ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

INFLECTIONAL AND DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY OF NOUNS IN SOME GURAGE LANGUAGES: A COMPARATIVE APPROACH

BY

TSEHAY ABZA DEBO

JUNE 2008
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A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES OF ADDIS ABAB UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ART IN LINGUISTICS

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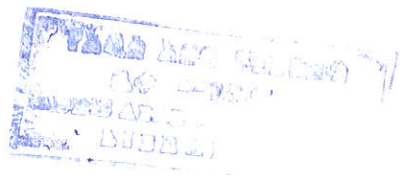
Approved by:

Advisor	Signature
Baye Yimam	
Examiner	Signature
Moges Yigezu	
Examiner	Signature

To the Memory of

My Father Ato Abza Debo



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Key of Abbreviations and Symbols

ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
DEF	Definite
F	Feminine
GEN	Genitive
Imp	Impersonal
Impf	Imperfective
INF	Infinitive
M	Masculine
Pt	Past
PL	Plural
SG	Singular
1SG	First Person Singular
2MS	Second Person Masculine Singular
2FS	Second Person Feminine Singular
3MS	Third Person Masculine Singular
3FS	Third Person Feminine Singular
1PL	First Person Plural
2MP	Second Person Masculine Plural
2FP	Second Person Feminine Plural
3MP	Third Person Masculine Plural
3FM	Third Person Feminine Plural
1SGEN	First Person Singular Genitive
1PGEN	First Person Singular Genitive
3SFGEN	Third Person Singular Feminine Genitive
1SS	First Person Singular Subject
3SMS	Third Person Singular Masculine Subject
3SFS	Third Person Singular Feminine Subject
3SMO	Third Person Singular Masculine Object

3SFO	Third Person Singular Feminine Object
REL	Relativizer
RPt	Recent Past
VOC	Vocative
→	Becomes
{ }	Encloses a morpheme
/ /	Encloses a phoneme/phonemic Representation
[ ]	Phonetic representation
*	Ungrammatical expression/proto form
—	Morpheme boundary
∅	Zero Morpheme

ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to investigate and describe the inflectional and derivational morphology of nouns in Gurage languages. It compares and contrasts the morphological properties of nouns in the languages. The study also provides a brief description of the phonemic inventory of the languages.

The Gurage linguistic group comprises several languages. For ease of manageability, this study deals with three selected languages of the group, namely Soodo, Muher and Ežа.

Based on their morphological properties, the study categorizes the selected languages into two: Soddo in one group and Muher and Ežа in the other. This study also identifies that Soddo is more conservative preserving the archaic morphological forms, while Muher and Ežа appear to be more innovative.

This study also addresses the position of Muher in the group, which is a controversial issue for various scholars. The position of Muher, that is, whether it belongs to the Northern Gurage group or to the Western Gurage group has been a point of controversy. This study confirms that Muher is closer to the languages of Western Gurage than to those within the Northern Gurage group.

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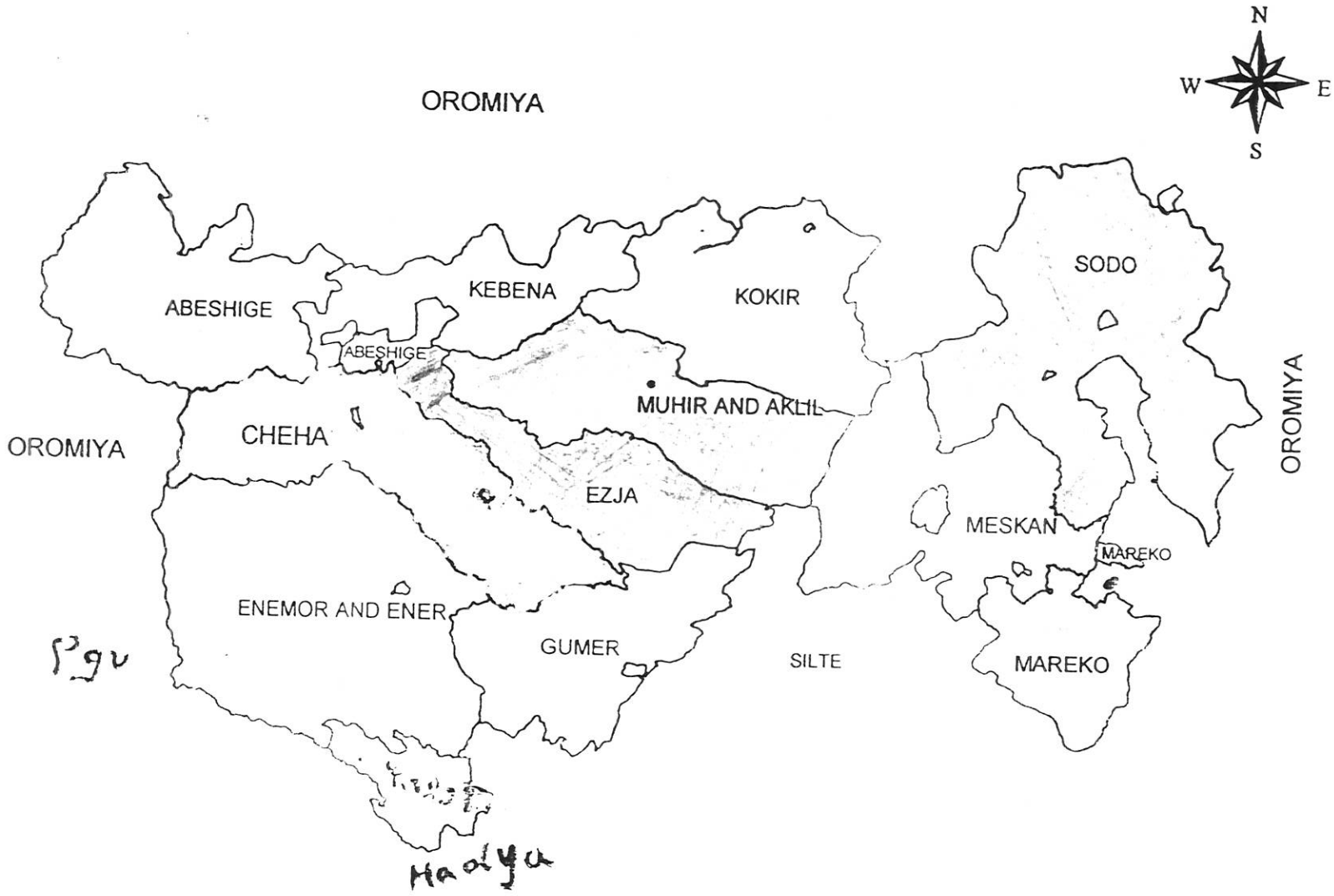

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Caution

The delination of all boundaries shown on this map must not be considered authoratative

Prepared by Zonal OFED Information & Population Team

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

The main purpose of this study is to investigate the morphological variations that exist among the languages of Gurage[1]. More particularly, this study deals with the morphological features of nouns in three languages of Gurage, namely Soddo, Muher and Eža. The research attempts to show how related or divergent the languages are from each other.

The study consists of five chapters. The first chapter, which is this one, introduces the language, the people, statement of the problem, the objectives, the significance, delimitation and methodology of the study. Moreover, the theoretical framework and the review of related literature will also be discussed in this chapter.

The second chapter provides a brief description of the phonological features of the languages under study. In addition, the phonological variations attested among the dialects will be discussed.

The third and fourth chapters, which are the main parts of the study, deal with morphological variations exhibited in the inflectional and derivational morphology of nouns, respectively.

The fifth chapter presents the summary of the findings in the paper, and it indicates the relationship among the languages that leads towards a better classification of the languages under concern. Some scholars categorized Muher as a member of the Northern Gurage, while others classified it as a

[1] It is not yet definitely known whether the Gurage languages are really separate languages or dialect variants of the same language that requires a comprehensive study in the future. However, in this study the term 'language' is used to refer to each member of the group.

member of the Western Gurage groups.

This work can also shade some light on the classification of Muher whose position is so far quite controversial.

1.1 The Language and the People

The Gurage languages are spoken in the Gurage Zone of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State. In addition, Gurage languages are spoken in the different parts of the country by the descendents of the Gurage people who left their home town or village for different reasons, such as business, education and the like. The native land of the people, which is found in about 200 km. far from southern part of Addis Ababa, is administratively divided into thirteen Woredas and two administrative cities, namely Ežа, Chaha, Ennemor and Ener, Endegegn, Gumer, Muher, Kokir, Masqan, Soddo, Gyeto, Abeshge, Maraqo, Kabena; and Wolkite and Buttajira, respectively.

In Gurage Zone, there are several tribes of people, known as Gurage, and the different language that these Gurage people speak belong to one linguistic group, also known as Gurage (Bender 1976:28, Hetzron 1969:19-20). These tribes, who live in a compact mountainous area, are surrounded by Cushitic language speaking communities such as the Oromo in the North and East, the Sidamo in the South and the West (Bender 1976, Hetzron 1972). The geographical location in which these languages are spoken was described by Ullendorff (1955:26) as follows, "The Gurage language is spoken in an area which lies to the South West of Addis Ababa, and is bordered in the North by the river Awash, in the West by the river Omo, and in the East by Lake Zway."

According to the information found from the Cultural and Information Office of Gurage Zone (August, 1999 E.C), the total population of Gurage ethnic group is 1,670,320. Most members of the Gurage community are bilinguals in Amharic. The reason may, probably, be that none of the languages has been developed to writing and has become a medium of instruction from grades 1-4 in the first cycle, and from grades 5-6 in the second cycle. None of them has also been taught as a subject from grades 1-8. And the reason may also be that a good number of the Gurage people are merchants who live in different parts of the country.

Most of the Gurage people who live in the countryside are farmers, living mainly in producing 'Enset' (also called false banana), which is the most important stable subsistence cultural plant. In addition to being common food for the community, 'Enset' has many other uses. As a result, some scolars refer to Gurage as a people of "Enset culture" (Shack 1966:5-6). Another kind of occupation for the Gurage people is trading. They are well known traders. As the result of this fact, many of them are scattered throughout different urban areas of the country returning to their home areas for a few weeks in a year to celebrate some holidays, especially, 'mäsk'äl' and, 'aräfa' for Orthodox Christians and Muslims, respectively.

With respect to religion, the majority of Gurage speakers, especially Soddo and Muher, are followers of Orthodox Christians. Some are Muslims and very few are Protestants.

Regarding language classification, different criteria can be used in classifying languages in general. It may be linguistic criteria, geographical criteria, racial or cultural criteria, and the like. Some scholars claim that languages are better grouped into classes on the basis of linguistic criteria. Others say that it is geographical criteria on which languages are grouped better. Still others follow

racial or cultural criteria to classify languages. However, according to Newman, cited in Heine, Bernd and Derek (2000:260), the methodology of classification is best described with reference to the work of Joseph H. Greenberg, whose classification has served as the point of reference for Africanists for a generation. Newman states that language classification must be based on linguistic evidence alone and not on racial or cultural criteria is one of Greenberg's approach (principles). As the result of this fact, many scholars tend to stick the linguistic criteria. One of the criteria used to classify the ancient Ethio-Semitic languages is shared innovation.

The Gurage linguistic group is divided in to three smaller sub groups, namely Northern Gurage which consists of Soddo, Gogot and Muher; Eastern Gurage which includes Silit, Welene, Ulbarag, Enneqor and Zway, and Western Gurage which is further sub-divided into two: Masaqan and a group further divided into Central Western Gurage and Peripheral Western Gurage. The Central Western Gurage group comprises Eža, Chaha, Gumer and Gura whereas the Peripherial Western Gurage group comprises Ennemor, Gyeto, Ener and Endegegn (Bender 1976, Hetzron1969, 1975, 1972, 1977). The classification of Ethio-Semitic languages is shown in the following diagram which is extracted from Hetzron (1977:17).

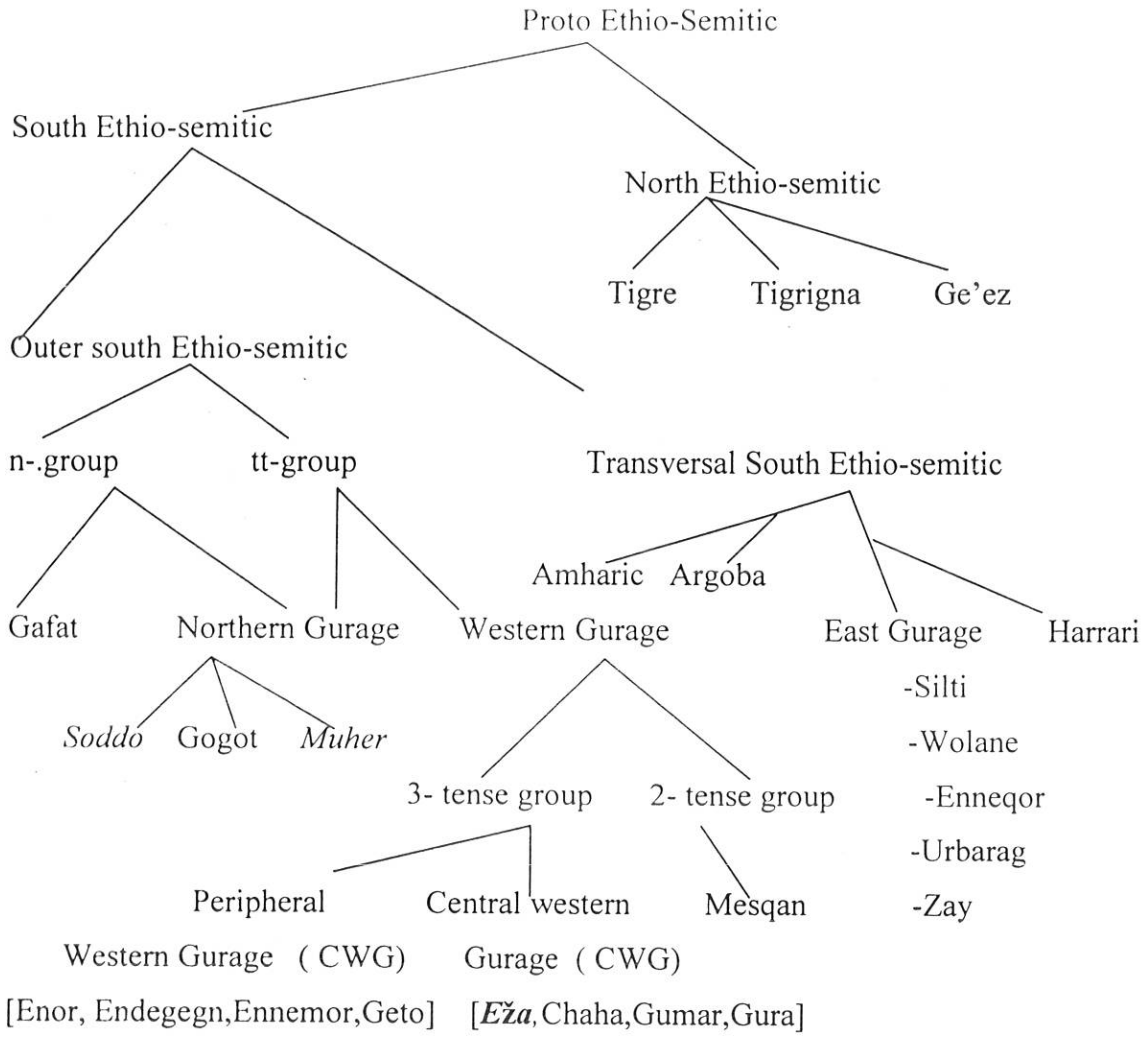

Fig. 1: The Genealogy of the Ethiopian Semitic Languages, adopted from Hezron (1977:17)

However, it is not simple to classify the languages. This is to mean that some of the internal classification of the Gurage languages is an issue of controversy among various Scholars. Scholars like Cohen and Leslau suggest that some of the Eastern Gurage languages are closer to Harari than to other Gurage languages, and that Soddo and Gogot of the Northern Gurage are also more closer to Gafat, which is an extinct language, than to the other Gurage languages (Cohen 1931:102, Leslau 1956). On the other hand, Hetzron (1968) puts Masqan as the easternmost representative of Western Gurage and classifies Muher, Gogot and Soddo as members of the Northern Gurage subgroups. His classification is based on a single feature, i.e , the main verb markers in the perfect and imperfect, a common feature to Muher, Gogot and Soddo. In contrast, although Leslau suggested that further investigation is necessary, he argues for treating Muher, Gogot and Masgan as a sub- branch of Western Gurage (Leslau, 1969:96). He opposes Hetzron's classification of Gogot and Muher within the Northern Gurage on the basis of a single feature (out of many). He claims that, "There is no doubt that the verb markers are an important feature. The question arises, however, how much importance should be given to a single feature for establishing a dialect classification, especially in view of the fact that many other features favour another classification", (Leslau, 1969:97).

There are other arguments regarding the status of Gurage languages.
Ullendoff (1955:26) suggests that Gurage is generally referred to as a "dialect cluster". Similarly, Leslau classifies Gurage language into twelve dialects: namely Chaha, Eža, Ennemor, Endegen, Gyeto, Muher, Masqan, Soddo, Goggot, Silti, Welene and Zway on the basis of either of the morphology and/or the vocabulary of the cluster. Like any other Scholars (Bender, Hetzron, Cohen...) he divides these dialects of the cluster in three distinct groups: Northern Gurage, Western Gurage and Eastern Gurage (Leslau 1965, 1969:96). On the other hand, Bender (1976) has suggested that some of the Gurage languages such as Soddo, Gogot, Muher and Masqan are taken as languages,

and some of the Gurage varieties like Eastern Gurage, Central Western Gurage and Peripheral Western Gurage as being dialects (dialect clusters) of one language since they are mutually intelligible. Though the status of the Gurage languages is controvertial which needs further research, the present researcher prefers to use the word 'language' in this study.

Scholars are also arguing on whether there is a proto-Gurage or not. Leslau (1965:153,171), argues that there is a proto-Gurage. Based on the phonological and morphological analysis he suggests that there are features specific to Gurage that indicate Gurage as an independent group. On the other hand, Hetzron (1969:19-20) and Bender (1976:28) suggest that the Gurage groups are not homogeneous from a linguistic point of view since they are broken up and redistributed together with other South Ethio-Semitic languages. Which means that the Northern Gurage is branched from n-group which in turn is branched from Outer South Ethiopic as a sister of Gafat, and Eastern Gurage is sub-branched from Eastern Transversal South Ethiopic as a sister language of Harari. These Scholars suggest that the term "Gurage" is not a meaningful linguistic term; rather it refers to a collection of Semitic speaking tribes surrounded by Cushitic speaking people, especially Sidamo.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Even though there are some comparative studies on the different aspects of Gurage languages, one that deals with the noun morphology of the languages has not been found. Considering this gap in the study of Gurage languages, the present research focuses on the description of similarities and differences of some aspects of the noun morphology of such languages.

1.3 Objective of the Study

The general objective of the study is to compare and contrast the noun morphology of three Gurage languages namely, Soddo, Muher and Ẽža.

Specifically, the study tries to answer the following basic questions.

1. What are the different morphological categories of nouns of the languages under concern?
2. What are the morphological formatives used to mark the various inflectional and derivational categories?
3. How related and distinct are these languages from each other?
4. Which member(s) is (are) more conservative to preserve the archaic forms?
5. Which member(s) is (are) more innovative?

1.4 Significance of the Study

As it is already mentioned, the classificatory ground of the Gurage languages is still being argumentative. The present study will contribute towards answering this question, and be used as a reference material for future researchers who want to carry on linguistic works in this argumentative issue, the status and homogeneity as well of the Gurage languages. It will also contribute to add to our knowledge of the Gurage languages in general and the languages under investigation in particular.

As it is mentioned in section 1.1, none of the Gurage languages is serving as a medium of instruction in the area. The morphological analysis in this paper can be used as a source for preparing teaching materials on the languages. Finally, it is hopped that the study will serve as a document reflecting the linguistic and cultural profile of the speakers.

1.5 Delimitation of the Study

A complete comparative analysis of languages requires comparison of the phonological, morphological and other aspects of the languages, as well as their respective cultural patterns. However, because of time constraint, this study limits itself to comparing only morphological structure of nouns in the languages under question.

1.6 Methodology

The methodology employed to collect data for this research paper includes both informant and introspective methods. Native speakers of each language under investigation are consulted. In the case of Eža, the researcher herself also served as the source of data since she is a native speaker of the language. In addition, the already existing literature is also consulted. The data is collected in a field work in Gurage Zone, Soddo and Muher woredas.

The data which includes word list, paradigms, phrases, clauses and sentences showing feature of inflection and derivation is prepared in a language which is common for the researcher and the informants, i.e., in Amharic. The data is elicited and phonemically transcribed. Whenever significant variations have been seen at phonetic level, phonetic transcription is used. Then, the data is organized in structural and dialect paradigms, and is described and comparatively analyzed. Finally, recommendation about the better classification of Muher is given based on the findings of the analysis.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

In this study, various theoretical applications are used. First, the descriptive approach, which treats languages in terms of their internal structure, is applied for the description of the grammatical system of each language. The structuralist approach to morphology "Item and Arrangement" in which words are made up of sequentially arranged morphemes, does not treat the morphological structure of the languages under studied. This approach, which assumes a one-to-one correspondence between form and meaning works only for agglutinative languages. In Gurage languages, a single morpheme can cumulatively represent more than one grammatical function. For example, gender and definiteness or gender and case are expressed jointly. Hence, the "Word and Paradigm" approach as expressed by Matthews (1972) and others is used to handle the data.

Secondly, the comparative approach is applied for the morphological comparison of the languages under investigation. When we use comparative method, a method of defining change and determining earlier forms, we contrast forms of two or more related languages to determine their precise relationship, (Lehmann 1964:84).

The comparative method has been highly successful in disclosing relationship between languages or dialects and in reconstructing earlier forms than those attested (Crowley 1997, Lehman 1964:91). Moreover, Bynon (1977:45) proposes that since related languages have preserved and modified inherited forms and rules in different ways, systematic comparison should allow the recovery of the original system from which they all derive. According to him, in considering systematic comparison for the language change phenomena, two fundamental principles which govern the development of language change through time are stated. The first principle is sound change which deals with all developments at the phonological level. The second one is analogy that deals with processes operating at the grammatical level (Ibid 46). However, the present study is related with the later principle (i.e., it focuses on analogical formation).

The related varieties may differ only in one extra rule which has been developed when the varieties are changed independently. Regarding this point, the comparative method takes the basic assumption in the Neogrammarian model (a model which discusses the process whereby a single initial system develops into a number of independent systems) that related languages share early rules and differ only in those rules which have been added more recently although it does not depend on it (Bynon, 1977: 63). As a result, in this study, shared forms and variations at morphological level are identified.

In order to make the study managable, it focuses only on three languages, namely, Soddo, Muher and Eža. The selection is random from different Gurage

groups. However, both Soddo and Muher are selected as representatives of Northern Gurage to suggest whether Muher is classified with Northern Gurage or with Western Gurage since it is an issue of controversy among the Scholars. That means, as mentioned earlier, some scholars classify Muher with the Northern Gurage groups, while others classify it within the Western Gurage.

1.8 Review of related literature

Regarding the studies made on the comparative and historical aspects of Gurage linguistic group, different Scholars have contributed some works. Among these, Ullendorff (1955), Hetzron (1968, 1972, 1975, 1977, 1997) Leslau (1965, 1969) and Ernst-August Gutt (1997) can be mentioned. However, none of these studies has presented a detailed account of the noun morphology of the languages.

Regarding the research works pertaining to individual languages, there are several descriptive studies in the form of articles, books, B.A and M.A thesis. In this review, however, only those works, from both comparative and descriptive aspects, that are related to the present study are reviewed.

Edward Ullendorff (1955), in his book entitled "Semitic Languages of Ethiopia: A Comparative Phonology", has compared the phonology of the Gurage languages with that of other Semitic groups. He has identified twenty-nine consonant and seven vowel phonemes as a phonemic inventory of the Gurage languages. The consonant phonemic inventory includes the labio-velars /g^w/, /k^w/and /k'^w/ and the palatalized velars /g^y/, /k^y/and k'^y/. According to the present study, however, Ullendoff has missed some of the consonant phonemes such as /m^w/, /f^w/, /b^w/, /p^w/, /x^w/, /$ʔ^w$/, /x^y /, /x/and/ʔ/ which belong to the inventory of some Gurage languages. More specifically, Muher and Western Gurage groups.

Hetzron contributes several major works on the Gurage languages. Among these, "Main Verb Markers in Northern Gurage" (1968) is an article that identifies the main verb marker of the Northern Gurage languages namely, Soddo, Gogot and Muher.

Hetzron (1975), in his article entitled "Genetic Classification and Ethiopian Semitic", has offered the classification of Ethio-Semitic languages on the basis of their verb morphology and independent pronouns. However, the present study again noted that the data used is not only inadequate but also inaccurate in most cases. He claims, for instance, that indefinite future verb form in Central and Peripheral Western Gurage groups has the structure of 'jussive +-šä/-se' (Hetzron 1975:118). But as far as the present researcher is concerned, the jussive and indefinite future in the languages have distinct patterns as illustrated below.

Jussive

Eža :3PLM.	yä –sbɨr-o	'Let them break.'
3PLF.	yä-sbɨr-äma	'Let them break.'

Indefinite future

3PLM.	yɨ-sbɨr-o-šä	"They will probably break."
3PLF.	yɨ-sbɨr-äma-šä	" " " "

Another resourceful material on the Gurage languages is that of Hetzron entitled "Gunnän- Gurage" (1977). In this work, Hetzron gives account of the comparative grammar of the Gunnän- Gurage languages. His research focuses on phonological, morphological and syntactic features of the Gunnän- Gurage languages. In addition, historical survey of the classification of the Gunnän-Gurage languages is presented. In the last section of his work, he is devoted to describe a text of the Gunnän-Gurage Reader.

Similarly, Hertzron (1997), in his article, "Outer South Ethiopic", has made a comparative work on phonology, morphology and syntax of the languages. In this article, he has suggested that Soddo and Inor (Ennemor) are phonologically the most conservative and innovative languages, respectively. Hertzron does not use the same phonemic inventories of vowels in his works (in Hertzron 1977:34&1997:538). That is, he used parenthesized /œ/and /æ/, respectively. To the present researcher, however, the second vowel is not found in the Gurage languages at all, and even the first vowel, which is /ɛ/ and /ä/ to Rose (1997) and Leslau (1993), respectively, occurs in only some Gurage languages, such as Chaha, Muher, Gumer and Ennemore. Moreover, in the discussion of noun morphology, Hertzron identifies a group of languages (tt-languages) which do not mark gender nor number features on nouns. Yet, according to the knowledge of the present researcher, there is a set of few nouns which involves number marking. In Ennemor, for instance, the suffix {-at} marks plurality in nouns such as {äsäm/äsäm-at} 'brother/brothers' and {ätäm/ätäm-at} 'sister/sisters'.

Leslau (1965), in his article, "Is there a Proto-Gurage?", has made phonological and morphological comparison between the Gurage languages (Soddo, Silti and Chaha) to determine whether or not there are features specific to Gurage which are used to speak about a Proto-Gurage . According to his findings, there is a proto-Gurage language. However, according to the present study, not all nominal features are taken into account. For instance, in Gurage languages, number can also be expressed by internal modification (broken plural) of nouns in some languages. Also, in some languages, suppletive plurals are used. Furthermore, almost in all Gurage languages, Vocative and Absolutive (Benefactive and Malufactive) case marking is common. But Leslau did not take such features of inflectional noun morphology in to account.

Another important work on this subject is an article of Wolf Leslau entitled "Towards a classification of Gurage dialects". In this article, he compares some properties of the phonology and morphology of the Gurage languages. He also makes lexical comparison to establish the internal relationship between Muher, Gogot and Masqan on one hand, and Muher, Gogot and Soddo on the other by comparing them with Chaha. Finally, on various morphological features and vocabulary of the languages, he classifies Muher, Gogot and Masqan as a sub-branch of Western Gurage. However, this study has identified some analytic problems with the data. For instance, when he compares the jussives of Masqan and Chaha, he claims that Masqan has a suffix {-nä} in the case of the first person plural, whereas Chaha has a zero suffix like the following example, Masqan: {nɨ-skär-nä} 'let us be intoxicated' and Chaha: {nɨ-nkɨs} 'let us bite' (Leslau1969:104). But Chaha also has the suffix {–nä}. His study does not treat noun morphology at all.

Ernst-August Gutt (1997), in his article, "The Silti Group (East Gurage)", has carried out phonological, morphological and syntactic comparison of the Eastern Gurage languages. In his work, he has stated that although there is some morphological variation, dialectal variation in this group is mostly phonological.

Fisseha Shanko (1985), on his BA thesis, "Morphophonemic's of Nouns and Verbs in Kistane language", describes the inflectional and derivational affixes of nouns and verbs of Kɨstanɨññа. He also addresses some phonological processes like assimilation, gemination, epenthesis, and the like.

Another descriptive material of Kistane language has been Mekbib Kassa's senior paper, "The Verb Morphology of Kɨstanɨññа" (1992). Mekbib has attempted to discuss the verb morphology of the language and has classified the verb according to their classes based on certain criteria. In addition, he has dealt with different sentence patterns in which the verbs behave as constituent

element of the sentences.

Alemayehu Gurmu (2000), in his MA thesis, presents word formation processes in Kɨstanɨñña. In his study, he deals with the different type of word formation such as nominalization, verbalization, adjectivalization, compounding and reduplication. Furthermore, Alemayehu has made an effort to show how the different word types are derived from root, stem and word bases. In his work, the formation of words was made possible with the methods of compounding concatinative as well as non concatinative approach, which typifies Semitic morphology at large.

Getu Kebede (2000), in his BA thesis "Verb Morphology of Ežə", has made a deep investigation of Ežа morphology. He has mentioned that the verbs of Ežа are classified into un- radical, bi-radical, tri- radical and multi-radical based on the number of consonants in the surface representation of a verb In addition, Getu has discussesd that verbs of Ežа are classified into types with reference to gemination in the penultimate radical. Thus, in type A verbs, the penultimate radical geminates in perfective aspect, in type B verbs, the penultimate radical geminates in the perfect, imperfect and jussive forms and in type C verbs, the penultimate radical geminates in the perfective and jussive forms.

The same researcher of this study (2001), in her senior essay, "Noun Morphology of Ežа", has made an attempt to investigate how nouns are inflected for different grammatical categories, like number, gender, definiteness and case; and see how nouns are also derived from adjectival and verbal stems and other nouns by making using affixes. She also treats compound nouns.

Fekede Menuta has carried out a number of works on Ežа. Of which, 'Derivation of verbs in Ežа' (2005) is an article in which an attempt is made to describe the derivation of verbs in the language. Fekede has discussed the

various types of verbs in Ežа. According to him, verbs are grouped as type A, type B and type C based on their stem patterns (gemination of consonants and vowel quality). He also classifies verbs of the language as mono- radical, bi-radical, tri-radical or quadri-radical on the basis of the number of consonants in the root. He states that most verbs in Ežа are tri-radicals, and that radicals below three were originally tri- radicals and they are therefore reduced forms and that the original form can be reconstructed. Moreover, Fekede proposes that derivations of verbs have grouped into simple derivation and complex derivation. Simple derivation refers to the derivation of verbs by affixing a morpheme or internal modification (vowel change or consonant gemination or both). Complex derivation refers to the derivation of verbs by combining two or more affixes in addition to internal modification. Under the sub title simple verb derivation, he discusses the derivation of passive/reflexive, causative, frequentative and reciprocal, and in the subsection on complex verbal derivation the frequentative passive, frequentative of reciprocal, frequentative causative, reciprocal causative and causative of frequentative reciprocal verbs are discussed.

In addition, Fekede (2006), in his article, 'Notes on Agreement Affixes of Ežа', attempts to present some notes on morpho-syntax of the language including word order and the orders of affixes. According to him, Ežа, like most Ethio-Semitic languages, has subject- object- verb (sov) word order in a simple sentence structure. He has also discussed the internal structures of subject and object agreement affixes. As he stated, agreement affixes are suffixed to a verb in a perfective aspect. But in the imperfective aspect the subject agreement affixes are prefixed, while object affixes are suffixed to a verb. He claims that the object affixes have allomorphs which are governed by grammatical, semantic and phonological conditions.

1.9 The Concept of Historical and Comparative Linguistics

As Newman, cited in Bernd and Derek (2000:271), proposed historical/comparative linguistics is concerned with languages as they have developed over time. It provides information about the past history of languages and groups of languages. In other words, historical/comparative linguistics treats languages' evolutionary creation and development as reflected in current-day phylogenetic relationships, the nature of their internal linguistic changes and the way in which they have been influenced by other languages.

Similarly, as to Wikipedia, comparative linguistics is a branch of historical linguistics that deals with comparing languages in order to establish their historical relatedness. Languages may be related by convergence through borrowing or by genetic descent. Genetic relatedness implies a common origin or proto-language, and comparative linguistics aims to construct language families, to reconstruct proto-languages and specify the changes that have resulted in the documented languages.

The fundamental technique of comparative linguistics is to compare phonological systems, morphological systems, syntactic and the lexicon of two or more languages using a technique known as comparative method, (Wikipedia). In principle, the systematic changes, for example in phonological and morphological systems, are expected to be highly regular (i.e., consistent). However, whenever languages are derived from a very distant ancestor, and are thus more distantly related, the comparative method becomes impracticable, instead a number of methods such as mass comparison and comparison of grammatical morphemes have been developed to over come this limitation.

Newman proposes that mass comparison is the method which determines relatedness, that classifies languages into families, by the comparison of

similar looking vocabulary items. According to him, in this method, there is no requirement that regular sound correspondences have been established by the comparative method, only that words look alike. On the other hand, he states that comparison of grammatical morpheme is a method in which the focus is given to detailed resemblance in morphology. Hence, this study sticks with the later one.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1 Brief Description of the Phonemic Inventory of the three Languages

Although the main purpose of this study is the morphological features of the selected Gurage languages, firstly, it is necessary to briefly introduce the phonological properties of the languages. Because there is an interface between the two, and also it is difficult to describe the morphology of a language without reference to its phonology.

2.1.1 Segmental Phonemes

2.1.1.1 Consonants

The consonant phonemic inventory of the three dialects is given below.

	Labials	Dentals	Prepalatals	Velars	Laryngeals
Stops					
Simple	b	d t		g k	*ʔ[3]
Glottalized		t'		k'	
Rounded	*b[w][2]			g[w] k[w]	
Rounded glottalized				k'[w]	
Palatals				*g[y] *k[y]	
Palatals glottalized				*k'[y]	
Spirants					
Simple	f		ž š	x	
Rounded	*f[w]			*x[w]	h
Palatals				*x[y]	
Sibilants		z s			
Affricates					
Simple			ǰ č		
Glottalized			č'		
Nasals					
Simple	m	n	* ň		
Rounded	*m[w]				
Liquids		l, r			
Semi vowels	W		y		

Table 3: The consonant phonemic inventory of Gurage languages, adapted from Leslau (1992:17).

[2] *Refers to phonemes which are absent in one or two of the three languages.

[3] ʔ is a phoneme in Peripheral Western Gurage languages.

Some Notes on Consonant Correspondence

As can be seen from the inventory, the labialized velars occur in the three languages in particular and in Gurage languages in general. In addition to this, Eža and Muher specifically and Western Gurage languages in general have a series of labialized labials (b^w, f^w, m^w) and palatalized velars (k^y, k'^y, g^y, x^y) which is absent from Soddo, (Leslau1965:3, Rose 1997:8). In Eža and Muher, while labialized consonants are phonemic, labialization is a morphophonemic feature.

The glottal fricative, /h/, in Soddo, corresponds to /x/ in Muher and Eža. In other words, the velar fricative /x/ of Muher and Eža is often realized as /h/. The following lists show the correspondence with cognates.

	Soddo	**Muher and Eža**	
(1)	a. wälläho	wännäx^{w}ä	'neighbor'

According to Leslau (1992:151,181), the glottal stop/ʔ/ is a variant of /k'/ in the three languages, mostly in non-initial, intervocalic and postvocalic positions as shown in the following examples.

	Soddo, Muher and Eža		
(2)	a. wäʔbɨr	wäk'bɨr	'to bury'
	b. t'ɨʔ^{w}ɨr	t'ɨk'^{w}ɨr	'black'
	Muher and Eža		
	c. bɨʔ^{w}rä	bɨk'^{w}rä	'mule'
	Soddo, Eža		
	d. maʔ^{w}yä	mak'^{w}yä	'drug of chicken'

It is also noted that (l) is relatively a rare phoneme in Eža in particular and in Western Gurage in general, and it tends to occur in borrowed words. The phoneme /ň / is not found in Eža in particular and in Central Western Gurage in general. Hetzron (1972) states that a Proto-Central Western Gurage /*ňň/ became /n/. Thus, the present researcher believes that /n/ of Eža correspondence with /ň/ of Soddo and Muher as illustrated below.

	Muher	**Eža**	
(3) a.	adot - äňňa mother-1SGEN	adot- äna mother-1SGEN	'my mother'
b.	č'ɬňň	č'ɬnn	'woman-in-child-bed'

There is no an alternance of liquids in Soddo. In contrast, the process appears a characteristic feature of the West Gurage languages in general and Eža and Muher in particular. The liquids l, r and nasal n undergo alternation with each other. The alternance of the liquids is based on the vocabulary and the morphology of the languages. It is attributed that the existence of this feature is the influence of Sidamo on the languages, (Leslau, 1992:598). Regarding the influence of Sidamo on the Gurage languages, Hetzron (1997:536) also proposes that the surrounding Cushitic languages, of the Sidamo type, left a very deep mark on the Gunnän-Gurage languages, throughout the structure of the languages. The following are a few examples demonstrating the correspondence between /l/ and /n/.

(4) a.	bʷännet	'sister-in-law'	(Muher and Eža)
	bollit	'sister-in-law'	(Soddo)
b.	wännxʷä	'neighborhood'	(Muher and Eža)
	wolläho	'neighborhood'	(Soddo
c.	bännam	'he ate'	(Muher and Eža)
	bälla	'he ate'	(Soddo)

The data below show the correspondence between /n/ and /r/.

(5)	a. yɬ-bära	'he eats'	(Ežа)
	yɬ-bälaw	'he eats'	(Soddo)
	b. arat	'top of head	(Ežа)
	anat	'top of head'	(Soddo)
	c. ammäräm	'he believed'	(Ežа)
	ammäno	'he believed'	(Soddo)

The correspondence between /l/ and /r/ is illustrated in (6) below.

(6)	a. ɬnk'ura	'ege'	(Ežа)
	ɬnk'ulä	'ege'	(root nk'l)
	b. ɬnt'äräfʷät	'hawk'	(Muher and Ežа)
	ɬnt'ɬlfit	'hawk'	(root nt'lft)

/n/ /r/ correspondence is also exhibited in Ežа and Soddo, respectively, as shown below.

(7)	a. not'äm	'he ran'	(Ežа)
	rot'ä	'he ran'	(Soddo)
	b. näggäfäm	'fall down'	(Ežа)
	räggäfo	'fall down'	(Soddo)
	c. t'ännäk'äm	'be dry'	(Ežа)
	därräk'o	'be dry'	(Soddo)

Some of the above examples, as cited in Leslau (1992), are loan words from Amharic or Cushitic while others are Gurage roots.

2.1.1.2. Vowels

Like the situation with consonants, the vowel phonemes identified for the three languages are not identical. Thus, Soddo and Ežа have seven vowel system. However, in addition to the seven vowels, Muher and some Western Gurage languages have two open vowels /ɛ / and /ɔ/.

Vowel phonemic inventory

i		u
	ɨ	
e		o
(ɛ)	ä	( )
	a	

Table 4: Phonemic inventory of vowels of the languages, adopted from Rose (1997:7).

According to Hetzron (1977:34), the vowel /ɨ / is not a phoneme, rather it is an epenthetic vowel in all languages which is used to dissolve undesirable consonant clusters. To the present researcher, however, this vowel is phonemic since it has minimal pair. Eg. Ežа {tɨwär/tiwär} 'let her go/ when he spend a day'. It also functions as an epenthetic vowel as it is used to resolve impermissible consonant clusters in the languages as in the following examples.

(8) a. ɨmmit + -nnät → ɨmmit- ɨ-nnät 'motherhood' (Soddo)
b. adot + -nnät → adot -ɨ-nnät 'motherhood' (Muher and Ežа)

The vowel /ɛ/ which is /œ/ to Hetzron (1977:34) occurs in Gogot, Chaha, Muher, Gumer and Ennemor. Whereas the vowel /ɔ/ is found in Muher and Chaha and rarely in Goggot and Gumer (Ibid: 35).

Notes on occurrences of segments

In Ežа and Muher, a word can begin with any of the vowels except /i/. In contrast, in Soddo, a word can begin with any of the vowels including /i/. A word can end in any of the vowels except /ɨ/ in all the languages under studied.

In Muher and Soddo, a word can begin with any consonant except /ñ/ which is absent in Ežа, and a word can end in any consonant in the three languages.

With regard to the phonotactics of the three languages, they do not allow to have consonant clusters word initially except when the second radical is /r/ grejät 'womenfolk' (Ežа, Muher); brundo 'chopped meat' (Soddo).

2.1.2 Suprasegmentals

All the consonants, in the three languages, except the phoneme /h/ of Soddo, can be geminated, and gemination is phonemic, (Leslau 1992:153,183), (Wudie 1987).

The stress system of the languages has not been investigated in any detail (Hetzron, 1977:42).

On the basis of the phonological (phonemic) inventories and different phonetic changes that have been seen above, it is possible to generalize that Soddo tends to differ from the other two. In other words, considering the phonemic inventories of the three languages, Soddo appears to be divergent from the other two. It lacks labialized labials and palatalized velars from its consonant inventory, and it lacks the open vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ which are part of the vowel phonemic inventory of Muher and some Western Gurage languages. However, Soddo has preserved the vowel system of the Proto-Ethio-Semtic.

In general, all these phonemic and phonetic features are isoglosses which unite Muher with Western Gurage than with Northern Gurage.

CHAPTER THREE

3.1 Noun Inflection

The discussion, in this section, deals with the system of number, gender, definiteness and case marking across the languages under question, and it compare and contrasts the variations attested in these inflectional features.

3.1.1 Number

Number is a grammatical category which depicts the singularity or plurality of nouns (Katamba, 1993). In all the three languages under investigation, nouns make singular and plural number distinction.

3.1.1.1 Singular

Nouns, in Soddo, Muher and Eža, are not overtly inflected for singularity hence, singularity in nouns is marked by zero morpheme as it is shown in the examples below.

Singular Nouns

		Soddo	**Muher**	**Eža**	**Gloss**
(1)	a.	ät'ay	t'e[4]	t'ay	'sheep'
	b.	färäz	färäz	färäz[1]	'horse'
	c.	mɨss	mɨss	mɨss	'man/male/husband'
	d.	zämmi	gʷäbbe	gʷäbbe[5]	'brother'
	e.	ätit	ättämʷ	ättämʷ[6]	'sister '
	f.	goš	yɨǰǰ	ärɨǰǰ[7]	'boy'

[4] The nouns do not differentiate gender, i.e they can be used for both male and female. However, they are used here for the sake of convenience

[5] In Chaha, ' brother' is {gʷäpay }

[6] The Chaha and Ennemor noun is {ätämʷ} and {ätäm}, respectively.

[7] In Chaha and Ennemor also, {ärč} and {äč} for 'boy', respectively.

As can be seen from the data, in the three languages singularity is expressed by zero morpheme.

3.1.1.2 Plural Nouns

The system of plural marking makes the languages under investigation fall in to two groups, i.e., Soddo on one hand and Muher and Eža on the other. The system of plural marking in each group will be discussed in turn below.

a. Soddo

In Soddo, there are various morphological devices used to indicate plurality. The suffix {-očč} is a regular plural marking element and it occurs frequently or commonly as in the following examples.

		Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
(2)	a.	t'ɬd	'conifer'	t'ɬd-očč	'conifers'
	b.	bayy	'child'	bayy- očč	'children'
	c.	säb	'person'	säb- očč	'persons'
	d.	älam	'cow'	älam- očč	'cows'

As indicated in the above examples, the plural marker {-očč} is directly attached to consonant ending nouns. With nouns ending with a vowel is attached to a base ending with a vowel, the vowel of the stem is deleted from the structure since the phonotactics of the language does not allow a sequence of vowels. See the following examples.

	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
(3)	a. mäda	'stool'	mäd -očč	'stools'
	b. käbsä	'taeni plant'	käbs- očč	'taeni plant'

On the other hand, noun stems ending with a tense vowel do not involve final vowel deletion; rather involve glide insertion as in the following example.

		Singular	**Gloss**	**Plural**	**Gloss**
(4)	a.	gɐ	'house'	ge-w- očč	'houses'

As can be seen in the above example, the glide /w/ is inserted before a back vowel.

With kinship terms, Soddo uses the suffix {-ačč} to express plurality as illustrated below.

		Singular	**Gloss**	**Plural**	**Gloss**
(5)	a.	bɨt'e	'friend'	bɨt' -ačč	'friends'
	b.	ansabi	'uncle'	ansab- ačč	'uncles'
	c.	metɨyyä	'grand parent'	metɨyy- ačč	'grand parents'
	d.	zämmi	'brother'	zämm- ačč	'brothers'
	e.	ätit	'sister'	ät- ačč	'sisters'

As exhibited in the above data, when the suffix {-ačč} is attached to a noun stem that ends in a vowel, the vowel of the root is deleted to resolve the vowel sequences. In the case of {ätit} which becomes {ätačč}, there is deletion of the last two segments when the suffix {-ačč} is attached to it.

Regarding the distribution of the two plural marking allomorphs in Soddo, namely {-očč} and {-ačč}, the allomorph {-ačč} is found with kinship terms, while {-očč} occurs elsewhere.

Furthermore, reduplication is a common way of number marking in Soddo nouns. The following examples illustrate the case.

		Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
(6)	a.	k'änžä	'girl'	k'änž- ažä	'girls'
	b.	bɬčɬl	'mule'	bɬčɬil -alä	'mules'
	c.	t'ɬggä	'calf'	t'ɬgg- agä	'calves'
	d.	bora	'ox'	bor-arä	'oxen'
	e.	č'ač'č'ɬyä	'chicken'	č'ač'č'ɬy –ayä	'chickens'
	f.	amät	'year'	amät –atä	'years'
	g.	mušra	'bridegroom'	mušr-arä	'bridegrooms'
	h.	gurz	'old man'	gurz- azä	'old men'
	i.	ǰärä	'hen'	ǰär-arä	'hens'
	j.	wussa	'dog'	wuss- asä	'dogs'

As we have seen from the above data, partial reduplication is the kind of reduplication used to show plurality in the language. That is, the last consonant of the stem gets reduplicated and inserted between the vowels {...-ä} to form a kind of suffixal element. In other words, the plural marking element can be summarized as {-aCä}, where C is the copy of the last radical/ consonant of the base. It is attested that /-a-/ of {- aCä} may be trace/an archaic plural form of proto- Semitic.

As Hayward, cited in Bernd and Derek (2000:260), pointed out, it was Greenberg (1955) who demonstrated that Afro-asiatic pattern of plural formation involves the element /-a-/ usually in the last syllable of a noun.

b. Muher and Eža

In contrast to Soddo, which makes use of two suffixal elements and reduplication to express plurality in nouns, Muher and Eža use no affix to express plural number in nouns. According to Leslau (1950:16) and Hetzron (1972:58), the absence of a morphological device from Muher and the **tt**-languages to mark number is the influence of Sidama languages on the

languages.[8] The examples below show that nouns in Muher and Eža have the same form in both singular and plural categories.

Muher

		Singular	**Gloss**	**Plural**	**Gloss**
(7)	a.	fäňňä?	'goat'	fäňňä?	'goats'
	b.	sɬnn	'tooth'	sɬnn	'teeth'
	c.	färäz	'hours'	färäz	'horses'
	d.	t'e	'sheep'	t'e	'sheep'
	e.	žäng	'bridge'	žäng	'bridges'
	f.	č'äxʷä	'spear'	č'äxʷä	'spears'

Eža

		Singular	**Gloss**	**Plural**	**Gloss**
(8)	a.	fɬyäk'	'goat'	fɬyäk'	'goats'
	b.	sɬnn	'tooth'	sɬnn	'teeth'
	c.	färäz	'horse'	färäz	'horses'
	d.	t'ay	'sheep'	t'ay	'sheep'
	e.	žäng	'bridge'	žäng	'bridges'
	f.	č'äxʷä	'spear'	č'äxʷä	'spears'

However, in Muher, an irregular plural marker expressed by the repetition of the last consonant of a noun accompanied by the suffixal element /-it/ is attested with two kinship terms as it is shown below.[9]

[8] tt-group includes Muher and Western Gurage where as n-group contains Soddo and Goggot in the division of Outer South Ethiopic.

[9] Ennemor also forms the plural of these nouns by suffixing {-at} Thus, {äsäm–at} for ' brother' and {ätäm–at} for ' sister'

		Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
(9)	a.	gʷäbbe	'brother'	gʷäbb-abit	'brothers'
	b.	ättämʷ	'sister'	ättämʷ -amʷ it	'sisters'

The above examples show that partial reduplication is used to express plurality in the nouns, that is, the last consonant of the root is reduplicated followed by the suffix /-it/. Furthermore, the vowel preceding the final consonant appears repeated. Thus, the plural formation device in (9a and b) can be summarized as {-VCit}, in which C refers to the repetition of the last radical of the root. Deletion of the final vowel of the base also takes place to resolve the unacceptable vowel succession (see 9a).

There are different strategies used to express plural number in the nouns of the three languages under concern. Plurality can be expressed by using different lexical items, quantifiers, modifiers, mass nouns and collective nouns as discussed in turn below.

3.1.1.2.1 Plurality Expressed by Different Lexical Items

Some nouns which refer to animate nouns use different lexical items for singular and plural forms of a noun as illustrated below.

Soddo

		Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
(10)	a.	mɨss	'man'	gämya	'men'
	b.	goš	'boy'	k'ɨsɨn	'boys'
	c.	mɨšt	'woman'	ɨnšɨtta	'women'

Muher

		Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
(11)	a.	mɨss	'man'	gämʸɛ	'men'
	b.	yɨjǰ	'boy'	dengʸa	'boys
	c.	mʷässa	'calf'	bäre	'calves'
	d.	ɨnnam	'cow'	gɨzz	'cows, cattle'
	e.	mɨšt	'woman'	ɨšɨtta	'women'

Eža

		Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
(12)	a.	mɨss	'man'	gämmɨya	'men'
	b.	ärɨjǰ	'boy'	dengʸa	'boys'
	c.	dägg	'calf'	mägära	'calves'
	d.	äram	'cow'	äray	'cattle'
	e.	mɨšt	'woman'	ɨšta	'women'

As it is shown in the above examples, suppletive forms, which have no formal relationship between the singular and plural forms, are used to express number. The two forms of each vary in their phonological representations in order to express the number distinction expressed by the forms.

However, some of the plural forms are not completely different lexical items. Thus, the last example in the case of Soddo and Muher and the last two examples in the case of Eža are formed by the modification of the base (segmental modification/modification of vowel and consonants).

On the other hand, in the languages under investigation, a broken plural (internal modification), a pattern which is Prototypical of Semitic languages, is rarely attested as illustrated with the following examples.

Soddo

		Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
(13)	a.	goš	'boy'	aguš-t	'boys'
	b.	gäräd	'girl'	gɨrid-(adä)	'girls'

Muher and Eža

		Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
(14)	a.	gäräd	'girl'	gɨred	'girls'

As can be observed from the data, in the case of Muher and Eža, the root remains the same, but there is vowel change. Similar situation occurs in Soddo with a little bit difference, i.e., an internal plural is used with suffixed element /-t/ as shown above in (14a), and with repeating the last radical as in (14b).

3.1.1.2.2 Plurality Expressed by Using Quantifiers

In these three languages, plurality can also be indicated by using quantifiers. Quantifiers are numbers that indicate the quantity of nouns which are countable. Some of the quantifiers in the languages are {att/k'una} (Soddo, Muher), {att} (Eža) 'one', {kitt} (Soddo), {xʷett} (Muxer, Eža) 'two', {sost} (Soddo, Eža), {sowast} (Muher) 'three' etc. The following examples illustrate the case.

		Soddo	Muher	Eža
		Quantifier + N	**Quantifier +N**	**Quantifier +N**
(15)	a.	kitt ät'ay	xʷett t'e	xʷett t'ay
		two sheep	two sheep	two sheep
		'two sheep'	'two sheep'	'two sheep'

b.	sost t'or	sowast č'äxʷä	sowast č'äxʷä
	three spear	three spear	three spear
	'three spears'	'three spears'	'three spears'
c.	aratt ge	arbät bet	arbätt bet
	four house	four house	four house
	'four houses'	'four houses'	'four houses'
d.	ammɨst ǰärä	ammɨst kuttäna	amɨst kuttara
	five hen	five hen	five hen
	'five hens'	'five hens'	'five hens'

However, with nouns that take affixes as a plural marker and are suppletive forms (totally different forms), plurality is expressed by both quantifiers as well as a plural morpheme. In other words, the plural nouns indicated by using different lexical items and broken plurals can be modified by quantifiers as presented below.

Soddo

		Singular	**Plural**
		Quantifier +N	**Quantifier +N**
(16)	a.	att mɨss	kitt gämiya
		one man	two men
		'one man'	'two men'
	b.	att goš	sost aguš-t
		one boy	three boys
		'one boy'	'three boys'
	c.	att bayy	sost bayy-očč
		one child	three child-PL
		'one child'	'three children'

Muher

		Singular	**Plural**
		Quantifier +N	**Quantifier +N**
(17)	a.	att mɨss	xʷett gämmɛ
		one man	two men
		'one man'	'two men'
	b.	att gäräd	sowast gɨred
		one girl	three girls
		'one girl'	'three girls'
	c.	attgʷäbbe	arbätt gʷäbb-abit
		one brother	four brother-PL
		'one brother'	'four brothers'

Eža

		Singular	**Plural**
		Quantifier +N	**Quantifier +N**
(18)	a.	att mɨss	xʷett gämmɨya
		one man	two men
		'one man'	'two men'
	b.	att gäräd	sost gɨred
		one girl	three girls
		'one girl'	'three girls'
	c.	att gʷäbbe	arätt gʷäbbe
		one brother	four brothers
		'one brother'	'four brothers'

3.1.1.2.3 Collective Nouns

Collective noun is a noun given to a group of people or things concerned as a unit. Collective nouns can be modified by the words like {maläk'}, {yädɨnk} in Soddo,{ lɨkk'e} in Muher and {bɨzä}, {nɨk'k'ar} in Eža which means 'many/several' which is used to express a plural in the collective. Examples are given below.

		Soddo	**Muher**	**Eža**
(19)	a.	maläk säb	lɨk'k'e säb	nɨk'k'ar säb
		many/several people	many people	many/several people
		'many people'	'many people'	'many/several people'
	b.	maläk' bayy	lɨk'k'e tɨkä	nɨk'k'ar/bɨzä tɨkä
		many child	many child	many children
		'many children'	'many children'	'many children'
	c.	maläk fɨyyäl	lɨk'k'e fäññä?	'bɨzä fɨyäk'
		many goat	many goat	'many goat
		many goats	'many goat	'many goats'

As it has been seen from the data, in all the three language, collective nouns do not take a plural morpheme. However, the collective prefix {nä-} is used with proper names of persons in the languages to express plurality as illustrated in the following examples from the three languages under study.

		Soddo	**Muher**	**Eža**
(20)	a.	nä-sälam	nä-bälay	nä-mʷɨraža
		PL-Selam	PL-Belay	PL-Mureja
		'Selam and others'	'Belay and others'	'Mureja and others'

b.	nä-tɨgɨst	nä-mʷɨlu	nä -sɨbani
	PL-Tigist	PL-Mulu	PL- sɨbany
	'Tigist and others'	'Mulu and others'	'Sibany and others'

As can be seen from the above examples, a proper noun used to refer a group of persons is formed by using the prefix {nä-}.

3.1.1.2.4 Mass Nouns

Mass nouns are nouns that do not have singular or plural forms separately. Mass nouns are uncountable and do not take the plural morpheme. In the languages under consideration, mass nouns do not take the plural marker to show plurality as the examples below show the case.

		Soddo	**Muher**	**Ežа**	**Gloss**
(21)	a.	ɨga	ɨga	ɨxa	'water'
	b.	äfat	fʷat	eb	'milk'
	c.	art'	k'ämä	k'ämä	'flour'
	d.	sɨrri	sɨrre	sɨnne	'wheat'

In these languages, various kinds of modifiers are used to express the large or small amount of mass nouns. Modifiers such as {mulä} 'full', {maläk'} 'many/several/a lot of', {maläs} 'a few/some', {k'una kubayya} 'a cup of', etc. are used to express the amount of mass nouns in Soddo. Similarely, {mʷɨra} 'full', {lɨk'k'e} 'many/a lot of', and {k'ärik'e/ɨnsɨyäk'e} 'a few' are used in Muher. In the same way, {mʷɨra} 'full', {nɨk'k'ar} 'many/several', {k'ärik'ar/ɨrsɨyäk'ar} 'a few', {gɨbɨtt} 'half' and {ɨnfʷɨyä} 'handful' are used in Ežа to show the amount of mass nouns as it is illustrated in the following examples.

Soddo

(22) a. mulä sini buna
full cup coffee
'a cup of coffee'

b. maläs äfat
some milk
'some milk'

c. k'una kubyya ɨga
one cup water
'a glass of water'

d. maläk' sɨrri
a lot wheat
'a lot of wheat'

		Muher	**Eža**
(23)	a.	sin mʷɨra k'awa cup full coffee 'a cup full of coffee'	sin mʷɨra k'awa cup full coffee 'a cupful of coffee'
	b.	ɨnsɨyäk'e fʷat some milk 'some milk'	ɨrsyäk'ar eb some milk 'some milk'
	c.	att wäšär ɨga one pot water 'a pot of water'	att wäšär ɨga one pot water 'a pot of water'

d.	xʷett	ɬnfʷɬyä	sɬrre		xʷett	ɬnfʷɬyä	sɬnne
	two	handful	wheat		two	handful	wheat
	'two handful wheat'				'two handful wheat'		

As can be observed from the examples above, the amount of uncountable nouns are expressed by their containers.

3.1.2 Gender

Gender is a grammatical classification of nouns. It classifies nouns and pronouns into masculine, feminine and neuter, depending on whether they are regard as male, female or without sex, respectively.

Gender is a grammatical category used for the analysis of word classes displaying such contrasts masculine/feminine, neuter, (Crystal, 1997:164).

In the languages under concern, nouns are treated as masculine or feminine. All the nouns which are naturally feminine [+human] in sex are feminine and all the rest are masculine. In other words, all nouns which are biologically masculine and inanimate nouns are masculine.

Unlike number marking system, the gender marking system of the languages under investigation does not show variation to make them into different categories. In all the three languages, the masculine- feminine treatment is not expressed by a gender marker attached to the noun. This gender distinction is marked by using the gender of the verb or the pronoun referring to the noun, different lexical items and by using modifier words as they are discussed in turn below.

3.1.2.1 Gender Expressed Lexically

Even though gender, in these three languages in particular and in Gurage languages in general, is not expressed morphologically; it is possible to indicate

it lexically. Thus, in the languages under consideration, two distinct word (roots) are used for masculine and feminine nouns. Such words are referred to as inherently gender marking nouns. In other words, this lexical distinction of gender takes place when the nouns are [+animate]. The following examples show this kind of gender distinction

Soddo

		Masculine	**Gloss**	**Feminine**	**Gloss**
(24)	a.	abi	'father'	ɨmmit	'mother'
	b.	zämmi	'brother'	ätit	'sister'
	c.	goš	'boy'	gäräd	'girl'
	d.	bora	'ox'	älam	'cow'

Muher

		Masculine	**Gloss**	**Feminine**	**Gloss**
(25)	a.	ab	'father'	adot	'mother'
	b.	gʷäbbe	'brother'	ättämʷ	'sister'
	c.	yɨǰǰ	'boy'	gäräd	'girl'
	d.	wädɛ	'young (M)'	zɛ	'young (F)'
	e.	färäz	'stallion'	wännad	'mare'
	f.	bora	'ox'	ɨnnam	'cow'

Eža

		Masculine	**Gloss**	**Feminine**	**Gloss**
(26)	a.	ab	'father'	adot	'mother'
	b.	gʷäbbe	'brother'	ättämʷ	'sister'
	c.	ärɨǰǰ	'boy'	gäräd	'girl'
	d.	wädya	'young (m.)'	zɨyä	'young (f.)'
	e.	färäz	'stallion'	wännad	'mare'
	f.	bora	'ox'	äram	'cow'

As can be observed from the data, suppressive gender marking system is used especially for kinship terms and for animate nouns in these three languages. There is no formal relationship between masculine and feminine forms. That means, the two forms have totally different phonological representation.

However, in all the three languages, the old feminine ending {-t} is tracable with noun 'woman'.[10]

	Soddo	**Muher**	**Eža**	
(27)	mɨss/mɨš-t	mɨss/mɨš-t	mɨss/mɨš-t	'man/woman'

As it can be seen from the example, in all the three languages, the segmental modification of the base is made in addition to the suffixation of {-t}. The modification could be considered as degemination of the final consonant /ss/ followed by palatalizaton as shown below.

/mɨss/	Underlying representation
*/mɨss-t/	Addition of /-t/
*/mɨs-t/	Degemination of /-s/
*/mɨš-t /	Change of /-s-/ to /-š-/
[mɨšt]	Surface representation

In Eža, the archaic feminine marker {-t} is also attested with proper names as in the following examples.[11]

		Masculine		**Feminine**	
(28)	a.	ebärɨyyä	'Eberyye'	ebäwä-t	'Eberwet'
	b.	šɨkurɨyä	'Shikurye'	šɨkurwä-t	'Shikurwet'

[10] Hetzron (1977:52:53) Proposes that some nouns show traces of the old feminie ending {-t): {mɨss} 'man' {mɨšt} 'woman', in names of women, and in the pair {ebärwä/ebärwät} 'such – and –such (M/F)'

[11] Chaha also has this feminine ending {-t} in proper nouns, while in Ennemor, it is {-d}.

c.	fʷänžɨyä	'Fonseaye'	fʷänžɨwä-t	'Fonseawet'
d.	mänǰɨyä	'Menǰiye'	mänǰu-t	'Menjut'
e.	badyä	'Badye'	badwä-t	'Badwet'

3.1.2.2 Gender Expressed by Using Modifiers

The other way of distinguishing gender in the languages under concern is using different modifier elements. Thus, {täbatt} and {ansit} in Soddo, {wɨr/täbätt} and {ansɨtt} in Muher and {wɨr/ täbatt} and {arɨst} in Eža are used for 'male' and 'female', respectively.

Soddo

		Maculine	Gloss	Feminine	Gloss
(29)	a.	täbatt fɨyyäl	'he-goat'	ansit fɨyyäl	'she-goat'
	b.	täbatt ät'ay	'he-sheep'	ansit at'ay	'she sheep'
	c.	täbatt ǰärä	'cock'	ansit ǰärä	'hen'
	d.	tabatt bɨč'ɨl	'he-mule'	ansit bɨč'ɨl	'she-mule'

Muher

		Masculine	Gloss	Feminine	Gloss
(30)	a.	täbätt fäňňa?	'he-goat'	ansɨtt fäňňa?	'she-goat'
	b.	täbätt t'e	'he-sheep'	ansɨtt t'e	'she-sheep(ewe)'
	c.	wɨr kuttäna	'cock'	ansɨtt kuttäna	'hen'
	d.	täbätt bɨ?ʷrä	'he-mule'	ansɨtt bɨ?ʷrä	'she-mule

Eža

		Masculine	Gloss	Feminine	Gloss
(31)	a.	täbatt fɨyäk'	'he-goat'	arɨst fɨyäk'	'she-goat'
	b.	täbatt t'ay	'he-sheep'	arɨst t'ay	'she-sheep (ewe)'

c.	wɨr kuttara	'cock'	arɨst kuttara	'hen'
d.	täbatt bɨʔʷrä	'he-mule'	arɨst bɨʔʷrä	'she- mule'

3.1.2.3 Gender Distinction Expressed in Personal Pronouns

In all three languages, gender distinction is made in the paradigm of personal pronouns. Hence, all personal pronouns except the first person distinguish between the masculine and feminine gender categories as shown below.

Soddo

		Masccline	**Feminine**	**Gloss**
(32)	a.	dähä	däš	'you (SG)'
	b.	dähɨm	dähm-a	'you (PL)'
	c.	kʷa	kʸa	'he/she'
	d.	kɨnnäm	kɨnnäm-a	'they'

Muher

		Masculine	**Feminine**	**Gloss**
(33)	a.	ax-ä	axʸ	'you(SG)'
	b.	axɨmʷ	axm-a	'you(PL)'
	c.	xʷa	xʸa	'he/she'
	d.	xɨnnämʷ	xɨnnäm-a	'they'

Eža

		Masculine	**Feminine**	**Gloss**
(34)	a.	ax-ä	axʸ	'you(SG)'
	b.	axu	axm-a	'you(PL)'

c.	x^{w}ɨt[12]	x^{y}ɨt	'he/she'
d.	xɨno	xɨnä-ma	'they'

However, as it has been seen from the data, there is internal modification (modification of segments) and affixation that take place to express gender distinction in the pronouns. That is, {-(m)a} is feminine marker in second person and third person plurals, while in second person singular masculinity is expressed by the element {-a}. Consequently, it may probably be said that gender is marked morphologically in the personal pronouns. It is also noted that, unlike Amharic, these languages distinguish gender in the 2nd and 3rd person plural categories.

3.1.3 Definiteness

Determiner is a term used in some model of grammatical description referring to a class of items whose main roles is to occur with nouns to express a wide range of semantic contrasts, (Crystal, 1997:100).

Determiners are elements that usually precede indicating or limiting nouns. The determiners are articles (definite or indefinite) in the languages under question.

3.1.3.1 Indefiniteness

Indefiniteness is a term used in grammar to refer to an entity (or group of entities) which is not capable of specific identification. In the languages under

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[12] In Chaha, Ennemor and Endägañ 'he' is {x^{w}ɨt (a)}, {huda} and {hudä}, and 'she' is {x^{y}ɨt (a)}, {hida} and {Šidä}, respectively. As Hetzron (1977:58) proposes, the proto- Semitic third person singular independent pronouns start with the same phoneme which merged with/h (x)/ in some of the languages and with /Š/ in some others. So, the initial /k-/ in the third persons comes from an original / h(x)-/ in Soddo. Furthermore, Leslau posits that the 3rd person singular independent pronouns have an element/h/ in Selti, /k/ in Soddo, /x/ in Chaha, Eža and Muher. According to him, it is difficult to decide whether the original form was /h/ that become /k/, /x/ or whether it was /k(x)/ that become /h/. However, he proposes that on the basis of the Ethiopian phonetic status the passage from /k(x)/ to /h/ is more plausible, (Leslau 1965:155).

investigation, indefiniteness is expressed by zero morpheme, {ϕ}, as in the following examples

Soddo

		Base/Indefinite	**Gloss**
(35)	a.	ɨmmit	'mother, a mother'
	b.	bayy	'child, a child'
	c.	ät'ay	'sheep, a sheep'
	d.	ǰärä	'hen, a hen'
	e.	gäräd	'girl, a girl'

		Muher	**Eža**	
		Base/Indefinite	**Base/Indefinite**	**Gloss**
(36)	a.	adot	adot	'mother, a mother'
	b.	tɨkä	tɨkä	'child, a child'
	c.	t'e	t'ay	'sheep, a sheep'
	d.	kuttäna	kuttara	'hen, a hen'
	e.	gäräd	gäräd	'girl, a girl'

As can be seen from the examples (35) and (36) above, the basic or citation form is used as an indefinite noun too.

Indefiniteness, in the three languages, is also expressed by the numeral, {att} 'one' having the meaning of 'a certain' as shown below.

	Soddo	**Muher**	**Eža**
(37)	att goš mät't'a-m	att yɨǰǰ bassa-m	att arɨǰǰ čännä-m
	one boy come-RPt	one boy come-Pt	one boy come-Pt
	'a boy came'	'a boy came'	'a boy came'.

3.1.3.2 Definiteness

Definiteness is used in grammar to refer to a specific identifiable entity (class of entities) (Crystal, 1997:107).

The morphological marking of definiteness groups the languages under study into two, namely Soddo, which shows definiteness by suffixing {-i} to the noun, in one hand and Muher and Eža in which the suffix {-we} is used to express definiteness, on the other hand, as it is discussed in turn below.

a. Soddo

In Soddo, definiteness is indicated by the suffix {-i} regardless of the number and gender feature of a noun as shown in the following examples.

(38) a. mɨss-i
man-DEF
'the man'

b. mɨšt-i
woman- DEF
'the woman'

c. bayy- i
child- DEF
'the child

d. bayy-očč-i
child-PL.-DEF
'the children'

e. färäz-i
horse-DEF
'the horse'

f. fɨyyäl-i
goat- DEF
'the goat'

If a noun ends in vowel, the vowel gets deleted when the definite marker {-i} is attached to it.

	Indefinite	Gloss	Definite	Gloss
(39) a.	ǰärä	'hen'	ǰär-i	'the hen'
b.	angačča	'cat'	angačč-i	'the cat'

c.	bora	'ox'	bor-i	'the ox'
d.	ge	'house'	ge-y-i	'the house'
e.	wälläho	'neighbour'	wälläho-y-i	'the neighbour'
f.	butɨttu	'rag'	butɨttu-y-i	'the rag'

As it can be deduced from the above examples, when two vowels occurring in different morphemes form sequences at the level of underlying representation, it is always the first vowel which is deleted. Whereas when two vowels appear in succession at morpheme boundary, glide insertion takes place. Hence, in examples (37a-c) the final vowels of the stems are deleted. While in examples (36d- g) the glide /y/ is inserted between the vowels.

However, a small group of nouns that end in /–i/ do not take the suffix {-i}. They remain the same in the definite form as shown in the following.

		Indefinite	**Definite**	**Gloss**
(40)	a.	abi	abi	'father/ the father'
	b.	zämmi	zämmi	'brother/ the brother'
	c.	gammaǰ̌ji	gammaǰ̌ji	'lowland/the lowland'

As can be seen from the above data, nouns ending with the vowel /-i/ the definite marker {-i} is not suffixed, first of all, because a long vowel may not be allowed word finally.

b. Muher and Eža

In these languages, the suffix {-we} is the definite article marker regardless of the gender and the number of the noun.

		Muher	**Eža**
(41)	a.	yɨǰ̌ǰ̌- we	arɨǰ̌ǰ̌-we
		boy- DEF	boy- DEF
		'the boy'	'the boy'

b.	gäräd- we	gäräd- we
	girl – DEF	girl- DEF
	'the girl'	'the girl'
c.	bora- we	bora- we
	ox-DEF	ox- DEF
	'the ox'	'the ox'
d.	ɨnnam-we	äram- we
	cow- DEF	cow-DEF
	'the cow'	'the cow'
e.	ättämʷ amʷit- we	ättämʷ - we
	sisters- DEF	sister(s)- DEF
	'the sisters'	'the sister(s)'

However, what is common for these languages under study regarding definiteness marking is that if the noun is modified by a qualifier, the definite marker is attached to the modifier but not to the noun. The modifiers can be adjective, possessor noun (complement of possession), demonstrative and relative classes as shown in the following examples in turn.

Adjective

In these languages, if a noun is qualified by adjective (s), the definite marker {-i/- we} is used with the adjective. The following examples illustrate the case.

Soddo

(42) a. maläs- i gäräd
small - DEF girl
'the small girl'

b. t'ɨk'ur gällif - i goš
black tall – DEF boy
'the tall black boy'

Muher

(43) a. ɨnsɨyyä- we gäräd b. t'ik'ur gällif- we yɨǰǰ
small- DEF girl black tall – DEF boy
'the small girl' 'the tall black boy'

Eža

(44) a. ɨrsɨyä- we gäräd b. t'ɨk'ur gef- we ärɨǰǰ
small- DEF girl black tall – DEF boy
'the small girl' 'the tall black boy'

Possessor noun

If a noun has possessor, the definite markers {-i} and {-we} are attached to the possessor nouns rather than the possessed noun, in Soddo and Muher and Eža, respectively, as in the following examples.

Soddo

(45) a. yä- goš- i ätit b. yä-gällɨf- i gäräd gunnän
GEN- boy- DEF sister GEN - tall- DEF girl hair
'the boy's sister' 'the tall girl's hair'

Muher and Eža

(46) a. yä- tɨkä-we adot b. yä- wabi- we mɨss bet
GEN-child- DEF mother GEN- kind – DEF man house
'the child's mother' 'the kind man's house'

As inferred from the above examples (45b) and (46b), even here, when the possessor noun is preceded by a modifier element, the definite marker is used with the modifier.

Demonstrative

If a noun follows a demonstrative, the definite marker is attached to the demonstrative as it is shown below.

Soddo

(47) a. za - i mɨss b. zi – i bayy
that – DEF man this – DEF child
'that man' 'this child'

Muher and Eža

(48) a. za(h) - we miss b. zi(h) - we tɨkä
that – DEF man this - DEF child
'that man' 'this child'

Relative Clause

When a noun is modified by a relative clause, which is formed by means of {yä-} plus a perfective verb or by zero morpheme with a non past in these languages, the definite marker {-i/-we} is used with the relative clause rather than with the noun. Consider the following structures.

Soddo

(49) a. yä - wäk'k'a - wi - n - i bayy
REL -hit(Pt) -1SS-3SMO-DEF child
'the child who I hit'

b. ɨnč'ä yä – fällät'- i mɨss
wood REL- split(Pt)- DEF man
'the man who splitted a wood'

Muher

(50). a. yä - bäss - äma - we gɨred
REL- come (Pt) -3PFS– DEF girls
'the girls who came'

b. yä - mʷät - ä - we ɬnnam
REL- die (Pt)-3SM-DEF cow
'the cow that died

Eža

(51) a. yä - čänn - äma - we gɬred
REL- come (Pt)-3PFS- DEF girl
'the girils who came'

b. tɬrama yä - t'änn - ax - na - we mɬšt
yesterday REL- call (Pt)-1SS-3SFO-DEF woman
'the woman whom I called yesterday'

In the above examples a and b in all case, the definite marker gets attached to the relative clause which precedes the noun.

3.1.4 Case

Case is a property of nouns when they appear in larger syntactic configurations, (Katamba, 1993:237). Case is an important inflectional category of nouns which indicates the syntactic relationship of one word to another in a grammatical construction. It expresses the role of nouns in a sentence.

Katamba also posits that case is a morphological phenomenon that can have syntactic and semantic functions. It is morphological in that it is expressed with an inflectional ending on the noun.

Case is classified in to two: syntactic or "Core" and semantic or "Peripheral". However, there is no clear consensus on the classification, core case is used to refer syntactic functions like subject and object (nominative- accusative)

distinction, where as peripheral case refers to dative, genitive, Ablative and the like. According to Katamba (1993), the core case is considered as "Grammatical" and the peripheral case as "Oblique".

There is similarity in case marking system across the languages under study. The languages use both morphological and syntactic way of expressing case. Most of the case markers in these languages are adpositions (prepositions and post positions or combination of pre- and post positions).

The only cases which are morphologically expressed, in the languages under question, are nominative, accusative, genitive and vocative. Therefore, this study focuses only on those case categories expressed by affixation as shown in the following discussion.

3.1.4.1 Nominative Case

The nominative case is a member of core cases that indicates the subject of a sentence. As Palmer (1978:106) describes, the function of nominative case is to indicate that the noun is the subject of the verb.

The system of nominative case marking in the languages under study does not show significant variation. There is no affix attached to a noun to indicate the subject of a sentence in the languages. Rather the nominative noun in these languages is marked by zero morpheme and the subject is expressed by its position. It always comes at the beginning of a sentence. Examples are given below.

Soddo

(52) a. mɨss ät'ay gäddäl - ä - m
man sheep kill- 3SMS- RPt
'A man has killed a sheep'

b. goš- i mät't'- a - m
boy- DEF. come - 3SMS-RPt
'The boy has come.'

Muher

(53) a. mɨss t'e k'ät't' - e - m
man sheep kill -3SMS -Pt
'A man killed a sheep.'

b. yɨjj̊̌ - we bäss -a - m
boy- DEF. come- 3SMS. –Pt
'The boy came.'

Ežа

(54) a. mɨss t'ay k'ät't'är - ä - m
man sheep kill- 3SMS-Pt
'A man killed a sheep.'

b . ärɨjj̊̌ – we čänn- ä - m
boy- DEF come-3SMS-Pt
'The boy came.'

In the above examples a and b in each language the subject nouns {mɨss} and {goš/yɨjj̊̌-we/ärɨjj̊̌-we} occur at the beginning of a sentence.

3.1.4.2 Accusative Case

Accusative case, which is the other type of core case in the languages under investigation, is a grammatical function of nouns which expresses the role of a noun as a direct object. In all the three languages, the accusative case marking system is the same, i.e., the accusative case is indicated by prefixing the

morpheme {yä-} to the noun. This accusative marking element {yä-} is formally the same to the relative clause marker discussed in section 3.1.3.2. Hence, the accusative case marker and relativizer are homomorphous to each other in these languages. The following examples are illustrate the case.

Soddo

(55) a. kʷa yä - kʸa gäddäll - ä - nat
he ACC-she kill(Pt)-3SMS-3SFO
'He killed her.'

b. ädi yä - gäräd - i ok'k'a - hu - nna
I ACC- girl – DEF hit (Pt)-1SS-3SFO
'I hit the girl'.

c. zi mɨss yä – za goš gäddäl - ä – nitt
this man ACC- that boy kill (Pt)-3SMS-3SMO
'This man killed that boy.'

d. mɨšt - i yä – bayy -hi tɨ -wäddɨd - it
woman–DEF ACC–child-3SFGEN 3SFS–love- 3SMO
'The woman loves her child.'

Muher

(56) a. xʷa yä - xʸa k'ät't'- e – na -m
he ACC- she kill - 3SMS-3SFO-Pt
'He killed her.'

b. anä ya - gäräd -we zännäf- xi - na - m
I ACC- girl - DEF hit -1SS-3SFO-Pt
'I hit the girl.'

c. zi(h) mɨss yä - za (h) yɨǰǰ k'ät't' –e - n - m
this man ACC – that boy kill-3SMS-3SMO-Pt
'This man killed that boy'

d. mɨšt - we yä- tɨkä- äxʸta tɨ- wäddɨd - n

woman-DEF ACC-child-3SFGEN 3SFS-love(Impf)-3SMO

'The woman loves her child.'

Eža

(57) a. xʷɨt yä - xʸɨt k'ät't'är-ä - na - m.

he ACC- she kill - 3SMS-3SFO- Pt

'He killed her'.

b. ɨyya yä- gäräd- we dännag- hɨ- na- m.

I ACC- girl- DEF hit-1SS-3SFO- Pt

'I hit the girl.'

c. zi(h) mɨss yä - za (h) ärɨǰǰ k'ät't'r- ä – ni -m

this man ACC– that boy kill-3SMS-3SMO-Pt

'This man killed that boy.'

d. mɨšt - we yä - tɨkä- äxʸta tɨ - rämʷd -ɨn

woman- DEF ACC- child -3SFGEN 3SFS- love(Impf)- 3SMO

'The woman loves her child.'

As can be seen from the above examples a, c and d in each case, if the direct object is determined either by the definite marker or by the possessive suffix pronoun, or by a demonstrative, it is expressed by prefix {yä-}. The accusative case marker is also attached to the object pronouns. Furthermore, these languages often express the direct object twice, i.e., by the accusative marker {yä-} and by the object suffix pronouns referring to direct object as in the examples a to d in each language.

In Soddo, Muher and Eža, there are occurrences in which the accusative case marker cannot be shown overtly, and the accusative marker {yä-} can also be used with an indefinite nouns shown in the following examples.

Soddo

(58) a. ge – ddi wo - t'rɨg k'ärräs – ku
house – 1SGEN INF-clean begin (Pt)-1SS
'I began to clean my house'.

b. bä – agar- ɨňňa yä - nägda ya-käbr-ut
ABL- country -1PGEN ACC-guest Impf- respect-3SMO
'One respects guest in our country.'

Muher

(59) a. bet – äňňa wä-ssɨs k'ärräs - xu –m
house-1SGEN INF-clean begin- 1SS- Pt
'I began to clean my house.'

b. bä – gäňň- ɨnna yä – bazäna ya - käb^{w}r - itt
ABL- country-1PGEN ACC- guest Impf–respect - 3SMO
'One respects guest in our country.'

Eža

(60) a. bet – äna wä -ssɨs k'ännäs - hu –m
house-1SGEN INF-clean begin - 1SS- Pt
'I began to clean my house.'

b. bä – gänn- ända yä – bazära ya- käwr- i
ABL-country-1PGEN ACC- guest Impf – respect-3SMO
'One respects guest in our country.'

In examples (58a), (59a) and (60a), the accusative case which is followed by the possessive suffix pronoun does not take the accusative case marker {yä-} nor is it marked by the object suffix pronoun in the verb. It is also noted that in examples (58b), (59b) and (60b), the accusative case marker {yä-} is used with an indefinite noun which is taken as generic word.

3.1.4.3. Genitive Case

According to Lyons (1968: 290), genitive case is defined as the case of possession. It is included under peripheral.

The morphological marking of the genitive case does also not vary across the languages under consideration. Hence, the genitive case is marked by prefixing {yä-} to the noun. Thus, in the languages, the relative clause, accusative and genitive case markers are homomorphism since they are formally the same and functionally different. The following examples illustrate the case.

Soddo

(61) a. yä- aster ge
GEN - Aster house
'Aster's house.'

b. yä-goš-i ätit
GEN –boy- DEF sister
'The boy's sister'

c. yä-gälɨf –i mɨss mɨšt
GEN -tall – DEF man wife
'The tall man's wife'

d. yä-za mena mɨss ge
GEN-that kind man house
'That kind man's house'

Muher and Eža

(62) a. yä-aster bet
GEN- Aster house
'Aster's house'

b. yä-yɨjj/arɨjj-we ättämʷ
GEN-boy –DEF sister
'The boy's sister.'

c. yä-za wabi mɨss bet
GEN-that kind man house
'That kind man's house'

d. yä-sɨssä-we mɨss mɨšt
GEN-thin – DEF man wife
'The thin man's wife'

As is possible to observe from the above example (a) in each, case when the genitive case marker {yä-} is prefixed to the base which begins with a vowel, the vowel of the affix is deleted to resolve undesirable vowel sequences. Beside, if a noun has a qualifier, the genitive case marker {yä-} is affixed to the first elements. i.e., the qualifier as in the examples (c) and (d) in each case.

Genitive case can also be expressed with the complement of possession {yä-} attached to the stand alone forms (Pronouns) and nouns.

3.1.4.3.1 The Possessive Affixes of Pronouns

In all these three languages, possessive pronouns can be formed by adding the morpheme {yä-} to personal pronoun as can be observed below.

Persons	Soddo		Muher		Ežа		Gloss
	Personal Pronouns	Possessive Pronouns	Personal Pronouns	Possessive Pronouns	Personal Pronouns	Possessive pronouns	
1SG	Ädi	yä-äddi[13]	anä	yä-anä	ɨya	yä-ɨyya	'I/my'
2MS	dähä	yä-dä	axä	yä-axä	axä	yä-axä	'you/your
2FS	Däs	yä-däs	ax^{y}	yä-axy	ax^{y}	yä-ax^{y}	You/your
3MS	k^{w}a	yä-k^{w}an	x^{w}a	ya-x^{w}a	x^{w}ɨt	yä-x^{w}ɨt	'he/his
3FS	k^{y}a	yä-ki	x^{y}a	yä-x^{y}a	x^{y}ɨt	yä-x^{y}ɨt	'she/her'
1PL	ɨññа	yä-ɨññа	ɨnna	yä-ɨnna	yɨna	yä-yɨna	'we/our'
2PL	Dähim	yä-dähɨm	axim^{w}	yä-axɨm^{w}	axu	yä-axu	'Your/your' (M).
2FL	Dähma	yä-dähma	axma	yä-axma	axma	yä-axma	'Your/your' (F)
3MP	kɨnnäm	yä-kɨnnäm	xɨnnäm^{w}	yä-xɨnnäm^{w}	xɨno	yä-xɨno	'They/their' (M)
3MF	kɨnnäma	yä-kɨnnäma	xɨnnäma	yä-xɨnnäma	xɨnäma	yä-xɨnäma	'They/their' (F)

Table 3: Possessive Suffixes of the Pronouns

As can be observed from the table, even though the languages have the same possessive affix, which is {yä-}, it seems that they differ in their possessive pronouns since they do not have the same pronoun. However, the possessive pronouns, in Muher and Ežа appear to have similar structure, especially in second person. Thus, Muher comes slighitly closer to Ežа than to Soddo.

3.1.4.3.2. The Possessive Suffixes of the Nouns

These possessive affixes of the noun, in each language under study, are indicated by different bound forms of the possessive pronouns occurring immediately after the possessed noun as the following table shows the case.

[13] When two vowels come in succession across morpheme boundaries, the morphophonemic process takes place. The phonological process can be observed as follows.

/yä -+ ädi/	[yädi]	'my'	(Soddo)
/yä-+anä/	[yanä]	'my'	(Muher)
/yä-+ɨyya/	[yɨyya]	'my'	(Ežа)

Person	Soddo	Muher & Eža	Gloss	Soddo	Muher	Eža	Gloss	Soddo	Muher	Eža	Gloss
1SG	ɨmmit	adot	'mother'	-ɨddi[14]	-āññа	-āna	'my'	ɨmmit-iddi	adot-āññа	adot-āna	'my mother'
2MS	ɨmmit	adot	'mother'	-dāh	-axā	-axā	'your'	ɨmmit-dā	adot-axā	adot-axā	'your mother'
2FS	ɨmmit	adot	'mother'	-dāš	-ax^{y}	-ax^{y}	'your'	ɨmmit-dāš	adot-ax^{y}	adot-ax^{y}	'his mother'
3MS	ɨmmit	adot	'mother'	-āw	-x^{w}ɨta	-āta	'his'	ɨmmit-āw	adot-x^{w}ɨta	adot-āta	'her mother'
3FS	ɨmmit	adot	'mother'	-ki	-x^{y}x^{y}a	-āx^{y}ta	'her'	ɨmmit-ki	adot-āx^{y}x^{y}a	adot-āx^{y}ta	'our mother'
1PL	ɨmmit	adot	'mother'	-ɨññа	-ɨnna	-ānda[15]	'our'	ɨmmit-ɨññа	adot-ɨnna	adot-ānda	'your mother'
2MP	ɨmmit	adot	'mother'	-dāhɨm	-axɨm^{w}	-axu	"your'	ɨmmit-dāxɨm	adot-axim^{w}	adot-axu	'your mother'
2FP	ɨmmit	adot	'mother'	-dāhma	-axma	-axma	'your'	ɨmmit-dāxma	adot-axma	adot-axma	'your mother'
3MP	immit	adot	'mother'	-kɨnnām	-xɨnnām^{w}	-āx^{w}ɨna	'their'	ɨmmit-kɨnnām	adot-xɨnnām^{w}	adot-āx^{w}ɨna	'their mother'
3FP	immit	adot	'mother'	-kɨnnāma	-xɨnnāma	-āxnāma	'their'	ɨmmit-kɨnnāma	adot-xɨnnāma	adot-axnāma	'their mother'

Table 4. Possessive Affixes of the Nouns

[14] Whenever the absolute form ends with vowel certain morphophonemic process can be shown as in the following example:

/zämmi+-ɨddi/	[zämmɨddi]	'my brother'	(Soddo)
/abba+-äññа/	[abbañña]	'my father'	(Muher)
/abba+-äna/	[abbana]	'my father'	(Eža)

[15] Hetzron (1977:59) uses {-āndra} for possessive pronoun suffixes of 1sg. in Eža. But it is inaccurate datum. Ennemor has {- nira} 'our'.

As one can infer from the table, in Soddo, the suffixes which show possession in plural and 2nd person feminine are independent personal pronoun. Similarly, Muher uses the personal pronoun as the possessive suffixes of noun in all except 1st person and 3rd person singular. On the other hand, in Ežа, in only 2nd person that the affixes are personal pronoun.

Moreover, regarding the possessive suffixes of nouns, as has be seen from the table, the languages under consideration differ from each other. However, a little similarity is observed between Muher and Ežа with their possessive marking suffixes of the 2nd person category.

3.1.4.4 Vocative Case

The vocative case signifies addressing some one. In all the three languages, vocative case is expressed by the suffix {-o}. Examples are given below.

(63) a. gäräd-o (Soddo, Muher and Ežа)
girl- VOC
'you, daughter/ girl'

b. mɨšt-o (Soddo, Muher and Ežа)
woman- VOC
'You, woman'

c. mɨss-o (Soddo, Muher and Ežа)
man-VOC
'you, man'

d. dengʸa-o (Muher and Ežа)
boys- VOC
'you, boys'

As can be seen from the above examples, a phonological process, i.e., deletion of a vowel of a noun before the vocative marker {-o} is observed (see example (63d)).

In addition, Muher and Ežа use lexical items that function as vocative forms {gʸärä} ' you, girl' and {yɨǰǰ̌(ä)} (Muher) {ärä} (Ežа) ' you, boy' which are derivations of {gäräd} 'girl' and {yɨǰǰ̌} (Muher), {ärɨǰǰ̌} (Ežа) 'boy', respectively.[16] These forms are also used to express an endearment between spouses.

[16] Chaha and Ennemor have {gärä},and {gä(r)} ' you, girl' and {ärä} and {ää(r)} 'you, boy', respectively.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 Noun Derivation

Derivation is the process by which a new lexical item is derived from an existing word, root or stem through the processes of affixation, compound, reduplication or internal modification. Crystal (1999:99) defines derivation as "..a term used in morphology to refer to one of the main categories or processes of word formation...Derivational affixes change the grammatical class of morpheme to which they are attached". In other words, as the process is analyzed interms of base and additional entities, one would consider categorical or feature differences between the input and the output. Hence, in this chapter, how nouns are formed in Soddo, Muher and Ẽža will be discussed.

In the languages under being studied, nouns can be derived concatinatively and non-concatinatively from the three word classes in the languages such as nouns, adjectives and verbs.

4.1.1 Concatinatively Derived Nouns

Concatinatively derived nouns are nouns that are formed by adding affixes to nominal base. In the languages under concern, some nouns are derived by affixes to nominal bases (nouns and adjectives). The derived nouns can be categorized into various types based on their semantic feature namely abstract, group identity and residual nouns.

4.1.1.1 Abstract Nouns

Abstract nouns are nouns which designate abstract (non-concrete) entities. No variation has been observed across Soddo, Muher and Ẽža with regard to abstracted noun formation. Thus, such nouns in the languages, are derived

from nominal or adjectival bases by suffixing {-nnät}, which is fairly productive, to the base as in the following examples.

a. Abstract nouns derived from nominal base

In Soddo, Muher and Eža, abstract nouns are derived from nominal bases by suffixing {-nnät} to the base as it is shown in the following examples.

Soddo

		Base	Gloss	Absract nouns	Gloss
(1)	a.	säb	'human'	säb-ɨ-nnät	'humanity'
	b.	bayy	' child'	bayy-ɨ-nnät	'children'
	c.	mɨss	'man'	mɨss-ɨ-nnät	'manhood'
	d.	zämmi	'brother'	zämm-ɨ-nnät	'brotherhood

Muher and Eža

		Base	Gloss	Absract nouns	Gloss
(2)	a.	säb	'human'	säb-ɨ-nnät	'humanity'
	b.	tɨkä	'child'	tɨk-ɨ- nnät	'children'
	c.	mɨss	'man'	mɨss-ɨ-nnät	'manhood'
	d.	gʷäbbe	'brother'	gʷäbbe-nnät	'brotherhood'

b. Abstract nouns derived from ajectiveal base

Abstract nouns in the languages under being studied, can also be derived from adjectival bases by affixing {-nnät} to the base consider the following examples.

		Base	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
(3)	a.	zega	'poor'	zeg-ɨ-nnät	'poorness'
	b.	gäwwa	'foolish'	gäww-ɨ-nnät	'foolishness'
	c.	mena	'kind'	wabi-nnät	'kindness'

d.	bɨššа	'red'	bɨšš-ɨ-nnät	'redness'
e.	k'äc'in	'thin'	k'äc'in-ɨ-nnät	'thinness'
f.	däggänna	'rich'	däggänn-ɨ-nnät	'richness
g.	must	'lazy'	must-ɨ- nnät	'laziness'

Muher and Eža

		Base	**Gloss**	**Derived from**	**Gloss**
(4)	a.	zega	'poor'	zeg-ɨ-nnät	'poorness'
	b.	gäwwa	'foolish'	gäww-ɨ-nnät	'foolishness'
	c.	wabi	'kind'	wab-i-nnät	'kindness'
	d.	bɨššа	'red'	bɨšš-ɨ-nnät	'redness'
	e.	sɨssä	'thin'	sɨss-ɨ-nnät	'thinness'
	f.	dängännä	'rich'	dängänn-ɨ-nnät	'richness'
	g.	ožža	'lazy'	ožž-ɨ- nnät	'laziness'

As it can be inferred from the above data (1), (2), (3) and (4) , the languages under consideration do not allow a three term consonant cluster in a word. Thus, the occurrences of three consonant clusters (or sequences) at the morpheme boundary is restructured by the insertion of the epenthetic vowel {i}. As a result, in examples (1a, b, c and e), (2a, c and e), (3e and g), the epenthetic {i} is inserted between the base and the affix {-nnät}. But when the nominal or adjectival base ends in /a/ or /ä/, the vowel gets deleted and the epenthetic vowel /ɨ/ gets inserted before the suffix {-nnät} which is attached to the base as in (1d), (2b,f), (3, a-d, f) and (4 a, b ,d-g) above. Where as, in a base ending in /i,e,o/the vowel remains without change when the morpheme {-nnät} is suffixed to the base as in (1f), (2d) and (4c) above.

4.1.1.2 Group Identity Nouns

Group identity nouns are nouns which are used to refer to some one associated with certain group or referent. There is slight difference among Soddo, Muher and Eža with regard to the form of the affix used to form this type of nouns. In Soddo and Muher, the suffix {-äňňä} or {- ätäňňä} is used, while in Eža {-ännä} or {-ätnnä} used as the nominalizing element. However, this is due to the absence of /ň/ in the phonemic inventory of Eža.

Soddo

	Base	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
(5)	a. färäz	'horse'	färäz - äňňä	'horseman'
	b. mängäd	' road'	mängäd- äňňä	'traveller'
	c. mabär	'association'	mabär-ätäňňa	'member of an association'
	d. ɨdɨr	'an association for financial business'	ɨdɨr -ätäňňä	'member of idir'
	e. ɨk'ub	'an association for financial business'	ɨk'ub-ätäňňä	'member of ik'ub'

Muher

	Base	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
(6)	a. färäz	'horse'	färäz - äňňä	'horseman'
	b.zäba	'road'	zäba- äňňä	'traveller'
	c. mabär	'association'	mabär-ätäňňa	'member of 'an association'
	d. ɨdɨr	'an association for financial business'	ɨdɨr -ätäňňä	'member of idir'

e. ɬk'ub	'an association for financial business'	ɬk'ub-ätäňňä	'member of ik'ub'

Eža

	Base	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
(7) a.	färäz	'horse'	äräz- ännä (äňňa)	'horseman'
b.	ema	'road'	ema- ännä	'traveller'
c.	mabär	'association'	mabär-tännä	'member of self–help group'
d.	ɬdɬr	'an association for financial business'	ɬdɬr- tännä	'member of idir'
e.	ɬk'ub	'an association for financial business'	ɬk'ub- tännä	'member of ik'ub'

As it is possible to observe from the above examples, the distribution of affixes is determined semantically, i.e., the form that takes the morpheme {-ätäňňä/-ätäňňa/-ätnnä} can be taken as an association or a group, while the form that takes the morpheme {-äňňä /-äňňa /-ännä} is an elsewhere condition. That means {-äňňä/ ännä} may be used to refer to a group or an individual.

When two vowels come in succession across morpheme boundaries the vowel of the base is deleted for diphthong simplification as in (6b) and (7b) above.

In addition, in Muher and Eža, there are some group identity nouns that are derived by affixing the morphemes {-mäňňä} and {–männä}, respectively. Hence, the morpheme (s) can be considered as an isogloss placing Muher and Eža together (in one group). The following examples show the case.

Muher

	Base	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
(8) a.	gʸäz	'communal labour'	gʸäz-mäňňä	'member of communal labour'
b.	wäǰä	' herd'	wäǰ -mäňňä	'a one who tend domestic herd'
c.	čučča	' farm'	čʷač-mäňňä	'farmer'

Eža

	Base	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
(9) a.	gʸäz	'communal labour'	gʸäz- männä	'member of communal labour'
b.	wäǰä	'herd'	wäǰ - männä	'a one who tend domestic herd'
c.	čučča	' farm'	čʷač- männä	'farmer'

As it is possible to depict from the above data, whenever a nominal base ends in a vowel, the vowel is deleted when the suffix {-mäňňä/- männä} is affixed to the base as in (8) b and (9) above. An interesting exception is to be found in the case of { čučča } which becomes { čʷač-mäňňä/-männä } when inflected for group identity noun[17].

There is also a noun which is formed by suffixing {-wäňňä} and {-wännä} in Muher and Eža, respectively. However, in Soddo, this noun is formed by suffixing {-äňňä} to the base. This noun formation is given below.

Soddo

	Base	Gloss	Derived form	Gloos
(10)	bɨšä	'mourning	bɨš-äňňä	'mourner'

[17] However, even here the present researcher believes that some phonological processes are taking place to arrive at the surface level.

/ čučča- mäňňä/	Underlying representation
*/ čuča - mäňňä/	Consonant deletion
*/ čuač - mäňňä/	Metathesis
*/ čʷač - mäňňä/	Labialization before back vowel
[čʷač – mäňňä]	Surface representation

Muher

	Base	Gloss	Derived form	Gloos
(11)	bɬxʸä	'mourning	bɬxʸ-wäňňä	'mourner'

Eža

	Base	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
(12)	bɬxʸä	'mourning	bɬxʸ – wännä	'mourner'

As we have seen in the above examples (10) to (12), when the suffix {- äňňä/-wäňňä/-wännä/ is attached to noun which end in a vowel, the vowel of the root is deleted because it is not allowed to have a vocalic cluster in Soddo, Muher and Eža in particular and Semitic languages in general. Moreover, there are a number of nouns, in Soddo, Muher and Eža, which are formed by suffixing the elements {-yä}, {yä-...-(y)yä}.

Soddo

	Base (nominal)	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
(13)	t'ɬbät'	'morning'	yä- t'ɬbät'- yä	'beforenoon'

Muher

	Base (nominal)	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
(14)	a. yorar	'evening'	yorar- yä	'afternoon'
	b. t'ɬbä	'morning'	yä- t'ɬbä- enayä	'beforenoon'
	c. bašä	'disease'	yä- baš – yä	'patient'
	Base (verbal)	**Gloss**	**Derived form**	**Gloss**
	d. Čä?-	'abandon'	taw- yä	'orphan'
	e. mʷät-	'died'	yä –mʷät-yä	'animal that dies without being being slaughted'

Eža

	Base(nominal)	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
(15) a.	gäbbat	'evening'	yä -gäbbat- yä	'afternoon'
b.	k'ɬrärä	'morning'	yä- k'ɬrär- yyä	' beforenoon'
c.	bašä	'disease'	yä-baš -yä	'patient'

	Base (verbal)	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
d.	Čä?-	'abandon'	to- yyä	'orphon'
e.	mʷät-	'died'	yä-mʷät-yä	'animal that dies without being slaughtered'

From the above examples one can observe some phonological changes. When a base begins with a semi- vowel /y/, {yä-} of the discontinuous morpheme {yä-...-y(y) ä} gests deleted when it is attached to the base as in (14a). In addition, if a base ends in a vowel, the vowel will be deleted to break the impermissible vowel sequence that occurs in the process of affixation as in (14b, c) and (15b, c) above. In the case of example (14d) and (15d), however, there is no formal relationship between the base and its derived form. Thus, the researcher believes that it needs further investigation.

4.1.1.3 Residual Nouns

Residual nouns are which refer to things that are left as residues of certain actions or results of actions (Baye, 1994:112). In Soddo, the residual noun is formed by suffixing the morpheme {-očča} to the nominal base. However, the morpheme is not productive and hence, it is impossible to find numerous examples in this group as the following examples.

Soddo

	Base	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
(16) a.	t'ɬrragi	'collection of sweep'	t'ɬrrag – očča	'the residues of the sweep'
b.	lɬk'k'ami	'collection of what is pick up'	lɬk'k'am - očča	'the residual of what is picked up'

In contrast, in Muher and Eža, one cannot find the corresponding residual nouns to what we have for Soddo. An exception is the form {nɬk'ak'ämʷačča} 'the residual of what is pickup' which found in Eža. But unlike in Soddo, this noun has no nominal base in Eža, it is rather derived from verbal base, {näkkäm-} 'picked'.

4.1.2 Non- concatinatively Derived Nouns

In the previous section, it has been seen the process of forming new words involving affixation. In this section, nouns which are derived non_concatinatively are discussed. In the process, morphemes are not linearly arranged.

The non-concatinatively derived nouns in the languages includes agentive nouns, instrumental, action, result, manner and process nouns which will be discussed as follows

4.1.2.1 Agentive Nouns

Agentive nouns are nouns that are used to refer to the performer of an action denoted by a verb. In all the three languages, agentive nouns are derived from verb roots by suffixing {-i} and using the vowel sequences of {ä...a}, {a...a} or {-a-} that get transfixed in to the root as in the following examples.

Soddo

	Root	Derived form	Gloss
(17) a.	t'-r-g	ťärag- i	'sweepings'
b.	g-f-f	gäfaf –i	'exploiting'
c.	n-t'-k'	nät'ak'- i	'snatcher'

Muher

	Root	Derived form	Gloss
(18) a.	m-l-t'	malač' –i	'exploting/selfish'
b.	č- t- ʔ	čʷač –i	'farmer'
c.	š- m-t	šämač -i	'consumer'
d.	ʔ - b-ʔ	wab- i	'geneous'
e.	f-r-x	faraxʸ-i	'patient'

Ežа

	Root	Derived form	Gloss
(19) a.	Č –t- ʔ	Čʷač -i	'farmer'
b.	ʔ- t-r-k-s	atrakaš-i	'one who causes to hate'
c.	ʔ-w-t-ť	awťač'- i	'raiser'
d.	x- r-ʔ	xar-i	'wise'
e.	f-n-x	faraxʸ-i	'patient'

In examples (17a-c), (18a, c) and (19a), in addition to suffixing { -i}, the vowel sequence of {ä...a} is transfixed into the root to derive the agentive nouns, while the vowel sequences of {-a-} and {a...a} are inserted into and {-i} is suffixed to the root to form this noun as in (18d) and (19d) and in (18c) and (19c, e), respectively. In example (19b), the suffix {-i} attached to the verb root and {a...a...a) gets transfixed into the root to form the agent noun. Moreover, in example (19c) /n/ became /r/ when {-i} is suffixed to the root. This is because as it is mentioned in section 2.1.2, in Ežа, geminate or non- geminate /n/

becomes /r/ intervocalic ally when an affix is attached to a base. As the data show, the suffix {-i} triggers palatalization in the case of Muher and Ežа.

4.1.2.2 Action Nouns

Action nouns are nouns referring to actions designated by the verb. These nouns have the same form with that of infinitivals. In the languages, action nouns are formed by attaching the prefix {wo-} (Soddo) and {wä-} (Muher) and (Ežа) to the root. Hence, even if the difference is very slight, forming of this noun is an isogloss which puts Muher with Ežа rather than with Soddo as shown below.

Soddo

		Root	**Derived form**	**Gloss**
(20)	a.	l-b-s	wo-lbɨs	'wearing'
	b.	f-r- k	wo-frɨk	'to have patience'
	c.	m-w-t	wo- mut	'dieing'
	d.	r-w-t'	wo- ruť	'running'
	e.	ʔ -l-f	wo- läf	'going'

Muher

		Root	**Derived form**	**Gloss**
(21)	a.	l-b-s	wä-lbäs	'wearing'
	b.	f- r-x	wä- fräx	'to have patience'
	c.	m-w-t	wä- m^{w}t	'dieing'
	d.	r- w-ť	wä- rot'	'running'
	e.	ž- n- g	wä- žarg	'going'

Ežа

		Root	Derived form	Gloss
(22)	a.	t-x-d-r	wä- - txädär	'wearing'
	b.	f-n-x	wä- fräx	'to have patience'
	c.	m-w-t	wä- m^{w}t	'dieing'
	d.	r- w-t'	wä- rot'	'running'
	e.	w- r-ʔ	wä- wär	'going'

From the above forms, it is possible to observe that such nouns in the languages have different patterns. These are patterns, which consist of tri-radical and quadric-radical roots that appear underlyingly and in the surface representation. Thus, in examples (20a) and (20b), the affix {wo-} is attached to the root to form the action noun, and the epenthetic vowel {ɨ} gets inserted between the ultimate and the penultimate radicals, while in examples (21a, b) and (22b), the affix {wä-} is attached to the root and the central vowel {ä} is inserted between the last two radicals to derive such nouns.

In example (22a), which presents quadri-radical roots, the vowel sequence of {ä...ä} is transfixed in to the root in addition to prefixing {{wä-} to form the action noun. The other pattern is that the affixes {wo-} and {wä-} are attached to the jussive form as in (20c-e) and in (21c-e) and (22c-e), respectively.

4.1.2.3 Instrumental nouns

Instrumental noun denotes the instrument, the object or means by which something is done. Formation of this noun separates Soddo from the other two languages, i.e , in this language, the derivation of such noun takes action noun stems as base, and suffixing {-ia/-o/-ä} to the base as has been given in the following.

Soddo

		Base/Action-noun	Derived form	Gloss
(23)	a.	wo-lgɨd	wo-lgäǰ-a	'stirring rod'
	b.	wo-damt'	wo-damäč'-a	'materials for smoothing cotton'
	c.	wo-ftɨl	wo-ftäy- e	'spindle'
	d.	wo-nfa	wo-naf-o	'bellows'
	e.	wo-sif	wo-sif- ä	'awl'

As can be observed from the data, in the examples (23a-c), the /i-/ of the suffix {-ia} triggers palatalizaiton and the consonants /d/, /t'/ and /l/ are changed in to /ǰ,č',y/, respectively. Furthermore, the vowel {ɨ} which occurs between the ultimate and penultimate radicals in the base becomes { ä} when the affix {-ia} is attached to the base as in (23a-c), while in example (23d), metathesis is taking place, i.e., /a/ follows /f/ in the base but it precedes /f/ when the suffix {-o} is affixed to the base.

In Muher and Eža, instrumental nouns are derived by affixing the morpheme {-bbʷä(ʔe/k'ar)} to the imperfective verb form. The following examples are instrumental nouns in the languages.

Muher

	Root	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
(24) a.	yɨfäʔa-	'he splits'	yɨfʷäʔʷ-ä-bbʷä(ʔe)	'an instrument for splitting'
b.	yasɨs-	'he cleans'	yɨašš-ɨ-bbʷä(ʔe)	'an instrument for cleaning'
c.	yɨsäč'-	'he drinks'	yisäč'-ɨ- bbʷä(ʔe)	'an instrument for drinking'

Eža

	Root	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
(25) a.	yɨfäʔa-	'he splits'	yɨfʷäʔʷ-ä-bbʷä ('kar)	'an instrument for splitting'
b	yasɨs-	'he cleans'	yɨašš-ɨ-bbʷä(k'ar)	'an instrument for cleaning'
c.	yɨsäč'-	'he drinks'	yɨsäč'-ɨ–bbʷä(k'ar)	'an instrument for drinking'
d.	yɨseff-	'he stiches'	yɨseffʷ-ɨ-bbʷä (k'ar	'plaiting bodkin'

However, as it can be seen from the examples above, the morpheme {-ʔe} and {-k'ar} are not obligatory components. In the process one can also notice segmental modification. In examples (24a) and (25a), for instance, the final vowel of the root, {-a}, is changed into {-ä} when the morpheme {-bbʷä (ʔe/k'ar)} is suffixed to the root. In example (24b) and (25b) {-i} of the root gets deleted and /s/ becomes /Š/ in the derived form. Labialization also takes place when the morpheme is attached to the root as in (24a) and (25a, d). Insertion of an epenthetic vowel /ɨ/ is another process attested in the instrumental noun formation. Thus, /ɨ/ is inserted at morpheme boundaries to break an impermissible consonant clusters as in (24b, c) and (25b-d).

4.1.2.4 Result nouns

Result nouns are those refer to the results of an activity or to the out come of actions. A variation in the formation of result noun is not attested across the languages under consideration. Thus, result nouns in all the languages under study are derived by suffixing {-at} to the root and using the vowel sequences of {ɨ... ɨ}, {ɨ...a}, {-ɨ-}, {-ä-} and the like.

Soddo

	Root	Derived form	Gloss
(26) a.	g-r-f	gɨrrɨf- at	'whiping'
b.	g-r-z	gɨrrɨz- at	'circumcision'

c.	s-b-r	sɨbbɨr- at	'break'(n.)
d.	m-r -ʔ	mɨrrɨʔ_at	'blessing'
e.	b-r-s	bɨrrɨš-at	'yarning for'
f.	m-k- ʔ	mɨk- at	'problem'
g.	g-r-ʔ	gɨr- at	'satiety'(n.)
h.	k-s- ʔ	kɨs- at	'becoming skinny'

Muher

		Root	**Derived form**	**Gloss**
(27)	a.	z-n-f	zɨnnɨf- at	'curse'
	b.	m-r-ʔ	mɨrrɨʔ –at	'blessing'
	c.	w-l-ʔ	wɨllɨʔ – at	'sprain'
	d.	bʷ-r-s	bʷɨrrɨš-at	'yearning for
	e.	ʔ - z-n	ɨzzɨrr-at	'dandruff'
	f.	gʸ-n- ʔ	gʸɨnn- at	'fear'(n.)
	g.	ʔ_f-ň	fʷäňň- at	'rest'(n.)
	h.	Č'-r- ʔ	ťɨwarr- at	'sickness'
	i.	ʔ -n- ʔ	oy- at	'shout'(n.)
	j.	ʔ -m- ʔ	ämʷ- at	'malicious gossip'

Eža

		Root	**Derived form**	**Gloss**
(28)	a.	m-n- ʔ	mɨnnɨʔ - at	'blessing'
	b.	w-l- ʔ	wɨllɨʔ – at	'sprain'
	c.	ʔ -z-r	ɨzzɨnn- at	'dandruff'

d.	b^w-n-s	b^wɨnnɨš- at	'yearning for'
e.	m^w-g^y- ʔ	m^wäg^y- at	'bural'
f.	ʔ -f^w-n	f^wɨy- at	'rest'(n.)
g.	ʔ -m- ʔ	äm^w- at	'malicious gossip'
h.	ʔ_n- ʔ	oyy-at	'shout'(n.)
i.	Č-r- ʔ	t'un- at	'load'
j.	m-č- ʔ	m- at	'anger'

In examples (26a-e), (27a-c) and (28a-d), in addition to suffixing {-at}, the vowel sequence {ɨ...ɨ} gets inserted into the root to derive the result nouns. While, in examples (26f-h), (27f) and (28f) the vowel {ɨ} is inserted into the roots that have the bi- radical roots and {-at} is attached to the roots form such nouns. Still there are result nouns which are derived by inserting {ä} as in (27g) and (28). Result noun like example (27h) is formed by transfixing the vowel sequence {ɨ...a} into the root with suffixing {at} to the root. Consonantal modification also occurs in the process of deriving the result nouns, such as consonant deletion, labializaiton, palatalization, and so on. For instance, /s/ became/Š/, /m/ is changed into /m^w/ in the examples (26e), (27f), and (28d) and in (27j) and (28g), respectively, when the affix {-at} is attached to the roots. On the other hand, in example (28j) /-č-/ which occurs in the root gets deleted when the suffix {-at} is attached to the root.

As it is mentioned so far, the alternance of liquids at any position, especially intervocalically when an affix is attached to a base is common occurance in Western Gurage language including Muher. Thus, /n/ becomes /r/ and /r/ becomes /n/ when {-at} is suffixed to the roots as in (27e) and in (28e), respectively.

In addition, in Muher and Ežа, these nouns are formed by attachment of the suffixes {-iä,-a,-nna} to the root and transfixation of sequences of vowels such as {ɨ...a}, {ɨ...ɨ} and so on in to the root as in the following.

Muher

		Root	**Derived form**	**Gloss**
(29)	a.	f-r-x	fɨrrax^{y}-iä	'patience'
	b.	w-d-d	wɨddaǰ-iä	'love'
	c.	t'-b-t'	t'ɨbb^{w}ač'-iä	'handful'
	d.	d-r-g	dɨrrag^{y}- iä	'cough'
	e.	b-k^{y}-ʔ	bɨx^{y}-iä	'mourning'
	f.	g-l-m-t'	gɨlmɨč'č'-a	'angery'
	g.	g-r-z	gɨrz-ɨ-nna	'old age'
	h.	k'^{y}-t'- ʔ	k'^{y}ɨč'-ɨ-nna	'exhaustion'

Ežа

		Root	**Derived form**	**Gloss**
(30)	a.	f-n-x	fɨnnax^{y}- iä	'patience'
	b.	n-m-d	nɨmmaǰ- iä	'love'
	c.	t'-b- t'	t'ɨbb^{w}ač'- iä	'handful'
	d.	d-n-g	dɨnnag^{y} – iä	'cough'
	e.	g-d- ʔ	gaǰ- iä	'hunger'
	f.	g-r-m-t'	gɨrmɨč'č'-a	'angry'
	g.	t'-f^{w}- ʔ	t'ɨf^{w}-a	'satiety'

h.	g-n-z	gɨrz-ɨ-nna	'old age'
i.	kʸ-t'-ʔ	kʸɨč'-ɨ-nna (när)	'exhoustion'

In examples (29a-e) and (30a-e), the result nouns are derived by suffixing {-iä} to the roots and using the vowel sequence of {...a} that gets transfixed into the roots. The vowel sequence of {ɨ...ɨ} is inserted into the root in addition to suffixing {-a} to the roots as in (29f) and {30f) to form the result noun. {ɨ} gets transfixed into the roots between the first and the second radicals of the roots and the affixes {-nna} is attached to the root to get the derived forms as in (29g, h) and (30g, h) above.

Besides, consonantal modification such as labialization as in (29c) and (30c), alternance of liquids in (30h) and palatalizaiton as in (29a-d, f and h) and (30a-e, f and i)and most of the palatalizaiton of the last consonant of the root is triggered by the phoneme /–i-/ of {-iä}. Consequently, all these morphemes (suffixes) are isoglosses uniting Muher with Eža rather than with Soddo.

Eža has also a few result nouns which are derived by suffixing {-ä, -ät} and using the vowel melody of {ɨ...e} and { ä/ɨ} which get inserted to the root as it is shown below.

		Root	**Derived form**	**Gloss**
(31)	a.	s-n-f	sɨnnef- ä	'fear'
	b.	k'-n-m	k'ɨnnem-ä	'insult'
	c.	f-k'-ʔ	fäkʸ-ät	'scrapping(of enset)'
	d.	f-n-t'	fɨrt'- ät	'headache'

In the example (31a and b), {-ä} is suffixed and {ɨ...e} gets transfixed into the roots to form the result nouns, while in the example (31c and d) in addition to suffixing {-ät}, {ä} and {ɨ} are inserted between the first two radicals, respectively. In addition, in the example (31c) /k'/ became the corresponding palatalized phoneme, /kʲ/ when the suffix {-ät} is added to the root.

4.1.2.5 Process (Gerundive) Nouns

Process or gerundive nouns are those which show the course of an action designated by a verb. Derivation of such nouns groups the languages under study in to two as will be discussed in turn below.

a. Soddo

In Soddo, gerundive nouns are derived from verbal root bases by the attachment of the suffix {-a} to the stem form having {ä-ä} vowel melody in between the radicals. However, these radicals remain the same in both their surface and underlying representations. Consider the following examples.

		Root	**Derived form**	**Gloss**
(32)	a.	w-z-l	wäzäl-a	'working'
	b.	s-b-r	säbär-a	'braking'
	c.	t'-r-g	t'äräg-a	'sweeping'
	d.	g-f-f	gäfäf-a	'exploitation'
	e.	ʔ -r-s	ärš-a	'ploughing'
	f.	š- ʔ	woš-a	'searching'

As can be seen from the data, the action noun in the language is derived by suffixing the morpheme {-a} and using the vowel sequence of {ä...ä} that gets inserted in to the radicals as in (32a-d), while in example (32e) {ä} is inserted between the first two radicals to form the noun. The last example has the same form with that of action nouns in addition to suffixing {-a}.

b. Muher and Ežа

In these languages, process or gerundive nouns are formed by the prefixation of the affix {wä-}. Hence, process and action nouns are formally identical (homomorphes). The examples below illustrate the case.

Muher.

		Root	**Derived form**	**Gloss**
(33)	a.	s-b-r	wä-sbɨr	'breaking'
	b.	m-č'- ʔ	wä- mäč'č'	'washing'
	c.	m-l-t'	wä- mlɨt'	'exploiting'
	d.	ʔ-s-s	wä-ssɨs	'sweeping'
	e.	s-r- ʔ	wä-särä	'buying'
	f.	š- ʔ	wä-se	'searching'

Ežа

		Root	**Derived form**	**Gloss**
(34)	a.	s-b-r	wä-sbɨr	'breaking'
	b.	m-č'- ʔ	wä-mäč'č'	'washing'
	c.	m-n-t'	wä-mɨrt',	'exploiting'
	d.	ʔ-s-s	wä-ssɨs	'sweeping'
	e.	s-y- ʔ	wä-säyä	'buying'
	f.	š- ʔ	wä-se	'searching'

As it is possible to deduce from the above data, the morpheme {wä -} is prefixed to a base noun and an epenthetic vowel {ɨ} gets inserted between the ultimate and penultimate radicals to derive the process nouns as in (33a, c, and d) and

(34a, c, and d) above. However, in examples (34) b, e and (34) b, e, the nouns are formed by prefixing {wä-} to the roots and inserting the vowel melodies {ä} and {ä...ä}, respectively, in to the roots. In the last example, in both case, {e} is added into the root in addition to affixing {wä-}, and in the same example/Š/ became /s/ in the process of forming the process noun.

In addition to this, there are pieces of process nouns which are derived by suffixing {-a, -ät} to the root as in the following.

Muher

		Root	**Derived form**	**Gloss**
(35)	a.	Č-t- ʔ	čučč-a	'ploughing'
	b.	f- ʔ	faʔ- ät	'scrapping(of enset)'

Eža

		Root	**Derived form**	**Gloss**
(36)	a.	Č-t- ʔ	čučč- a	'ploughing'
	b.	n-t'- ʔ	nuč'č'- a	'runing'
	c.	f- ʔ	fäʔ - ät	'scrapping (of enset)'

4.1.2.6 Manner Nouns

Manner nouns are those nouns that show how a certain action takes place. The formation of these nouns also causes to Muher and Eža be grouped together and Soddo to standalone.

a. Soddo

In Soddo, manner nouns are derived from verbal root bases by preffixing {a(C)-} where C stand for the copy of the first radical ofthe verb root as shown below.

		Root	Derived form	Gloss
(37)	a.	s-b-r	as-sɨbabär	'manner of breaking'
	b.	l-b-s	al-lɨbabäs	'manner of dresing'
	c.	n-t'-k'	an-nɨt'at'äk'	'manner of snatching'
	d.	m-n-z-r	am-mɨnɨzazär	'manner of changing'
	e.	g-l-b-t'	ag-gɨlɨbabät'	'manner of turnovening'

As we can observe from the data, in addition to affixation, reduplication of the penultimate radical takes place. Furthermore, the vowel sequences of {ɨ...a...ä} and {ɨ... ɨ...a...ä} that get transfixed in to the roots are used to derive the manner nouns as in (37a-c) and (37d and e), respectively.

b. Muher and Eža

Unlike in Soddo, in Muher and Eža, these nouns are formed by affixing of {wä-} to the verbal root bases. Consequently, process, action and manner, nouns, in these languages, have the same form. Consider the following examples.

Muher

		Root	Derived form	Gloss
(38)	a.	s-b-r	wä-lbäs	'manner of dressing'
	b.	l-b-s	wä- sbɨr	'manner of breaking'
	c.	t-g-d-r	wä-dgädär	'manner of sleeping'
	d.	k'-t'-r	wä-k't' i	'manner of killing'
	e.	z-n-g	wä-žarg	'manner of walking'
	f.	n-k-s	wä-nk'ɨs	'manner of bitting'

Ežа

		Root	Derived form	Gloss
(39)	a.	s-b-r	wä-sbɨr	'manner of breaking'
	b.	t-x-d-r	wä-txädär	'manner of dressing'
	c.	t-g-d-r	wä-dgädär	'manner of sleeping'
	d.	k'-t'-r	wä-k't'ɨr	'manner of killing'
	e.	w-r-ʔ	wä-wär	'manner of walking'
	f.	z-n-g	wä-žarg	'manner of walking'
	g.	n-k-s	wä-nkɨs	'manner of bitting'

In examples (38c) and (39b and c) above, in addition to affixing {wä-} to the roots, the sequence of vowel {ä...ä} is inserted between the last two radical is to derive the manner nouns. Where as {wä-} is prefixed and {ɨ} is inserted between the ultimate and penultimate radicals as in (38a and f) and (39a, d and g) above. /n/ is changed in to /r/ intervocalically when {wä-} is prefixed to the root as in (38e) and (39e), and /z/ become /ž/ in the same example.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

This chapter tries to summarize and conclude the discussions made in the previous chapters on the aspects of phonological and morphological features of the three Gurage languages under investigation. It also points out on position of Muher in the Gurage clusters.

5.1 Summary and Conclusion

The classification of the Gurage languages has been found a controversial issue among various scholars. Scholars like Leslau classified Muher within the Western Gurage groups, while others like Hetzron group it in the Northern Gurage languages.

This study makes use of data from three selected Gurage languages to work on morphological feature of nouns. The selection is random from Northern Gurage and Western Gurage groups except the case of Muher which creates controversy among scholars.

Variations are observed at phonological and morphological levels of the languages. At phonological level, among the languages selected for comparison, Soddo tends to differ from the other two. In other words, considering the phonemic inventories of the languages, Soddo appears to be divergent from the other two. It lacks labialized labials and palatalized velars from its consonant inventory, and it lacks the open vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ which are part of the vowel phonemic inventory of Muher and some Western Gurage languages. However, Soddo has preserved the vowel system of the Proto –Ethio-Semitic. In the inventory of consonant segments, Ežа also lacks /ñ/.

An alternance of l, r and n is a characteristic feature of Muher and Ežа.

The morphological features of noun inflection and derivation are considered for comparison. Under inflection, number, gender, definiteness and case are discussed. Regarding number, significant variation has been observed in plural marking system, i. e., Soddo uses two suffixal elements reduplication of the last radical to express plurality in nouns. In contrast to Soddo, Muher and Ežа express plurality by zero morpheme. More over, all the three languages use inernal modification suppletive forms (totally different forms) to express plurality in some nouns.

With regard to gender, all the languages under concern do not express gender by a morpheme attached to the noun. Rather they mark it by using different lexical items, personal pronouns and modifier words.

Like number marking system, definiteness marking system groups the languages under investigation into two: Soddo in one group, Muher and Ežа in the other. Thus, Soddo expresses definiteness by suffixing {-i}, while Muher and Ežа mark it by the element {-we}.

Unlike both number and definiteness marking systems, case marking system does not show variation across the languages under study. These languages express both accusative and genitive cases by the prefix {yä-}. Hence, in these languages accusative and genitive cases markers formally the same but functionally different. That means, they are homomorphous to each other. Similarly, all the three languages use the suffix {-o} to express vocative case.

Regarding derivation of nouns, nouns can be derived concatinatively and non-concatinatively from the three word classes, namely nouns, adjectives and verbs. Under concatinatively derived nouns, abstract nouns, group identity and residual nouns which are formed by suffixing different to the nominal bases are discussed.

Non-concatinatively derived nouns which have been discussed in the study include agentive nouns, instrumental, action, result, process and manner nouns. These nouns are derived from verb roots by affixing different morphemes using different vowel sequences that get transfixed into the roots.

However, most of the derived noun formations group the languages under consideration into two: Soddo in one group and Muher and Eža in the other.

Based on analysis of the data, it is possible to conclude that the three languages compared belong to two related languages. Muher and Eža share many features of each other than they do with Soddo.

Regarding with archaism of the languages, Soddo seems to be found more conservative to preserve the archaic forms, rather Muher and Eža appear to be more innovative. Hetzron, cited in James and Theodora Bynon (1975:117), also proposes that Northern Gurage is a continuous survival of Proto_Outer South Ethiopic.

5.2 Recommendation

Based on the results obtained from the analysis of the grammatical features one can suggest that Muher is closer to members of the Western Gurage groups than to that of Northern Gurage in which Soddo belongs. Thus, the present finding confirms Leslau's classification of Muher within the Western Gurage members. However, the researcher would like to suggest that further research has to be carried on to come up with a better reclassification of the Gurage linguistic group.

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis has not been presented for degree in any University, hence it is my own original work and that all sources of materials used for this thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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Place.....

Date of Submission.....

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as a thesis advisor.

Name.....

Signature.....