemayehu limits his analysis only to grammatical categories of number and definiteness. He does not account the analysis of case that plays great role in Malo nouns. Alemayhu identified the plural marker as {-ita}, which is also the same in the present analysis. According to him, Malo has definite markers for both singular and plural nouns. For the present study, Malo has only definite marker for singular nouns expressed interactively with feminine nouns, that is only feminine nouns take the definite marker. In Malo plural nouns are considered as definite as for other north Omoto members (Azeb:2001).

He also considers the vowel –e as a nominal marker. In the present study the same vowel is identified to be the vowel attached to most nouns that are borrowed from other languages like Amharic. His examples can also prove my claim in that this vowel is found in some of his examples that contain Amharic words. To give some of his examples

(1) (a). abbusa dabb -e m -i -z -a ‘Abbusha ate bread’

abusha bread nm eat 3ms pf -3ms

(b). tani-kka watadar-e ‘I am a soldier’

I am (a) soldier -nom

As is shown in the above two examples the two nouns that is dabbe ‘bread’ and wotadare ‘soldier’ are borrowed words from the Amharic words ‘dabbo’ and ‘wottaddər’ respectively.

When we see his analysis of the verb inflection, he argued that Malo verb has pronominal affixes that distinguish first, second, and third persons. In the present work Malo verbs do not seem to be inflected for person, therefore nouns or pronouns occur in a structure obligatorily. This is one major difference that separates his work with the present analysis. He also discussed that there are two aspectual distinctions, the perfective and the imperfective. According to him only the perfective aspect is marked, and it is marked by the morpheme {-z}. But in the present study both the perfective and

the imperfective are found to be marked. The perfective is marked by {-e} and the imperfective by {-i} and {-od} .

The morpheme {-z} which is assumed as the perfective aspect by Alemayehu is analyzed as the affirmative declarative marker as it only occurs in the affirmative constructions and being omitted in the negative declarative as well as in the interrogative constructions. His tense analysis is also quite different from the present study. Let us consider for example the verb m-‘eat’ in the present tense form.

(2) inti dab -e m -ita ‘you eat bread’

You bread-nom eat 2pl -imp

The above sentence is strange for my native Malo speakers. According to these informants the above sentences is expressed in the following way.

(3) inti dabbe m -i -z (a) ‘you eat bread’

you bread eat imp aff

He further claim that Malo has verb ‘To Be’ {-kka}

(4) tani-kka watadar -e ‘I am a soldier’

I am soldier nom

In the present analysis the morpheme {-kka} does not serve as a verb ‘To Be’ but has the meaning of ‘also’. So the above sentence gives the meaning ‘I am also a soldier’. According to the present analysis Malo does not have the verb ‘To Be’. So the above sentence is expressed as:

(5) tan-i wotadere 'I am a soldier'

I nom soldier

Agreeing with Bender (2000), the Malo data presented by Alemayhu is problematic, non reliable and limited both in quality and quantity.

1.4 Objective of the study

The general objective of the study is to describe and analyze the morphological structure of Malo. The specific objectives of this paper are:

1. To examine the different inflectional affixes of nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and numerals.
2. To investigate the word formation processes involved in the derivation of the major lexical categories like nouns, verbs, adjectives and, adverbs.

1.5 Significance of the study

It is hoped that the result of this study will make the following contributions.

1. It can serve as a call for other researchers to do extensive and further study on Malo.
2. It will contribute to the development of Omotic studies by providing new facts on Malo, one of the least studied members of the family.
3. It will make available further Malo data, which helps to make historical and comparative studies possible on the Ometo cluster.

1.6 Research methodology

To carry out this study different methods are adopted. First available written materials concerning Malo are reviewed. Then, the Malo data is collected and recorded from native speakers by using the prepared elicitation list. Finally analysis of the data is done based on descriptive linguistic approach.

1.7 The phonology

Although the main aim of the present study is to describe and to analyze the morphology, I found it necessary to give some basic information on the sound system of Malo.

In this section I tried to provide the phonemic inventory and some common suprasegmental features of Malo. Phonotactics and the syllable structure of the language are also treated in the same section. Finally major morphophonemic processes that are exhibited in the morphology are discussed.

1.7.1 Segmental phonemes

1.7.1.1 Consonant phonemes

Malo has twenty-eight consonant phonemes. The chart appearing below shows the consonant phonemes with their place and manner of articulation.

	<u>Bilabial</u>	<u>Alveolar</u>	<u>Palatal</u>	<u>Velar</u>	<u>Glottal</u>
<u>Stop</u>					
<u>VI</u>	p	t		k	ʔ
<u>Vd</u>	b	d		g	
<u>Impl.</u>	b	d			
<u>Eje.</u>	p'			k	
<u>Affricate</u>					
<u>VI</u>		ts	c		
<u>Vd</u>		dz	ɟ		
<u>Eje.</u>			c'		
<u>Fricative</u>					
<u>VI</u>		s	ʃ		h
<u>Vd</u>		z	ʒ		
<u>Eje.</u>		s'			
<u>Nasal</u>	m	n			
<u>Lateral</u>		l			
<u>Flap</u>		ɾ			
<u>Semi vowel</u>	w		y		

Table 1 consonant phonemes

Some of the minimal pairs used to identify the consonant phonemes of Malo are presented below.

(6) /b/, /p/

_____ bali 'miss'

_____ pali 'finding a way in searching for some thing'.

_____ /d/, /t/

_____ gade 'field'

_____ gate 'price'

_____ /n/, /m/

_____ naak'k'o 'impress'

_____ maak'k'o 'return'

/s/, /s'/

silo 'make some thing to shine'

s'ilo 'crow'

/s/, /z/

sa?o 'bring some thing down from the fire'

zaʔo 'crake'

/z/, /zʔ/

zaaʔi 'scratch'

zaaʔi 'mix'

1.7.7.2 The vowel phonemes

In Malo there are five vowels with their long counter parts. The following table presents the vowel phonemes described according to position and height.

	<u>Front</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>Back</u>
<u>High</u>	<u>i, i:</u>		<u>u, u:</u>
<u>Mid</u>	<u>e, e:</u>		<u>o, o:</u>
<u>Low</u>		<u>a, a:</u>	

Table 2 vowel phonemes

Some of the suspicious pairs of the vowels are

(7) /a/, /e/

ira 'rain'

era 'knowledge'

/e/, /a/

hare 'donkey'

hara 'other'

/u/, /o/

u 'they'

o 'who'

1.7.2. Supra Segmentals

1.7.2.1 Gemination

Gemination has a phonemic value in Malo. Except /h/and/? / all the other phonemes get geminated. Some examples are provided below.

(8) zoko 'red'

zokko 'let it be'

gado 'diseases'

gaddo 'put'

bala 'forget'

balla 'scream'

1.7.2.2. Vowel length

Like gemination, vowel length is also phonemic. Consider the following examples.

(9) /a/, /aa/

mats 'bee'

maats 'milk'

/e/, /ee/

ele 'to over act'

eele 'swell'

/o/, /oo/

boro 'insult'

booro 'bake'

1.7.3 Phonotactics

In Malo the maximum number of consonants in a cluster is two. The cluster could contain two different {C1 C2} consonants. Such clusters only occur word medially and word finally. As a rule the first member of the cluster is a sonorant followed by an obstruent. Some illustrative examples are given below.

(10) kalta 'axe'

penge 'door'

kunts 'full'

sunts 'name'

A consonant cluster in Malo can also contain geminated {C1 C1} consonants such a cluster is also occur word medially and finally. Consider the following examples.

(11) cuucc 'louse'

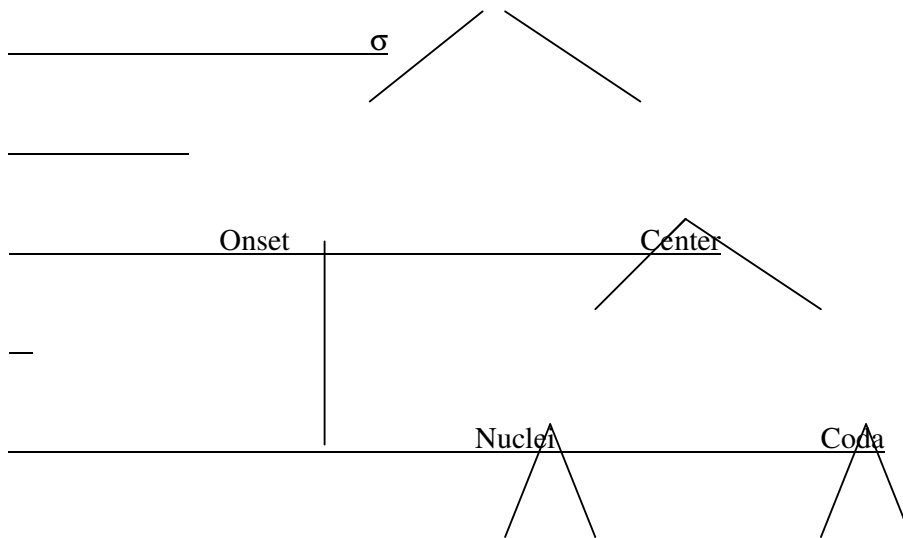
 buucc 'chin / beard'

 omma 'head'

 massa 'knife'

1.7.4 Syllable structure

The maximum syllable template of Malo is as follows



_____ (x) (x) x (x) (x)

As it can be seen from the above syllable template Malo has non branching onset, which means a sequence of two clusters of consonants is not found word initially. The branching of the nuclei tells a cluster of two vowels is allowed to occur. In similar manner the branching of the coda shows the possibility of having two consonant clusters at syllable final position.

From the above given template we can derive the following syllable types

(12) V a-pits ‘tear’

_____ o-ge ‘path’

 VV ee ‘yes’

_____ aa-ra ‘yellow’

 VC as ‘man’

_____ in-do ‘mother’

_____ VCC acc ‘teeth

 ’cu-ucc ‘saliva’

 CV ka-na ‘dog’

mo-lo 'fish'

CVC bun-ke 'knee'

san-go 'spider'

CVV lee-?o 'thin'

muu-ze 'banana'

CVVC soos 'snake'

suuts 'blood'

CVCC sunts 'name'

kunts 'fuel'

1.7.5 Morphophonemic processes

Below are major morphophonemic processes exhibited in the morphology.

1. Palatalisation

The causative suffix {is} will be palatalized and becomes {is} when attached to verb roots

that have sibilant ending

(13) gas 'clean'

gas+ is ----> gas+is 'cause to clean'

caz 'insult'

caz+ is.....→ caz+is 'cause to insult'

2. Consonant deletion

When verb roots containing geminated consonants take the causative marker {-is} the last consonant of the cluster will be deleted as in the following examples.

(14) tokk 'carry'

tokk+is.....→ tok+is 'cause to carry'

ekk 'gain'

ekk+ is.....→ ek+is 'cause to gain'

3. Vowel deletion

When the plural marker {-ita} is suffixed to V-final nouns the terminal vowel becomes delete.

(15) kana 'dog'

kana+ ita ----→ kan+ita 'dogs'

hare 'donkey'

hare+ita.....→ har+ita donkeys

In similar case, when the verb of existence 'ye-' followed by the imperfective marker in the affirmative {-iz (a)} the vowel-i becomes deleted

(16) ye+ iz (a)... → yez (a)

4. Epenthesis

There is an epenthetic vowel /a/ in Malo which is used to break un wanted sequences at juxtaposition.

(17) succ _____ ‘stone’

succ+r ----→ succ+ar _____ ‘with a stone’

—

5. Diphtongization

The nominative case marker {-i} becomes {-y} when occurs after V- final nouns.

(18) kana-i ----→kana-y _____ ‘The dog’ (nom)

na?a-i ----→ na?a-y _____ ‘The child’ (nom)

6. Tone

Tone has morphological significance in the language. Passive nominals are derived from their gerundive counter parts by changing the tonal pattern from High-Low to Low –Low.

Gerundive verb stem Passive verb stem

(19) gaco 'cutting' _____ gaco 'A piece remained after cutting.'

_____ Pito 'sweeping' _____ pito 'dirt remained after sweeping'.

CHAPTER TWO

NOUNS

This chapter discusses the different inflectional and derivational morphology of Malo nouns. First the inflectional part will be presented.

2.1 Noun inflection

Malo nouns are inflected for different grammatical categories. Before proceeding to the description of the categories it is necessary to consider the terminal elements of nouns that have interaction with the different grammatical categories.

There are three groups of nominals in Malo depending on their terminal elements. Nouns under the first group have vocalic ending, where as the second group nouns have consonant ending. The last group of nouns have consonant vowel combined ending. In what follows each of these groups will be discussed with illustrative examples

The vast majority of Malo nominals terminate in a vowel, which is also the case in other Omoto clusters Hayward (1987). In Malo the quality of the terminal vowel found in citation forms belongs to /a/, /e/ and /o/. Regarding their frequency of occurrence it is noted that /a/ is the most common one, while /o/ and /e/ occurs less frequently. See the following examples.

a-class		e-class		o-class	
wozana	'hear'	siide	'nose'	aso	'meat'
maata	'grass'	gupe	'stick'	galašo	'monkey'

duuper	'grave'	kepe	'wing'	s'ap'o	'root'
badalla	'maize'	iše	'brother'	wodoro	'rope'
dada	'lightening'	doge	'buffalo'	salo	'sky'

Table 3 Nominals having vocalic ending

In the case of group two nouns that are identified to have consonant endings, the final consonants are found to be mostly sibilants /s/, /z/, /ts/ etc, which is also common to some Ometo clusters like Ochollo (Mahider 1999). Some illustrative examples are given below.

- (1) s'oos 'God'
ket^s 'house'
s'eet 'hundred'
čuuč 'louse'
šooš 'snake'

In addition, there are nouns that have /-r/ and /-n/ endings. Illustrative examples are provided below

- (2) wudr 'girl'
haar 'cow'
dur 'sheep'
azin 'husband'

Group three nouns are found to have an ending that combines the two types of endings mentioned above in the consonant vowel order.

(3)	ikse	'hair'	massa	'knife'
	hotse	'bee hive'	šaara	'cloud'
	haylaso	'crocodile'	hare	'donkey'
	gelašo	'monkey'	ak'ane	'frog'

In Malo most nouns that are introduced in to the language from other languages such as Amaharic end in /-e/ as in the following examples.

Amharic	Malo	Gloss
sərg	sarg-e	'weeding'
d+ld+yy	dildil-e	'bridge'
gəbḃəya	gab-e	'market'
təmari	tamar-e	'student'
wəttaddər	wotadar-e	'soldier'

Table 4 Amharic borrowed words

Other than this, it is not possible to predict the membership of any given nominal within one or the other class on phonological or semantic grounds.

Now we return to the theme of this chapter, that is noun inflection. Nouns in Malo are inflected for different grammatical categories like number, definiteness and case. In what follows each of these categories will be discussed in some detail.

2.1.1. Number

In the numeral system of Malo there is a clear distinction of singular and plural forms, but only the plural form is marked morphologically. As shown in the table below suffixing the morpheme {-ita} to basic noun forms form plural nouns.

Singular	Gloss	Plural nom.	Gloss	Plural.acc	Gloss
kana	dog	'kan-ita-y	'dogs' (nom)	kan-ita-a	'dogs' (acc)
gemate	ox	gemat-ita-y	'oxen' (nom)	gemat-ita-a	'oxen' (acc)
šugula	hen	šugul-ita-y	'hens' (nom)	šugul-ita-a	'hens' (acc)
mahe	tiger	mah-ita-y	'tigers' (nom)	mah-ita-a	'tigers' (acc)
kapo	bird	kap-ita-y	'birds' (nom)	kap-ita-a	'birds' (acc)
šooš	snake	šooš-ita-y	snakes (nom)	šooš-ita-a	'snakes' (acc)

Table 5 plural nouns

As it can be seen in the table above, terminal vowels of the singular citation forms are deleted when the plural marker is suffixed to them. The example in the table also shows nouns that have consonant ending take the plural marker with out any formal modification (the last example in the table).

More importantly, the examples show that the plural marker {-ita} is dependent or inseparable from the case markers {-y} 'nominative' and {-a} 'accusative'.

As indicated in the above table, when the plural noun serves as a subject it will take the nominative case marker {-y} and it will be /-ita- y/ and if it is the object of a sentences it will take the accusative case marker {a} and it will be /-ita-a/. Below the first two examples show plural nouns used in the nominative case and the rest two plural nouns in the accusative case.

(1) (a). kap -ita -y pir -e -z 'The birds flew'.

bird pl nom fly per aff

(b). soos -ita -y ye? -e -z 'The snakes came'

snakes pl nom come per aff

(c). ta kep- ita -a be? -e -z 'I saw the birds'

I bird pl acc see per aff

(d). e soos -ita -a wood -e-z 'He killed the snakes.'

he snake pl acc kill per aff

they sister pl acc see per aff

Other Omoto clusters like Zaysse (Hirut1988), Maale (Azeb 2001), and Koorete (Hayward 1982) are shown to have cognate kin ship plural markers with Malo {-unts}.

1.2 Definiteness

As shown in the previous section, in Malo definiteness is expressed interactively with other grammatical category like, number. Other than these in Malo definiteness is marked interactively with case as in Wolayta and Gofa Hirut (2002).

In Malo definite nouns are identified different form their indefinite counter parts in that the definite form take the nominative and accusative case marker where as the indefinite ones do not. Consider the sentences in pair.

- (6) (a). kana ye? -e -z 'A dog came'
kana come per aff
kana -y ye? -e-z 'The dog come'
dog nom come per aff
- (b). ta kana wood -e -z 'I killed a dog'
I dog kill per aff
ta kana-a wood-e-z 'I killed the dog'
I dog acc kill per aff

Indefinite noun forms that have consonant ending in their citation form appear with /-i/ vowel in both subject and object positions. Similar observation has been made in Koorete genitive construction Hayward (1982)]. Consider the following examples from the Malo data.

- (7) soos 'snake'
- (a). soos-i ye? -e -z 'A snake came'
- snake come per aff
- (b). ta haar-i be? -e -z 'I saw a cow'
- I cow see per aff
- (c). e kets-i bayz -e -z 'He sold a house'
- he house sell per aff

In addition, definiteness in Malo is expressed by affixing {-t}, {-at} before the case markers. Based on its position in a structure, the definite marker will be followed by nominative or accusative case markers i.e. {-a} and {-o} respectively. The following examples shows definite marking in the nominative and accusative cases respectively.

- (8) (a). gawara -t -a gup -e -z 'The cat jumped.'(fem)
- cat -def-nom jump per aff
- (b). e gawara -t -o kad -e-z 'He loved the cat' (fem).
- he cat def acc love per aff
- (C). wudr-at-a kats -i -z 'The girl cooks'
- girl def nom cook imp aff
- (d). e kana-t -o kast -e -z 'He stole the dog' (fem)
- he dog def acc steal per aff

In Malo definiteness is expressed interactively with feminine gender as the examples below illustrate. Dawuro also follows the same pattern in that the definite marking system operates only with feminine nouns Hirut (2002). Examples below are provided from the Malo data.

Noun	Gloss	Def (fem)	Gloss
kapo	bird	kapa-t-a (nom)	‘she the bird’
gawara	cat	gawara-t-a (nom)	‘she the cat’
haylašo	crocodile	hylasa-t-a (nom)	‘she the crocodile’
doge	buffalo	doga -t-a (nom)	‘she the buffalo’
šooš	snake	šooš-at-a (nom)	‘she the snake’

Table 6 Definite feminine nouns

As shown in the above table all the terminal vowels in the citation form gets changed to -a when the definite marker is attached to them whereas consonant ending nouns take the morpheme without any formal modification as the last example in the table.

Other than expressing gender interactively with definiteness, third person singular pronouns and demonstratives distinguish masculine and feminine genders (to be discussed under the section pronouns).

In Malo in animates are not marked for gender. They some times are marked to refer size. In this respect masculine gender refers big size where as feminine represent small size (diminutive). The biological gender of some animate nouns is expressed lexically as shown in the following table.

Masculine	Gloss	Feminine	Gloss
azana	husband	maččo	'wife'
gemate	ox	haar	'cow'
pants	boy	wudr	'give'
aabbo	father	indo	'mother'
maraze	sheep	dur	'sheep'

Table 7 Biological gender

2.1.3 Case

In Malo there are eight types of cases that indicate the position and function of nouns in a syntactic structure. Below the different case types will be discussed.

2.1.3.1 Nominative case:

{-i} and {- a} are the nominative case markers of masculine and feminine gender respectively. The nominative case marker of the masculine gender {-i} becomes {-y} when it occurs after V-final nouns. The following sentences show the occurrence of nominative nouns with masculine gender

(9). (a). dura -y gup - e -z 'The sheep jumped'

sheep nom jump per aff

(b). gemata - y ye? - e -z 'The ox came'

ox nom come per aff

(c). gamma - y maha - t - o wood - e-z 'The lion killed the tiger'

lion nom tiger def acc kill per aff

The following sentences show the occurrence of nominative nouns with feminine gender. In this case the nominative case marker is suffixed next to the definite marker {-t}

(10). (a). kapa -t - a pir-e-z 'The she bird flew '

bird def nom fly per aff

(b). galaša -t - a m -e -z 'The she monkey ate'

monkey def nom eat per aff

(c). gawara - t - a mats - a sing - e -z 'The cat smelled the milk'

cat def nom milk acc smell per aff

Proper nouns in Malo are also marked for the appropriate nominative case markers. Consider the following illustrative examples.

(11). (a). dayda - y miiž - e -z 'Daydo laughed'

daydo nom laugh Per aff

(b). ba?una - a gam?a yer -e -z 'Ba?uno kissed Gam?a'

ba?uno nom gam?a kiss per aff

(c). lakana -y laas -i -z 'Lakano runs'

lakano nom run imp aff

2.1.3.2 Accusative case

The suffix {-a} is the accusative case marker of masculine nouns.

Consider the following examples.

(12). (a). as -i gamata - a ?ad - e -z

. man nom ox acc hit per aff

'The man hit the ox'

(b). gamma - y godara -a -wood -e-z

lion nom hyena acc kill per aff

The lion kill the hyena'

(c). na?a - y sooš - a wood - e -z

child nom snake acc kill per aff

'The child killed the snake'.

The suffix {-o} is the accusative case marker of feminine nouns, which is attached next to the definite marker {-t}. Examples are provided below.

(13. (a). gadara -y maha -t -o be? -e-z

hyena nom tiger fem acc see per aff

'The hyena saw the tiger'

(b). astemara - y temara -t -o ?ad -e-z

teacher nom student fem acc hit per aff

'The teacher hit the student'

(c). gawara-t- a kappa -t- o bay -e -z

cat fem nom bird fem acc chase per aff

'The cat chased the bird'

Unlike the nominative case, proper nouns are not inflected for the accusative case marker.

Plural nouns have the same nominative and accusative case markers as masculine nouns. i.e. {-i} and {-a} respectively. See the following examples

(14). (a). kan -ita -y gawara -a ayk -e -z

dog pl nom cat acc catch per aff

'The dogs caught the cat'

(b). as -i gemat -ita -a šuk' -e -z

man nom ox pl acc slaughter per aff

'The man slaughtered the oxen'

(c). kap-ita-y pir -e -z

bird pl nom fly per aff

'The birds flew.'

In Malo both the nominative and the accusative case markers are marked when the noun is [+definite] as it is the case in other Ometo languages like Basketto Azeb (1995). Indefinite nouns do not take the nominative and the accusative case markers as mentioned earlier.

2.1.3.3 Dative case

Allomorphes {-s}, {-as} are dative case markers. The following examples show the dative case construction in Malo.

(15). (a). tan- i gamata -a ba?una -s ?ing -e-z

I nom ox acc ba?uno dat give per aff

'I gave the ox to Ba?uno'

(b). as -i hatsa -a wudr -as -?ing -e -z

man nom water acc girl dat give per aff

'The man gave the water to the girl'

(c). astemara -y masaf- a daydo -s wong -e-z

teacher nom book acc daydo dat buy per aff

'The teacher bought the book to Daydo'

In the language dative case is also used to express benefactive meaning. Like the following example.

(d). wudr-at-a unti -s kats kats -e -z 'The girl cooked food for them'

girl def nom they dat food cook per aff

2.1.3.4 Genitive case

In Malo possession is expressed by using two different ways.

1. Possessive pronouns that occur before the possessed nouns.

(b). naʔa -y pa afile -a mečc -e -z
 child nom his(own) clothe acc wash per aff
 ‘The child washed his cloth’

(c). as-ita -y pa kets -a suug -e -z
 man pl nom their (own) house acc burn per aff
 ‘The men burned their house’

2.1.3.5 Instrumental case

In Malo the instrumental case marker has two allomorphes {-r}, {-ar}. They are suffixed to nouns which are used as a means of performing an action. The following examples show the construction of instrumental case in Malo sentences.

(18) (a). naʔ -y ez -a succ -ar ʔad-e-z
 Child nom he acc stone ins hit per aff
 ‘The child hit him with a stone’.

(b). asa -y gamma -a kawe-r wood -e -z
 man nom lion acc gun ins kill per aff
 ‘The man killed the lion with a gun’

(c). daydo -y iskirpito -r dabdabe saf -e -z
 daydo nom pen ins letter write per aff
 ‘Daydo wrote letter with a pen’

2.1.3.6 Commutative case

In Malo commutative case is expressed by the same marker that is used to mark instrumental case {-r}, {-ar}. In this case the morpheme obligatorily accompanied by the word wola ‘together’. The following are examples.

- (19) (a) iza pa azin -ar wola woy -e -z
 she own husband com together sleep per aff
 'She slept with her husband together'
- (b) na?a-y kana-r wola ye? -e -z
 child nom dog com together come per aff
 'The child came with the dog together'
- (c) nu ise -r wola m -e -z
 we brother com together eat per aff
 'We ate with our brother together'

2.1.3.7 Ablative case

In Malo ablative case is marked by suffixing allomorphes {p}, {-ap} that shows place of departure and a source that some thing comes from or produced from.

- (20) (a). kassa -y awasa -p ye? -e -z
 kassa nom awasa abl come per aff
 'kassa came from Awasa'
- (b). dees̃ -t -a dere -p ye? -e -z
 goat fem nom mountain abl come per aff
 'The goat came from the mountain'
- (c). donge birat-ap med -int -e -z
 arrow metal abl make pass per aff
 'An arrow is made of metal'

The following table summarizes the different case types with the corresponding markers discussed so far.

Nominative		Accusative		Dative	Instrumental	Commutative	Ablative
mas	fem	mas	fem	-s/as	-r/ar	-r/ar	-p/ap
i,	a	a,	o				

Table 9 Case markers

As shown in the earlier discussion, Malo nouns are inflected for grammatical categories of number, definiteness and case. Some of these categories are mutually inclusive and the other mutually exclusive.

Some of the categories are expressed interactively with other grammatical categories. The following table summarizes what has been said earlier about the different inflectional categories of nouns.

	Definiteness	Case	Gender
Sg mas	Interactively with case	+	-
fem	+	+	Interactively with definiteness
Plural	Inherent	+	-

Table 10 Interaction of the grammatical categories

As shown in the table definiteness in the case of masculine noun is expressed interactively with case. It is also indicated plural nouns in Malo are considered as definite inherently.

As it is presented plurality excludes gender and vice versa. Gender in the case of feminine noun is expressed interactively with definiteness. The case marker is possible to occur always following the number marker in the case of plural nouns, following the definite marker in the case of feminine nouns and following the citation form in the case of masculine nouns. The possible order of occurrence or the syntax of these grammatical categories is presented as follows.

<u>Sg mas.</u>	<u>Citation form + case</u>
<u>fem.</u>	<u>Citation form + def + case</u>
<u>Plural</u>	<u>Citation form + num + case</u>

Table 11 The order of occurrence of grammatical categories

As shown in the above table grammatical categories of nouns can be configured in three different ways. Regarding singular masculine nouns, the only grammatical category attached is the case marker, which is optional. If the noun is not definite the case marker gets omitted.

When we look at singular feminine nouns, the first grammatical category attached to the citation form is the definite marker, which interacts with feminine gender. In this case the definite marker is always obligatory. As already shown in the table the case marker follows the definite marker, which is again obligatory. Here the case marker is inseparable from the definite marker.

When we consider plural nouns, it is shown that the plural marker first follows the citation form. In Malo plural nouns are definite by their inherent nature. Plurality always implies definiteness. The case marker again follows the plural marker necessarily. More over it is indicated that, the case markers always come at the end following other grammatical categories of nouns

2.2 Derivation of nouns

This chapter deals with derivation of nouns in Malo. Nouns in the language can be derived from other nouns, adjectives and verb stems by suffixing different morphemes. In this section different types of noun formations will be examined.

2.2.1 Formation of nouns from other nouns and adjectives

2.2.1.1 Abstract nominals derived from other nouns

In Malo allomorphemes {-te^{ts}}, {-atet^s} derive abstract nouns from other concret nouns. The following table presents the formation of abstract nouns in Malo.

Concert noun	Gloss	Suffix	Derived form	Gloss
kaat	'king'	-atet ^s	kaat-atet ^s	'king hood'

aabbo	‘father’	-tet ^s	aabbo-tet ^s	‘father hood’
indo	‘mother’	-tet ^s	indo- tet ^s	‘mother hood’
iše	‘brother’	-tet ^s	iše- tet ^s	‘brother hood’
as	‘man’	-atet ^s	as- atet ^s	‘man hood’
aškkare	‘slave’	-tet ^s	aškkare- tet ^s	‘slavery’

Table 12 Abstract nominals derived from nouns

2.2.1.2 Abstract nominals derived from adjectives

The same morpheme {-tet^s} is also used to derive nouns with abstract features from adjectival bases as the following table shows.

Adjectives	Gloss	Suffix	Derived form	Gloss
loo??o	‘good’	-tet ^s	loo??o -tet ^s	‘goodness’
itta	‘bad’	-tet ^s	itta-tet ^s	‘badness’
urkke	‘near’	-tet ^s	urkke-tet ^s	‘nearness’
bils’e	‘wise’	-tet ^s	bils’e-tet ^s	‘wiseness’
orde	‘fat’	-tet ^s	orde-tet ^s	‘fatness’

Table 13 Abstract nominals derived from adjectives

2.2.2 Formation of nouns from verb roots and verb stems

Most nouns in Malo are derived from verb roots and verb stems. Below, gerundive, agent, manner, instrumental, result, passive and passive gerundive nominals will be discussed.

2.2.2.1 Gerundive nominals

Suffixing the morpheme {-o} to the verb root derives gerundive nominals. The derivation of gerundive nominals is shown in the following table

Verb root	Gloss	Suffix	Derived form	Gloss
bayz-	'sell'	-o	bayz-o	'selling'
mečč'	'wash'	-o	mečč'-o	'washing'
pir-	'fly'	-o	pir-o	'flying'
tokk-	'carry'	-o	tokk-o	'carrying'
gač-	'cut'	-o	gač-o	'cutting'

Table 14 Gerundive nominals

2.2.2.2 Agent nominals

Suffixing the morpheme {-iz-} to verb root forms agent nominals in Malo. Such nominals refer to a person performing a particular action. Consider the following examples

Verb stem	Gloss	Suffix	Derived form	Gloss
woos-	'beg'	-iz-	woos-iz-	'beggar'
yaš-	'fear'	-iz-	yaš-iz-	'coward'
?ant-	'work'	-iz-	?ant- iz-	'worker'
wood-	'kill'	-iz-	wood- iz-	'killer'
už-	'drink'	-iz-	už- iz-	'drunker'
zal?-	'trade'	-iz-	zal? -iz-	'trader'
yat ^s -	'sing'	-iz-	yat ^s -iz-	'singer'

Table 15 Agent nominals

The agent nominal marker should occur with the agent noun as ‘man’.

Example:

- (21) (a) woos+ iz+as ‘a person who begs’
 (b) uz+iz+ as ‘a person who drinks’
 (c) book+iz+as ‘a person who digs’

2.2.2.3 Instrumental nominals

Instrumental nominals are derived from verbal roots by using the same morpheme that used to derive agent nominal {-iz-}.

In this case it should be followed by the noun baz ‘thing’. So such form of the noun has phrasal meaning. The following are examples.

- (22) (a).gac-iz-baz ‘A thing used for cutting’
 cut ins thing
 (b).uz -iz- baz ‘A thing used for drinking’
 drink ins thing
 (c). mecc-iz-baz ‘A thing used for washing’
 wash ins thing

Some instrumental nominals can also be formed from verb roots by attaching the morpheme {-e}. The derivation of such nominals is illustrated by the following examples.

Verb root	Gloss	Suffix	Derived form	Gloss
kob-	‘lock’	-e	kob-e	‘key’
goos-	‘hung’	-e	goos-e	‘hook’

Table 16 Instrumental nominals

2.2.2.4 Manner nominals

In Malo manner nominals are derived from verb roots by suffixing the morpheme {-its}. Such nominals refer to the way in which actions take place.

Verb root	Gloss	Suffix	Derived form	Gloss
be?-	'see'	-its	be? -its	'manner of seeing'
yed-	'walk'	-its	yed-its	'manner of walking'
ka?-	'play'	-its	ka? -its	'manner of playing'

Table 17 Manner nominals

2.2.2.5 Result nominals

The morpheme {-a} is suffixed to verb roots to drive result nominals that refer to results of actions expressed by the verb. The following table provides some examples of such nominals.

Verb root	Gloss	Suffix	Derived form	Gloss
er-	'know'	-a	er-a	'knowledge'
be?-	'See'	-a	be? -a	'sight'
kiit-	'send'	-a	kiit- a	'message'
balb-	'loss'	-a	balb- a	'damage'

Table 18 Result nominals

2.2.2.6 Passive nominals

Tone has grammatical significance in Malo. Passive nominals are derived from their gerundive counter parts by changing the tonal pattern from High Low to Low Low. The following are examples.

Gerundiv	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
e			
solo	'peeling'	solo	'skin remained after peeling'
pito	'sweeping'	pito	'a dirt remain after sweeping'
gaco	'cutting'	gaco	'a piece remain after cutting'
meko	'breaking'	meko	'a piece remain after breaking'

Table 19 Passive nominals

2.2.2.7 Passive gerundive

Suffixing the morpheme {its} to the passive verb stem derives passive gerundive nominals. Such forms are given in the following table.

Verb stem	Gloss	Suffix	Derived form	Gloss
er-int-	'be known'	-its	er-int- its	'being known'
m-int-	'be eaten'	-its	m-int- its	'being eaten'
?ad-int-	'be hit'	-its	?ad-int- its	'being hit'
mek'-int-	'be broken'	-its	mek'-int- its	'being broken'

Table 20 Passive gerundive nominals

As discussed in the previous section nouns in Malo can be derived from three word classes, nouns, adjectives and verbs by the addition of different suffixes. The following table summarizes the derived nominals, their source and the corresponding derivational morphemes used.

Derived nominals	Derived from	Derivational morpheme
Abstract nominals	noun/adj	-tets
Gerundive nominals	verb root	-o
Agent nominals	verb root	-iz-
Manner nominals	verb root	-its
Instrumental nominals	verb root	-iz-/-e
Result nominals	verb root	-a
Passive nominals	gerundive verb stem	bychanging the tonalpattern
Passive gerundive nominals	Passiveverb stem	-its

Table 21 Summary of derivation of different nominals

2.3 Compound noun formation

In the previous section, we have seen the derivation of nouns through affixation. In the preceding section we will consider compounding which is another means of word formation process in Malo.

In Malo compound nouns can be formed in the following two ways

1. By combining two nouns
2. By combining an adjective and a noun

In what follows each of these compound formations will be presented with illustrative examples.

2.3.1 Noun + Noun Compounds

In such structures two different nouns are combined to form compound nouns. In Malo combining two nouns as presented below forms most kinship terms

(23) maċci ise	‘brother in law’;
maċci	‘wife’
ise	‘brother’
azin iše	‘brother in law’
azin	‘husband’
ise	‘brother’
adde maċco	‘step mother’
adde	‘father’
maċco	‘wife’

inde azin	‘step father’
inde	‘mother’
azin	‘husband’

Some religious terms are also formed by combining simple nouns. The following are examples of such compound nouns

(23) chrisitn adde	‘god father’
--------------------	--------------

christin	‘Christian’
adde	‘father’
šampo adde’	‘confessor’
šampo	‘spirit’
adde	‘father’
ets k’ame	‘holy day’
et ^s	‘rest’
’kama	‘day’

There are also other compound nouns formed by combining the word kara ‘house’ to other nouns referring to a house used for the specific purpose mentioned by the other member of the compound.

(24) timrte kara	school
timrte	‘learn
kara	‘house
woosa kara	‘church
woosa	prayer
kara	‘house

kuma kara	‘hotel
’kuma	‘lunch
kara	house

Nouns that refer to names of animal childs are formed by combing na?a ‘child’ with other nouns. Consider the following examples

(25) šugula na?a	‘chicken’
------------------	-----------

šugula	‘hen’
naʔa	‘child’
kana naʔa	‘puppy’
kana	‘dog’
naʔa	‘child’
dur naʔa	‘lamb’
dur	‘sheep’
naʔa	‘child’

In Malo it is also possible to form compound nouns by combining god ‘lord’ with another noun. The meaning of such compounds refers to a person who possesses the thing expressed by the other compound.

(26)	biita god	‘land lord’
	bitta	‘land’
	god	‘lord’
	mehe god	‘one who is rich in cattle’
	mehe	‘cattle’
	god’	lord’

Combining two nouns forms nouns referring to instruments. We have the following examples.

(27)	udile mits	‘an instrument used to grind coffee’
	udile’	‘the lower part of the instrument’
	mits	‘wood’
	solo beše	‘injera oven’

solo	‘ injera ‘
beše	‘ oven’
gaše šale	‘container of teff’
gaše	‘teff’
šale	‘container’

Combining certain parts of the body with other noun forms can form terms of diseases in Malo. The following are examples of such compound nouns.

(28) omma os’e	‘head ache’
omma	‘head’
os’e	‘pain’
ačc harge	‘tooth ache’
ačc	‘tooth’
harge	‘disease’
ulo gačo	‘stomach ache’
ulo	‘stomach’
gačo	‘cutting’

Note that gačo is a derived noun from a verb root gac ‘cut’

In Malo there are also complex compound nouns formed by coming more than two nouns. Numerals in Malo are formed in this way

(29) nam?i + tabo+ petto	‘twenty one’
two ten one	
iččin + tabo+oydd	‘fifty four’

five ten four

heedzi + tabo+ hosppun 'thirty six'

three ten six

2.3.2 Adjective + Noun Compounds

These are compounds formed by combining adjectives and nouns. In Malo there are many compounds with such combination.

The different types of fingers are expressed by combining adjectives to the word birade 'finger. Examples are provided below.

(3o) dammo birade	'thumb'
dammo	'big'
birade	'finger'
k'era birade	'stubby finger'
k'era	'small'
birade	'finger'
tina birade	'beckoning finger'
tina	'front'
birade	'finger'
gido birade	'middle finger'
gido	'middle'
birade	'finger'

Combining a noun with an adjective, forms nouns referring to hands and foot. Some examples are provided.

(31)	hadirs kuše	‘left hand’
	hadirs	‘left
	kuše	‘hand’
	ušač tuke	‘right foot’
	ušač	‘right
	tuke	‘foot’

Combining the adjectives wogga, 'big' with other noun, also forms some kinship terms. Consider the following examples.

(32)	wogga abbo	‘grand father’
	wogga indo	‘grand mother’
	wogga iše	‘elder brother’

2.3.3 Characteristics of Malo compounds

In addition to affixation as presented in the previous discussion, nouns in Malo can be formed through compounding. It is shown that nouns can be formed by combining two nouns and by combining a noun and an adjective.

Morphologically, Malo compound nouns or in general compound forms do not allow the insertion of inflectional elements between the constituents.

Concerning this feature of compounds Allen, (1978) as cited in Hirut (1993:69) says inflectional affixes do not appear inside compounds, just as they do not appear in side suffix or prefix-derived words. This is one characteristic of compounds as opposed to phrases. The following examples show the unacceptability of attaching the plural marker {-ita} between the constituents of a compound

- (35) (a) timhirte kara-ita- y ‘schools’ (nom)
 *timhirte-ita-y kara ‘schools’ (nom)
- (b) kuma kara-ita-y ‘hotels’ (nom)
 *kuma-ita-y kara ‘hotels’ (nom)
- (c) sugula na?-ita-y ‘chickens’ (nom)
 *sugula-ita-y na?a ‘chickens’ (nom)

Semantically Malo compounds denote single unit of reference. It doesn't refer to the meaning of each of its constituent, which is again another property of compounds as opposed to phrases.

CHAPTER THREE

PRONOUNS

In the previous chapter we have seen the different grammatical categories, which are associated with Malo nouns such as number, definiteness and case. The derivation of nominals such as abstract, gerundive, agent, manner, instrumental, result, and passive gerundive derived from nouns, adjectives and verbal roots has also been discussed. Compound noun formation, which is another method of word formation process, is also discussed along with its characteristics. This chapter presents pronouns of Malo. In Malo there are different kinds of pronouns. These are personal, possessive, reflexive, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, which will be presented succinctly.

3.1 Personal Pronouns

In Malo there are two sets of personal pronouns, the dependent and the independent personal pronouns. Below the two comparable sets of pronouns will be treated respectively

3.1.1 The independent pronouns

Pronouns in this class are full-fledged in their structure. They are inflected for different grammatical categories such as number, case and gender. The following table shows such pronouns of Malo in their nominative and accusative cases.

Person	Nom	Acc
1 st per/sg	ta-n-i	ta-n-a
1 st per pl	nu-n-i	nu-n-a
2 nd per/sg	ne-n-i	ne-n-a
2 nd per/pl	yi-n-t-i	yi-n-t-a
3 rd sg/ mas	e-z-i	e-z-a
3 rd sg/fem	i-z-a	i-z-o
3 rd per pl	u-n-t-i	u-n-t-a

Table 22 The Independent personal pronouns

As presented in the table above, the independent personal pronouns are marked by similar morphemes that mark nouns. So {-i} and {a} are the nominative case markers of masculine and feminine genders respectively, whereas {-a} and {o} mark accusative case for masculine and feminine genders respectively.

Further more the table shows that, Plural pronouns, except for 1st person plural, have the Morpheme {-t} that occurs before the case markers. This morpheme also occurs in other Ometo personal pronouns like in Maale and it is considered to be the plural marker Azeb (2001). The case marker affixed to 3rd person singular masculine and feminine distinguishes the

gender of the two pronouns. However the gender distinction observed in the third person singular pronouns doesn't exist in the second person singular pronouns, that is both second person singular masculine and feminine uses the same form 'ne'.

The other peculiar characteristic of independent pronoun is that all except 3rd per. sing feminine/ masculine pronouns, have the {-n-} the archaic accusative case marker in the proto Omotic Hayward and Tsuge (1998) as cited in Azeb (2001: 83)

The occurrence of such pronouns in the structure is shown below.

(1.) (a.) ez -a gemata -a suk -e -z
 he acc ox acc slaughtered per aff

'He slaughtered the ox'

(b) tan -i iz -o kad -e -z

I nom she acc love per aff

'I loved her'

(c) nun-i unt -a ik -e -z

we nom they acc catch per aff

'We caught them'

Such personal pronouns are also inflected for other types of cases by the same morpheme reported for nouns. So suffixing {s}, {-as} for pronouns having vowel ending and for pronouns having consonant ending respectively, forms the dative form of pronouns. The ablative and the commutative pronouns are marked by suffixing {-p}, {-ap} and {- r }, {-ar} respectively. The following are examples.

(2) (a). dayda -y iz -as afila -a wong -e -z
 daydo nom she dat clothe acc buy per aff
 'Daydo bought the clothe for her'

(b). iz -a mis unt -ap ekk -e -z
 she nom money they abl take per aff
 'She took money from them'

(c). tan -i yint -ar wola ye? -e -z
 I nom you com.together come per aff
 'I came with you' (pl)

The independent personal pronouns are not position restricted they can occur at subject as well as at object position, as shown below.

(3) (a). tan -i kats -m -e -z 'I ate food'
 I nom food eat per aff

(b). kana -y tan -a bay -e -z 'The dog chased me'
 dog nom I acc chase per aff

(c.) tan-i ez-a seeg -e -z 'I called him'
 I nom he acc call per aff

(d.) ez-i tan-a seeg e -z 'He called me'
 he nom I acc call per aff

3.1.2 The dependent personal pronouns

Pronouns classified under this group may be said short forms of the independent pronouns. Such kinds of pronouns in other related Omoto languages are referred by other scholars as 'clitic pronouns' or 'criticized

forms' Azeb (1993). Such forms of pronouns are called dependent for the reason that they do not occur by themselves unless used in a structure.

The dependent pronouns are provided below.

Person	Dep pro	Gloss
1 .sg	ta	‘I
pl	nu	‘we
2 .sg	ne	‘you sg/mas
pl	yi	‘you 2 nd pl
3 .sg Mas	e	he
Fem	i	she
pl	u	they

Table 23 Dependent pronouns

Dependent pronouns unlike the independent ones are not inflected for number, case and gender grammatical categories. Concerning their distribution in a structure it is observed that they are restricted only to the subject position. Illustrative examples are given below.

(4) (a).e haar ita -a šuk’ -e -z
 he cow pl acc slaughter per aff
 ‘He slaughtered the cows’

(b).u tan -a čaž -e -z
 they I acc insult per aff
 ‘They insulted me’

Hence, the following structures are not grammatical

- (5) (a). *ba?una -t -a e kad -e-z
 ba?uno def nom he love per aff
 ‘Ba?uno loved him’
- (b). * dayda -y u wood -e -z
 daydo nom they kill per aff
 ‘Daydo killed them’

At the subject position both types of pronouns are allowed to occur but the independent or long pronouns are preferred for the purpose of showing emphasis. Consider the following examples.

- (6) (a). e/eza galaša -t -o ayk’ -e -z
 he monkey def acc catch per aff
 ‘He caught the monkey’
- (b). u/unti hats -a už -e -z
 they water acc drink per aff
 ‘They drank the water’

3.2 Possessive pronouns

In Malo there are two classes of possessive pronouns. The first class indicates only the possessor noun whereas pronouns in the second class indicate the possessor as well as the possessed noun. Below each set of the pronouns will be discussed.

3.2.1 Class one possessive pronouns

As stated earlier, possessive pronouns in this class do not indicate the possessed noun. Such pronouns are identified to have the same form as dependent personal pronouns discussed earlier. These types of pronouns always occur preceding the possessed noun as shown in the following table below.

(b) unt -i pa naʔa -a ʔad -e -z

they nom their (own) child acc hit per aff

'They hit their own child'

3.2.1 Class two possessive pronouns

As shown earlier pronouns in this class indicate both the possessor and the possessed noun. Such pronouns are inflected for number and case. In addition these pronouns vary for gender in that pronouns that refer masculine possessed nouns have different form with possessive pronouns referring feminine possessed noun as shown below. First some examples showing masculine possessed nouns will be presented.

Possessor	Form (nom)	Gloss	Form (acc)	Gloss
1 st sg.	ta-s-i	'mine' (he)	ta-s-a	'mine' (he)
1 st pl	nu-s-i	'our'(he)	nu-s-a	'our' (he)
2 nd sg.fem/mas	ne-s-i	'your'(he)	ne-s-a	'our' (he)
3 rd . sg/mas	e-s-i	'his' (he)	e-s-a	'his' (he)

Table 25 possessive pronouns showing masculine possessed nouns

As shown in the above table the possessed masculine nouns are marked by the morpheme {-s} that is followed by the different case markers. The following examples illustrate the uses of such forms in Malo sentence

(9) (a). ta -s -i yeʔ -e -z 'Mine came' (he)

I poss nom come per aff

(b). tan -i nu -s -a beʔ -e -z 'I saw ours' (he)

I nom we poss acc see per aff

Below some possessive pronouns indicating feminine possessed nouns are given.

Possessor	Form (nom)	Gloss	Form (acc)	Gloss
1 st sg	ta-r-a	'mine' (she)	ta-r-o	'mine' (she)
1 st pl	nu-r-a	'your'(she)	nu-r-o	'your'(she)
2 nd sg/ fem/mas	ne-r-a	'your'(she)	ne-r-o	'your' (she)
3 rd .sg/ mas	e-r-a	'his'(she)	e-r-o	'his' (she)

Table 26 possessive pronouns showing feminine possessed nouns

As already shown in the above table, all pronouns have the same form {-r} that marks possessed feminine nouns. The case markers of feminine nouns, {-a}, and {-o} follow such pronouns. The following examples illustrate the use of such pronouns in the sentence

(10) (a). ta -r -a ye? -e -z 'mine (she) came'

I poss nom come per aff

(b). e ta-r -o kad -e -z 'He loved mine (she)'

he I poss acc love per aff

Affixing the plural marker {-ita} to pronouns referring to masculine possessed nouns, form pronouns that indicate plural possessed nouns. Some illustrative examples are provided.

Possessor	Form (nom)	Gloss	Form (acc)	Gloss
1 st sg.	ta-s-ita-y	'mine' (they)	ta-s-ita-a	'mine' (they)
1 st .pl	nu-s-ita-y	'our' (they)	nu-s-ita-a	'our' (they)
2 nd . sg/ fem/mas	ne-s-ita-y	'your'(they)	ne-s-ita-a	'your' (they)
3 rd sing/ mas	e-s-ita-y	'his'(they)	e-s-ita-a	'his' (they)

Table 27 possessive pronouns showing plural possessed nouns

The use of such pronouns in sentences is provided below.

(11) (a). e -is -ita -y m -e -z 'His ones ate (they)

he poss pl nom eat per aff

(b).e yint -is -ita -a kad -e- z 'He loved their once' (they)

he they poss pl acc love -per aff

3.4 Emphatic pronouns

In Malo attaching -ubba 'all' to the dependent or short forms of pronouns forms such pronouns. Emphatic pronouns are used to show emphases.

Such pronouns are listed below.

Pronouns	Gloss	Prefix	Emphatic	Gloss
ta	'my'	ubba	ta-ubba	'my self'
nu	'our'	ubba	nu-ubba	'our selves'

ne	'your'	ubba	ne-ubba	'yourself'
yi	'your' (pl)	ubba	yi-ubba	'your selves'
e	'his'	ubba	e-ubba	'him self'
i	'her'	ubba	i-ubba	'her self'
u	'their'	ubba	u-ubba	'themselves'

Table 28 Emphatic pronouns

The following structures illustrate the occurrence of emphatic pronouns in sentences.

(12) (a). tan -i ta-ubba kana -a koy -e-z
I nom I all dog acc find per aff
'I my self found the dog'

(b). e e -ubba na?a -a ?ad -e -z
he he all boy acc hit per aff
'He himself hit the boy'

3.5 Reflexive pronouns

Reflexivity is expressed for the first and second person pronouns in the following way.

(13) (a). nun-i nun-a wood-e-z We kill us (= we kill ourselves)
we nom we acc kill per aff

(b). nen -i nen -a gac-e-z You cut you (=you cut yourselves)
you nom you acc cut per aff

Reflexivity for the third person pronouns singular/plural is expressed by using the pronoun *pa* in the accusative case. Consider the following example.

(14) (a). *e pan -a ?ad-e-z*

he pro acc hit per aff

He hit him (=he hit himself)

(b). *iz -a pan-a caz -e -z*

she nom pro nom insult per aff

She insulted her (= she insulted her self)

3.6 Demonstrative pronouns

In Malo there are demonstrative pronouns that indicate ‘nearness’, ‘farness’ and different ‘directions’. Such pronouns are found to interact with case and number. Below each of these forms are presented respectively.

3.6.1 Demonstrative pronouns indicating ‘nearness’

In Malo there are pronouns that denote nearness of the distance of an object/ person from the speaker. The form of such demonstrative pronouns varies for the two gender types.

(15) (a). *?ay-i* ‘this’ (masculine)nom’

?ay-a ‘this’ (masculine) acc’

(b). *hann-a* ‘this’ (feminine) nom’

hann-o ‘this’ (feminine) acc’

(c) *?ay-ita-y* ‘these’ (plural)nom’

?ay-ita-a ‘these’ (plural) acc’

that occurs or interacts with feminine nouns immediately follows the basic form. In the case of masculine forms the case markers follow the basic form. When we consider plural nouns the base form is first followed by the plural marker, which is again followed by the case markers.

As indicated in the above examples the terminal vowel of the base noun - e is changed to -a during affixation. The following examples show the occurrence of such pronouns in sentences.

- (20) (a). sula -t -a ye? -e -z 'That one (fem) came'
 down def nom come per aff
- (b). e sula -t -o kad -e -z 'He loved that one down'
 he down def acc love per aff

Demonstrative pronouns referring to 'up-ward directions are listed below

- (21) (a). uda-t-a 'that one' (fem)nom
 uda-t-o 'that one' [fem) acc
- (b). uda-y 'that one' (mas) nom
 uda-a 'that one' (mas) acc
- (c). ud-ita-y 'that one' (plural) nom
 ud-ita-a 'that one' (plural) acc

Here also the base form of the pronoun is ude 'up' which is followed by the definite marker in the case of feminine nouns and by the case marker in the case of masculine nouns.

Similarly the plural form is followed first by the plural marker and then by the case markers. Further examples are provided below.

(22) (a). uda -y ye? -e -z 'That one came' (up ward)
 up nom come per aff

(b). e uda -a seeg -e -z 'He called that one' (up ward)
 he up acc call per aff

3.7 Interrogative pronouns

The last types of pronouns to be discussed are interrogative pronouns. In Malo there are different types of interrogative pronouns.

(23) on- 'who' ooso 'whose'
 ab- 'what' abis 'why'
 an- 'where' waysi 'how'

Among the above pronouns, the first three i.e. on- 'who' an- 'where' and ab-'what' are inflected for case and can't exist with out it. These interrogatives take the same nominative and accusative markers that nominals take. Examples showing interrogative pronouns in sentences are provided below.

(24) (a). on i ez -a s'eeg -e -n 'Who did call him'
 who nom he acc call per int

on -a ez -i s'eeg -e -n 'Who did he call'
 who nom he nom call per int

(b). ez -a ab -i m -e -n 'What did eat him?'
 he acc what nom eat per int

ez -i ab -a m -e -n 'What did he eat?'

he nom what acc eat per int

(c). e ayde ye? -e -n 'When did he come?'

he when come per int

(d). e an -a ang -e -n 'Where did he go?'

he where acc go per int

(e). e abis woy -e -n 'Why did he sleep?'

he why sleep per int

In addition to the two case types discussed above interrogative pronouns are also inflected for other types of cases. Such as dative, ablative, and commutative. Here also they use the same kinds of markers reported for nouns. Consider the inflection of on- 'who'

(25) on-i 'who'

on-a 'whom'

on-as 'to whom'

on-ap 'from who'

on-ar 'with who'

VC-	uz-	‘drink’
	er-	‘know
CVC-	k’ad-	‘love’
	gac-	‘cut’
CVVC-	woos-	‘beg’
	wood-	‘kill’
CVCC-	balb-	‘loss’
	bayz-	‘sell’

Among the above entire verb roots CVC and CVCC are the dominant ones.

4.2 Verb inflection

Different inflectional affixes are added to Malo verbs to express grammatical relations such as aspect, tense and, mood. These inflectional categories are marked directly to the verb root. Malo verb unlike some of the north Ometo clusters is not inflected for person. Below each of the grammatical categories will be discussed in some detail.

4.2.1 Aspect

Aspect in Malo is presented in two forms, the perfect and the imperfect. The imperfective aspect in Malo indicates an incomplete action whereas the perfective aspect denotes an action, which is completed before the present time. In Malo both the perfective and the imperfective aspect are marked morphologically. The perfective is marked by the morpheme {-e}. Examples are provided below.

(2) (a). u kana-a wood-e-z 'They killed the dog'

they dog acc kill per aff

(b). e kuma m-i as -e -z 'He has eaten lunch'

he lunch eat sc aux per aff

(c). ta afile mecc -e -z 'I washed a clothe'

I clothe wash per aff

As it is indicated in the above three examples the perfective marker is always followed by the affirmative declarative marker {-z} which is omitted in the negative and interrogative constructions. This will be discussed latter.

The imperfective aspect in Malo is marked morphologically by {-i} and {-od} for the present and future imperfectives respectively. Examples are provided below.

(3) (a). ta afile mecc -i-z (a) 'I wash a clothe'

I clothe wash imp aff

(b). u kana wood-i-z (a)

'They kill a dog'

they dog kill imp aff

(c). e afile mecc -od (a)

'He will wash a clothe'

he clothe wash imp

(d).u kana wood -od (a)

'They will kill a dog'

they dog kill imp

4.2. Tense

In Malo we note six types of tenses. These are simple present, present continuous, simple past, present perfect, past perfect and, future tenses. Each of these tense types will be discussed

4.2.2.1 Simple present tense

In Malo present tense indicates an action performed in the present time. The present tense is based on the imperfective aspect and is marked by imperfective aspect marker {-i}, which is attached next to the verb root and obligatorily followed by the affirmative declarative marker {-z}. This affirmative declarative marker can optionally be followed by {a}. Illustrative examples are provided below.

(4) (a). nu wong- i -z(a) 'We buy'

we buy imp aff

(b). ne wood i -z(a) 'You kill'

you kill imp aff

(c). e uż i -z(a) 'He drinks'

he drink imp aff

(d). u bayz i -z(a) 'They sell'

they sell imp aff

The morpheme {-a} is suffixed when there is a need to focus on the action denote by the verb of the sentences, specially when responding a question .For example if some body asks a question

(5) e ab -a ant -i -n 'what does he do'

he what acc work imp int

The response of the question will take {-a} at the end or after the declarative affirmative marker.

(6) e ant -i -z (a) 'He works'

he work imp aff

{-a} in the above kinds of constructions gives emphasis on the particular action of the verb ‘work’. The sentence has the meaning that ‘he does work’ but not doing any other thing. The simple present tense in Malo is also used to denote a habitual action examples are provided below

(7) (a). e wosa kara ubba wode ?ang-i -z-(a)

he prayer house all time go imp aff

‘He goes to church every time’

(b). ne gura gura timhirte kara ?ang -i -z-(a)

You morning morning learning house go imp aff

‘Every morning you go to school’

4.2.2.2 Present continuous tense

In Malo the present continuous tense denotes a progressive action done in the time of an utterance. In Malo this form has a compound form. It is formed by combining a main verb with the continuous marker {-dar} that is followed by the verb of existence ye- ‘exist’ in the imperfective aspect. The same verb of existence is also observed in Oyda (Haile Eyesus forthcoming). The vowel {-i} that comes before the continuous marker is a subordinate conjunction that denotes a dependent idea. Look at the following examples.

(8) (a). ta ant -i -dar ye- i -z (a) I’m working’

I work sc cont exist imp-aff

In actual use the -i in {-iza} disappears and becomes yez(a). Literally this sentence means ‘I exist working’, which is also true for the following sentences too.

- (b). nu bayz -i dar ye -i -z (a) 'We are selling'
 we sell sc cont exist imp-aff
- (c). e uŕ -i - dar ye -i -z (a) 'He is drinking'
 he drink sc cont exist imp-aff
- (d). iza mečč -i- dar ye -i -z (a) 'She is washing'
 she wash sc cont exist imp-aff
- (e). u wood -i -dar ye -i -z (a) 'They are killing'
 they kill sc cont exist imp-aff

4.2.2.3 Simple past tense

The past tense form of the verb in Malo expresses an action, which is completed before the time of the utterance. In Malo the simple past tense is based on the perfective aspect and it is marked with the same morpheme {-e} that gets attached next to the verb root. Consider the following examples.

- (9) (a). ta -ant -e -z (a) 'I worked'
 I work per aff
- (b). nu bayz -e -z (a) 'We sold'
 we sell per aff

(c). ne m -e -z (a) 'You ate 2nd sg'

you eat per aff

(d). e už -e -z (a) 'He drank'

he drink per aff

(e). u wood -e-z (a) 'They killed'

they kill per aff

As shown in the examples above the past tense form of a verb like the present tense form can optionally followed by {-a}. But here the degree of optionally is less when compared to the simple present tense.

4.2.2.4 Present perfect tense

The present perfect tense in Malo is based on the perfective aspect. This tense is expressed by combining the main verb with an auxiliary verb {aš} that is followed by the perfective marker. the perfective marker is again followed by the affirmative declarative marker.

Here also the affirmative declarative can optionally followed by (a). Consider the following examples.

(10) (a) . ta m -i aš -e -z (a) 'I have eaten'

I eat sc aux per aff

(b). ne ?ang -i aš -e -z (a) 'You have gone'

you go sc aux per aff

(c). iza meč -i- aš -e -z (a) 'She has washed'

she wash sc aux per aff

(d).unt ?ant -i aš -e -z (a) 'They have worked'

they work sc aux per aff

(e). ne wood-i aš -e -z(a) 'You have killed'

you kill sc aux per aff

4.2.2.5 Past perfect tense

forms this form of the The past perfect tense is also based on the perfective aspect. Reduplicating the form {-aš} again verb.

(11) (a). ta m -i aš-aš -e -z(a) 'I had eaten'

I eat sc aux per aff

(b). e saf -i aš-aš -e -z (a) 'He had written'

he write sc aux per aff

(c). u ?ang -i- aš-aš -e-z(a) 'They had gone'

they go sc aux per aff

4.2.2.5 Future tense

Future tense in Malo expresses an action that will take place some time in the future. This tense is based on the imperfective aspect. In Malo there are two types of future tenses, the indefinite future and the definite future tenses.

4.2.2.6.1 The indefinite future

In Malo the indefinite future expresses the idea that the action to be taken place is probable one. Attaching {-od} to the verb root forms this type of future tense. Consider the following examples.

(12) (a). ta ?ant -od(a) 'I will work'

I work idf

This sentences has a sense that I will (probably) work

(b). nu bayz -od(a) 'We will sell'

we sell idf

(c). ne m -od(a) 'You will eat' (sg)

you eat idf

(d). e uż -od(a) 'He will drink'

he drink idf

(e). iza mečc -od(a) 'He will wash'

she wash idf

4.2.2.6.2 The definite future

In Malo suffixing {-ays} next to the indefinite future tense marker {-od} marks the definite future. In this case the action is assumed to be done definitely with out any doubt. Consider the following examples.

(13) (a).iza mečc -od -ays ye -i -z (a) 'She is going to wash'

she wash idf df exist imp aff

(b). e ?ang -od -ays ye -i -z (a) 'He is going to go'

he go idf df exist imp aff

(c). u ye? -od -ays ye -i -z (a) 'They are going to come'

they come idf df exist imp aff

In the case of present continuous tense the verb of existence ye- ‘exist’ that appears in the affirmative form of the verb is replaced by the verb – baa ‘lack’ in the negative form. The same ‘baa’ is also used in the negative form of the definite future. In this case it is suffixed next to the form {-ays}. Consider the following data.

- (e). u wong i dar baa ‘We are not buying.’
 we buy sc cont neg
- iza woy i dar baa ‘She is not sleeping.’
 she sleep sc cont neg
- (f). u wong od ays baa ‘They are not going to buy.’
 they buy idf df neg
- nu woy od -ays-baa ‘We are not going to sleep.’
 we sleep idf df neg

4.2.3 Aspect/tense and interrogation

In Malo there are two types of interrogative sentences, polar interrogative (interrogative sentences expecting ‘yes’ or ‘no answers’) and non-polar interrogatives (interrogative sentences containing content questions words).

Polarity in Malo is marked. Polar interrogatives contrast with non-polar interrogatives in that polar interrogatives are marked by the morpheme {-e} that is suffixed at the end of an interrogative sentence. The sequence in such a construction is V root+ Aspect/tense+ interrogation+Polarity marker. Examples are provided below.

- (15). (a). ne kuma m -i -n -e ‘Does he eat food?’
 You lunch eat imp int pol

(b). u gabe ?ang -i -n -e 'Do you go to market?'

They market go imp int pol

(c). nu kana-a wood -e-n-e 'Did we kill the dog?'

We dog acc kill per int pol

(d).e afila mecc -e -n -e 'Did he wash a clothe?'

he clothe wash per int pol

In the non-polar interrogatives where one of the question content words such as who, where, what and when are used the polarity marker {-e} gets dropped in order to avoid redundancy. Examples are provided below.

(16) (a). e an -a ?ang -i -n 'where does he go?'

he where nom go imp int

(b).e ab -a koy -e-n 'what did he want?'

he what nom find per int

(c). e ayde ye? -e -n 'when did he come?'

he when come per int

In Malo interrogative constructions use the same types of aspect markers as the affirmative declarative construction. The imperfective present, the imperfect future and the perfective are marked by {-i}, {-od}, and {-e} respectively. Interrogation in the imperfect present and perfective forms is marked by {-n}. The different aspect markers precede this interrogative marker.

(17). (a). e ?ang -i -n -e 'Does he go?'

he go imp int-pol

ne laas -i -n -e	'Do you run?' (sg)
you run -imp- int pol	
(b). e ?ang -e -n -e	'Did he go?'
he go per int pol	
ne laas -e -n -e	'Did you run?'
you run per int pol	
(c). ne ?ang -i as e -n -e	'Have you gone?'
you go sc aux per int pol	
ta laas -i as as e- n -e	'Had you run?'
I run sc aux per int pol	
(d). e ?ang- od -e	'Will he go?'
he go idf pol	
ne laas -od- e	'Will you run?'
you run idf pol	

In the case of the present continuous tense, the present imperfective marker {-i} is used following the verb of existence ye-. As a result it will have the form ye-i-n-e. In the definite future tense form of the verb the same form is used next to the form {-ays}. But in actual use the form will be 'yene' that is the -i in the imperfect become omitted. Consider the following examples.

(18) (a). e ang i - dar- ye - i -n- e	'Is he going?'
he go sc cont exist imp int pol	

- (b). ne laas i - dar - ye -i -n- e 'Are you running? '
 he run sc cont exist imp int pol
- (c). u ?ang-od-ays-ye -i -n -e 'Are they going to go? '
 they go idf df exist imp int pol
- (d). nu laas od ays ye -i -n -e 'Are we going to sleep? '
 we run idf df exist imp int pol

4.2.5 Negative interrogatives

In Malo it is possible to have negative interrogatives. Negative interrogation is morphologically marked by the morpheme {-sa}. In the case of perfective this morpheme is attached next to the negative declarative marker {-kka}, whereas in the present imperfective the morpheme is attached after the negative declarative aspect marker {-o}.

In negative interrogative construction, the future imperfective uses different aspect marker {-amo}, which is followed by the same morpheme {-sa}. Consider the following examples.

- (19). (a). iza ?ang-o-sa 'Does not she go? '
 she go imp NI.
- nu laas-o- sa 'Do not we run? '
 we run imp NI
- (b). ne wood -e-kka-sa 'Did not you kill? '
 you kill per neg NI.
- e ments -e -kka-sa 'Did not he break? '
 he break per neg NI.
- (c). iza m- i as -e -kka-sa 'Have not you eaten? '

she eat sc aux per neg NI.

(d). e ?ang –amo-sa ‘Will not he go?’

he go imp NI

nu be?-amo-sa ‘Will not we see?’

we see imp NI

4.2.6 Verb ‘To Have’

The verb ‘To Have’ in Malo is based on the verb of existence ye- ‘exist’. The affirmative form of the verb is followed by the imperfective aspect marker {-i} and by the affirmative declarative marker {-z}. It has a form ye-i-za/yeza. In such a structure the subject noun is always suffixed to the dative case marker {-s}, {-as} ‘for’, ‘to’. Consider the following examples.

(20). (a). iza -s azin ye -i- z (a)

She dat husband exist imp aff

‘There exist a husband for her’ (=She has a husband)

(b). unt -as kana ye -i -z-(a)

They dat dog exist imp aff

‘There exist a dog for them’ (=They have a dog)

(c). ez-as na?a ye -i -z (a)

he dat child exist imp-aff

‘There exist a child for him’ (=He has a child)

The negative form of the verb is marked by the morpheme baa ‘lack’.

Consider the following examples.

(21) (a). ta-s mis baa

I-dat money neg

'There have not exist money for me' (= I do not have money)

(b). ez-as gemate baa

he dat ox neg

'There have not exist an ox for him' (=He does not have an ox)

(c). unt-as awoz baa

they dat uncle neg

'There have not exist an uncle for them' (=They do not have un uncle)

The interrogative form of the verb 'To Have' has the form ye-i-n-e/yene/. As it can be seen the verb of existence 'ye-' contains three morphemes marking present imperfective aspect, interrogation, and polarity respectively. Examples are provided below.

(22) (a). gaware unt-as ye -i -n -e 'Do they have a cow?'

cat they dat exist imp-int pol

(b). afile iz -as ye -i -n -e 'Does she have a clothe?'

clothe she dat exist imp int pol

(c). kets yint -as ye -i -n -e 'Do they have house?'

house they dat exist imp int pol

Adding 'zin' next to the affirmative declarative form of the verb ye-i-za/yeza forms the perfective form of the verb 'To Have'. Look the following examples

(23) (a). ta-s kana ye -i -za zin

I dat dog exist imp aff per

There existed a dog for me (=I had a dog)

(b). unt-as na?a ye -i -za zin

They dat child exist imp aff per

There existed a dog for me (=They had a child)

(c). ez-s daro dur ye -i -za zin

He dat lot sheep exist imp aff per

There existed a lot of sheep for him (=They had a lot of sheep)

Here attaching the same form 'zin' after baa 'lack' forms the negative form of the verb in the perfective. Below are examples.

(24) (a). ta-s mis baa zin

I dat money neg per

'There existed no money for me' (=I had no money)

(b).unt-as kets baa zin

They dat house neg per

'There existed no house for them' (=They had no house)

(c).ta-s lagge ye -i -za zin

I dat friend exist imp aff per

'There existed no friend for me' (=I had no friend)

4.2.7 The verb 'To Be'

Malo does not seem to have verb overt 'To Be'. Consider the following examples

(25) (a). ta wotadare

'I am a student.'

I soldier

(b). nu astemare

'We are teachers.'

we teachers

m-	m-ipp	m-ippat	‘don’t eat!’
oyč	oyč-ipp	oyč-ippat	‘don’t ask!’
gač	gač-ipp	gač-ippat	‘don’t cut!’
laas	laas -ipp	laas -ippat	‘don’t run!’
yat ^s	yat ^s -ipp	yat ^s -ippat	‘don’t sing!’

Table 30 Negative imperative

4.2.8.2 The polite imperative

The polite imperative in Malo is marked by the morpheme {-ye} that is suffixed to the verb root for all persons. Examples are provided below.

- (29) seeg -ye ‘Please call’
ayk -ye ‘Please hold’
tokk -ye ‘Please carry’
dog -ye ‘Please open’

4.2.8.3. Jussive mood

The jussive mood in Malo is indicated by {-o} to all 3rd person singular and plural. Unlike the imperative mood the jussive mood does not make singular plural distinction. Subject nouns or pronouns are obligatory to occur in a structure. Consider the following table.

Verb	Form	Gloss
u z-	u z-o	‘let him/her /them drink’
caz-	caz-o	‘let him/her/them insult’
m-	m-o	‘let him/her/ them eat’
laas-	laas-o	let him/her/them run’

oyc-	oyc-o	'let him/her them ask'
------	-------	------------------------

Table 31 jussive mood

The negative jussive form is indicated by the morpheme {-ippe} suffixed next to the verb root for all persons. Consider the following examples.

Verb	Form	Gloss
u z-	u z-ippe	'do not let him/her /them drink'
caz-	caz-ippe	'do not let him/her/they insult'
m-	m-ippe	'do not let him/her/ them eat'
wats-	wats-ippe	'do not let him/her/they run'
oyc-	oyc- ippe	'do not let him/her/they ask'

Table 32 Negative Jussive

So far we have seen that Malo verb is inflected for aspect, tense and mood. It is also shown that in some cases the aspect marker varies based on the type of sentences, whether it is negative declarative, affirmative declarative or interrogative. In addition Malo has markers that show affirmation, negation and interrogation. Furthermore, it is shown that in Malo polarity is marked morphologically. The following table provides the summary of what has been said earlier about tense and aspect.

Aspect/tense	Affirmative sentences	Negative sentences	Interrogative sentences (polar)	Negative Interrogative
<i>Imperfective present</i>	<i>i+z (a)</i>	<i>o+wa</i>	<i>i+n+e</i>	<i>o+sa</i>
<i>Imperfective progressive</i>	<i>+dar+ye+i+z (a)</i>	<i>+dar+baa</i>	<i>dar+ye+i+n+e</i>	
<i>Perfective</i>	<i>e+z (a)</i>	<i>e+kka</i>	<i>e+n+e</i>	<i>e+kka+sa</i>
<i>Present perfect</i>	<i>as+e+z (a)</i>	<i>as+e+kka</i>	<i>as+ e+n+e</i>	<i>as+e+kka+sa</i>
<i>Past perfect</i>	<i>as+as+e+z (a)</i>	<i>as+as+e+kk a</i>	<i>as+as+ e+n+e</i>	<i>as+as+e+kka+ sa</i>
<i>Imperfective future (idf)</i>	<i>od (a)</i>	<i>enna</i>	<i>od+e</i>	<i>amo+sa</i>
<i>Imperfective future (def)</i>	<i>od+ays+ye+i+z (a)</i>	<i>od+ays+baa</i>	<i>od+ays+ ye+i+n+e</i>	

Table 33 Aspect, tense and polarity markers

4.3. Derivation of verbs

In Malo different types of verbs are derived from verbal roots through Affixation. Below the derivation of different verbal stems will be discussed.

In Malo verbs are derived from verb roots by affixing different morphemes immediately after the verb root. No verb is derived using a prefix. Below causative, passive, intensive, and reciprocal verb stems will be presented.

4.3.1 Causative verb stems

In Malo the causative verb stem is derived by affixing {-is} to the verb root consider the following examples

Verb root	Gloss	Derived Form	Gloss
?ad-	'hit'	?ad-is	'cause to hit'
dog-	'open'	dog-is	'cause to open'
wood-	'kill'	wood-is	'cause to kill'
lam-	'change'	lam-is	'cause to change'
?ing-	'give'	?ing-is	'cause to give'
dak-	'release'	dak-is	'cause to release'
el-	'swell'	el-is	'cause to swell'

Table 34 causative verb stem 1

The following sentences illustrates the use of causative verbs

(30) (a). e p a macc a -t -o polise -r be? -is -e-z

he own wife def acc police by see caus per aff

'He made his wife seen by the police.'

(b). iz -a pa afile -a lam is -e-z
 she nom own cloth acc change caus. per aff
 'she made her clothe changed'

Verb roots that have geminated consonants delete the last consonant of the cluster when suffixed to the causative marker. Examples are provided below.

Verb root	Gloss	Derived Form	Gloss
tokk-	'carry'	tok -is	'cause to carry'
ekk-	'gain'	ek -is	'cause to gain '
hull-	'pour'	hul-is	'cause to pour'

Table 35 causative verb stems 2.

Verb roots that have sibilant endings will have {is} causative suffix because of palatalization. Consider the following examples

(31) (a). ta ta kets -a gas -is- e -z
 I my house acc clean caus per aff
 'I made my house cleaned'

(b). nu nu saara -a caz -is -e-z
 we our neighbour acc insult caus. per aff
 'We made our neighbor insulted'

4.3.2 Passive verb stem

Affixing {-int} to the transitive verb root forms passive verb stem in Malo. Consider the following examples.

Verb root	Gloss	Derived Form	Gloss
?ad-	'hit'	?ad-int	'be hit'
bayz-	'sell'	bayz- int	'be sold'
gac	'cut '	gac-int	'be cut'
sat-	'hate'	sat-int	'be hated'
ikk-	'catch'	ikk-int	'be caught'
yer-	'kiss'	yer-int	'be kissed'
mecc	'wash'	mecc- int	'be washed'

Table 36 Passive verb stems

The following sentences illustrates the occurrence of such verb stems in a structure

- (32) (a). e cara -t -a gawar -ar m -int -e-z
rat def nom cat by eat pass. per aff
'The rat was eaten by the cat'
- (b). na?a -y astemar -ar ?ad -int -e-z
child nom teacher by hit pass per aff
'The boy was hit by his teacher'

4.3.3 Intensive verb stem

Intensive verb stems are derived from verb roots by affixing {-its} to the verb root. The intensive verb form is used to indicate the frequency as well as the intensification of the action. Consider the following examples.

Verb root	Gloss	Derived Form	Gloss
ments	'break'	ments-its	'break intensively/break in to pieces'
gac	'cut'	gac-its-	'cut intensively/cut in to pieces'
uz	'drink'	uz-its	'drink intensively/drink many times'
lam-	'chang'	lam-its	'change intensively/change many times'
pit	'sweep'	pit-its	'sweep intensively/sweep many times'
koy-	'find'	koy-its	'find intensively/find many times'

Table 37 Intensive verb stems.

The following sentences show the occurrence of such intensive verb stems

(33) (a). e mits -a ments^s - its -e-z

he wood acc break int per aff

'He broke the wood in to pieces or he breaks it many times.'

(b). iza kets -a pit - its - e -z

she house acc sweep int per aff

'She swept the house intensively or many times.'

Mono-radical verb forms form their intensive verb stems in a different way

i.e. by reduplication. Consider the following examples

Verb root	Gloss	Derived Form	Gloss
m-	'eat'	mimi	'eat intensively/ many times'
s-	'hear'	sisi	'hear intensively/ many times'

Table 38 Mono radical intensive verb stems

4.3.4 Reciprocal verbs stems

In Malo reciprocal verb stems are not derived by suffixing a morpheme, rather they are formed through compounding. Such forms are expressed by combining the pronoun *wel* 'each other' to the passive verb stem. The following structures illustrate reciprocal verbs.

Verb stem	Gloss	Suffix	Reciprocal	Gloss
ero-	'knowing'	wel-	wel er-int	'knowing each other'
?ado-	'fighting'	wel-	wel ?ad-int	'fighting each other'
cazo-	'insulting'	wel-	wel čaz-int	'insulting each other'
be?o-	'seeing'	wel-	wel be?-int	'seeing each other'

Table 39 Reciprocal verb stems

The following are examples indicate the use of such verbs in a structure

(34) (a). u wel er -int -e -z 'They known each other'

they rec know pass per aff

(b). nu wel kad -int -e -z 'we loved each other'

we rec love pass per aff

CHAPTER FIVE

ADJECTIVES, ADVERBS AND NUMERALS

5.1 Adjectives

Malo adjectives behave similarly to nouns. They share much of the morphological and phonological features of nouns. Adjectives have the same kinds of endings as nouns. They are also inflected for number, definiteness and case grammatical categories with the same kinds of markers seen for nouns.

It seems that Malo does not have a real word class consisting of adjectives rather it has ‘verbal nouns’. Most of the adjectives are derived from verb roots by suffixing different vowels. This phenomenon is common to other Ometo members also. Lamberti (1997) also argues for Wolayta by saying

“Wolayta as for other Cushitic languages does not seem to possess a genuine word class consisting of adjectives. Seldom the qualities that are expressed in European languages by means of an adjective are expressed in Wolayta by real verbal nouns”. This fact also holds true for Malo, which belongs to the North Ometo cluster, where Wolayta belongs.

5.1.1. Categorization of adjectives

According to Dixon (1982) as cited in Azeb (2001: 132) adjectives can be categorized into different semantic fields.

1. **Dimension**

haata	'short'	dalge	'wide
dammo	'big'	haako	'far'
ukke	'close'	sikka	'narrow'
silale	'deep'	orde	'thick/fat'
laafa	'few'	aduss	'long
sika	'some'	kaysa	'empty'
lee?o	'thin '	kunts	'full'

Physical property

misa	'hot'	yegelsa	'charming'
wooka	'rotten'	laako	'wet'
laklako	'sweat'	sugo	'soft'
cala	'sour'	camo	'bitter'

deso	'heavy'	oco	'sharp'
saate	'ugly'	irsa	'cold'
mela	'dry'	kaws	'light'
mino	'strong'	loo??o	'beautiful'
iita	'dirty'		

Human propensity

zara	'selfish'	zambo	'courageous'
pats	'healthy'	iita	'stupid'
boozo	'lazy'	loo??o	'kind'
wantsy	'trouble some'	yasa	'fearful'

Colour

zoko	'red'	ara	'yellow'
karets	'black'	cilint	'blue'
boots	'white'	silale	'green'

Value

iita	'bad'	?al?o	'expensive'
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loo??o ‘good’ manko ‘poor’

dure ‘rich’

Age

oroots ‘new’

cima ‘old’

wotsate ‘young’

Speed

suke ‘fast’

lodd ‘slow’

As it is shown through the above lists of adjectives the number of adjectives listed in the different semantic fields have number variation. This feature of adjectives is pointed out by Dixon (1982) as cited in Azeb (2001: 133) “...VALUE, AGE, COLOR and SPEED types normally have restricted size involving from two to half a dozen words, according to the languages. DIMENSION usually involves a dozen or so words, rarely very many more. PHYSICAL PROPERTY always involves at least several score items, while HUMAN PROPENSITY words can run in to the hundreds”.

In Malo there are adjectives that are ‘semantically loaded’ (adjectives that denote more than one meaning). Such adjectives give different meaning

based on the context they are used. Among such adjectives loo??o and itta, could be mentioned. loo??o can have meanings good, beautiful, handsome neat and kind, whereas iita can refer to meanings such as bad, ugly, dirty, cruel and so on.

5.1.2 Adjective inflection

In the language when an adjective is at a specifier position it attracts the grammatical feature of the head noun such as number, definiteness and case. In other words what is inflected is the whole noun phrase rather than the adjective it self.

5.1.2.1 Number

Adjectives in Malo attract the number feature of the head noun. In this case the same morpheme that occurs with nouns i.e. {-ita} is used. Just like nouns, Adjectives delete their terminal vowel when they attract the plural marker. Adjectives that have consonant ending take the plural marker with out any formal modification. See the following examples.

- (2) (a). as aduss -ita -y ye? -e-z 'The tall man came.'
- man long pl nom come per aff
- (b). na?a haat-ita -y ?ang -e -z 'The short children went.'
- child short pl nom go per aff
- (c). temare ec -ita -y ?ant -e -z 'The clever student worked.'
- student clever pl nom work per aff

5.1.2.2 Definiteness

A noun phrase containing a head noun and an adjective is also inflected for definiteness interactively with feminine gender by the same morpheme reported for nouns. Consider the following structures.

- (3) (a). wudr yegelsa -t -a woy -e -z 'The charming girl slept'
 girl charming def nom sleep per aff
- (b). as manka-t -a woos -e -z The poor woman begged
 man poor def nom beg per aff
- (c). na?a itta -t -a caz -e -z 'The bad child insult'.
 child bad def acc insult per aff

Just like nouns, adjectives replace their non -a terminal vowel, to - a when they get affixed to the definiteness and case markers.

5.1.2.3 Case

Such noun a phrase containing a noun and an adjective is also inflected for nominative and accusative cases by the same morpheme seen for nouns.

5.1.2.3.1 Nominative case

The nominative case in the masculine and feminine genders is marked by the same morpheme seen for nouns that is {-y}, {-i} and {-a} respectively.

Consider the following examples.

- (4) (a). kana asata-y waas -e-z
 dog ugly nom bark per aff
 'The ugly dog barked.'

- (b). as dura -y kets -a wong -e-z

man rich nom house acc buy per aff

'The rich man bought the house.'

(c). as karets -i yets -e-z

man black nom sing per aff

'The black man sang.'

(d). as booza -t -a yek -i -z

'man foolish def nom cry imp aff

'The foolish woman cries.'

(e).haar damma-t -a m -i -z

cow big def nom eat imp aff

'The big cow eats.'

5.1.2.3.2 Accusative case

Accusative case is also marked by the same morpheme occurs with nouns, i.e. {-a} and {-o} marks accusative case for masculine and feminine forms respectively. Examples are provided below.

(5) (a).ta temare eca -a be? -e -z 'I saw the clever student.'

I student clever acc see per aff

(b). e na?a dabura-a ?ad -e-z 'He hit the weak boy.'

he child weak acc hit per aff

(c). ta gaware boots-at -o ayk -e-z 'I held the white cat.'

I cat white def acc hold per aff

(8) (a). kart^s gemate Black ox

black ox

(b). lee??o wudr 'Thin girl'

thin girl

(c). mino as 'Strong man'

strong man

However if the noun modified is a definite one, the noun will precede the adjective as:

(9) (a). gemate kart^s -a 'The black ox'

ox black nom

(b). wudr lee?a- y 'The thin girl'

girl thin nom

(c). as mina -y 'The strong man'

man strong nom

5.1.3 Derivation of adjectives

As it is claimed earlier, most adjectives in Malo are derived ones. Most of them are derived from verb roots and some others from nominal bases.

5.1.3.1. Adjectives derived from verb roots

Suffixing {-a} to verb roots derives most adjectives in Malo

Verb roots	Gloss	Adjectives	Gloss
haat	'b/m short'	haat-a	'short'
s'ik'-	'b/m small'	sik'-a	'small'
š iik'-	'b/m narrow'	šiik'-a	'narrow'
miš-	'b/m hot'	miš-a	'hot'
čam-	'b/m old'	čam-a	'old'
iit-	'b/m bad'	itt-a	'bad'

Table 40 adjectives derived by the suffixe {-a}

Suffixing {-o} to the verb root also derives other Adjectives

Verb roots	Gloss	Adjectives	Gloss
damm-	'b/m big'	dammo	'big'
lee??-	'b'/m thin'	lee??-o	'thin'
cam-	'b/m better'	cam-o	'bitter'
min-	'b/m strong'	min-o	'strong'
des'-	'b/m heavy'	des'-o	'heavy'
word-	'B/m lying'	wordo	'liar'

Table 41 adjective derived by the suffixe {-o}

Some other adjectives are also derived from verb roots by suffixing {-e}

Verb root	Gloss	Adj.	Gloss
dalg-	'b/m wide'	dalg-e	'wide'
ord-	'b/m fat'	ord-e	'fat'
šat-	'b/m ugly'	šat-e	'ugly'
dur-	'b/m rich'	dur -e	'rich'
s'ilal	'b/m deep'	silal-e	'deep'

Table 42 adjectives derived by the suffixe {-e}

5.1.3.2 Adjectives derived from other nouns

In Malo some adjectives though not productive are derived from nouns by suffixing {-amm} .The following are examples.

Verb root	Gloss	Adj.	Gloss
nas-	'talk'	nas-amm	'talkative'
wolk-	'power'	wolk-amm	'Powerful'

Table 43 adjectives derived from nouns

In Malo though they are rare, there are adjectives that have consonant ending, which is also the case in nouns. Consider the following examples.

- (10) kunts 'full'
- pats 'healthy"
- karets 'black'
- oorots 'new'

boot ^s	‘white’
šala karet ^s	‘charcoal black’
šala	‘charcoal’
karet ^s	‘black’
zimado z’ok’o	‘dark red
zimado	‘red ant’
z’ok’o	‘red’
wol?o žilale	‘snake like green
wol?o	‘snake’
žilale	‘green

(c). asa -y at ye? -dar ye -i -z 'The man is coming now
 man nom now come cont exist per aff

(d). ta gidan buna pent^s -od 'I will make coffee later'
 I latter coffee prepare idf

5.2.2 Manner adverbs

In Malo adverbs of manner are derived ones. They are derived from their adjective counterparts by attaching {-r}, {-ar} and {-si}, {-asi}. Below are examples.

Adjective	Gloss	Adverb	'Gloss
lodd-	'slow'	lodd-er	'slowly'
suke-	'fast'	suke-r	'fast'
yegels	'charming'	yegels-asi	'charmingly'
lo??o	'beautiful'	lo??o-si	'beautifully'
ukke	'near'	ukke-si	'nearly'
silale	'deep'	silale-si	'deeply'

Table 44 adverbs derived from adjective

(16) (a). e lodd -er ?ant -e -z 'He worked slowly'
 he slow work per aff

(b). e- suke -r laas -e -z 'He ran fast'
 he fast run per aff

(c). e lo??o-si s'af -e -z 'He wrote it beautifully'
 he beautiful write per aff

(d). ta ukke -si be? -e-z 'I saw it nearly'

I near see per aff

5.2.3 Frequency adverbs

In Malo such types of adverbs are also derived ones, in this case by using total reduplication. Examples are provided below.

Time adverb	Gloss	Frequency adverb	Gloss
wogga	'sunday'	wogga wogga	'every sunday'
sorant ^s a	'wednesday'	sorant ^s a sorant ^s a	'every wednesday'
k'eera	'saturday'	k'eera k'eera	'every saturday'

Table 45 frequency adverbs

The use of such adverbs in structure is provided below.

(17) (a).e wosa kara wogga wogga ?ang -i -z

he prayer house sunday sunday go imp aff

'He goes to church every sunday.'

(b). ta gabe keera keera ?ang -i -z

I market saturday saturday go imp aff

'I go to market every Saturday.'

5.2.4 Adverbs of degree

In Malo there are also adverbs that used to express the degree of Adjectives. Examples of such adverbs are presented below.

(18) usa 'very'

mala ‘quietly’
duma ‘specially’

The following structures illustrate the use of such adverbs in sentences

(19) (a). e usa loo??o ‘He is very handsome.’

 ‘He very handsome

(b). iz -a duma ‘she is special.’

 she nom special

5.2.5 Place adverbs

The commonly used places of adverbs of Malo are the following

(20) ?ayti ‘here’

 sekka ‘there’

5.3 Numerals

Numerals in Malo have two forms, Cardinal and ordinal. Below each of these forms will be discussed. First the cardinal numbers will be presented.

5.3.1 Cardinal numeral

Cardinal	Gloss	cardinal	Gloss
petto	'one'	usuppun	'six'
namʔi	'two'	laappun	'seven'
heedz	'three'	hosppun	'eight'
oydd	'four'	udduppun	'nine'
iččin	'five'	tabo	'ten'

Table 46 Cardinal numerals

Malo seems to be a numeral system of five bases. Simple lexical items are used for numerals one up to five as shown in the table above. Numerals six to nine contain a common element '-ppun' as a second member. -puna according to (Lambert 1997) forms the old Cushetic numeral. According to Hirut (2002) the word '-punn' means how many.

According to her such numbers literally mean

(21) usu- ppun 'six' (one+ many)

laa- ppun 'seven' (two+ many)

hos- ppun 'eight' (three+ many)

uddu-ppun 'nine' (four+ many)

Number ten is expressed by using simple lexical item 'tabo'. Numerals eleven to nineteen are compounds formed by combining numerals one up to nine with the word tabo 'ten'. In all cases the word 'tabo' precedes the lower numerals

(22) tabo petto 'eleven' tabo usuppun 'sixteen'
 . tabo nam?i 'twelve' tabo laappun 'seventeen'
 tabo heedz 'thirteen' tabo hosppun 'eighteen'
 . tabo oydd 'fourteen' tabo uduppun 'nineteen'

 tabo iččin 'fifteen'

Numerals that are multiples of ten are formed by combining lower numerals one to nine with tabo 'ten' in this case the word tabo comes following the lower numerals

(23) nam?i tabo 'twenty' usuppun tabo 'sixty'

 hydzi tabo 'thirty' laappun tabo 'seventy'

 oyddi tabo 'forty' hosppun tabo 'eighty'

 iččin tabo 'fifty' uduppun tabo 'ninty'

Words for hundred and thousand are simple lexical items

(24) s'eet 'hundred'

mukule 'thousand'

As it can be seen from the above list except for numbers 'tabo' ten, 'nam?i' 'two', and petto 'one' all numerals have consonant endings.

cardinal numerals are inflected for case and number. The following are examples.

(25) (a). na?a tab -ita -y ye? -e -z 'The ten children came'

child ten pl nom come per aff

(b). e ečare iččin -ita -a wood -e -z 'He killed the five rats'

he rat five pl acc kill per aff

Numerals that have vowel endings delete their final vowel when the plural marker {-ita} gets attached to them like in (25) (a).

5.3.2 Ordinal numerals

In Malo ordinal numerals are formed or derived from cardinal numerals by attaching {-intso} as in

(26) pett -int^{so} 'first' usuppun -int^{so} 'sixth'

nam?	-int ^{so}	‘second’	laappun	-int ^{so}	‘seventh’
hydž	-int ^{so}	‘third’	hosuppun	-int ^{so}	‘eighth’
oydd	-int ^{so}	‘fourth’	uduppun	-int ^{so}	‘nineth’
iččin	-int ^{so}	‘fifth’	tabo	-int ^{so}	‘tenth’

Numerals that have vowel ending delete their terminal vowel when the morpheme {-int^{so}} is attached to them. Numerals eleven to nineteen are also derived from their cardinal counter parts by attaching the same morpheme {-int^{so}}.

(27)

tabo pett-int ^{so}	‘eleventh’	tabo usuppun-int ^{so}	‘sixteenth’
tabo nam? -int ^{so}	‘twelfth’	tabo laappun-int ^{so}	‘seventeenth’
tabo hydž-int ^{so}	‘thirteenth’	tabo osuppun-int ^{so}	‘eighteenth’
tabo oydd-int ^{so}	‘fourteenth’	tabo uduppun-int ^{so}	‘nineteenth’
tabo iččin-int ^{so}	‘fifteenth’		

Multiples of ten are also formed in the same process

(28)

nam?i tabo	-int ^{so}	‘twentieth’
hydži tabo	-int ^{so}	‘thirteenth’
oyddi tabo	-int ^{so}	‘fourteenth’

iccin tabo	-intso	'fifteenth'
usuppun tabo	-intso	'sixteenth'
laappun tabo	-intso	'seventeen'
hosppun tabo	-intso	'eighteen'
uduppun tabo	-intso	'nineteenth'
seet	-intso	'hundredth'

To see this forms in a structure:

(29) (a).hyd_z-intso ketsa-y bayz-int -e -z

three ord house nom sell pass per aff

'The third house gets sold.'

(b). e laappun-intso kets -a lam -e -z

he seven ord house acc change per aff

'He changed the seventh house.'

To sum up, in this chapter, adjectives, adverbs and numerals have been presented. As already said in Malo most adjectives are derived from verb roots and they are considered as 'verbal nouns'. It is also reported that

adjectives shares much morphological and phonological features with nouns.

The different kinds of adverbs in Malo as, time adverbs, frequency adverbs, adverbs of degree and, adverbs of place. In this chapter it is also shown that Malo numeral system has both ordinal and cardinal numeral types. The next chapter, which is the last chapter of the thesis, will present the summary and conclusion of the foregoing chapters.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In the foregoing chapters, an attempt is made to analyze the morphology of Malo, which is classified under the north Ometo cluster in the Omotic language family. The morphological description is made on categories such as nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, adverb and numerals.

The introductory part presents the objective, significance and methodology of this study. In addition it gives description about the language and its speakers. Review of the literature and some aspects of the phonology have been presented in the same chapter. The second

chapter is where the actual work begins. This chapter is devoted to describe inflectional and derivational morphology of nouns. Before going to the detail discussion, the citation form of Malo nouns is discussed as a back ground to the forth-coming discussion.

It is shown that based on their citation form Malo nouns are classified in to three classes, those that have terminal vowel endings, those that have consonant endings and, those that have consonant and vowel endings. Malo nouns are inflected for number, definiteness and case. When the productive plural Marker {-ita} is affixed to singular noun bases, the terminal vowels of the base get deleted.

Though it is not widely used {-unts} is also used as a plural marker alternatively with the productive plural marker. It is also indicated that ‘number’ interacts with ‘definiteness’, in that all plural nouns are considered as definite ones, as it is true in some north Ometo languages Azeb (2001). In Malo definiteness is overtly marked by the morpheme {-t} interactively with feminine gender. Malo nouns are inflected for different kinds of cases, such as nominative, accusative, dative, instrumental, genitive, commutative and Ablative cases.

The First two types of case markers vary based on the gender of the noun. Such types of cases interact with definiteness. Only nouns that are considered to be definite take the case markers. Indefinite nouns are not marked for case. The derivation of nouns from other nouns, adjectives and verbs by the addition of different affixes is also investigated. It is

reported that abstract nominals are derived from nouns and adjectival bases by suffixing the morpheme {-tets}, {-atets}. Gerundive nominals are derived from verb roots by the suffix {-o}. Suffixing the morphemes {-its} and {-a} respectively derives manner and result nominals.

The morpheme {-iz-} derives agent and instrumental nominals. In the case of the agent nominals the agent noun as 'man' obligatorily follows the form whereas in the case of the instrumental the form is followed by baz 'thing' necessarily. Instrumental nominals can also be derived from verb roots by suffixing {-e}.

Malo has also passive nominals derived from their gerundive counter parts by changing the tone pattern. Suffixing the morpheme {-its} to the passive verb stem derives the passive gerundive. In the same chapter the possible compound noun formations has been presented. Two possible ways of compounding were identified. These are by combining two nouns and by combining adjectives and nouns.

Under the chapter 'pronoun', different types of pronouns are described such as personal, possessive, reflexive, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns. Personal pronouns are further divided as dependent and independent personal pronouns on the bases of their morphological and syntactic structure. Independent personal pronouns are inflected for number, case and, for gender in the third person singular. Such, pronouns in Malo are inflected for different case types such as nominative, accusative, dative, instrumental and, ablative cases.

The dependent personal pronouns are referred as 'clitic' forms of the independent personal pronouns. Such pronouns are 'un marked' ones. That is they are not inflected for grammatical categories. Syntactically the independent personal pronouns are not positionally restricted. They can occur in the subject as well as in the object position. The dependent personal pronouns are restricted to only to the subject position.

There are two classes of Possessive pronouns in Malo. The first class possessive pronouns have the same form with the dependent personal pronouns. Possessive pronouns in the second class show both the possessed and the possessor noun.

Such pronouns vary for gender and are inflected for case and number. Reflexive pronouns are expressed by prefixing the noun ubba 'all' to the possessive pronouns. There are three types of Demonstrative pronouns indicating farness, nearness and, direction. These pronouns vary for gender and they are inflected for case and for number.

The fourth chapter presents Malo verbs. Verbs are shown to have different CV structures. In this language verbs are inflected for aspect, tense, and mood. It is discussed that there are two aspectual distinctions, the perfective and the imperfective. Both are marked morphologically. The perfective is marked by {-e} whereas the imperfective is marked by {-i} and {-od} for the present imperfective and future imperfective respectively.

Furthermore, it is discussed that Malo has six tense types marked morphologically such as present tense, present continuous tense, simple past, present perfect, past perfect and

future tense. The simple present tense is based on the imperfective aspect and is marked by {-i}, which is immediately followed by the affirmative declarative marker {-z}.

The present continuous tense has a compound form .

It has a continuous marker {-dar} that is attached to the main verb. This tense contains the verb of existence ye- 'exist' in the imperfective aspect. The simple past is based on the perfective aspect and is marked by {-e}, which is again followed by the affirmative declarative marker {-z}.

Attaching the auxiliary marker {as} to the perfective aspect forms the present perfect and the past perfect tenses. In the case of the past perfect tense the auxiliary marker {as} gets reduplicated. The future, which is an imperfect, has two forms the definite and the indefinite.

The indefinite future is marked by the morpheme {-od} suffixed next to the main verb. Attaching {-ays} to the indefinite future marker {-od} forms the definite future. In the negative declarative construction the present imperfective and future imperfective uses different markers that is {-o} and {-enna} respectively. The negative marker also varies for the two aspect types in that the perfective negative is marked by {-kka} whereas the present imperfective negative is formed by {-wa}. In the case of the present continuous tense the verb of existence 'ye' is replaced by baa 'lack'.

In Malo we find two types of interrogative constructions that contrast to each other, polar and non-polar interrogatives. Polar interrogatives are marked by {-e} whereas non-polars are unmarked. Interrogation in the perfective and imperfective is marked by {-n}. Malo does not have verb 'To Be', but contains verb 'To Have'.

Mood, another grammatical category of verbs is also presented. The imperative mood is marked by {-ob} and, {-oyta} for the second person singular and plural respectively. The negative form of the imperative is marked by morphemes {-ipp} and {-ippat} for second person singular and plural respectively.

The polite imperative is marked by {-ye} for all persons. The jussive mood is marked by the morpheme {-o} and {-ippe} for the affirmative and negative constructions respectively. The derivation of different verb stems such as causative, passive, intensive and reciprocal from verb roots is also presented. Causative verb stems are derived from verb roots by suffixing the morpheme {-is}. Passive and intensive verb stems are derived from verbal roots by attaching morphemes {-int} and {-its} respectively. Prefixing the pronoun 'wel' to the passive verb stem derives the reciprocal verb stem.

In Malo adjectives behave like nouns. They are inflected for number, definiteness and case by the same morphemes that occur with nouns. Most adjectives in Malo are derived from verbs by attaching different vowel suffixes. Some adjectives are derived from nouns. It is also shown that in the language compounding forms some adjectives. Adverbs in Malo are classified and analyzed into different types such as adverbs of time, adverbs of place, adverbs of degree, adverbs of manner and adverbs of frequency.

Among all these it is found that adverbs of manner are derived ones from their adjective counter parts by suffixing different morphemes. Frequency adverbs are also formed by reduplication. Concerning the numeral of Malo it is identified that Malo has a numeral system of five bases. In addition Malo numerals are further classified as cardinal and ordinal. The ordinal numerals are derived from their cardinal counter parts by attaching the suffix {-intso}

To sum up, the study provides some insight on Malo morphology. It gives the description of inflections and derivations of categories such as nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and numerals. It is believed the present study contributes to our knowledge of Malo and it will also induce other researchers to do extensive research on other aspects of the language. It is also hoped that the study will serve as reference materials for the study of other related Ometo members.

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Declaration

I, the under signed, declare that this thesis is my original work, has not been presented for a degree in any other university and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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Place: Addis Ababa University, School of Graduate Studies.

Date of submission: February 2003

Signature: _____

Appendix: Texts

1. A story about Daydo

daydo tiina bere gemate petto woong-i -as-as-e-z.

Daydo two year ago ox one buy sc aux per aff.

Two years ago Daydo had bought an ox.

e petto bere kunts kamada woot -e -z

he one year full pair farm -per aff.

For one year he farmed by pairing it with another ox.

yeys e sikka gode woot-i sikka kats ekk -e -z.

then he small field farm sc some product gain per aff.

Then farming a small field he gained less product.

daydo zikin bere kara gemate petto wong -e -z

daydo last year another ox one buy per aff

Last year Daydo bought another ox.

e gemate ha wong-i makkin ez-is gemate waatsa maak -e -z

he ox this buy sc after he dat ox pair happen per aff

After his buying this ox he had a pair of oxen.

yeys daydo zikin bere daro gade woot -i daro kats ekk -e -z

then Daydo this year much field farm sc much product gain per aff

Therefore Daydo farmed a large field and gained much product.

2. Drought

naye gade gel- iko daro waaye ka? -i -z

drought country enter if many problem bring imp aff

If drought occurs in a country it brings many problems.

naye haatse, maata nne mits mel -is -i -z

drought water grass and tree dry caus imp aff

Drought makes water, grass and tree to dry.

u mel-iko haari, gemate, duri, deesi, para, bakulo

They dry if cow ox sheep goat horse mule

If they are destroyed cows, oxen, sheep, goats, horses

nne u gark ye -i -za baz ubba-y ?ayk-oda

and they like exist imp aff thing all nom die imp

And all things like them will die.

as -ikka ?ayk od

men also die imp

Men will also die.

hatte bare naye toppe gido gelin hay han -i -dar ye -i -z

This year drought Ethiopia in enter this happen sc cont exist imp aff

This year, this is happening in Ethiopia because of drought.

3. A story about Deka

deka hatte bere buna daro ka? -e -k

Deka this year coffee much produce per aff

This year daydo produced much coffee

gabe loo??-iko e buna daro haari wong-oda

Market good if he coffee much cows buy imp

If coffee market is good he will buy many cows selling his coffee.

petto layts-ar haar-ita-y ubba-y yel -od

One year-with cow pl nom all nom reproduce imp

The cows will reproduce after one year.

oyse pila nne oggan-ita-a bayz i e daro mis sis-od

Butter cheese and calf pl acc sell sc he much money save imp

He will save much money from the sales of butter, cheese and calves

yeys pe guye e makina wong-oda

Then abl after he car buy imp

Then after he will buy a car.