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WORD FORMATION IN AWNGI

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TO THE MEMORY OF

MY MOTHER ETAYUSH SEYUM

AND

MY UNCLE AGALU DEMILEW

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis has involved a number of people: the researcher, advisor, colleagues, friends and family. Although the degree of the contribution may vary, everybody needs to be thanked. It is a great pleasure for me to express my heartfelt gratitude to them.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED

A, Adj	=	Adjective
Abs	=	abstract
acc	=	accusative
ADJzer	=	Adjectivizer
ADVzer	=	Adverbalizer
af	=	affix
Ag	=	agentive
C	=	Consonant
Caus	=	Causative
Cf	=	Compare
Comp	=	Compounding element
Coop	=	Cooperative
Def	=	Definiteness
DO	=	Direct Object
Epen	=	Epenthetic
Emph	=	Emphasis
fem	=	feminine
Genet	=	Genitive
Ger	=	Gerundive
indef	=	indefinite
Inf	=	Infinitive
imperf	=	imperfect
Inst	=	Instrument
intrans	=	intransitive
IO	=	Indirect Object
mas	=	masculine
N	=	Noun
NP	=	Noun Phrase
nom	=	nominative

Num	=	Numeral
P	=	Adpositional
pl	=	plural
Pas	=	Passive
Perf, pf	=	perfective
Recp	=	Reciprocal
Ref	=	Reflexive
Res	=	Result
sg	=	singular
trnas	=	transitive
V^b,V^r,V^s	=	Verb base, root and stem respectively
WFR	=	Word Formation Rule
3ms	=	3rd person masculine singular
3fs	=	3rd person feminine singular
3pl	=	3rd person plural
ø	=	zero morpheme
/ /	=	enclosed phonemic items
[ ]	=	enclosed phonetic items
_	=	morpheme boundary
*	=	ungrammatical structure
+	=	has that value

ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to investigate and explain the word- formation processes of Awngi, one of the Central Cushitic (Agew) languages. Derivation and Compounding have been dealt as the word formation processes. The derivational process included noun, verb, adjective and adverb derivations. These largely represent the non-inflectional aspects of morphology.

The section on derivation describes the different lexical categories that are derived by adding various suffixes to bases, stems or roots belonging to different lexical categories. The addition of the suffixes shows different phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic properties of the language.

The section on compounding describes the different lexical categories that are formed by combining two words. The gaps exhibited in the process of combining different lexical categories are also shown. The process of compounding also shows the different phonological, syntactic and semantic properties operating in the language.

The study also attempts to describe the position of the head of derived and compound words. In both derivation and compounding, the head is determined by its syntactic and semantic features. The head is considered to be the constituent, which has either the same syntactic feature as the whole word or the one, which determine the central meaning of the derived and compound word.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Language and the People

1.1.1. The Language

The Central Cushitic (Agew) language family includes the four genetically interrelated languages: Awngi, Bilin, Kemantney and Xamtanga. These four languages are again sub-grouped into two branches: Northern and Southern. The Northern branch includes Bilin, spoken in Eritrea; Kemantney, spoken in Gonder; and Xamtanga, spoken in Wollo. The Southern branch includes Awngi spoken in Gojjam (Appleyard, 1984). In Gojjam, Awngi is mainly spoken in Metekkel and Agewmidir (Bender, 1976). It is also spoken partly in Damot. Since 1991, all these places are regrouped into two zones: Awi Zone in Ahmara Regional State and Metekkel Zone in Benshangul Gumuz Regional State

According to Hetzron (1969), the Agew languages were once spoken in a very large area in the Northern half of Ethiopia, but gradually superseded by the two Semitic languages: Amharic and Tigrinya. The once continuous Agew area is split into small islands that have so far escaped semiticiation.

Awngi is traditionally known as Agew(igna) by Amharic speakers. In fact, Agew(igna) refers to all Agew languages as a generic term. There is also variation in Awngi nomenclature among scholars. Consequently, it is refered as "Awiya" by Conti Rossini (1905), and "Southern Agew" by Hetzron (1966 & 1969). However, as a member of the ethnic group and native speaker of the language, I wouid safely reject both terms. For the rejection of the term 'Awiya', I share Hetzron's (1966:2) reason: Awiya means "Awi man", lit. "Son of Awi", feminine awija "daughter of Awi", plural: awiyiri "children of Awi", derived from the generic term Awi "Awngi speaking people". Thus, it can not be a term used to refer to the language. Hetzron's term 'Southern Agaw' is not appropriate since it is based on the location of the people in relation to other Agew language

speakers. Taddesse (1984) also used the term "Awka" and "Awngi" interchangeably to refer to the language. However, these are not synonyms: the former is the plural form of Awi to mean "people", and the latter, of course, refers to the language. Nevertheless, the speakers of the language call their language "Awngi", which shoud be taken as the authentic nominiclature. Thus, I take this term as a correct term. Regarding the morphology of the term Awngi, Worku (1986)[1] suggests that it is derived from the root aw 'come' by suffixing /–ngi/ 'language marker' as Aw(ngi). However, the correct derivation is Aw-i 'the speaker(s)' plus /–ŋi/ 'language marker suffix' which gives Aw(ŋi). This is evident when we consider how this community refers to other nationalities and languages. Consider for instance the following: Amihiri 'Amharic speaker(s)' plus /–ŋi/ 'language marker' gives Amxar(ŋi) 'Amharic language'.

Since 1994, Awngi has been reduced to writing and as a result become a medium of instruction from grades 1-4 in the first cycle, and from grades 5-6 in the second. It has also been taught as a subject from grades 1-8. The situation has created a good opportunity for the language to develop and somehow resist the strong influence of Amharic that has been adversely affecting its continued existence.

1.1.2. The People

As mentioned above, Taddesse Mengistu (1984) refers Awngi speaking people by the term 'Awka'. However, this term is inconvenient because (i) it is the plural form of Awi (ii) there is also another plural term 'Awawa' with the same meaning. Thus, we have no reason to take 'Awka' as a reference term leaving the equivalent term 'Awawa'.To avoid such a controversy, we have to use the term Awi, which is used by the people themselves. Awi refers to both a male Awngi speaking individual and to the whole Awngi speaking people as the generic name. That is the main reason why in the zonal delimitation of nations and nationalities since (1991), the Zone of Awngi speaking area in Amhara Region is termed as Awi Zone.

The Awi people, whose language is the object of my study, are about 490,000 (1994) census. They are predominantly agriculturalist and are all Christians. They have a very peaceful relationship with the neighboring Amhara and as a result, intermarriage between the two

ethnic groups is very common. Contrary to the Kemant people, who suffer humiliation and segregation from the Amharas in the neighboring Gonder, the Awi people of Gojjam are highly esteemed (Taddese, 1984).

As a result of their previous conflicts with the Agew, the Gojjam Amharas describe the Awi people as follows:

(1) [Agäw lɨbbu zät'äññ
' Agew – his heart – nine'
sɨmmɨntun däbbɨk'o andun ačča wätäň]
'hiding the eight- he revealed to me one'
(also quoted in Taddesse Mengistu (1984:3))

This is to explain their highly secretiveness or shrewdness, which is seen as a positive element of a person's character in the area.

The Awi people are also known by the name Awi-laŋŋata "Seven Awi Sons" (in Amharic Säbat – bet Agew) which refers to the seven sons of the Agew who migrated from Lasta, Wollo, to Agewmidir (lit.Agew Land), the present day setlment of Awi people. The various areas in Agewmidir were named after the seven leaders, who were brothers, of the first wave of migration.[2] The names of these were the following:[3]

Banǰi	Zigimi
Ankishi	Kuakuri
Azini	Mitikili
čari	

In places bordering Amharic speaking areas and in towns, most Awi people are bilinguals, or in some caseses monolinguals in Amharic. The 1994 census shows that 80-90% of Awi people are bilinguals in Awngi and Amharic. This is parhaps because of absence of any social problems with the Amharas; which results in a positive attitude towards Amharic. The political and economic importance of Amharic in the regional state and in the country at large can be another obvious reason for dropping Awngi and picking up Amharic. The third reason may be the spread of modern schooling in the area, especially before 1991, during which Awi children received their education in Amharic. Nevertheless, after 1991 because of the nation's educational policy that promotes mother

[2] Taye Retta, "Gojjam governorate General," Ethiopian Geographical Journal I, 1 (June, 1963:24).
[3] See for the details Haile-Leul Yigeberu (1991).

tongue education, Awngi is being used as a medium of instruction up to grade 6. There are also small groups of people (2,000?) (Cowley,et.al 1971) known as Kunfel by Amharas and Kumpel by Awi people.[4] These people are found to the North-West of Lake Tana in the lowland area between Balaya mountain of Metekkel and Lake Tana. They are all agriculturalists and speak a dialect of Awngi (Taddesse Mengistu, 1984:2).

1.2 Review of Related Literature

Works which have been done on the Awi people and their language (Awngi) include a book (originally a doctorial dissertation), articles, M.A theses and B.A senior essays. Most of these linguistic works concentrated on the verbal system of the language. The most important ones include the following:

F.R. Palmer (1959) describes the phonemes including tonemes, and verbs of Awngi in terms of number, gender, aspect, person and tense, which he considers as categories required for the analysis of verb forms.

R. Hetzron (1966) presents the various verbal systems of the language in his doctorial dissertation entitled "The verbal system of Southern Agaw", which was later published as a book in (1969). Though Hetzron's (1969) work does not consider derivation as the main focus of the work, he made an invaluable account of Awngi verb derivation. The researcher gathered interesting and useful information particularly on passive derivation.

Haile-Leul Yigebru (1991) looks the verbal complementation of the language. On the bases of V-complements, he classified Awngi verbs into three classes: copulatives (copula, the raising verb, and the intentive), transitives (the semi transitives, mono-trnsitives, and the di-transitives) and intransitives (statives and eventives). He says since "In all the structures, the lexical verb appears at final positions thus determining the parameter of Awngi as a head-final language," (1991:75).

Worku Gela (1986) has examined the phonology of Awngi. He claims that Awngi has 34 phones (28 consonants and 6 vowels) and 5 suprasegments (a stress and 4 tone levels).

[4]The Amharas substitute /p/ sound by /f/ may be because of the absence of the former in Amharic

Out of the 34 phons Worku suggests that 32 are phonemes (27 consonants and 5 vowels) and 2 tonemes. His phoneme matrix for consonants and vowels is presented in the following tables:

Manner of Artic	Points of Artic		lab	Alv	Pal	Vel	Labio Vel.	Uvular	Glotel
Stops	Plo	vl	P	t		k	k^w	q	ʔ
		vd	b	d		g	g^w		
	Aff.	vl		ʦ	č				
		vd			ǰ				
Fricatives		vl	f	s	š				
		vd		z	ž	x	x^w		
Resonants		Vd		r					
		vd	m	n		ŋ			
		vd	w	l	y				

Table 1: Awngi consonant phonemes (Worku Gela, 1986:35)

	Front	Back
High	i	u
Mid	e	o
Low		a

Table 2: Awngi vowel phonemes (Cf. Worku Gela, 1986:40)

Taddesse Mengistu (1984) describes the NP structure of the language. In this work, Taddesse suggests Awngi to have no articles.[5] However, this does not seem to be the case. In Awngi a zero morpheme, /Ø/ indicates indefiniteness. Whereas defnitenes can be marked by suffixes such as /-ka/, /-sa/ or by a zero morpheme. The definite marker /-ka/ is different from the plural marker /-ka/ by tone. The former has a high and the latter a medium tone. The following are examples attesting to the usage of /-ka/ and /-sa/, as definite marker allomorphs, and /Ø/ as both definit and indefnit marker:

(2) mur- i - Ø yint- ɨx^{w}a buk
snake-mas-indef come-past escape
'A snake is coming. Escape!'

[5] See for the detail Taddesse Mangistu (1984)

In example (2), /Ø/ morpheme is used as indefnit marker in a condition that the speaker and the listener did not see the snake before. However, /Ø/ can also be used as the definite marker in a condition that the speaker and the listener know the thing before. For example, let us assume that some group of thieves meet in some bush to plan about how they would steal the big ram that they know already at their village. While discussing so, if that ram suddenly emerges there, then one of the members can say:

(3) tay- Ø yint-ɨx^{w}a
sheep-def come-past
'The sheep came.'

In example (3), /Ø/ morpheme is used as a defnite marker, unlike in example (1). Consequently, it is also possible to suffix the definite marker /-ka/ to the base noun, tay 'sheep' in example (3) to say the same thing as in (4) below.

(4) tay - ka´ yint - ɨx^{w}a
sheep-def come-past
'The sheep came.'

In this case, it is possible to state that there is overlapping of exponents /-ka/ and zero morpheme as definiteness marker. On the other side, /-sa/ is the definite marker suffixed to the base noun in only introgative sentences. It is complementary with /-ka/ but supplementary with Ø. So, it is overlapping with the zero morpheme. Compare the following example with the above examples 3 and 4 example:

(5) tay - sa waday
sheep-def where
'Where is the sheep?'

Zelealem Leyew (1989) presents the relative clauses in Awngi, where he identifies two kinds of relative clauses: the non-restrictive and the restrictive; and discusses them thoroughly.

1.3 The Scope of the Study

As mentioned earlier this research focuses on the word formation in Awngi. Though Awingi is one of the developing languages, it is among those less studied Ethiopian languages. Only a few researches have been conducted on the language. As we saw in the above section, these linguistic works focus on phonology, the verbal system and

syntax (noun phrases and relative clauses). Hence, the need for further research on the language is quite indispensable.

The present study tries to give impetus to the linguistic study of Awngi by filling a morphological gap, especially in the word formation processes. It investigates and describes the derivational and compounding processes in the language.

In addition to describing how words are formed from stems, roots, or bases of a word, this work looks at the different morphophonemic processes involved in word formation. It also identifies the gaps in the word formation processes.

1.4 Objective of the Study

The general objective of the study is to describe the word formation processes in Awngi. The specific objectives are the following:

1. To describe the different affixes involved in the derivation of the major lexical categories: nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs.
2. To investigate the processes involved in the derivation of the major lexical categories: nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs.
3. To describe compounding as one of the word formation processes, and finally
4. To formulate the word formation rules in the language.

1.5 Significance of the Study

As has been mentioned in section 1.1, Awngi is serving as the medium of instruction in Awi zone, without adequate linguistic description available. Hence, it is hoped that this study might make the following practical contributions.

1. It will serve for the preparation of dictionary, teaching materials, and other related pedagogical grammar materials.
2. It will serve as a reference material for further researches on the language.

3. It will contribute for a better understanding of the Central Cushitic (Agew) languages in general and Awngi in particular by providing some morphological information on the word formation process of Awngi.

1.6 The Theoretical Framework

Before 1970, there were two types of hypotheses on the treatment of word formation within the framework of Generative Grammar. One was the Transformationalist Hypothesis, and the other, the Lexicalist Hypothesis.

In the Transformationalist Hypothesis, the works such as Chomsky (1957), Less (1960), Katz and Fodor (1964), for instance, did not consider word formation rules as an autonomous system located in the lexicon. They rather considered word formation process to be part of the transformational component. According to these scholars, the only items in the lexicon were simple words, i.e. those that are neither compounds nor derived forms. Regarding the formation of complex words, Scalise (1984:8) says, "The only place where they could be constructed was the transformational component." However, such a transformatinalist treatment of word formation processes has showed a number of inadequacies: the entire word formation operation was extremely complicated because the rules were unconstrained (Chomsky, 1970). Furthermore, syntactic transformations, which are regular processes, could not account for the idiosyncrasies found in the derivation of complex lexical items (Chomsky, 1970). Chomsky gives morphological idiosyncrasy of English as in (6) and (7) below:

(6) (a) arrival, refusal
(b) * arrivation, *refusation

(7). (a) derivation, description
(b) *derival, *describal

Some of these derived nominals are formed from the suffix /–al/ and, some from the suffix /–tion/. While those in (b) show idiosyncrasies those in (a) show correct derivations. When Chomsky (1970) took the lexicalist position in his work entitled "Remarks on Nominalization," and advocates that the syntactic transformation of a

language cannot combine morphemes into words, and hence all word formation processes become part of the lexicon. He has also argued that much of derivational morphology is semantically irregular by having some unpredictable aspects and morphologically irregular as shown in (6) and (7) above. In other words, word formation cannot be handled by syntactic transformational rules, which are regular. Transformations should only be permitted to operate on syntactic constituents and to insert or delete named items like prepositions (Chomsky, 1970). This means that Transformational Haypothesis cannot be used to insert, delete, substitute parts of words. This, in turn, means that Transformational Haypothesis cannot be used in derivational morphology (Chomsky, 1970).

According to Scalise (1984:90), "Chomsky's remark created the theoretical space for autonomous morphological component, a possibility that was explicitly excluded in the earliest works on transformational generative grammar." For example, the noun derivation shown in data (6b) and (7b) above is irregular. As a result, transformational rules, which are regular, have no room to hold such irregular derivation.

Chomsky's (1970) remark has brought a turning point to the study of morphology in general and word formation process in particular. In response to Chomsky's remarks, Halle (1973) points out that affixation and compounding are not formed by syntactic transformations as a point of departure, has also become a positive input to set word formation process directly as a research area on its own.

Following Chomsky's remarks (1970), two main approaches have emerged within the lexicalist hypothesis: the Strong Lexicalist and the Weak Lexicalist approaches. The strong lexicalsit approach, as discussed by Lieber (1980) and Kiparsky (1982), among others, treat both derivation and inflection in the lexicon and, thus, as a morphological process. On the other side, the weak lexicalist approach as proposed by Siegell (1974) and Aronoff (1976), assumes that whereas derivations treated in morphology, inflections are treated under syntax. Still some others like Scalise (1984:101) believe that inflections can be treated under phonology.

According to Bauer (1983:34), word formation process is classified as derivational and compounding. He says that derivation is a process held through affixation. Bauer (1983) puts word formation process as in figure (8) below:

(8) Word Formation
- Derivation (Affixation)
  - class-maintaining
  - class-changing
- Compounding
  - Compound nouns
  - Compound verbs
  - Compound Adjectives

As stated in section (1.3), this study aims at describing how new lexical items are formed by the process of affixation and compounding. The theoretical framework followed is the Lexicalist hypothesis outlined in Halle (1973), Siegel (1974), Jackoendoff (1975), Aronoff (1976), Allen (1978), Leiber (1980), Kiparsky (1982), Bauer (1983), Matthews (1991), and Spencer et al. (2001). The Lexicalist hypothesis stipulates that words with derivational morphology and compounding are not formed by syntactic transformations rather by morphological transformation in the lexicon. As syntax defines possible sentences, morphology defines possible words in a language (Aronoff, 1976). As Halle (1973) proposes, when dealing with lexical items, we take into account the actual and the possible but not the impossible and the non-existent words based on specific language rules.

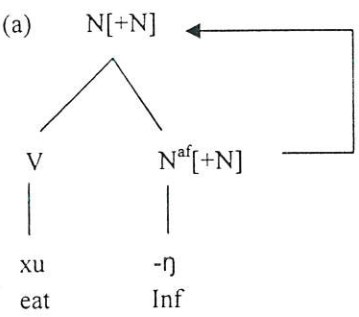
Since the study is limited to the process of derivation and compounding, I shall follow the views of both the weak and the strong Lexicalist Hypotheses. The reason is that both views treat derivation and compounding in the lexicon. Their point of departure is on inflectional morphology. As mentioned above, strong lexicalists study inflection in the lexicon where as weak lexicalists treat it in the syntax (Scalise, 1984: 101). On the other hand, both treat derivation in the lexicon (Scalise, 1984). According to Matthews (1991:61), derivational morphology deals with the creation of new words that follow the

existing morphological patterns of a language, and hence word – formation is also known as called derivational morphology.

For the formation of rules, I follow the framework developed by Selkirk (1982). Her framework shows that any language has a particular grammar of word structures, which conforms to certain general principles governing the possible word structures in the language (Selkirk, 1982:9). While phrase structure rules operate in the syntax, word structure rules operate in the lexicon (Selkirk, 1982:10), and word formation rules constitute one sub – component of the lexicon. The other subcomponents are the dictionary consisting of freely occurring words and the extended dictionary, which includes the list of affixes and other bound forms (Selkirk, 1982). Selkirk says that native speakers of a language have intuitions about the internal structure of words in their language. Such intuitions are said to be captured by the word structure rules of the language which are known as context free rewriting rules.

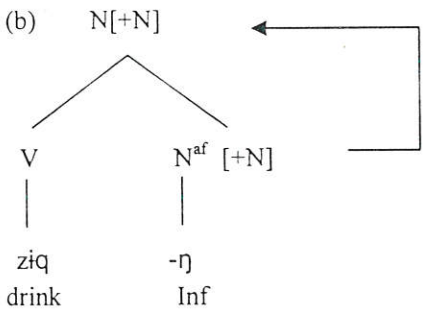
Every new word fromed by a word formation rule must be in the domain of one of the major lexical categories. The assignment of such lexical category helps to infer the relation betweeen mother and daughter nodes in word sturuture. Furthermore, the relation between mother and daughter nodes, in turn, is related to the head theory of Selkirk (1982), whcih proposes that every complex word has a head, which bears the features of the mother node. In light of this, the element with the same category featrure with the mother node is considereed as the head of the word. In most cases, affixes have the same category features as their dominating nodes, and thus, can be heads. In the following example, the feature [+N] of the infinitival nominals determines the category of the mother node:

(9) (a)



'to eat'

(b)



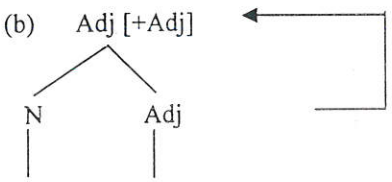
'to drink'

As can bee seen from the Awngi examples above, derived nominals are right headed because the affixes from which the feature [+N] percolates to the mother nodes are on the right hand side of the words. Regarding Selkirk (1982), Spencer, et al (2001:71) says the following: "This approach has been adopted by many people, and is useful as a descriptive device."

When we come to compounds, the constituent of the compound, which bears the same syntactic category feature as the whole compound, is considered as head. The head assigns to the entire word its category by means of a mechanism referred to as percolation. Regarding percolation Selkirk (1982:21) says that "If a constituent α is the head of a constituent β, α and β are associated with an identical set of features (syntactic and diacritic)". For example:

(10) (a) taf + ligisim – i ⟶ taf – o ligisim – i
hand long – mas hand – comp long – mas
'hand' 'long' 'long – handed'

(b)



taf – o ligisim – i
hand-comp long-mas
'long-handed'

As can be seen from (10a) above, adjective ligisimi 'long' is a head. It percolates its [+Adj] feature to the whole Noun +Adjective compound adjective as shown in (10b).

1.7 Methodology

The methodology employed in this research includes informant method, where native speakers of Awngi were interviewed. The introspection method is also applied since the researcher himself is a native speaker of the language. The data was collected during two

field trips to Chagni and nearby villages in Awi Zone. The data includes words, phrases, clauses and sentences. Prior to the data collection, linguistic questionnaire, which comprises of word paradigms, phrases, clauses, and sentences showing the derivation and compounding features were prepared in Amharic and Awngi. The data is then elicited and phonemically transcribed. The transcription does not include tone unless it has significant role in word formation.[6] To complement the elicited data, texts were recorded.

[6] Fot the details on the tone system of the language see Worku Gela (1986).

CHAPTER TWO

DERIVATION

2.1 Introduction

Derivation is one of the morphological processes by which new words with new meaning are formed from other words (Beard, 1988 cited in Spencer, et al 2001:44). Derivational affixes change the grammatical class of morphemes to which they are attached and they usually occur nearer to the root morphemes than do inflections (Crystal 1997:111). Although in most cases, words are derived by affixation, the process may also involve zero affixation, referred as zero derivation or conversion (Jensen, 1990:5).

Affixes are types of 'bound' morphemes (Crystal 1997:12) and the morphological process whereby grammatical or lexical information is added to a stem by affixes is known as affixation (Crystal 1997). Affixes are generally classified into three types, depending on their position with reference to the root or stem of the word. Those, which are added at the beginning of roots/stems are (prefixes). Those, which follow roots/stems are suffixes; and those which occur within a roots/stems are infixes. Affixes may be divided into inflectional and derivational types.

As we will see later in this chapter, Awngi is predominantly a suffixing language, where grammatical or lexical information is mostly added to the stem through suffixation. Awngi is a language with a rich derivation. This potential on deriving major lexical categories is, thus, the concern of this chapter.

2.2 Noun Derivation

In Awngi, there is a large stock of nominals derived from adjectival, verbal and nominal bases. These derived nominals can be classified into different types on the bases of their

semantic characteristics and, as Comrie (1985:349) says, "the resulting nouns may be the name of the activity or may represent one of their arguments."

2.2.1 Abstract Nominals

In Awngi, abstract nominals are derived from adjectival and nominal bases by adding the suffix /-t/ as shown in Table (3) and (4) below, respectively.

No	Adjectival stems	Gloss	Affix	Abstract Nominals	Gloss
1	blaʦ	wise	-t	blaʦ-t	wisdom
2	dɨmm-i/a	red	-t	dɨmm-i-t	redness
3	fučč-i/a	white	-t	fučč-i-t	whiteness
4	ʦark-i/a	black	-t	ʦark-ɨ -t	blackness
5	wɨn	true	-t	wɨn-t	truth
6	ass-u	false	-t	ass-u-t	falseness
7	dendaŋ	short	-t	dendaŋ-t	shortness
8	ligisim-i	tall	-t	legasam-t	longness
	legasaɱ-a	tall	-t	legasam-t	longness
9	buzz-i/a	fat	-t	buzz-i-t	fatness
10	dɨx-i/a	poor	-t	dɨx-t	poorness

Table 3: Abstract nominals derived from adjectival stems

No	Nominal stems	Gloss	Affix	Abstract Nominals	Gloss
1	tabl-i	father	-t	tabɨl-t	fatherhood
2	aʦab-i/a	friend	-t	aʦab-t	friendship
3	gɨseŋ	dog	-t	gɨseŋ-t	dog-like character
4	aŋq-i/a	virgin	-t	aŋq-ɨ-t	virginity

Table 4: Abstract nominals derived from nominal stems

As we can see from Table (3) and (4), abstract nominals are derived from adjectival and nominal stems by suffixing /-t/. Since the derived items are abstract nouns, we can safely consider the suffix /-t/ as an abstract nominalizer morpheme. We can suggest the following WFR for such derivation:

(1) $[X]_{A/N} + \quad N^{af}_{[+Abs]} \longrightarrow N_{[+Abs]}$

The rule shows that abstract nominals may be derived from non-abstract adjectival or nominals with an affix having the features [+ abs, +Nominal]. In terms of frequency of occurrence, the derivation of abstract nominals from nominal bases is not as productive as adjectival bases.

The above derived nominals occur in sentences as subjects of a sentence as illustrated in the following sentences:

(2) (a) atʂab- t gude-x
friend-Abs good-is
'Friendship is good.'

(b) dendaŋ-t - das legasam-t keša-x
short- Abs-from long- Abs better-is
'Longness is better than shortness.'

(c) aŋɨq- t ziku- t- ma
virgin-Abs exist-3fs-does
'Does she have virginity?'

The underlined derived nominals in example (2) above are the same in structure with simple nominal subject of a sentence aq-i 'man' heads like in (4) below:

(3) aq-i buzz-i-x
Adult-mas fat-mas-is
'A man is fat'

As can be inferred from above examples, the process of derivation of abstract nominals from Ns and Adjs, there are phonological processes. One of these phonological proceses is an insertion of the vowel /ɨ/. The vowel /ɨ/ seems to be inserted to avoid triplates of consonants in word final, as this is not allowed in the phonology of the language.

Deletion is another phonological process observed in the nominal derivation. Awngi adjectives and nouns are usually inflected for gender. These gender marker inflections /-i,

-u, -e, -a/ get deleted when derivational morphemes are added to the base. However, there are some exceptions to this. There are cases where inflections are not deleted when derivational morphemes are added. For instance, we can look the case of abstract nominal derivation from adjectival bases which is shown in Table (3) on page (16), where the masculine gender marker /-i/ and /-u/ are maintained while suffixing the abstract nominalizer morpheme /-t/.[1] Let us reconsider them again in (4) below:

(4)

(a)	dɨmm-i + /-t/ red – mas:sg Abs 'red'	⟶	dɨmm-i- t red – Epen -Abs 'redness'
(b)	fučč-i + /-t/ white-mas:sg Abs 'white'	⟶	fučč- i- t white-Epen-Abs 'whiteness'
(c)	ass-u + /-t/ fat-mas:sg Abs 'false'	⟶	ass- u- t white-Epen-Abs 'falseness'
(d)	buzz-i + /-t/ fat-mas:sg Abs 'fat'	⟶	buzz -i- t fat -Epen -Abs 'fatness'

As can be seen from the above examples the inflectional suffixes /-i/ and /-u/ are maintained while suffixing the derivational morpheme /-t/. The occurance of inflectional morphemes before derivational mcrphemes in Awngi seems to go against the assumption, which says, "Inflectional suffixes are preceded by derivational suffixes in word structure," (Matthews, 1991:61). However, since the role of these gender markers has changed to the role of epenthetic vowel in derived nominals to avoid triplates of consonant clusters in word final position, the assampton is still true. As can be seen from the Table (3), these gender markers are maintained in adjectival stems where the last consonants are geminated, whereas they are deleted elsewhere. This is shown in (4) above, where mm, čč, ss, and zz word final geminated consonants from example (a) to example (d), respectively, are forced the gendr markers to retain by changing their role from gender marker to epenthetic vowel to avoied impermissible consonant clusters.

[1]In Awngi, gender is marked solely in the stem final position (mas. -C~-i~-u~-e; fem. –a). Masculines in – u and –e are not common (Cf. Appleyard, 1988:583).

In the process of derivation of Awngi abstract nominals from Ns and Adjs, if a word has different form for masculine and feminine, derivational suffix selects the feminine form. The case in point is the derivation of abstract nominals that we have seen above in Table (3) item number (8). For ease of defererence this example is repeated below in (5a).

(5) (a)

ligisim-i tall – mas 'tall' legasam-a tall-fem 'tall'	→	legasam-t tall – Abs 'tallness'

(b)

ligisim-i tall – mas 'tall' legasam-a tall - fem 'tall'	→	* ligisim - t

As we can see from (5a) above, the abstract nominalizer morpheme /-t/ selected and attached to the feminine base. Attaching the suffix to the masculine form results in incorrect derivation as showen in (5b) above. In Awngi, the selection of feminine bases is not restricted to derivation. Hetzron (1978:124) says that, "In a number of cases, the feminine forms express the plural," compare the following examples frome Hetzron (1978):

(6)

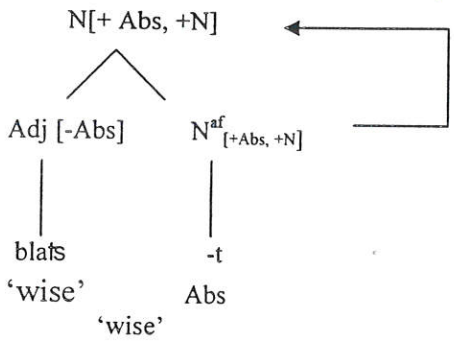
firis-i horse-mas:sg 'horse (mas)' feras-a horse-fem:sg 'horse (fem)'	→	feras-ka horse-pl 'horses'

Syntactically, the effect of abstract nominal derivation is both subcategory changing as [-Abs] N is changed into a [+Abs] N, and category changing as Adj is changed into a N. Moreover, in light of syntax, the nominalizing suffix can be considered as the syntactic head of the derived nominals since it is its feature, which determines the category of the derived forms. For instance, in the abstract nominal derivation in (7a), the feature [+ Abs] and [+N] results from the abstract nominalizing suffix /-t/ as indicated in the tree structure (7b) below:

(7) (a)

blaʦ	+	/-t/	⟶	blaʦ-t
wise		Abs		wise - Abs
'wise'				'wisdom'

(b)



As shown above, since the suffixes from which the features percolate are the right hand constituents, Awngi derived nominals can be treated as right-headed.

2.2.2. Infinitival/Gerundive Nominals

In Awngi, infinitival nominals are formed by suffixing the allomorphs /-ŋ/ or /-iŋ/ on verbal bases. The latter is used when the verb ends in consonent and the former elsewhere. The same suffix also derives gerundive nominals from the verbal bases. The following data demonstrates this:

No	Verbal Roots	Gloss	Suffix	Infinitival/Gerundive Nominals	Gloss
1	xu-	eat	-ŋ	xu-ŋ	to eat/eating
2	kadi-	deny	-ŋ	kadi-ŋ	to deny/denying
3	dadex-	steal	-iŋ	dadex-iŋ	to steal/stealing
4	dunʦ-	break	-iŋ	dunʦ-iŋ	to break/breaking
5	kew-	cut	-iŋ	kew-iŋ	to cut/cutting
6	seb-	hit	-iŋ	seb-iŋ	to hit/hiting
7	gori-	milk (v)	-ŋ	gori-ŋ	to milk/milking
8	ku-	kill	-ŋ	ku-ŋ	to kill/killing

Table 5: Infinitival and gerundive nominals derived from verbal roots

The occurrences of such nominals are shown in the following sentences:

(8) (a) xu – ŋ – das zɨq-ɨŋ keša-x
eat-Inf-from drink-Inf better – is
' To drink is better than to eat.'

(b) xu – ŋ- das zɨq - ɨŋ keša-x
eat –Ger– from drink–Ger better–is
'Drinking is better than eating.'

The underlined words in (8a) are infinitival nominals whereas in (8b) gerundive nominals. The WFR for the derivation of such nominals can be understood as in (9) below:

(9) $V^{r} + N^{af}$ [+Inf/+Ger] ⟶ N[+Inf/+Ger]

2.2.3 Agentive Nominals

Agentive nominals are derived from action verbs and have a meaning like "one who does the action of the verb" (Comrie, et al 1985:35). These nominals have the feature [+animate]. In Awngi, such nominals are derived by suffixing /-ant/ to the verbal root. This is illustrated in Table (6) below:

No	Verbal Roots	Glose	Affix	Agentive Neminal	Gloss
1	gibit-	build	-ant	gibit – ant- i/a/ka	builder(s)
2	zɨq-	drink	-ant	zɨq – ant- i/a/ka	drinker (s)
3	zirif-	rob	-ant	zera f – ant – i /a/ka	robber(s)
4	aris-	farm	-ant	ares – atnt – i /a/ka	farmer(s)
5	gɨš-	dig	-ant	gɨš – ant – i /a/ka	digger (s)
6	seb-	hit	-ant	seb –ant-i/a/ka	hitter(s)
7	des-	train	-ant	des-ant-i/a/ka	trainer(s)
8	tas-	kick	-ant	tas – ant-i/a/ka	kicker(s)

Table 6: Agentive nominals derived from verbal roots

As can be seen from the Table (6) the agentive nominal marker /-ant/ always appears with gender or number markers. /-i/ marks mas: sg, /-a/ marks fem: sg and /-ka/ marks gender neuteral plural number. Examples in (10) below demonstrate this clearly:

(10) gibit + -ant- ⟶ gibit – ant – i
build Ag build – Ag – mas:sg
'builder (mas)'

⟶ gibit –ant- a
build – Ag – fem:sg
'builder (fem)'

⟶ gibit – ant – ka
build – Ag – pl
'builders'

Thus, the derivation of agentive nominals can be represrnted by the following WFR:

(11) $V^{r} + N^{af}[+\text{Ag}] \longrightarrow N[+\text{Ag}]$

The following sentences illustrate the use of agentive nominals in the language:

(12) (a) ŋi zɨq – ant – a – x
she drink – Ag – fem:sg –is
'she is a drinker.'

(b) gibit–ant-i ŋɨn – o gibit–a
build–Ag–mas:sg house–acc build-perf.
'The builder has built a house'

(c) ŋaǰi des – ant – ka[2]–x
They train – Ag – pl – are
'They are trainers.'

In (12) above, zɨq – ant – a, des – ant – ka and gibit – ant – i are nominals with a [+N] feature derived from their respective verbal bases: zɨq, des and gibit with a [+V] feature.

The derived forms can occur as subjects which satisfy the property of Ns. As a result, the underlined agentive nominals in (12) (a) and (c) are used as objects whereas in (b) as a subject.

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[2] In awngi the plural marker and definitive marker have the same form /-ka/. But they differ in tone. The former is with a low tone whereas the latter is with a high tone.
a) -kà (plural marker)
b) -ká (definitive marker)

2.2.4 Patient Nominals

There are nominals that refer to entities or beings affected by the action of a verb. In Awngi, such nominals are derived from passive verb bases by suffixing /-iŋ/. Consider the examples in the following Table:

No	Passive Verbal Bases	Gloss	Affix	Patient Nominals	Gloss
1	likim – ist	be collected	-iŋ	lekam - ist-iŋ	to be collected
2	ku-st	be killed	-iŋ	ku-st-iŋ	to be killed
3	dunʦ – ist	be broken	-iŋ	dunʦ - ist-iŋ	to be broken
4	quʦ –ist	be washed	-iŋ	quʦ - ist - iŋ	to be washed
5	tas –ist	be ticked	-iŋ	tas -ist-iŋ	to be kicked
6	arid- ist	be slaughtered	-iŋ	arid-ist-iŋ	to be slaughtered
7	kew –ist	be cut	-iŋ	kew -ist-iŋ	to be cut

Table 7: Patient nominals derived from passive verbal bases

In Awngi, Hetzron (1966 and 1969) says, passive verbs are derived from verbal bases by suffixing /-st/ (This issue will be treated in detail in up-coming section: Verb derivation). These passivized verbs are also set for further derivation to give patient nominals. The following examples show this clearly:

(13) (a) tas + /-st/ → tas – ist, tas- ist +/-iŋ/ → tas- ist- iŋ
kick Pas kick– Pas, kick-Pas pat kick – Pass- pat
'kick' 'be kicked' 'be kicked' 'to be kicked'

(b) kew + /-st/ → kew – ist, kew- ist +/-iŋ/ → kew - ist - iŋ
cut Pas cut – Pas, cut - Pas pat cut – Pas-pat
'cut' 'be cut' 'be cut' 'to be cut'

(c) arid + /-st/ → arid -ist , arid- ist + /iŋ/ → arid - ist - iŋ
slaughter Pas slaughter-Pas, slaughter-Pas Pat slaughter-pass- pat
'slaughter' 'be slaughtered' 'be slaughter' 'to be slaughtered'

As the xample in (13) above shows, in the derivation of patient nominals, passives are first derived from verbal roots by suffixing /-ɨst/. Then patient nominals are derived from these derived passive verb bases by suffixing /-ɨŋ/.

The following sentences can illustrate the occurrence of such patient nominals in the language:

(14) (a) (ɨnt) arid - ɨst - ɨŋ – o ma tas - ɨst - ɨŋ – o fetaw
(you) slaughter- Pas–Pat – acc or kick – Pas–Pat–acc want
'Do you want to be slaughtered or kicked?'

(b) duxari – ta tas - ɨst - ɨŋ – a ma tintɨ- x
donkey–like kick–Pas– Pat–acc question come – do
'Do you come to be kicked like donkey?'

Thus, patient nominals can be derived from their respective passive verb stems by the following WFR:

(15) V[+Pas] + N^{af} [+Pat] ⟶ N[+Pat]

2.2.5. Complement Nominals[3]

These are nominals showing a cooperative agent(s) to another agent(s) in doing certain activity. In Awngi, these nominals are derived from causative verb stems by suffixing /-ɨŋ/. Consider examples in (20) below:

[3] Complement Nominals is the term I used to refer for some nominals that are cooperative agent(s) in doing certain activity.

No	Causative Verbal Bases	Gloss	Affix	Cooperative action showing nominals	Gloss
1	likim-iʧ	cause to collect	-iŋ	lekam – iʧ -iŋ	helping in collecting
2	dunts – ʧ	cause to break	-iŋ	dunts - iʧ -iŋ	helping in breaking
3	čimbi -iʧ	cause to fetch	-iŋ	čimbi -ʧ - iŋ	helping in fetching
4	tas -iʧ	cause to kick	-iŋ	tas -iʧ -iŋ	helping in kicking
5	ared -iʧ	cause to slaughter	-iŋ	ared -iʧ -iŋ	helping in slaughtering
6	kew–iʧ	cause to slaughter	-iŋ	kwe- iʧ - iŋ	helping in cutting

Table 8: Complement nominals derivd from causative verbal stems

Like the patient nominal derivation in section 2.2.4, the derivation of the above cooperative action showing nominals is not directly derived from verbal roots. Rather they are derived from derived causative verbal bases (the derivation of causatives is treated in detail in verb derivation section). The examples below illustrate the derivation of such nominals in the language.

(16) (a) čimbi + /-ʧ/ ⟶ čimbi - ʧ, ⟶ čimbi-ʧ + /-iŋ/ ⟶ čimbi- ʧ - iŋ
fetch Caus 'fetch' | fetch – Caus, 'cause to fetch' | fetch-Caus- Copl 'cause to fetch' | fetch – Caus Copl 'helpingin tching'

(b) kew + /-ʧ/ ⟶ kew – iʧ, ⟶ kew – iʧ + /- iŋ/ ⟶ kew – iʧ - iŋ
cut Caus 'cut' | cut – Caus 'cause to cut' | cut – Caus Copl 'cause to cut' | cut – Caus – Copl 'helpingin cutting'

We can repreasent the derivation of cooperative action showing nominals in the following rule:

(17) V^{b}[+ Caus] + N^{af} [+ Copl] ⟶ N [+ Copl]

The sentential examples below illustrate the occurance of such nominals in the language:

(18) (a) ader axw - o čimbi - ʦ - iŋ -a aw
please water - acc fetch -Caus -Copl -acc come
'Come to help us in fetching water please.'

(b) ader kan– e kew- iʦ -iŋ -a ka
please tree-acc cut -Caus -Copl-acc go
'Go to help (them) in cutting the tree please.'

2.2.6 Result Nominals

In Awngi, result nominals are derived by suffixing /-i/ to the verbal roots as in Table (9) below:

No	Verbal Roots	Gloss	Affix	Result Nominals	Gloss
1	tas-	kick	-i	tas – i	kick (N)
2	ziq-	drink	-i	ziq – i	drink (N)
3	simit-	be satisfied	-i	simit – i	arrogance
4	kew-	cut	-i	kew –i	cut(N)
5	lax^{w}it-	insult(v)	-i	lax^{w} – i	insult(N)
6	inziŋ-	walk (V)	-i	inziŋ – i	walk(N)

Table 9: Result nominals derived from verbal bases

Nominals illustrated in the above, like other derived nominals have a [+N] feature. The occurrence of such nominals in the language can be attested from the following proverbs:

(19) (a) simit – i ŋari – gunza –x
be satisfied–Res head – ache – is
'(Over) satisfaction is a head – ache.'

(b) simit – i – das mirk – i keŠa – x
be satisfied–Res–than hunger–Res better – is
'Hunger is better than (over) satisfaction.'

In (19) (a) and (b), the underlined words are result nominals derived from their respective verbal bases. They are functioning as subject in (19a) and as subject and object in (19b).The WFR for such nominals can be represented as follows:

(20) $V^{r} + N^{af}$ [+Res] ⟶ N [+ Res]

2.2.7 Instrumental Nominals

Instrumental nominals are derived from verbal roots with the suffix /-ʦ/ as shown in the following examples:

No	Verbal Roots	Gloss	Affix	Instrumental Nominasl	Gloss
1	kew-	cut	- ʦ	kew - ʦ -i/a	an instrument use to cut
2	xu-	eat	- ʦ	xu- ʦ - i/a	an instrument used to eat
3	giš-	dig	- ʦ	giš - ʦ - i/a	an instrument used to dig
4	ziq-	drink	- ʦ	ziq- ʦ - i/a	a tool used to drink water
5	xuri-	sleep	- ʦ	xur - ʦ -i/a	an instrument used to sleep
6	inǰik-	sit	- ʦ	inǰik^{w} - ʦ - i/a	an instrument used to sit

Table 10: Instrumental nominals derived from verbal roots

As it is shown in Table (10) above, the instrumental nominalizer morpheme /-ʦ/ is always conjugated with the masculine marker /-i/ or a feminine marker /-a/ gender. These gender markers also express relative size of the instrument. Where /-i/ indicates augneentative of an instrument, /-a/ indicates dimunitive. To make the derivation clear, consider the examples in (21) below:

(21) (a) xu + - ʦ → xu - ʦ- i
eat Inst eat -- Inst – mas :sg
'eat' 'an instrument used to eat'

→ xu - ʦ - a
eat – Inst – fem: sg
'small instrument used to eat'

(b) inǰik^{w} + - ʦ → inǰik^{w} - ʦ - i
sit Inst sit – Inst – mas:sg
'sit' 'an instrument use to sit'

→ inǰik^{w} - ʦ - a
sit – Inst – fem:sg
'smalle instrument used to sit'

The following sentential examples illustrate such nominals in the language:

(22) (a) xur - ʦ - e tiris
sleep – Inst – acc arrange
'Arrange the bed.'

(b) ɨŋǰik^{w} - ʦ - a yak i
bench–Inst–fem:sg give
'Give me the bench.'

(c) čɨmbi- ʦ-e xataw
fetch- Inst-acc bring
'Bring the pot.'

(d) xu - ʦ -e ka ʦ
eat-Inst-acc take
'Take the dish.'

The derivation of such instrumental nominals can be captured by the folloeing WFR:

(23) V^{r} + N^{af} [+Inst] ⟶ N[+ Inst]

In summary, what we can say about noun derivation is that the distribution of derivational suffixes in Awngi is predictable. As can be observed in the preceding section, nominals of the same kind are derived with the same suffixes, the distribution of which is regular and easy to account. And, for all derived nominals that we have seen so far, we can have the following general WFR to capture their derivation in the language:

(24) $\left\{ \begin{matrix} N \\ A \\ V \end{matrix} \right\}$ + Suffix ⟶ N

2.3 Verb Derivation

In Awngi, verbs can be derived from verbal, nominal and adjectival bases by suffixation. These derived verbs include causatives, reciprocals, passives and reflexives.

2.3.1 Causatives

In the process of causativization of a verb there is an addition of an argument. The structural subject of the causativised verb is understood as someone who causes some other person to do something. According to Comrie (1981:158), "any causative situation involves two component situations, the cause and its effect (result)". In connection to this, Alsina (1992: 512) also says that "morphologically derived causatives are composed of causative morpheme and a base verb." The causative verbs in Awngi are derived by suffixing /- ʦ/ to verbal, adjectival and nominal bases. The causative introduces a new element into the sentence in comparison with the basic verb, the one that causes the action as subject of the causative verb (Hetzron, 1969:62). According to Hetzron (1969), the original subject becomes a complement (object with accusative).

2.3.1.1 Causatives of Transitive Verbs

As it is stated above, in Awngi, transitive verbs can be causativized by suffixing /-ʦ/. The Table (11) below illustrates this.

No	Transitive Verb Roots	Gloss	Causative verbs from transitive verbs	Gloss
1	geš-	burn	geš– i ʦ	cause to burn
2	lim-	close	lim - iʦ	cause to close
3	tif-	divorce	tif - iʦ	cause to divorce
4	čimbi-	fetch	čimbi - ʦ	cause to fetch
5	aʦid-	harvest	aʦid – iʦ	cause to harvest
6	dunʦ-	break	dunʦ - i ʦ	cause to break

Table 11: Causatives derived form transitive verbs

The most important phenomenon in the above data is the recursion of the causative. Regarding this, Hetzron (1969:65) says that causative marking in Awngi is recursive: "it can be added to a stem several times, representing a chain of causations. For most of the verbs, double causative [-cc-][4] is the first form of the chain, there is no simple causative" (Hetzron, 1976:32). This double causative process is also true in Bilin and Xamir. According to Appleyard (1980:2) there is no evidence for such formation in Kemantney and – Quara. Latter, however, Zelealem (2003:200-201) shows the existence of reduplicating the causative (adjutative) in Kemantney.

Comrie (1981:168) writes that, "the morphological causative has a valency one higher than the corresponding non- causative, since in addition to the arguments of that non – causative predicate, there is also the causer." For instance, if a non-causative has one argument V [+NP], the crosponding causative will have two arguments V[+NP NP]. Thus, syntactically, such verbs and their non-causative bases have different characteristics. This difference is illustrated in the following examples:

(25) (a) ɨnʦay išš- e geš - a
boy meat – acc broil – perf.
'The boy has broiled the meat.'

(b) ɨŋi karŋ - o zɨgʷi - xʷa
he stone – acc throw – past: defn
'He threw the stone.

In (25a), geš 'broil' is a transitive verb, having only two arguments: the doer (ɨnʦay 'boy') and the patient (išš 'meat'). Its sub categorization frame is V[+NP NP].What can we observe from this is that geš 'broil', ɵ – marks an object NP and subject NP. The same is true for example (b). On the other hand, the same verb can get an additional argument when it is causativized. The following examples attest this:

[4] Hetzron (1969) uses /c/ symbol to refer to voiceless alveolar affricative stop phoneme. I used IPA /ʦ/ symbol for this phoneme

(26) (a) ɨnʈsay ɨnʈsaxa – wa išš- e geš – ɨʈs - a[5]
boy girl - acc meat–acc broil–Caus– perf[i]
'The boy made the girl broil the meat.'

(b) aq – i (iŋ – e) karŋ – o zɨgʷi - ʈs - ɨxʷa[6]
adult– mas (he – acc) stone – acc throw – Caus – past: defn
'The man made him to throw the stone.'

As shown in the above examples, in causativization, there is an increase of arguments. This can be seen from the entries geš – ɨʈs 'cause to broil' and zɨgʷi - ʈs 'cause to throw' as in (27) below.

(27) (a) geš – ɨʈs 'cause to broil' = V[+NP NP NP]

(b) zɨgʷɨ - ʈs 'cause to throw' = V [+NP NP NP]

From the above examples, we can understand that causativization does not only change the subcategorization frames by increasing the number of arguments, but also shift thematic roles. If we observe these examples, the subject in (26) (a) and(b), become indirect object in (27) (a) and (b), respectively because of the introduction of a new causing agent as the subject of the sentences in (35). As stated in Owns (1985:33), this change is a syntactic change only, semantically the NP remains with the same NP role whether it goes to subject place or object place in a sentence.

2.3.1.2 Causativization of Intransitive Verbs

The process of adding the causative suffix /-ʈs/ to intransitive verbs transitivizes them. The transitivized verbs, like other transitive verbs, undergo the same process of causativization as shown in Table (12) and (13) below:

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[5] A perfective indefinite marker /-a/: expresses either a past action the effect of which remains still in the present, that is, a present perfect, or, more rarely, an uncertain action in the past about which the speaker has no certitude. E.g. a) des- 'to study' b) des-a 'He has studied.'(Hetzron,1969).

[6] Past defnite marker /-xʷa/: is the form that usually expresses an caction in the past. E.g. des-xʷa 'He studied' (Hetzron,1969).

Intransitive Verb Roots	Gloss	Transitivized Verbs	Gloss
xuri-	sleep	huri - ʦ	cause to sleep
giŋi-	run	giŋi – ʦ	cause to run
kuŋgi-	jump	kuŋgi – ʦ	cause to jump

Table 12: Causative verbs derived from intransitive verbs

Both causativization and transitivization processes are non – category changing. Their effect is on subcategorization, the non – causatives to causatives and non – transitives to transitives. As a result of transitivization, intransitives get one more internal argument (NP complement). Compare the following structures with the verb xuri 'sleep' and its transitivized form.

(28) (a) sɨr xuru – x^{w}a
child sleep – past: def
'The child slept.'

(b) čɨwa sɨr – o xur – ʦ – i x^{w}a
mother child–acc sleep–Caus–past:def
'The mother made the child sleep.'

As can be seen from the structures, transitivization changed the subject - sɨr 'the child' in (28a) to an object in (28b), and a new NP subject čɨwa 'mother' is introduced. Moreover, transitivized verbs, like transitive verbs, can also be doubly causativized by the same suffix /-ʦiʦ/ as demonstrated in the following examples:

Intransitivized Verb Roots	Gloss	Transitivized Verb Bases	Gloss	Double Causativized Verbs	Gloss
xuri -	sleep	xuri - ʦ	cause someone to sleep	xuri – ʦiʦ	cause someone to cause some other to sleep
giŋi –	run	giŋi - ʦ	cause someone to run	giŋ- ʦiʦ	cause someone to cause some other to run
ligi –	grow	ligi - ʦ	cause someone to grow	ligi – ʦiʦ	cause someone to cause some other to grow
kuŋgi –	jump	kuŋgi - ʦ	cause someone to jump	kuŋgi – ʦiʦ	cause someone to cause some other to jump

Table 13: Causativized forms of transitivized verbs

As can be seen form the above examples, when the verb is tranisitivized, it is also changed in to simple causative verb at the same time. This simple causativized verb is farther double causativized. The effect of the causative suffix does not change the word class but it changes subcategorization frame. The subcategorization frame of transitivized and causativized forms are different from their base forms, and they also differ to each other. This difference can be illustrated by the entries of the transtivized verb xuri-ʦ 'cause someone to sleep', and causativized verb xur–ʦiʦ' 'cause someone to cause some other one to sleep' from their intransitive verb form xuri 'sleep' as shown in (29) below.

(29) (a) xuri 'sleep'= V[NP]
(b) xuri - ʦ 'cause someone to sleep' = V [NP NP]
(c) xur - ʦiʦ 'cause someone to cause other one to sleep' = V [NP NP NP]

As can be seen from the entries, all the entries are verbs. However, within the category of verb they belong to different subcategories. That is the verb in (a) belong to the intransitive subcategory of the verb whereas the verbs in (b) and (c) belong to transitive and double causative subcategories of the verb, respectively. The other point that we note here is that as we have seen with transitive verbs, the number of arguments increases as the verbs go from intransitive to transitive (simple causative in this case) and then to double causative i.e. from one to two then to three arguments respectively.

Generally, the word formation rule for causative derivation from verb roots can be represented as follows:

(30) $V^{r} + V^{af}$ [+Caus] ⟶ V [+Caus]

Rule (30) shows that the process of causativization is not category changing because the base and the derivatives are both verbs. However, it is subcategory changing since it changes the verb from noncausative to causative.

2.3.1.3 Causatives from Adjectival and Nominal Bases

In Awngi, causatives can also be derived from adjectival and nominal bases. This is done by adding the causative suffix /-tsits/ as in Table (14) and (15) below.

Adjective stems	Gloss	Causatives from adjectival bases	Gloss
issan	wide	issan -tsits	cause someone to make something to be wide
tsibab	narrow	tsibab -tsits	cause someone to make something to be narrow
buzz – i	fat (mas)	buzzi -tsits	cause someone to make something to be fat
dimm – a	red (fem)	dimmi-- tsits	cause someone to make something to be red
denden	short	denden - tsits	cause someone to make something to be short
kag – a	dry (fem)	kag- tsits	cause someone to make something to be dry

Table 14: Causatives derived from Adjectival bases

The derivation of causatives from adjactivals can be represented by the following WFR:

(31) $\left\{ X[+\text{ Adj}] + V^{af}[+\text{Caus}] \right\} \longrightarrow V[+\text{Caus}]$

In the same way, we also derive causatives from nominal bases. Consider the data in Table (15) below:

Nominal Stems	Gloss	Causatives from nominals	Gloss
tisin –i	pus (mas)	tisin - iɬs/-ɬsiɬs	cause to discharge pus
laxan	wound	laxan - iɬs/-ɬsiɬs	cause to wound
ɨqar – a	swelling (fem)	ɨqar - iɬs/-ɬsiɬs	cause to swell

Table 15: Causatives derived from nominal bases

The following WFR can hold derivation of causatives from nominal bases:

(32) $\left\{ X\ [+N] \ + \ V^{af}[+Caus] \right\} \longrightarrow \ V\ [+Caus]$

The important point to note here is that causativization of nominals and adjectivals has the effect of changing the category. For instance, consider the occurrence of the adjective, dɨmm- i 'red – mas' and the nominal tisin – i 'pus – mas' and their derivatives in the following examples:

(33) (a) aw- i bun – o dɨmm- iɬs - a
sun – mas coffee–acc red – Caus – pf:indef
'The sun has made the coffee red'

(b) a q – i tisin –e tesan - ɬs - ɨ x^{w}a
adult – mas pus – acc dischanrge–Caus – past: def
'The man caused the pus to be discharged.'

However, as compared to verbals and adjectivals, causativization of nominals is less productive. It is only some nominals, which are open for derivation of causatives. If we extend the derivations to other nominals, it results in unacceptable forms. Consider the following examples:

(34) (a) tisin – i ⟶ tisin – iʦ
pus – mas pus – Caus
'pus' 'cause to pus'

(b) laxan-ø ⟶ laxan – iʦ
wound-mas wound – Caus
'wound' 'cause to wound'

(c) ŋɨn ⟶ *ŋɨn – iʦ
house house-Caus
'house'

(d) ɨll ⟶ *ɨll – iʦ
eye eye – Caus
'eye'

(e) dad ⟶ *dad – iʦ
road road – Caus
'road'

In the above example (34), (a) and (b) are correct derivations whereas (c), (d), and (e) are not. In general, the function of causatives that we have seen so far is to transform underlying non-causative proposition into a proposition with a new agent and a predicate containing the notion of causation.

2.3.2 Reciprocals

Awngi reciprocal derivative expresses either reciprocity – that is, action performed by several doers on each other, or a slow and gradual process (Hetzron, 1969). Compare the following example from Hetzron (1969): desŋɨŋ 'to study each other' from desɨŋ 'to study', digɨŋɨŋ 'to come nearer to each other' or to approach slowly, little by little' from digɨŋ 'to be near. Both Hetzron (1969, 1976) and Appleyard (1988) identify /–ŋ/ as the reciprocal marker. It is suffixed to infinitival nominals derived from verbs. Before the verb is reciprocalized the verb should be changed to infinitival nominal. Consider the following examples:

(35) (a) tas → tas – iŋ → tas – ŋ - iŋ
kick kick – Inf kick – Infzer – Recp
'kick' 'to kick' 'to kick each other'

(b) des → des - iŋ → des – ŋ - iŋ
study study – Inf study – Infzer – Recp
'study' 'to study' 'to study each other'

(c) dibis → dibs - iŋ → dibs - ŋ - iŋ
talk talk – Inf talk – Infzer – Recp
'talk' 'to talk' 'to talk each other'

In the above example, it is the second /–ŋ/ that marks the reciprocal whereas the first marks infinitival nominal. The following sentences illustate the use of reciprocals in the language:

(36) a) iŋi yiwsa debter -wa kis- a
he my exercisebook-acc exchange - pf: Indef
'He has exchanged my exercisebook.'

b) kis - iŋ -das ǰiw- iŋ keš - x
exchange - Inf - than buy - Inf better - is
'To buy is better than to exchange.'

c) ŋaǰi ŋawsa debter - wa kis- ŋ- iŋ- un -a
they their exerciesebook- acc exchange-Inf-Recp - 3pl - Pf. indef
'The have exchanged their exercise book to each other.'

d) sirasiri dibs - ŋ- iŋ -un - a
children talk - Inf - Recp - 3pl - pf: Indef
'Children have talk to eachother.'

As can be sen from the above examples, the undrlined word in (a) is a simple verb. The same verb has a derived infinitive nominal form in example (b) and reciprocal in example (c). The underlined word in example (d) also shows a reciprocal verb.

2.3.3 Causatives of Reciprocals

In Awngi, the two verb derivatives, namely the reciprocal and the causative markers can be combined to form causatives of reciprocals. Concerning the causatives of reciprocals, Hetzron (1969:63) says that, "the causative marker [-c-] can also be added to the reciprocal, and this combined form expresses either reciprocal causation or the idea of

"adjutative", of helping somebody in doing something. Compare the following examples from Hetzron (1969): digɨŋ[c]ɨŋ 'to make approach to each other' or 'to help to approach', desɨŋ[c]ɨŋ 'to accustom'. The derivation of causatives of reciprocal follows the following step:

(37) (a) ɨq^{w}it ⟶ ɨq^{w}it - ɨŋ ⟶ ɨq^{w}it - ɨŋ - ɨʦ ⟶ ɨq^{w}it - ɨŋ - ʦ - ɨŋ

	call	call – Inf	call – Inf – Cs	call–Inf–Caus– Recp
	'call'	'to call'	'cause to call'	'to cause them to call to each other'

(b) seb ⟶ seb - ɨŋ ⟶ seb - ɨŋ – ɨʦ ⟶ seb - ɨŋ-ʦ-ɨŋ

hit	hit – Inf	hit – Inf – Caus	hit – Infzer-Caus-Recp
'hit'	'to hit'	'make to hit'	'to cause them to hit to each other'

(c) tas ⟶ tas-ɨŋ ⟶ tas -ɨŋ- ɨʦ ⟶ tas - ɨŋ-ʦ-ɨŋ

kick	kick-Inf	kick-Inf-Caus	kick –Infzer-Caus-Recp
'kick'	'to kick'	'cause to kick'	'to cause them to kick to each other'

First, infinitival nominals are derived from the base verbs. Second, the causative verbs are derived from the infinitive nominals. Then, causatives of reciprocals are derived from the causative verbs. The following sentences demonstrate the use of reciprocals and their causatives of reciprocal forms:

(38) (a) gɨseŋ-ka ɨŋt – ɨŋ – un – a
dog – pl bite–Recp–3pl–pf:indef
'The dogs bit each other.'

(b) ɨŋi gɨseŋ- ka ɨŋt - ɨŋ - ʦ- ɨŋ - ɨx^{w}a
he dpg – pl bite-Inf—Cs-Resp–past:def
'He made the dogs bite each other.'

(c) sɨrasɨri tas- ɨŋ- ɨŋ - un –a
children kick- Inf- Recp- 3pl -pf:indef
'The children kicked each other.'

(d) aq – i sɨrasɨri - e tas - ɨŋ - ʦ - ɨŋ - ɨx^{w}a
adult-mas children-acc kick -Inf- Caus- Recp-past:def
'The man made the children kick each other.'

The word formation rule for such causatives of reciprocals can be understood as follows:

(39) $V^{r} + V^{af}$ [+Caus and Recp] ⟶ V[+Caus and Recp]

2.3.4 Passives

The passive marker in Awngi is the suffix /–st/ (Hetzron (1969), (1976)) and (Appleyard, 1988). This suffix is attached to active transitive verbs to derive passives and is preceded by the epenthetic vowel ɨ when attached to verbs ending in a consonant to avoid impermissible consonant clusters. Consider the following illustrations:

NO	Active Verb Roots	Gloss	Passive verb stems	Gloss
1	ɨnʦiw-	tie	ɨnʦew - ɨst	be tied
2	gibit-	build	gibit – ɨst	be built
3	dunʦ-	break	dunʦ - ɨst	be broken
4	kew-	cut	kew - ɨst	be cut
5	zɨq-	drink	ziq - ɨst	be drunk
6	geš	broil	geš - ɨst	be broiled

Table 16: Passivized verbs derived from transitive verb roots

In passive construction, the object of the active verb becomes the subject. Normally, the agent of the passive (the former subject) is not marked in Awngi passive sentences. Consider the following examples:

(40) (a) aq - i ŋɨn - o gibit – a (Active)
adult – mas house – acc build – pf:indef
'The man has built the house.'

(b) ŋɨn gibi – st – a (passive)
house build – pas – pf:indef
'The house has been built.'

(c) ŋaǰi gɨseŋ-o ku - n - a
they dog - acc kill -3p – pf:indef
'They have killed the dog.'

(d) gɨseŋ ku - st - a
dog kill – Pas-pf: indef
'The dog has been killed.'

Based on the above examples, we can draw the following WFR that catches the derivation of passive from active verbs.

(41)

$$V^{r}\begin{bmatrix}+\text{ transitive}\\ +\text{ Active}\end{bmatrix} + V^{af}\ [+\text{ passive}] \longrightarrow V\ [+\text{passive}]$$

This process is non-category changing; rather, it is subcategory changing process which changes the property of the active verb to passive verb (Cf. Williams 1981:247).

Syntactically, passive predicates require one less argument than their corresponding active predicates. As shown in the examples above, the active clause in (40a) bears two argument (agent = aq-i 'man' and patient ŋɨn 'house'), whereas, the passive clause (40b), since the agentive argument of (40a) does not appear, it has one argument less than its respective active form. The other point here is that Awngi passives drop by agent.

In general, passive is a 'promotional' process whereby a direct object nominal of an active voice clause is promoted to a subject in the passive counter part. As a result, a passive sentence is characterized as being intransitive (see for detail, Perlmutter and Postal 1984, Keenan 1976, Hayward 1975, Matthews 1991, Spencer, et al 2001).

2.3.5 Reflexives

Reflexive is "a term used in grammatical description to refer to verb or construction where the subject and the object relate to the same entity," (Crystal, 1997: 326). Languages use a variety of forms for the expression of reflexive meanings, These include suffixes, case endings, word order, and pronouns (Crystal, 1997). Awngi uses suffixes to express a reflexive meaning.

Two main types of reflexive markers can be distinguished in Awngi: (1) pronounal reflexives, where the marker exhibits properties of pronouns; (2) verbal reflexives, where the marker is part of the morphology associated with verbs (suffix). Here, I only look the verbal reflexives, in the language.

In Awngi, the verbal reflexive marker is /-**xa**/ illustrated below:

Verbal roots	Gloss	Verbal Reflexives	Gloss
ǰew -	buy	ǰew – t – a – xa - t – a	She has bought for herself.
way -	sell	way – a – xa – s – a	He has sold for himself.
ɨmmit -	catch	ɨmmit – e – xa – t – a	She has caught for herself.
gibit -	build	gibit – a – xa – s – a	He has built for himself.
ziɨq -	drink	ziɨq – a – xa – s - u - x^{w}a	He drank for himself.
kew -	cut	kew – a – xa – s-u – n – a	They have cut for themselves.
tuš -	break	tuš – t – a – xa – t – u - x^{w}a	She baked for herself.
ared -	slaughter	ared – a – xa – s- u – n – a	They have slaughtered for themselves.
guš-	lift (V)	guš – a – xa – s – u –x^{w}a	He lifted for himself.

Table 17: Reflexives derived from verbal roots

The WFR as in (42) can hold the reflexive verb derivation in the language:

(42) $V^{r} + V^{af}$ [+Ref] ⟶ V[+ Ref]

As we can see in Table (17), the reflexive suffixe /-xa/ is preceded and followed by other suffixes. Reflexive suffix /-xa/ is suffixed to verbal bases (not to verbal roots) to derive verbal reflexives. Consider the following examples:

(43) (a) ǰaw – t – a – **xa** – t – a
buy–fem–a – Ref – IO: 3fs – pf: indef
'She has bought for herself.'

(b) ǰew – a –**xa** – s – x^{w}a
buy–a– Ref – IO: 3ms – pf: indef
'He has bought for himself.'

(c) way – t – a – **xa** – t – u – x^{w}a
sell – fem– a – Ref –IO: 3fs – Epen – past: def
'She sold for herself.'

(d) way – a – **xa** – s – u - x^{w}a
sell – a – Ref – IO: 3ms – Epen – past: def
'He sold for himself.'

As shown in the above examples, in Awngi verbal reflexive situation, one participant plays two or more roles; for example, agent and possessor. In these examples, determining the status of some suffixes is difficult.[7]

2.4 Adjective Derivation

In Awngi, adjectives can be derived by suffixing /-tin/ and /-ten/ to nominal bases. Consider examples in Table (18) below:

Nominal Roots	Gloss	Adjectivals from nominals	Gloss
liku-	leg	liku-tin-i /-tena-a	one who roams too much
dib-	talk (N)	dib – tin-i/-ten-a	one who is wicked & insolent
mirk-	hunger(N)	mirk-tin-i/ -ten-a	hungry
simit-	satisfaction	simi-tin-i/- tena /- ten-a	one who is rude because of over-satisfaction
asu-	lie(N)	asu-tin-i /-ten-a	one who lies
wɨn-	truth	wɨn-tin-i /-ten-a	truthful

Table 18: Derivation of adjectives from nominals

As we can see from Table (18) the adjactivizer suffix /-tin/ always conjugates with masculine whereas /-ten/ conjugates with feminine gender marker. /-ten/ also conjugates with plural marker. The reason is that Awngi adjectives, like nouns, are inflected for gender and number. The following examples illustrate this:

(44) (a) ber- tin- i
gun – ADJzer-mas
'one who owns gun'

[7]In the above examples, the status of the suffixes that followed the reflexibe suffix /-xa/, can be determined. But, I got difficulty to determine the status of the suffix /-a/ before the reflexive suffix /-xa/, in the above example. To my understanding, it seems an epenthetic vowel that serves to avoid impermissible consonant clusters with verbs ending in a consonant. The use of other vowels such as /i/ and /u/ as an epenthetive vowel has also seen in abstract noun derivation in section 2.1.1 on page (18-21). However, the usual epenthetic vowel in the language is /i/

(b) ber- ten- a
gun – ADJzer- fem
'one who wonš gun'
(c) ber- ten- ka
gun – ADJzer – pl
'those who own gun'

The following sentences show the occurrence of such base nouns and their derived adjectives in the language:

(45) (a) mirki sɨr - o k^w –a
hunger child-acc. kill-pf:indef
'Hunger has killed the child.'

(b) mɨrk- tin - i sɨr – Ø kɨr-ɨx^{w}a
hunger–ADJzer-mas child-mas die-past:def
'The hungry child died.'

(c) mɨrk- ten- a sɨr-a kit-ɨx^{w}a
hunger-ADJzer-fem child-fem die-past:def
'The hungry child died.'

(d) mɨrk - ten - ka sɨrasɨri kɨr-un-a
hunger-ADJzer-pl children die-pl-past
'The hungry children died.'

In the example (44a) above, the word mɨrk-i 'hunger is a noun functioning as the subject of the sentence. The same noun is changed into adjective by suffixing adjectivizer suffix /-tin/ or /-ten/. Consequently, this derived adjective modifies the noun sɨr 'child' in (44 (b) and (c), and the noun sɨrasɨri 'children' in (44d). The following WFR can represent the above derivation of adjectives:

(46) $N^r + A^{af}[+Adj] \longrightarrow A$

2.5 Adverb Derivation

Awngi has derived adverbs derived by adding the suffix /-čif/ to nouns denoting time. The resultant derived words are time adverbials. Consider the examples below:

(47) (a) arfi –čif
month ADVzer
'monthly / every month'

(b) gerk –čif
day - ADVzer
'daily / every day'

(c) amat – čif
year – ADVzer
'yearly/ every year'

(d) soxat – čif
week – ADVzer
'weekly/every week'

(e) sigil – čif
morning – ADVzer
'every morning'

(f) xar – čif
neight – ADVzer
'every night'

The occurrence of such adverbials is shown with the following examples:

(48) (a) int gerk – čif isport – o intsaxsit
you day – ADVzer sport – acc work
'Do sport daily.'

(b) ŋaǰi amat – čif bištan – o zekara – n – a
they year – ADVzer church-acc cerlebrate-3pl-pf:indef
'They celebrate the church yearly.'

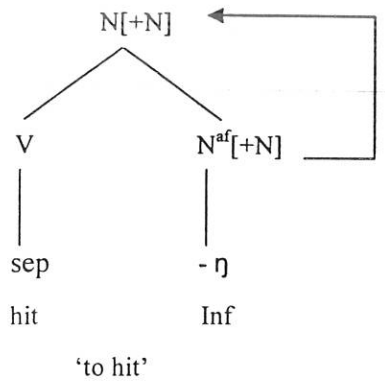
(c) iŋi xar-čif sekara-ma yintaw
he night-ADVzer drunk-Emph coming
'He comes intoxicated every night.'

The WFR in (49) below holds this derivation:

(49) [N] denoting time + [-čif]^{af} ADVzer ⟶ [X] time adverbial

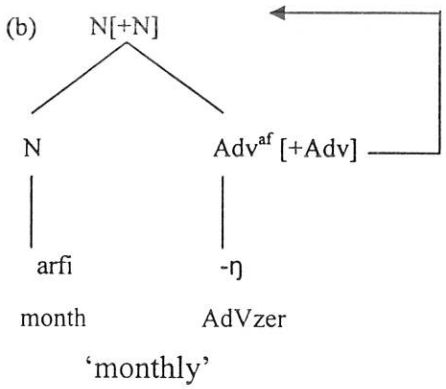
Generally, in noun, verb, adjective and adverb derivations that we have seen so far, what determine the word category of the derived words is the suffixes.Consider the following examples:

50) (a)



'to hit'

(b)



'monthly'

As can be seen from the above examples, the suffixes percolate their feature to the whole constituent and make the derived words to take their feature. As a result, the suffixes can be taken as the heads of the derived words.

CHAPTER THREE

COMPOUNDING

3.1 Introduction

Matthews (1991: 82) defines compounding as "a process by which a compound lexeme is derived from two or more simpler lexemes." According to Bauer (1983:28), "when two (or more) elements which could potentially be used as stems are combined to form another stem, the form is said to be a compound," and the process of forming compound is called compounding. What we draw from these definitions is that compounding is the process of forming new words by combining different lexemes, which may be of the same or different lexical categories.

However, it is not the case that any two given words combine to form a compound word. As a result, the number of compounds involving a combination of given word categories may range from very large number to none (see chart 28 on page 62). Most of the attention to word class in a compound has focused on the attested word-class structures of compounds in a language (Spencer, et. al, 2001). In Awngi, there is a large number of compounds involving a combination N+N, N+A and V+N, but none with a structure A+N, A+A, A+V, and few with a structure P+N. Selkirk (1982) suggests that the possibility and the impossibility of the combination in a language are best expressed by compound-specific rewriting rules analogous to phrase-structure rules, which are general but not specific. According to Fabb (1984) (cited in Spencer, et al 2001:71), there are, however, some fundamental differences between structure-building rules for compounds and structure-building rules for phrases. He identifies the following differences between them:

i) There is no true equivalent of x-bar theory as a constraint on compound-building rules. Most obviously, compounds need not have a head. More generally, it is hard to find structural generalizations across compound structures analogous to the generalizations expressed by x-bar theory for phrases.

ii) Compound-building rules would rarely be recursive.

iii) There is a problem about productivity. Phrase-structure rules are fully productive; each rule can underlie an infinite number of phrases (partly because of recursion). But some rules for building compounds are manifested by very few actual compounds.

Morphologically, compound words do not allow intervening elements. On this point Anderson (1985:44) nots the following:

> ... another feature of compounds which is useful in their identification is the fact that in general, pauses are only possible in (natural) speech between words, it is not in general possible to pause or insert parenthetical material, etc., between their component elements.

This chapter describes Awngi lexical compounds and sets the characteristics that distinguish them from higher forms (phrases). In doing so, it considers the characteristics and types of Awngi compounds along with rules by which they are formed. It also considers the gaps in the process. As stated in Bauer (1983:201), "the normal way of classifying compounds is the function they play in sentences as nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc." Following him, I classify Awngi compounds based on the functional criterion. In light of this we have the following compounds:

3.2 Compound Nouns

Combining different word classes forms compound nouns, in Awngi. These include N+N, P+N, and V+N compounds.

3.2.1 Noun + Noun Compound Nouns

Awngi has a large stock of noun + noun compound nouns. Such nouns are formed by the combination of various kinds of nouns. What follows discusses the combination of such nouns.

(1) (a) axu korš-a
water pot–comp
'water pot'

(b) miš – i kor š – a
mead-mas pot – comp
'mead pot'

(c) ari wer – a
cereal container
cereal container (usually made up of lether)

(d) aŋk – i tsintsar-a
injera-mas basket – comp
'injera container '

As opposed to the following purpose genitive NPs:

(e) miši – w korš – i
mead – Genet: mas pot – mas
'pot of mead'

(f) miši – t korš – a
mead-Genet:fem pot –fem
'pot of mead'

(g) ari – t wer – a
cereal–Genet: fen container- fem
container of cereal(fem)'

(h) ari – w wer – i
cereal-Genet: mas container – mas
'container of cereal(mas)'

The above example from (a-d) shows, a noun referring to a container and another noun referring to a thing contained in it. The two nouns combine to form a locative compound noun where the first noun is located in the second noun. On the other hand, those from (e-h) are purpose genitives, which are NPs but not compounds. The reason is that while we see a compounding element /-a/ in examples (a-d) we do not see it in examples (e-d). The suffix /-a/ functions as a compounding (connecting) element. The other connecting element in Awngi compound word is the suffix /-o/. It will be discussed in the up coming sub- section. In any case, it seems that every Awngi coumpound word has one of these compounding elements.

Names of sites where certain activities are performed are derived by combining the name of activity performed and the site. Consider the examples below:

(2) (a) šay ŋɨn- a
tea house-comp
'tea room'

(b) aŋk-i ŋɨn - a
injera-mas house-comp
'hotel' (lit. food house)

(c) tamar - i ŋɨn – a
student-mas house– com
'school' (lit. student house)

(d) ɨrš-i bɨt – a
farm – mas land – comp
'farm land'

Like the compounds in (1) compounds in (2) can be also treated as locatives. However, the compounds in (1) differ from those compounds in (2) in that the former refers to containers of certain thing but the latter refers to sites where certain activities take place. Another N+N structure compound nouns in Awngi are those that show a certain material and where that material is made from. Note the following examples:

(3) (a) karŋ ɨʦ- a
stone fence – comp
'stone – fence'

(b) ber wombar – a
iron chair – comp
'iron – chair'

(c) korkoru ŋɨn-a
corrugated ironsheet house – comp
'corrugated ironroofed house'

(d) kɨrari ŋɨn – a
grass house-comp
'grass-roofed house'

As opposed to the following source genitives:[1]

(e) karɨŋ-w ɨʈs-i
stone-Genet:mas fence-mas
'fence of stone'

(f) ber- w womber
iron- Genet:mas chair
'chair of iron'

(g) korkoru- w ŋɨn
corrugated ironsheet-Genet:mas house
'house of corrugated ironsheet'

As we can see from the examples (a – d) above, the components to the left refer to the material where the right constituent is made from. If we look the case of (3) (a) karŋ ɨʈs-a 'stone-fence', karŋ 'stone' is the material where the ɨʈs-a 'fence' is made from. The same is true for (3b), (3c) and (3d). On the other side, examples from (e-g) are sours genitives, which are not compound words rather they are NPs.

The following structure attests the occurrence of such compound words in the language as nouns:

(4) (a) karŋ ɨʈs-a gibi - st - a
stone fence-comp build –Pas- pf:indef
'A stone – fence has built.'

(b) ber womber – a dɨs - x^{w}a
iron chail – comp lost – past:def
'Iron -chair was lost.'

[1] Genetive case markers in Awngi include /-w/, /-t/, /ku/. That is, /-w/ is suffixed to the pronoun or noun when the thing possessed is singular and masculine. /-t/ is suffixed to the base noun to indicate singular feminine nouns or possessions. /-ku/ is suffixed to all base nouns when the thing possessed is plural. The following examples attest what we have seen above genitive case markers. (1) ŋi-t aq-a /he-Genet: fem adult-fem 'his wife' (lit. his women). (2). aq-a-t ɨll^{w}a /adult-fem-Genet:fem caw/ 'the women's caw' (3) aq-i-w biri /adult-mas-Genet:mas ox/ 'the man's ox' (4) agu-ku ǰer-ka /brest-Genet child-pl/ 'children of the breast'. Among these genitive markers Hetzron (1978) and Sasse (1987) identified only the two: /-w/ and /-t/.

(c) kɨrari ŋɨn – a das korkoru ŋɨn – a keša – x
grass hous–comp than corrugated iron sheet house–comp better- is
'Corrugated iron-sheet-roofed house is better than grass roofed.'

Names of certain parts of the body may also be combined with a noun qunz-i 'disease' to form compounds designating names of diseases.

(5) (a) ŋari qunz – a
head disease - comp
'headache'

(b) šew qunz - a
heart disease - comp
'heart disease'

(c) ɨll qunz - a
eye disease - comp
'eye disease'

In Awngi various nouns combine with various nominals derived from verbs to form compound nouns. Consider the following examples:

(6) (a) zagr-a x u – i
monkey–comp eat – mas: Ag
'monkey eater'

(b) zagr- a mand – i
monkey-comp keep-mas: Ag
'monkey keeper'

(c) ɨšš-a xu– i
meat – comp eat–mas: agentive
'meat eater'

(d) čark – a tas – i
cloth -comp weave–mas: agentive
'weaver'

(e) nor – a mand – i
cattle – Comp keep- mas:Ag
'cattle keeper'

In the above examples (a – e), the suffix /-i/ is used as both inflectional (masculine gender marker) and as derivational (agentive compound nominal marker). As a result, such suffixes play both inflectional and derivational role.

Instrumental compound nouns, in Awngi, are formed by combining two nouns of which the second member is instrumental. This instrumental noun as we have seen in noun derivation is derived from verb by suffixing /- ʦ/. Cosider the following examples:

(7) (a) sɨlx – a ziq – ʦ - i
water–comp drink – instr. – mas
'a material used to drink local bear

(b) ar – a fɨčɨ - ʦ - i
cereal-comp grind - instr. - mas
'millstone'

(c) wašal – a kew – ʦ - i
penis-comp cut - instr. - mas
'an instrument used to circumcise the foreskin of a boy or man'

As opposed to the following instrumental genitive NPs:

(d) ari – w wɨfč – i
cereal – Genet: mas grindstone – mas
'grindstone of cereal (mas)'

(e) ari – t wɨfč - a
cereal – Genet: fem grindstone – fem
'grindstone of cereal (fem)'

(f) aq – i – t kim – a
adult–mas–Genet:fem cow – fem
'the man's cow'

In Awngi, compound nouns can be formed from numerals and nouns of body parts. Numeral + noun compound nouns are few in number as compared to numeral + noun compound adjectives that we see in the coming sub-section. Examples of numeral + noun compound nouns are shown below:

(8) (a) sezza lɨk^{w} - i
four leg - mas
'sheep/goat' (lit. four leged)

(b) laŋa lɨk^{w} - a
two leg - fem
'hen' (lit. two leged)

In (8) (a) and (b) above, we do not see the compounding morpheme /-a/ overtly. On the other hand, we have stated above that all Awngi compounds have compounding element /-a/ or /-o/. The reason that we do not see the overt connecting element in (8) above is phonological. In both (8) (a) and (b), the first constituent of the compounds end in the vowel /a/. As Awngi does not have vowel lengthing when the two /a/ come together one of the two must be deleted. It is because of this that in compounds like that of (8) we have only a single /a/.

In compounds, the possibility of insertion and deletion of a segment is pointed out in Klingebiel (1989: 114) as quoted in Hirut (1993: 66) as follows:

> Compounds, like other lexical units, are affected by phonetic erosion and morphological blurring being particularly vulnerable (damaged) at their point of juncture, where compositional elements occur.

Phonological modifications such as insertion, deletion or addition may take place on the constituents of a compound. If we look a compound formed from noun + noun or noun + adjective, the gender marker vowel suffix /-i/ and /-a/ get deleted in one of the component of a compound and replaced by the compounding morpheme /-a/. This is illustrated below:

(9)	(a)	mɨš - i	+	korš-i	→	mɨš – i	korš - a	
		mead – mas		pot – mas		mead – mas	pot – com	
		'mead'		'pot'		'mead pot'		
	(b)	ɨrš - i	+	bɨt – i	→	ɨrš –i	bɨt - a	
		farm - mas		land-mas		farm–mas	land - comp	
		'farm'		'land'		'farmland'		
	(c)	ŋar – i	+	qunz – i	→	ŋar – i	qunz - a	
		head – mas		disease – mas		head – mas	disease – comp	
		'head'		'disease'		'head ache'		

In the above examples, to the left of the arrow, we see that both constituents are inflected for gender. However, when the compounding element is suffixed, the inflectional gender marker of the constituent to which the compounding element is suffixed gets deleted, as shown to the right side of an arrow.

On the other hand, the compounding allomorph /-o/ is suffixed to the components which have no overt gender markers in a N+A compound adjectives as shown in (10) below:

(10)	(a)	taf -ø hand-mas 'hand'	+	lignisim – i long – mas 'long'	→	taf – o ligisim – i hand – comp long – mas 'long – handed'
	(b)	ɨll - ø eye-mas 'eye'	+	dɨmm – i red – mas 'red'	→	ɨll – o dɨmm – i eye–comp red – mas 'jealous'
	(c)	san- ø nose-mas 'nose'	+	gurj – i short – mas 'short'	→	san – o gurj – i nose–comp short – mas 'short – nosed'

The examples in (11) above illustrates that the compounding element /-o/ is suffixed on the first components which are not marked by overt phonological masculine gender marker.

3.2.2 Adposition + Noun Compound Nouns

A combination of adposition and a noun may result in a compound noun, in Awngi. Compare examples below:

(11)	(a)	kukr - a lower - comp 'lower village'	mur- i village-mas
	(b)	kukr-a lower-comp 'lower villagers'	mur- ka village-pl
	(c)	ag^{w} - a upper - com 'upper village'	mur- i village-mas
	(d)	ag^{w}-a upper-comp 'upper villagers'	mur- ka village-pl

As it is shown in the examples above, the prepositions are the first constituent of the compound. And, the compounding element /-a/ is suffixed to this preposition to form a compound noun.

3.2.3 Verb + Noun Compound Nouns

Awngi compound nouns can be formed by the combination of verb and noun (usually from derived verbal nominals). The following examples illustrate such compound nouns in the language.

(12) (a) inǰik^{w}-a kant - i
sit- comp look -mas: Ag
'one who looks sitting idle(mas)'

(b) inǰik^{w} - a kant-ka
sit- comp look-pl
'those who look sitting idle'

(c) inǰik^{w}-a firid - i
sit - comp judge - mas: Ag
'one who judges blindly not basing the facts(fem)'

(d) inǰik^{w}-a ferad-a
sit- comp judge- fem
'one who judges blindly not based on the facts'

(e) inǰik^{w}-a ferad-ka
sit- comp judge-pl
'those who judge blindly not based on facts'

Consider also the idiom in (13) below in the language which uses such compound nouns.

(13) inǰk^{w} - a kant - i - s dibanx^{w}a digi - x
sit - comp look - mas: Ag-IO sky near - is
'For one who looks sitting idle the sky is near.'

To sum up, the compound noun word formations that we have seen so far can be captured by the following WFR:

(14) $\left\{ \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{N-(a)} \\ \text{P-a} \\ \text{V-a} \end{matrix} \right\} \right.$ + N-(a) ⟶ N [compound noun]

The above rule shows that compound nouns can be formed by combining N+N, P+N and V + N. In all cases, a noun is a compulsory, as we can look from the rule. The

compounding element used is /-a/. It suffixes to the first or second component in N + N and to the first component in P+N and V+N compound nouns.

3.3 Compound Adjectives

In Awngi, when we compare the compound nouns and compound adjectives, the latter are not as productive as the former. Nevertheless, we can have many examples of them formed from combination of different categories. These include noun + adjective and numeral + noun compound adjectives.

3.3.1 Noun + Adjective Compound Adjectives

In Awngi, compound adjectives are formed by the combination of nouns and adjectives. Here are examples, which are metaphorical expressions in the language.

(15) (a) taf - o ɨssan
hand -comp wide
'nonchalant' (lit. wide handed)

(b) ɨll - o tsɨbab
eye - comp narrow
'greedy' (lit. narrow eyed)

(c) ill - o dɨmm - i
eye - comp red - mas
'jealous' (lit. red eyed)

(d) ɨšew - o tɨmam - i
heart-comp twisted - mas
'uncooperative' (lit. bended heart

Awngi compounds are more identifiable in their morphological characteristics. Firstly, they do not allow intervening elements. That is, it is not possible to pause or insert parenthethical material, or else between their component elements.

Secondly, Awngi compounds have a compounding element /-a/ or /-o/. The distribution of this compounding (connecting) element is predictable as follows: Compounding

element /-o/ is suffixed to first components of compound adjectives with noun + adjective structure. Consider the following examples:

(16) (a)

ɨll -ø	+	dɨmm – i	→	ɨll – o	dɨmm – i
eye-mas		red – mas		eye–comp	red – mas
'eye'		'red'		'jealous'	

(b)

ɨllaf - ø	+	ʧɨbab	→	ɨllaf-o	ʧɨbab
face-mas		narrow		face- comp	narrow
'face'		narrow		'narrow faced'	

In (16), the connecting element /-o/ suffixes to the first component which is left unmarked overtly to masculine gender. On the other side, the connecting element /-a/ is suffixed elsewhere. Its positioning is either to the first component or to the second component, but not to both components at the same time. That is, in N+N compound noun structure, it suffixes to the second component but in other structure it suffixes to the first component.

Thirdly, as recalled from the preceding discusstion, both nouns and adjectives in Awngi are inflected for gender. However, when the two word classes combine to form a compound word, the inflectional element of one of the components gets deleted and, instead replaced by the compounding morphem /-a/ while the inflectional element of the other component is maintained. The following examples illustrate this.

17) (a)

mɨš - i	+	korš – i	→	mɨš – i	korš – a
mead – mas		pot – mas		mead – mas	pot – comp
'mead'		'pot'		'mead pot'	

Cf.

→ * miš– i korš – i
mead– mas pot – mas
'mead' 'pot'

(b)

ɨrš –i	+	bɨt - i	→	ɨrš– i	bɨt– a
farm – mas		land- mas		farm–mas	land –comp
'farm'		'land'		'farm land'	

Cf.

→ * ɨrš-i bɨt-i
farm– mas land – mas
'farm' 'land'

In the above examples, the data marked by the asterisk are unacceptable compound words because both components are inflected for a gender marker. Besides, no compounding element is suffixed to one of the components. To be an acceptable compound word, one of the components must take the compounding suffix /-a/ or /-o/. As a result, the asterized components in (17) cannot form a compound word; rather they remain independent and sparate words.

On the other hand, in Awngi NPs as in (18) below, we do not find any part of the NPs inflected for a compounding morpheme. Rather, we see each part being inflected for the same grammatical feature. Here are the examples:

(18) (a) dɨm – ka tay – ka
red – pl sheep– pl
'red sheep (pl)'

(b) buzz – i aq – i
fat – mas adult – mas
'fat man'

(c) walt-a bew-ka
six-fem star-pl
'six stars'

(d) ʦark-a siy- a
black-fem cloth-fem
'black cloth'

(e) ligisim-i kan - i
tall-mas wood-mas
'tall wood'

(f) gud - a mɨš - a
good-fem mead-fem
'good mead'

In noun +adjective compound adjectives, names of certain parts of the body may also be combined with adjectives to express the nature of the body part of the possesser as in (19).

(19) (a) taf - o ligisim - i
hand -comp long - mas
'long - handed' (mas)

(b) taf- o legasam-a
hand-comp long- fem
'long-handed' (fem)

(c) taf- o legasam-ka
hand-comp long - pl
'long-handed (pl)'

(d) lɨk - o ligisim - i
leg - comp long – mas
'long - leged'

(e) san - o gurǰ - a
nose -comp short - fem
'short - nosed'

(f) šew - o dɨk - i
heart–comp bad - mas
'bad - hearted'

In the above data /-o/ is suffixed to the first constituent of the compound adjective. This suffix is the connecting element which combins the two constituents together, like the case of /-a/ that we have seen in compound nouns in section 3.2.

3.3.2 Numeral +Noun Compound Adjectives

In Awngi compound adjectives can be formed from numerals and nouns of body parts. Examples are in (20) below.

(20) (a) ɨmpl - a ɨll - i
one - com eye - mas
'one eyed (mas)'

(b) ɨmpl-a ɨll- a
one-comp age-fem
'one eyed (fem)'

(c) ɨmpl-a ɨll-ka
one-comp eye-pl
'one eyed (pl)'

(d) ɨmpl - a taf- i
one - comp hand - mas
'one handed'

(e) ɨmpl - a lɨk^{w} - i
one - comp leg -mas
'one - leged'

(f) ɨmpl - a ɨk^{w}ax - i
one - com ear - mas
'one eared'

The following sentences illustrate the usage of such adjectives in the language:

(21) (a) ɨmpl-a lɨk^{w} –a dor-a tint-ɨx^{w} a
one-comp leg-fem hen-fem come-past:def
'One-leged hen came'

(b) ɨmpl-a taf-a aq - a tint - a
one-comp hand-fem adult-fem come-pl
'One-handed woman has come.'

(c) ɨmpl-a ill-i aq-i kas-a
one-comp eye-mas adult-mas go-pf:indef
'One-eyed man has gone.'

As the examples in (21) show in numeral + noun compound adjectives the first constituents are always numerals and the second ones are nouns of different body parts. In such adjectivals the compounding morpheme /-a/ is suffixed to the numeral constituent.

We can now sum up the WFR$_S$ of compound adjectives in Awngi presented so far as in (22) below:

(22) $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{N-o + A}\\ \text{Num-a + N}\end{array}\right\} \longrightarrow$ A [compound adjective]

According to rule (22), compound adjectives can be formed by combining nouns with adjectives and numerals with nouns. In all cases, the connecting element suffixes to the first constituent.

Compounds are syntactically unitary words, and therefore they are members of a lexical category (Cf. Anderson, 1985: 44). For example, ill – o dɨmm – i 'red – eyed' appears in a syntactic position occupied by any adjectives like buzz – i 'fat', as shown in the following examples:

23) (a) ill – o dɨmm – i aq –i ayŋa yint – ɨx^{w}a
eye– comp red – mas adult–mas yesterday come – past:def
'A red – eyed man came yesterday.'

(b) buzz – i aq – i ayŋa yint – ɨx^{w} a
fat–mas adult–mas yesterday come – past:def
'A fat man came yesterday.'

In the above examples, the compound adjective ɨll-o dɨmm-i 'red-eyed' in (a) and simple adjective buzz-i 'fat' belong to the same lexical category, adjective, both modifying the noun aq-i 'man'. A compound and its components belong to a certain lexical category. For instance, if we look (23a), the underlined compound word ɨll–o dimm–i 'red-eyed' belongs to a category of adjective. Its components ɨll 'eye' and dɨmm–i 'red' belong to noun and adjective word classes respectively. This shows that the members of compounds are of the same level as the compound itself in the sense that each constituent is a word like the compound itself.

Headedness is another syntactic feature. According to Selkirk (1982:20), the definition of heads is different for phrases and compounds. She writes that, "(i) the members of compounds are of the same level as the parent node... and (ii) both members of a compound may be of the same category as the parent". Consider the examples in (24) below:

(24) (a) P + N ⟶ A [compound noun]

kukr-i	+	mur – i	⟶	kukr-a	mur-i
lower-mas		village-mas		lower-Comp	village-mas
'lower'		'village'		'lower-village'	

(b) N + A ⟶ A [compound adjective]

taf	+	ligisɨm – i	⟶	taf – o	ligisim – i
hand		long – mas		hand – com	long – mas
'hand'		'long'		'long – handed'	

In the example (24a), the compound noun 'kukr-a mur-i' 'lower-village' is derived from its left constituent preposition kukr-i 'lower' and right constituent noun mur-i 'village'. In (b) also, the compound adjective taf-o ligisim-i 'long-handed' is derived from its left constituent noun taf 'hand' and right constituent adjective ligisim-i 'long'. In both cases, the compound word took the category feature of its right-hand constituent. Thus, this

shows Awngi compounds are right-hand heads, where the right-hand constituent of a given compound is the synactic head of that compound.

Semantically, compounds have a single reference. Regarding this Bauer (1983: 43) says that compounds "have to be associated with an appropriate denotatum". All the compounds considered in this study refer to single units of reference as can be observed from the meanings given to the examples in (25) below:

(25) (a) aŋk – i ŋɨn – a
injera – mas house – com
'hotel' (lit. food house)

(b) temar – i ŋɨn – a
student – mas house – comp
'school' (lit. student house)

Another semantic characteristic is the relation holding between the component members and the compound as a whole. Selkirk (1982:22) says that the relation holding between the component members and the compound as a whole is of various types and hence may be difficult to give a general characterization. In Awngi compounds, we find different semantic relations. Firstly, the compound has its meaning derived from its components. As can be see in (26) below, each constituent inputs semantic feature to the compound. As a result, the compound gets its semantic feature from its components.

(26) (a) ŋar – i + qunz – i → ŋar – i qunz – a
head – mas disease – mas head – mas disease – comp
'head' 'disease' 'head – ache'

(b) ɨll + dɨmm – i → ɨll – o dɨmm – i
eye red – mas eye – comp red – mas
'eye' + 'red' 'red – eyed'

(c) šew + bɨst – i → šew – o bɨst – i
heart open – mas heart – comp open – mas
'heart' + 'open' 'open – hearted'

On the other hand, there are compounds which do not have any semantic relation with their components, i.e. the components are not input semantically to their compound. These kinds of compounds are illustrated below.

(27) (a)

ɨll	+	fiš – i	→	ɨll – a	fiš - i
eye		take out – mas		eye – comp	takeout – mas
'eye'	+	'takeout'		'thief' (lit one who takes out once eye)	

(b)

ɨll	+	dɨmm – i	→	ɨll – o	dɨmm – i
eye		red – mas		eye – comp	red – mas
'eye'	+	'red'		'jealous' (lit red – eyed)	

(c)

lɨk^{w}	+	kag – i	→	lɨk^{w} – o	kag – i
leg		dry – mas		lef – comp	dry – mas
'leg'	+	'dry'		'unlucky' (lit dry –leg)	

In general, since all the compounds we have seen have a compounding morpheme: /-o/ or /-a/ suffixed to one of the component, we may say that morphology is by far the best criterion for distinguishing lexical compounds from phrasal collocations, in Awngi. Moreover, semantics can also be taken as another criterion because all the compounds we have seen so far refer to single unit of reference.

3.4 Summary

So far we have seen the combinatorial possibilities of the lexical categories in Awngi compouds. All combinatorial possibilities should involve nouns as one constituent as indicated in the following chart.

(28)

	N	A	V	P
N	+	+	-	-
A	-	-	-	-
V	+	-	-	-
P	+	-	-	-

The above chart shows the combinatorial possibilities and gaps between different lexical categories to form compound words. The impossible combinatorials are the gaps in the formation of compound words.[2]

[2] + = there are combinations
- = no combinations

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION

This study has attempted to present word formation processes in Awngi, one of the Agew languages. The formation of words was made possible with the methods of derivation and compounding. The thesis provides data on the different types of word formation processes namly, noun derivation, verb derivation, adjective derivation, adverb derivation, and compounding.

Under noun derivation, we see the formation of different nominals such as abstract, infinitive, agentive, instrumental, patient, etc. Abstract nominals are derived from adjectival and nominal bases by adding the suffix /-t/. Infinitival nominals are formed by suffixing /-ŋ/ on verbal roots. Agentive nominals are derived by suffixing /-ant/ to verbal bases. This agentive marker suffix is always followed by either a gender marker or a plural marker. Patient nominals are derived from passive verbal bases by suffixing /-iŋ/. Derived nominals of the same kind are derived by suffixing the same suffix, whose distribution is regular and easy to account.

In our discussion of verb derivation, this study has investigated the different derived verbal types such as causatives, reciprocals, causatives of reciprocals, passives, etc. The causative marker /-ʦ/ changes intransitive verb roots into transitives which are at the same time simple causatives. Causative marking in Awngi is recursive (Hetzron, 1969). It can be added to a stem several times, representing a chain of causations. For most verbs, double causation /-ʦiʦ/ is the first chain of the causation.

Reciprocals in Awngi are derived by suffixing /-iŋ/ to infinitive nominals derived from verbs. These reciprocal derivatives express reciprocity. In Awngi, causatives and reciprocals can be combined. The causative /-ʦ/ and reciprocal marker /-iŋ/ combine and form the causative of reciprocal. Passives are derived from active verb roots with a suffix

/-st/ (Hetzron, 1969). Passivization results in the reduction of arguments of verbs, unlike causativization, which rather adds.

Most Awngi adjectives are simple. The few derived adjectives are formed by suffixing /-tin/ and /-ten/ to nominal bases. The suffix /-tin/ is followed by the masculine gender marker /-i/ whereas the suffix /-ten/ is followed by the feminine gender marker /-a/. Like adjectives, almost all Awngi adverbs are simple adverbs. There are; however, a few time adverbials derived by suffixing /-čif/ to nouns denoting time.

In the third chapter, the different possible compound patterns of Awgni are descrived. Roots, stems or words serve as bases for the formation of the different compound words such as N+N, P+N, V+N compouned nominals and N+A, Num+N compound adjectives. Each member of the compound comes from one of the categories: Noun, Verb, Adjective and preposition. However, the resulting compound words belong to Noun and Adjectve word catigoryies.

In the process of compounding, Awngi compounds have connecting elements either /-a/ or /-o/. The distribution of these connecting elements is predictable. The compounding element /-o/ is suffixed to the first components of compound adjectives with a N+Adj structure. On the other side, the connecting element /-a/ is suffixed elsewhere. This property of compounds proves that morphology is by far the best criterion for distinguishing lexical compounds from phrasals in Awngi. Semantics can also be taken as the other possible criterion in addition to morphology because all the compounds we have seen so far refer to single unit of references. As a head final language, the head of the derived and a compound word appears to the right.

Finally, this thesis might be considered as an input to Awngi morphologiy that has not been studied widly. In addition, the thesis also might be helpful for other researchers interested in linguistics or any other related fields. However, the researcher by no means claims that this study is exhaustive, for it still needs further investigation.

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work, has not been presented for a degree in any University and that all resources of material used for this thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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

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