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THE MORPHOLOGY OF GAWWADA

BY

GEBEREW TULU

A Thesis
Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
Addis Ababa University
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts in Linguistics



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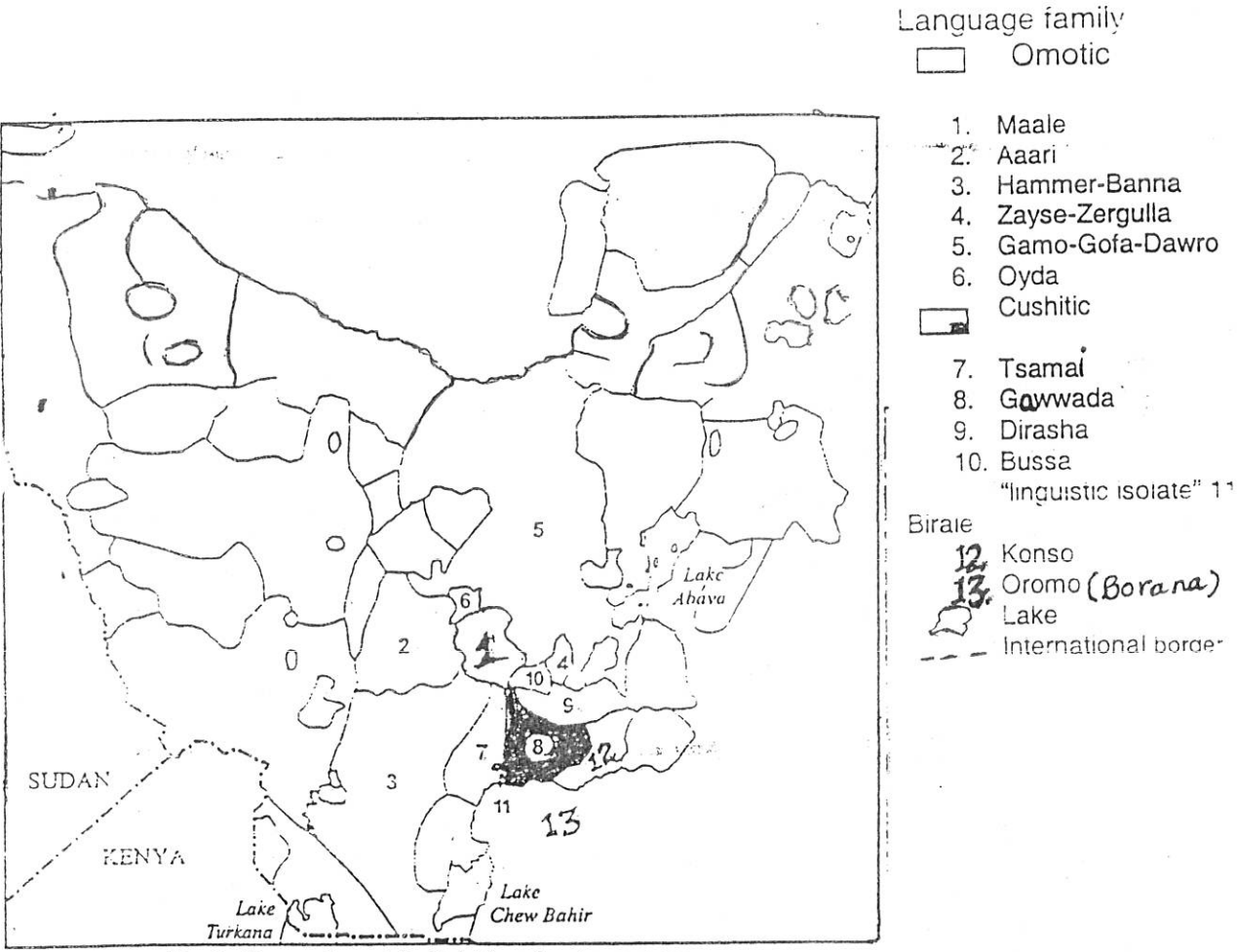
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Abbreviations and Symbols

Doubling the letter symbols indicates vowel length and consonant germination. There are also abbreviations and symbols used in the Thesis.

Abbreviations and Symbols

acc.	accusative case
agv	agentiviser
aux	auxiliary
cs	causativizer
d.o	distant object
def	definite marker
ep	epenthetic
fem	feminine
gen	genitive case
hon	honorific
impf	imperfective
Imp	Imperative
jus	jussive
masc	masculine
neg	negative
pf	perfective
pl	plural
rf	reflexive
sg	singular
1 st _p	first person
2 nd _p	second person
3 rd _p	third person
ʔ	glottal stop
∅	zero (zero morphemes)
c	voiceless palatal plosive
d'	voiced alveolar implosive
B	voiced bilabial fricative
b'	voiced bilabial implosive
g'	voiced velar implosive
→	becomes
//	enclosed phonemic item
[]	enclosed phonetic item
{ }	enclosed morphemic item
*	ungrammatical



Map1. Gawwada and its Neighbouring Languages.

Adpoted from Azeb (2001) and S.L.L.E. linguistic report (1994 **ገጽ 19**)

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Abstract

This study is an attempt made to describe and analyze Gawwada morphology. The objective of the thesis is to identify different inflectional and derivational morphemes on selected word classes such as noun, pronoun, adjective and verb, and account for different morphemes and their variants.

The thesis consists of five chapters. Chapter one is on the background of the study, which involves information on the language and the people, objective, significance, review of previous work, methodology and limitation of the study. Chapter Two presents some aspects of the phonology of the language, which is believed to be useful in analyzing the morphology of the language. Chapter Three deals with inflections of various grammatical categories such as number, gender, definiteness, case, person, etc, on selected word classes. Chapter Four treats different derivational affixes of nouns, adjectives, verbs and negative verb formation. Finally, the last chapter gives the summary and conclusion of the thesis.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

1.1. The Language and the People

Gawwada is one of the least known languages of East Cushitic group, spoken in Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional state (Bender 1971:187 & 1976:8). The same author (1971) classifies the language under “Werizoid group”¹ of Lowland East Cushitic. The language is surrounded by Omotic and Cushitic languages (See the Map on iii).

According to the 1994 population and housing census of Ethiopia, there are 32, 698 native speakers of the language. They inhabit the highland to the East of the Weyto River and North East of the Konso (Black 1976:222). The people name the language Paako Gawwada ‘mouth of Gawwada’. The major economic activity of the people is agriculture though some people residing in urban areas i.e. Gawwada and Konso towns are merchants. Their main agricultural products are maize, sorghum, coffee and root crop like potato. Besides farming, they domesticate goats, sheep and cattle.

1.2. Objective of the Study

The major objective of this study is to describe, analyze and interpret the morphology of Gawwada. As we shall see in (section 1.6) with regard to this aspect, almost nothing has been done on the language. Hence, the present work is believed to be a start to study the language. The specific objectives are:

¹ Werizoid refers to East Cushitic group consisting of Werize, Gawwada, Gobeze and Tsamai (Bender, 1971:187)

- To identify inflectional and derivational morphemes on nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs.
- To identify some morphophonemic processes in the language.
- To account for different morphemes and their variants.
- Some phonological issues are also dealt with to facilitate explanation of morphological problems.

1.3. Significance of the Study

With the objectives set above in (section 1.2) this research work is believed to have the following contributions:

1. Since the study of morphology incorporate phonology and syntax (Anderson, 1982 & Katamba, 1993), this study initiates further study in these areas.
2. It is useful for pedagogical purposes, i.e, preparing textbooks, literacy materials, etc for the learners of the language.
3. The finding can serve as the source for typological and theoretical researchers who are interested in the areas of descriptive and comparative study of lowland East Cushitic language group in general and Warizoid group in particular.

In general, the findings of this study facilitate communication in sphere of education, administration, etc.

1.4. Methodology

The research follows standard linguistic study procedures of data collection, transcription, analysis and interpretation. The data is elicited from the native speakers of the language and analyzed in the light of descriptive theory (following Hockett (1958), Gleason (1961),

Katamba (1993), Lyons (1968) and Nida (1949). Morphemes, both inflection and derivation, and various forms of the nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs of the language are also described and analyzed.

1.5. Limitation of the Study

This research is done under some limitations of time and material as the researcher is doing on other courses at the same time. So, it is limited to the description and analysis of inflections and derivations of selected word classes in Gawwada. In other words, the study doesn't promise to unmask an area, which is not inflection and derivation of nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs in the language.

1.6. Previous Studies on the Language

As survey of previous research on this language shows, Gawwada is one of the least studied languages of Ethiopia. Though is too sketchy, Black (1973 & 1976:224) gives some information on phonological and morphological aspects of the language. He says that Gawwada has twenty-four consonant and five vowel phonemes. Regarding the morphological aspect, he gives examples on the negative and positive aspect of the verb with out identifying their morphemes. Besides, he shows gender and genitive case markers of the nouns.

Amborn (1980) also presents survey of comparative studies in Werizoid group. The material is written in German language. The author gives some information on phonological and morphological aspects of the Werizoid group. With regard to morphology, though it is a survey he gives some inflections and derivations of nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs.

Haregeweyin (2002) in her unpublished material also gives twenty-five consonant and five vowel phonemes (see. 2.1) the sound inventory of these researchers along with the present findings). Haregeweyin also shows some phonological processes: assimilation and spirantization.

In addition to what Black (1976) and Haregeweyin (2002) mention, in survey of little known languages of Ethiopia (S.L.L.E.) 1994, some sociolinguistics information is also reported on Gawwada. The result of the survey shows that some of the Gawwada speakers are bilingual in Konso.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Some Aspects of Gawwada Phonology

Although it is not the main objective of the study, introducing the main features of the phonological system of the language in this study is very important. The aim of introducing this aspect is, therefore, to help the reader as key to the reading materials in the next chapter, where the main subject matter of the research, namely, the morphology of Gawwada is treated. Thus, this chapter presents the phonology of the language that includes phonemic inventory, phonotactics, syllable structures and major morphophonemic processes, each of which is presented in the following sections.

2.1. Phonemic Inventory

2.1.1. Consonant Phonemes

According to Black (1976:224), Gawwada has twenty-four consonant and five vowel phonemes. On the contrary, Haregeweyin (2002:10) in her unpublished material reports that the language has twenty-five consonant and five vowel phonemes. Black (ibid) has recorded palatal nasal [ɲ] and pharyngeal stop [ʕ], which Haregeweyin (Ibid) fails to record. She, for instance, uses near minimal pairs to prove the phonemic status of these sounds. However, agreeing with Black, this study reveals that voiced plosives² are identified to be phonetical. The words that Haregeweyin claims to be minimal pairs are not minimal pairs. Besides, the distribution of these sounds is predictable, that is, they

² The fact that voiced plosives are phonetic has also been recorded in related languages like Gidole (Sinkineh, 1983:11) and Konso (Black, 1973:21)

occur at word initial position and rarely occur at word medial position. Because of these facts, they are considered to be phonetic, rather than phonemic in this study.

Haregeweyin's voiced velar implosive /g'/ and Black's pharyngeal stop /ʕ/ are also recorded as phonemes in this study. The meaning contrastive of /k/ in /keə'e/ 'to prepare food' and /g'/ in g'ee'e/ 'to took for', and /ʕ/ in /meeʕe/ 'sickle' /? / 'in 'mee'e' 'how much' for example proves the phonemic status of these sounds.

On the basis of the above claim, the following modified chart consisting of twenty-four consonant phonemes in Gawwada is proposed.

	Bilabial	Labiodentals	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Stops	p		t	c	k	q	ʕ	ʔ
Implosives	b'		d'		g'			
Ejectives	p'		t'		k'			
Fricatives		f	s	ʃ	x			h
Nasals	m		n	(ñ) ³				
Lateral			l					
Flap			r					
Glides	w			y				

Table (1) The consonant phonemes of Gawwada

³ Black (1976:224) records palatal nasal (ñ) as a phoneme. In the present study, it has frequently seen in the words though meaning contrastive words have not been noted.

2.1.2. Vowel Phonemes

Consistent with Black (1973) and Haregeweyin (2002), in this study five vowel phonemes consistent with the Cushitic vowel pattern are identified in Gawwada. The following chart presents the vowel phonemes of the language.

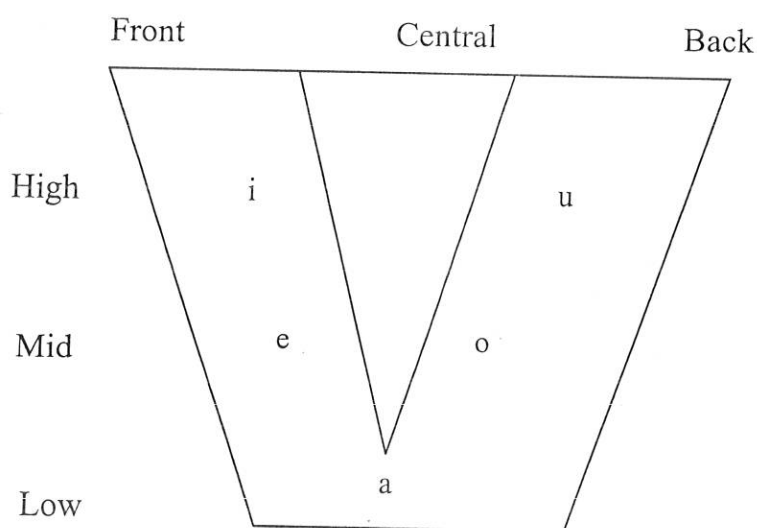


Table (2) Vowel phonemes of Gawwada

2.2 Phonotactics

Katamba (1993) states that phonotactic is conceived as constraints on the combination of segments into words or phrases. In Gawwada, we have the following phonotactic constraints.

2.2.1. Consonant Cluster

The following combinations of consonants occurring within a word across syllable boundaries have been identified: /*nd'*, *mp*, *mt*, *lt*, *ng'*.../ and sonorant /*r,l,n* .../ followed

by an obstruent /s,p,t,g',f,k .../. Gawwada words neither begin nor end with consonant clusters and the maximum consonant cluster allowed word medially is two. Let us see examples in data (1).

- (1) a. /g'and'o/ 'grass'
 b. /kod'ampako/ 'worker'
 c. /emte / 'sheep'
 d. /talte/ 'goat'
 e. /kuung'i/ 'which'
 f. /konfa/ 'trousers'
 g. /perko/ 'year'

There are also cases where obstruents are followed by /n/ as in (2): /d'n, pn, sn/ at morpheme boundary.

- (2) a. /kod'no/ 'work (n)'
 b. /kaapno/ 'fearful'
 c. /an-las-ni/ 'we sold'

In addition to this, the following examples of loan words from Amharic and English justify the possible consonant clusters in Gawwada.

- (3) a. /hispi/ (Gawwada) /hizb/ (Amharic) 'People'
 b. /ispoorti/ (Gawwada) /sport/ (English) 'spot'
 c. /ispirinki/ (Gawwada) /spring/ (English) 'spring'
 d. /tampi/ (Gawwada) /dänb/ (Amharic) 'regulation'

As can be seen from the above data, Amharic words /hizb/ 'people' and 'danb' in data (3) a & d justify the absence of voiced plosive and voiced alveolar fricative /z/ in Gawwada.

As it is possible to see from data (3) above these loan words justify that Gawwada words neither begin nor end with consonant clusters. The examples also illustrate that in Gawwada the permissible consonant cluster at word medial position is two.

2.2.2. Vowel Length and Consonant Gemination

In Gawwada, both Vowel length and consonant gemination are phonemic, as the examples in data (4) below show.

i. Vowel length

- (4) a. /tisi/ 'this (fem)'
 / tiisi/ 'hers'
- b. /laase/ 'a seed of tree'
 /lase/ 'selling'
- c. /sore/ 'running'
 /soore/ 'sweet'
- d. /sera/ 'spreading out a clothe'
 /seera/ 'law'

ii. Consonant gemination

- (5) a. /kuma/ 'one thousand'
 /kumma/ 'black'
- b. /laale/ 'loyalty'
 /laalle/ 'clothe'

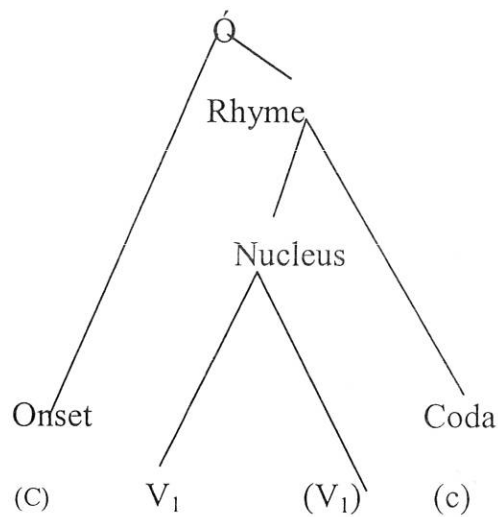
c. /xootte/ 'churn'

/xootte/ 'pierce'

From the data (4) and (5), we see that vowel length and consonant gemination bring about meaning change in words. Bearing this in mind, let us see the syllable structure of the language.

2.3. Syllable Structure

As Pei (1954:134) defines, syllable is "a group of phonemes consisting of a vowel or a continuant alone or combination with consonant or consonants which represents a complete articulation consisting a unit of word formation". The maximum syllable template of Gawwada is as follows:



So, Gawwada, has a non-branching onset and coda. This means, the language doesn't allow the cluster of consonant phonemes at word initial and final position (*see section 2.2*) above. Similarly, the sequence of two different vowel phonemes is impermissible, and that is why the nuclei of the above syllable template is shown by v_1v_1 where the seed

r_1 is optional. In general, from the above syllable template, we have the following syllable types.

(6) <i>i. V</i>	<i>/id'a/</i>	'red'
<i>ii. VC</i>	<i>/orpo/</i>	'sheep'
<i>iii. CV</i>	<i>/tisi/</i>	'this'
<i>iv. CVC</i>	<i>/kollan/</i>	'nine'
<i>v. VV</i>	<i>/oo'e/</i>	'girl'
<i>vi. CVV</i>	<i>/heet'a/</i>	'beautiful'
<i>vii. VVC</i>	<i>/aarno/</i>	'knowledge'
<i>viii. CVVC</i>	<i>/toorno/</i>	'hot'

As illustrated in the data (6) above, the language has eight types of syllable structures.

2.4. Morphophonomic Processes

In Morphological description, some morphophonemic processes are observed in Gawwada. These are: assimilation, deletion, consonant reduction, epenthesis, raising, sprinatization and vowel harmony, each of which is presented as in the following sub-sections.

2.4.1. Assimilation

Assimilation is the process in which the consonant sound is more like its neighbor sound (s). In Gawwada, three types of assimilation processes are identified; place, manner and voicing assimilations.

Assimilation in Point of Articulation

This is a kind of assimilation in which sounds become similar with neighboring sound in place or point of articulation. Data (7) below where the product of the process is underlined clarifies this point.

(7) (i.) a. /siikap Ø - um- te/	→	[siikunte]	'tallness'
tall abs. fem			
b. /id'Ø -um-te/	→	[idunte]	'redness'
red abs. fem			
c. /ad'um - ko/	→	[adunko]	'breast'
breast masc			
d. /karra'an - ko/	→	[karra'an ko]	'sneck'
sneck masc			
(ii) a. /luk - d'e/	→	[lukk'e]	'legs'
leg pl			
b. /siig'-d'e/	→	[siigg'e]	'pots'
pot pl			

As can be seen from examples (7)(i) above, nasals undergo homorganic assimilation. Besides, data (7) (ii) show voiced alveolar implosive /d'/ of the plural form {-d'e} (see data (15) I in 3.1.2.) assimilated to the velar plosives /k/ and /g'/ of the noun stem /luk/'leg' and /siig/'pot' respectively. The point is thus, data (7) shows assimilation in point of articulation in abstract nominal formation (cf. 4.1.1.) and pluralization (cf. 3.1.2). Bearing this in mind, let us see assimilation in manner of articulation.

Assimilation in Manner of Articulation

In Gawwada, assimilation in manner of articulation is seen when the auxiliary morpheme /n-/ is suffixed to the verb root ending in /r/, /m/ and /l/, plus /n/ become [rr], [mm] and [ll] i.e., the final sonorant of the verb root is affected. The following examples (8) a-c shows the pattern

(8). a. /i- k'aark'ar - n - a/ → [i-k'aark'ar-ra] 'he helps /will help'

3rdp help aux impf

b. /i- pitam - n - a - i/ → [i-pitam-m -a-y] 'she helps/ will help'

3rdp buy aux impf fem

c. /i - qal - n - a/ → [i-qal-l-a] 'he sings/ will sing'

3rdp sing aux impf

From the above examples, we see progressive assimilation i.e., the auxiliary morpheme {n-} totally assimilated to the sonorant segments of the verb roots. (see section 3,4,2).

Voicing Assimilation /k → g/

Under 2.4.1. (7), we saw that the alveolar nasal of the stems assimilated to the following voiceless velar plosive of the masculine morpheme {-ko}. After the assimilation in point of articulation, voicing assimilation is noted. The following examples in (9) can illustrate this.

(9) a. /ad'um - ko/ → [ad'uj-ko] → [ad'ungo] 'breast'

breast masc

b. /karra?an - ko/ → [karra?aŋ-ko] → [karra?aŋgo] 'sneck'

sneck masc

c. /id' - u m - ko/ → [id'uŋ-ko] → [id'uŋgo] 'redness'
 red abs masc

d. /kumm - um - ko/ → [kumm-un-ko] → [kumm-uŋgo] 'blackness'
 black abs masc

As illustrated in examples (9) above, the voiceless velar plosive /k/ in {-ko} 'masculine' is changed into its voiced counterpart [g] due to the influence of the preceding voiced velar nasal [ŋ] of the noun stems as in [id'uŋgo] 'breast (masc)' and of abstract morpheme as in {id-uŋ - go} 'redness (masc)'

2.4.2. Deletion

As stated in *section 2.2.above*, the phonotactic constraints of the language allow neither the sequence of two or more different vowel nor of consonant phonemes. Hence, a vowel or a consonant phoneme will either be deleted from a word stem or root, or an epenthetic vowel /i/ will be inserted, as we shall see in (2.43). Let us consider examples (10) & (11) of vowel and consonant deletions respectively.

i. Vowel Deletion

Following the principle in (2.4.2.) above, in Gawwada, the final vowels in noun and adjectival stems are deleted at word boundaries before {-um} (see 4.1. a & b) Examples (10) below justify this point.

(10) a. /id'a - um - ko/ → [id' Ø - um - ko] → [id'uŋko] 'redness'
 red abs masc

b. /kaka - um - ko/ → [kak Ø - um - ko] → [kakuŋko] 'grand father hood'
 grandfather abs. masc

c. / pii?a - um - ko/ → [pii? ø - um - ko] → pii?u_ɔko] 'whiteness'
 white abs. masc

d. /yaayye - um - te/ → [yaayy ø - um - ko] → [yaayyunte] 'mother hood'
 mother abs. fem

As can be seen from data (10) above, the final vowels /a/ and /e/ in /id'a/ 'red', /kaka/ 'grandfather', /pii?a/ 'white', and /yaayye/ 'mother' are respectively deleted at morpheme boundary.

ii. a. Consonant Deletion

Like vowels, consonants are also deleted at word boundaries due to the phonotactic constraints (c.f. 2.4.2.). Data in (11) below, show the pattern.

(11) a. /aturr - d'e/ → [aturr - ø e] → [aturr-ee] 'cats'
 cat pl.

b. /hupinn - de/ → [hupinn - ø e] → [hupinn-ee] 'tortoise'
 tortoise pl.

c. /luumm - d'e/ → [luumm - ø e] → [luumm-ee] 'pigs'
 pig pl.

As shown in data (11) above, the voiced alveolar implosive /d'/ of {-d'e} 'plural' gets deleted at morpheme boundaries (see 3.1.2. (15) III). After consonant deletion, compensatory vowel lengthening has also taken place as in /luumm-d'e/ → [luumm- øe] → [luumm-ee] 'pigs'

ii. b Consonant Reduction

As mentioned in (2.2.(a)), the cluster of two consonant phonemes having the features of sonorant and obstruent is permissible. However, as it is the case in most of Cushitic

languages, the phonotactic constraint of the language doesn't allow the cluster of any consonant as a first member and of alveolar implosive /d'/ as a second member. Because of this, the implosive /d'/ is always reduced to \emptyset at word boundaries as illustrated in 2.1.

(3). The examples in (12) of plural formation justify this point.

- (12) a. /g'opol - d'e/ \longrightarrow [g'opol - \emptyset e] 'goats'
 goat pl
- b. /kaar - d'e/ \longrightarrow [kaar - \emptyset e] 'trees'
 tree pl
- c. /koo? - d'e/ \longrightarrow [koo? - \emptyset e] 'fingers'
 finger pl
- d. /hib' - d'e/ \longrightarrow [hib' - \emptyset e] 'lips'
 lip pl

As can be seen in examples (12) above, the alveolar implosive /d'/ of the plural morpheme {-d'e} gets reduced to \emptyset at morpheme boundaries.

2.4.3. Epenthesis

In Gawwada, owing to the phonotactic constraints (c.f. 2.2) segment is either deleted (c.f. 2.4.2) or inserted as shown below. In this language, an epenthetic vowel segment /-i-/ is used to avoid the impermissible clusters of consonants at word boundaries (see sections 3.1. (b) & 3.1.2.). Examples (13) below also clarify this point.

- (13) a. /karme/ 'lion' \longrightarrow [karm-i-d'e] 'lions'
- b. /manne/ 'house' \longrightarrow [mann-i-d'e] 'houses'
- c. /lo?e/ 'cow' \longrightarrow [lo?-i-d'e] 'cows'
- d. /oo?e/ 'girl' \longrightarrow [oo? - i-d'e] 'girls'

As pointed out in 2.4.2, *II a & b*, in the data (13) above, the epenthetic vowel /-i-/ is inserted at morpheme boundaries.

2.4.4. Spirantization ⁴

In Gawwada, spirantization is also observed at word boundaries. The following examples show the pattern.

- (14) a. /orpo kusi/ → [orpo xusi] 'this sheep'
 sheep this (masc)
- b. /talte k- aayuu/ → [talte xaayuu] 'my goat'
 goat masc my
- c. /g'opol-ko kusi/ → [g'oBolko xusi] 'this goat'
 goat (masc) this (masc)

As shown above, the plosives /p/ in data (14) c and /k/ in data (14) a, b & c are respectively changed into [B] and [X].

2.4.5. Palatalization

In this language, palatalization across syllable has also been observed i.e, the alveolar fricative /s/ of {-as}, 'causative' changing has been observed during the causative verb stem formation (see 4.2.2.). During causative verb stem formation any verb root containing of palatal sounds such as /y/, /š/, etc, cause the alveolar fricative /s/ of {-as} & {-as-as} 'causative' to change into its palatal counterpart [š] at morpheme boundary as shown in data (15) below.

⁴ In Burji, which is both genetically and geographically related language to Gawwada, spirantization of plosives has been identified at word boundaries (Hayward, 1988:685).



- (15) a. $yi?-as-/ \rightarrow [yi?-a\check{s}-]$ 'cause to eat'
 eat cs eat cs
- b. $/a\check{s}\check{s}-as-/ \rightarrow [a\check{s}\check{s}-a\check{s}]$ 'cause to go'
 go cs go cs
- c. $/\check{s}ooq-as-as/ \rightarrow [\check{s}ooq-a\check{s}-a\check{s}-]$ 'cause some body
 hit cs cs hit cs cs to hit '
- d. $/ki\check{s}a?-as-as/ \rightarrow [ki\check{s}a?-a\check{s}-a\check{s}]$ 'cause some body
 laugh cs cs laugh cs cs laugh '
- e. $/poog'-as-/ \rightarrow [poog'-as-]$ 'cause to kill'
 kill cs kill cs
- f. $/kond'-as-as/ \rightarrow [kond'-as-as]$ 'cause some body
 break cs cs break cs cs to break'

As can be seen from the data (15) a-d, the palatal sounds /y/ and /š/ in the verb root cause to change the fricative /s/ of {-as} & {-as-as} 'causative' into the palatal fricative [š]. As the result, the causative morphemes {-as} & {-as-as} are realized as [aš] and [aš-aš] as in /ašš-as/ ~ [ašš-aš] 'cause to go', and /ašš-as-as/ ~ [ašš-aš-aš] 'cause somebody to go' respectively. However, /s/ of [-as] & {-as-as} does not change to [š] when the verb root consists of the non-palatal sounds as in data (15) e&f. i.e., /poog'-as/ in [poog'-as] 'cause to kill', and /kond'-as-as/ in [kond'-as-as] 'cause some body to break'

2.4.6. Vowel Raising

In this language, mid vowel raising has also been observed during the negative verb formation. The negative verb in the declarative sentence, for instance, expressed by raising the mid-vowels /e/ and /o/ of first and second person pronouns in to /i/ and /u/

respectively as in (*ine: ini*), (*hune: huni*), (*ato: atu*) and (*ano:anu*) at word boundaries.

(See section 4.2.6.).

2.4.7. Vowel Harmony

In Gawwada, Vowel harmony has also been observed in genitive case construction

(Consider examples (21) in section (3.1.3.2)).

CHAPTER THREE

3. Inflections

In the preceding chapter, we have seen the phonological systems of the language such as, sound inventory, phonotactics, syllable structures and morphophonemic processes with the aim of morphological description. In this chapter, inflectional categories of Gawwada are examined in relation to nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs.

3.1. Noun Inflections

As is the case in most of the Cushitic languages, nouns in Gawwada are inflected for different grammatical categories. It is the objective of this section to examine, describe and analyse the grammatical categories of Gawwada nouns such as gender, number, definiteness and case. Starting with 'gender' first, the other categories will be presented respectively.

3.1.1. Gender

Lyons (1968:283) mentions gender as one of the categorization of nouns, pronouns, and adjectives into masculine, feminine and in some languages neuter based on whether a noun is considered as male, female, or without sex respectively. Crystal (1997:165) on the other hand, classifies gender into natural and grammatical genders. The former refers to the natural sex of animate and non-animate things irrespective of their natural sex. In other words, natural gender refers to gender where items are defined in terms of the sex of real world entities while the consideration of non- animate things into masculine or feminine is that of grammatical gender. Having the above idea in mind, in Gawwada, we

have both natural and grammatical genders. Examples in data (16) below justify this point.

a) Natural Gender ⁵

<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
(16) a. /appa/	'father'	/yaayye/	'mother'
b. /apiya /	'mother's brother'	/takkaaya /	'mother' sister'
c. /appad'ama/	'father's brother'	/maamma/	'father's sister'
d. /mi?aye/	'son'	/šeette/	'daughter'
e. /akkawo /	'grandfather'	/kaka /	'grandmother'

In the data (16) above, we see that genders in kinship terms are lexical. In addition to natural gender, Gawwada has grammatical gender as described in the next sub-section.

b) Grammatical Gender

Following the definition in (3.1.1.) above, a grammatical gender is the categorization of non-animate and animate things into masculine or feminine gender. In Gawwada, both feminine and masculine genders are morphologically marked $\{\{-ko\}$ 'masc' & $\{-te\}$ 'fem' as data (17) shows below.

<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
(17) a. /luukkall-ko/ → [luukkall-i-ko]	'cock'	/luukkall-te/ → [luukkall-i-te]	'hen'
b. /oo?-ko/ → [oo?-Øo]	'boy'	/oo?-te/ → [oo?-Øe]	'girl'
c. /orp-ko/ → [orp-Øo]	'sheep (he)'	/em-te/ → [em-te]	'sheep (she)'
d. /alawwu-ko/ → [alawwu-xo]	'brother'	/alawwu-te/ → [alawwu-te]	'sister'
e. /g'opol-ko/ → [g'opol-ko]	'goat (he)'	/tal-te/ → [tal-te]	'goat (she)'

⁵ Natural gender is a feature that all the languages of Cushitic group have in common with many other languages (Castellino, 1975:348)



f. /aturr-ko/ → [aturr-i-ko]	'cat(he)'	/aturr-te/ → [aturr-i-te]	'cat(she)'
g. /karm-ko/ → [karm-Øo]	'lion(he)'	/karm-te/ → [karm-Øe]	'lion(she)'
h. /kaar-ko/ → [kaar-ko]	'tree(he)'	/siig'-te/ → [siig'-te]	'pot'(she)'

As the above examples show, the morpheme {-ko} 'masculine' has the allomorphs [-xo] & [-o] & [-ko] where [-xo] occurs intervocalically, [-o] after consonant sound (s) (c.f. 2.4.2) above and [-ko] elsewhere. In other words, /k/ in {-ko} gets deleted or reduced to Ø if the morpheme {-ko} is preceded by cluster of two consonant phonemes or glottal stop at word boundaries as in data (17), b, c & g. The same condition holds true for feminine gender morpheme {-te}. The /t/ in {-te} 'feminine' is either gets deleted or reduced to Ø as in data (17) b, & g of feminine gender. The morpheme has, therefore, two variants [-e] and [-tʃ].⁶

3.1.2. Number

There are only two ways of number distinction in Gawwada: Singular and plural. Only the plural nouns are morphologically marked for number. The suffixes {-d'e}, [-g'e] and [-e] mark plural form of an entity. That is, the /d/ in {-d'e} of the plural morpheme is either deleted, as in 18 (III), or assimilated to the velar plosive and implosive of noun stems as in 18 (I). Let us consider examples in (18) below

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
(18) I.a /luk -/	'leg'	[luk-g'e]	'legs'
b. /siig' -/	'pot'	[siig-g'e]	'pots'
c /haa?ig' -/	'elder man'	[haa?ig'-g'e]	'elder men'

⁶ The condition also holds true for most of Cushitic languages i.e., [-e] & [-te] and [-ko] & [-o] mark feminine and masculine gender in noun respectively. (Bell, 1953:12 & Castellino, 1975:340.)

II. a. /orp-/	'sheep'	[orp-i-d'e]	'sheep'
b. /karm -/	'lion'	[karm-i-d'e]	'lions'
c. /lo?-/	'cow'	[lo?-i-d'e]	'cows'
d. /mann -/	'house'	[mann-i-d'e]	'houses'
III.a. /luumm-/	'pig'	[luumm-øe]	'pigs'
b. /hipinn-/	'tortoise'	[hipinn-øe]	'tortoises'
c. /aturr-/	'cat'	[aturr-øe]	'cats'
d. /g'opol-/	'goat'	[g'opol-øe]	'goats'
e. /ka?al-/	'fox'	[ka?al-øe]	'foxes'
f. /kaar./	'free'	[kaar-øe]	'frees'

As illustrated in the above examples, due to the phonotactic constraints of the language i.e, assimilation, deletion, and, insertion (*see section (2.4.1), (2.4.2) & (2.4.3.)*) the plural morpheme $\{-d'e\}$ of the above nouns is realized in different forms such as $[-g'e]$, $[-d'e]$ and $[-e]$ as in examples (18) *I, II and III* respectively.

3.1.3. Case

Case is another grammatical category, which characterizes the syntactic relationship of nouns. In Gawwada, only accusative and genitive cases are morphologically marked. Let us see them one after the other

3.1.3.1. Accusative Case⁷

Accusative marks the object of transitive verb (Lyons, 1968:295). Like, other Cushitic language i.e., Somali, Gawwada, nouns are also inflected for accusative case. The morpheme *{-si}* marks accusative case as shown in data (19) below.

- (19) a. /**ambo mallee-si i - šooq – i/**
 Ambo Malle acc 3rdp hit pf.
 ‘Ambo hit Malle’
- b. /**kolme ambo-si i - šooq – t - i/**
 Kolme Ambo acc 3rdp. hit fem. pf.
 ‘Kolme hit Ambo’
- c. /**karmo talte - si – si i – yi? – i/**
 lion goat def. acc 3rdp eat pf.
 ‘A lion ate the goat’
- d. /**kenniso iso – si i – šooq – i/**
 kenniso he acc 3rdp hit pf
 ‘Kenniso hit her’
- e. /**iso karmo – si – si i – pooq– i/**
 he lion def acc 3rdp kill pf.
 ‘He killed the lion’

As indicated in data (19) above, the objects of the transitive verbs: *mallee* ‘Malle’, *ambo* ‘Ambo’, *talte* ‘goat’, *iso* ‘he’ and *karmo* ‘lion’ are inflected for accusative case *{-si}*.

⁷ As it is the case in most of Afro-Asiatic languages, Gawwada also has definite marker, which precedes accusative case. Anderson (1985:178) also mentions that the precedence of case by definite marker is universal. In Maale, which is an Omotic language, geographically related to Gawwada the definite nouns are followed by a case marker *{-z}* (Azeb 2001:41)

3.1.3.2. Genitive Case⁸

The possessor the possessed noun relationship in Gawwada is shown by vowel length,⁹ where by the final vowel of the head nouns is affected as the following examples in (20) show.

(20). a./ **d'inoote** **laalle** **ongaayee** **i - k'uur - i/**

Denote clothe ongaye's 3rdp loss pf

'Denote lost Ongaye's clothe'

b./ **kenniso** **emte** **kalatoo** **i - las - i/**

kenniso sheep kalato 3rdp sell pf.

'Kenniso sold kalato's sheep'

c./ **kalato** **koppe** **kennisoo** **i - pitam - i/**

kalato shoes kenniso's 3rdp buy pf.

'Kalato bought kenniso's shoes'

The absolute forms of the head nouns in data (20) of possessive genitive construction are '*Ongaaye*', '*Kalato*' and '*Kenniso*'. The long vowel in final syllable of these head nouns marks genitive possession in the language.

Nouns, in the language are also inflected for Source and Purposive genitive cases by affixing the variants [-*te*] and [-*to*] as shown in data (21) below.

⁸ In this language, accusative and genitive cases are morphologically marked whereas; dative, instrumental and locative cases are expressed by post-position i.e., /mallee nu/, 'to Malle' / mallee na/ 'from Malle', /kawwe tay/ 'with/ by gun' and /awwasa tay/'through Awassa

⁹ In Oromo, which is the related language to Gawwada, the possessor- the possessed noun relationship is expressed by Vowel length (Abebe, 2002:24 & Baye, 1986:160).

(21) a. /kayyalo aško manne – te i – las – i/

kayyalo grass house gen. 3rdp. sell pf.

‘Kayyalo sold grass for house made’

b. /taacco saakummo t’ayye – te i- pitam – i/

Tacho honey mead gen 3rdp buy pf.

‘Tacho sold mead made of honey’

c. /kenniso laalle saag’e – te i- pitam - i/

kenniso clothe cotton gen 3rdp. buy pf.

‘kenniso bought cotton clothe’

d. /tiitte t’ayye saakumm – i – to i – las – t – i/

Titte mead honey ep gen. 3rdp. sell fem pf.

‘Titte sold honey for mead’

e. /saassite manne a šk – i – to i – pitam – t – i/

Sassite house grass ep gen 3rdp buy fem pf.

‘Sassite bought a hut made of grass’

As it is possible to see from examples (21) above, in this language the variants [-te] and [-to] express Source and Purposive genitive cases. Due to the vowel harmony (see 2.4.7), the morpheme {-to} is changed into [-te] as in (21) a, b & c. The {-to} is, therefore, the morpheme of the variants: [-te] and [-to]. In addition, source and purposive¹⁰ genitive morphemes are homophonous in Gawwada.

¹⁰ Black (1976:222) reports that [-ito] marks genitive case in Gawwada. In the present study, {-to} is identified. The /i/ of {-ito} in Black’s report is claimed to be epenthetic



3.2.1. Accusative Case

In Gawwada, like nouns, personal pronouns are inflected for accusative case and the same suffix *{-si}* is used as shown in (23) below.

<i>Persons</i>	<i>Absolute Form</i>		<i>Accusative Form</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
(23) a, 1 st sg	/ano/	'I'	/ye-si/	'me'
b 2 nd sg	/ato/	'you'	/ho-si/	'you'
c. 3 rd sg (fem)	/ise/	'she'	/ise-si/	'her'
d. (masc)	/iso/	'he'	/iso-si/	'him'
e. 1 st pl	/ine/	'we'	/ine-si/	'us'
f. 2 nd pl.	/hune/	'you'	/hune-si/	'you'
g. 3 rd pl.	/isund'e/	'they'	/isund'e -si/	'them'

We can see it in sentence like in (24)

(24) /ano	ise – si	an- šooq	– i/
I	she acc	1 st p hit	pf
'I hit her'			

As illustrated above, in Gawwada, personal pronouns are inflected for accusative case by suffixing the *{-si}* morphemes. Besides, accusative forms for first and second person singular are grammatically conditioned (following Katamba 1993:31) i.e, their forms differ from their basic forms as in(*ano:ye-*) and(*ato:ho*).

3.2.2. Possessive Case¹²

In Gawwada, the following examples with the head noun /*talte*/ ‘goat (fem)’ show the possessive forms of the pronouns

<i>Masculine</i>	<i>‘Gloss’</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
(25) a./ <i>talte kØ – aayuu/</i> masc my	‘my goat’	/ <i>talte tØ – aayuu/</i> fem my
b./ <i>talte kØ – annii/</i> masc. our	‘our goat’	/ <i>talte tØ – aanii/</i> fem our
c./ <i>talte kØ – uusu/</i> masc his	‘his/her goat’	/ <i>talte tØ – uusu/</i> fem. her
d./ <i>talte kØ – uusund’ii/</i> masc, their	‘their goat’	/ <i>talte tØ – uusundii/</i> fem their
e./ <i>talte kØ – aahii/</i> masc, your (sg)	‘your (sg) goat’	/ <i>talte tØ – aahii/</i> fem, your (sg)

Like most of Cushitic languages (Appleyard, 1984: 123-128 & Banti, 1984: 147-148), in Gawwada, the possessive pronouns are consistently inflected for gender: *ku-* (*masc*) and *ti-* (*fem*). Owing to the phonotactic constraint the vowels: /*u*/ & /*i*/ in gender markers are deleted (*cf.* 2.4.2 (i) & 3.2.3) However, the remaining form of the possessive pronouns vary when seen in the light of their absolute form. The possession in pronouns is, therefore, expressed by suppletion (following Katamba 1993:31). That is, the possessive form of /*anu*/ ‘I’, /*ine*/ ‘we’, /*ato*/ ‘you (sg)’, etc is /-*aayuu*/ ‘my’, /-*aanii*/ ‘our’ and

¹²Amborn (1980:91) also reports that in Gobeze Werize & Tsamai and possession in pronoun is expressed as similar as Gawwada i.e., they under go suppletion.

/-aahii/ ‘your (sg) respectively. Besides, the masculine gender marker *{k-}* gets spirantized when it is preceded by a word ending with vowels (cf. 2.4.4 (14)).

3.2.3. Demonstrative Pronouns¹³

Gawwada distinguishes object or entity at a distant location. Data in (26) below shows the pattern.

- (26). a. */ku - si/* ‘this (fem)’
 masc this
- b. */ti - si/* ‘this (fem)’
 fem this
- c. */ku - si -sa/* → */ku-s Ø-sa/* → **[ku-ssa]** ‘that (masc)’
 masc this d.o
- d. */ti- si - sa/* → */ti-s Ø-sa/* → **[ti-ssa]** ‘that (fem)’
 fem this d.o
- e. */xi - si/* ‘these’
 pl. this
- f. */xi - si - sa/* → */xi - s Ø -sa/* → **[xi-ssa]** ‘those’
 pl this d.o

As shown in example (26) above, in Gawwada, demonstrative pronouns are inflected for gender, number and object at a distance. The morphemes *{ku-}* and *{ti-}*, *{xi-}*, and *{-sa}* mark masculine and feminine genders, plural forms, and distant object of the demonstrative pronouns respectively. Gender is neutralized in a plural form of the demonstrative pronoun as in */xi-si/* ‘these’ and */xi-s Øsa/* ‘those’ of the above examples

¹³ In related Languages; Gobeze , Werize & Tsamai similar form of number and gender marker in demonstrative pronouns is reported i.e., xu-(masc), ti-(fem) and xi-(pl) (Amborn 1980:89). In Oromo demonstrative pronouns are also inflected for number and gender (Grifenow-Mewis, 2001:35). Besides, Castellino (1975) mentions that in Cushitic the possessive and demonstrative pronouns are marked by *{k-}* and *{t-}* for masculine and feminine genders respectively.

Anderson (1985) says, unlike nouns and verbs, adjectives do not appear at many different structural positions in sentences either as noun modifier or predicates. By virtue of its limited positions in sentences, an adjective undergoes limited inflectional processes. However, in Gawwada, adjectives function as a predicate are inflected for verbal features whereas those functioning as modifiers of head noun are inflected for nominal features like number, gender and case. Consistent with this, Anderson (1985) also states that predicative adjectives take verbal inflection while attributive adjectives can be inflected for any of the inherent or relational categories of nouns such as number, gender and case. With this in mind, the purpose of this section is to describe the morphology of attributive and predicative adjectives in Gawwada.

3.3.1. Attributive Adjectives

In Gawwada, this category of adjective is inflected for number and gender as illustrated in data (28) below.

3.3.1.1. Number

In this language, pluralization in attributive adjective undergoes two processes: Reduplication and affixation.

i) Reduplication

In Gawwada, plural adjectives are formed by reduplication. Similar process in Oromo and Konso has been reported by Baye (1981), and Black (1973) and Sim (1977). Data (28) below clarifies this point.

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
(28). a /ida/	'red'	/id'id'a/	'reds'
b. /pii?a/	'white'	/pipii?a/	'whites'
c. /kumma/	'black'	/kukumma/	'blacks'
d. /siikapa/	'tall'	/sisiikapa/	'talls'
e. /makna?a/	'short'	/mamakna?a/	'shorts'
f. /kartanna/	'fat'	/kakartanna/	'fats'

As illustrated above, in Gawwada, plural form of an adjective is expressed by duplicating the first syllable of the singular stem. Besides, when adjectives appear as attributive, they agree with the number of the head noun morphologically as shown in (29) below.

(29) a. /xarr- \emptyset	pii?a/	'a white dog'
dog masc	white	
b. /xarr- \emptyset e	pipii?a/	'white dogs'
dog pl	whites	
c. / \emptyset \emptyset ?o	kumma/	'a black boy'
boy	black	
d. / \emptyset \emptyset ? – i- d'e	kukumma/	'black boys'
boy ep pl	blacks	

ii) Affixation

In Gawwada, adjectives are also pluralized through affixation processes. The condition when adjectives undergo reduplication or affixation is lexically conditioned (cf. Katamba

1993:31) as in *šorokkite* ‘rich’ and *šorokk-øe* ‘* *šošorokkite* ‘riches, and *šep-ko* ‘foolish’ and *šep-øe* ‘* *šešep-ko* ‘foolishes’. Let us consider examples in (30) below.

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
(30) a. /šorokkite/	‘rich’	[šorokk-øe]	‘riches’
b. /šepko/	‘foolish’	[šep-øe]	‘foolishes’
c. /pii?a/	‘white’	[pii?-uma]	‘writes’
d. /kumma/	‘black’	[kumm-uma]	‘blacks’
e. /makna?a/	‘short’	[makna?-uma]	‘shorts’

As can be seen from the data in (30) above, we have two plural morphemes in adjectival stems (*-d'e*) and *{-uma}*. The *{-uma}* is free variant with reduplication form of the plural adjectives as in *kukumma* / *kumm-uma* ‘blacks’ *pipii?a* / *pii?-uma* ‘whites’ of examples in (28) & (30) above. Besides, the /d’/ of *{-d'e}* gets deleted due to the phonotactic constraints of the language (cf. 2.4.2. & 2.4.3.) above

3.3.1.2. Gender

In this language, like nouns adjectives are also inflected for masculine and feminine genders, and *{ko-}* ‘masc’ and *{te-}* ‘fem’ prefixed to the adjectival stems as illustrated in (31).

<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	
(31) a. /ko-pii?a/	/te-pii?a/	‘white’
b. /ko-kumma/	/te-kumma/	‘black’

- c. /ko-makna?a/ /te-makna?a/ 'short'
 d. /ko-heet'a/ /te-heet'a/ 'beautiful'

As it is possible to see from the examples in (31), gender morphemes are prefixed to adjectival stems. i.e, *ko-(masc)* and *te-(fem)*. In earlier discussion (3.3.1.1 (29)), we have seen that attributive adjectives come after the head noun. Similarly, gender inflection in adjective occupies its attributive position i.e., it comes after the gender morphemes. This confirms our earlier discussion (see 3.3) above that gender morphemes are originally belonging to nouns. It is by agreement processes that adjective bears this feature.

3.3.2. Predicative Adjective: Gender

In section 3.3 above, we saw that adjectives functioning as predicate take verb inflections i.e., adjectives like verbs inflect for number, gender and person. Similarly, in Gawwada, this phenomenon has been noted. A detailed account of these morpheme i.e., inflection on verbs will be discussed in the forthcoming section. For now, Let us see inflections on predicative adjectives.

- (32). a. / em - te - si id'a -i/ 'a sheep is red'
 sheep fem def red fem
- b. /ise id'a-i/ 'she is red'
 she red fem
- c. /iso id'a/ 'he is red'
 he red
- d. /hune id'a - n - k - i/ 'you (pl) are red'
 you (pl) red pl hon. 2ndp

Perfective

(33) a. /an-k'aark'ar -i/

1st p. help pf

'I helped'

b. /a-k'aark'ar -t -i/

2nd p help 2nd p pf

'you (pl) helped'

c. /an -k'ark'ar -n -i aka?-i/

1st p help pl pf aux pf

'We had helped'

d. /a- k'aark'ar -t -en/

2nd p. help 2nd p pl

you helped

e. /i - k'aark'ar - en/

3rd p help pl

'They helped'

f. /i - k'aark'ar - t - i/

3rd p help fem pf

'She helped'

Imperfective

/an - k'aark'ar - n - a /

1st p help aux impf

'I (will) help'

/a-k'arrk'ar - n - a - i /

2nd p help aux impf 2nd p

'You (sg) (will) help'

/ an - k'aar'kar-a - n /

1st p help impf pl

'we are helping'

/a - k'aark'ar - a- n - k- u aka? -i/

2nd p help impf pl hon. 2nd aux pf

You were helping

/i - k'aark'ar - n - a - n - k - i/

3rd p help aux impf pl hon ep.

'They (will) help'

/i - k'aark'ar - n - a - i/

3rd p help aux impf fem

'She helps/will help'

The following table summarizes person, number and gender markers in perfective and imperfective verb paradigms. ¹⁴

<i>Perfective</i>			<i>Imperfective</i>		
<i>person</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>gender</i>	<i>Person</i>	<i>number</i>	<i>gender</i>
1 st p. sg	an		an-		
2 nd p. sg	a...t		a...i		
3 rd p. sg (fem)	i-		i-		-i
sg (masc)	i -		i-		
1 st p. pl.	an	-n	an-	-n	
2 nd p. pl.	a..t	-en	a...i	-en	
3 rd p. pl.	i-	-en	i-	-en	

As can be seen in the above table, the morphemes *{an-}*, *{a-}* and *{i-}* are respectively prefixed to the verb to mark first, second and third persons in perfective and imperfective verb forms. The same condition also holds for plural markers i.e., the morphemes *{-n}* and *{-en}* for first, and second and third person mark plural in both paradigms. However, second person and third person feminine gender markers, which are suffixed to the verb root, vary in the domain of perfective and imperfective verb conjugations. For examples, *{-t}* is suffixed for second person and third person feminine in perfective whereas; *{-i}* is suffixed in imperfective verb conjugation. The feminine gender markers *{-t}* and *{-i}* are

¹⁴ The person markers, which are prefixed to the verb, have also observed in some Cushitic languages like Gidole (Behailu, 1988) and Konso (Black 1973 & Sim, 1977). Hundson, G (1976:262) also mentions that these morphemes are Afro-Asiatic features. Besides, the presence of prefix conjugation is typical features of Low land East Cushitic (Hundson, & (1976:131) and lost in Omotic and Highland East Cushitic (Ferguson, (1976 cf. Hundson 1976:131).

also homophonous with the second person markers in both perfective and imperfective aspects.

Besides, like most of the Cushitic languages (Kapiliuk, 1994:495 & Hundson, (1976:257), Gawwada uses second and third persons plural to refer to respected (singular) person. In this language, the conjugation of verbs with the honorific form is morphologically marked in second and third person i.e., *{-k}* as in

hune(hon) las- a - n -k -i	hune, koro las- a- n- i
You sell impf. Pl hon 2 nd p	you people sell impf pl 2 nd p
'you(hon) (will) sell	'you, people (will) sell'
isund'e (hon) las- a - n - k - i	koro las- a - n
they (hon) sell impf pl hon ep	people sell impf pl
'They (will) sell'	'people (will) sell'

Interestingly, this morpheme (honorific) is also observed in Burji verb paradigms (Zaborski, 1978:68)

3.4.2. Aspect

Gawwada distinguishes morphologically the distinction between perfective *{-i}* and Imperfective *{-a}* aspects. The imperfective is further distinguished into progressive and non-progressive (following Comrie, 1985:25 & Bybee, 1985:141). This is illustrated in 3.4.2.1. & 3.4.2.2 below.

3.4.2.1. Perfect Aspect

In this language, we have past and present perfect forms as in examples in (34) below.

(34) a. /ano talte – si – si an – las – i aka? – i/

I goat def acc 1stp sell pf aux pf

‘I had sold the goat (fem)’

b. /ise manne – si – si i – las – t – i aka? – i/

she house def acc 3rdp. sell fem pf aux pf

‘she had sold the house’

c./ine an – pitam – n - i/

we 1stp buy pl pf

‘we (have) bought’

d./ise haantu i – pitam – t – i/

she now 3rdp buy fem pf

‘She has bought now’

e. /ano oraapate an - poog’ – i/

I hyena 1stp kill pf

‘I killed a hyena’

As can be seen from the above examples, in Gawwada, the main verb plus auxiliary in perfective form /aka?-i/ which is equivalent to the Amharic ‘Verb To Be’ /näbbär/ make the resultant form past perfect as in, (34) a & b above. Hence, the perfective form of a verb is expressed by the morpheme {-i}

3.4.2.2. Imperfect Aspect

The imperfective aspect in Gawwada can be categorized into (a) progressive imperfective form, which is marked by *{-a}*, and (b) non-progressive imperfective, which is marked by *{-na}*. Examples in (35) below clarify this point.

(35) a. /ato talte - si - an - pitam - a i/

you goat def 1stp buy impf 2ndp

‘you are buying the goat’

b. /kalato manne - si i - pitam -a /

kalato house acc 3rdp buy impf

‘kalato is buying a house’

c. /ine semte - si - si an - pitam - a n aka? - i/

we sheep def acc 1stp buy impf pl aux pf

‘we were buying the sheep’

d. /kolme laalle - si - si i - pitam - a - i aka? - i/

kolme clothe def. acc 3rdp. buy impf fem aux pf

‘kolme was buying the clothe’

e. /ato talte - si - si a - pitam - n - a - i/

you goat def acc 2ndp buy aux impf 2ndp

‘you (will) buy the sheep’

f. /ine manne - si an - pitam - n - a - n/

we house acc 1stp buy aux impf pl

‘we (will) buy a sheep’

As can be seen from the data in (35) above, the imperfective aspect in present progressive as in *a & b*, past progressive as in *c & d*, and non – progressive in *e & f* is expressed by

the morpheme *{-a}*. The point is thus, in progressive imperfective form, the imperfective marker is suffixed to the verb root where as, in non-progressive imperfective, and it is suffixed to the auxiliary *{n-}*.¹⁵

3.5 Mood

In Gawwada, two forms of mood are expressed by inflecting the verb. These are: Imperative and jussive as shown in section 3.5.1 & 3.5.2 below.

3.5.1 Imperative¹⁶

Imperative is a form of a verb, which indicates command to the second person singular and plural. Let us see examples in (36) below.

	<i>2 sg:Imp</i>	<i>2pl: Imp</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
(36) a	/ugʔ/	/ug-a/	‘drink!’
b	/las/	/las-a/	‘sell!’
c	/pitam/	/pitam-a/	‘buy!’
d	/kʔitʔ/	/kʔitʔ-a/	‘cut!’

As can be seen from the above examples, in Gawwada, only second person plural form of imperative verb is morphologically marked, i.e., *{-a}* marks imperative form of a verb in second person plural while the singular is un marked.

¹⁵ For some of the Cushitic languages, the question of whether language has tense or aspect marking system is controversial. For instance, Zaborski (1975: 72-73) reports that Desenech is tensed language i.e., *{-a}* marks present tense whereas *{-i}* expresses past tense. On the contrary, Sasse (1976: 209 – 210) report that the language has aspect-marking system. Likewise, in Afar (Bliese, 1976 & Zaborski 1976), Burji and Sidama (Abebe 1985), and in Oromo (Baye, 1986) aspect marking system is reported. That is *{-a}* and *{-i/-e}* are respectively imperfective and perfective aspect markers. In Werizoid group, Amborn (1980:107) also reports that *{-i}* marks perfective and *{-a}* imperfective aspects, and *{-na}* future marker. In the present finding *{-na}* is claimed to be non-progressive (present or future).

¹⁶ The imperative *{-a}* in second person plural and \emptyset in second person singular is also reported in Werizoid group (Amborn 1980:114)

3.5.2. Jussive

Un like the imperative form of a verb, in Gawwada, jussive is inflected for person, number and gender as in (37) below.

- (37) a. / an - las - a/ 'let me sell'
1st sell jus
- b. /i - las - a// 'let him sell'
3rdp sell jus
- c. / an - las - t - a/ 'let her sell'
3rdp sell fem jus
- d. /an - las - n - a/ 'let us sell'
1stp sell pl jus
- e. / i - las - en/ 'let them sell'
3rdp sell pl

From the above examples, we see that the jussive is expressed by the morpheme {-a} for first person and third person singular. However, it is not overtly marked in third person plural as in (37) e. above.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Derivations

In the preceding chapter, we have seen inflection of various grammatical categories like nouns, pronouns, adjective and verbs. In this chapter an attempt is made to discuss the structure of derived words in Gawwada. In this language, nouns, adjectives, and verbs are derived from various nouns, adjectives and verb roots.

Lyons (1968:115) says, derivation is the morphological processes by which new words formed from other words or roots (*see sections 4.1, 4.2. and 4.3*) to observe the process in Gawwada.

4.1. Derived Noun

In this language, nouns are derived from different stems and roots, such as other nouns, adjectives and verbs. These derived nouns are presented below.

4.1.1. Abstract Nominals {-um}¹⁷

In Gawwada, abstract nominals are derived from concrete nominals or adjectival stems by affixing the morpheme *{-um}*. It has the meaning of "the quality of being" the base nominals or adjectives (Givon cited in Shopen, 1985:395). The example in (38) shows the pattern.

¹⁷ In Cushitic languages like Oromo (Baye 1981) and Konso (Black, 1973) similar morpheme derive abstract noun. It is *{-umma}* in Oromo and *{-um}* in Konso, which is more related to Gawwada. In Maale, which is geographically related to Gawwada, similar morpheme *{-um}* derives abstract nominal. (Azeb, 2001:74). In Afar, Somali and Sidama, gender also appears in abstract nominals (Castellino, 1975:337-339).

a) Nominals Derived from other Nominals

<i>Noun Stems</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Derived Nominal</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
(38) a. /appa/	'father'	[app-um-ko]	'fatherhood'
b. /yaayye/	'mother'	[yaayy-un-te]	'motherhood'
c. /alawwute/	'sister'	[alaww-un-te]	'sisterhood'
d. /alawwuko/	'brother'	[alaww-um-ko]	'brotherhood'
e. /kaka/	'grand mother'	[kak-un-te]	'grandmother hood'

From the data (38) above, we see that abstract nominals can be derived from concrete nouns by suffixing the morpheme {-um}. Due to assimilation in point of articulation, this morpheme {-um} has two forms: [-um] and [-un] at word boundaries (cf. 2.4.1. i & iii & 2.4.2. i) The derived nominals keep the same pattern of the simple nouns, that is, they are inflected from gender i.e. -ko (masc.) and -te(fem.).

b) Nominals Derived from Adjectival Stems

As similar as concrete nouns, in Gawwada, abstract nominals are also derived from adjectival stems. Example in (39) illustrates the pattern.

<i>Adjectival stems</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Derived nominals</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
(39)a./ siikapa/	'tall'	[siikap -un-te]	'tallness (fem)'
		[siikap-um-ko]	tallness' (masc)'
a. /pii?-a/	'white'	[pii?-un-te]	'whiteness (fem)'
		[pii?- um-ko]	'whiteness (masc)'

b. /kumma/	'black'	[kumm-un-te]	'blackness' (fem)'
		[kumm -um-ko]	'blackness(masc)'
c. /id'a/	'red'	[id'-un-te]	'redness (fem)'
		[id'-un-ko]	'redness' (masc)'
d. /kartanna/	'fat'	[kartann-un-te]	'fatness' (fem)'
		[kartann-um-ko]	'fatness' (masc)'
e. /makna?a/	'short'	[makna?-un-te]	'shortness (fem)'
		[makna?-um-ko]	'shortness'(masc)'

As indicated in data (39) above, the morpheme {-um} is used to derive abstract nominals from adjectival stems.

4.1.2. Agentive Nominals {-ampa}

Agentive nominals are nominals that are derived from verbs and have a meaning like "One who does the action of the verb" (Comrie. 1985: 351). In Gawwade these nominals are derived by {-ampa}. Let us see the following data.

<i>Verb roots</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Derived Nominals</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
(40) a. /kod'-/	'work'	[kod' -ampa-te]	'worker (fem)'
		[kod'-ampa-ko]	'worker (masc.)'
b. /qal-/	'sing'	[qal-ampa-te]	'singer (fem.)'
		[qal-ampa-ko]	'singer (masc.)'
c. /poog'-/	'kill'	[Poog'-ampa-te]	'killer (fem)'
		[Poog'-ampa-ko]	'killer (masc.)'

d. / heer-/	'run'	[heer-ampa-te]	'runner (fem)'
		[heer-ampa-ko]	'runner (masc.)'
e. / kond'-/	'break'	[kond'-ampa-te]	'breaker (fem.)'
		[kond' - ampa-ko]	'breaker (masc.)'
f. / k'ot-/	'farm'	[k'ot -ampa-te]	'farmer (fem)'
		[k'ot-ampa-ko]	'farmer (masc)'

In data (40), the morpheme *{-ampa}* derives agentive, nominals from the verb root. As illustrated above, agentive nominals are also inflected for gender: *-te*(fem) and *-ko*(masc). Structurally, Aronoff (1976) says, it is most natural for nominals to occur at subject and at object position in sentences. Similarly, the agentive nominals in Gawwada confirm Aronoff's argument (1976). The data below justifies this point.

a./ qal -ampa - te - si manne -si - si i - pitam -t - i /

Sing agv fem def house def. acc 3rdp. buy fem. pf

'The singer (fem) bought the house'

b. kenniso heer - ampa - ko - si - si i - poog' - i

'Kenniso run agv. masc. def. acc 3rdp Kill - pf

'Kenniso killed the runner'

As can be seen from the above sentences, (a) shows the occurrence of an agentive nominal at a subject position, whereas (b) shows its occurrence at object position in sentence

4.1.3. Verbal Nominals {-e} ¹⁸

In Gawwada, verbal nominals are derived from verb roots by suffixing the morpheme {-e}. The meaning of this morpheme is equivalent to the meaning of the English {-ing} as in 'working' and the Amharic {mä-} as in *mäsrat* 'to work'. Similarly, in Gawwada, the same form {-e} expresses verbal nominals and the infinitive form of the verb. The examples given below show the pattern.

<i>Verb root</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Derived Nominals</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
(41) a. /poog'-/	'kill'	/poog'-e/	'killing/to kill'
b. /paaq'-/	'hear'	/paaq'-e/	'hearing/to hear'
c. /sorräd'-/	'jump'	/sorräd'-e/	'jumping/to jump'
d. /qal'-/	'sing'	/qal'-e/	'singing/to sing'
e. /okay'-/	'come'	/okay'-e/	'coming/to come'
f. /kod'-/	'work'	/kod'-e/	'working/to work'
g. /šooq'-/	'hit'	/šooq'-e/	'hitting/to hit'
h. /yi?'-/	'eat'	/yi?'-e/	'eating/to eat'
i. /ug'-/	'drink'	/ug'-e/	'drinking/to drink'
j. /las'-/	'sell'	/las'-e/	'selling/to sell'
k. /pitam'-/	buy	/pitam'-e/	'buying/to buy'

¹⁸ In Afar, a Cushitic language, the same morpheme i.e., {-e} derives verbal nominal from the verb root (Bliese, 1976:157)

From the above data (41) we see that suffixing the morpheme {-e} to the verb root derives verbal nominals. Besides, the infinitive and verbal form of nominal are homophonous in Gawwada.

4.1.4. Result Nominals {-no}

Result nominals are nominals derived from a verb, "where that nominals refer to the object that results from an action" (Comrie 1985:356). In Gawwada, such nominals are derived from the verb root by suffixing the morpheme {-no} as indicated in data (42) below:

<i>Verb roots</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Derived Nominals</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
42. a./ ke?-/	'find'	[ke? - i -no]	'find (N)'
b./ yi?-/	'eat'	[yi? - i -no]	'food'
c./ aar-/	'know'	/aar-no/	'knowledge'
d./ caalal-/	'love(v)'	/caalal-no/	love (N)

As can be seen from the above examples, suffixing the morpheme {-no} derives result nominals. The epenthetic vowel /i/ is inserted to avoid the impermissible consonant clusters (see 2.2).

4.1.5 Numerals

Like Oromo (Baye, 1986: 284-288), Gawwada has both cardinal and ordinal numerals. As illustrated in (43) below, the ordinal numerals are derived from their cardinal counterpart by affixing [-a] and [-to]. Except cardinal numerals that end with /n/, which retain their original form, all cardinal that end with vowel final, drop the vowels at word boundaries. The first ten derived ordinal numerals and two more are the following:

<i>Cardinal Numerals</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Ordinal Numerals</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
(43) a./to?on /	'one'	/to?on-to/	'first'
b./ lakki/	'two'	/lakk-a/	'second'
c./ isehe/	'three'	/iseh-a/	'third'
d./ salahe/	'four'	/salah-a/	'fourth'
e./xubni /	'five'	/xubn-a/	'fifth'
f./ tapi/	'six'	/tap-to/	'sixth'
g./ tahan /	'seven'	/tahan-to/	'seventh'
h./ seetten/	'eight'	/seetten-to/	'eighth'
i./ kollan /	'nine'	/kollan-to/	'ninth'
j./ kud'an/	'ten'	/kud'an-to/	'tenth'
k./ kud'an pa to?on/	'eleven'	/kud'anpato?on-to/	'eleventh'
l./kud'an pa lakki/	'twelve'	/kud'an pa lakk-a/	'twelfth'
m. / kud'an ko lakki/	'twenty'	/kud'an ko lakk-a/	'twentieth'
n./kud'an ko isehe/	'thirty'	/kud'an ko iseh-a/	'thirtieth'

As indicated in (43) above, the variants [-a] and [-to] derive ordinal numerals from the cardinal numerals. Since {-to} derives ordinal numerals that end with vowel as in (f) and consonants as in (a,g,h,i , j...), it is claimed to be the morpheme of the variants: [-a] and [-to].

4.2. Derived Verbs

In the preceding section, we have seen the process of noun formation from other roots such as noun, verb, and adjectives. In this section the process of verb derivation is treated. In this language, the derivation of various verb stems is possible by affixing morphemes to verb root or adjectival stems or by reduplicating part of the verb root. Some of the various verb stems derived by either of these word formation processes are: passive, causative, frequentative /intensive, benefactive and stative. Each of these will be presented succinctly in 4.2.1 below.

4.2.1. Passive {-am}¹⁹

The passive verb stem is formed by suffixing the morpheme *{-am}* to a verb root as in data(44) below. This morpheme, *{-am}* is the most frequent passivising morpheme in Cushitic languages.

<i>Verb root</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Derived Verb stems</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
44 a./ ug' -/	'drink'	/ ug'-am-/	'be drunk'
b./ k'ot- /	farm/cultivate	/ k'ot-am-/	'be farmed/cultivated'
c./ k'aark'ar-/	'help'	/ k'aark'ar-am-/	'be helped'
d. /yi?-/	'eat'	/ yi?-am-/	'be eaten'
e. /pitam-/	buy	/ pitam-am-/	'be bought'

In the data above, we see that suffixing the morpheme *{-am}* to transitive verb root derives passive verb stems.

¹⁹ The morpheme *{-am}* is the most frequent passiviser in Cushitic: Afar (Bliese, 1976:145), Oromo (Gragg, 1976:186) and Highland East Cushitic (Hudson, 1976:27).

4.2. Derived Verbs

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4.2.1. Passive {-am}¹⁹

The passive verb stem is formed by suffixing the morpheme *{-am}* to a verb root as in data(44) below. This morpheme, *{-am}* is the most frequent passivising morpheme in Cushitic languages.

<i>Verb root</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Derived Verb stems</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
44 a./ ug' -/	'drink'	/ ug'-am-/	'be drunk'
b./ k'ot- /	farm/cultivate	/ k'ot-am-/	'be farmed/cultivated'
c./ k'aark'ar-/	'help'	/ k'aark'ar-am-/	'be helped'
d. /yi?-/	'eat'	/ yi?-am-/	'be eaten'
e. /pitam-/	buy	/ pitam-am-/	'be bought'

In the data above, we see that suffixing the morpheme *{-am}* to transitive verb root derives passive verb stems.

¹⁹ The morpheme *{-am}* is the most frequent passiviser in Cushitic: Afar (Bliese, 1976:145), Oromo (Gragg, 1976:186) and Highland East Cushitic (Hudson, 1976:27).

4.2.2. Causative {-as/-as-as}

A causative affix motivates a verb stem to add one more object, that is, an intransitive verb root turns to be a mono-transitive verb stem, mono transitive verb stem turns to be a intransitive verb stem, etc. As the result there is no intransitive causative verb (Baye, 1987:121-2).

Comrie, (1985:323) also says the following.

The causative verb may be a transitive verb formed from an intransitive: but it may also, in many languages, be formed from a basic verb already of higher valency, in which case the derived causative always has (at least potentially) one more noun phrase argument than the basic verb.

As can be understood from the above quotation, whether the basic verb has one object (the one place predicate) or two objects (the two place predicates), the causative has one more argument. Bearing the above idea in mind, let us see the data in (45)

<i>Verb roots</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Derived verb stems</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
45. a./ ašš-/	'go'	/ ašš-as-/	'cause to go'
b./ šooh-/	'wash'	šooh-as-/	'cause to wash'
c./ kiša?-/	'laugh'	/ kiša?-as-/	'cause to laugh'
d./ raf-/	'sleep'	/ raf-as-/	'cause to sleep'
e. /okay-/	'came'	/okay-as-/	'cause to come'

f./ k'ot-/	'cultivate'	/ k'ot-as-as-/	'cause some body to cultivate'
g./ kond'-/	'break'	/kond'-as-as-/	'cause some body to break'

Based on the above data, let us see the following sentences.

(46). a. / kenniso i- ašš- n -a /

kenniso 3rd, come-aux impf
'kenniso (will) come(s)'

b./ kenniso kalato - si i - ašš - as - i/

Kenniso Kalato acc. 3rdp. come cs pf
'Kenniso made Kalato come'

c./ ambo piye - si i- k'ot - n -a/

Ambo land acc 3rdp. Cultivate aux impf
'Ambo (will) cultivate(s) land'

d./ ambo kalato piye - si i - k'ot - as - as - i/

Ambo Kalato land acc 3rdp cultivate cs cs pf
'Ambo made Kalato somebody cultivate land'

As can be seen from the above sentences, *ašš-* 'go' is an intransitive verb as in (a) and it is transitivized in (b); by the addition of *{-as}* 'cause'. Likewise, *k'ot* 'cultivate' is a mono-transitive verb as in (c), and it is causativized in (d). In other words, it is causativized into 'long' causative or 'double' causatives because it is already a transitive verb. Therefore, in Gawwada, the morpheme *{-as}* derives causative verb stems from both intransitive and

transitive verb roots to change the form of the verb into mono-transitive and intransitive verbs respectively. In this case, it is possible to say *{-as}* derives simple causative verb items, where as *{-as-as}* derives 'long' or 'double' causative verb stems as illustrated in 46(d) of the above examples. The morpheme *{as-as}* increases the number of participants by one when seen in the light of *{-as}*. Besides, the causative morphemes *{-as}* & *{as-as}* have the variants *{-aš-}* and *{aš-aš²⁰}* (c.f. 2.4.5.)

4.2.3. Auto-benefactive ²¹ *{-ad'}*

When the subject of a sentence does the action or participates in the action for his/ her own benefit, this situation is expressed morphologically by affixing *{-ad'}* to the base of the transitive verb. *{-ad'}* is, therefore, auto-benefactive suffix in the language. (Hayward, 1975 cf. Temesgen, 1993:27). Data in table (47) below display this suffix in Gawwada.

<i>Verb root</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Derived stems</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
47. a./ yi?-/	'eat'	/ yi?- ad?-/	'eat for himself'
b./ ug'-/	'drink'	/ ug'-ad'/	'drink " "'
c./ kond'-/	'break'	/ kond'-ad'-/	'break " "'
d./ k'it'-/	'cut'	/ k'it'-ad'-/	'cut " "'
e./ k'up'-/	'close'	/ k'up'- ad'-/	'close " "'
f. kod'	'work'	/kod'-ad'-/	'work " "'

²⁰ The change of s → š in causative morpheme is also observed in Maale (Azeb 2001)

²¹ From the related languages like Konso (Sim, 1977 and Black, 1973), and Gidole (Behailu; 1988), we have similar benefactive morpheme *{-ad'}*.

In the data, we see that suffix *{-ad'}* is suffixed to Gawwada verb root and form benefactive verb.

4.2.4. Intensive /Frequentative

Frequentative verb tells the repetition of an action over time (Baye 1987:123). Aikhenvald (1988:12) says, "In the majority of Cushitic languages, as well as in a great many Afro-Asiatic languages, intensives are formed by reduplication of a whole verbal stem or part of it." With this in mind, in Gawwada, it is also formed through partial reduplication, i.e., the first two segments of the verb root get duplicated; if the verb root begins with consonant segments otherwise, it is the first segment that gets duplicated. Let us see the following data in (48) below:

<i>Verb root</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Derived verb stems</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
48. a./ k'it'-/	'cut'	/ k'ik'it'-/	'cut in to pieces'
b/kond'-/	'break'	/ kokond'-/	'beak in to pieces'
c/tup'-/	'hit'	/ tutup'-/	'hit again and again'
d/allid'-/	'speak'	/ a?allid'-/	'speak again and again'
e/oy'-/	'tear'	/ o?oy'-/	'tear again and again'

The sums up, in Gawwada, the first segment(s) of frequentative verb stems undergo reduplication process to express the repetition of an action. The glottal stop/?/ of the derived forms of the verb in table 48 (d) and (e) is phonetically motivated insertion. As the result, the number of syllable of the verb stem increases by one.

4.2.5. Stative ²²{-uy&-ad'}

Stative verb stem is a category of derived verb, which is derived from adjectival stems in Gawwada. We have the following illustrative examples.

<i>Adjectival stems</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Derived Verbs</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
49.i a./siikapa/	'tall'	/siikap – uy-/	'become tall'
b./heet'a /	'beautiful'	/heet'-uy-/	'become beautiful'
c. f./keešako/	'old'	/keeš-uy-/	'become old'
ii. a. /kartanna/	'fat'	/kartann-ad'-/	'become fat'
b. /kumma/	'black'	/kumm-ad'-/	'become black'
c. /pii?a/	'white'	/pii?-ad'-/	'become white'
d. /haaffako/	'thin'	/haaff-ad'-/	'become thin'
f. / makna?a/	'short'	/makna?-ad'-/	'become short'

Comrie (1985:345) says, stative verb has the meaning of "to become adjectives". Bearing similar meaning, in Gawwada, stative verbs are derived from adjectival stems by suffixing the {-uy} and {-ad'} variants. Since the environment of the variants is unpredictable neither grammatically nor phonologically, they are claimed to be lexically conditioned.

²² Historically, benefactive and stative verbs are obtained by the same morpheme, but synchronically they are homophonous (Hayword, 1975 cf. Bruno, 1984:77). The morpheme {-uy} is also observed in Werizoid (Amborn 1980:109)

4.2.6. Negative Verb Formation

In Gawwada, negative verb formation differs in the domain of declarative sentences and mood. This is shown in the following examples.

4.2.6.1. Negation in Declarative sentences {ye-}

In Gawwada, negative verbs are formed from their positive counterpart by vowel raising and the prefix {ye-} in first, second, and third persons respectively. Amborn (1980:113) reports that in related languages such as Werize, Gobeze, and Tsamai the negative verbal form is expressed by prefixing personal pronouns in first and second persons while the negative morpheme {ye-} is used in the domain of third persons. However, in present study, the negative verbal form in first and second persons is expressed not only through personal pronouns but also involves vowel raising at word boundary (*cf.* 2.4.6). This is illustrated in examples (50) below.

(50)

a./ ano talte - si - si anu - pitam - u/

I goat def acc neg buy pf

‘I didn’t buy the goat’

b./ ato talte - si - si atu - pitam - u/

you(sg) goat def acc neg buy pf

‘you didn’t buy the goat’

c./ise talate - si - si ye - pitam - u/

she goat def acc neg buy pf

‘she didn’t buy the goat’

d./ ine talte - si - si ini - pitam - n - e/

we goat def acc neg buy aux pl

‘we won’t/ don’t buy the goat’

e./ hune talte - si -si huni -pitam -n - i - t - e /

you (pl) goat def acc neg buy aux ep 2nd pl

‘you(pl) won’t/ don’t buy the goat’

f. / ise talte - si - si ye - pitam - t - i /

she goat def acc neg buy fem ep

‘She is not buying the goat’

g. /isund’e talte - si - si ye - pitam -e/

they goat def acc neg buy pl

‘They are not buying the goat’

As can be seen from the above examples, first person pronouns: */ano/* ‘I’ & */ine/* ‘we’, and second person pronouns, */ato/* ‘you (sg) */hune/* ‘you (pl)’ underwent mid vowel raising in negative verb formation as in (50) *a, b, d & e* of the above examples. However, it is grammatically conditioned (cf. Katamba 1993:30) in third persons i.e., negative is expressed by *{ye-}* as illustrated in data (50) *c, f & g* above. Besides, in negative verb formation *{-u}* ‘*pf*’ and *{-e}* ‘*pl*’ as indicated in (50) *a, b & c* and *d, e & g* of the above examples respectively. In other words, *{-i}* and *{-u}* mark perfective aspect, whereas; *{-n/-en}* and *{-e}* mark plural persons in positive verb conjugation (cf. 3.4.1 & 3.4.2.1.) and negative verb paradigms in examples (50) above.

4.2.6.2. Negation in mood

In Gawwada, in imperative and jussive forms we have different negative forms from the form shown above for declarative sentences. This fact is shown in (i) & (ii) below.

i) Negative Imperative {olo-}

Prefixing the morpheme {olo-} forms the negative imperative. Unlike non-negative imperative forms (cf. 3.4.1), the negative imperative verb is inflected for both second person singular and plural i.e., {-i} marks singular whereas, {-e} marks plural. Besides, change of form in second person plural is observed: {-e} in negative constructions and {-a} in non-negative form (cf. 3.5.1.). Examples in (51) below illustrate negative imperatives in the language.

<i>Second person singular</i>	<i>'Gloss'</i>	<i>Second person Plural</i>
(51) a./ olo-pitam - i/	‘don’t buy!’	/ olo – pitam – e/
neg buy Imp		neg buy Imp
b./ olo – las – i /	‘don’t sell!’	/ olo - las e/
neg sell Imp		neg sell Imp
c./ olo - poog’ - i/	‘don’t kill!’	/olo – poog’ – e/
neg kill Imp		neg sell Imp

ii) Negative Jussive {hur-}

In Gawwada, the negative jussive is expressed by the negative auxiliary {hur-} and the main verb in jussive form. Examples in (52) below illustrate this point.

(52) a. /an – las - a hur - a/	‘let me not sell’
1 st p sell jus neg jus.	



b./ i - las - a hur - a /	'let him not sell'
3 rd p sell jus neg jus	
c./ i - las -a hur - t - a/	'let her not sell'
3 ^d p sell jus neg fem jus	
d./ an - las -a hur - r - a/	'let us not sell'
1 st p sell jus. neg pl jus	
e./ i - las - a hur - en //	' let them not sell'
3 rd p sell jus neg pl	

As can be seen from the data in (52) above, in Gawwada, the negative jussive auxiliary /hur-/ inflects for feminine gender {-t} as in (52) C and plural number as in d & e of the above examples. Like the non-negative jussive (see 3.5.2), the negative jussive auxiliary /hur-/ is inflected for jussive except in third person plural as in (52)e.

4.3. Derived Adjective {-no}

Hitherto, it has been discussed that in Gawwada, various verb stems are derived from verb roots and adjectival stems. Unlike derived nominals and verbs, adjectives under go limited derivational processes as in the following data.

<i>Verb roots</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Derived Adjectives</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
53. a. / toor -/	'hot(v)'	/toor-no/	'hot (adj.)'
b. / soor -/	'sweet(v)'	/soor-no/	'sweaty'
c. /caalal -/	'cool(v)'	/caalal-no/	'cool(adj.)'
d. /g'aap -/	'fear(v)'	/g'aap-no/	'fearful'
e. / kaah -/	'strengthen'	/kaah-no/	'strong'

As can be seen from the above examples, the morpheme *{-no}* derives adjectival stems from the verb roots in the language.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter an attempt is made to recapitulate the points that have been dealt with from the chapter one through four. The major objective of the study was to describe and analyze Gawwada ^{phonology} morphology. To attain the objective the thesis is divided into chapters that are with specific roles and are summarized as follows:

In chapter one, objectives, significances, methodology, review of previous work and limitations of the study has been stated.

Chapter ^{one} (two) is devoted to the phonological description of Gawwada with the aim of helping readers to familiarize themselves with the major phonological process involved in inflection and derivation of words in the language. In the chapter, phonemic inventory, phonotactic constraints, syllable structures and some morphophonemic processes have been presented. To summarize the main points discussed in the chapter, the phonotactic constraints of the language allow the maximum of two consonant clusters at word medial positions. The condition holds true for vowels i.e., the sequence of different vowel phonemes is impermissible. Owing to this, the language has the maximum syllable template (c) $v_1(v_2)$ (c), where the seed v_1 , onset and coda are optional. The morphophonemic processes such as assimilation, deletion, vowel harmony, epenthesis, palatalization and vowel raising have also been described and explained.

In chapter three, which is the focus of the study, inflection of grammatical categories such as number, gender, definiteness, case, person, aspect and mood in selected word classes

have been considered. It is worth recapitulating some of the points raised in the chapter. Gawwada nouns are inflected for gender, number, definiteness and case. Gender in the language is both natural and grammatical. The former is lexically designated while the latter is morphologically marked i.e., *{-te}* 'fem' and *{-ko}* 'masc'. Number is marked by suffixing the morpheme *{-d'e}*, which has the variants *[-e]*, *[-d'e]* and *[-g'e]*. With regard to case, only accusative case, and genitive case i.e., Purposive and Source are morphologically marked. Accordingly, the morphemes *{-si}* and *{-to}* mark accusative and genitive cases. Similarly, nouns are also inflected for definiteness with the suffix *{-si}*, which is claimed to be homophonous with the accusative case. The other point discussed in the same chapter is that pronouns and adjectives exhibit various grammatical categories like case, number and gender. Similar to nouns, pronouns are inflected for accusative case *{-si}*. Besides, gender in possessive and demonstrative pronoun is characterized with the prefixes *{ti-}* 'fem' and *{ku-}* 'masc'. Similarly, number in demonstrative pronoun is expressed by affixing *{xi-}* 'pl'. Adjectives are also inflected for number and gender irrespective of their roles in a sentence. Attributive adjectives, for instance, bear some features of noun i.e., number and gender. Hence, the morphemes *{-uma}* & *{-d'e}*, and *{-te}* & *{-ko}* respectively mark number and gender in attributive adjectives. Similar to verb, predicative adjectives are inflected for *{-i}* '3rd p(sg) 'fem' and *{-an}* 'pl'.

In the same chapter, verb inflections have also been treated. Verbs of the language, which are found bound, are inflected for number, gender, person, aspect and mood. Number is expressed with *{-n}* '1st pl' and *{-en}* '2nd & 3rd p pl'. Gender and person markers vary in the domain of perfective and imperfective aspects i.e., *{-t}* in perfective and *{-i}* in

imperfective express third person feminine gender and second person. These morphemes are, therefore, claimed to be homophonous. Besides, the morphemes *{-an-}*, *{a-}* and *{i-}* are prefixed to the verb to express first, second and third persons. The perfective and imperfective aspects are also marked with the suffix *{-i}* and *{-u}*, and *{-a}* respectively. In the same chapter two types of mood are recognized: imperative and jussive. The plural imperative and jussive are expressed by *{-a}* where as the singular imperative is null.

Various derivational affixes of nouns, adjectives and verbs have been treated in the fourth chapter. With regard to nouns, derived nominals such as abstract, verbal, agentive and result nominals have been identified. The derivational affixes such as *{-um}*, *{-e}*, *{ampa}* and *{-no}* respectively form abstract, verbal, agentive and result nominals from adjectival, nominal and verb roots. The morpheme *{-no}* also derives adjectival stems from the verb roots.

The derivation of verbs such as the passive, causative, auto-benefactive, stative and frequentative verb stems have also been considered. The passive is derived with *{-am}* whereas the causative is derived with *{-as/ -asas}* from verb roots. Similarly, *{-ad}* derives both auto- benefactive and stative verb stems from the verb roots. Unlike the other verb stems, frequentative is formed by partial reduplication. In the chapter, the negative verb formation has been considered. Vowel raising and the prefix *{ye-}* form the negative verbs in first and second persons, and third person respectively in the domain of declarative sentences. Besides, the negative imperative is formed by the morpheme *{olo-}*, whereas the negative auxiliary *{hur-}* that is inflected for number, gender and person expresses the jussive mood.

Finally, it has been claimed that *{-k}*, vowel raising and *{-ye}* express honorific form and negative verb conjugation respectively. However, owing to time constraint the researcher leaves these areas open ended for further investigation.

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Declaration

The thesis is my original work, has not been presented for a degree in any other University and that all sources of material used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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Appendices

Text One

1. **paayota – te** **samp -o** **ixa –d’e** **iso** **caala d’a-na tote**
 Beginning at male masc female pl he lover – among a daughter
inna marat’an-i
 choose pf

‘First he male chooses one among the girls he likes’

2. **marat’ad’-e** **tuupetay** **axke-nuki** **all’in-a**
 choosing after parent to tell impf.
 ‘ After choosing, he informs to his parent’

3. **axke-nuki** **alli-pa** **axke-kka** **i- caalad’o-n-k- i** **paayini**
 parent to tell and parent also 3rd love pl. hon. ep later on

ixa- d’e **alag’i-n-a.**
 female pl send pl.impf

‘ His family sends maides, if hey accept his choice.’

4. **ixa-d’e** **xel- ko** **anamaloy** **alag’i** **qamungu**
 Fanale pl. friend masc place send to
inu-marisin-a **nusi**
 be request impf aux
 ‘ The maidens are being sent in order to engage her for him’

5. **ixa- d’e** **xe? - alag’i – n - ka** **tote** **alawwu-te** **oo?-o**
 female pl where send pl at a daughter sister fem. son-masc
akampa ki-to – pa **tote** **xel - te** **oo? - e -si - nna**
 bride-groom of and a daughter friend fem daughter-fem. the with
 ‘Among the maidens that are being sent, one is sister of the son and the others are her friends’.

6. **i-?aŠ a - pa** **mari?u-n-k -pa** **d’i g i s u – n – k - i** **paayini**
 beg pl. hon after bring to the end pl hon ep later on
k’at’aro **i-g’a p – t – i.**
 appointment 3rdp set fem ep
 ‘After the engagement, the daughter sets the appointment date’

7. **haatupetay** **axke** **oo?- i – to** **k’at’aru-si** **i - g’ap- t - i**
 after that parent son-ep – of appointment the 3rd p set – fem-ep
qareema **i – g’aarsa – n – a –n- k- i**
 on the basis 3rd p prepare aux impf. pl.hon ep.
 ‘ Then, the son’s family will be prepared.’

8. **haatupetay** **taanu** **k’at’oro- si** **i- g’ap – t - i** **mintema**
 after that now appointment the 3rdp. set fem ep on the basis
i - okay - n - a - y
 3rd p come aux impf. 3rd fem
 ‘Then, the daughter comes according to the appointment’.

9. **i- okay -a - i paayini ase - tiisi tote - paana xel-ko**
 3rd p. come impf fem then younger her a daughter and friend masc
 'The daughter comes along with one of her sisters and her two friends.'

10. **Samp - o akampako -kka kekaar -e hepaane - tay - pa**
 Male masc bride-groom also wood pl. bringing by and
and'e meg'e -tay iso i-k'aak'ar-a kel -i- to lakki
 water fetches by he 3rd p. help impf. best -men of two
 'The son asks two of his friends to help him in collecting fire woods, fetching water and other works'

11. **haatupetay g'opol - ko to'on aski - n - a**
 after that goat masc. one slaughter aux impf
 'Then, a goat will be slaughtered'

12. **kuya kusi apad'i- nnaa singato potolloo**
 day this the same day morning elder man

a- manne oo?e-tissa lag'i - n
 at house daughter that send pl

'By the day they come to his home and elder men will be sent to her home in the morning.'

13. **axke oo? - e -te potolloo - si i- g'ora - n - k - i**
 Parent. daughter fem of aldermen the 3rd p refuse pl hon ep
 'Her parent refuses to allow the elder men.'

14. **kuya? - ako lanka na - kka i - ass-i - n - a - n - k - i - pa**
 day that second on also 3rd p. go ep aux. Impf. pl. hon .ep. at
g'oramoo-n- k- i
 chase pl hon ep

On the second day, the elder men go again, but they won't be allowed'

15. **hanta d'enuo - si kuya? - ako isaha - nna - kka g'opol-ko**
 for bride/ bride-groom the day other third on also goat masc
anu- saag - i - n.
 be slaughter pf. pl

'On the third day too, the goat will be slaughtered for the bride and bridegroom.'

16. **Potolloo kuya?ako isaha - nna asse - paayini**
 elder men day other third at. going after
axke oo? - e - te karo manne - te gulaki i- hulenne - pa
 parent daughter fem. of to house of. to 3rd p. get in to

alates- a - n - k - i
 negotiate impf. aux hon ep

The parent of the bride allow and discuss the mater with the elder men on the third day.'

17. **axke - si - ki alatesi- pa d'i kiso nki paayini kuya?a ko**
 parent the with negotiation and come to the end after day other
salaha - nna hantad'e - si alag'- n - a
 fourth on brides the leave aux impf.

'After agreement is reached, the bride and bridegroom go to the bride home on the fourth day

18. **alag'i- tuupetay papo oo?-e-te oo?i- sa oo?-o- sa- si**
 leaving after father daughter of daughter that son masc that acc
male qaamung'u caalal- ti paana oo?-o- sa -kka mala
 how much love fem and son masc that also how

'The father of the bride asks the two, how much they love each other'

19. **ihasa** **isund'e** **kasad'i** **tuupetay** **taanu hantad'e - nu**
 in this way they ask after now brides to
illo **anu afin -pa** **akkad'o-n - k - i**
 hide I arrange for sit pl-hon- ep

'After the interrogation is up, the bride is put on the flour and the two sit there.'

20. **kuya kussa** **alag' - i - nna** **nikad'ate** **inna kayinna -pa**
 day that stay ep at playing place at
kuya?inko **lanka-nna** **xel- ko** **oo'-i - ti** **lakki-pa** -
 day other second at friend masc. son ep of two and
xel -te **oo?- i - te** **lakki ille** **miikolle -pa** **soofol -n k-it**
 friend fem daughter ep fem two together field to leave pl hon ep

'They stay there discussing the whole day, and two friends of his and her go to the farm on the second day.'

21. **guya -ako** **isaha -nna-kka** **qamusa** **gula iso fina - pa**
 day other third at also similarly to he field to
guya?ako **salaha -nna koro** **nann-i-d'e** **kuusund'i**
 day other fourth at to house ep pl. their
kula **a'ag'o - n- k-i**
 to come back pl. hon.ep.

'On the third day, they again go to the farm and return to their home on the fourth day.'

22. **alawwu-te** **akampak -i - to** **hante -si** **li?ayo to?on hante-**
 sister fem bride-groom ep of bride the month one bride
si - pa **hollan** **kanna i- ag' - i - n - a - y**
 the with second time 3rd. come back aux impf fem

'But the son's sister stays with bride for about a month.'

23. **peerko to?on** **tuupetay** **hante-si** **axola-pa** **a?uyuu pa**
 year one after bride the return and invite and
g'opol-ko **orp - o** **anu-sak'u-pa** **xolii i - okay- i**
 goat masc sheep masc slaughter and back 3rd.p come fem

'A year later, the daughter invited to his home and slaughter got or sheep, and then after, she returns to her home.'

24. **gamusa kula** **tara iseha ika** **a?uy paayini** **salaha-nna**
 in this way time three and invite after fourth at
potolloo - si **alag'i - n - a -pa** **asso g'isad'u**
 elder men the send aux impf and going negotiate

'After she is invited for the third times, the former elder men will be sent to her family for the fourth round so as to beg them give their daughter.'

25. **had'i - g'e** **ilaki** **alad'e - pa** **ille - holoo -n -k -i** **paayiti taanu**
 intermediate pl. with discuss and each agree pl.hon-ep after now
axke **oo? - e - - te** **k'at'aro** **i- g' ap -n - a** **had'ig'i- nu.**
 Parent daughter fem. of appointment 3rd p. fix aux impf intermediates for

'If her family is willing, they set the date of appointment'

26. **k'at'aro** **anug'api** **tuupetay** **had'i- g'i** **taanu i- ?assi - n - a - pa**
 appointment set after intermediates now 3rdp.go aux impf. and
axke oo?i - to **pirri-d'e** **paana sard'o-pa akka - te olko**
 parent son of birr pl and bull and heifer fem as
aataa kog'e?a ma **akoongi-pa** **g'arsa d'o - n - k - i** **paayini**
 culture what ever needed having and get prepare pl hon ep later on
k'at'aro - si -na. **assoo -n - k -i.**
 appointment the at go pl hon ep

'The elder men bring money, bull, heifer and other to the daughter's family.'

27. **qamusa kula papo-nu d'ippa lakki yaayye-nu d'ippa lakki**
 like this father for hundred two mother for hundred two
alawwu-ko wanna -nu d'ippa lakki kehage-nu-kka likke-si
 brother masc eilder for hundred two others for also like the
aataa asasitima anu -qota-i
 culture allow be pay- pf
 'Accordingly, the father, the mother and elder brother receive 200 birr each while the rest of the family members receive as the culture allow.'

28. **ahasa-nu qotipa d'ikad'u tuupetay potolloo taanu**
 In this way payment end after elder men now
k'at'aroo i - g'ap-n - pa axke akampaki - to kaapa axke
 Appointment 3rdp.set pl and parent bride-groom of and parent
oo?e-te g'orsa d'o -n -k -i
 Girl of get prepare pl hon ep
 'Finally, the elder men set the appointment and the two family prepare for the festival'

29. **axke oo?-e-te k'at'aro - si g'a pad'e-na taanu**
 parent girl of appointment the set from now
waarso illekollapa hirpikota-pa, ug'iteta-pa yi?o-ta
 bride/bride-groom companions get together dancing by drinking by eating by
hikad'angi manne-si oo?- e - te - na
 paly home the daughter of at

'According to the appointment, the invited people, and the companions drink , eat, sing and dance at the bride's home.'

30. **haatupetay oo?-e- si anutehi paayini hirpiko**
 after that daughter the allow after dancing
akine tay ho manne oo?-i-to kula assongi-tay
 Taking by to home son ep of to return to

'Then, singing and jigging, they take the bride to the home of the bridegroom'

31. **qamusakula manne samp-i-to-na-kka i - yi?-n - a - pisi**
 in this way house male ep of at also 3rdp. eat aux. impf. by
ug'a pisi hikad'a.
 drinking by play

They drink, eat, sing and jig there too.'

32. **nakarra waarso** **kuyakussa-na kalapo i'ag - n - a.**
 but bride/bride-groom companion day that at night return aux impf.

'They invited people return to their own home in the evening'

33. **uyyata-d'e oo?-e- te lakki paana ase hanta-te**
 bride maid pl daughter of two and younger sister bride of
patta ikinaka-pa haq- n - a - y.
 alone her with stay aux impf. fem

'The two friends and one of the bride's sister stay together with her.'

34. **kuya?ako isaha-nna axke oo?-i- to uyyata - d'e - si**
 day other third at parent son ep of best-man pl. the
siinang'oisine pa karo manna-d'e kula g'orongi.
 Butter and to house pl. to return

'Then, the parent of the bride groom butter the maidens and see them off on the third day'.

35. **haantetaanu ise na?akihaq - n - a - y**
 then she alone stay aux impf. fem

'The bride stay alone now'

36. **kuyakussa-na kalapotannu akampa - ko han-te-si e?e**
 day that at night bride-groom masc bride fem.acc ok

ye-nupayuka kittet-tay g'ap -n -a
 not willing force by loss aux impf
 virginity

'In the evening, the bridegroom diverges the chastity of the bride either by force or on her own willing'

37. **han-te turpa and'i paayini sagume-si anug'aris-i- taki**
 bride fem virgin not after sticks acc be prepare pf at
tub' i- n- a - y
 hit ep aux impf.fem

'If the bride is not virgin, she will be hit by the stick that are already prepared for this purpose.'

38. **han - tissa turpa paayini ti?iite anu-ra?in-i-pa**
 bride that virgin after bullet be fire pf and
g'opol -ko ye-kod'u paayini orpo anusaqin- i- pa
 goat masc. not possible if sheep be slaughter pf and

'If she is found to be virgin, the bullet will be fired to express joy and goat or sheep will be slaughtered for the celebration.'

39. **turpa paayini li?ayo lakki muloo manneg'i-te-turki**
 virgin after month two full home of at
i- g'ayin - t- i

3rd p. stay fem ep

'If her virginity is confirmed, she will be at home for two consecutive months.'

40. **li?-ayo lakki muloo menne - te-na olatii tuupetay**
month two full home of at stay after
li?ayo isaha-nna kod'mo i- paayin - t - i
Month third at work 3rd p. start fem ep

'One the third month, she begins involving in the work.'

41. **turpa and'i paayini li?ayo to'on i' - olan - t - i - pa**
virgin not after month one 3rd p. stay fem ep and
kollan kanna kod'mo i- paayin - t - i
second with work 3rd p. start fem ep

'If she is not virgin, she stays at home only for a month before going to engage in work.'

A Brief History of Marriage Ceremony in Gawwada

In Gawwada society, the male has the right to choose his heart among girls. He chooses and informs his choice to his parent. If the family accepts his choice, they send a group of two maidens of which one is a sister of the male and the other is a female friend of the daughter, in order to invite her to the boy's home. Based on the invitation, she visits his family accompanied by her two maiden friends and sister. The boy on his part, asks his two friends to help him collect firewoods, fetch water and other works during the stay of the girl. Goat or sheep is slaughtered for the ceremony. The next morning, elder men go to her family, but her family does not allow them to their home. The elder men return for the second day. Her family still resists. The goat or sheep is slaughtered for the second time for her. If any member of the family refuses to accept the idea of elder men during negotiation, they try to negotiate even by paying them money. After the family accepts the marriage proposal, the girl and the boy go to her family on the morning of the fourth day. The girl's father asks the would- be- couple how much they love each other. Then, a hide is spread on the floor so that they stay there the whole day discussing their mind. On the second and the third day, the girl's two friends and the boy's two friends together go to farm. The next day, the girl and her female friends go back home. But the boy's sister stays with the bride for a month.

A year later, the bride will be invited to the bridegroom's home. After invitation, she goes back home. The invitation is made three times. On the fourth round, the elder men go to the girl's home again to beg them give their daughter. The elder men don't stop going to the family of the daughter. During their third round, her family allows them and discusses the matter. After the agreement is reached, the daughter's family set the date of appointment, when the elder men can bring money and other cultural materials. The elder do so. Her father, mother and elder brother receive two hundred birr each while her younger brother and elder sister receive one hundred birr each. The rest of the family members also receive some share.

On the next day, the two families prepare a ceremony and invite the neighbors and relatives. The first ceremony takes place in the bride's home. People eat, drink, dance and sing on the ceremony. Then, the bride will be taken to bridegroom's home. The same ceremony takes place in bridegroom's home. In the evening, the invited people, relatives and companions leave for their home. But two friends and one sister of the bride stay along with her. On the third day, the maiden or bride-maid will be buttered and seen off and the bride stays alone.

In the evening the bridegroom diverges the bride's chastity either by force or on her own willing. If the bride is found not virgin, she will face many sticks already prepared for this purpose. But, if

she is virgin, she will be rewarded: bullet will be fired; goats or sheep will be slaughtered to celebrate her virginity. She stays at home for two months without doing any work.

Text two

1. **kise kod'a-nna ayinaay keere-e isehi illa ag'e**
 time earliest at wise thief pl three together living

‘Once up on a time, three thieves were living together.’

2. **kinna kuya ixkoo to'on i- asso -n -k - i kippa**
 when day moment one 3rdp go pl hon ep after

‘When they lived together, they stole the ox.’

3. **ard'o keere onge ard'o-si-si saa?og -i kippa iqotanna ginna**
 Ox thief steel ox the acc slaughter pf and share for

‘They stole and slaughtered the ox.’

4. **qaqawu-hee si lakki almale -si-nnaa inniyanginay ato**
 foolish pl the two wise the at a certain day you
almaleye husi-si ine kurpaa assooye pilakoo g'ee?e-tay
 wise this acc us leave going an other search for

‘When the two foolish thieves are to share the meat, they beg the wise thief to let them take the meat and search for himself’

5. **almale-si inumali-ba issoppaa kupo saappa**
 wise the agree at go when hill over
keed'upa riirup-pa isi ?iyyan-i
 up shout at he say pf

‘The wise thief agreed and went over the hill and shouted’

6. **ano patt anti kulayiupoo**
 I only not others
ano pattan anti keere? -e qaqawunee -si lakki taanu i- ag'- i
 I only not thief pl foolishes the two now 3rdp run pf

‘He said,’ not only me there are also other thief’s.’ When they heard his shout, they thought that he had arrested and then they run away leaving their meat.’

7. **iso taanu i- hool- i- pa saakanko-si-si karo**

he now 3rdp return pf to meat the acc to

manne huusuu sihu

house his took

‘ Then he turned back and took the meat to his house.’

8. **keere?-e qaqawuhee -si lakki**

thief pl foolish pl the two

manne-huusuu kula assenna manne huusu-na saagango ake

house his to when house his at meat living.

hanganna akkit - i - nna iso malayye eemt -i-ye haawway ano yaaaha

where take pf at he how see pf me then I who

‘ When he was on the way to his home, they asked him where he had taken the meat.’

‘He said,” am I not a wise?’

9. **isund’e taanu i -d’axa?- i**

They now 3rdp astonish pf

‘ Then, they astonished to him for all what he did.’

A Wise and Two Foolish Thieves

Once up on a time, there were a wise and two foolish thieves. They were living together. On day, they stole and slaughtered an ox. When they were to share the meat, the two foolish thieves beg the wise thief to give them his share and thieve other ox for himself. He agreed to let them take his share and he went over the hill. After some minutes, he began to shout as if he had arrested by the police. When they heard his shout, they had run away leaving their meat. After they displaced, the wise thief had turned back and taken the meat to his home. While he was on the way to his home, the two foolish thieves asked him where he had taken the meat. He said, " am I not a wise?" Then, they astonished for all what he did.