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WORD FORMATION IN GEDEO

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Key to Symbols and Abbreviations

Symbols

- + = has that value
- = lacks that value
- < = comes from
- = becomes
- // = phonemic transcription
- { } = morphemic transcription, but if stated also allomorphic transcription
- [] = phonetic transcription, also phrasal enclosure
- * = ill form

Abbreviations

- A^{af} = Adjectival affix
- ABSOL = Absolutive
- ABST = Abstract Nominal, Abstract nominalizing suffix
- ACTU = Actuality
- ANIM = Animate
- A^r = Adjectival root
- AUX = Auxiliary
- BEN = Benefactive
- CAUS = Causative
- CAUSZ = Causativized
- CE = Compounding Element
- COMP = Compound
- CRF = Complete Reduplicated Forms
- DCAUSZ = Double causativized
- DET = Determiner

DIMU	= Diminutive
DTRZ	= Double transitivized
FEM/f	= Feminine/female
FREQ	= Frequentative
FUT	= Future
GEN	= Genitive
GEND	= Gender
GER	= Gerundive
IMPERF	= Imperfective
INF	= Infinitival
INST	= Instrumental
INTENS	= Intensive
INTR	= Intransitive
ITER	= Iterative
LOC	= Locative
MAS/m	= Masculine/male
N ^{af}	= Nominal affix
N ^r	= Nominal root
NEG	= Negative (marker)
PASS	= Passive
PERF	= Perfective
PL	= Plural
POL	= Polite
POSS	= Possessive
PRF	= Partial Reduplicated Forms
RECAUS	= Reciprocal Causative
RECP	= Reciprocal
REF	= Reflexive
RES	= Result Nominal, Result Nominalizer
RESP	= Respect
SG	= Singular

SR	= Suffixal reduplication
STAT	= Stative verb, stative verbalizer
S/O	= Someone
S/t	= Something
TR	= Transitive
TRVZ	= Transitivity
af	= Verbal affix
V	= Verbal affix
V ^r	= Verbal root
V _t	= Transitive verb
V _i	= Intransitive verb
WRR	= Whole root reduplication
WWR	= Whole word reduplication
1S	= First person singular
3m	= Third person masculine
3f	= Third person feminine
3ms	= Third person masculine singular
3fs	= Third person feminine singular

ABSTRACT

This paper describes the word formation processes, i.e. affixation, compounding, and reduplication, in Gedeo. It is organized in six chapters. The first chapter presents the introductory statements in which the background, objective, significance, methodology, and limitation of the thesis are stated. In the second chapter, earlier accounts of works on the phonology and morphology of Gedeo, along with brief descriptions of the people, the area, and the language are discussed. Some theoretical issues of the present study have also been treated under this chapter. The third chapter deals with affixation in Gedeo, where suffixation is the only process to take place. Different suffixes with a categorical status N^{af} , V^{af} , and A^{af} are identified in the language, and served to derive nominal, verbal, and adjectival forms. Since suffixes are considered as heads of derivation, based on lexicalists' view, all the derivatives in Gedeo take the feature of their suffixes by feature percolation. The fourth chapter is concerned with compound formation. About four compound classes, which include compound nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs, are attested in the language. The fifth chapter discusses the possible reduplication processes in Gedeo, where both partial and complete reduplications are identified. Finally, chapter six presents a conclusion.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

Morphology focuses on the study of word structure. According to Payne (1997:20), it attests the internal structure of words in which a system of adjustments is made on the shapes of words. This adjustment may be inflectional or derivational. Consequently, morphology is grouped into two major branches: inflectional morphology and word formation (Bauer 1983:33).

Word formation, the particular focus of the study, deals with the formation of new lexemes from given bases by adding or inserting affixes [affixation], and by combining two or more potential lexemes [compounding] (ibid).

As word formation is the production of complex¹ forms, which are produced by derivation and compounding, this paper describes these features in Gedeo, one of the Highland East Cushitic (HEC) Languages spoken in the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR).

Even though, Gedeo is spoken by a large number of people, 626,553 ethnic group speakers according to the 1994 (1998 edition) Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia, it is not, exhaustively studied, as far as my review of literature is concerned. Hence, the absence of such an exhaustive work motivates the present writer to work on the word formation of the language, at least, to narrow this research gap.

Furthermore, the researcher is also initiated to work on this topic assuming that if the derivational affixes, compound words, and other possible word formation processes of the language are identified, they would be helpful for dictionary makers and text book writers.

1.2 Objective of the Study

The general objective of the research is to investigate the morphology of Gedeo, particularly the derivational feature. Hence, it will examine the possible word formation processes, and suggest rules that can capture such derivations.

In general, the study tries to specifically answer the following basic questions:

- What affixes form which lexical categories and sub categories, and how? Are they productive?
- What is the categorical status, and semantic/syntactic features of such affixes?
- Is it the feature of the root or the affix that percolates to the whole derived form?
- Does reduplication have any significant role in the derivation?
- What are the possible compounding patterns, and how are they made?
- What rules could be proposed for the formation of each 'complex' form?
- In general, what phonological, morphological, semantic, and syntactic features are observed in the course of derivation?

1.3 Significance of the Study

As the objective of the thesis is to analyze the word formation processes that take place in Gedeo language, and to suggest the possible word formation rules, I believe that the following points would be of value:

1. The study may contribute to the development of the morphological investigation of the language by clearly identifying and presenting the derivational affixes, compound classes, and reduplicated forms.
2. The outcome of this research may be used for the preparation of textbooks, and other related teaching materials, such as dictionaries, grammar books, in the language.
3. The research may also serve as a stepping-stone for other researchers who want to make further analysis on the language.

1.4 Scope and Limitation of the Study

In describing the nature of a language, be it phonological, morphological, syntactic or semantic aspect, it is advisable to identify, first, the dialectal variations, if any, and focus on the particular dialect spoken in the specified area. According to Wedekind (1990:44), referring Sasse (1981b: 198), Gedeo has two dialects: the Northern and Southern dialect. The present writer restricts himself to the dialect spoken in Yirgachefe and its surrounding area.

Based on the lexicalist approach, particularly the weak lexicalist, (this will be treated well in 2.5) the present paper focuses only on word formation of Gedeo. It is not the aim of the thesis to treat the inflectional aspects of the language. But it is not to mean that no inflectional

features will be discussed, whenever necessary such features will be described.

1.5 Methodology of the Study

The methodology employed in this study is collection of data from primary sources (i.e. from native speakers) through interview, paying attention to basic word lists (Swedish word lists). The researcher prepares word paradigms that can show different morphological, especially derivational, features, and also phrases or clauses as the case may be, in the language, which both the researcher and the informants can understand. Then, the informants will be asked to utter each word, and to construct phrases or clauses in their own language. Moreover, they will be invited to produce compound words in their own language, having enjoyed some compound constructions in the language common for both the researcher and the informants. Consequently, various affixes, roots/stems, and possible compound and reduplicated forms will be identified.

The researcher records on tape what the informants produce, side by side transcribing their utterances phonemically using IPA symbols. But for the ejectives, [p' t' k' c'] are employed, as they are the most commonly used symbols in Ethiopian languages. In the process of transcription, the researcher listens the recorded tape again and again carefully, whenever necessary, in order to make sure that what is transcribed is exactly the same as what is uttered. Having collected the data in this way, it is tried to organize them in the manner that would be helpful for analysis.

Analyzing the data on the basis of theories of word formation, lexicalist hypothesis in this case, would be the next step. As Chomsky (1970) first outlined in his lexicalist position, all nominalization (derivation and

compounds) are listed independently in the lexicon, and will be treated as if they were fully lexicalized (or as Bauer's term 'simplex') lexemes.

Since word formation involves affixation, compounding and reduplication, among others, the data that show each of these parts are independently examined. Consequently, possible word formation rules would be formulated for the analyzed data.

CHAPTER TWO

Review of Related Literatures

2.1 Introduction

It has been long time since minority languages have got attention in the field of research in Ethiopia. Among these we can refer to Highland East Cushitic Languages like Gedeo, Sidama, etc. As Wedekind (1990:17) points out the research project of Addis Ababa University and the Language Academy, which formerly focused on the study of Geez and Amharic, later included languages such as Sidama and Gedeo, with the speakers from Sidamo and Gedeo areas as language workers and researchers. Thus, it paves the road for different researchers to turn their eyes towards the minority languages. Hence, there observed a growing number of studies on various aspects of the languages, that is, not only on linguistic and socio-linguistic aspects, but also on other issues related to culture, religion, and so on.

Consequently, more researches appeared, to be specific to the scope of the study, on the linguistic aspects of Highland East Cushitic Languages, and to be more specific, on Gedeo Language. In the following subsections, in (2.2) previous studies related to Gedeo language, in (2.3) the fundamental aspect of the present study, in (2.4) about the Gedeo people and their language, and finally in (2.5) theoretical issues on word formation will be discussed.

2.2 Previous Studies

In this section materials produced in relation to the linguistic aspects of Gedeo are discussed. At first, those that focus on the phonology of Gedeo, are examined and a brief summary of the phonology of the

language is presented. Then, the works, which focus on the morphology of the language, will be treated.

A. The works that focus on phonology

Klaus Wedekind is the one, among others, who produced lots of materials on Gedeo phonology. In 1980 he wrote an article entitled "Sidama, Derasa, Burji – Phonological Differences and Likenesses". In this work he compared the phonological similarities and differences among these three languages. In fact, he took most of the information for the phonological inventories of the two (Sidama and Burji), as he has already noted in the article, from Greenberg's (1959; 1963) and Houis' (1971) work. However he made the phonological inventory of Gedeo by his own. As a result, he presented the full consonant and vowel inventories of the three languages as follows:

Chart of consonant phonemes and contrastive features²

	Labial	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless fricatives	<i>f</i>	s	š		h
plosives	p (B)	t	č	k	ʔ
ejectives	p' (SD)	t'	č'	k'	
implosive	pɓ (B)				
Voiced implosive		d			
plosives	b	d	ǰ	g	
vibrant		r			
lateral		l			
nasals	m	n			
semivowels	w		y		
fricative		z (B)			

Chart of Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Non-high	e	a	o

(Wedekind (1980: 21))

But in his 1990's book 'Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 52' he discarded the glottal stop /ʔ / from the list; rather he added the bilabial ejective /p'/ which he formerly restricted its presence to Sidama only, to the consonant list of Gedeo.

Similarly, Lulseged (1981) made a comparative work on the phonology of Gedeo and Amharic for his MA thesis entitled "A Contrastive Analysis of Phonologies of Gedeo and Amharic". This thesis is grouped into six chapters: Introduction, Description of the Gedeo phonology, Description of the Amharic phonology, Error Prediction, Error Analysis, and Conclusion.

He identified twenty-eight segmental phonemes in Gedeo, of which the twenty three are consonants and the rest five are vowels. The phonemic charts of consonants and vowels, according to him, are as follows:

A Phonemic Chart of Gedeo Consonants

		Bilabial	Labio-dentals	Dental	Palatal	Retro-flexive	Velar	Glottal
Stop	vd	b		d			g	
	vl			t			k	ʔ
Glottalized	vl	p'		t'			k'	
Implosive	vl					d'		
Affricate	vd				ʃ			
Glottalized	vl				č			
	vl				č'			
Fricative	vl		f	s	š			h
Nasal	vd	M		n				
Liquid Trill	vd			r				
Lateral	vd			l				
Semivowel	vd	W			y			

A Phonemic Chart of Gedeo Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	ɛ		ɔ
Low		a	

In the present work it is believed, based on the data collected from the native speakers, that the phonemic inventory of Gedeo consonants made by Lulseged is more plausible for its inclusion of /ʔ/³. Because, it is observed in the present work that this sound, /ʔ/, is frequently used in the language as in, for example, /ʔade/ 'he took', /haʔwe/ 'he drank', and has a phonemic status. For this second notion, i.e. phonemic status, look at the following minimal pair:

ʔade= he took
 kade=he became

This minimal pair assures that such consonants are phonemes as they result in meaning variation. Hence, the present writer agrees with Lulseged's identification of Gedeo consonants, and considers them as phonemic inventory of the language except his categorization of [d, t, t', s, n, l, r] under dental, which are considered in the present work as alveolar, similar to Wedekind (1980:21).

With regard to the vowel inventory, however, the present writer takes a different stand from Lulseged (1980). As is shown already, Lulseged gives phonemic values to /ɛ/ voiced lax unrounded mid open front vowel, and /ɔ/ a voiced lax rounded mid-open back vowel, and he considers /e/ and /o/ as allophones of the respective sounds. Nevertheless, in the present study Gedeo is analyzed as having the following five short vowels with their long counterparts:

	Front	Central	Back		Front	Central	Back
High	i		u	High	i:		u:
Mid	e		o	Mid	e:		o:
Low		a		Low		a:	

In Gedeo phonology, consonant cluster is possible in word medial position. This can be observed from /sunk'e/ 'he kissed', /ʔerge/ 'he sent' and 'haʔwe' 'he drank', where the consonant clusters nk, rg, and ʔw are respectively used. According to Lulseged the maximum number of consonant clusters is two, but /r/ or /l/ may precede a geminated consonant. However, in the present study it is observed that not only /r/ or /l/, but also /ʔ /, /n/ or /m/, as in /baʔlla/ 'wide', /woʔmma/ 'full',

and /haʔwendde/ 'be drunk' (f), /ganendde/ 'be hit' (f), and /wodiʔimbba/ 'to the river', come before geminated consonants.

In general, nasals, liquids and glottal stops always occur as the first member of the cluster, whether the second member is geminated or not, which is also in harmony with Wedekind (1980) and Lulseged (1981).

With regard to the stress rule of Gedeo, both Wedekind (1980) and Lulseged (1981:20) discuss that:

- a) the final syllable of the word stem is stressed
- b) the penultimate syllable is stressed, except in rare cases, when suffixes are attached to the stem
- c) if more than one suffix follows the stem, another stress is added on the penultimate syllable of the word.

Wedekind (1990:53) further elaborates the stress rule in Gedeo that "stress falls on the final marked vowel (underlyingly 'long' or 'heavy'); where the final vowel is unmarked, stress falls on the penultimate". This can be illustrated from the following examples:

- a) /gogá/ 'skin'
/gulbó / 'knee'
- b) /gogá-ke/ 'It is a skin'
/gulbó-ke/ 'It is a knee'
- c) /danca-té-báni/ 'She is not beautiful'
/ʔelo-tt'e-báni/ 'It is not good'

On the other hand, both Wedekind (1980) and Lulseged (1981) presented, eight different syllable structures of Gedeo, but Lulseged adds one more. (In fact, as shall be discussed later, this additional syllable pattern is rejected by the present writer.) These syllable patterns are listed below:

Syllable system ³	Example	Gloss
cv-	<u>f</u> o-fa	'to cross'
cvv-	<u>f</u> aa-na	'foot step'
-cv	fa- <u>l</u> a	'pray'
-cvv	k'aa- <u>n</u> ee-ssa	'shame'
-C ₁ C ₁ V	wo- <u>l</u> li	'big'
- C ₁ C ₁ VV	k'i-tt' <u>e</u> e-sse-ma	'to check'
- C ₁ C ₂ V	?a- <u>n</u> ga	'arm'
- C ₁ C ₂ VV	ba- <u>r</u> sii-sa-mma	'teacher'
(- C ₁ C ₂ C ₂ V)	fu- <u>l</u> cce	'takeout'

However, it does not seem to me, as long as my informants are concerned, that the final syllable pattern, which is added by Lulseged (1981), is a possible one. I would rather assume it should be segmented in to two, and the initial /c/ must be part of the previous syllable so that the syllable pattern becomes C₁VC₂-C₁C₁V. Consequently, a different syllable pattern could be proposed. Look at the following:

Syllable system	Stem	Gloss
cvc-	?a <u>n</u> - e-δe	wash(BENF)
	<u>f</u> ul-cce	take out
-cvc-	?e- <u>g</u> e?-nna	wisdom
	?o- <u>s</u> o?-lli-cca	laughter

Thus, having this in mind one can claim that there are, in addition to the above systems with the exception of the latter one, cvc- and -cvc- syllable patterns in Gedeo.

In general, cvc- and -cvc- should be added to the syllable structure of Gedeo presented by Wedkind (1980) and Lulseged (1981).

B. The works that focus on morphology

Apart from his works on phonology, there are some materials produced by Klaus Wedekind on word lists, morphology, syntax, and texts of the Gedeo language. In 1977 he prepared a Gedeo (Derasa) word book: "Gedeo-English-Amharic and English-Gedeo". In 1978 he prepared five volumes of Gedeo Word lists sorted by computer for trilingual dictionary. By the same year he wrote an article entitled "Gedeo texts, initial paragraphs arranged for discourse analysis".

"Some Notes on the Verb Morphology of Gedeo" is another contribution of Wedekind in 1980. In this article, he pointed out about the verb stem forms, person and aspect markers, and syntactic suffixes of dependent and independent verb forms. For instance, with regard to verb stem forms he identified $cv(v).cc^4-$ pattern, as in say /fa:rs-/ 'sing', and, different patterns of reduplication, i.e., $cv.cvc-$, as in /daddar-/ 'tear apart', and $cvc.cvc-$, as in /gurgur-/ 'sell'. He also gives examples like $hud\int-i-jjo-tee?e\ dage?eeni$ 'because of the work(ing) he came' for showing syntactic suffixes. He further noted that there would be different forms of suffixes depending up on the inflectional and derivational features, including reduplication. By derivational features he means 'causatives', 'passives', 'benefactives', and the like.

In 1990, he wrote a book called "Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 52. Generating Narratives: Interrelations of Knowledge, Text Variants, and Cushitic focus Strategies". In this book, he gives few pages for the discussion of some features of Gedeo, Sidama, and Burji morphology. However, it is not the objective of the book to analyze morphological features of the languages. As he clearly indicated in the book (Wedekind 1990:40), the work focuses on "syntax and text properties, rather than lexical cognition and morphology".

Abebe Mebrate (1986(E.C)) is the other person who works on the morphology of Gedeo. In 1986(E.C) he wrote his B.Ed thesis (in Amharic) entitled [jɛgɛdɪʔoŋŋa gɨss sɪna miʔɨllad], which means "Morphology of Gedeo verbs", presented at Kotebe College of Teacher Education. In the section that treats inflectional morphemes, he briefly discusses the person, gender, tense, and imperative markers. But in the other section, where derivational morphemes are treated, he shows how nouns are derived from verbs, and how passives, causatives, and reduplication are formed.

A senior essay entitled "Noun Morphology of Gedeo" by Tadese Hailu (2005) is another contribution. This paper describes the inflection, derivation, and compounding of the nominal classes of the language. Hence, Tadese tries to identify inflectional suffixes that mark gender, manner, and cases, and he shows the pattern of nominal derivation and compound noun formation.

Apart from the phonological and morphological works discussed so far, Gobena (2001) made his B.A thesis on the Syntax of the language, with a title "Relative Clause in Gedeo". This paper analyses the position and types of relativization. It also states the rules of head nouns in relative clauses.

The Present Study

In the review of previous works in Gedeo, it is observed that phonological as well as morphological and syntactic issues have been raised by some writers. However, those works, though they have a great contribution, do not affect the undertaking of the present study. The works, particularly those which are made on the morphology of Gedeo have a close relation to the topic under discussion. But, since they are not exhaustively done, as far as my review is concerned, and have a point of departure on

coverage (for the present work also encompasses other categories such as nominal, adjectival, and compound forms), they can not be considered as complete and finalized by themselves, so is the present work undertaking.

The present study focuses, especially, on how words are derived from other lexical items, and how compound lexemes and reduplicated forms are made. It exhaustively treats the word formation processes that take place in the course of deriving new lexemes, and uncover rules which govern the derivational (word formation) processes.

Since the phonological aspect is already treated by others, this paper benefits from those. But by making some necessary modifications, as is clearly seen in the previous section, it treats the morphological aspects. Thus, affixation, in which different bound morphemes are used in the process of nominalization, verbalization, and adjectivization, compounding, where two or more lexical items are combined to form a single word, and reduplication, in which part or whole of a word is repeated to show continuity or frequency of an action, have a position in this study of the morphological description of the Gedeo language.

2.4 The Gedeo Zone, People, and Language

General information about the location of Gedeo zone, and issues related to Gedeo people and the language they speak will be raised in this subsection.

A. The Gedeo Zone

Gedeo is one of the thirteen zones found in the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' Region. It has a total area of 5,890.2 square kilometers, of which 1/5 is inhabited by the Gedeo themselves, and is found at about 1300-2900 meters above sea level (Ayalew et al. 1996:1; Oda-ya'a 1997 (E.C) 1(6); 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia).

The zone is located at 365 kms south of Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia, and is bordered by the Sidama in the East, the Alaba in the North, the Burji in the West, and the Guji in the South (Ayalew et al. 1996:1). It has four woredas in it, which are Wonago, Bule, Yirgachefe, and Kochore. The capital city of the zone is Dilla (Ayalew et al. 1996:1; 1994 Population and Housing Census).

According to the Journal of the Information and Cultural Bureau of the zone, the geographical location of the area is hilly, mountainous, ridge-like, and five up to seventy-five percent sloppy. It is covered, mainly, with 'enset' and coffee trees. Because the area is densely populated, one hundred seventy five persons live per a square kilometer (Oda-ya'a 1997 (E.C.), 1:1; also cf. Wedekind 1990:23).

B. The Gedeo People

Gedeo is the term given to the homogeneous ethnic groups speaking a language called Gedeo. Gedeo people are considered as culturally and linguistically distinct group. These people are also termed, in some literatures, as Derasa. Nonetheless, since this name, according to Wedekind (1990: 17-18), has carried a negative over tone, and is given by outsiders, it has been changed to Gedeo by the request of the people themselves, although, later, some expressed their regret that in this way they lost the name that refers to one of the seven Derasa ancestors called "Daraso" or "Darassho".

The total population size of Gedeo Zone, as of 1994 Population and Housing Census, is 841,447. Among these ethnically Gedeo are 453,099.

The people base their life, especially, on "enset" and "coffee" production. The subsistence crop 'enset' is produced mainly for home consumption,

and 'coffee' is for trading purpose (Ayalew et al. 1996:1-2; 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia 1998a).

C. The Gedeo Language

The language of the Gedeo people is also termed as Gedeo, which is one of the Highland East Cushitic language groups. It is also known by the names Deresa, Derasa, Darasa, Derasnya, Darassa (Ethnologue Report, SIL 1982). Moreover, I also aware, from my personal communication to my informants, that the language is also known by the name Gede'uffa.

The mother tongue speakers of the language, both inside and outside of the zone, is 637,082. Specifically, the number of ethnically Gedeo is 626,553 (1994 population and Housing Census 1998a).

Regarding dialectal variations, Wedekind (1990:44), citing Sasse (1981b:198), discusses that Gedeo can be considered to have Northern and Southern dialects with slight variations in relation to (i) the use of glottal stops (tt' v_s ??), (ii) the choice of word final vowels, and (iii) the use or avoidance of loan words.

2.5 Theoretical Issues

"The study of the internal structure of words did not emerge as a distinct sub-branch of linguistics until the nineteenth century" (Katamba 1993:3). The study of word formation has evolved long time ago from the time of Panini, who provided a detailed description of Sanskrit word formation (Bauer 1983:2). However, its development, even at present, is not that much advanced than what was before. Part of the reason for this, according to Bauer (1983:2), is that many linguists were subjected to applying independent approaches, for example, either completely

diachronic, like Koziol 1937, or synchronic, like Bloomfield 1935, in the process of word formation.

If they were in a position to use a composition of the two, it could be possible to see a better development. In other words, since different linguists had been following a different theoretical assumption after the diachronic and synchronic distinction drawn by de Saussure (1916), it had been difficult to come up with a clear view of word formation (Bauer 1983:2-3).

The school of thought at the time, the American structuralism, had not been interested in word formation as its focus had been on morphemes, units smaller than words. The next development, early Transformational Generative Grammar, too, was not interested in the study of word formation, because its emphasis was on units larger than words, i.e. the structure of phrase or clause (Bauer 1983:3; Katamba 1993:5, 10).

However, the Chomskyan revolution in 1957, with the publication of syntactic structures (Chomsky 1957), had resulted radical changes in the approaches that many linguists follow, and it was at this time word formation research found itself (Bauer 1983:4).

Nonetheless, the study of word formation became more important within the Transformational Generative Paradigm with the publication of "Remarks on Nominalization", Chomsky 1970. Since this paper advocates the dichotomy between the "transformationalist" and "lexicalist" approaches to lexical insertion, it resulted a division within the transformational school. Despite the division, the study of word formation within the Transformational Generative Tradition as well as out of that has become more widespread, some basing Chomskyan paper, others independently of that (Chomsky 1970; Bauer 1983:5).

The transformationalists did not consider Word Formation Rules (WFR's) as they are to be found in the lexicon. The only items found in the lexicon, according to them, are simple words; but all compounds and derivatives are derived by the transformational syntactic component of the grammar. In this approach, it is believed that the rules of morphology apply to structures created by syntax (Chomsky 1970; Bauer 1983:5). On the contrary, the lexicalist's approach advocates that syntax does not have access to the internal structure of words, as opposed to the non-lexicalists', who see syntactic structure as composed of morphemes. Thus, Chomsky (1970) strongly argues that words with derivational features cannot be derived syntactically from the deep structure as they should be part of that (Chomsky 1970; Selkirk 1982:1).

Moreover, he noted, "much of derivational morphology is semantically irregular and should not be handled in the syntax". According to Aronoff (1976:9) two hypotheses, basing this view, have been developed: Weak Lexicalists and Strong Lexicalists. Since Chomsky's claim against the transformationalists' view is restricted only to derivational morphology (i.e. derivational and compound words can not be derived through syntactic transformation), others started to claim that not only words with derivational features but with inflectional, too, should not be derived through syntactic transformation. Consequently, the former view is considered to be the weak lexicalist hypothesis, and the later the strong lexicalist (Selkirk 1982:1; Aronoff 1976:9).

In the weak lexicalist hypothesis it is assumed that derivational morphology is in the lexicon, while in the strong lexicalist both inflectional and derivational morphology are in the lexicon, i.e. "the strong lexicalist hypothesis of Jackendoff (1972) excludes all morphological issues out of syntax" (Aronoff 1976:9).

The assumption made by lexicalists like Aronoff (1976), Selkirk (1982), Hale (1973), and Jackendoff (1975), among others, who claim that words with derivational morphology and compound words are not derived through syntactic transformation, weak lexicalist hypothesis, is followed in this study. Since the focus of the present work is on word formation, i.e. lexical derivation and compounding, it is directly related to the weak lexicalists' assumption, and so is the hypothesis followed.

Thus, on the basis of the above hypothesis new words can be derived by word formation rules of a language. In the process of deriving new words, affixation is made on the major lexical categories: N(oun), A(djective), V(erb), Adv(erb) (Aronoff 1976:9). These lexical categories are lexemes which may occur as free form or as stems, and only the lexemes are stored in the lexicon (Selkirk 1982:7).

In fact, there are different views regarding the status of lexemes stored in the lexicon. These differences date back to Hockett's (1954) classification of theories of morphology into two: Item and Arrangement (henceforth "IA") and Item and Process (henceforth "IP"). The followers of IA like Lieber (1980), Disciullo and Williams (1987), and Halle and Marantz (1993) believe that the lexicon contains roots and affixes as both are treated as morphemes (Maxwell 1998 <online>).

In contrast, followers of IP such as Aronoff (1976), Zwisky (1985) and Anderson (1992), among others, advocates that since only roots or stems are morphemes, only are they listed in the lexicon. Affixes are "morphological rules" or processes and are found in a separate component of a grammar (Maxwell 1998<online>). Thus, in this regard, lexemes are considered to be roots or stems and word formation rules apply to them (the underived lexemes) to derive new lexemes.

Word formation rules are regular processes that form new words from already existing lexemes by applying regular rules. Both the existing and the newly formed words are members of the major lexical categories (Aronoff 1976:21).

In the process of generating new words, an affix, which belongs to a morphological category, gives syntactic, semantic and phonological information about the category type (Aronoff 1976:22; Selkirk 1982:59).

An affix is said to assign the lexical category and sub categorization features to the node dominating the lexical basis to which it attaches. This means, it specifies the name and type of the affix's sister category plus the category which dominates the affix and its sister (Selkirk 1982:59-60).

Adopting Williams' (1981a) proposal, Selkirk (1982:61) says that word structures which are generated by the rewriting system of affixation are headed. That is to mean that either the affix or its sister node has the same category feature to the denominating category. For instance, $A \rightarrow N A^{af}$ or $A \rightarrow N^{af} A$ can be possible rules for this system. If the category features of the dominating category (mother node) is not the same as that of the affix's sister, the affix serves as a head. In other words, the affix itself bears the category feature similar to the dominating category. Hence, affixes can be heads.

Based on the assumption of headedness it would be possible to show the category type and sub-categorization feature of, for instance 'less' in 'treeless'. Consequently, by assigning a categorial status A^{af} to-less, since it is used to form adjective, and a sub-categorization frame $[N_]$, meaning it is suffixed to a noun, the structure of the word would be completed, and it looks like $A[N[tree]N A^{af}[-less]A^{af}]A$ (Selkirk 1982:61). This

framework is adopted in the present work to show the word formation rule of the language under discussion.

With regard to compounds, there are some forms, which are semantically headed (endocentric), and some, which are not (exocentric). However, syntactically what is a head is the constituent that dominates the entire compound words, and there is a general rule that helps to generate compound words, like $N \rightarrow V N$ (Selkirk 1982:61).

For endocentric compounds, there is a semantic relation between the constituents, i.e. modifier and modified, and the modified one is the head of the compound. While in exocentric compounds no semantic relation occurs. From this viewpoint, thus, they are considered to be headless. However, from syntactic view point exocentric compounds are headed. For instance, $N \rightarrow V N$, with the right most constituent N, will generate compounds like dare-devil and spoiled-sport (Selkirk 1982; Katamba: 1993).

The other issue to be discussed in word formation is reduplication. A reduplication of an element will have a semantic effect of iteratively, intensity or frequentativeness to those of the unreduplicated counterparts (Maravcsik 1978:319).

Generally, affixation, compounding, and reduplication play a major role in the process of word formation. In the subsequent chapters, how these derivational processes take place in Gedeo will be discussed.

CHAPTER THREE

Suffixation

3.1 Introduction

New words can be derived by the attachment of different affixes to various bases, roots, or words. The process by which these words are formed is known to be affixation. According to Matthews (1991:191) affixation has been defined to have two characteristics: (i) the derived form consists of the base plus additional morpheme, and (ii) the added affix would be constant, wherever, in such away that a similar categorical or sub categorical element is formed.

The forms which result from the affixation process could either be inflectional or derivational. Derivationally derived forms, the focus of this study, would possess the following features. As Katamba (1993:47ff.) states, the new words that are formed by derivation may have (i) a different meaning from that of the base without necessarily having a category change, (ii) a different word class of the base as well as possible change in meaning, and (iii) a shift in the grammatical sub class of a word without changing the word class. Generally speaking, in the process of derivation (word formation), the newly derived word may not necessarily have a different lexical category with a different meaning; if either is fulfilled the process can be considered as derivation (word formation).

This assumption goes in line with what Bauer (1983:189) says in describing values of derivational morphology. He says that distinguishing between grammatical and lexical meanings, both are values of derivational morphology, is of a great importance in word formation. In the grammatical one, at least, a category change is expected; but a meaning change in the

lexical. In what follows, the different suffixes that are used to derive nominals, verbals, and adjectivals in Gedeo will be described.

3.2 Suffixes that form Nominals

It is possible to derive nouns, in many languages, from verbs by some morphological process of derivation. The derived nouns would have meaning relation to the corresponding verbs, but that relation can be very diverse and far from regular (Muysken 1994:2811).

Nominals can be derived not only from verbals, as is discussed above, but also from nominal or adjectival bases. A word is said to be 'derived nominal' if there is (i) a base or root, and (ii) a noun forming affix. The process in which this kind of derivation (or change of word class) happens is known as nominalization (Bauer 1983: 188).

Likewise, nominals, in Gedeo, can be derived by attaching nominal suffixes to nominal, adjectival, or verbal roots⁵. Nominals, apart from suffixation, can also be formed from two lexemes as in the case of compounding (see section 4.2).

It is attempted in this section, thus, to identify Gedeo nominal suffixes with their corresponding roots/stems. Consequently, those derived nominals are described in relation to their roots/stems and the features of the suffixal elements. Nominals in Gedeo are found to have different subcategories. These include: abstract, subject, gerundive/infinitival, result, and instrumental nominals. The suffixes used to derive each of these categories, identified in Gedeo, will be described below.

3.2.1 The suffix that forms Abstract Nominals

Abstract nominals are those nominal forms that express the non-concrete qualities of nouns. Such nouns, according to Katamba (1993:49), have a meaning of “state” or “condition” of something. In Gedeo, the suffix {-umma}⁶ is attached to adjectival or nominal roots to form abstract nominals. Consider the following:

(1)	Adjectival root ⁷	Gloss	Derived Nominals	Gloss
	danc-	handsome/ beautiful	danc-umma	handsomeness/ beauty
	harum-	short	harum-umma	shortness
	k'e:rr-	big	k'e:rr-umma	bigness
	t'ill-	black	t'ill-umma	blackness
	golal-	white	golal-umma	whiteness
	k'a?ll-	thin	k'a?ll-umma	thinness
	ba?ll-	wide	ba?ll-umma	wideness
	furd-	fat	furd-umma	fatness
	dʒab-	strong	dʒab-umma	strongness

(2)	Nominal root ⁸	Gloss	Derived Nominals	Gloss
	?am-	mother	?am-umma	motherhood
	?ann-	father	?ann-umma	fatherhood
	dajj-	brother/sister	dajj-umma	brotherhood/ sisterhood
	?o:s-	child	?o:s-umma	childhood
	k'e?l-	bachelor	k'e?l-umma	bachelorhood
	dubarr-	girl	dubarr-umma	girlhood
	?akka?-	grand father/ grand mother	?akk?-umma	grand fatherhood/ grand motherhood
	?adad-	aunt(father's sister)	?adda-umma	aunthood
	?ann-	uncle(father's brother)	?ann-umma	unclehood
	?abb-	uncle(mother's brother)	?abb-umma	unclehood

As is illustrated in (1) and (2) above, {-umma}, glossed as the English “-ness”, is suffixed to adjectival and nominal roots to result in abstract nominals. For instance, /danc-/, in (1), is an adjectival root. When the suffix {-umma} is attached to it, the abstract nominal /dancumma/ ‘beauty/handsomeness’ is resulted. Likewise, /?am-/, in (2), is a nominal root; and the abstract nominal /?amumma/ ‘motherhood’ is formed by the suffixation of the same nominal suffix {-umma}.

As a result, this suffix can be considered as the head of the derivational process. A head, according to Katamba (1993:9), means the key element of a constituent that should obligatorily be found in a structure, and leads the derivational process.

Selkirk (1982:79) states, “An affix is a head in all cases where the category of the constituent sister to the affix is different from the category of the parent constituent.” And this, according to her, is taken as the principle of headedness. The category of the sister constituent to the suffix {-umma}, in (1) above, is adjectival, but the category of the parent constituent is nominal. Since the category of the two constituents is different, following Selkirk (1982:79), thus, it would be plausible to consider the suffix {-umma} as a head, and assign it a categorial status Nominal affix (hence forth N^{af}).

In (2), however, the categorial type of the sister constituent is a noun, which is similar to the categorial feature of the suffix. Though it seems that it rules out the idea of headedness, discussed above, it would not be wrong to consider it as a head. Because, along with Selkirk (1982:79), if a non-category changing affixes have the role of changing one semantic type to a different semantic type, and “act quite like a category changing affixes,” they can be considered as heads.

Consequently, since {-umma}, in (2), changes the semantic type "concret" of the nominal base to the semantic type "abstract" of the derived nominal form, and since it acts quite like (1), it can be taken as a head, and is assigned a categorial status N^{af} .

The issues discussed so far can be illustrated in structures (3) and (4):

$$(3) \quad N \left[\begin{array}{c} A^r [k'err-] \\ N^r \end{array} \right]_{N^{af} [-umma]} \left[\begin{array}{c} N^{af} \\ N \end{array} \right]$$

$$(4) \quad N \left[\begin{array}{c} [?am-] \\ N^r \end{array} \right]_{N^{af} [-umma]} \left[\begin{array}{c} N^{af} \\ N \end{array} \right]$$

The sub-categorization frame for the above suffixes would then be $\left[\begin{array}{c} A^r \\ N^r \end{array} \right]$, and the WFR in (5) could be proposed.

$$(5) \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} A^r \\ N^r \end{array} \right]_{[-ABST]} + N^{af}_{[+ABST]} \longrightarrow N_{[+ABST]}$$

The roots in the above rule have common syntactic category features, i.e., an A(djective) has [+N(oun), +V(erb)] and a N(oun) [+N(oun), -V(erb)]. Thus, [+N] is common for both A^r and N^r . Consequently, the above WFR could be rewritten as (6) below:

$$(6) \quad X^r_{\left[\begin{array}{c} +N \\ -ABST \end{array} \right]} + N^{af}_{[+ABST]} \longrightarrow N_{[+ABST]}$$

In general, the suffix {-umma} morphologically plays a role of changing category types from A to N, as in (1), and it semantically changes the $[-ABST]_N$ to $[+ABST]_N$, as in (2) above. The later role can be considered as a sub-category change resulted from suffixation (cf.3.1 above).

Following the theory of percolation, which says, "If a head has a feature specification $[\alpha Fi]$, $\alpha \neq u$, its mother node must be specified $[\alpha Fi]$, and viceversa" (Selkirk 1982: 76), thus, it can be concluded that it is the feature

also the simple nominal /ʔumo/ 'hair' and the derived nominal /k'e:rrumma/ 'tallness' are the objects of VPs in their respective construction. All such facts show that the derived nominals discussed so far take similar syntactic positions like the simple ones. In other words such derived nominals can be used as subjects and objects in different constructions.

To sum up this sub section, abstract nominals can be derived by the suffixation of {-umma} to adjectival or nominal roots. And it is the feature of this suffix that percolates up to the whole derived forms. Thus, it is the head of the derivation. The derived nominals formed in such a way can be subjects and objects of syntactic constructions. The next subsection treats the suffixes that form subject nominals.

3.2.2 Suffixes that form Subject Nominals

Nominals may show activities, actions, events etc. depending on their varieties. Those nominals which refer to someone who performs some actions are Agentive. Not far from these, experiencer nominals refer to some one who is experienced by the event or the activity that occurs. These and patient nominals are regarded, by Bauer (1983: 286), as subject nominals.

Agentive and experiencer nominals, in Gedeo, are formed by the suffixation of {-allo} to verbal roots. For illustration consider (10a) and (10b).

(10)	Verbal root ¹⁰	Gloss	Derived Nominals	Gloss
(a)	joww-	insult	joww-allo	insulter
	hudʒ-	work	hudʒ-allo	worker
	ʔenk'-	break	ʔenk'-allo	breaker
	ʃij-	kill	ʃij-allo	killer
	ʔelm-	milk	ʔelm-allo	milker
	ʔot-	fight	ʔot-allo	fighter

(b)	ha:so?-	speak	ha:so?-allo	speaker
	nabbab-	read	nabbab-allo	reader
	geb-	play	geb-allo	player
	fa:rs-	sing	fa:rs-allo	singer
	me??-	go	me??-allo	traveler
	c'ak'as-	listen	c'ak'as-allo	listener
	ha?w-	drink	ha?w-allo	drinker

In 10(a) and (b), agentive and experiencer nominals are derived respectively from verbal roots. The nominalizing suffix {-allo}, in a strict sense, is category changing; it changes the verbal category to nominal. Thus, it can be assigned a categoral status N^{af} , and so is the head of the derivatives. Look at the following structures:

- (11) (a) $\left[\begin{array}{c} V^r \\ \left[\text{joww-} \right]_{V^r} \end{array} \right] N^{af} \left[\begin{array}{c} [-allo] \\ N^{af} \end{array} \right] N$ 'insulter'
- (b) $N \left[\begin{array}{c} N \\ \left[\text{me??-} \right]_{V^r} \end{array} \right] N^{af} \left[\begin{array}{c} [-allo] \\ N^{af} \end{array} \right] N$ 'travellor'

In (11a) the agentive nominal is formed by the suffixation of {-allo}. The same form derives the experiencer nominal in (11b). Thus, following Bauer (1983: 286), it can be generalized that subject nominals, with the exception of patient, are formed by suffixing {-allo} to verbal roots. The sub-categorization frame for this suffix would, then, be $[V^r _]$, and the following WFR could be formulated:

$$(12) \quad V^r + N^{af} \xrightarrow{[+AGE/+EXP]} N^{af} [+AGE/+EXP]$$

As V has [+V, -N] syntactic category feature, and since agentives and experiencers are categorized under subject nominals, the above rule can be summarized as (13) below:

$$(13) \quad \begin{array}{c} X^r \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} +V \\ -N \end{array} \right] \end{array} + \begin{array}{c} N^{af} \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} +SUB \\ -PAT \end{array} \right] \end{array} \longrightarrow \begin{array}{c} N \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} +SUB \\ -PAT \end{array} \right] \end{array}$$

The above derived nominals can be heads of NP. The following examples illustrate this fact:

- (14) (a) fa:jo bukkite-?ni ha:sot-te
 F.(f) meeting-on speak-3f:PERF
 'Fayo spoke on the meeting'
- (b) ha:so?-all-i dag-e
 speak-EXP-NOM:MAS come-3m:PERF
 '(The) speaker (m) came'
- (c) ha:so?-all-o dag-ge (from dag-te)
 speak-EXP-NOM:FEM come-3f:PERF
 '(The) speaker (f) came'
- (d) ?is-i ha:so?-all-o kul-e
 he-NOM speak-EXP-ACC call-3m:PERF
 'He called the speaker'
-
- (15) (a) belt-icc-i buff-a ge:b-e
 adolescence-DEF-NOM:MAS ball-ACC play-3m:PERF
 'The boy played (foot) ball'
- (b) buffa ge:b-all-i dag-e
 ball play-AGE-NOM:MAS come-3m:PERF
 '(The) ball player (m) came'
- (c) buffa ge:b-all-o dag-ge
 ball play-AGE-NOM:FEM come-3f:PERF
 '(The) ball player (f) came'
- (d) ?an-i buffa ge:b-all-o ?u:d-e-nn-e
 I-NOM ball play-AGE-ACC see-PERF-1s-ACT
 'I saw (the) football player'

In 14 (a) and 15(a) the simple nominal /fa:jo/ and /belticci/ are heads of NPs. But in 14(b,c) and 15(b, c) the experiencer and agentive nominals, /ha:so?alli/o/ and /ge:balli/o/ are heads of their respective NPs.

These heads, as can be observed from the examples, inflect for case and gender. The final {-i} in 14(b) and 15(b) refers to both nominative case and masculine gender. However, when the subject becomes feminine, it is {-o} that shows nominative case and feminine gender, as is clearly seen in 14(c) and 15(c).

The same suffix {-o}, on the other hand, may indicate accusative case with a masculine/feminine gender when the NP is the direct object of VP, as in 14(d) and 15(d) above. Thus, one can understand from these that such derived nominals can be objects of VP like other simple nominals. There are also other morphemes, like {-a}, {-e}, which can be used to refer to gender and case where the former tends to express masculine while the latter feminine. To treat them here, however, would be beyond the scope of the study.

If we are talking about case and gender markers, it is observed in the above structures that some phonological processes have undergone. When such derived nominals become subjects of clauses, as in (14b) and (15b) the final vowel of the suffix {-allo} becomes /i/ to show the nominative case and masculine gender.

In general, the derived agentive and experiencer nominals can be heads of NPs, and objects of VPs like other simple nominals in the language, with the necessary syntactic and/or phonological changes, besides their being heads of the derivation. In what follows gerundive and infinitival nominals will be discussed.

3.2.3 The suffix that forms Gerundive and Infinitival Nominals

Gerundive nominals are those forms which have a distribution of nominal features as well as verbal properties (Siegel 1998:1). Blevins (forthcoming),

citing Curme (1939:215), also notes that the gerund may have a full force of a verb, but at the same time the function of a noun. Likewise, infinitival nominals are forms that can be obtained from verb stem and have a meaning relation to the verb.

Gerundive and infinitival nominals in Gedeo are formed by the suffixation of {-a} to verbal roots. It is not unnatural, in world's languages, to have a single form for both gerundive and infinitival nominals. Inuit, a language spoken in Alaska, the Eskimo-Aleut family, for instance, both infinitives and gerundives are expressed by (-l)lu (Manning 1996:124). The explanation for having the same form that stands for different functions perhaps needs a diachronic study. Palmer (1994:157) says that "... there can be no real explanation, apart from historical one, for the fact that the same form has such different meanings". The following data illustrate how Gedeo gerundives and infinitivals are formed.

(16)	Verbal root	Gloss	Derived nominals	Gloss
	hir-	buy	hir-a	buying/to buy
	je?-	call	je?-a	calling/to call
	gan-	hit	gan-a	hitting/to hit
	?it-	eat	?it-a	eating/to eat
	me??-	go	me??-a	going/to go
	gong-	run	gong-a	running/to run
	ði:b-	push	ði:b-a	pushing/ to push
	darb-	throw	darb-a	throwing/to throw
	?uta:l-	jump	?uta:l-a	jumping/to jump
	lij-	kill	lij-a	killing/to kill
	?enk'-	break	?enk'-a	breaking/to break
	joww-	insult	joww-a	insulting/to insult
	mo:r-	steal	mo:r-a	stealing/to steal
	dag-	come	dag-a	coming/to come
	?uww-	give	?uww-a	giving/to give
	hudʒ-	work	hudʒ- a	working/to work

Based on the above data, the structures in (17), below, can be made.

$$(17) \quad (a) \quad N \left(V^r \left[\text{hir-} \right] V^r \right) N^{af} \left[-a \right] N^{af} \right) N$$

$$(b) \quad N \left(V^r \left[?uww- \right] V^r \right) N^{af} \left[-a \right] N^{af} \right) N$$

$$(c) \quad N \left(V^r \left(X- \right) V^r \right) N^{af} \left[-a \right] N^{af} \right) N, \text{ where 'X' can be any verbal root.}$$

By these structures, both gerundive and infinitival nominals can be constructed¹¹. These nominals do not show any variation in the process of derivation. They have similar phonological as well as syntactic properties. As is already discussed above such similarity may be due to historical facts for historical change, according to Palmer (1994:157), often disguises or even removes the links that existed between different uses of a single form.

Since the suffix $\{-a\}$ changes the verbal category to nominal, it is considered as a category changing suffix, thus, is assigned a categoral status N^{af} . The N, here, may refer to either gerundive or infinitival nominal. The sub categorization frame for this nominal suffix is $[V^r _]$; and the WFR that generates the above nominals could be given as (18) below:

$$(18) \quad V^r + N^{af} \left[+ \text{GER/ + INF} \right] \longrightarrow N^{af} \left[+ \text{GER/ + INF} \right]$$

The syntactic categoral feature of V is $[+V, -N]$, and hence, the above rule can be rewritten as:

$$(19) \quad X^r \left[\begin{array}{c} +V \\ -N \end{array} \right] + N^{af} \left[+ \text{GER/ + INF} \right] \longrightarrow N^{af} \left[+ \text{GER/ + INF} \right]$$

It is the feature of the head, i.e. the N^{af} $\{-a\}$, that percolates to the parent category, gerundive or infinitival nominal in this case.

These derived nominals, like any other simple nominals, can be heads of NP. Compare the following structures:

(20) (a) *no?o* *ne:nk'-a* *lij - n - e - nn-e - ni*
 we lion-ACC kill - PL-PERF-1s-ACTU-AUX
 'We killed a lion'

(b) *nenk'-a* *lij-a* *?elo - tt'e - ba - ni*
 lion-ACC kill-GER/INF good -DET:3f - NEG - AUX
 'Killing/to kill a lion is not good (is bad)'.

(21) (a) *?an-i* *sa:jj-a* *hir - e - nn - e - ni*
 I-NOM ox-ACC buy - PERF - 1s - ACTU- AUX
 'I bought an ox'

(b) *sa:jj-a* *hir -a* *la?o* *?af - fe - ni*
 ox buy - GER/INF benefit get - 3fs:PERF - AUX
 'Buying/to buy an ox has a benefit'

In 20(a) the head of the NP is the simple nominal, /*no?o*/ 'we', and in 20 (b) the gerundive/infinitival nominal, /*lij-a*/ 'killing/to kill', heads the NP with similar syntactic structure except the addition of the complement in the latter. The same is true in 21(a) and (b) where /*?ani*/ 'I' and /*hira*/ 'buying/to buy', respectively, are heads of NPs.

On the other hand, the above derived nominals can be objects of phrases as is illustrated in 22(a) and (b) below.

(22) (a) *?an-i* *hudʒ-a* *gop' - e - nn- e - ni*
 I-NOM work-GER/INF be weak - PERF - 1s - ACTU - AUX
 Lit. 'I be weak working/to work'
 (I failed working/to work)

- (b) ʔis-i sa:jjə hir - ə haʔs-e
 he-NOM:MAS ox sell - GER/INF want.BEN-3ms:PERF
 'He wanted selling/to sell an ox'

As can be observed from (22), the gerundives/infinitivals /hudʒa/ and /hira/, in fact /sa:jjə hira/, are objects of VP in these structures.

3.2.4 Suffixes that form Result Nominals

Result nominals refer to the out come or result of an activity. In some literatures they are also known by the name "product" nominals. The fact that they are results of some actions (as actions are verbal features) entails their derivation from verbal forms. In Gedeo, result nominals are formed by the suffixation of {-a} or {-o} to verbal roots (cf. 23(a) and (b) below). The alternation may be accounted for in that the former shows masculine gender, while the latter feminine. In other words, since some nouns in the language, culturally, have a masculine meaning and some a feminine, those with a pragmatically masculine meaning take {-a}, where as those with a pragmatically feminine take {-o} in the course of derivation. (23), below, illustrates the derivation of such result nominals in Gedeo.

(23)	Verb root	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
(a)	ʔuww-	give	ʔuww-a	gift
	joww-	insult	joww-a	insult
	ʔuta:l-	jump	ʔuta:l-a	jumping
(b)	ʔinc'-	chew	ʔinc'-o	something chewed
	boroʔ-	sink	boroʔ-o	residue
	geb-	play	geb-o	play
	haʔw-	drink	haʔw-o	drink
	ʔod-	talk	ʔod-o	talk
	fa:r-	sing (vi)	fa:r-o	song
	leb-	add	leb- a	addition

The nominal suffixes in 23(a) and (b) are attached to verbal roots, so their sub categorization frame would be $[v^r]$; on the basis of this, hence, the WFR in (24) can be proposed:

$$(24) \quad V^r + N^{af}_{[+RES]} \longrightarrow N_{[+RES]}$$

This rule can be generalized as (25):

$$(25) \quad X^r_{\left[\begin{array}{c} +V \\ -N \end{array} \right]} + N^{af}_{[+RES]} \longrightarrow N_{[+RES]}$$

For the application of this rule, consider the sample structures in (26):

$$(26) \quad (a) \quad V^r \left[\text{boro?} \right]_{V^r} + N^{af} \left[-o \right]_{N^{af}} \longrightarrow N \left[V^r \left[\text{boro?} \right]_{V^r} N^{af} \left[-o \right]_{N^{af}} \right]_N$$

$$(b) \quad V^r \left[\text{leb-} \right]_{V^r} + N^{af} \left[-a \right]_{N^{af}} \longrightarrow N \left[V^r \left[\text{leb-} \right]_{V^r} N^{af} \left[-a \right]_{N^{af}} \right]_N$$

In both cases V^r plus N^{af} derives result nominals. Below such nominals are used in clausal structures:

- (27) (a) ?is-i ha?w-o ha?w-e
 he-NOM:MAS drink-ACC drink-3ms:PERF
 'He drank a drink'
- (b) ha?w-i ha?w - em - e
 drink-NOM:MAS drink-PASS-3MS: PERF
 'The drink was drunk'
- (c) ?is-i boro?-o dun-e
 he-NOM:MAS residue-ACC spill - 3ms: PERF
 'He spilt out the residue'
- (d) boro?-i dun - em - e
 residue-NOM:MAS spill - PASS - 3ms: PERF
 'The residue was spilt out'

From 27(a) and (c) one can understand that the derived result nominals are objects of VP structures. However in 27 (b) and (d) the same nominal types function as subjects, but subject of an intransitive verb in (d). Hence, in the latter cases the derived nominals are heads of NPs. The final type of nominal identified in Gedeo is instrumental, which will be the next point of discussion.

3.2.5 The suffix that forms Instrumental Nominals

Nominals which refer to the instrument of doing something are instrumental. These nominals denote the means by which the action designated by the verb is performed. In Gedeo instrumental nominals are derived by the suffixation of {-acco} to roots. Consider (28):

(28)	Verb-root	Gloss	Derived Nominals	Gloss
	wot'-	cut	wot'-acco	something to cut with
	tik-	untie	tik-acco	something to untie with
	ʃat-	split	ʃat-acco	something to split with/splitter
	geb-	play	geb-acco	something to play with
	?it-	eat	?it-acco	something to eat with
	ʃij-	kill	ʃij-acco	something to kill with
	fij-	sweep	fij-acco	something to sweep with
	hudʒ-	make	hudʒ-acco	something to make with
	?anʃ-	wash	?anʃ-acco	something to wash with
	gob-	sew	gob-acco	something to sew with/needle
	?iss-	paint	?iss-acco	something to paint with/brush

As can be observed from (28) the suffixation of {-acco}, clearly, forms instrumental nominals. For instance, /wot'acco/ is resulted from the suffixation of {-acco} to the root /wot'-/. Thus, it would be plausible to say that this suffix derives nominal categories from non-nominals, and hence, it

can be assigned a categorical status N^{af} . As it is suffixed to verb roots, its sub-categorization frame would be $[V^r _]$; the WFR that generates instrumental nominals, thus, is:

- (29) (a) $V^r + N^{af} \xrightarrow{[+INST]} N^{[+INST]}$
- (b) $X^r \left[\begin{array}{c} +V \\ -N \end{array} \right]^+ N^{af} \xrightarrow{[+INST]} N^{[+INST]}$

The nominals that are derived from such a rule can be used in a similar syntactic structure as any other simple nominals. The contrast in (30) reveals this:

- (30) (a) $\text{?is-i} \quad \text{sa:jj}a \quad \text{hir-e}$
 he-NOM:MAS ox. ACC buy-3ms:PERF
 'He bought an ox'
- (b) $\text{?is-i} \quad \text{?iss-acco} \quad \text{hir-e}$
 he-NOM:MAS paint-INST buy-3ms:PERF
 'He bought an instrument to paint with'

The simple nominal /sa:jjə/ and the instrumental one /?issacco/ can be interchanged with no syntactic distortion; the rest can also be used in a similar fashion. In each case they would act as objects of the VP structure.

On the other hand, these nominals can be heads of NPs. Consider (31):

- (31) (a) $\text{?e:bbe} \quad \text{wode?e}$
 cold water
 'cold water'
- (b) $\text{mine} \quad \text{fijacco}$
 house something to sweep with
 'An instrument to sweep floors with' (Lit. An instrument to sweep house with)

In 31(a) and (b) it is /wode?e/ and /fijacco/ that head the respective NPs. The former is a simple nominal, while derived is the latter. The proposition 'derived instrumental nominals can be heads of NP', thus, is valid, and it strengthens the fact that these derived forms are nominals.

The following two structures contrast how instrumental nominals are derived from roots:

- (32) (a) fa:jo mine fil-te
 F. house sweep-3fs:PERF
 'Fayo swept the house'
- (b) fa:jo mine fij-acco hir-te
 F. house sweep-INST buy-3fs:PERF
 Lit. 'Fayo bought broom of a house'

[fil-] 'sweep', in 32(a), is a verbal root that lets the suffixation of person, gender, and aspect/tense markers. But in 32(b) {-acco} is suffixed to the same root and results the instrumental nominal /fijacco/ 'something to sweep with'. Since the rest can also be derived similarly, right it is to say instrumental nominals, as of the previously derived nominal forms, are derived from verbal roots.

In the above structures there observed a phonological feature, assimilation. The root in 32(a) seems to end with the consonant /l/; however, it is resulted from the place assimilation of the suffixe's initial consonant, /j/ → [l] / - /t/. For further illustration consider (33) below:

- (33) (a) ?is-i mine fij-e
 he-NOM:MAS house sweep-3ms:PERF
 Lit. 'He swept the house'
- (b) ?is-e mine fil-te
 she-NOM:FEM house sweep-3fs:PERF
 Lit. 'She swept the house'

- (c) ?is-i mine fij-acco hir-e
 he-NOM:MAS house sweep-INST buy-3ms:PERF
 Lit. 'He bought broom of a house'
- (d) ?is-e mine fij-acco hir-te
 she-NOM:FEM house sweep-INST buy-3fs:PERF
 Lit. 'She bought broom of a house'

Only in (33b) /j/>/l/, when /j/ comes preceding an alveolar /t/, but in other cases, it remains constant.

To sum up what has been discussed so far, various nominal categories can be derived, in Gedeo, by attaching different nominal suffixes to nominal, adjectival, or verbal roots.

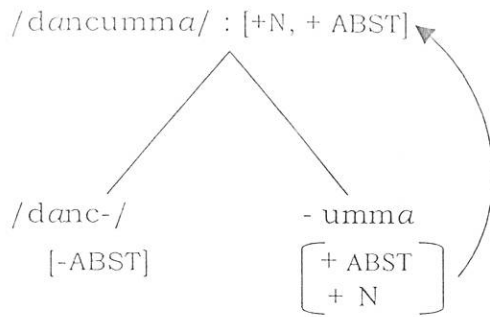
The suffixes have a categorial status N^{af} as they derive nominal categories; thence, the resulting derived forms have features of their suffixes which percolate to them on the basis of the theory of percolation. Consequently, such nominal suffixes are heads in the process of derivation. This can be viewed from the following schemata:

- (34) (a) $N \longrightarrow N^r + N^{af}$
 (b) $N \longrightarrow A^r + N^{af}$
 (c) $N \longrightarrow V^r + N^{af}$

When (34) is summarized, it looks (35) below:

- (35) $X^n \longrightarrow Y^n \quad X^{af}$, n= word or root
 $\left[\begin{array}{c} +N \\ -V \end{array} \right] \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \pm N \\ \pm V \end{array} \right] \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} +N \\ -V \end{array} \right]$

The headedness of these suffixes can, diagrammatically, be expressed by taking, say, /dancumma/ 'beauty':



The [+ ABST] feature of the suffix percolates to the mother constituent, which lacks in the stem. Hence, the suffix heads this process, and the direction of percolation is from the right most constituent, so are the derived nominals, in Gedeo, right headed.

Also there are difficulties in sorting out some suffixes used to derive some nominal categories such as gerundive, infinitival, or result. In all cases the same form {-a} is used. Although it is very controversial to have a single form standing for different functions, no morphological or the like reason, as far as this work is concerned, is found for such formal similarities. Thus, I assume, at least for the time being, that it may be related to some historical facts, for historical change usually has such kind of an effect, and leave the question open for further investigation. By this I conclude this section and move to the next, which treats the derivation of verbal forms.

3.3 Suffixes that form Verbals

In many cases various derived verb forms can be obtained from a single verb root, either by suffixation or reduplication. These derivatives may include: causatives, benefactives/reflexives, passives, statives, and frequentatives/intensives. The elements used in the process of derivation have effects on changing the sub-category features of the bases or roots, for instance, they affect the grammatical relations of arguments (see 3.3.1ff. below).

The above derivational processes, with the exception of intensives/frequentatives, are acquired by suffixation; while intensives are formed by reduplication (see Ch. 5 for intensives). Below the suffixation processes involved in the derivation of verbals, in Gedeo, are discussed.

3.3.1 Causative verb forms

In causative construction the causer (Agent or Non-Agent), the causee, and the result have to be addressed. Comrie (1983: 158) says that cause and effect are the two components that have to be discussed under causativization. Hence, the notion causative may mean some one makes something on something (Agent), or causes some other person/thing (causee) to do something (effect) (cf. Palmer 1994: 214).

Causatives, according to Comrie (1983:160), can be of three types: analytical, morphological, and lexical. Analytical causatives are expressed by separate predicates expressing the notion of causation and the effect, as in, for example, 'I caused John to go'. In the case of lexical causatives, the causative situation is expressed by lexical forms which tend to have no formal relation to that of the effect, as in the case of 'kill is the causative of

die'. While morphological causatives are obtained by a morphological means of suffixation (cf. Comrie 1983:160ff.). So in this study only the morphological causatives are discussed in detail for the others are beyond the scope of the objective. In fact, whenever there is a need to contrast the forms, either the analytical or the lexical may be treated in comparison with the morphological one.

In the derivation of morphological causative forms, the appropriate causative marker will be attached to roots or stems. The result of such a process would be one causative form, or a causative of another causative form. Consequently, 'single event', 'active' (direct), and 'passive' (indirect) causatives can be distinguished. The latter two are considered to be 'full event' (cf. Palmer 1994:224ff.). (But for the purpose of ease of writing I use the terms 'single' and 'double' causatives to convey a similar notion.) Any morphological causative construction, according to Palmer (1994:218), has the following features: (i) the presence of morphological marking, (ii) the addition of causing subject, (iii) the demotion of other arguments, and (iv) the presence of causal meaning.

In treating morphological causatives one has to consider the relations among Formal Parameters, Semantic Parameters, and Valency changes of the causative constructions (cf. Comrie 1983:164; Palmer 1994). Below, the two types of causatives, single and double, in Gedeo will be discussed in relation to the above morphological features.

3.3.1.1 Single causatives

In such causative types, the causation and the action are closely associated; thus, they are considered to be single. Hence, the causer directly involves in a particular action (Palmer 1994:224). This causative is like a simple transitive form so the predicate in such a case takes one

object argument, and is referred to as a one-place predicate (Allwood et al. 1977:60). This causative is somewhat related to what Comrie (1983:164) calls “direct” causative.

The single causative marker, in Gedeo, is {-s}¹², with its variants {-s, -is, -iʃ}¹³, and is suffixed to intransitive verbs to derive causativized forms. These suffixes change intransitive verb roots to transitivized forms. Consider the following:

(36) Intransitive Verbal root	Gloss	Single causative (transitivized) verbal stem	Gloss
(a) {-is} pattern			
ʔu:rr-	stop _(Vint)	ʔu:rr-is-	stop _(Vt)
di:p' -	sleep	di:p' - is-	sleep _(Vt)
ʃik'-	approach _(Vint)	ʃik'-is-	approach _(Vt)
gong-	run	gong-is-	make run
baʔll-at-	be wide	baʔll-is-	make wide
(b) {-s} pattern			
madoʔ -	get injured	mados-s-	injure
maccoʔ-	get drunk	maccos-s-	make drunk
mundaʔ-	get bleed	mundas-s-	make bleed
(c) {-iʃ} pattern			
ʔe:bb-	get hot	ʔe:bb-iʃ-	make hot
ʃoll-	ease _(Vint)	ʃoll-iʃ-	ease _(Vt)
le:ll-	be found/seen	le:ll-iʃ-	show
fiʃʃ-	smell _(Vint)	fiʃʃ- iʃ-	smell _(Vt)

In (36) above it is observed that the single causative marker undergoes some morphophonemic processes depending on the phonemic shape of the verb root, so are the variants {-s, -is, -iʃ}.

It is also observed that “similar” root final consonants take different variants of the causative marker. For instance, the geminated /ll/, in (36a) and (36c), takes both /is/ and /i/|. This variation is due to the palatal consonant /j/ or the lengthened front vowel contained in the root. But not, contra Wedekind (1980), due to the diachronic differences that the two sounds underwent.¹⁴ In general, the rules for the above variants can be stated as:

- (37) The phonological processes that take place in (37) are:
- (i) palatalization of /s/, i.e. /s/ becomes [ʃ] following (not necessarily immediately following), /j/ or a long front vowel provided that the root final consonant is non- ejective/ non-glottalized. (Note that any number of elements may intervene between the segments (cf. (36c) above),
 - (ii) an alternation of glide /ʔ/ with /s/, as in [vʔ + s → vss, in (36b) where v= vowel], and
 - (iii) insertion of an epenthetic /i/ after geminated or non geminated clusters, or after a single obstruent consonant.



Having noted these phonological processes, one may claim that the suffixation of {-s} to non-causative (intransitive) roots derives single causative forms. The sub categorization frame for these causatives would be $\left[\begin{array}{c} V^r \\ + INTR \end{array} \right]$. Thus, the WFR in (38) can be proposed:

$$(38) \quad X^{r/s} \left[\begin{array}{c} + V, -N \\ + INTR \\ - CAUS \end{array} \right] + V^{af} \left[\begin{array}{c} + CAUS \\ + TR \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow V \left[\begin{array}{c} + CAUS \\ + TR \end{array} \right]$$

If one compares the lexical elements in (36), i.e., the intransitive root Vs the transitivized, the latter has a clear formal difference from the former, and this is what has to be expected as a formal parameter in languages with a morphological causative (cf. Comrie 1983:164). Consequently, since the above Gedeo causatives show formal differences by means of morphological markings, they are said to fit the target of formal parameter.

As has been noted above, in treating morphological causatives, one has to consider, apart from formal criteria, the semantic parameters. By semantic parameter is to mean “the distinction between direct and indirect causation and the problem of the degree of control retained in the causative macro-situation by the causee” (Comrie 1983:164). Let us see the case in Gedeo from the following structures.

- (39) (a) ?ama ?ann - o ?ise-tt'a di:p'-is-se
 mother child - ACC she - FEM:POSS sleep- CAUS-3fs:PERF
 ‘The mother made her child sleep’
- (b) ?is-i wode?-e ?e:bb-iʃ-e
 he-NOM:MAS water-ACC get hot -CAUS-3ms:PERF
 ‘He boiled the water ’

The semantic relation between the subject and object, in (39 (a) and (b)) above, is that of “direct” because (39a), for instance, is to mean “the mother took her baby, embracing, and put it on a bed”. This, in fact, goes with the point made earlier that in a single causative situation the causation and the action are closely associated. Regarding the degree of control, the causees in 39 (a) and (b) can be viewed from two perspectives: (i) along with Comrie (1983), since the causee in the first case, in (39a), is animate, it can have a potential to exercise any control over the macro-situation, causative situation. Hence, the causee, the child, may refuse to

sleep. However, in (39b), since the causee, water, is inanimate, it does not have any potential to exercise a control over the causative situation.

The point we are left with in treating morphological causatives is valency change, which means the grammatical encoding of the causee. Valency refers to the number of arguments that a predicate (or head) takes (Van Valin 2001: 92). The lexical entries for /di:p'-/ 'sleep' and /di:p'-is-/ 'make sleep', in (40), clarify this:

- (40) (a) /di:p'-/ 'sleep' = V: [NP, _]
 (b) /di:p'-is-/ 'make sleep' = V: [NP, NP]

In (a) the argument NP is the subject of a one-place predicate (intransitive verb), thus, the predicate, here, needs no complement. However, in (b), since the predicate is a two-place predicate (transitivized verb), it needs a complement, an additional argument. Hence, a new NP is introduced in the lexical entry. Therefore, one may generalize that the single causatives in Gedeo, like causatives of other languages (cf. Comrie 1983:167ff.; Baker 1985:384), have one more argument than the corresponding intransitive forms. In relation to this, Comrie (1983:168) says that in morphological causatives there is normally one higher valency than the non-causative counterparts. For clarity let us reconsider the predicates of 39(a) and (b) above with their intransitive counterparts in (41) and (42) below.

- (41) (a) ?ann-i di:p' - e
 child-NOM:MAS sleep - 3ms:PERF
 'The child slept'
 (b) ?ama ?ann - o ?ise-tt'a di:p'-is-se
 mother child - ACC she - FEM:POSS sleep- CAUS-3fs:PERF
 'The mother made her child sleep'

- (42) (a) wodiʔ-i ʔe:bb - e
 water-NOM:MAS get hot - 3ms:PERF
 'The water got hot/ boiled'
- (b) ʔis-i wodeʔ-e ʔe:bb-iʃ -e
 he-NOM:MAS water-ACC get hot - CAUS-3ms:PERF
 'He boiled the water'

Neither 41(a) nor 42(a) has objects as they are intransitive forms. However, when they are causativized (transitivized), the subject arguments will be demoted to object position, and a new subject NP is introduced. The subject NPs in 41 (a) and 42(a) are /ʔanni/ and /wodiʔi/. These subject NPs became objects, /ʔanno/ and /wodeʔe/, in 41(b) and 42(b) respectively, and new subject NPs, /ʔama/ and /ʔisi/, are introduced in the construction due to the transitivizing effect of the causative marker{-s}. The hierarchy of the grammatical relation would then be Subject > Direct object and the causee occupies the left most position, which is not filled by any constituent. Since the subject position is already occupied by the causer, the only remaining position is the direct object, thus, it is encoded there. Consequently, it would be plausible to say that the suffixation of a single causative marker to roots changes the sub-categorization frame $V:[NP, _] \longrightarrow V: [NP, NP]$.

3.3.1.2 Double causatives

The predicate of the causative construction may refer to a single object argument, as has been seen in the previous section, or more object arguments, as will be treated here. These arguments depend on the nature of the predicate. If the predicate is inherently transitive, since it already has an object argument, the causative would be ditransitive. But if the predicate is intransitive, the first causation transitivizes it, single causative; and when another causation is added, it will be ditransitivized,

double causative. Therefore, in any of the two cases double causative forms can be derived. These causative types are also known as "indirect" causatives (Palmer 1994:224 ff.).

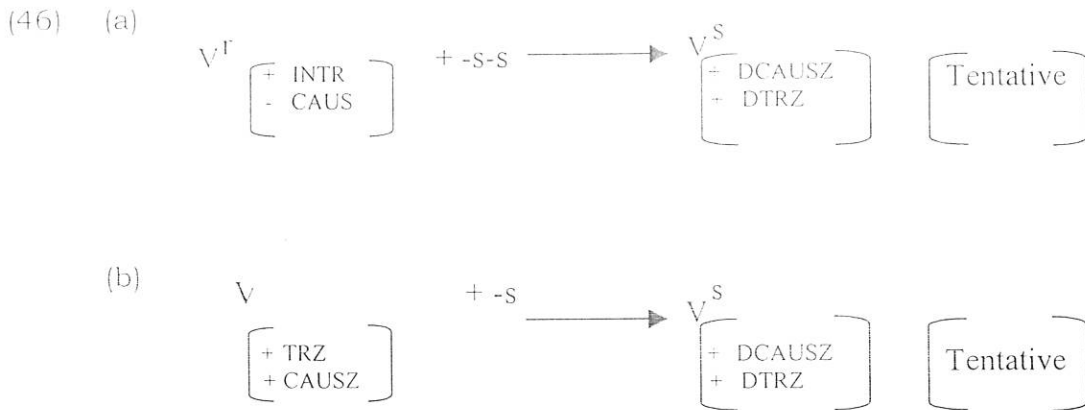
Double causative forms in Gedeo can be seen from three angles. In the first view point, those double causative forms which are derived from intransitive roots or transitivized stems are identified. Then, those causatives that are formed from transitive roots are discussed. And finally, reciprocal causatives, which have not yet been introduced, are treated under this class of double causatives. Each will be presented below in their sequence.

3.3.1.2.1 Causatives either from intransitive or transitivized predicates

The double causative form in Gedeo can directly be derived from intransitive roots, or from transitivized stems, which themselves underwent single causation. The suffix {-s}, at first, is added to intransitive verbs to result in single transitivized causative stems, as has been discussed in the previous section. An additional {-s} would then be added to derive ditransitivized/double causative forms. The following contrast illustrates this. (For the alternation of /is/ and /iʃ/ see (37) above).

(43)	Intransitive Verbal root	Gloss	Trasitivized Verbal stem	Gloss	Ditrasitivized Verbal stem	Gloss
(a)	ʃik'-	approach _(vi)	ʃik'-is-	approach _(vt)	ʃik'-s-is-	cause to approach
	di:p'-	sleep	di:p'-is-	make sleep	di:p'-is-is-	cause to make sleep
	?u:rr-	stop	?u:rr-is-	make stop	?u:rr-is-is-	cause to make stop
	gong-	run	gong-is-	make run	gong-is-is-	cause to make run

by 'y', in (44c) and (45c) respectively, are derived from the intransitive roots /gong-/ 'run' and /ʔu:rr-/ 'stop', by the suffixation of {-s-s}, or from transitivized stems /gongis-/ 'make run' and /ʔu:rris-/ 'make stop' by adding the suffix {-s}. This derivation can, thus, be captured by the WFRs in 46(a) and (b):



Now let us consider those causative forms that are derived from inherently transitive roots.

3.3.1.2.2 Causatives from transitive predicates

In the case of inherently transitive causatives, as opposed to transitivized causatives, {-s-s} is directly attached to the root so that double causative forms will be derived. Consider (47) below:

(47)	Transitive Verbal root	Gloss	Causative Verbal stem	Gloss
(a)	gan-	hit	gan-(s)is-	cause to hit
	ban-	open	ban-(s)is-	cause to open
	kul-	call	kul-(s)is-	cause to call

(b)	hudʒ-	work v_t	hudʒ-(is)is-	cause to work
	hoc'-	cut (for onion)	hoc'-(is)is-	cause to cut
	tuk'-	touch	tuk'-(is)is-	cause to touch
	sunk'-	kiss	sunk'-(is)is-	cause to kiss
	?enk'-	break	?enk'-(is)is-	cause to break

In all such cases the suffix {-s} or {-s-s} is attached to transitive roots to result in double causative forms. The variation of the forms {-s} or {-s-s}, i.e., the optional use of {-s}, in this double causative construction has something related to semantics. That means by the first form, {-s}, for instance, it means the causer is in near by watching closely what is performed by the causee on the patient. (In addition to this, Hudson (1976: 271) suggests that the use of a single {-s} on transitive roots in HEC languages, in general, is associated to “the special type of benefit” that the agents are involved in. For instance, in /?itis-/ ‘feed’, {-s} is added to the transitive root /?it-/ ‘eat’ because such a verb involves a benefit to the agent). While by the later form {-s-s}, it means that the action is taken place with or without the physical presence of the causer. This latter form, {-s-s}, may also have other semantic values. The one could be, as shall be discussed soon in 3.3.1.2.3, to show reciprocity of a causative situation. But the other is, which will be treated under reduplication, (see 5.3.3), to convey an iterative or frequentative meaning. For now let us consider the following structures that convey our initial assumption of the use of {-s} or {-s-s}, which has to be considered under this particular section.

- (48) (a) ?is-i ficc-a hudʒ-e
 he-NOM:MAS field-ACC work-3ms:PERF
 ‘He ploughed the field’
- (b) ?is-i ?alamu-u?u ficc-a hudʒ-is-e-ni
 he-NOM:MAS A.(m)-ACC field-ACC work-CAUS-3ms:PERF-AUX
 ‘He made Alemu plough the field’

- (c) ?is-i ficc-a hudʒ-is-e-ni
 he-NOM:MAS field-ACC work-CAUS-3ms:PERF-AUX
 'He had the field be ploughed (by someone)
- (d) ?is-i ficc-a go:llo-ti hudʒ-isis-e-ni
 he-NOM:MAS field-ACC group-with work-CAUS-3ms:PERF-AUX
 'He let the field be ploughed in group'

In 48(b) and (c) the causer, /ʔisi/ 'he', is in near by when the farming takes place, observing what has been going on; while in 48(d), he may not be around, but the task can be accomplished with his absence.

In general, the above formal changes of such causative derivation can be captured by the rule in (49) below:

$$(49) \quad \begin{array}{c} r \\ V \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{ TR} \\ - \text{ CAUS} \end{array} \right] + \text{-(s)-s} \longrightarrow \begin{array}{c} V \\ + \text{ CAUS} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Tentative} \end{array} \right]$$

The double causative constructions, discussed so far, either from intransitive root (or transitivized stem) or from inherently transitive root, are said to be 'indirect' with regard to semantic parameter, because the action of the causer is not closely associated to the effect, as opposed to single causatives. For instance, the causing subject in (44c) and (45c), /belticci/ 'the boy' has no direct access to get /fullasa/ 'Fulasa' run (effect), and to get /belto/ 'the girl/boy', in (45c), stop (effect), but can make it through intermediators, /ʔise/ 'she' (OBJ) and /meka/ 'Meka' (AGE) respectively.

As to Comrie (1983:164), in causative construction the anterior event (or its agent) has some control over the effect to be realized. To elaborate this idea let us reconsider (44c) in (50) below:

- (50) belticci ʔise:ʔe fullasaʔa gongisise

The causing subject, here, /bellicci/ ‘the boy’, has more control over the causee /?ise:ʔe/ ‘she’ (OBJ) on the realization of the effect (the running of Fulasa). The causee, on the other hand, has less control, than the subject, on this effect, for the subject is the prime initiator. So this causee has a power, at least, to refuse to implement the order made on it by the causer. Similarly, the effectee, (I use this term to refer to ‘patient’ of an action for the sake of parallelism to the word ‘causee’), /fullasa/, though influenced by the action made in the macro situation, also has a potential to exercise a control over that macro-situation. /fullasa/ ‘Fulasa’, thus, may refuse to run against the interest of the causer, as it is an animate object. If this object were inanimate, however, there would not be raised a question of control. For instance, in (48c) above, the direct object /ficca/ ‘field/land’ has no power to react against the ploughing action made on it. In general, the degree of control for this causative situation can be established in the hierarchy: Subject > Oblique > Accusative, which exactly supports Comrie’s (1983:174) proposal.

All the facts discussed above show the formal and semantic parametric relation in causative construction. Next, the syntactic parametric features, which occur in double causative situation, will be shown.

The syntactic parameters are subsumed under valency changes. As has been discussed before, (cf. 3.3.1.1), there is an increment of valency in a causative construction. The morphological causative markers {-s} or {-s-s}, in Gedeo, thus, result in one higher valency than the corresponding single (transitivized) causative, or non-causative transitive predicate. Compare the structures below:

- | | | | | |
|------|-----|----------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| (51) | (a) | / gong-is- / | ‘make run’ | V: [NP, NP] |
| | (b) | /gong-is-is- / | ‘cause to make run’ | V: [NP, NP, NP] |

- (52) (a) /hudʒ-/ 'work' V: [NP, NP]
 (b) /hudʒ-is-is-/ 'cause to work' V: [NP, NP, NP]

As (51a) shows the predicate is transitivized (or single causativized), thus, it has two argument NPs. If another causation is added on this predicate, it will be ditransitivized (or double causativized), and, parallelly, the argument would be raised by one as in (51b). Likewise, if the base for such causative construction is transitive, as in 52 (a), the suffixation of {-s}-s forms ditransitive (or double causative) constructions, like (52b), which in turn increases the number of argument structures.

An increment of the number of arguments in such causative structures has a consequence of altering the grammatical relations of the terms. Look at the examples (53) below:

- (53) (a) fullasa fa:jo-oʔo sunk'-eδ-e
 F.(m) F.(f)-ACC kiss-BEN-3ms:PERF
 'Fulasa kissed Fayo'
- (b) salli fullasa fa:jo-oʔo sunk'-isis-e-ni
 S.(m) F.(m) F.(f)-ACC kiss-CAUS-3ms:PERF-AUX
 'Salli caused Fulasa to kiss Fayo'
- (c) salli fa:jo-oʔo fullasa-ʔni sunk'-eδ-is-e-ni
 S.(m) F.(f)-ACC F.(m)-by kiss-BEN-CAUS-3ms:PERF-AUX
 'Salli had Fayo be kissed by Fulasa'

In the non-causative predicate, (53a), the subject of the clause is /fullasa/ 'Fulasa', but if this predicate is causativized, as in 53(b) and (c), the subject slot would be filled by the causer; consequently, the original subject (now the causee) is demoted to object position. This causee can not appear as a direct object in the corresponding causative construction, in 53(b) & (c), as this slot is already occupied by the direct object of the non-

causative verb. Hence, it should find an unoccupied position, and the only empty position is the indirect object position. Thus, it can appear here as an indirect object. The hierarchy of such grammatical relation, then, would be subject > direct object > indirect object.

In connection with double causative situation, it is also possible to treat reciprocal causatives. Such forms, however, show some variations of grammatical roles, as will become clear soon. In what follows, these causative constructions will be entertained.

3.3.1.2.3 Reciprocal causative forms

The notion reciprocal causative refers to causing two or more persons or animate things to do some actions on one another. Such reciprocal causative forms, in Gedeo, are derived morphologically by the suffixation of {-s-s}, as already indicated in the previous sub-section. Thus, forms with this suffix have a potential to express, in addition to the facts mentioned before, some one who causes others to do something for or against to each other. Look at the following:

(54)	Verbal root	Gloss	Reciprocal Causatives	Gloss
(a)	gan-	hit	gan-sis-	cause to hit each other
	tuk'-	touch	tuk'-isis-	cause to touch each other
	sunk'-	kiss	sunk'-isis-	cause to kiss each other
	joww-	insult	joww-isis-	cause to insult to each other
	ga?m-	bite	ga?m-isis-	cause to bite each other
(b)	?erg-	send	?erg-isis-	cause to send to each other
	?u:ww-	give	?u:ww-isis-	cause to give to each other

As can be observed in (54) above, the suffixation of {-s-s} to roots, whether to transitive, as in (54a) or ditransitive, as in (54b), forms reciprocal causatives. This can be illustrated in the following structure by taking, say, *sunk'*- 'kiss':

$$(55) \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{r} \\ \text{V} \end{array} \left[\text{sunk}'- \right] \right]_{\text{V}^{\text{r}}} \quad \text{V}^{\text{af}} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{af} \\ \text{V} \end{array} \left[-\text{is-is} \right] \right]_{\text{V}} \quad \text{'cause to kiss each other'}$$

For such morphological causatives, thus, the following WFR could be made:

$$(56) \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V}^{\text{r}} \\ -\text{RECAUS} \end{array} \right] + -\text{s-s} \longrightarrow \text{V} \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{RECAUS} \end{array} \right] \quad \left[\text{Tentative} \right]$$

In fact such reciprocal causative situations can also be expressed, analytically, by a lexical element /woli/ 'each other', as in (57) below. However, as it is beyond the scope of the study, for it is not morphological causative, there is no need to go through it.

Based on the semantic parameter discussed above, (cf. 3.3.1.2.1 and 3.3.1.2.2), we may forward two points for such reciprocal causative situations in Gedeo: (i) the causer has more control on the macro-situation, and (ii) the causees have equal potential for the realization of effects on each other.

The causative situation, here, shows some differences from those discussed in 3.3.1.2.1 and 3.3.1.2.2 above, in relation to the grammatical roles played by the causee. Here it is not the case as such, 'x' causes 'y' to do something on 'z', as opposed to 3.3.1.2.1 and 3.3.1.2.2, rather 'y' and 'z', both causee, would have a bidirectional relation and have a grammatical role of agent and theme simultaneously. The effect of the causer is, then, on both of them. Consider the structures below:

- (57) (a) ?is-i ?ise na ?is-o (woli) sunk'-isis-e
 he-NOM:MAS she and he-ABSOL (each other) kiss-RECAUS-3ms:PERF
 'He caused them (her and him) to kiss each other'
- (b) ?is-e ?insa?ne-e?e daddabbe (woli) ?erg-isis-se
 she-NOM:FEM they-ACC letter (each other) send-RECAUS-3fs:PERF
 'She caused them to send letters to each other'
- (c) ?is-i wolco (woli) ga?m-isis-e
 he-NOM:MAS dogs (each other) bite-RECAUS-3ms:PERF
 'He caused the dogs bite each other'

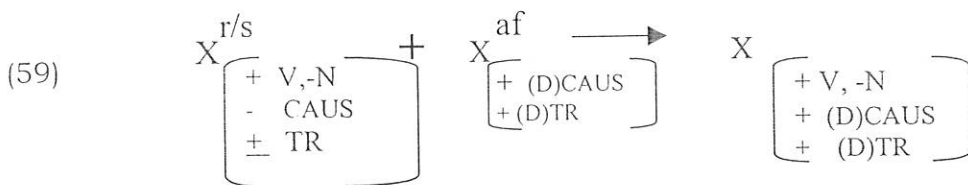
In (57a), for instance, once the causer, / ?isi / 'he', exerts his causing action on the causees, / ?ise na ?iso / 'her and him', they would perform the action to each other. Thus, both of the causees are agents as well as themes, as they kiss and be kissed at a time.

Manning (1996:43) discusses, quoting Mohannon (1988), that causatives can be 'mono clausal' at the level of grammatical relation, but 'biclausal' at the argument structure. Thus, the causees in our cases can be treated as a single object, as they bear the same grammatical relation. As a result, one may say that, in a reciprocal causative situation, hardly is there an increase of valency, as opposed to the other double causative constructions discussed above, where a causee performs an action on a patient in a non-reciprocal situation. Let us see such a relation, taking the predicate / sunk'-isis- / 'cause to kiss each other', again, in (58):

- (58) (a) sunk'- V: $\left[\begin{array}{cc} \text{NP} & , & \text{NP} \\ | & & | \\ \text{Agent} & & \text{Theme} \end{array} \right]$
- (b) sunk'-isis- V: $\left[\begin{array}{cc} \text{NP} & , & \text{NP} \\ | & & | \\ \text{Causing agent/} & & \text{agent/} \\ \text{Agent} & & \text{theme} \end{array} \right]$ OR $\left[\begin{array}{cc} \text{NP} & , & \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \\ | & & | \\ \text{Causing agent/} & & \text{agent/} \\ \text{Agent} & & \text{theme} \end{array} \right]$

In (58a) the predicate is non-causative transitive and takes a single object NP, which has a grammatical role of theme. In (58b), however, the predicate is reciprocal causative, but the object NPs can be considered as single due to the same grammatical roles each played in the argument. In both cases, in 58 (a) and (b), there is equal number of NPs. The causation, in (b), did not cause any raising of the argument structure. Therefore, with regard to this view, reciprocal causatives and non-causative transitive constructions can be taken as having equal number of argument structures.

So far, two main causative types in Gedeo, 'single' and 'double' have been treated in separate sub-classes. The latter is also seen from three perspectives: (i) causatives from intransitive predicates, (ii) causatives from transitive predicates, and (iii) reciprocal causatives. For each of the causative situation a WFR has been formulated. But at this point it is important to generalize such rules, in (38), (46), (49) and (56), as in (59) below:



To sum up, causativization process, in Gedeo, results in:

- i. formal changes from that of intransitive or transitive roots,
- ii. semantic differences, and
- iii. valency increment and change of grammatical relations, i.e., addition of subject argument and demotion of the other argument.

The next section treats passive verb formation.

3.3.2 Passive verb forms

Passives indicate a subject is a patient or recipient of an action designated by the verb. Hence, the undergoer argument is presented as a subject of passive constructions (Faley and Van Valin 1985:299).

In a passive construction, the generally accepted facts across world's languages are: (i) the optional use of the agentive prepositional phrase, (ii) the transitive feature of the main verb, and (iii) the role of the main verb in the sense that it expresses an activity and takes Agent subjects and Patient objects (Keenan 1985:247).

In deriving passive forms there observed a morphological modification of verbs, or verb phrases. This modification may include transitive verbs plus, in some languages, auxiliaries, which are specific to passive construction. Thus, those passive forms that undergo the modification of only transitive are 'strict morphological' and those that undergo both are 'periphrastic' (ibid: 205).

In Gedeo, passives are derived in the sense of the first, i.e., by the modification of only transitive forms. Even though an auxiliary may be used in a passive construction, it does not have a specific relation to the passive formation. Consequently, passives in this language are said to be 'strict morphological', and are formed by suffixing {-em} to verbal roots. Consider (60) below:

(60)	Verbal root	Gloss	Derived Passive (MAS)	Gloss
	ʔidʒa:r-	build	ʔidʒa:r - em -	be built
	ʔusur-	tie	ʔusur-em-	be tied
	ʔe:jj-	love	ʔe:jj-em-	be loved

?af-	get	?af - em -	be got
?enk'-	break	?enk' - em -	be broken
sunk'-	kiss	sunk' - em -	be kissed
gib-	hate	gib - em -	be hated
ha?w-	drink	ha?w - em -	be drunk
gan -	hit	gan - em -	be hit
wot'-	cut	wot' - em -	be cut
has -	find	has - em -	be found
hir-	buy	hir - em -	be bought
?erg-	send	?erg - em -	be sent
?uww-	give	?uww - em -	be given

In all these derivations, the passive marker is {-em}. It shows passiveness of a masculine gender. (In expressing feminine or diminutive, however, the passive marker would become {-en}, which is resulted from the assimilation of the feminine marker /t/ following it, as in, for example, [?usur-en-de], (< /?usur-em-te/), 'she/it be tied', and [?uww-en-de], (< /?uww-em-te/), 'she/it be given').

In general, {-em} and {-en} can be considered as allomorphs of {-em}, where the first occurs elsewhere, and the latter before /t/. Hence, the following general rule can be proposed for the derivation of passives in Gedeo.

$$(61) \quad X \begin{matrix} r/s \\ +v,-N \\ +TR \end{matrix} + V \begin{matrix} af \\ +PASS \end{matrix} \longrightarrow X \begin{matrix} +v,-N \\ +PASS \end{matrix}$$

As is already shown in above, the passive is identified by its formal marking {-em}. Besides this formal marking to verbs, syntactic as well as semantic changes would also occur. The basic function of passive, according to Palmer (1994:117ff.), is the promotion of the patient (non-agent) and the demotion or deletion of the agent. Similarly the number of arguments would be reduced by one from the non-passive counterpart. In

Keenan's (1985:273) terms passives undergo "deriving n-place predicates from n+1-place predicates". This can be observed in Gedeo from the following structures:

- (62) (a) *salli wombare ?enk'-e*
 S. (m) chair break-3ms:PERF
 'Salli broke a chair'
- (b) *wombare (salli-?ni) ?enk'-en-de*
 chair (S.(m)-by) break-PASS-3fs:PERF
 'A chair was broken (by salli)'
- (63) (a) *?is-i sa:jj-a hir-e*
 he-NOM:MAS ox-ACC sell-3ms:PERF
 'He sold an ox'
- (b) *sa:jj-icc-i (?ani-?ni) hir-em-e*
 ox-DEF-NOM:MAS (I- by) sell-PASS-3ms:PERF
 'The ox was sold (by me)'
- (64) (a) *?an-i mat'a:-fa fa:jo-?a ?uww-e-nn-e*
 I-NOM book-ACC F.(f)-DAT give-PERF-1s-ACTU
 'I gave a book to Fayo'
- (b) *mat'a:f-i fa:jo-?a (?ani-?ni) ?uww-em-e*
 book-NOM:MAS F.(f)-DAT (I-by) give-PASS-3ms:PERF
 'A book was given to Fayo (by me)'

In all the above structures, the object of the active is promoted to the subject position, and the agent is demoted to the periphery, or is deleted. And the deletion results in a decrease of an argument. When the agent is demoted to the oblique position, a morphological element {-?ni} 'by' will be attached to the agent to refer to its agentive role. While if the agent is deleted, the structure would lack an overt agentive phrase. And this is the expected feature of passive formation, which can be noted from the optional use of the agentive prepositional phrase (cf. (i) above, on page 61).

When the Agent-Subject /salli/, in (a), is demoted to the object position, in (b), its agentive role is retained. Likewise, when the Patient-Object /wombare/, in (a), is promoted to the subject position, in (b), its patientive role is unchanged. Thus, unlike grammatical relations, subject and object, grammatical roles, agent and patient, in Gedeo remain constant in passivization. This fact is also common in other languages of the world (cf. Palmer 1994:18ff.) Now we move to the discussion of benefactive/reflexive forms in Gedeo.

3.3.3 Benefactive/Reflexive forms

In any language there may be, need not be, three reflexive types: nominal, verbal and possessive. In a verbal one the reflexive marker is part of the morphology (Lichtenberg 1994:3504). In a phrase with a verbal reflexive, the verb may indicate that the subjects perform actions upon themselves, or it may refer that some actions are performed which require the subjects' volition. These kinds of references are usually termed as reflexives (cf. Hayward 1975:209; Palmer 1994:150ff.). Similarly, the verb may indicate that a subject performs an action or participates in it for his or her own benefit, and this is termed as a benefactive function (Hayward 1975: 209). These functions are expressed, in Gedeo, by the morphological marker {-δ} suffixed to roots.

(66)	Verbal root	Gloss	Derived Reflexive/Benefactive	Gloss
	(a) ?anʃ-	wash	?anʃ-eδ-	wash oneself
	sunkʼ-	kiss	sunkʼ-eδ-	kiss for own sake
	(b) hir-	buy	hiδδ-	buy for oneself
	mi:r-	harm	mi:δδ-	harm oneself

	mo:rr-	steal	mo:δδ-	steal for oneself
(c)	?af-	get	?alf-	get for oneself
	sut-	hide	sult-	hide for oneself
(d)	ban-	open	ba?n-	open for oneself
	tum-	pound	tu?m-	pound for oneself
	kul-	tell	ku?l-	tell for own benefit
(e)	ʃij-	kill	ʃi?ww-	kill oneself

(67)	Verbal root	Gloss	Personal ¹⁵ / Benefactive	Gloss
	fa??-	to make the bed	fa??eδ-	to make the bed for oneself
	boc'-	to chop	boc'eδ-	to chop for oneself
	fi:k'-	to rub	fi:k'eδ-	to rub for oneself

It can be noted from (66) above that different changes have been made in the derivation of benefactives/reflexives in Gedeo. The basic benefactive/reflexive marker {-δ} may be said to have the variants {-δ, -eδ, -l, -?}, and an instance of merging to /?w/. (I consider {-δ} as a basic benefactive/reflexive marker contra Wedekind (1980:3) who rather assumes {-eδ} as basic. I think that the /e/ in the suffix, as far as the phonology of Gedeo is concerned, is an epenthetic used following geminated or clustered consonants, or a single glottalized consonant; otherwise it is absent. In fact, usually the epenthetic is /i/, but the lowering of /i/ to /e/ may have some historical or phonological reasons. Leaving aside this issue, however, /e/ should not be considered, at least

in this work, as part of the suffix. Had it been part of the suffix, it should have also existed in the other forms too).

The alternations, in (66) and (67) above, can be accounted for as in the following:

As is pointed out above, as side information, the occurrence of {-eδ} is after geminated or clustered consonants, or a single glottalized consonant. This is illustrated in (66a) and (67) above. (The data in (67) are taken from Wedekind (1980:5). In fact, I also checked for their validity from my informants.) On the other hand, {δδ} in (66b) is a phonological form resulted from assimilation, i.e. [r+δ → δδ]. Regarding the other variants:

- i. [l] in (66c) comes from /δ/, when /δ/ is preceded by root final voiceless consonants, i.e. lateralization, then metathesis of the sounds takes place. This can be given as $c_{v/s} + \delta \rightarrow c_{v/sl} \rightarrow lc_{v/s}$, which may be considered as prelateralization;
- ii. [ʔ] in (66d) is a result of glottalization and metathesis. Roots ending in sonorants /m, n, l/, as in (66d), exhibit an alternation between [ʔm], [ʔn], or [ʔl] before /δ/, i.e., [m+δ → mʔ → ʔm], [n+δ → nʔ → ʔn], or [l + δ → lʔ → ʔl], which can be taken as preglottalization; and
- iii. as (66e) shows there is an instance of merging, i.e. when /j/ is followed by /δ/, they merge to [ʔw]. Wedekind (1980) also attested a similar case. He identified that there are a few instance of /ʔ/ or /j/ + - eδ merging to [ʔw]. His examples are:

- (a) naddaʔ- 'to drive' naddaʔw- 'to drive for oneself'
 (b) foj- 'to separate' foʔw- 'to separate for oneself'

In general, all the above variations occurred in the derivation of benefactives/reflexives in Gedeo can be summarized as:

- (68) (i) /δ/ becomes [eδ] following consonant clusters, geminated consonants or a single glottalized consonant, (ii) an alternation of /δ/ with /ʔ/ after nasal or lateral consonants, or /δ/ with /l/ after any voiceless consonant takes place, (iii) an assimilation of /r/ to [δ] is occurred when /r/ comes before /δ/, (iv) metathesis of the glottal stop with either nasals or laterals is taking place if the glottal sound comes first, and (v) there is merging of /j/ and /δ/ to [ʔw].

(Note that in the case of consonant clusters, the first of the two has to be sonorant, while the latter obstruent.)

The general WFR that generates benefactive/reflexive forms would then be given as (69) below:

$$(69) \quad \begin{array}{ccc} X^r & + & V^{af} \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} +V, -N \\ -BEN/-REF \end{array} \right] & & \left[+BEN/+REF \right] \longrightarrow X \left[\begin{array}{c} +V, -N \\ +BEN/+REF \end{array} \right] \end{array}$$

The following constructions illustrate the use of reflexives/benefactives in clauses.

In general, the grammatical roles performed by participants in a verbal reflexive/benefactive situation are non-distinct (cf. Lichtenberk 1994:3505). That is, one participant may play two or more roles as in (71b), where /mekə/ 'Meka' is both the agent and the patient of the action. In the following section, Gedeo stative verbal forms shall be discussed.

3.3.4 Stative verbal forms

Apart from modification of verb roots, as discussed so far, Gedeo verbal forms can also be derived from adjectivals. Wedekind (1980:2) states, "Verb formation from non-verbal roots, and the reverse, nominalization of verb roots, are both common phenomena in Gedeo". Most, if not all, of these derived forms are intransitive verbs, and they express quality, process etc. Verbs of such types are known to be "statives" or "middle voice" (cf. Hayward 1975; Wedekind 1990:72; Lehman 1994:3298).

Stative verbal forms, in Gedeo, are derived by the suffixation of {-δ}, {-ʔ}, or {-at} as shown below.

(72)	<u>Adjectival base</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Derived stative</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(a)	di:mmo	red	di:mm-at-	be red
	baʔ11a	wide (also generous)	baʔ11-at-	be wide (also be generous)
	k'aʔ11a	thin	k'aʔ11-at-	be thin
	dʒaba	strong	dʒab-at-	be strong
	furda	fat	furd-at-	be fat
	c'uʔmma	narrow	c'uʔmm-at-	be narrow
(b)	t'illo	black	t'ill-eδ-	be black

	k'e:rra	tall	k'e:rr-eδ-	be tall
	da:jjə	red (for body color)	da:jj-eδ-	be red
(c)	haruma	short	haru?mm-	be short
	golalo	white	gola?l-	be white

As (72) above illustrates the derived stative forms are formed from their respective adjectival roots by the suffixation of {-at}, {-eδ}, and {-?}. These suffixes, particularly, {-eδ} and {-?} are formally identical to those used in reflexive construction. (It is also true in other Eastern Cushitic languages that such homophones forms appear. According to Hayward (1975:213) de-adjectival verbs in Oromo, for instance, are formed by suffixing {-aδ}, which has an identical form to the suffix used in deriving reflexives or auto-benefactives, to adjectival stems).

The suffix {-at}, as in (72a), is attached to adjectival bases which express the strength, width, or fatness of someone/something. But {-eδ} or {-?}, as in (72b) and (72c), is suffixed to those adjectival bases, which show length or body color. (Note that {-eδ} and {-?} are two realization of {-δ}; the first occurs after geminate or cluster of consonants, while the latter after a single nasal or lateral consonant, but metathesis occurs at the same time (also cf. 3.3.3)).

Phonologically speaking, the alternations, seen above in deriving stative verbal forms, can be described in the following way.

In deriving stative verbal forms:

- (i) {-at} is suffixed to adjectival bases that end with
 $?/v: + C^1 C^1 \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{sonorant} \\ + \text{nasal}/+\text{lateral} \end{array} \right]$ or $C \left[+ \text{obstruent} \right]$

(ii) {-eδ} is suffixed to adjectival bases that end with

$$V(:) + C \begin{matrix} C^1 \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{sonorant} \\ - \text{nasal} \end{array} \right] \end{matrix} \text{ and}$$

(iii) adjectival base final C $+ \delta \rightarrow ?C$, i.e.,
 glotalization plus methathesis $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{nasal}/+\text{lateral} \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{nasal}/+\text{lateral} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$

Wedekind (1990:72) noted that stative verbs (or in his term "middle voice" verbs) in Gedeo can be regarded as "derivatives from adjectives by means of the derivative {-δ} or {-?}, process, middle voice". But he did not mention {-at}, which has wider occurrences, as shown above, in the derivation of stative forms in the language. Hayward (1975:213ff.), too, claims that in Eastern Cushitic the basic stative verbalizing marker is {-t}, but in some languages, especially, in HEC, we find {-δ} due to synchronic changes. It may, thus, be generalized that {-t}, in fact with a vowel preceding it, and {-δ} are the stative verbal markers in Gedeo, where the proto *t retains in some forms, while the latter, which is the result of synchronic change, used in other cases.

The Gedeo derived stative forms which are discussed so far are formed by an overt suffixation of a morphological marker. But there are other stative verb forms which may be considered to be derived by a covert suffixation process, i.e. using a null form, as shown below:

(73)	<u>Adjectival base</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Derived stative verbs</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
	ʃakk'a	soft	ʃakk'-ϕ-	be soft
	k'i:da	cold	k'i:d-ϕ-	be cold
	?e:bba	hot	?e:bb-ϕ-	be hot
	?elo	good	?el-ϕ-	be good

As can be noted from (73), the suffixation of a null morpheme (ϕ) to the adjectival bases derives the stative verbal forms.

Now let us illustrate the above two cases; i.e., derivation with overt suffixation and with covert process, in the schemata below by taking, say, /di:mm-/ 'red' and /[akk'-]/ 'soft' respectively:

$$(74) \quad (a) \quad \begin{array}{c} \boxed{\text{di:mm-}} \\ A \end{array} + \begin{array}{c} \boxed{-at} \\ V_{af} \end{array} \longrightarrow \begin{array}{c} \boxed{\boxed{\text{di:mm-}}} \\ V \quad A \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \boxed{\boxed{-at}} \\ V_{af} \quad V_{af} \end{array}$$

$$(b) \quad \begin{array}{c} \boxed{[akk'-]} \\ A \end{array} + \begin{array}{c} V_{af} \quad (-\emptyset) \\ V_{af} \end{array} \longrightarrow \begin{array}{c} \boxed{\boxed{[akk'-]}} \\ V \quad A \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} V_{af} \quad (-\emptyset) \\ V_{af} \quad V_{af} \end{array}$$

Following this, a general WFR for the derivation of statives can be made in (75) below:

$$(75) \quad X \left[\begin{array}{c} +N, +V \end{array} \right] + \begin{array}{c} V_{af} \\ \boxed{+STAT} \end{array} \longrightarrow X \left[\begin{array}{c} -N, +V \\ +STAT \end{array} \right]$$

Stative verbal forms show similar syntactic features, whether they are formed with overt suffixes or null forms. Compare the structures below:

- (76) (a) ?an-i k'e:rra-tt'e dubarr-icc-o ?e:jj-a-nn-o-ni
 I-NOM tall-DET:FEM girl-DEF-ACC like-IMPERF-1s-FUT-AUX
 'I like the tall girl'
- (b) dubarr-icc-o k'e:rr-at-te
 girl-DEF-NOM:FEM tall-STAT-3fs:PERF
 'The girl be tall.'

- (c) dubarr-icc-o k'e:rra-tt'e kad-de
 girl-DEF-NOM:FEM tall-DET:FEM become-3fs:PERF
 'The girl became tall'
- (77) (a) wodi?-i ?e:bba-ke-ni
 water-NOM:MAS hot-DET:MAS-AUX
 'The water is hot'
- (b) wodi?-i ?e:bb-Ø-e
 water-NOM:MAS hot-STAT-3ms: PERF
 'The water got hot'
- (c) wodi?-i ?e:bba-ke kad-e
 water-NOM:MAS hot-DET:MAS become-3ms:PERF
 'The water became hot'

In (76a) and (77a) we have the adjectival bases /k'e:rra/ 'tall' and /?e:bba/ 'hot'. When these adjectival bases are subjected to the derivation of statives, as in (76b) and (77b), they occupy similar syntactic positions, though the first is formed with an overt suffix while the latter with a null form, i.e. covertly. On the basis of the above analysis, thus, it can be concluded that the stative verbal forms in Gedeo, whether they are derived overtly or covertly, can syntactically be used in a similar fashion.

Likewise, (76c) and (77c) show that an independent morphological element, /kad-/ 'become' syntactically plays the same role to those of the morphologically bound elements, which are discussed in (76b) and (77b). Consequently, the same semantic notion can be achieved by this free syntactic expression to those of the morphologically bound ones.

In general, stative verbal forms in Gedeo are formed by a process of suffixation to adjectival roots, just like other verbal forms of the language are derived, from their respective roots, by a similar process.

To conclude, those derived verbal forms, discussed so far, undergo some morphological changes from their base or root elements. As a result of their morphological variations, thus, some semantic differences are occurred. Some of the derivatives also show syntactic deviations from the non-derived counterparts, for instance, as in the case of causatives, where there is an increment of the number of argument structures, or as in the case of passive formation, where change of grammatical relations occurred. Now we move to the next section in which derived adjectival forms in Gedeo are treated.

3.4 Suffixes that form Adjectivals

Like derived nominals or verbals, adjectivals can also be formed from different lexical categories. The process by which such derivation takes place is known as adjectivization (Bauer 1983:184).

Wedekind (1990:67) claims that there are very few genuine adjectives in Gedeo. In some cases, he points out that, it would be difficult to formally identify adjectives from nominals for there are many constructions in which no morphological clue marks them. He then concluded that nouns that express qualities can not be distinguished from adjectives, as the morphological differences are inconspicuous.

Nevertheless, there are a few adjectival forms, which I assume have been derived from nominal roots by the suffixation of {-andʒo}¹⁶ or {-cca}. These suffixes seem to show very little semantic variation. The former is mostly used with [+animate] features as in (78a) below, and is literally meant “one who has ‘x’, where ‘x’ stands for the nominal root”. For instance,

/borc'andʒo/ literally means “a person who has a /borc'a/ ‘big belly’, which is the feature of human beings”.

While the later form is often used with [-animate] things as in (78b), in which /kindʒicca/, for instance, means “something y” which has the feature of ‘x’, where ‘x’ refers to the nominal root.

This semantic distinction, however, may not guarantee our use of such suffixes in the above senses for there are circumstances where both forms can appear suffixing to a single element, as in (78c), despite the element has a [+animate] feature or not. This may lead us to say that {-cca} can be attached to any nominal roots where this is semantically possible. The meaning of these suffixes is then to express possessing/owing or experiencing something. The derivation of such adjectives is given below:

(78)	Nominal root	Gloss	Derived adjectives	Gloss
(a)	godob-	stomach	godob-andʒo	greedy
	borc'-	large belly	borc'-andʒo	big-bellied
	?arr-	grey hair	?arr-andʒo	grey haired
(b)	kindʒ -	stone	kindʒ-icca	stony
	c'ar-	pebble	c'ar-icca	pebbly
	t'en-	rain	t'en-icca	rainy
(c)	?ariʃf-	sun	?ariʃf-icca/-andʒo	sunny
	goror-	dribble	goror-icca/-andʒo	dribbling
	ganʃ-	mucus	ganʃ-icca/-andʒo	one who does not clean his/her nose
	ɔar-	lie	ɔar-icca/-andʒo	liar

As (78) illustrate some roots like (78a) and (78b) allow the suffixation of only one of the forms, while others, like (78c), permit the attachment of both suffixes. These variations are only due to the semantic acceptability of the forms; otherwise, morphologically or phonologically both suffixes have the potential to be attached to all the roots. Thus, if one attaches either of the suffixes, leaving aside the question of semantics, to any of the roots, the derived forms would be well-formed, both morphologically and phonologically. Compare the following:

- | | | | |
|------|-----|-------------|---------------|
| (79) | (a) | ʔarr-andʒo | ‘grey haired’ |
| | | *ʔarr-icca | ‘grey haired’ |
| | (b) | c’ar-icca | ‘pebbly’ |
| | | *c’ar-andʒo | ‘pebbly’ |

Both /ʔarrandʒo/, */ʔarricca/ ‘grey haired’ in (79a), and /c’aricca/, */c’arandʒo/ ‘pebbly’ in (79b) are right both morphologically and phonologically. Nonetheless, the question of semantics is not a simple task to be escaped off; consequently, though these forms fit morphologically and phonologically, those marked with asterisk (*) are ill-formed due to the semantic unacceptability. So, in this language semantics plays a crucial role in the derivation of adjectives. Those adjective-forming suffixes, then, can alternately be used only if the semantic acceptability is kept.

Since {-cca} and {-andʒo} are adjectival forming suffixes, they can be assigned a categorial status A^{af}, and it is the feature of these suffixes that percolate up to the whole derived form. Such suffixes, then, are heads of the derivation. This can be illustrated in (80) below by considering, gororicca/gororandʒo ‘dribbling’, as an example:

- (84) (a) belt-i goror-andʒo-ke-ni
 (b) goror-andʒ-i belt-i dag-e
- (85) (a) belt-i ʒar- andʒo-ke-ni
 (b) ʒikk-i ʒar- andʒ-i (belt-i) me??-e

As can be noted from the above constructions, those suffixes express masculine gender as in, for instance, /gororicca/ or /gororandʒo/ 'dribbling (m)' and /ʒaricca/ or /ʒarandʒo/ 'liar (m)'. If they are to express femininity, however, a somewhat modified form {-itte} for {-icca} as in (86) below, would be used. For the other adjectivizing suffix {-andʒo} no change is made, i.e. it can be used for both masculine and feminine gender (compare (87a) and (87b) below). However, the change occurs when it inflects for case, as in (88). Compare the constructions below:

- (86) (a) mandʒ-icc-o ʒar-itte-te-ni (cf. /ʒar-icca/ 'liar (m)')
 adult-DEF-NOM:FEM lie-A^{af} (FEM)-DET:3F-AUX
 'The woman is liar'
- (b) ʒar-itte mandʒo dag-ge
 lie- A^{af}(FEM) adult-NOM:FEM come-3fs:PERF
 'A liar woman came'
- (87) (a) gercc-o ʒarr-andʒo-te-ni
 old person-NOM:FEM grey hair-A^{af} - DET:3f-AUX
 'The old woman is grey haired'
- (b) gercc-i ʒarr-andʒo-ke-ni
 old person-NOM:MAS grey hair-A^{af} - DET:3m-AUX
 'The old man is grey haired'
- (88) (a) ʒarr-andʒ-o gercc-o di:p'-p'e
 af
 grey hair-A -NOM:FEM old person-NOM:FEM sleep-3fs:PERF
 'The grey haired old woman slept'

CHAPTER FOUR

Compounding

4.1 Introduction

Compounding is defined to be a process by which a compound lexeme is derived from two or more simple lexemes (Matthews 1991:82). There will be a case, however, in which constituents may not be lexemes. And the non lexemes, stems, should not involve in any particular derivation. Thus, compounding is more fully defined as "a lexeme containing two or more potential stems that has not subsequently been subjected to a derivation process" (Bauer 1983:29).

Compounds of a language can be grouped in to different classes. The normal way of classifying compounds, according to (Bauer 1983:201), is by the function they play in a sentence as nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc. As a result, we may have compound nouns, compound verbs, compound adjectives, etc. Such compound types may further be sub classified depending on other parameters that the linguists are interested in. As has been cited in Bauer (1983:201-202) some linguists, like Marchand (1969), use the form classes of the items to classify compounds. Others such as Hatcher (1960) and Warren (1978) prefer to use semantic classes and still others may sub classify compounds on the bases of the linking element (like Žepič 1970) and the underlying syntactic functions (like Lees 1960). There are also others who use a mixture of the above means, like Adams (1973) and Jespersen (1942).

Thus, it is followed in this thesis primarily the formal classification by which compounds in Gedeo are treated as compound nouns, compound adjectives, compound verbs, and compound adverbs. The subclasses of

such compounds would then be treated both formally and semantically. Formally compound nouns may be , for instance, N(oun)+N(oun), S(tem) + N(oun) etc., and semantically, compounds can further be classified as endocentric, exocentric, copulative, and appositional (Bauer1983:30ff.; Katamba 1993:305). The features of these compounds will be treated elsewhere, whenever necessary, in the discussion. In what follows the above compound types in Gedeo will be discussed.

4.2 Compound Nouns

Compound nouns in Gedeo can be formed by Noun + Noun, and Nominal Root + Noun combinations, where the first one has more occurrences. These compounds are more productive types in Gedeo than the rest. Below the sub classifications of such compounds will be entertained.

4.2.1 Noun + Noun Compounds

As has already been indicated above the Noun + Noun pattern has a more frequent occurrence in Gedeo compound noun formation. Such compounds can be seen from two perspectives: (i) those forms whose meaning is directly inferred from the component part(s), endocentric, and (ii) those forms that are not the hyponym of the grammatical head, exocentric. Each may in turn be considered as being formed with or without a linking element. Both types are discussed below.

	Compound Nouns (N+GER)	Gloss
(89)	(a) la:lo hekk'a	Cattle keeping
	la:lo	Cattle
	hekk'a	Keeping
	(b) hakk'e bonco	wood chopping
	hakk'e	tree stump/wood
	bonco	chopping/splitting

(c)	<i>ðokk'e hirbessa</i>	mud adjudicating
	<i>ðokk'e</i>	mud
	<i>hirbessa</i>	adjudicating
(d)	<i>ge:ʃa tuma</i>	'gesha' pounding
	<i>ge:ʃa</i>	'gesho'
	<i>tuma</i>	pounding
(e)	<i>buno tuma</i>	coffee pounding
	<i>buno</i>	coffee
	<i>tuma</i>	pounding
(f)	<i>?anga c'ala</i>	hand clapping
	<i>?anga</i>	hand
	<i>c'ala</i>	clapping

The meaning of all the above compounds is predictable from the component parts; in other words, these compounds are the hyponym of the grammatical head. Bauer (1983:30) says that a compound is said to be a hyponym of a grammatical head when its meaning is capable of being inferred from the head of that compound. If the meaning of a compound word is predictable from the head, (i.e., the lexeme that carries the basic meaning), such a compound word is usually termed as endocentric (Selkirk 1982:19; Bauer 1983:305). Thus, in (89) above the main meaning of the compounds is carried by the right most constituents (heads). In 89(a), for instance, it is /*hekk'a* / 'keeping' that carries the basic meaning, and /*la:lo*/ 'cattle' has a modifier semantic relation to it. As a result, such compounds are considered to be endocentric. The features of such compounds, hence, percolate from the right most constituents, and thus fit to the right hand head rule (RHR) of Williams (1981a:248) that says the right most constituent in a compound is the head, and it is the feature of this head that percolates to the whole compound.

Selkirk (1982:24) says, "A non-head constituent of a compound may satisfy an argument of the argument structure of the head constituent".

By argument she is to mean the thematic relations such as Agent, Theme, Goal, Source, Instrument, etc.

Thus, if the non-heads (left most constituents) in the above compounds are considered from this view point, they are found to satisfy an argument of the argument structure of the heads. Since the heads in all the above cases are gerundive nominals (cf.3.2.2 for gerundive nominals), they have verbal features so need to have arguments. Hence, those non-heads will satisfy this need by being object arguments to the heads. Consequently, in 89(a)-(e) the non-heads are themes to their respective heads. For example, /la:lo/ 'cattle' is the theme of the head /hekk'a/ 'keeping'. However, in 89(f) the non-head /ʔanga/ 'hand' is an instrument to the head /c'ala/ 'clapping'. In general, it can be said that all the above compounds have either a theme-head or an instrument-head relation.

The above endocentric compounds are formed by simple collocation of lexemes with no any combining element. There are other endocentric compounds, however, which can be formed by a compounding element. Look at the following:

Compound Nouns [N+ti+N]

- | | | | |
|------|-----|---|--------------|
| (90) | (a) | baracco-ti-mine
knowledge-CE-house
Lit. 'knowledge house' | 'school' |
| | (b) | ʔita-ti-mine
eating-CE-house
Lit. 'eating house' | 'restaurant' |
| | (c) | galdʒe-ti-mine
sleeping -CE-house
Lit. 'sleeping house' | 'bed room' |

- | | | |
|-----|---|----------|
| (d) | kaṣa-ti-mine
prayer-CE-house
Lit. 'prayer house' | 'chapel' |
| (e) | murte-ti-mine
judgment -CE-house
Lit. 'judgement house' | 'court' |

All these compounds refer to the place or location where certain activities are taking place; so they may be considered as locative compound nouns. The right most constituent /mine/ 'house' is the head in all the above cases, i.e., from 90(a)-(e), and the left hand members are modifiers to this head. As Selkirk (1982:22) points out the non-head constituents of compound words further define the heads. Thus, the above non-head constituents have a capability to define the head noun /mine/ 'house'. In 90(a), for instance, /baraccotimine/ 'school' is a kind of /mine/ 'house' where a teaching-learning process takes place. Hence, the non-head /baracco/ 'knowledge' defines the head noun /mine/ 'house' by expressing what is taking place in it, so it is the modifier of the head. The semantic relation that exists between these compounds, thus, is modifier-head. Similar to the compound types in (90), these compounds, too, have their heads on the right. The features of these heads, then, percolate to the whole compound by RHR.

It is clear from (90) that all those compounds are formed by the combining element {-ti-}. The presence of this combining element may be considered to be the morphological feature of such modifier-head compounds. And all the forms are lexical elements rather than syntactic phrases.

Sometimes there will be observed a problem in identifying and showing clearly the difference between Noun-Noun compounds and genitive NPs. In our case, however, all the above compound nouns are different from

genitive NPs in that there will be an addition of a relativizer /determiner morpheme {-ke} in the later cases. Compare the following:

- (91) (a) *baracco-ti-mine*
 knowledge-CE-house
 Lit. 'knowledge house'
- (b) *baracco-ti-ke mine*
 knowledge-CE-REL house
 Lit 'house of knowledge'
- (c) *baraccotimini-ke da:lla?a*
 school- of fence
 'Fence of the school'
- (92) (a) *?ita-ti-mine*
 eating-CE-house
 Lit. 'eating house'
- (b) *?ita-ti-ke mine*
 eating-CE-REL house
 Lit. 'house for eating'
- (c) *?itatimini-ke hula*
 restaurant-of doorway
 'Doorway of the restaurant'

As (91) and (92) illustrate, the difference between the lexical Ns and syntactic NPs can be distinguished; 91(a) and 92(a) are compounds, while 91(b) and 92(b) are phrases. Also (91c) and (92c) further elaborate that the elements in (91a) and (92a) are lexical than phrasal. This is because the genitive suffix {-ke} is attached to the whole compound, not to the component parts.

Apart from endocentric compounds discussed so far, there are also exocentric types that can be formed by Noun + Noun combination. Semantically these compounds are not headed contra the endocentric

ones. Selkirk (1982:19) and Katamba (1993:319) say that exocentric compounds do not contain an element that serves as a semantic head. Consequently, there will be no way to have a modifier-head relation in such compounds. Moreover, the meaning of exocentric compounds, as opposed to the endocentric ones, can not simply be inferred from the component parts. In other words, they are not subjected to compositionality (Katamba 1993:320). The following compound nouns show these features:

(93) Compound Nouns [N+INF]	Gloss
(a) hega wuŋfo	examination
hega	capacity
wuŋfo	to see
(b) lapp'e gana	break fast
lapp'e	chest
gana	to hit
(c) hirbata	dinner
hirba	to follow
?ita	to eat
(d) hula bana	to guide/to give hint
hula	doorway
bana	to open
(e) sano gana	to smell
sano	nose
gana	to hit
(f) bale k'ota	to think wickedness,
bale	to do evil
k'ota	pit
to dig	
(g) ?ille wuŋfo	to treat with undue partiality
?ille	eye
wuŋfo	to see

All the compounds in (93) have a Noun + Noun combination, and the second members are infinitival (cf. 3.2.2 for the derivation of infinitival).

The whole meaning of such compounds is not predictable from the parts. If we take, say, /hegawuŋŋo/ 'examination' or /hulabana/ 'to give hint', they are not a kind of /wuŋŋo/ 'to see' or /bana/ 'to open'; rather they have metaphorical meanings as has already been glossed in (93) above. So semantically such compounds are said to be non-compositional. Bauer (1983:30) says that exocentric compounds are mostly seen as having metaphorical meanings for their semantic head is unexpressed. From semantic view point, thus, the above compounds are headless.

From syntactic point of view, however, all the compounds in (89), (90), and (93) can be seen to have heads. But the heads may or may not have semantic relation to the non-head constituents. In (89) and (90), since the compounds are endocentric, the right most constituents are heads, and also they have semantic relation to the non-head constituents. Therefore, such compounds are headed both semantically and syntactically. The compounds in (93), however, do not have semantic heads for they are exocentric. Nonetheless, syntactically they are formed following the usual Noun + Noun pattern by which the endocentric ones are made. Consequently, the right most constituents will be taken as heads regardless of whether they have semantic relations to the left hand members and what ever syntactic categories these non-heads may have.

In below it will be shown how the compounds discussed so far are used in constructions.

- (94) (a) la:lo hekk'a la?o ?af-fe-ni
 cattle keeping value has-3fs-AUX
 'Cattle keeping has value'
- (b) ?an-i la:lo hekk'a ?e:jj-a-nn-o-ni
 I-NOM cattle keeping like-IMPERF-1s-FUT-AUX
 'I like cattle keeping'

- (95) (a) *baraccotimin-i gubat-e*
 school-NOM:MAS burn-3ms:PERF
 'The school burned'
- (b) *?isi baraccotimine gub-e*
 he.NOM:MAS school burn-3ms:PERF
 'He burnt the school'
- (96) (a) *hega wuʃʃo ʃolle-tt'e-ni*
 examination be simple-DET:FEM-AUX
 'The examination was simple'
- (b) *no?o ʃolla-ka hegawuʃʃo ?u:nd-e-nn-e-ni*
 we simple.DET:MAS examination see.PL-PERF-1s-ACTU-AUX
 'We took an easy examination'

As the constructions (94)–(96) illustrate the compounds served grammatical relation of subject and object. In (94a) /*la:lohekk'a*/ 'cattle keeping' is the subject, but it is the object in (94b). In (95) and (96) also the compounds /*baraccotimine*/ 'school' and /*hegawuʃʃo*/ 'examination' are used as subjects as well as objects in their respective constructions.

The fact that these compound words serve such grammatical relations shows they have met one of the criteria of wordness known as positional mobility. Bauer (1983:105), quoting Lyons (1968:204), writes that positional mobility refers to the use of words in different places where they can have various relations as subject, object etc, and this is taken as a criterion for wordness.

When the compounds, serving as NPs in the above constructions, are moved to different positions, both parts of the phrases must move together. If it is possible to move only part of it and insert any free element in between, that form could not be taken as a word for it fails to meet the criterion known as uninterruptibility (ibid: 106). As a result, such forms will be considered as syntactic phrases, rather than lexical

items. Katamba (1993:299) advocates that the main difference between compound words and syntactic phrases lies on the inaccessibility of compounds to syntactic rules, like Wh-movement. He also says that compounds are considered as “indivisible units” by syntactic rules.

If all the compounds discussed so far are checked against uninterruptability and movement, they satisfy the criteria. For clarity let us reconsider (94b) and (95b) in (97) below:

- (97) (a) ?an-i la:lo hekk'a ?e:jj-a-nn-o-ni
 I-NOM cattle keeping like-IMPERF-1s-FUT-AUX
 ‘I like cattle keeping’
- (b) ?is-i baraccotimine gub-e
 he-NOM:MAS school burn-3ms:PERF
 ‘He burnt the school’

If one asks [macco ?e:jjatte] ‘what do you like?’ and [macco gube] ‘what did he burn?’ for 97(a) and (b) respectively, the responses must accordingly take the whole collocation /la:lo hekk'a/ ‘cattle keeping’ and /baraccotimine/ ‘school’ to convey the necessary meaning. Otherwise, if only part of the sequence, say, /la:lo/ ‘cattle’ or /hekk'a/ ‘keeping’ is given as a response for the first question, that would have a different meaning because it is neither /la:lo/ nor /hekk'a/ independently that I like, but the compound as a all. If /la:lo/ is to be given as a response, the meaning will totally be changed for it does not convey what is expected from the question. On the other hand, if the answer would simply be /hekk'a/ ‘keeping’, the idea would be vague for it may be any ‘x’-keeping, where ‘x’ is anything to be kept including /la:lo/ ‘cattle’. In 97(a), for instance, it is not ‘sheep keeping’ or ‘goal keeping’ that I like but ‘cattle keeping’. Hence, the whole compound must be moved to the Wh-syntactic position. The same is true in 97(b) in that the whole

/baraccotimine/ 'school' must be moved to fill any syntactic position. Such a whole movement, besides the semantic advantages exemplified above, has a morphological advantage of keeping the criterion of un-interruptability. It informs, indirectly, the unacceptability of inserting other elements in between the forms.

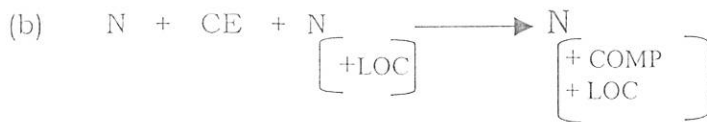
In addition to positional mobility and un-interruptability discussed above, 'internal stability' is also another criterion of wordness. As Bauer (1983:106), quoting Lyons (1968:204), writes, it refers to the impossibility of reordering elements within a word with no meaning change. If the elements can be reordered keeping the original message, the initial forms would rather be phrases than words. Compare the following:

(98)	Well-formed	Ill-formed	Gloss
(a)	la:lo hekk'a	* hekk'a la:lo	'cattle-keeping'
(b)	baraccotimine	* mine baraccoti	'school'
(c)	hegawuffo	* wuffo hega	'examination'

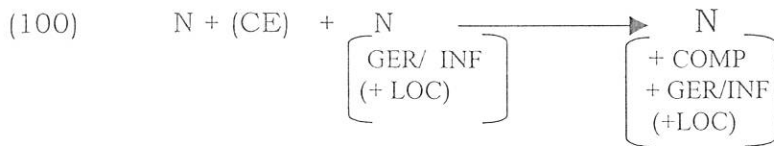
As (98) illustrates the reordering of elements within the forms results in illformedness. Consequently, the initial forms are compound words that satisfy the requirement of internal stability.

In general, all the facts discussed so far, regarding the criteria of wordness, would help to confirm those Noun- Noun collocations are compound words. Thus, the following WFRs may be proposed for their formation:





99(a) and (b) can be sum up as (100) below:



4.2.2 Nominal Root + Noun compounds

Compound words are most frequently formed from the combination of two or more independent elements. But there are also cases in which they may be obtained from roots. Regarding this Katamba (1993: 239) says the following:

... although normally the bases that are combined to form a compound are autonomous words, the possibility of occurring as an independent word is not a prerequisite...,... compounds are recognized which only contain bound bases.

Nominal Root + Noun compounds in Gedeo are formed by a combining element {-n-} immediately followed by determiners {-k/t}. (As we shall see later these inflectional markers are part and parcel of the compound.) Very few compounds of such a form are identified in the language; all of which express ownership or control relation. Look at (101) below:

Compound forms	Gloss
(101) min-in-k-anna	husband (Lit.house father)
ficc-in-k-anna	land owner (Lit. farm father)
min-in-t'-ama	wife (Lit. house mother)

The semantic relation that exists between the constituents of such compounds, as is highlighted above, is that of modifier-head. This

relation may indicate one's participation or control on something. Those forms in (101) have this relation. Let us see the case: /minint'ama/ 'Lit. House mother' is a kind of /?ama/ 'mother' who accomplishes or controls all house works. Similarly, /mininkanna/ 'Lit. House father' is a kind of /?anna/ 'father' who has a super control over the house in general.

In all the above compounds, the right most constituents carry the basic meaning, and thus are heads of the compounds. As a result, such compounds are considered to be endocentric; it is the features of the right hand members that percolate to the whole compound. The formation of these compounds can be given as a rule like (102) below:

$$(102) \text{ Nominal Root + CE+DET+NOUN} \longrightarrow \text{N} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{+COMP} \end{array} \right]$$

As can be understood from (101) above, in the formation of compounds the citation forms, which can be considered as nominal roots, are combined to nouns by a linking element {-in-}. This connecting element, however, is obligatorily followed by the inflectional markers (determiners).

The inflectional feature with in such compounds should be treated as part of the word as it is attached to the non-head constituents. In relation to this Selkirk (1982:53), citing Williams (1981a), writes that "inflectional features that have relations to the non-head elements of a compound must be interpreted (or interruptible) with in the scope of the word itself". Thus, the determiner in the above cases should be taken as part of the compounds.

Syntactically, these compounds act quite like simple lexical items. The following constructions illustrate this:

- (103) (a) *ʔant'i ʔama dag-ge*
 my mother come-3fs:PERF
 'My mother came'
- (b) *ʔant'i minint'ama dag-ge*
 my wife come-3fs:PERF
 'My wife came'
- (c) *ʔant'i minint'ama-ki min-i gurgur-em-e*
 my wife-POSS.NOM:MAS house.NOM:MAS sell-PASS-3ms:PERF
 'My wife's house' was sold.'
- (104) (a) *ʔis-i ʔann-uwwa ʔisitt'a gan-e*
 he-NOM:MAS child-PL his hit-3ms:PERF
 'He hit his children'
- (b) *ʔis-i minint'am-uwwa ʔisitt'a tik-e*
 he-NOM:MAS wife-PL his divorce-3ms:PERF
 'He divorced his wives'
- (c) *ʔanke mininkanna-ki mini gurgur-em-e*
 my husband-POSS.NOM:MAS house sell-PASS-3ms:PERF
 'My husband's house was sold'

As can be observed from (103) and (104) the compound /*minint'ama*/ 'wife' is used quite like the simple lexical items /*ʔama*/ 'mother', in (103a), and /*ʔanno*/ 'child', in (104a). It also plays similar syntactic relations like that of simple lexical items. In (103b) the compound /*minint'ama*/ 'wife' is the subject of the construction as the simple lexical item /*ʔama*/ 'mother' is in 103(a). But in 104(b) its plural form /*m'inint'amuwwa*/ 'wives' serves as the object of VP with a similar syntactic position to the simple lexical item /*ʔannuwwa*/ 'children' in 104(a).

From the above constructions we can also see that the inflectional marker is attached to the whole compound, not to the component parts. The plural marker {-uwwa}, glossed as the English {-es}, is suffixed to the

compound /minint'ama/ 'wife' as a whole. This reveals that this compound form is acting as a single lexical element. In addition to this, (103c) and (104c) also show that, in the genitive NPs,

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{minint'ama} \right] \\ \text{N} \end{array} \right] - \text{ki} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \text{ mini} \quad \text{and} \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{minink'anna} \right] - \text{ki} \\ \text{N} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \text{ mini},$$

the genitive marker is attached to the whole forms /minint'ama/ 'wife' and /minikanna/ 'husband', which have a lexical status. Thus, it can be concluded that Noun-Noun collocations of such types are really of the category word.

To sum up, for the compound types discussed so far, in 4.2.1 and 4.2.2, we may propose the following general WFR:

$$(105) \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{N} \\ \text{N}^r \end{array} \right] + \left[(\text{CE}) + (\text{DET}) \right] + \left[\text{N} \right] \longrightarrow \text{N}$$

In what follows we shall consider the formation of compound adjectives.

4.3 Compound Adjectives

Compound adjectives are less productive than compound nouns. Most of these compounds have a Noun + Adjective combination. But very few are found to have Adjective + Adjective pattern. Such forms will be attested below.

4.3.1 Noun + Adjective Compounds

Such compounds encompass both types of words that have compositional as well as non-compositional meanings.

	Compound Forms	Gloss
(106)	(a) <i>sarba k'a?lla(ka)</i> <i>sarba</i> <i>k'a?lla(ka)</i>	unfortunate, unlucky thigh, lap thin(MAS)
	(b) <i>k'albe du:da</i> <i>k'albe</i> <i>du:da</i>	stout-hearted heart blocked/opaque/ closed
	(c) <i>babba ba?lla(ta)</i> <i>babba</i> <i>ba?lla(ta)</i>	tolerant, forbearing you (POL.FEM) wide (FEM)
(107)	(a) <i>hunna gop'alessa</i> <i>hunna</i> <i>gop'alessa</i>	weakling, strength lacking knee weak
	(b) <i>?amala danca</i> <i>?amala</i> <i>danca</i>	good natured, courteous conduct, behavior beautiful
	(c) <i>?afo?o du:da/gan a du:da</i> <i>?afo?o</i> <i>gan a</i> <i>du:da</i>	deaf, dumb mouth ear blocked/opaque/closed

(Note that *(ka)* and *(ta)* are determiners, which have a masculine and feminine feature respectively.)

The meaning of the compounds in (106) can not simply be inferred by just looking at each constituent. For instance, one who knows what */sarba/* 'thigh' and what */k'a?lla(ka)/* 'thin' separately mean can not work out what the compound */sarbak'a?llaka/* 'unlucky' means, for it has a metaphorical usage. Thus, such compounds are not semantically compositional. */sarbak'a?llaka/*, for example, is not a kind of */sarba/* or a person who has thin thigh, but the one who is unfortunate.

The meaning of the compounds in (107), however, can be inferred from the constituent parts. If one knows the meaning of */hunna/* 'knee' and

/gop'alessa/ 'weak', and the semantic relation that exists between them, i.e., modified-modifier, he would not be at a total loss, he may have at least a guess what the whole compound */hunnagop'alessa/* 'weakling' means; thus it is semantically compositional.

Generally, the Noun + Adjective compounds can be of the type semantically compositional and/or non-compositional. Consequently, those in (106), with a non-compositional meaning, will be considered as exocentric for exocentric compounds, according to Bauer (1983:30), are usually seen as metaphorical and lacking modifier-head relationship; while those in (107) may be taken as copulative compounds (see Katamba 1993:321 for the notion of copulative), since they are not semantically opaque and each of their parts characterize a separate aspect of the meaning of the whole compound. As each element of a copulative compound has equal status in contributing to the meaning of the whole, it is difficult to say which one is the head (*ibid.*). Consequently, the compound forms discussed above, both in (106) and (107) will semantically be considered as headless.

Form syntactic point of view, however, they are headed compounds; they can be generated by the rule $N + A \rightarrow A$. The right most category determines the category of the compound.

These compound adjectives can be used in a construction similar to simple (non-compounded) adjectives. Compare (108) below:

- (108) (a) *dubar-icc-o* *danca-te-ni*
 girl-DEF-NOM:FEM beautiful-3f-AUX
 'The girl is beautiful'
- (b) *dubar-icc-o* *k'albe du:da-te-ni*
 girl-DEF-NOM:FEM 'stout-hearted-3f-AUX
 'The girl is stout-hearted'

- (a) ?is-e danca dubarr-icc-o-ni
 she-NOM:FEM beautiful girl-DEF-ACC-AUX
 'She is the beautiful girl'
- (b) ?is-e k'albe du:da dubarr-icc-o-ni
 she-NOM:FEM stout-hearted girl-DEF-ACC-AUX
 'She is the stout-hearted girl'

As these contrasts illustrate the simple adjective /danca/ 'beautiful' and the compound one /kalbedu:da/ 'stout-hearted', in the first pair, are used as predicative of the construction. On the other hand, in the later pair, both the simple and the compound adjectives are used attributively. Thus it can be confirmed that such compound forms have a lexical status. In the next section compound adjectives with the form Adjective + Adjective will be discussed.

4.3.2 Adjective + Adjective compounds

Compound adjectives of the form A + A → A, as far as my data is concerned, are very rare. I can find the following lists all of which have nearly similar meanings.

(109)	Compound forms	Gloss
(a)	magala }aggitte	good-looking
	magala	dark brown (person's complexion)
	}aggitte	beautiful, good
(b)	magala dancitte	good-looking
	magala	dark brown
	dancitte	beautiful
(c)	magala kurupp'itte	good-looking, attractive
	magala	dark-brown
	kurupp'itte	well structured (for shape of a body)

In all these three forms the first member is the same adjective that expresses person's complexion, but the second members vary at least in

auxiliary verbs, in a stem + verb pattern.

The auxiliary verbs are /hijje/ 'to say' and /ʔasse/ 'to do', which are always the second members of the compound. Let us consider the following:

(112)	Compound forms	Gloss
(a)	bukasse	exploded (vi)
	takasse	splited (also break)
	wirasse	turned up side down
	foroggasse	broke off (branches), detached
	k'elfasse	broke off (e.g. bat/ stick)
	ʃuʔmmasse	lifted, picked up
	c'ukk'asse	broke (for eggs)
	foʃokkasse	broke off, divided (e.g. bread)
	di:bbasse	cut down (a large tree)
(b)	(b ₁) k'opp'ijje	stood up (suddenly)
	c'ukk'ijje	quietened
	foʃokkijje	be divided
	wirijje	be up-side down, rolled
	k'irijje	was jubilant, cheered up
	sirijje	crawled
	(b ₂) ʔarejje	was angried
	goddejje	was satiated
	ka:sejje	planted
	ʔodejje	cried
	haʔwejje	drank
	ʔibejje	fell down

In (112a) the compounds are formed in a stem + verb pattern. I assume, here, that in each case the first members of the compounds are root-like that are resulted from some truncation or adjustment rules; the second members, on the other hand, undergo deletion of the glottal stop at word

initial position. This assumption can be supported if we consider the reduplicated forms of such compounds, on the one hand, and when we utter the compounds in isolation, on the other. Consider (113):

- (113) (taka) taka ?asse → (taka) takasse = splited (in to pieces)
 (wiri) wiri ?asse → (wiri) wirasse = rolled (frequently)
 (buku) buku ?asse → (buku) bukasse = exploded (repeatedly)

As can be observed from the above three compounds, both the reduplicants and non-reduplicants of the left most constituents of the compounds have similar forms and are /taka/, /wiri/ and /buku/ respectively, but the right most constituent is /?asse/ in all cases. Whether the forms are reduplicated or the component parts are uttered in a pause, we sense the presence of a vowel at the end of the first constituent, and an initial glottal stop on the second. But when the compounds are uttered at a stretch, a phonological adjustment known as final vowel deletion of the stem, and deletion of an initial glottal stop of the auxiliary at phonetic level, would be made. Consequently, compound forms of the type (112a) are resulted.

The stem + verb compounds in (112b) have undergone a phonological adjustment known as syllable reduction. This phonological adjustment is made, however, not on the first constituent of the compound, but only on the auxiliary verb. Compare the forms below:

(114)	Compound forms	Gloss
	(a) siri hijje → sirijje	crawled
	k'iri hijje → k'irije	was jubilant
	wiri hijje → wirijje	rolled
	(b) godde hijje → goddejje	was satiated
	?oðe hijje → ?oðejje	cried
	?ibe hijje → ?ibejje	fell down

As can be noted from these structures, when the component parts are said in isolation, the auxiliary verbs /hijje/ 'say' is clearly seen in all cases. Nonetheless, in a continuous utterance of the compounds, the first syllable of the auxiliary is reduced.

The phonological processes discussed so far, i.e. vowel and consonant deletion and syllable reduction can be given as a rule in (115) below:

- (115)(a) In a [stem + ?asse] compound, the stem final vowel and the initial glottal of the auxiliary will be deleted, and
(b) In a [stem + hijje] compound, the first syllable of the auxiliary, i.e. /hi/, will be reduced.

In general the following WFR that generates such compound words can be proposed:

$$(116) \text{ S(tem) + AUX } \longrightarrow \text{ V(erb) }_{[+COMP]}$$

In the above compounds, it is also observed that the inflectional features, aspect and gender/diminutive markers, are incorporated with in the compounds. As Williams (1981a), cited in Selkirk (1982:53), suggests inflectional features have to be interpreted as parts of compounds if they have relations to the non-heads, thus the above cases are.

The inflectional features in the above compounds refer to perfective aspect and masculine gender due to the auxiliary verbs /?asse/ 'do' and /hijje/ 'say'. But if they are to express feminine or diminutive, /t/ will be introduced in the auxiliary as in, for instance, /k'elfete/ 'be broken down' (from k'elfe hite) and /k'elfassite/ '(she) broke down'.

Compound verbs, like others discussed so far, are morphologically

uninterruptible. As has been noted before uninterruptability will be ruled out if an element is inserted more or less freely between the constituents (cf. Bauer 1983:106). Thus, in the present case, compound verbs, no free element is allowed to intervene between the constituents; if it is to happen the result would be ill forms. Consider the following:

- (117) (a) sikk'-icc-o ʔadda k'elfete (from k'elfe hite)
 stick-DEF-FEM well be broken down
 The stick was broken down well'
- (b) *sikk'-icc-o k'elfe adda hite
 stick-DEF-FEM break well say (FEM)
 Lit. 'The stick was broken well down'

The insertion of /ʔadda/ 'well' between the compound parts in (117b) results in ill formedness.

Besides the criterion of uninterruptability, such compounds are internally stable; reordering them distorts the meaning, or results in unacceptability. Hence, the components in the above compounds can not be reordered keeping their meaning; for instance, [k'elfe hite] would not be reordered as [hite k'elfe].

Such compound verbs, as any other simple verbs, can syntactically play an argument taking roles. Either the intransitive compounds, made with /hijje/ 'say' or the transitive ones, made with /ʔasse/ 'do', may take the appropriate arguments. Look at the following structures:

- (118) (a) barza:fe ʔorake-ʔni di:bbite (<di:bbi hite)
 tree road-on felldown
 'A tree fell down on a road'
- (b) ʔis-i k'upp'e ʃuʔmmasse
 he-NOM:MAS egg broke
 'He broke an egg'

In (118a) since the compound verb /di:bbite/ 'fell down' is intransitive, it obligatorily takes one argument, the subject NP /barza:fe/ 'tree'. But in (118b) as the verb is transitive, it takes two argument NPs, the subject NP/?isi/ 'he' and the object NP/k'upp'e/ 'egg'. Thus, syntactically compound verbs can be said to be predicates as any other simple verbs. Now we move to the discussion of compound adverbs.

4.5 Compound Adverbs

In Gedeo we can find a few numbers of compound adverbs that can be formed by Root + Verb, and Root + Noun combination with an epenthetic /i/ in between. The word class of the initial root, in a Root + verb pattern, can be either nominal, as in (119a), or verbal, as in (119b). But the category of the second root, in a Root + Nominal pattern, is adjectival as in (120). Thus, these patterns may be given respectively as N^r/V^r + Verb, and A^r + Noun. Look at the following:

	Compound Forms	Gloss
(119) (a)	so:dimaro so:d- maro	early (morning) morning go (IMPERF)
(b)	?u:rimaro ?u:rr- maro	quickly stand go (IMPERF)
(120) (a)	?ediwodda ?ed- wodda	early days front/before time
(b)	ducciwodda ducc- wodda	always all time

In (119a), /so:dimaro/'early' is formed by combining the nominal root

/so:d-/ ‘morning’ and the verb /maro/ ‘go(IMPERF)’. Likewise, /ʔu:rrimaro/ ‘quickly’, in (119b), is made by the verbal root /ʔu:rr-/ ‘stand’ plus the verb /maro/ ‘go (IMPERF)’. In (120) also the compounds are formed by combining the adjectival roots /ʔed-/ ‘before’, or /ducc-/ ‘all’ to the noun /wodda/ ‘time’. In all cases, there is an epenthetic between the component parts.

With regard to the semantics of these compounds, one may not simply tell what (119a) and (119b) mean by just looking at the component parts. If we take (119b), for instance, the meaning of /ʔu:rrimaro/ ‘quickly’ can not simply be inferred from /ʔurr-/ ‘stand’ and /maro/ ‘go’ as separate parts, but their combination results that meaning. In the case of (120a), however, if one knows what /ʔeda/ ‘before’ and /wodda/ ‘time’ independently mean, he can work out what the meaning of the whole compound /ʔediwodda/ ‘early days’ would be. Consequently, compound types like (119) and (120) can be seen as exocentric and endocentric respectively.

Such compound adverbs can be used in syntactic constructions as shown below.

- (121) (a) so:dimaro meʔʔ-a-nn-o-ni
 early (morning) go-IMPERF-1s-FUT-AUX
 ‘I will go early in the morning’
- (b) ʔu:rrimaro meʔʔ-e
 quickly go-3ms:PERF
 ‘He went quickly’

As can be observed from 33(a) and (b), the adverbs modify the verbs; and this modification is that of temporal and manner respectively.

On the basis of the pattern that the compound adverbs discussed so far show, the following WFRs may be proposed:

- (122) (a) $\begin{bmatrix} N^r \\ V^r \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} V \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} ADV \end{bmatrix}$
- (b) $\begin{bmatrix} A^r \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} N \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} ADV \end{bmatrix}$

To sum up, so far in this chapter four compound types in Gedeo, i.e. compound nouns, compound adjectives, compound verbs, and compound adverbs, are identified. Among these types, compound nouns are the most productive, while compound adverbs the least. The compounds are attested from two perspectives: (i) formally, that is, what component parts with what lexical category are combined, and (ii) semantically, whether or not meaning of the whole compound is inferred from the component parts. Regarding the first perspective Gedeo compounds are found to have the pattern: [N+N] or [N^r+N], for compound nouns, [N + A] or [A + A], for compound adjectives, [S(tem) + AUX], for compound verbs, and [N^r/V^r + V] or [A^r + N], for compound adverbs. With regard to the semantic distinction, some of the compounds in the language have a meaning that can be inferred from the component parts, while others are not inferable, i.e. they are metaphorical. Consequently, compounds with the first sense are termed as 'endocentric', headed, while those with the latter sense as 'exocentric', non-headed. The compounds of the language have also been treated from syntactic view point. By this all but compound adverbs are said to be headed for their right most category carries the syntactic class of the whole compound. Now we shall move to the next chapter that treats how reduplication takes place in Gedeo.

CHAPTER FIVE

Reduplication

5.1 Introduction

“Many languages mark a certain meaning by copying, all or part of, the stem, a phenomena known as reduplication” (Archangeli and Langendoen 1997:107). This phenomenon is clearly morphological as part or whole of a base is taken and used as an affix or part of an affix in a word formation process (Aronoff 1985:64). Thus, meaning modification can be obtained by partial or complete reduplication of the base. Both such reduplication types, partial and complete, are observed in Gedeo though the partial ones have much more occurrences. In what follows these reduplication types will be discussed.

5.2 Partial Reduplication

A reduplication process is considered to be partial if it involves repetition of only part of a base or constituent with a relative modification of meaning (Maravcsik 1978:304; Matthews 1991:134).

The partial reduplication in Gedeo is at initial position; when the initial syllable is repeated the first consonant of the base will be geminated, and serves to separate the adjacency relation between the reduplicant and the base. This coincides with what Maravcsik (1978:314) says in that in partial reduplication if the copies are not adjacent, in case, they may be separated from each other either by (i) part of the stem or (ii) all of the stem, or (iii) by an additional form that would not be found in the original

stem. In our case, thus, rule (i) is applicable. This can be observed from the following lists:

(123) Verbal root	Gloss	PRF	Gloss
boc'-	split	bobboc'-	split in to pieces
k'oc'-	pickup	k'okk'oc'-	pickup frequently (or from here and there)
wot'-	cut	wowwot'-	cut in to pieces
tuk'-	touch	tuttuk'-	touch repeatedly
tuf-	spit	tuttuf-	spit repeatedly
dar-	tier	daddar-	tier apart in to pieces
goɫ-	uproot	goggoɫ-	uproot many things

What is going on in (123) is the initial syllable reduplication of the verbal roots, but at the same time the initial consonant of the syllable in the base is doubled and the first sound /w/ serves to separate the adjacency relation between the reduplicant /wo/ and the base /wat'e/.

The Partial Reduplicated Forms (PRF) in (123) have the meaning of the unreduplicated parts plus iterativity/intensity or frequentativeness. For instance, /wowwot'-/ means "cut something in to pieces", which has an iterative value in addition to the meaning of the base /wot'-/ 'cut'. On the other hand, /tuttuk'-/ 'touch s/o or s/t repeatedly' has a frequentative meaning. Such a reduplication process, thus, can schematically be given as (124).

(124) C¹V.C - → C¹V.C¹C¹V.C²-

(Note that the period (.) marks the syllabic boundary.)

As (124) shows there is an additional syllable pattern as a result of the partial reduplication. This process can be captured by the following WFR:



Such partial reduplicated forms, in Gedeo, have clear formal differences from the unreduplicated counter parts, with some semantic variations. Syntactically, however, hardly have they any differences. Compare the structures below:

- (126) (a) ?is-i hakk'icc-o wot'-e
 he-NOM:MAS wood-DEF-ACC cut-3ms:PERF
 'He cut the wood'
- (b) ?is-i hakk'icc-uwwa wowwot'-e
 he-NOM:MAS wood-DEF-PL.ACC cut (intensive)-3ms:PERF
 'He cut the woods in to pieces'

The predicates in (125a) and (125b) are two place that both have equal number of argument structures and similar grammatical relations, though semantically the first expresses non-intensive meaning while the later repeated (or intensive) action. Hence, neither increased-decreased valency nor change of grammatical relation would occur by the introduction of the reduplicants. (cf. causatives (3.3.1) for valency change.) The only differences are formal, i.e. [Base vis-à-vis Base + Reduplicant], and semantic, i.e. [non-intensive vis-à-vis non-intensive + intensive]. In below, forms that show complete reduplication will be discussed.

5.3 Complete Reduplication

If the elements in a constituent are totally taken and added to the base, the process can be considered as complete reduplication. Maravcsik (1978:304) and Matthews (1991:134) point out that reduplication is

considered to be total or complete if it involves repetition of the whole constituent with a corresponding meaning modification.

Complete reduplication, in Gedeo, is less productive than the partial one; though less productive, it can be viewed from three perspectives:

5.3.1 Whole Root Reduplication(WRR)

The whole roots may be reduplicated to result in frequentative or “distributive”¹⁷ meaning. The following forms illustrate this:

(127)	Verbal root	Gloss	WRRF	Gloss
(a)	gan-	hit	gangan-	knock
(b)	gur-	pick/collect	gurgur-	sell
(c)	—	—	bulbul-	mixed (s/t with liquid)
(d)	—	—	k'ark'ar-	help
(e)	—	—	gargar-	help

As can be observed from (127), (127a) conveys a frequentative meaning. It is hitting the door repeatedly that results in a knocking action. In (127b), however, it is not repetition of an action but a distribution of meaning. The unreduplicated form, here, involves a collection or picking up action of something; but in the reduplicated one it is giving away, distributing or selling those collected things. The case in (127c) is more or less similar to (127a) in that it shows continuity of an action (in mixing the ‘flour’ with water) instead of the repeating action (hitting the door frequently). However, what is odd, in (127c) and below it, is that the un-reduplicated forms are not used to convey related concepts for they are not semantically acceptable in the language. Nevertheless, there are homomorphous forms that have different meanings. For instance, /gare/ means “the field/land became full of forest”, but /gargar-/ is meant

'help'. On the other hand, /k'are/ means 'the blade of a knife', but /k'ark'ar-/ means 'help'.

Such reduplicated forms can be given in schemata like (128) below:

$$(128) \ C^1V.C^2 \rightarrow C^1V.C^2.C^1V.C^2$$

And the rule in (129) may capture the formation of these reduplicated forms:

$$(129) \ X^I + X^I \rightarrow X^S, \text{ where 'X' has [+V, -N] feature.}$$

5.3.2 Whole Word Reduplication (WWR)

In such reduplicated forms the whole nominals are repeated to play an adverbial role of time. Look at (130) below:

(130) Nominals	Gloss	WWR	Gloss
gorsa	morning	gorsagorsa	every morning
barra	day	barrabarra	at every day time
ha a	evening	ha a ha a	every evening
worakka	night	worakka woraka	every night

As all the reduplicated forms in (130) are adverbial nouns, they can play the role of adverbs. This role can be illustrated by the following structures:

- (131) (a) ?an-i duciwodda gorsagorsa mini-?a me??-a-nn-o-ni
 I-NOM always every morning house-LOC go-IMPERF-1s-FUT-AUX
 'I always go home in the morning'
- (b) ?is-e worakka worakka fa:ro fars-it-a-ni
 she-NOM:FEM every night song sing-3fs-IMPERF-AUX
 'She sings a song every night'

As 131(a) and (b) illustrate the adverbial nominals /gorsagorsa/ ‘every morning’ and /worakkaworakka/ ‘every night’ modify, respectively, the verbs /me??-/ ‘go’ and /fars-/ ‘sing’. The formation of such reduplicated forms can be captured by the following rule:

$$(132) \quad \begin{array}{c} X^1 \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} +N, -V \\ +TEMPORAL \end{array} \right]^+ \end{array} + \begin{array}{c} X^1 \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} +N, -V \\ +TEMPORAL \end{array} \right] \end{array} \longrightarrow \begin{array}{c} X \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} +ADNOMINAL \end{array} \right] \end{array}$$

The final type of total reduplication, in Gedeo, is occurred on affixes, which will be treated next.

5.3.3 Suffixal Reduplication(SR)

As has been pointed out under causativization, reduplicating a single causative suffix {-s}, may express intensity or frequency of causation. Let us consider the following constructions:

- (133) (a) ?is-i ?ise-e?e burc'ukk'o ?enk'-is-e
 he-NOM:MAS she-ACC glass break-CAUS-3ms:PERF
 ‘He caused her break a glass’
- (b) ?is-i ?ise-e?e burc'ukk'o ?enk'-isis-e
 he-NOM:MAS she-ACC glass break-CAUS(INTENS)-3ms:PERF
 ‘He caused her break a glass in to pieces’
- (134) (a) ?is-e ?ise-e?e funkurte hoc'-is-se
 she-NOM:FEM she-ACC onion cut-CAUS-3fs:PERF
 ‘She made her cut an onion’
- (b) ?is-e ?ise-e?e funkurte hoc'-isis-se
 she-NOM:FEM she-ACC onion cut-CAUS(INTENS)-3fs:PERF
 ‘She made her cut an onion in to pieces’

In 133(b) and 134(b) the reduplication of the causative marker shows intensity of an action, which lack in 133(a) and 134 (a). This semantic

role of the reduplication of the causative suffix is an addition to those discussed under causativization. (Recall from section 3.3.1 that the reduplication of the causative suffix was used to show reciprocity of a causative action and causation of some one to do something by nearly observing the action to take place in a double causative situation.) This suffixal reduplication can be given in a pattern as in (135) below.

(135) -v.c- \longrightarrow v¹.c¹v¹.c¹-

Thus far, in this chapter two main reduplication types in Gedeo, partial and complete, are identified. It is discussed how such forms are made and what changes they result in in the language. Finally, rules that can capture the process are formulated.

Consequently, the partial reduplication takes place following the pattern c¹v.c²- \longrightarrow c¹v.c¹c¹v.c²-, where as the complete reduplication is viewed from three angles; those with a pattern

(i) c¹.c²- \longrightarrow c¹vc².c¹vc² (WRR)

(ii) x \longrightarrow x¹+x¹, where 'x'= word (WWR), and

(iii) -v.c- \longrightarrow v¹.c¹v¹.c¹- (SR). All of the reduplicated forms have an iterative/intensive or frequentative meaning from their non-reduplicated counterparts.

Generally, this thesis investigates the morphological aspects, particularly word formation, of Gedeo language. In the derivation of new forms, the morphological process known as suffixation, compounding, or reduplication are involved. Each of the processes results in the formation of new lexical elements. The following chapter concludes the overall discussion of the study.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion

So far, it has been treated, in general terms, how Gedeo morphology operates. In chapter two, besides reviewing the phonological information about Gedeo, some comments, especially on the possible consonant clusters, vowel inventory, and syllable patterns, have been made. Consequently, it is found out that three consonant sequences are possible provided the first members of the clusters are nasals, liquid or glottal stop, [n, m, l, r,ʔ], and the latter geminated consonants. With regard to the vowel inventory, five short vowels [i, e, a, u, o], with their long counterparts, [i:, e:, a:, u:, o:], are identified. On the other hand, there is also an addition made on the syllable system of the language; the cvc- and -cvc- syllable patterns, in addition to the eight already identified systems by Wedekind (1980) and Lulseged (1981), are added. But at the same time the syllable pattern identified by Lulseged (1981), $-c_1 c_2 c_2 v$, is taken out or ignored for it does not seem to appear in the system.

In chapters three, four, and five the possible word formation processes, i.e. affixation, compounding and reduplication, have been discussed.

Affixation, particularly suffixation, is the most productive process in Gedeo. Through such a process nominals, verbals, and adjectivals can be derived.

About five nominal classes, derived by suffixation, are attested in the language. Three of them, abstract, subject (agentive and experiencer), and instrumental, take exclusively different suffixes, {-umma}, {-allo}, and {-acco} respectively; while, the rest, gerundive/infinitival, and result,

have no, more or less, clear-cut formal differences; all take {-a} as their suffix, but the result ones take {-o} in addition. Though they have similar morphological markings, their role can be distinguished from their syntactic structure. All such suffixes are considered as nominal forming elements; thus, it is their feature, based on the principle of percolation, that spreads up to the whole derived nominal.

Verbals are the other categories that can be derived by the process of suffixation. Such derived verbs include causatives, passives, benefactives/reflexives, and statives.

Causatives are formed by the suffixation of {-(s)-s} to verbal roots. As they can be viewed from two perspectives, single causatives and double causatives, the former ones, which express the causation and the action are closely associated, are derived by suffixing {-s} to intransitive roots; as a result of this causation such intransitive roots will be transitivized. Nevertheless, the later ones, double causatives, are formed by direct suffixation of {-s-s} to intransitive verb roots, or {-s} to transitivized stems, or {-(s)-s} to inherent transitive forms. (The optional use of -(s), in {-(s)-s}, is related to semantics in that when it is absent, it means the causer is in near by closely watching the action to take place; while its presence may show the action can take-place with or without the physical presence of the causer.) All the above suffixes, except in the case of reciprocal causatives, have the effect of increased valency and change of subcategory features such as intransitives becomes transitivized, or non-causatives becomes causativized.

Passives, on the other hand, are derived by the suffixation of {-em} to verbal roots. This passive form may undergo some phonological changes in expressing feminine or diminutive action. It becomes {-en}, (note the allomorphic use of { } here), as in [ʔenk'-em-e] → [ʔenk'-en-de] 'be

broken' for masculine and feminine/diminutive respectively. Similarly, benefactives/reflexives are derived by suffixing {-δ} to verbal roots. This benefactive/reflexive suffix may undergo some phonological changes depending on the nature of the root final consonants. Thus, it may become [eδ], [δδ], [ʔC_{+nasal/+lateral}], or [lC_{v/s}]. Stative verbal forms are also formed by the suffixation of {-ʔ}, {-δ}, or {-at} to intransitive roots. It is attested that [ʔ] is a realization of /δ/ after nasal/lateral consonants. It is also generalized that [δ] is a synchronic result of *t, which is the common stative marker, also the proto form, in most Cushitic, or East Cushitic languages (cf.3.3.3). This derivation, like single causatives, has a transitivity effect.

A similar suffixation process can also derive adjectival forms. The suffixes that form adjectivals are {-cca}, and {-andʒo}, where the first one is mostly used with [-animate things], while the latter with [+animate]. Nonetheless, there are cases in which {-cca} may be suffixed to either animate or inanimate things provided the derivatives are semantically acceptable to the speakers.

The fourth chapter on derivation is about the process of compounding. In this chapter Gedeo compound nouns, compound adjectives, compound verbs, and compound adverbs are treated

The compound nouns are found to be formed from Noun + Noun, and Nominal root + Noun combination. The Noun + Noun combination may, in turn, be seen as endocentric and exocentric. The endocentric ones are formed by Noun + Gerund, or Noun + combining element + Noun combinations. The meaning of all such compounds can be inferred from the heads; and the non-heads have a theme-head, instrumental-head, or modifier-head semantic relations to the heads. The exocentric ones, on

the other hand, are formed by a Noun + Infinitival combination. The meaning of these compounds is not predictable from the component parts for they have metaphorical meanings. The Nominal root + Noun compound nouns are formed by a combining element {-n-} immediately followed by determiners {-k/t}. Such compound words usually express ownership or control relations; the semantic relation that exists between such compounds, thus, is modifier-head.

The other categorical elements that are resulted from compounding are adjectives. Compound adjectives in Gedeo are formed by a Noun + Adjective, and Adjective + Adjective combination.

The Noun + Adjective forms are more productive than the later. The meaning of these, Noun + Adjective, compounds can be either compositional or non-compositional. Those forms that have, more or less compositional meanings are considered as copulative. In /hunnagop'alessa/ 'weakling, strength lacking', for instance, any one who knows what the component parts, /hunna/ 'knee' and /gop'alessa/ 'weak', mean, though the compound is headless as both components have equal status, would have, at least, a guess what the whole compound may mean; thus, such forms are semantically compositional. But those forms, with a non-compositional meaning, are exocentric. In /sarbak'a?lla/ 'unfortunate', for example, a person who knows the meaning of the component parts, /sarba/ 'thigh' and /k'a?lla/ 'thin', can not simply understand what the whole compound word mean for it has a metaphorical meaning.

These Noun + Adjective compounds, though semantically headless they are, are syntactically headed for they are formed by N + A → A, where the right most category serves as the head of the compound.

The Adjective + Adjective compounds, on the other hand, are rare. The meaning of such compounds is the hyponym of the component parts. The compound adjective /magalaʃaggitte/ ‘good-looking’, for instance, is the hyponym of both constituents for it is to mean a person who is /magala/ ‘dark brown’ as well as /ʃaggitte/ ‘beautiful’.

The other compound types, attested in compounding, are compound verbs. These compound types are formed by the combination of stems and auxiliary verbs. The auxiliary verbs are /hijj-/ ‘say’ and /ʔass-/ ‘do’, which are always the second members of the compound. In the process of such compounds formation some phonological adjustments would be made. For those compound verbs that are formed with /ʔass-/ ‘do’, both the stems and the auxiliary would, respectively, undergo a phonological process known as deletion of the final vowel and an initial glottal stop, as in, for instance, [buku ʔasse] → [bukasse] ‘(he) exploded’. Those forms that are formed with /hijj-/ ‘to say’, however, undergo a phonological adjustment known as first syllable reduction of the auxiliary as in, for example, [ʔibe hijje] → [ʔibejje] ‘(he) fell down’.

The final compound type is compound adverb, which is formed by N^r/V^r + Verb, or A^r + Noun combination with an epenthetic /i/ between the component parts. Those forms that have the former pattern are exocentric for their meaning could not easily be inferred from the parts, as in /ʔu:rrimaro/ ‘quickly’, where the component parts /ʔu:rr-/ ‘stand’ and /maro/ ‘go’ could not predict the meaning of the compound. While the forms with the latter pattern are endocentric, as in /ʔediwodda/ ‘early days’ in which /ʔeda/ means ‘front/before’ and /wodda/ ‘time’, where the meaning of the whole compound can be worked out from the component parts.

Apart from suffixation and compounding, some reduplication processes are also identified in Gedeo. The reduplicated forms are grouped as partial and complete.

In the partial reduplication, when repetition of the first syllable of the verbal root takes place, gemination of the root initial consonant results. This can be given as a pattern $c^1v.c^2 \longrightarrow c^1 v. c^1 c^1 v .c^2-$, and resulted to have an iterative or frequentative meaning, as in /dar-/ ‘tier’ \longrightarrow /daddar-/ ‘tier apart in to pieces’.

In the case of complete reduplication, however, three sub-parts, (i) Whole Root Reduplication (WRR), (ii) Whole Word Reduplication (WWR), and (iii) Suffixal Reduplication (SR) can be considered. In each case, as their name indicates, the whole root, the whole word, or the suffix is reduplicated so that the reduplicated forms have an iterative, intensive, or frequentative meaning similar to the partial one. These three patterns can be presented, respectively, as:

gan- ‘hit’ \longrightarrow gangan- ‘knock’
 gorsa ‘morning’ \longrightarrow gorsa gorsa ‘every morning’
 ?enk’-is- ‘cause to break’ \longrightarrow ?enk’-isis- ‘cause to break in to pieces’

To sum up, thus far in this thesis, the process of affixation, compounding, and reduplication in Gedeo are discussed, and the necessary WFRs have been proposed. Some syntactic and semantic features of the derivatives resulted from such processes have also been identified. Consequently, it is believed that the findings of this research would be of value to any one who may be interested in carrying out further study in the same area. By any means, this work would not be a complete one by itself, as it is limited to the derivational morphology of the language. Therefore, further studies are welcome.

Endnotes

1. Some scholars like Matthews 1974:40 use the term 'complex' to mean produced by derivation. However, others like Bauer (1983:30) use it to mean a form produced by derivation and compounding; and the term they give to the form produced by derivation is 'derivative'. The present writer also adopts the second notion.
2. The abbreviations in brace before the sounds mean those sounds are only found in the respective language, B= Burji, SD= Sidama.
3. One important point could be made with regard to the glottal stop in Gedeo. Obviously there are many words in the language that begin with a glottal stop. But this sound will be lost, phonetically, at word initial position. This is clearer when the words are uttered in isolation. Regarding this glottal sound Wedekind (1980:163) follows a treatment in which he postulates a phonemic /ʔ / (at word initial position) and deletes it by a rule. I also share his treatment and take a position in that the glottal stop in Gedeo is deleted at word initial position and before unstressed /i/. Such feature is also seen in the very closely related language known as Sidamo (cf. Abebe 1986:10).
4. c refers to consonant, cc consonant gemination, v vowel, vv vowel lengthening, the brace means optional, hyphen shows the presence of an obligatory suffix attached to the stem, and the dot is used to separate different syllable patterns.
5. The notion root is used in this thesis to express the same notion as in Bauer (1983:20) and Katamba (1993:41), where it stands for a form that is not further analyzable, i.e. the irreducible core of a word, either derivationally or inflectionally. Likewise, the term 'stem' is used in this work to mean a form of a word in which all inflectional affixes have been removed. A 'base' is also used in the sense that any form to which affixes of any kind can be added.

6. The use of this bracket in this paper is restricted to show morphemic transcription. Unless expressed, it does not encompass allomorphic variations.
7. These roots are considered as adjectival because it is only the adjective endings /a/ or /o/ that are lost. When these "citation vowels" (I adopted the term from Wedekind (1980)) are added to such roots, the resulting forms are adjectivals, like /danca/ 'beautiful/handsome', /haruma/ 'short', etc., but not nonimals or verbals. If one wants to make verbal stems, he has to add other derivational suffixes, such as {-at}, {-eδ}, etc. to such roots. For example, the verb stem /baʔllat-/ will be formed when {-at} is suffixed to the adjectival root /baʔll-/ 'wide'.
8. Here also only the roots, without the vowels, are taken as citation forms. The vowels are considered as nominal endings. When any suffix is added to the base, i.e. the form with the vowel, each vowel will be dropped. This shows that the vowels are not inherently part of root. That is why the forms without vowels are considered as citation forms. Moreover, due to the question of 'economy' it seems preferable to take such roots as citation and get them ready to accept suffixes, rather than taking the forms with vowels and let them to undergo two steps, deletion of final vowels and then suffixation.
9. The second /g/ in hig-ge and dag-ga-ba comes from /t/ by assimilation of the root final consonant /g/. In this language suffix initial /t/ would be assimilated to root or stem final obstruents. This holds true in the very related language Sidamo (cf. Abebe 1986).
10. One important question may be raised with regard to the nature of these roots: "Should the root be regarded, originally, as a verb, a noun, or neutral?" To answer this may be difficult, for the time being, and, perhaps, needs a diachronic analysis of the forms. Most researchers who worked on the Highland East Cushitic (HEC)

languages say that the difficulty of this lies on identifying the exact origin of the root. Wedekind among them, in treating the derivation of infinitives says that:

In many cases, there is the question whether the root should be regarded originally being a verb, or a noun. Leaving this question aside, however, it should be noted that the infinitive in {-a} can be formed of every verb root (1980:8).

Following him, I also adopt this fact and confirm that the roots under discussion are verbals as they would serve as bases for the derivation of such nominals. The most frequent structure of Gedeo verbal roots, according to Wedekind (1980:2), is *cvc-*, but the general phonological form can be represented as *cv(v).(c)c-* (also cf. section 2.2), which is also true in one of the sister languages of Gedeo known as Sidamo (cf. Abebe 1985:65).

Moreover, these roots inflect for tense, person and so on, thus are verbals. For instance, /joww-e/ means 'he insulted'. The suffix {-e} refers to third person, masculine, and perfective aspect. On the other hand /joww-a/ may mean different things; as a verb the {-a} refers to imperfective aspect/future tense and it means 'he will insult'. Apart from this, however, from this same root nominals may also be derived. /joww-a/, as a nominal is also meant to be 'to insult', 'insulting', or 'insult (n)' (cf. 3.2.3 -3.2.5). As all these derived nominals have verbal features, the assumption made above, i.e. which claims that the roots are verbal, seems right, for product nominals, for instance, can not be derived from other nominals since they are the result of some process or actions, which are the features of verbals.

11. It seems that the same form also expresses manner nominals that gerundives or infinitivals are derived. In other words, there is no a clear-cut formal difference between such forms. The only thing that

the speakers can understand whether the given form shows manner, or gerundive/infinitival action is the context in which the construction is made. Let us see the case: assume that “it is raining heavily and the speaker is frightened by the manner of raining (i.e. due to the thunder and lightening that accompany it). On the basis of this context the speaker of the language will say:

- (a) t'e:na-tt'-i gan-a ?elo-tt'e-ba-ni
rain-POSS:FEM-NOM manner of raining good-DET:3f-NEG-AUX
Lit. 'The rain's manner of raining is not good'

The meaning of the above could be interpreted as neither (i) “the rain is not good” nor (ii) “it to rain is not good” due to the stated context. Nevertheless, if the context is changed, i.e. if it is “It does not rain yet. But if it rains, the speaker fears that it will destroy the harvest for it is unseasoned”. To convey such an idea the speaker also uses the same construction as (a) above, but it has an infinitival function, not manner, to express a different context. Compare (b) below:

- (b) t'e:na-tt'-i gan-a ?elo-tt'e-ba-ni
rain-POSS:FEM-NOM to rain good-DET:3f-NEG-AUX
'It to rain is not good'

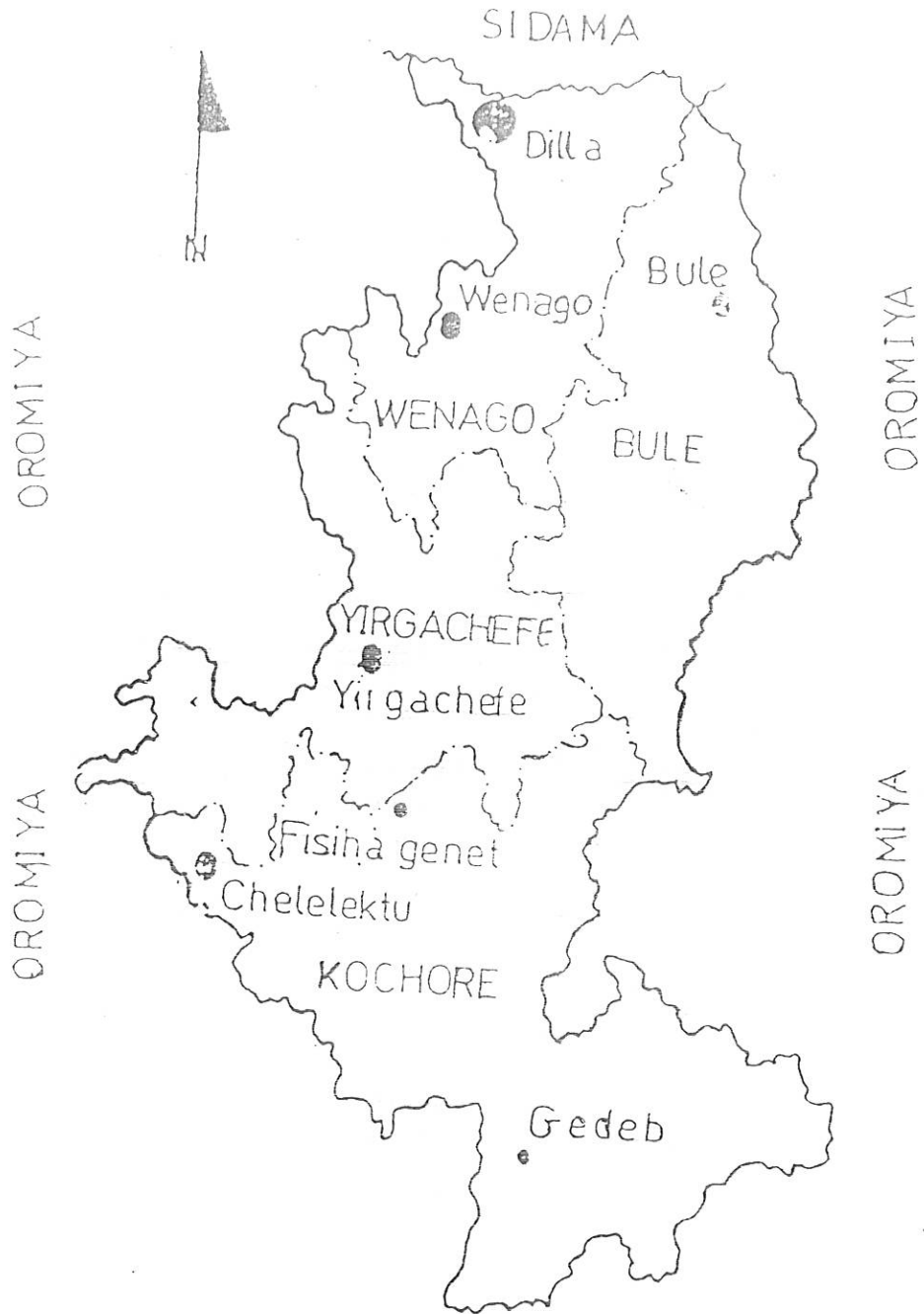
Thus, since only the context differs the meaning of the above constructions, it would be plausible to say that manner nominals do not have clear-cut formal differences from infinitival/gerundive. Hence, manner nominals will not be treated in this work.

12. Wedekind (1980:3) has suggested that, though the historical and comparative considerations seem to lead to take {-s} as a basic form, on the basis of the most frequent phonological form, however, {-is} can be considered as basic. But contra to him I confirm that {-s} is the

basic causative marker, and /i/ is inserted following geminate, or non-geminate clusters, or a single obstruent consonant.

13. The notation { }, here, is used to refer to allomorphic transcription, so the sounds enclosed in it are allomorphs.
14. Wedekind (1980) suggests that identical phonemes could undergo different changes. This is probably for they may have different histories. Then, he identified them by labeling different superscripts, /l¹/ and /l²/. But I claim that the different allomorphic use of {-is} and {-i} after /l/ is not the effect of the root final consonant /l/, but the palatal /l̥/ or the long front vowel /i:/ contained in the root. Thus, at least at this point I do not believe that there would be a need to categorize a single /l/ in to /l¹/ and /l²/.
15. Wedekind (1980) uses 'personal' to refer to 'reflexive'
16. {-andʒo} is regarded by other linguists, Wedekind (1990) and Hudson (1976:273) among others, as agentive marker. But throughout my data the agentive marker in Gedeo is {-allo}, where as {-andʒo} is found as an adjectival forming suffix, perhaps synchronically some sort of phonological changes might have been made.
17. Wedekind (1980:3) suggests that most of the reduplicated forms in Gedeo have an iterative or distributive meaning. I took the term 'distributive' from him, and I use it to express actions of giving away or distributing something.

GEDEO ZONE ADMINISTRATIVE MAP



CAUTION: The delineation of the boundaries on this map are not authoritative

KEY

- REGIONAL BOUNDARY
- ZONE BOUNDARY
- WOREDA BOUNDARY
- ZONE CAPITAL
- WOREDA CAPITAL
- OTHER TOWNS

SCALE 1:4000000
DATE APRIL 1998

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