

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

WORD FORMATION IN OYDA

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List of Abbreviations and Symbols

Abbreviation

Abs	Abstract (+Abs has the feature and -Abs lacks the feature)
acc	accusative
Adj	adjective
Agen	agent
caus	causative
con	coronal
def	definite
gerun	gerundive
inte	intensive
iter	iterative
mann	manner
mas	masculine
N	nominal
nom	nominative
pass	passive
pl	plural
poss	possessive
pres	present

proc	process
R	root
rec	reciprocal
resu	result
SLH	Strong Lexical Hypothesis
suf	suffix
syll	syllable (+syll has the feature or -syll lacks the feature Y someone\ something
v	verb
WF	Word Formation
WFR	Word Formation Rule
WLH	Weak Lexical Hypothesis
x	base

Symbols

[]	word boundary or phonetic form
\ \	phonemic form
➡	becomes
\)	path of percolation
*	ill-formed
∅	deletion

List of WFR's

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Key words: Word Formation, Derivation, Compounding, Generative Grammar, Oyda, Constraint on Word Formation, Omotic language, Ometo Cluster,

Abstract

There are several word formation processes, in Oyda. What they all have in common is that they take an existing base and produce a new form. It is investigated that only nominals, verbals and adjectivals can be used as bases in the formation of derivatives and that only these form classes can be the products of word formation. Therefore, the body of this study explores the nominalization, verbalization, adjectivalization and compounding processes.

In the process of nominalization, the paper examines the derivation of abstract, agentive, manner, gerundive and process/result nominals. Regarding verbals, the thesis presents the derivation of causative, passive, intensive/iterative and reciprocal verbals. In the formation of adjectivals, the study analysis adjectival forms produced by different derivational suffixes, such as *-iDe*, *-its*, *-anco*, *-e*, *-a* *-o* and *-ma*.

Concerning the process of compound words, the paper also discusses the formation of compound nominals, compound adjectivals, and compound verbals.

Besides, the phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic constraints observed in the process of nominalization, verbalization, adjectivalization, and compounding are examined.

A number of word formation rules are also developed in order to handle the various possible ways of derivation and compounding. Concerning compounding the percolation of the category label from the head to the entire compounds is visualized by using a feature percolation convention.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The language

Oyda is an Omotic language spoken in Gofa Zuria Woreda of the South Nations, Nationalities and People's Regional State. In a recent genetic classification of Ometo languages, Oyda is classified under northwest branch of the Ometo cluster (Bender:2000)¹. Regarding the name of the language, the people call themselves and their district *oyda* and they call their language *oyditsa*.

According to the 1995 population and housing census of Ethiopia, the mother tongue speakers of the Oyda language are 15,000 in number. In addition to this however many people claim that a considerable number of Oyda native speakers live in Basketo².

1.2 Previous Linguistic Investigations

Since Oyda is one of the least studied languages of Ethiopia, there are only a few linguistic researches available. To the best knowledge of the investigator, Haile Eyesus's (2000a) **Case in Oyda** in proceedings of the 12th Annual conference of the ILS and Haile Eyesus (2000b) **Aspects of Case in Oyda** in proceedings of the 14th International Conference of Ethiopia Studies are the only linguistic researches done on Oyda. However though these are two publications, Haile Eyesus (2000b) involves in working on the language and revises Haile Eyesus (2000a).

Consequently, he briefly discusses the case system of Oyda. Therefore, he investigated the following types of Case markers of Oyda for nominative and accusative.

		Nominative	Accusatives
R- expressions: (definite)	Feminine	-a	-o
	Masculine	-e	-a
	Plural	-i	-a
Pronouns:	Feminine	-a	-o
	Other	-i	-a
Interrogatives	Akk 'what'	-o	ϕ
	On 'who'	-i	-a

1.3 The present study

As repeatedly stated, Oyda has no more than one or two linguistic works done on it. Specially, the word formation of the language, which is the concern of this research, has not been touched. Thus, the present study will thoroughly examine: the process of nominalization, the various ways of forming verbals, adjectivals, and the formation of compound nominals, verbals, and adjectivals.

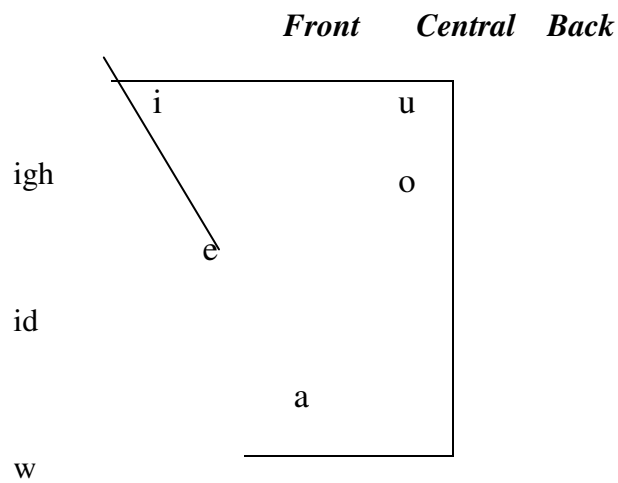
For the transcription of the data, I shall use the following inventory of consonants and vowels of the language, taken from Haile Eyesus (forthcoming).

The Consonant Phonemes of Oyda

<i>Point - Articulation</i>		<i>Bilabial</i>	<i>Alveolar</i>	<i>Palatal</i>	<i>Velar</i>	<i>Glottal</i>
<i>Manner of Art...</i>						
Stop	<i>Voiced</i>	b	d		g	
	<i>Voiceless</i>	p	t		k	?
	<i>Ejective</i>	p'			k'	
	<i>Implosive</i>		D			
Fricative	<i>Voiced</i>		z	z		
	<i>Voiceless</i>		s	š		h
	<i>Ejective</i>		s'			
Affricate	<i>Voiced</i>			j		
	<i>Voiceless</i>		ts	c		
	<i>Ejective</i>			c'		
Nasal		m	n			
Flap			r			
Lateral			l			
Semi vowel		w		y		

(ii) Vowels

The vowel phonemes of Oyda are not different from other Ometo languages. It has a five-vowel system that contrasts each other. The following chart shows the different quality of the vowel phonemes of Oyda.



Apart from those five vowel phonemes, I will use the central high vowel [i̯] and the central mid vowel [ä̯]. In addition, from a personal communication with Haile Eyesus, I have learned that [i̯] and [ä̯] are allophones of the vowel phonemes /i/ and /a/ respectively³.

Further to the above vowel phonemes and allophones, I use long vowel phonemes. As in other Ometo languages, the short, and the long vowels are minimally contrastive.

1.3.1 Objective and Significance

The objective of this study is to identify and describe the processes of word formation in Oyda.

In addition, it is hoped that this study will make the following contributions.

It increases our understanding of the word formation of the Oyda language.

It can serve as a call for other researchers to do extensive study and further examine the language.

It may provide fresh data for historical and comparative linguistics that may probably work on the controversial classification of Ometo languages.

It may provide some insight in to the properties of UG.

1.3.2 Procedure

The procedure employed in this research is purely that of explanatory linguistic.

Therefore, the methods and assumptions proposed by Shopen (1985), Bouquiaux, and Thomas (1992), Payne (1997) etc are used⁴.

Consequently, Bouquiaux and Thomas (1992) stated *“regardless of the working conditions and the goal of the study, the collection of data will be done either directly, or by means of questionnaires.”* From these two methods, our approach favours for the former means of data collection.

1.3.3 Limitation

Due to time and money constraints, in addition to lack of knowledge of the language as a native speaker, all aspects of word formation of Oyda may not be presented in the study. Consequently, the study may not necessarily be complete and error free.

1.4 Theoretical Framework

Early Transformational Generative Grammar was not interested in the process of word formation; this is because of the fact that its major interest was in the units larger than the word, that is the structure of phrases and sentences. However, word formation became an essential area of study within the Transformational Generative Grammar with the publication of Chomsky's monumental article *Remarks on Nominalization* (1970).

Under the framework of generative morphology it is suggested that the lexical component of a grammar is organized in blocks of rules, that is, Compounding Rules (CR), Derivational Rules (DR) and Inflectional Rules (IR).

About the position of inflection in a grammar there are at least two possible hypotheses, referred to as the Strong Lexicalist Hypothesis (SLH) and the Weak Lexicalist Hypothesis (WLH).

From the point of view of Strong Lexicalist Hypothesis, inflection operates entirely within the lexical component. In addition, the grass root for this view is a statement by Chomsky (1970) which says: '*syntactic rules cannot make reference to any aspect of the internal structure of a word*'. Concerning the Weak Lexicalist Hypothesis, inflection operates not in the lexicon but in syntactic components. This hypothesis therefore entails, that word formation is a process by which new words are formed out of words or morphemes by means of affixation or compounding? Of these two theories, our work favours for the latter one. Therefore, we try to describe the various derivational and compounding processes within weak lexicalist hypothesis.

In addition to this, we employ a hypothesis proposed in Aronoff (1976) which says that all regular word formation processes are Word-Based (WBH). This theory is an alternative to the Morpheme-Based Hypothesis in which it is assumed that word formation rules may operate over morphemes (Halle: 1973), (Siegel: 1974), (Kiparsky: 1982).

In the former theory, it is assumed that applying a new word formation rule to single already existing word forms new words. Both the new word and the existing one are members of major lexical categories. This hypothesis entails the claim for example that English verbs such as *deceive*, *receive* and *conceive* are not formed by a regular prefixation process since the base *ceive* is not an existing word, which belongs to a major lexical category. (Aronoff: 1976), (Scalise: 1986), (Spencer: 1991). In the morpheme based theory, on the other hand, it is allowed to generate these verbs by prefixation rules.

Concerning morphemes and words Aronoff provides evidence that a word must be regarded as the minimal sign of morphology. He also argues that these are morphemes which must be considered linguistic units below the word level, though these morphemes have no independent meaning outside the specific words in which they occur. The WBH, therefore, rejected the morpheme as bases for derivational morphology. Previously, it had been rejected as the bases of inflectional morphology (Chomsky: 1965).

As far as the word formation rule is concerned, Aronoff subsumes:

All regular word-formation processes are word-based. Applying a regular rule to single already existing word forms a new word. Both the new word and the existing one are members of major lexical categories (1977:21).

From the above quotation, we can understand that word is a base for all derivation and compounding processes. In addition, a word must be an existing word as opposed to the possible non-existent word. It is also noted that contrary to phrases and bound morphemes, a base for a WFR must be a single word. By this it means that a word used as a base of a WFR is a morphological object which need not be the out put of processes of affixation and compounding and it is also indivisible and may be the input but not the output of a word formation rule.

An obvious characteristic of the base (input) and the output of a WFR are that both are members of a major lexical category.

In connection with the lexical category, Aronoff (1976) claims that only nouns, verbs, and adjectives and adverbs can be the products of word-formation, and that only these form classes can be used as bases in the formation of derivatives, in English. Moreover, Radford (1988) suggests the category of the base can generally be determined by morphosyntactic criteria.

Scalise (1986) following Aronoff (1976) proposes that a word formation rule refer to syntactic, semantic, phonological and morphological properties. Bauer (1983) further noted:

In more recent years, word-formation has been considered by various linguists from different points of view: from a phonological point of view Halle (1973), Lightner (1975), from a syntactic point of view Jackendoff (1975), Roeper and Siegal (1978); and from a semantic point of view Leech (1974), Lyon (1977).

In light of the above theories we attempted to describe the word formation in Oyda apparently in the second chapter we will briefly discuss the process of nominalization and in the third and fourth chapter we will examine the formation of verbals and adjectivals respectively. In the fifth chapter, the formation of various compounds will be dealt with. Finally, we will attempt to present a concluding remarks.

Note

While discussing the reason why he proposes a new subclassification of Ometo languages Bender has to say the following:

My choice of “Northwest Ometo.” (NWO) and “southeast Ometo” (SEO) as names of generic sub-groupings is based on the distribution of Ometo languages, which is such that neither of the common distinction found in the literature, ‘North’ Vs ‘South’ or “West” Vs “East”, is fully satisfactory calling them respectively sub-groups I and II, certainly sub-group I languages extend further north and west than those of sub-group II and sub-group II languages extend further south and east than those of sub-group I (2000: 7-8)

In addition, Fleming’s (1976a) classification of Ometo is criticized by various linguists such as Haile Eyesus (2000b) referring (Haile Eyesus and et. al: 1988), he argued that:

The classification of Oyda within the central/ north branch of Ometo is doubtful in the light of the fact that it is not intelligible at all to any of these languages/ dialects which are more or less intelligible each other (2000b: 1).

Girard's (1993) lexicostatistic analysis also states that Oyda represents a different language from the other languages of the group.

Bender's sub-classification explained above however places languages such as Oyda,, Welaitta, Dorze, Gofa, Gemu-Gamo, Malo, Basketo and Male under NWO. On the other hand, it categorizes languages such as Kore, Zayse, Gidicho, Gatsame, and Ganjule under SWO.

With regard to the importance of the information about the people and their language, Payne (1997) proposed that efforts have to be made to know about the language under investigation. Thus, the researcher should ask intelligent questions so as to know the name of the language, ethnology, demography, genetic affiliation, previous researches, sociolinguistic situations, dialects, etc.

3. In addition to his published works mentioned in 1.2, Haile Eyesus has been carrying out a linguistic research on the entire grammar of the language.

4. From these researchers Payne (1997), for example, suggested that in order to place the native speaker with respect to his society and his language, we need to know his civil status, his environment, his origins, his curriculum vitae, and his education.

Accordingly, although I make use of different informants, most of the data are collected from Kafe Kantre. Kafe was born and attended his primary education within the speech community. Both his father and mother are Oyda and they speak their language fluently.

At present, he peruses his second year college study at Allage Agricultural, Technical, and Vocational College. In addition to his knowledge of Oyda as a native speaker, he can speak Amharic fluently.

CHAPTER TWO

NOMINALIZATION

Nominalization is a process of forming new nominals by adding derivational affix to a base. This base in Oyda can be nominal, verbal or adjectival. It is investigated that in this language abstract, agentive, manner, gerundive and result or process nominals are formed by attaching derivational suffixes. This chapter discusses each of these types of nominal word formation.

1.0 Abstract Nominals

Complex¹ abstract nominals are formed from different bases. The first types of abstract nominals are those nominals derived from nominal bases. Thus, simplex nominals add the suffix morpheme - *tits* and -*iDe* to have their abstract form². Consider the examples presented below:

(1)

Nominal Base

AbstractNominal

du:de ‘child’

du:de-tits ‘child hood’

ohe	‘language’	ohe – tits	‘language hood’
gäde	‘country’	gäde - tits	‘compatriot’
adä	‘father’	adä - tits	‘father hood’
na?a	‘boy/girl’	na?a - tits	‘boy hood/girl hood’
iše	‘brother’	iše - tits	‘brother hood’
s’ura	‘dust’	s’ur- iDe	‘the quality of being dust
alle	‘temperate zone’	all- iDe	‘the quality of being temperate’
dawle	‘lowland’	dawl-iDe	‘the quality of being lowland’
acci	‘tooth’	acc– iDe	‘the quality of being tooth’

Based on the above facts we can formulate the following word formation rule:

WFR (1): [x] Nbase ➔ [[x] N base + tits \ iDe] Abs N ‘the quality of being x’

Rule(1) states that a simplex nominal becomes abstract nominal with the suffixes *-tits* \ *-iDe*³. Although the two suffixes are presented in one rule, they choose different nominal bases. For instance *du:detits* ‘child hood’ and *s’uriDe* ‘the quality of being dust’ well-formed but *du:diDe* and/or *s’uratits* are ill-formed. However, the

grammatical reason for the selection of different bases by these suffixes can't be predictable in the data available.

As it is seen in the above data the nominal producing suffix *-tits* is simply attached to bases. But, when the suffix *-iDe* is added, the ending vowel of the simplex nominal is deleted.

The condition can therefore be handled by the following morphophonemic rule:

Morphophonemic Rule (1) Vowel ➔ Ø / __Vowel

The second types of complex abstract nominals are those nominals derived from adjectival bases. Suffixing bound morphemes *-tits* and *-itmo* forms these nominals. Examples are presented in (2) below:

(2) Adjectival base

Abstract Nominal

yäd-o	‘adolescent’	yäd-o-tits	‘adolescence’
ašk-e	‘generous’	ašk-e-tits	‘generosity’
ord-e	‘fat’	ord-e-tits	‘fatness’
bo:z-a	‘lazy’	bo:z-a -tits	‘laziness’
es-o	‘fast’	es-o -tits	‘fastness’
zašm-o	‘coward’	zasm-o-tits	‘cowardice’
add-a	‘innocent’	add -itmo	‘innocence’
err-a	‘fine’	err -itmo	‘finess’
bonc’-e	‘honour’	bonc’-itmo	‘The quality of being honour’
c’äm-o	‘horrible’	c’äm -itmo	‘horribleness’

The word formation rule that derives abstract nominals by adding the suffix *-tits* to the adjectival base can be represented as follows:

WFR(2)[[x]verbR+e\o]Adj ➔ [[x]verbR+e\o] Adj+ tits]AbsN‘The quality of being the base’

Rule (2) states that an abstract nominal can be formed by attaching *-tits* to an adjectival base

In the data above abstract nominals are formed not only by attaching the suffix *-tits* but also by adding the morpheme *-itmo*⁴. However, though both of them are abstract nominal forming suffixes, they cannot be represented by the same rule. Consequently, the following truncation rule is formulated in order to show the derivation of abstract nominals by attaching *-itmo*.

Truncation Rule (1): [[x] verbR + e\ə\o] Adj + itmo]Abs N

① ② ③ ➔ ① ∅ ③

In the truncation rule above the adjectivizing suffix represented by ② is deleted because of the reason that the adjectivizing and the nominalizing suffixes can't co-occur.⁵

What can be noted here is that the morpheme *-tits* is commonly used to form derived abstract nominals from both adjectival and nominal bases. Similarly, other Omoto languages such as Welaitta uses the morpheme *-tetta*, which may be cognates, to derive abstract nominals from adjectival and nominal bases (Hirut: 1999).

5.1 Agentive Nominals

Agentive nominals refer to the doers of actions expressed by verbs. Complex nominals of this sort are formed by suffixing *-ize* to verb roots. The data presented below illustrate the formation of these agentive nominals.

(3)	Verb Root	Agentive Nominal
	ayz- ‘to listen’	ayz - ize ‘ listener’
	yäz- ‘to live’	yäz- ize ‘one who lives’
	man?- ‘to mow’	man? -ize ‘one who mows’
	k’op- ‘to think’	k’op- ize ‘thinker’
	gacc- ‘to cut’	gacc- ize ‘one who cuts’
	bätt- ‘to sit’	bätt- ize ‘one who sits’
	yäD- ‘to walk’	yäD- ize ‘one who walks’
	haD- ‘to swim’	haD -ize ‘swimmer’
	wo:t- ‘to plough’	wo:t -ize ‘farmer’
	occ- ‘to work’	occ -ize ‘worker’
	wärd- ‘to lie’	wärd -ize ‘liar’
	hang- ‘to travel’	hang -ize ‘traveller’

Based on the above data we can draw the following word formation rule:

WFR (3): [x] verb R ➔ [[x] verb R + ize] Agen N ‘one who performs x’

Rule (3) indicates that the formation of complex agent nominals from verb roots with the suffix morpheme *-ize*.

Complex agentive nominals in (3) above can further be illustrated in structures (4)(i) – (iii) below:

(4) (i) miše c’i:g–ize bekele be
money pay Agen Bekele be (pres.)
‘The money payer is Bekele’

(ii) wärd –ize bussa be
lie Agen Bussa be (pres.)
‘The liar is Bussa’

(iii) gacc -ize omats yä? -en
cutter Agen yesterday come past
‘The one who cuts came yesterday’

2.3 Manner Nominals

Manner nominals express the way or manner of doing the actions of the verb from which they are derived. Suffixing -its to the verb root forms these nominals.

Consider the following data:

(5) Verb Root	Manner Nominals
ing- 'to give'	ing – its 'way of giving'
hang- 'to go'	hang -its 'way of going'
ga:cc- 'to graze'	ga:cc -its 'way of grazing'
ayk - 'to catch'	ayk – its 'way of catching'
dos - 'to love'	dos - its 'way of loving'
s'ug- 'to call'	s'ug – its 'way of calling'
wäy?- 'to sleep'	way? -its 'way of sleeping'
loš - 'to peel'	loš - its 'way of peeling'

On the bases of the above data we can develop the following word formation rule:

WFR (4): [x] verb R ➔ [[x] verbR + its] mannN ‘way of doing x’

Rule (4) states that verb root becomes complex manner nominal with a suffix morpheme *-its*.

The following structures show the occurrence of such derived manner nominals in sentences.

(6) (i) ka? -its – t –a hizbe –s šik’ -en

(his) way of playing mann def acc people for present past

‘His way of playing presented for people’.

(ii) bukulo –s sog –its –t –a wäbo be

bukulo poss throw mann def acc curve be(pres)

‘Bukulo’s manner of throwing is curved’

(iii) busa –s ing –its –t –a itta be

Bussa poss give mann def acc bad be (pres)

‘Bussa’s way of giving is bad’

(iv) busa –s yäk –its woga yäne

Bussa poss crying mann style has

‘Bussa’s way of crying has style’

2.4 Gerundive Nominals

Most gerundive nominals, are formed from verb roots by adding the suffix *-e*. In what follows some of these nominals are presented.

(7)	Verb Root		Gerundive Nominal
	wos's' -	to run	wos's' - e running
	kar -	to insult	kar -e insulting
	gup -	to jump	gup -e jumping
	ac'c' -	to prison	ac'c' -e prisoning
	yä? -	to come	yä? - e coming
	mic -	to laugh	mic- e laughing
	zok' -	become red	zok' - e becoming red
	e:y -	become fool	e:y - e becoming fool
	zämb -	become brave	zämb -e becoming brave

Gerundive nominals presented above are formed by a word formation rule of the following sort.

WFR (5): [x]verb R ➡ [[x]verbR + e] gerun N 'The act of doing x'

Rule (5) reveals that gerundive nominal is formed from verb root by taking the morpheme *-e*. Gerundive nominals formed by the processes of word formation stated above can be further illustrated in structures written below:

(8) (i) *ez -i mu? -e dos -en*

he nom eat gerun love (past)

‘He loved eating’

(ii) *ing -e akk -e -p aD -en*

give gerun receive gerun from exceed past

‘Giving exceeded receiving’

(iii) *bussa occ -e dos -en*

Bussa work gerun love past

‘Bussa loved working’.

In the structures (8)(i- iii) the behavior of the gerundive nominals *mu?e* ‘eating’ *akke* ‘receiving’ and *occe* ‘working’ is verbal in nature however they occur in syntactic positions restricted for nominals

2.5 Result \ Process Nominals

Result or process nominals are formed by suffixing the nominalizing morpheme *its*. Such nominals refer to result or process of an action expressed by the verb root.

Examples are given in (9) below:

(9) **Verb root**

Result/Process nominal

mek'k' - 'to break'	mek'k'-its 'broken'
gar - 'to reveal'	gar - its 'clear'
zap- 'to split'	zap - its 'the result process of splitting'
hal? - 'to finish'	hal? - its 'extermination'
zar - 'to survey'	zar - its 'surveying'
c'uD - 'to tune'	c'uD -its 'tuning up'
urk' - 'to push'	urk' -its 'pressure'
šol - 'to limp'	šol - its 'limping'
bug - 'to open'	bug - its 'open'
goc - 'to pull'	goc - its 'attraction'

A word formation rule, which can handle the above type of derivation, can be developed in the following way:

WFR (6):[x] verbR →[[x] VR +its] Resu/ProcN ‘the result or process of action x’

Rule (6) indicates that verb root becomes complex result or process nominal by adding the suffix morpheme *-its* .

So far,we have seen the different types of deriving complex nominals. In so doing , several word formation rules were developed. Following this, some of the basic constraints of these WFR’s will be discussed.

2.6 Constraints on Nominalization

Complex nominals are formed from different bases. However, there are some bases which, because of some aspect of their make-up , do not provide a suitable input to a given rule of word formation (Bauer: 1983). In this connection, Scalise (1986) following Aronoff (1976) argues that WFR’s apply to a base and generate an output . Moreover, both the input and the output are sensitive to a series of phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic constraints. We will thus explain each off these constraints as we go on.

1.5.0 Phonological constraint

It is true that the phonological shape of the base is essential in certain cases to decide whether the base may be used as the input to a rule of, word formation. In our discussion of complex nominals, for example, the phonological constraints observed are deletion and truncation.

Apparently, in the formation of complex abstract nominals the terminal vowel of the base is deleted whenever it is followed by a suffix, which begins with a vowel as shown by the data No (1) p (62)?

The other phonological constraint observed in the process of nominalization is truncation by which the adjective forming and the abstract nominal forming suffixes can't co-occur at the surface level. For example in the data below (10) (i) and (ii) are acceptable while (10)(iii) and (iv) are not.

- (10) (i) additmo 'innocence' (ii) c'amitmo
'horribleness'
(iii) *add-a-itmo (iv)* c'am-o-itmo

As can be seen above, in the process of forming abstract nominals the last vowel of the base is deleted in the process of attaching *-iDe* which has a vowel initially. However, retaining the terminal vowel of the input leads the derivative ill-formed as in **alleiDe, s'uraiDe * dawleiDe*.

1.5.0 Morphological constraint

The other limitation of WFR is morphological constraint. Words, in general, are divided into two types: native or non-native. According to Bloomfield (1933) normal (native) roots combine with normal (native) affixes and learned (non-native) roots with learned (non-native) affixes (quoted in Scalise: 1986). In a similar development Mathesius (1975) illustrates both Czech and German don't mix native basis with non-native bases or affixes, so a German word **Sterb -ation* parallel with the English *starv ation* would be quite impossible.

Aronoff, however, argues that the WFR's restricted only to native words are quite rare as in the English *-hood* (1976:51).

What has been said seems an interesting word formation process in Ethiopian languages. For example, the nominalizer *-anna* in Amharic, refers to the language of

the ethnic or national group when attached to the name of the national or ethnic group (Hailu: 1967). Apparently, *cayininna* ‘the language of Chinese people’, *moskobinna* ‘the language spoken by people live in Moscow’, *somalinna* ‘the language spoken by Somali people’.

Moreover, the nominalizer morpheme *-iya* in Welaitta as suggested by Lamberti and Solitte (1997) serves to incorporate loans. Their elaborative examples run thus: *bald - iya* ‘bucket’ and the base is borrowed from the Amharic *baldi* ‘pail’, *oge* in (Gemu/Zayse) is a word for ‘path’ and in Welaitta *?og-iya* is created with the same meaning.

The situation holds true in a very similar manner in the language under investigation. Therefore, we can divide nominals into native and non-native, the native nominalizer suffix can combine with the non-native base. In the data below an attempt is made to show this condition by taking example nominals borrowed from Amharic:

(11) Amharic Base	Oyda Base	Derived Form
gäbäre	gabbare ‘farmer’	gabbaretits ‘farmerhood’
wämbäde	wambade ‘robber’	wambadetits ‘the quality of being robber’
kätämma	kattamma ‘city’	kattammatits ‘the quality of being city’

As can be seen the non-native bases mix with the native abstract nominalizer - *tits*. Base on the discussion above one can say that the native \ non-native correlation of bases or affixes seems to be language dependent in that in certain languages Bloomfields position may be supported as in Czech and German. But in some other languages Bloomfields position may be aberrant as it is seen in English, Amharic and Oyda.

However, the native \ non-native correlation that we have been concerned might possibly be very interesting, if we could compare the Oyda language with the language in Ometo cluster specially with neighboring languages such as Gofa, Mälo, Basketo, Male etc.

5.1.3 Syntactic Constraint

This refers to the kinds of syntactic restrictions that a base of WFR can be subject to. It is, therefore, WFR's that can produce complex nominals are sensitive to the syntactic category of the base, and the syntactic category shift which results from derivation, and also the syntactic function which can be carried out by the output. In the following section these conditions will be discussed:

(v) Syntactic category of the base

According to Scalise *WFR's have access to all and only the information contained in their base. This information is specified syntactically, and therefore the base must always be a member of a major syntactic category* (1986:45). In Oyda, for instance, the only base appropriate for the *-its* is verbal as in (12)(i). Nevertheless, the suffix *-its* can not be suffixed to a nominal or adjectival bases as in (12)(ii) and(iii).

(12) (i) [[kit-]v + its]_N ‘way of ordering’

(ii)*[[adä]_N + its]

(iii)*[[orde]_{Adj} + its]

(i) Syntactic category shift

Shift in syntactic category can be caused by affixation (Roesper and Siegel :1978). Scalise further discusses that *every new word created by a WFR must be a member of a major lexical category* (1986:51). As it is illustrated, in Oyda, all new derived nominals are formed by suffixes. In addition, these different suffixes do change the syntactic category of the base. Consider the condition below:

(13) (i) [[wo:t-]v + ize]_N ➔ [wo:tize]_N ‘farmer’

(ii)[[bo:za]_{Adj} + tits]_N ➔ [bo:zatits]_N ‘laziness’

As noted above the process of word formation changes the syntactic category of the base from V to N by suffixing –*ize*. From Adjective to Nominal by suffixing –*tits*.

Thus, we can suggest that each and every output described so far has syntactically distinguishable subclass of nominal.⁷

() **Syntactic function**

Syntactic function refers to the grammatical role of the base and the output of WFR. It also introduces the type of function these word classes can carry out within a sentence that they head (Radford:1997). Thus different categories of word have different distributions⁸. For instance, nominals function as subject or object NPs in sentences. This condition holds true, in Oyda, which has SOV word order (Haile Eyesus: 2000b). See the illustration below.

(14) (i) haD -ize ma? -t -o kas -en

swim Agen cloth def acc put off past

‘The swimmer put off his cloth’

(ii) indi -tits -i damma hallafe -tits

mother Abs nom big responsibility Abs

‘Motherhood is a big responsibility’.

(iii) oyda -s ohe -tits -t -a gez -en

Oyda poss language Abs def acc assur past

‘Oyda is proved to be a language’

(iv). kafe -s wos’s’e -tits -t -a lo?o yäzin

Kafe poss run Abs def\mas acc good be (past)

‘kafe’s way of running was good’

As is observable, the derived nominals *aDize* ‘swimmer’ in (14)(i) and *inditits* ‘motherhood’ in (14)(ii) function as subject NPs. Whereas, derived abstract nominals *ohetits* ‘languagehood’ in (14)(iii) and *wos’s’etits* ‘the quality of being runner’ in (14)(iv) function as object NPs.

1.5.0 Semantic Constraints

The meaning of a derived word is determined by the base and different suffixes choose different meanings of the same base (Scalise:1986). His illustrative examples run thus:

The French word *juste* “fair” can be derived by adding two different suffixes, giving in both cases a noun: *justice* “justice” or *justesse* “fairness”. A similar case is found with the adjective *large* “wide”, from which one can get *largesse* “generosity” or *largeur* “width”...in both cases, the two suffixes seem to account different meanings of the same word (1986:45).

This situation seems true, in Oyda, since different derivational suffixes take up different meanings of a base. Consider the examples in (15) below:

(15) Verb Root	Agentive Nominal	Manner Nominal	Gerundive Nominal
k'op- 'to think'	k'op-ize 'thinker'	k'op-its' way of thinking	k'op-e 'thinking'
wo:t- 'to plough'	wo:t-ize 'farmer'	wo:t-its 'way of farming'	wo:t-e 'farming'
haD -'to swim'	haD-ize 'swimmer'	haD-its 'way of swimming'	haD-e 'swimming'

Therefore, we can see that the suffixes: *-ize*, *-its* and *-e* are attached to the same bases. However, they account different meanings of the same base. For example, the verb root *k'op-* ‘think’ in (15) holds the meaning ‘thinker’ after it takes the suffix *-ize*. The same base *k'op-* again expresses a different meaning which results from the suffixation of the morpheme *-its*. Thus, the complex form *k'opits* holds the meaning; ‘way of thinking’. Similarly, *k'op-* ‘to think’ becomes *k'op-e* by a type of derivational. Process that attaches the gerundive suffix *-e*. Hence, the complex form possesses a gerundive meaning – ‘thinking’

Note

1. As in many other languages, nominals are of two types in Oyda. These are complex which refers to forms which are not produced by derivation or compounding. For instance, nominals like *fo?o* 'light', *mins'a* 'tree' *oge* 'road' etc are simplex nominals while nominals such as *fo?otits* 'lightness', *mins'atits* 'the quality of being tree' *ogetits* 'the quality of being road' etc are complex nominals.

Simplex forms are used as bases to produce complex forms. Consequently, in Oyda, most simplex nominals terminate with a vowel and very few simplex nominals end with consonants. In relation to this Hayward (1987) argues that most of the simplex nominals, in Ometo languages, end with a vowel. This scholar also suggests that identifying the terminal vowel system of nominals in Ometo languages most ultimately proves relevant for reconstruction proto-Ometo nominals. In what follows an attempt is made to classify Oyda nominals in terms of their terminal vowel system. This is not only because of the reason mentioned above but also these nominals are useful bases for various derivations.

Type I

-e	-a	-o
alle 'temperate zone'	gil?a 'figure'	indo 'mother'
gase 'fence'	borka 'river'	sinno
'forehead'		
kuše 'hand'	šafa 'sky'	s'aro 'large
water jar'		
ka?e 'play'	gaga 'cliff'	fo?o 'light'

Type II

-i	consonant
dorci 'jaw'	a:r 'cow'
buci 'mastache'	s'unguts 'nail'
acci 'teeth'	donk' 'April'

Type I simplex nominals, as can be seen above, are greater in number than type II simplex nominals. Type I nominals are the only nominals in Welaitta and Zayse however some north Ometo languages like Dizi have a further nominal type (Hayward:1987). Consequently, as in type II Oyda shares the property of Ometo languages which have additional type of terminal vowel system in their nominals.

2. The basic way in which an affix is said to be productive (as noted by Ljung: 1970) is that a productive affix can appear in new words. Moreover, within the group of productive suffixes, some are fully productive. Thus to be fully productive (as stated by Gruber:1976), an affix must be usable with all bases definable by some semantic, syntactic, or possibly phonological property' For Aronoff (1976) the English nominalizing morpheme *-ness* is fully productive.

A non-productive affix, on the other hand, are formations that are virtually less productive. Regarding this Bauer (1983) pin pointed that non-productive affix is one whose distribution can be accounted for only terms of a list of the bases with which it occurs. Matthews (1974) suggested that the formation of nominals in English, by suffixing **-th** as in truth, warmth etc is non-productive.

In the language under study, it is investigated that some suffixes are productive and some others are unproductive. To be more precise, the nominalizing suffix **-ide** is less productive, whereas the nominalizing suffix **-tits** is fully productive. It is unlikely, however, as is claimed by Bauer (1983) that there is any word formation process which has absolutely no limitations, in the sense that there is an affix which can be added to absolutely any base in the language. Take, for example, the formation of nominals in **-tits**. We assumed that **-tits** is a fully productive suffix since it can be attached on

In (b), the WFR attaches the suffix *-itmo* to the adjective which has non-abstract feature *cämo* ‘horrible’ forming the derived abstract nominal *c’ümitmo* ‘horribleness’. Hence, the rule changes the lexical category adjective in to noun. In both (a) and (b), the rules provide the semantic reading of the derived words.

4. Regarding the relationship that exists between the two suffixes *-tits* and *-itmo*, it is investigated that the suffix *-tits* can be attached in all the bases wherever *-itmo* can be suffixed. Nevertheless, not the other way round. Therefore, they have a one way restriction.

In what follows paradigm (a) presents bases which can possibly attach the two suffixes interchangeably while paradigm (b) presents bases which can only add the suffix *-tits*.

In such bases suffixing *-itmo* make the derivative ill-formed.

Paradigm (a)

bonc’itmo /bonc’etits	‘the quality of being honour’
aditmo /adätits	‘fatherhood’
erritmo /erratits	‘fineness’
gešitmo/gešatits	‘cleanness’

Paradigm(b)

*ayzitmo	but	ayzetits	‘the quality of being third’
*lamʔitmo	but	lamʔetits	‘the quality of being second’
*aškitmo	but	ašketits	‘the quality of being generous’
*kaccitmo	but	kaccetits	‘the quality of being quarrelsome’

Semantically, the suffixes *-itmo* and *-tits* are two morphemes with the same meaning and function. However, the possibility of using the two morphemes

interchangeably as in paradigm (a), can't lead us to regard them as free variants. This is mainly because there are times, as in paradigm (b), when they can't be used interchangeably.

It is also investigated that the two morphemes are not allomorphs of the same morpheme since they don't have contextually governed realizations.

5. For Aronoff (1976) there are two sorts of adjustment rules: truncation rule and allomorph rule. A truncation rule deletes a designed stem-final morpheme before a designed suffix. The condition takes place in the following general manner:

(i) [[root + A]x+B]y

1 2 3 ➡ 1 Ø 3

(Where X and Y are major lexical categories, and A and B are affixes).

Because of this operation, the two affixes in question cannot co-occur. Truncation is an alternative to affix substitution, and is proposed for similar reasons. Both types of operation are necessary in a word-based morphology, since one often finds regularly derived words which are semantically transparent and formed with productive affixes, although on the surface they do not appear to have been derived from words, but from morphemes. The English suffix *-ee* attaches to transitive verbs (*employ: employee, pay: payee*). Although Pairs such as *nomin+ate: nomin+ee, evacu+ate:evacu+ee* are semantically related, the nouns ending in *-ee* lack the verbal suffix *-ate*, and if it is assumed that word formation rules can only take words as their base these forms are problematic. Aronoff (1976) solves this problem by allowing for a truncation rule that deletes *-ate* if it is followed by *-ee*, as in (ii):

(ii) [[root + ate]v +ee]N

1 2 3 ➡ 1 Ø 3

6. What we call 'constraints' is 'restriction' for Aronoff (1976) and Scalise (1986), 'limitation' for Bauer (1983).

7. For Scalise (1986) the output can assume the form of a labelled bracketing in which the syntactic category of the base and the output are specified and the base is represented by a variable. So, for example, the WFR which attaches +ee forms nouns from verbs. This is represented as follows $[+[x]v + ee] N$.

8. Radford (1997) further explained that nominal, verbal and adjectival have different distribution means that they occupy a different range of positions within phrases or sentences.

CHAPTER THREE

VERBALIZATION

Verbalization is the process of forming verbals by attaching derivational affixes to a base (Shopen 1985). In Oyda, the process of creating verbal elements is applied by attaching different suffixes to verbal root bases. Consequently, different kinds of verbals such as causatives, intensives/iteratives, passives, reciprocals and reciprocal causatives are formed. In this chapter, each one of them will be dealt with.

3.1 Causativizations

Causative verb is a verb with an argument that expresses the cause of the action described by the verb. Causativization refers to the process of forming verbs that indicate someone causes somebody else do something¹. Attaching the suffix morpheme *-iz-* to the verb root forms causative verbs, in Oyda. It is also investigated that the causativizer *-iz-* is among the most productive suffixes in the language. The condition is presented below:

(16)	Verb root	Causative verb		
	ekk-	'to take'	ekk-iz-	'cause to take '
	yäk-	'to cry'	yäk-iz-	'cause to cry '
	mu?-	'to eat'	mu?-iz-	'cause to eat'
	wos's'-	'to run'	wos's'-iz-	'cause to run'
	be?-	'to see'	be?-iz-	'cause to see'
	dos-	'to love'	dos-iz-	'cause to love'
	gacc-	'to cut'	gacc-iz-	'cause to cut'
	wäy?-	'to sleep'	wäy?-iz-	'cause to sleep'
	hang-	'to go'	hang-iz-	'cause to go'
	šamp-	'to rest'	šamp-iz-	'cause to rest'

A word formation rule that produces the above kind of causative verbs can be formulated as in the following:

WFR (7): [X]verb R ➡ [[X]verbR + iz-] caus 'cause to do X'

Rule (7) states that suffixing *-iz-* to a verb root 'x' creates a complex causative verb meaning 'someone or something causes to do something'.

Causative construction has the effect of adding an argument to a predicate. This in short means adding another agent. This additional agent is called the 'causee' since it is the argument which is compelled or persuaded to carry out the action of the predicate. Consider the following sentences:

(17) (i) *bussa burric'c'ik'-t -o mek'k' -en*

Bussa glass def\mas acc break past

'Bussa broke the glass'.

(ii) *bussa aster -o burric'c'ik'-t -o mek'k'-iz -en*

Bussa Aster acc glass def\mas acc break caus past

'Bussa made Aster broke the glass'.

As can be seen from the example in (17)(i) above the action verb *mek'k'*- 'break' is a transitive verb hence it takes one argument *burric'c'ik'o* 'glass'. While the complex causative verb *mek'k'iz-* in example (17) (ii) adds another new argument *aster*, and this difference comes as the result of the causative suffix *-iz-*. Consequently,

it is possible to suggest that all causative verbs often take more than one argument. In this connection, Shopen (1985) suggests that a causative sentence have one or more arguments.

It is also true that in example (17) (ii) *aster* is the one persuaded to perform the action of breaking. Therefore, *aster* is the ‘causee’ and it is expressed as an object immediately after the agent (causer) *bussa* and before patient *burriccik’o*.

In addition, the process of causativization typically induces a change from intransitivity to transitivity. The condition can be seen in the structure below:

- (iii) nun -i na?-uns -a wäy? -iz -en
 we nom child pl acc sleep cause past
 ‘We made the children sleep’

As it is observed though *wäy?*- ‘sleep’ is an intransitive verb initially, it takes the object *na?uns* ‘children’ after being causativized by the suffix *-iz-*. Therefore, we can claim that intransitive verbs become transitive when they attach the causativizer.

Similarly, causativization can also form a ditransitive verb from a mono transitive as in the following example:

(iv) kafe mins'a bay? -en
kafe wood split past
'kafe splitted the wood'

(v) kafe aster -o mins'a -t -o bay? -iz -en
kafe Aster acc wood def \ mas acc split caus past
'Kafe made Aster splitted the wood'.

Unlike the structure in (17) (iv) above, the sentence in example (17) (v) has a ditransitive predicate which results from the use of the derived causative verb *ba?iz-* 'cause to split'.

3.2 Intensive/Iterative

Intensive/iterative verbal stems are formed by the morpheme *-its-*. This suffix is added to a verb root to express iterative action or the intensity of an action.

(18) Verb Root**Intensive\Iterative Verb Stem**

ekk-	‘to take ’	ekk-its-	‘take repeatedly’
yäk-	‘to cry’	yäk-its-	‘cry repeatedly’
mu?-	‘to eat’	mu?-its-	‘eat repeatedly’
wos’s’-	‘to run’	wos’s’-its-	‘run repeatedly
be?-	‘to see’	be?-its-	‘see repeatedly ‘
dos-	‘to love’	dos-its-	‘love repeatedly’
gacc-	‘to cut’	gacc-its-	‘cut repeatedly’
wäy?-	‘to sleep’	wäy?-its-	‘sleep repeatedly’
hang-	‘to go’	hang-its-	‘go repeatedly’
šamp-	‘to rest’	šamp-its-	‘ rest repeatedly’

We can formulate the following word formation rule to represent the above verb derivation:

WFR(8):[X]verb R ➔ [[X]verb R + its-] inte/iter v stem ‘x is performed repeatedly’

Rule (8) illustrates that the verb root becomes intensive\iterative by adding the suffix *-its*. The derived verb also expresses that ‘x is performed repeatedly’.

The following examples are presented in attempting to equate the acceptability of the sentences to the acceptability of the derived verb stems.

(19) (i) bulli kets -t -o fis’s’ -its -en

Bulli house def acc clean inte/iter past

‘Bulli cleaned the house repeatedly’

(ii) bussa mis -t -o ekk -its -en

Bussa money def acc take inte/iter past

‘Bussa took the money repeatedly’.

(iii) bussa mins’a -t -o bay? -its -en

Bussa wood def\mas acc split inte/iter past

‘Bussa splitted the wood into pieces’.

It is also true that the suffix *-its-* is used to derive verb stems from verb roots in Basketo (Azeb:1994).

(20) Verb Root	Intensive Verb Stem
meys- 'cut'	meys-its- 'cut into pieces'
p'alk'- 'break'	p'alk'-its- 'cut into pieces'

However, since Basketo uses reduplication of the verb root to mark the inte/iter this suffix is used as an alternative to the ones shown above :

(21) Verb root	Intensive\Iterative verb stem
k'as'- 'cut'	k'as'ik'as'i 'cut into pieces'
meys- 'break'	meysimeysi 'break into pieces'

3.3. Passive

Passives are derived from verb roots by attaching the suffix *-int-*. This passive forming suffix, as in many other morphemes, is productive. This fact is presented below:

(22) Verb root		Passive verb stem	
ekk-	‘to take ’	ekk-int-	‘be taken ’
is’s’-	‘to hate’	is’s’-int-	‘be hated’
mu?-	‘to eat’	mu?-int-	‘be eaten’
yär-	‘to kiss’	yär-int-	‘be kissed’
be?-	‘to see’	be?-int-	‘be seen’
dos-	‘to love’	dos-int-	‘be loved’
gacc-	‘to cut’	gacc-int-	‘be cut’
yäd-	‘to kick’	yäd-int-	‘be kicked’
bayz-	‘to sell’	bayz-int-	‘be sold’
šamp-	‘to rest’	šamp-int-	‘be rested’

Based on these facts we can formulate the following word formation rule:

WFR (9): [X]verbR ➔ [[X]verb R + int-] pass ‘x is performed’

Rule (9) states that the passive verb is formed from verb roots by adding the morpheme *-int-*. The rule also has a semantic part, which refers that action ‘x’ is carried out from the point of view of the object.

Passives can be perceived as an operation which topicalizes the subject and perhaps backgrounds another. This fact is shown below:

(23) (i) kafe lamm -int -en

Kafe change pass past

'Kafe was changed'

(ii) kafe zor -int -en

Kafe advise pass past

'Kafe was advised'

(iii) kafe dos -int -en

Kafe love pass past

'Kafe was loved'

In each of the above three sentences the main verb is transitive and the subject is Kafe. Kafe is the one who receives the actions however an implicit agent performs the actions. Moreover, these passives conform the general properties of basic passives.² In connection with this, Shopen (1985) identifies that 'John *was slapped*' as, basic passive in English. Basic passives are distinct from other passives because : (a) they involve no

agent phrase, (b) the main verb (in its non-passive form) is transitive, and (c) the main verb expresses an activity, taking agent subjects and patient objects.

It is possible to say that passivization means topicalization. However, this doesn't mean that all topicalized sentences are passives. In distinguishing passives from topicalized sentences Shopen (1985) illustrates that the formation of passives in a language takes place at the level of verb-phrase syntax, whereas topicalizations occur at the level of sentence syntax. In the structure below the data for both the active in (24)(i) and the topicalized sentence in (24)(ii) are taken from Haile Eyesus (2000b) and the data for the passive sentences in (24)(iii) is taken from my own field note.

- (24) (i) bukulo gammo woDene
Bukulo lion kill (past)
'Bukulo killed a lion'
- (ii) gammo bukulo woDene
lion bukulo kill (past)
'A lion killed Bukulo'
- (iii) gammo woD -int -en
lion kill pass (past)

'The lion was killed'.

As is observable the passives differ from the topicalized sentence in certain ways, ways to which I mention hereafter.

First, the passive as in (24)(iii) backgrounds the active subject by eliminating the subject of the active in ways in which the topicalized sentence, as in (24)(ii) does not. Second, the passive verb differs from the verb in the topicalized sentence for the reason that the passive verb attaches the passive forming suffix *-int-* to the active verb, whereas the verb in the topicalized sentence is identical to the verb in the

untopicalized active sentence in (24)(i). In general, from the discussion above we can see that the distinction of the passives and the topicalized sentences proves that apart from the morphological issues, the syntactic functions are important device to illustrate the acceptability of the derived verbal stems of Oyda presented in (20).

2.3 Reciprocal

Reciprocal verbs are formed from verb roots by attaching the suffix morpheme *-int-*. The condition is illustrated by the following data:

(24) Verb root		Reciprocal verb	
ayic-	`to ask'	ayic-int-	'ask one another'
kay-	`to find'	kay-int-	'find one another'
err-	`to know'	err-int-	'know one another'
yär-	`to kiss'	yär-int-	'kiss one another'
oh-	`to talk'	oh-int-	'talk one another'
ayk-	`to catch'	ayk-int-	'catch one another'
ing-	`to give'	ing-int-	'give one another'
lamm-	`to change'	amm-int-	'change one another'
dos-	`to love'	dos-int-	'love one another.'

The derivation of the above word formation can be handled by the following rule:

WFR (10) :[X] verbR ➔ [[X]verbR +int-] Rec 'someone does x against another'

Rule (10) states adding the suffix *-int-* to a verb root 'x' creates a reciprocal verb meaning someone does 'x' against something.

Interestingly, the same suffix *-int-* is used to form reciprocal verbals in other Omoto languages such as Basketo, Male, etc. In addition, ‘one another’ can be represented by the independent word that is *wolli*, in Basketo, *wolla*, in Male, *wälir* in Oyda.³ Consider the following examples. Example (25) (1) is Basketo taken from Azeb (1994) and the rest are Oyda.

(25) (i) na?antsi wolli yark’-int-i- de
 children each other kiss rec 3pl past
 ‘The children kissed each other’

(ii) na? -uns wälir haD -int – en
 child pl one another wrestle rec past
 ‘The children wrestled one another’

(iii) kan – uns wälir Da? – int – en
 dog pl one another bit rec past
 ‘The dogs bit one another’

(iv) unt -i ubba wode wälir fallam –int -en
 They nom every day one another fight rec past
 ‘They fought one another every day’.

What can be noted here is that the reciprocal suffix and the passive forming suffixes are the same in form but they are different in meaning. Consequently, the reciprocal verb forming suffix refers someone does something against another. Unlike this, the passive forming suffix refers to an action carried out from the angle of the object. Therefore, we can understand them as two different suffixes having the same form but different meaning. In other words they are homophones.

In structure, reciprocals can be distinguished from passive by their use of *wälir* ‘one another’

(26) (i) (a) kafe lamm -int -en

Kafe change pass past

‘Kafe was changed’.

(b) na?-uns wälir lamm -int -en

child pl one another change rec past

‘The children were changed one another’

In example (26)(i)(a) *lammint-* refers to a certain change which is observed on the patient. Whereas, in example (26)(i)(b) *lammint-* expresses that the children carried out a certain change.

(ii) (a) kafe wäk'äs -int -en

Kafe blame pass past

'kafe was blamed'

(b) na?-uns wälir dos -int -en

child pl one another love rec past

'The Children loved one another'.

(iii) (a) kafe ac'c' -int -en

Kafe corner pass past

'Kafe was cornered'.

(b) na?– uns wälir ac'c –int –en

child pl one another coner rec past

'The children cornered one another'.

In sentences (ii)(a) *wäkäsint-* ‘be blamed’ and in (iii) (a) *ac’c’int-* ‘be cornered’ respectively refer to a certain blame or corner which is happen on the petient. While in sentences (ii) (b) *dosint-* ‘be loved’ and (iii) (b) *ac’c’int-* ‘be cornered’ respectively express that a certain love and a certain corner was done by the subject.

The other very important distinction between the passive and the reciprocal forming suffixes is that the former one is productive while the latter is less productive.

3.5 Reciprocal Causative

Adding the morpheme **-its-** to a causative verbal stems forms reciprocal causative verbal stems. In what follows examples of reciprocal causative verbals are presented.

(27) Verb root	Reciprocal Causative Stem
dos-iz- ‘cause to love’	dos-iz-its- ‘cause to love one another’
acc- iz- ‘cause to corner’	acc-iz-its - ‘cause to corner one another’
ka?-iz- ‘cause to play’	ka?- iz-its – ‘cause to play one another
woD- iz- ‘cause to kill’	woD-iz-its – ‘cause to kill one another’

On the bases of the above facts we can formulate a word formation rule as in below :

**WFR(11):[[x]VR+iz-]caus ➔ [[[x]VR+iz-]caus+its-]rec caus ‘y caused someother do x
one another’**

This rule indicate that adding the causative reciprocal suffix –its- to the causative verb stem can form reciprocal causative verbal stems.

The reciprocal causative take two object NPs. A property of this kind make them similar with causative verbs. However, they are different because one of the two object NPs expresses reciprocity. Consequently, in (28) (i) – (ii) the verbs *dosizits-* ‘cause to love one another’, *ka?izits-* ‘cause to play one another’ and *woDizits-* cause to kill one another’ are reciprocal causative verbs while Bussa is the one who made the children love ,play and kill one another therefore Bussa is called a reciprocal causative subject.

(28) (i) bussa na? – uns – a – n wälir dos – iz –its–en
Bussa child pl acc one another love caus rec past
‘Bussa made the children love one another’

(ii) bussa na? – uns – a wälir kay – iz – its –en
Bussa child pl acc one another play caus rec past

‘Bussa made the children play one another’

(iii) bussa na? -uns – a wälir woD – iz - its – en

Bussa child pl acc one another kill caus rec past

‘Bussa made the children kill one another’

An important feature of WFR’s which can be seen from the derivation of reciprocal causative is that suffixes can be chained together and operate recursively. However, though this recursive use of suffixes is possible, it does mean that any sequence is permitted ⁴. Consider the examples in (29) and (30) below:

(29) (i) [dos-] → [dos-iz-] → [dos-iz-its-]
‘to love’ ‘cause to love’ ‘cause to love one another’

(ii) *dos- its-iz-, *iz-dos-its, *its-dos iz-, *-its-iz-dos- etc.

(30) (i) [woD-] → [woD-iz-] → [woD-iz-its-]
‘to kill’ ‘cause to love’ ‘cause to love one another’

(ii) *woD-its-iz-, * -iz-woD-its-, * -its-woD-iz-, *-its-iz-woD-

The co-occurrence of suffixes in (29)(i) and (30) (i) are possible, whereas the sequence of suffixes in (29)(ii) and (30) (ii) are nonsense.

As I have outlined so far, in Oyda, complex vebals are bound. These bound derived verbs need inflectional suffix in order to be complete words. For example, in (31) below the past tense marker *-en* is attached to the derived verbs to get them complete.

(31) (i) kafe aš -int -en

Kafe love pass past

'Kafe was left'

(ii) kafe c'ad -int -en

Kafe hit pass past

'Kafe was hit'

In connection with such kind of bound verbs Scalise investigates: *in some languages, the outputs of some WFR's require overt inflectional markers before they can appear in surface structure*'(1986:52).

Notes

0. In English, for example, let, make and cause are causative verbs. In the following structure: John refers to the cause of Bill's eating lunch.

'John let /caused/ made Bill eat lunch'.

0. His justification for calling such passives 'basic' is that they are the most wide spread across the world's languages. Note however that this shall not lead us to a generalization that all world languages have passive because there are some languages such as the languages in new Guinea , that fail to have passive.

0. Apart from having such morpheme similarity Basketo and Oyda have got striking resemblance in their lexicon. In order to support our claim,the following data are presentedThe Oyda data are mine while the Basketo are adapted from Bender (1971).

Oyda	Basketo	Gloss	Oyda	Basketo	Gloss
karts	karts	black	tohe	tohe	leg
kana	kana	dog	kuše	kuš	hand
muʔe	muʔ	eat	acci	acci	tooth
afe	a:f	eye	hayzi	hayd(z)	three
tama	tama	fire	as	a:se	man
awa	awa	sun	k'amma	k'amma	neck

4. The chaining or recursive feature of WRF's is shown by the following lexicon:

Durand(1990)

Institute → institution → institunstitutional → *institutionalize* → *institutionalization* → *institutionalizationize and so on.*

CHAPTER FOUR

ADJECTIVIZATION

Adjectivization is the process of forming new derived adjective from an already existing base. Most Ometo languages can form adjectives from verbal bases. Unlike this Oyda may derive complex adjectivals from nominal or verbal bases. Moreover, adjectives, in Oyda, are formed by adding adjectivizing suffixes. Suffixes, such as *-iDe* and *-ma* can be attached to concrete and abstract nominal bases, respectively. While, suffixes, like *-a,-o,-e*, *-anco* and *-its* can be attached to verb roots. In the following sections each of these are described.

4.1 Adjectives Derived from Nominal Bases

As is noted above, adjectives derived from nominal bases are of two kinds. These are adjectives derived from concrete nominal base and adjectives derived from abstract nominal bases.

4.1.1 Adjectives Derived from Concrete Nominal Bases

Various adjectives are formed from concrete nominals by taking the morpheme -*iDe*. Consider the following examples

(32)	Nominal Base		Derived Adjective
	däre	‘mountain’	där-iDe ‘mountainous’
	wärk’a	‘gold	wärk’iDe ‘golden’
	šuc	‘rock	šuc-iDe ‘rocky’
	šafe	‘sand’	šaf-iDe ‘sandy’
	atsi	‘water’	ats-iDe ‘watery’
	irra	‘rain’	irr-iDe ‘rainy’
	gaga	‘precipice’	gag-iDe ‘precipitous’
	soga	‘salt’	sog-iDe ‘salty’

The derivation above can be shown by the word formation rule presented below:

WFR (12): $[x] \text{ con}_{\text{Nbase}} \rightarrow [[x] \text{ con}_{\text{Nbase}} + \text{iDe}]_{\text{Adj}}$ ‘a thing which has the property of **x**’

Rule (12) refers to the formation of adjectives by adding the suffix *-iDe* to a nominal base 'x' meaning a thing which has the property of 'x'.

It is true that so long as we don't have a satisfactory definition of adjectives, it seems proper to define at least in part in functional terms, as words which modify nouns. The derived adjectives described above can therefore , be used for the same function. Consider the following example:

- (33) (i) där – iDe gäde
 mountain suf. Country
 ‘mountainous country’
- (i) irr - iDe bäre
 rain suf season
 ‘a rainy season’
- (iii) wärk’ -iDe landa
 gold suf bird
 ‘a golden bird ‘

As can be seen above the adjectives *däriDe* ‘mountainous’ in (33)(i) *irriDe* ‘rainy’ in (33)(ii) and *wärk’iDe* ‘golden’ in (33) (iii) modify the nominals ‘*gäde*’ ‘*bäre*’ ‘*landa*’ respectively .

Semantically, the suffix *-iDe* resembles with the Amharic adjective forming suffix *-amma*. Hence, they express the amount of the noun to which they are suffixed.

4.1.2 Adjectives Formed from Abstract Nominal Base

Derived adjectives are formed from abstract bases. Attaching the productive suffix –ma to abstract nominal bases, forms these adjectives. This adjective producing suffix however is one of the least frequent suffixes. Consider the following data:

(34) Nominal Base		Derived Adjective	
wolik’k’a	‘power’	wolik’k’a-ma	‘powerful’
C’inic’c’a	‘knowledge’	c’inic’c’a-ma	‘knowledgeable’

The above derivation can be handled by the following word formation rule.

WFR (13): [x]_{Abs N. base} ➔ [[x]_{Abs N. base} + ma]_{Adj.} ‘y has the property of x’

Rule (13) indicates that attaching the morpheme *-ma* to abstract nominal base ‘x’ forms complex adjective with the meaning someone or something that has the property of ‘x’.

In addition, derived adjectives produced by the word formation rule (13) can be used as predicates as in (35)(i) and (ii) below:

35) (i) gamma wolik’k’a –ma be
lion power suf be (pres)
‘Lion is powerful’

(ii) k’are cinic’c’a -ma be
monkey knowledge suf pres
‘Monkey is knowledgeable’

4.2 Adjectives Derived from Verb Root

Various adjectives are created by attaching adjectivizing morphemes: *-a, -e, -o, -anco* and *-its* to verb roots. Each of these are discussed in the sections that follow:

4.2.1 Adjectives formed by *-a, -e, -o*

Most adjectives are derived from verb roots by adding the morpheme *-a, -e* and *-o*. These suffixes are among the most productive suffixes. Nevertheless, which of the suffixes that a given verb root will have doesn't appear to be predictable. Consider the data presented in (36):

(36)	Verb Root		Derived Adjective
	bo:z-	'become lazy'	bo:z-a 'lazy'
	Damm-	'become big'	damm-a 'big'
	ha:t-	'become short'	ha:t-a 'short'
	šat-	'become ugly'	šat-e 'ugly'

ord-	‘become fat’	ord-e	‘fat’
bonc’-	‘become honour’	bonc’e	‘honour’
lo?-	‘become beautiful’	lo?-o	‘beautiful’
p’arg-	‘become long’	p’arg-o	‘long’
es-	‘become fast’	es-o	‘fast’
c’äm-	‘become horrible’	c’äm-o	‘horrible’
zämb-	‘become brave’	zämb-o	‘brave’

A word formation rule that can handle the above derivation is:

WFR (14) : $[[x]_{\text{verb R}} \rightarrow [[x]_{\text{verb R}} + a/e/o]_{\text{Adj}}$ ‘y has the property of x’

Rule (14) states that verb root becomes derived adjective by suffixing *-a,-e* and *-o*. The semantic part of the rule expresses: someone or something who has the property of ‘x’.

As is noted above, which of the suffixes that a given verb root will have does not appear to be predictable either on phonological or semantical grounds. It gets the derivative unacceptable, however, if we attach for example, *-o* to *bo:za* as in * *bo:zo*, *-a* to *p’argo* as in * *p’arga* etc. And, if we add the suffix *-e* to the bases that donot have it, the category of the derivative may be changed from Adjective to gerund. For instance, *p’arge* instead of *p’argo*, *zämbe* instead of *zämbo*, *c’inic’e* instead of *c’inic’a* etc.

Ones again, what can be said about the productivity of these adjective forming suffixes is that the number of adjectives formed by the suffix *-a* is less than those formed by the suffixes: *-e* and *-o*. And the adjectives produced by the morpheme *-e* is less than the adjectives produced by the suffix *-o*.

These adjectives as they are productive they appear in various structures as in (37)(i) –(iv) below:

(37) (i) *bussa lo? –o be*
Bussa kind suf be(pres)
'Bussa is kind'

(ii) *ez – i es –o be*
he nom fast suf be (pres)
'He is fast'

(iii) *zämb -o tammare*
Brave suf student
'Brave student'

4.2.2 Adjectives formed by *-anco*

Complex adjectives are also formed by suffixing *-anco* to verb roots. The condition is presented in (38) below:

Verb Root		Derived Adjective	
utr-	'to boast'	utr-anco	'boastful'
wärd	'to lie'	wärd-anco	'lair'
harg-	'become sick'	harg-anco	'sick'
occ-	'to work'	occ-anco	'worker'
yill-	'become wise'	yill-anco	'wise'

The above derivation of adjectives can be handled by the word formation rule presented below:

WFR (15) : [x] verb R ➔ [[x]verb R + anco] Adj. 'y has the property of x'

Rule (15) indicates that attaching the morpheme suffix *-anco* to the verb root 'x' produces complex adjective meaning someone who has the property of 'x'.

The following examples are presented in order to equate the acceptability of the sentences to the acceptability of the derived adjectives:

(39)(i) *bussa utr -anco yazin*

Bussa boast suf be (past)

'Bussa was boastful'

(ii) *bussa harg – anco as be*

Bussa sick suf man be (pres)

'Bussa is a sick person'

4.2.3 Adjectives formed by *-its*

Attaching the suffix *-its* to the verb root can form derived adjectives. Consider the examples in (40) below:

(40) Verb Root		Derived Adjective	
ming-	‘become rough’	minn-its	‘rough’
lab-	‘to tire’	lab-its	‘tired’
feD-	‘to hole’	feD-its	‘holly’
bot-	‘to forget’	bot-its	‘forget’
mic’c’-	‘to laugh’	mic’c’-its	‘one who laughs’
mu?-	‘to eat’	mu?-its	‘eater’

Based on the facts presented above, we can develop a word formation rule like the following:

WFR (16): [x] verb R ➔ [[x] verb R. + its] Adj ‘y has the property of x’

Rule (16) indicates that attaching the morpheme suffix *-its* to the verb root ‘x’ produces complex adjectives meaning someone or something has the property ‘x’.

One general property of WFR’s such as that of (16) is to define the potential words of the language. For example, if our lexicon includes *bot-* ‘to forget’ as a verb root base and *its* as suffix, WFR (16) predicts *botits* ‘forget’ as a possible (newly

generated) word of Oyda and must underlie the speaker's ability to contrast or understand new words of this type.

In relation to this Aronoff (1976) (quoting Zimmer (1964), Schachter (1962)), pointed out that there are many words which a grammar can generate in a language which, accidentally and unsystematically, never appear. He further noted:

Just as the simplest goal of a syntax is the enumeration of the class of possible sentence of a language, so the simplest task of a morphology, the least we demand of it, is the enumeration of the class of possible words of a language(1976:17-18).

The distinction between the syntax and the morphology with respect to this enumeration is that many of the words defined as grammatical by the rule of morphology are fixed expressions or they are in the dictionary. Most words we use are those that we have heard before , on the contrary sentences are for the most part novel to us (Silkirk:1982).

4.3 Constraints on Adjectivization

In the process of adjectivization various kinds of phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic conditions were observed. Each of these are discussed below:

4.3.1 Phonological Constraint

The input of a word formation rule to which various suffixes can be added often undergo some kind of phonological make-up. In the formation of adjectives, for instance, two phonological properties were observed. These are deletion and assimilation.

To begin with, deletion of the terminal vowels of the base occurred when the base adds a suffix which begins with a vowel. This type of deletion is seen when the suffix *-iDe* is added to a nominal base ending with a vowel. For example *irra* and *gaga* become *irriDe* and *gagiDe* respectively. Deletion of this sort, however, is not different from the deletion described in chapter two. Hence, the morphophonemic rule (1) cf- (p.16) can be used here.

The other phonological condition that is observed in the derivation of adjectives is assimilation. This assimilatory change is observed when the suffix *-its* is attached to verb root, as in: *ming-* 'become rough' which becomes *minnits* 'rough'

The phonological condition that produces this output can be total contact progressive assimilation. By this we mean, the phoneme /g/ is after the phoneme /n/ which conditioned the assimilation, thus, the assimilation is progressive. Moreover,

the conditioning phoneme /n/ occur immediately adjacent to the phoneme /g/. Thus, it can be regarded as a contact assimilation. The phoneme /n/ also takes on all the features of the phoneme /g/, therefore, the condition can be said total assimilation.

However, this doesn't mean that the phonological rule [g] → /n/ n- can be applied in all words found in the language. Because, in the data available I can hardly find another evidence that confirms this hypothesis. Preferably, I claim that this single data may be a marginal phonological form in the language.

4.3.2 Morphological Constraint

A question one might raise in the derivation of adjectives by the morpheme suffix *-a*, *-e* and *-o* is that since these suffixes are vowels attached to the root-final consonant, they can be simple final-vowels and not derivational suffixes. Like the Male /i/ and /o/ which has been wrongly perceived as they were derivational suffixes forming result nominal since 1994 (Azeb: 1994, Bender: 2000).

In order to answer this question it is essential to discuss about the nature of the different terminal vowels. Terminal vowels, in Oyda and in Ometo languages in general,

are attached to roots (Hayward:1987). As a result the root base plus the terminal vowel suffix together can form a word.

However, the very fact that makes *-a*, *-e* and *-o* different from the other simple final vowels is the property of being derivational, and do contribute synchronically to the meaning of the adjective. The process of adjectivization in Kullo can be regarded as an additional evidence for such kind of association of adjectivizing morpheme to the verb root. Therefore, some adjectives in Kullo, Ko:rete and Male are derived by attaching *-a*, *-a\-e* and *-i* to the verb root respectively. Consider the following examples for illustration (adapted from Azeb:1994).

(41)	Verb Root	Derive Adjective
Kullo	mel- 'become dry'	mel-a 'dry'
	wogg- 'become big'	wogg-a 'big'
Ko:rete	mell- 'become dry'	mel-a 'dry'
	kund- 'become full'	kum-e 'full'
Male	mel- 'become dry'	melz-i 'dry'
	pup- 'become big'	pup-i 'big'

In general on the bases of the above cross linguistic similarities in addition to our discussion previously , we can claim that in Oyda and in most Omoto languages terminal vowels of adjectives are derivational suffixes as opposed to the terminal vowels of nominals which are part of the simple nominals.

4.3.3 Syntactic Constraint

(i) Syntactic category of the base

Attaching different derivational suffixes to a base forms complex adjectives. In connection with the input, all inputs that serve as the base to various adjectivization has specific category. They are either a member of the category of verbal or nominal.

As has been mentioned, in this chapter, in forming adjectives the base for the suffixes such as *-iDe* and *-ma* is nominal. While the base for the suffixes such as *-its* *-anco* and *-a,-e* and *-o* is verb root. Moreover, as it is suggested by Scalise (1986) that the base of a WFR can be sensitive to the selectional restriction. In explaining this he presents the following example from English: ‘the suffix *-ee* attaches to the verbs which allow animate objects or direct objects: *[[employ]V + ee] N* versus *[[tear]V + ee]*.

Similarly, in Oyda, the suffix *-iDe* can get attached only to noun bases that are concret, and the suffix *-ma* can be attached only to nominal bases which are abstract. For example $[[däre]_{con} + iDe]$ ‘mountainous’ versus * $[[wolik’k’a]_{abs} + iDe]$, $[[c’inic’c’a]_{abs} + ma]$ ‘knowledgeable’ versus * $[[šafe]_{con} + ma]$.

(ii) Syntactic category shift

As in nominalization and verbalization, the process of adjectivization, as it is discussed before, shifts the syntactic category of the base. Therefore, the syntactic category shift resulted from the formation of complex adjectives can be represented as follows:

(42)	$[[X]_{N\ Base} + iDe]_{Adj}$	→	N	Adj. <i>däre + iDe</i>	‘mountainous’
	$[[X]_{N\ Base} + ma]_{Adj}$	→	N	Adj. <i>wolik’k’a + ma</i>	‘powerful’
	$[[X]_{V.\ Root} + a/e/o]_{Adj}$	→	V	Adj. <i>p’arg + o</i>	‘long’
	$[[X]_{V.\ Root} + anco]_{Adj}$	→	V	Adj. <i>harg + anco</i>	‘sick’
	$[[X]_{V.\ Root} + its]_{Adj}$	→	V	Adj. <i>feD + its</i>	‘holly’

(iii) Syntactic Function

The complex adjectives discovered in the previous sections carry out different functions in sentences. Some of these can be illustrated in structures below:

(43) (i) bussa bo:z -a yazin

Bussa brave suf be (past)

‘Bussa was brave’

(ii) ats - t -a sog - iDe be

land def nom salt suf be (pres)

‘The land is salty’

(iii) damma kana

big dog

‘big dog’

It is well known in natural languages that functionally adjectives are divided into two sets. These are predicative and attributive. As is observed above, the adjectives *bo:za* ‘lazy’ and *sogDe* ‘salty’ in (43) (i) - (ii) function as predicative adjectives or as predicates of the structures. And, the adjective *damma* ‘big’ in (43) (iii) functions as attributive adjective. Therefore, we can suggest that Oyda, as in many other languages, has predicative and attributive adjectives.

CHAPTER FIVE

COMPOUNDING

Compounding is the process by which a morphologically complex word can be constructed out of two or more unbound morphemes.¹

Regarding the classification of compounds, different scholars have suggested different systems². However, in this study classifying compounds in their word class is found useful. Consequently, compound words, in Oyda, belong to the following three different word classes, namely, nominal, verbal, and adjectival. Hereafter, each of them shall be briefly dealt with.

4.0. Compound Nominals

Compound nominals are nominals that have a nominal head which represents the core meaning and the word class of the compound. Like in many world languages, such as English (Matthews: 1974), Yam (Hirut: 1993), Amharic (Baye:1994) etc, the vast majority of compounds in Oyda are nominals. These compound nominals can therefore be formed by combining two nominals or adjectival and nominal. Let us consider the following nominal compounds which contain constituents of different classes.

4.0.0 Nominal + Nominal

In this kind of nominal + nominal compounding, the two members of the compound are from the same category. However, the head is a nominal which occupies the right hand position. Consider the data presented below:

(44) anke + oyda anke oyda
back chair ‘seat with a back’

(45) s’oz + mädo s’oz mädo
God work ‘the work of God’

(46) gälc + gaga gälc gaga
monkey cliff ‘monkey’s cliff’

(47) a:r + ozza a:r ozza
cattle waste ‘waste of cattle’

(48) diräts + lagge diräts lagge
boy friend ‘boy friend’

- (49) wo:ta + gäde wo:ta gäde
 farming land ‘farming land’
- (50) sots + s’äp’o sots s’äp’o
 blood vessel ‘blood vessel’
- (51) wodats + maco wodats maco
 pregnant woman ‘pregnant’
- (52) yäfo + bälle yäfo bälle
 cry people ‘people who take part in funeral procession’

As is observable, compound nominals are formed from two different nominals. In addition, combining two nominals can form kinship terms in Oyda. This is illustrated in the data below:

- (53) indi + as indi as
 mother man ‘relative’ (only in one’s mother side)
- (54) adä + as adä as
 father man ‘relative’ (only in one’s father side)

(55) indi + mišo indi mišo
 mother sister ‘sister of one’s mother’

(56) adä iše adä iše
 father brother ‘brother of one’s father’

Combining kets ‘house’ with another nominals can also form many other compound nominals.

(57) yäfo + kets yäfo kets
 cry house ‘lamentation house’

(58) wossa + kets wossa kets
 pray house ‘chapel’

(59) mata + kets mata kets
 grass house ‘hut’ or ‘grass topped house’

(60) fulle + kets fulle kets
 sex house ‘nuptual house’

Compounding forms most of names of diseases. In so doing, 'harge' disease combines with many different nominals. Consider the examples :

(61) gorda + harge gorda harge
 small pox disease 'small pox'

(62) gärgäda + harge gärgäda harge
 rheumatiod disease 'rheumatiod'

(63) a:š + harge a:š harge
 rheumatism disease 'rheumatism'

(64) guso + harge guso harge
 diarrhoea disease 'diarrhoea'

(65) wozna + harge wozna harge
 heart disease 'heart disease'

The above nominal + nominal compounding can be represented by the following word formation rule³

WFR (17): $[A]_N + [B]_N \rightarrow [[A]_N [B]_N]_N$

‘A’ and ‘B’ in rule (17) are variables. Both the first and the second ranging over nominal (N). Their combination also nominal. Thus, by the same process, for example, $[wossa\ kets]_N$ ‘chapel’ is constructed from $[wossa]_N$ and $[kets]_N$.

So far, we have tried to see compounds formed from two nominals. In what follows, we have discussed compound nominals which are formed by adjectival + nominal combination. Consider the examples:

4.0.0 Adjectival + Nominal

In Adjectival + Nominal compounding adjectives are the first and nominal are the second members of the compound. Therefore, the nominals function as heads of the compounds. Some examples are presented below:

(66) lo?o + lagge lo?o lagge
good friend ‘good friend’

- (67) sini + acci sini acci
front tooth 'front teeth'
- (68) kase + macco kase macco
prior wife 'ex-wife'
- (69) mizak' + kuše mizak' kuše
right hand 'right hand'
- (70) bots + galla bots galla
white remedy 'white cumin'

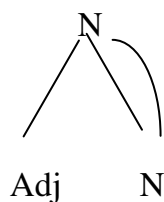
We can represent the above kind of Adjectival + Nominal compounding by the following word formation rule:

WFR (18): $[A]_{Adj} + [B]_N \rightarrow [[A]_{Adj} [B]_N]_N$

Rule (18) states that 'A' and 'B' are variables. The first ranging over adjectival (Adj) and the second over nominals (N). Their combination is in turn a nominal. Thus,

we can see the process by taking a compound nominal as for example: [tina macco]_N
'one's first wife' is a compound word constructed from [tina]_A 'first' and [macco]_N 'wife'

Further more the percolation of features in the above compounds can be visualized:



This formula illustrates that the nominal feature (N) percolates from the head to the entire compound. In what follows the formation of adjectival compound words is presented:

4.0. Compound Adjectivals

Compound adjectivals can be formed by combining two adjectivals or by combining nominal and adjectival. Each of these compounds are presented below:

4.1.0 Adjectival + Adjectival

Using different types of colour terminology forms these compound adjectivals.

This is shown by the examples below:

- | | | | | | |
|------|----------------------|---|--------|-------|---------------|
| (71) | karts | + | bu:lla | | karts bu:lla |
| | black | | brown | | 'black brown' |
| (72) | yilla | + | zok'o | | yilla zok'o |
| | deep | | red | | 'deep red' |
| (73) | cu:li | | + | karts | cu:li karts |
| | a type of black bird | | | black | 'dark black' |
| (74) | ussa | + | bots | | ussa bots |
| | deep | | white | | 'deep white' |
| (75) | dum | + | karts | | dum karits |
| | deep | | black | | 'deep black' |

This process of forming adjectival compounds can be handled by:

WFR (19): [A]_{Adj}+ [B]_{Adj} ➡ [[A]_{Adj} [B]_{Adj}]_{Adj}

In this rule, both ‘A’ and ‘B’ are variables ranging from adjectivals. Therefore, their combination is adjectival.

4.1.0 Nominal + Adjectivals

Combining Nominals and Adjectivals can also form compound adjectivals. This can be shown by the following examples:

(76)	afe	+	k’ok’e	afe k’ok’e
	eye		deficient	‘blind’

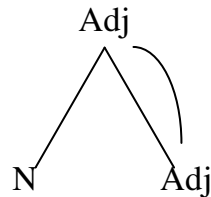
(77)	wozna	+	kums	wozna kums
	heart		hot tempered	‘courageous’

Based on the above facts we can formulate the following word formation rule:

WFR (20): $[A]_{N+} [B]_{Adj} \Rightarrow [[A]_N [B]_{Adj}]_{Adj}$

In rule (20) ‘A’ and ‘B’ are variables. The first ranging over nominals (N) and the second over adjectivals (Adj). Their combination is intern an adjectival.

The percolation of features can also be shown by the following formula:



In the above percolation the entire compound becomes adjective since the feature adjective percolates from the head.

Generally, compound adjectivals are so small in number, in Oyda. This is also true in other Ometo languages like Maale Azeb (1994). Number of compound verbs, however, is even less than the numbers of compound adjectivals. The construction of these compound verbs is illustrated below.

4.1 Compound Verbals

Combining nominals and verbals can form compound verbals. This fact is illustrated by the following examples:

(78) dona + pogo dona pogo
 mouth open ‘utterances of reply of a girl asked for marriage’

(79) dille + irringe dille irringe
 mortar embrace’ ‘when one marry before his elder brother’

The above compounding can be shown by the following word formation rule:

WFR (21) $[A]_N + [B]_V \rightarrow [[A]_N [B]_V]_V$

In this rule, the variables ‘A’ and ‘B’ range over nominals (N) and verbals (v) respectively. But their combination is verbal.

These compound possess the verbal feature as a result of percolation. This percolation of features can be formulated as follows:



The above formula states that the feature verbal percolates to the entire compound.

As was observed, the system of classification of compounds used is in terms of the category of the components. However, compounds can be further subclassified in to various groups according to semantic criteria (Hatcher: 1960, Warren: 1978). From these compounds endocentric and exocentric compounds are important for our purpose.

Endocentric compounds refer to compounds in which the head possesses the basic meaning. As it is observed in the above description, the vast majority of compounds are endocentric, in Oyda. For instance, the compound *anke oyda* 'seat with a back' is the hyponym of the grammatical head: *oyda* 'chair' thus the compound refers to a kind chair.

Exocentric compounds, on the other hand, refer to the compounds that have a different meaning from its component parts, for example, the compound *maci däco* 'homosexualist' is not the hyponym of the grammatical head *däco* 'coffee with its ingredient'.

In the language under consideration, It is investigated that exocentric compound are very small in number. Below some of these exocentric compounds are presented:

(80). *dona* + *pogo*

dona pogo

mouth open ‘utterances of reply of a girl asked for marriage’

(81). šoš + afo šoš afo
snake grand mother ‘a type of insect’

(82). dille + irringe dille irringe
mortar embrace ‘when one marry before his elder brother’

(83). maci + dăco maci dăco
woman coffee with its ingredient ‘homosexualist’

4.1 Constraints on compounding

Like complex nominals, verbals, adjectivals, compound words are sensitive to phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic constraints. In what follows, we will try to see some of the constraints observed in the process of compounding.

4.1.0 Phonological Constraint

The phonological property observed in the process of compounding is umlaut. That is the change of the vowel /o/ to /i/. This phonological condition occurs when the

first component of the compound end with a vowel and ,when /o/ which is preceded by a coronal and followed by a word consider the following:

- (84) (i) *indo* ‘mother’ becomes *indi as* ‘relative-one’s mother side only’
(i) *sinó* ‘front’ becomes *sini acci* ‘front tooth’
(i) *maco* ‘woman’ becomes *maci düco* ‘homosexuals’
(i) *indo* ‘mother’ becomes *indi mišo* ‘sister of one’s mother’

The compounds in (84)(i) and (ii) change the back vowel of the first constitute to a front vowel. This is not only because of the vowel /o/ is preceded by [+cor] but also it is a part of the first component of the compound.

As opposed to this, no phonological change may take place if the vowel /o/ occur at the end of the second member of the compound as in (84) (i) and (ii). Moreover, such vowel fronting may not occur if the vowel /o/ is preceded by a sound which has [-cor] feature as in (85) :

- (85) (i) *dirro* ‘sheep’ *dirro ma?o* ‘sheep leather’
(i) *lo?o* ‘good’ *lo?o zok’o* ‘deep red’
(i) *yäfo* ‘lamentation’ *yäfo kets* ‘lamentation house’

In (85) all the compounds retain the terminal vowel since the terminal vowel is preceded by [-cor] sounds such as /r/, /?/ and /f/.

If this is so, the vowel fronting condition presented in (84) (i) and (ii) can be generalized by the following allomorphy rule³.

Allomorphy Rule: (1) /o/---- [i]/ [+cor]____ [+ or - syll]

Allomorphy rule (1) states the back vowel is fronted when it appears after a [+cor] feature in the first element of the compound and therefore a word used as a second component of the component that begins with a sound [+ or - syll] feature.

5.4.1 Morphological Constraint

Compound words can be formed from two or more items, however, in the language under consideration all compound words are formed from two items, Each of these items has its own role in the formation of compounds either as a modifier or as a head. In connection with head a valid definition for right headed languages proposed by Williams: *'In morphology, we define the head of a morphologically complex word to be the right-hand member of that word'* (1981).

As it is observed previously, in Oyda, the item what comes first is a modifier and the item that comes second is a head. For example in the compound *sollo indo* ‘step mother’ *sollo* is modifier and *indo* is a head.

Compound words are complex hence they are different from simplex words. Simplex words, as explained in chapter one, do not have internal structure. On the contrary, complex words like compounds have internal structure. In Oyda, for example, a compound word is created from two simplex words. These two components can be illustrated by the presence of boundaries.

The problem of productivity of compounds can be regarded as morphological constraint. The words *blackbird* and *bluebird*, *blackthorn* and *whitethorn* are compounds, but *whitebird* and *redbird*, *greenthorn* and *pinkthorn* are not. These English examples entail that compounding is not fully productive.

The problem of productivity is not only the property of the English compounds but also it is the property of other languages. For example, consider the following data from Amharic language:

(86) (i)	injarra	+	innat	injarra	innat
	a kind of food		mother		‘step mother’

(ii) * dabbo innat
bread mother

(iii) *k'it't'a innat
a kind of bread mother

(86)(i) is a compound word formed from two components of which *injarra* 'a kind of food' is a modifier and *innat* 'mother' is a head. However, the head *innat* can't produce other compounds such as *dabbo innat* as in (86)(ii) or *k'itta innat* as in (86) (iii) .

Oyda compounds also share such kind of unproductivity. Consider for example data presented in (87) –(88).

(87) (i) dona + pogo dona pogo
mouth open ' utterances of reply of a girl asked for marriage'

(ii) sil?e + pogo *sil?e pogo
nose open

(88)(i) šoš + afo šoš afo

snake grand mother 'a type of insect'

(ii) * zega + afo *zega afo
genet grand mother

The combinations in (87) (i) and (88) (i) can form compound words whereas the combinations in (87) (ii) and (88)(ii) can't.

Though the above assumption is true, Matthew proposes an idea which may a little deviate from this, his argument run:

other cases we again encounter problem of semiproductivity. One is familiar, for example, with the risks of overeating and *overreacting*, so, there are verbs *overeat* and *overreact*. *overdrinking* will seem less natural to many speakers. *overtalk* or *oversing* will perhaps seem even worse. But in the right context they could be understood. Just as that woman overacts on stage, so she *overtalks* all the time she is off it (1974).

From the above citation, we can understand that most semiproductive compounds are ambiguous because as the above writer pin points, they are not established, but one hesitates to say that they are impossible.

In a similar manner to the above English compounds, it is investigated that most Oyda compounds are semiproductive as indicated by the examples in (89) and (90).

(89)(i)	galc	+	gaga		galc	gaga
	‘monkey		cliff’		‘monkey’s	cliff’

(ii)	anko	+	gaga		anko	gaga
	eagle		cliff		eagle	cliff’

(90) (i)	s’ots	+	s’apo		s’ots	s’apo
	blood		vessel		‘blood	vessel’

(ii)	atsi	+	s’ap’o		atsi	s’apo
	water		vessel		‘water	vessel’

In (89)(i) and (90) (i) the two items form a compound while in (89)(ii) and (90) (ii) the combined items seem unnatural for an Oyda native speaker. However, they

conform the criteria established for compounds. For example, they can substitute simplex words in a structure.

Therefore, we can suggest that , forms like the above can be taken as instances of semiproductive compounds in the language. There fore, we can suggest that ‘forms like the above can be taken as instances of semiproductive compounds in the language.

As a general claim, we can say that semiproductivity seems to be the property of indocentric compound words while unproductivity seems to be the property of exocentric compound words.

5.4.1 syntactic constraints

In syntax, compound words behave like simplex words. In elaborating this idea Matthew presents the following English sentences:

- (91) (a) There is a dead *bird* on the doorstep or,
(a) There is a dead *blackbird* on the doorstep.

In the example sentences, both the simplex ‘bird’ and the compound ‘blackbird’ behave in a similar way. Therefore, it is generalized that there are no constructions in

which the compound ‘blackbird’ can appear but not the simplex ‘bird’, nor the vice versa (Matthew : 1974).

In the same way as the English compound *blackbird*, the Oyda compound *maci däco* can substitute the simplex form *karts* in a sentence like the following:

(92)(i) bussa –n alämu -n karts be
 Bussa conj Alemu conj black be (pres)
 ‘Bussa and Alemu are black’

(ii) bussa -n alämu -n maci daco be
 Bussa conj Alemu conj homosexualits be (pres)
 ‘Bussa and Alemu are homosexualists’

As it is seen in (92) (i) and (ii) the compound *maci däco* can substitute the simplex *karts*. Therefore, we can suggest that Oyda compounds operate as simplex words in syntactic constructions.

This condition in turn asserts that an obvious point about the nature of compound word. That is compounds are elements or units like any other simplex or derived words.

In relation to this Matthew says:

For grammarians compounds are interesting because they have an internal structure. But that is the end of it. As wholes they are units unlike any other, like simplex lexemes ‘bird’ or complex lexemes ‘warbler’ (1974:83)

What is said above holds true in Oyda. Though the compound *maci dăco* has its own internal structure, it is a unit as simplex words.

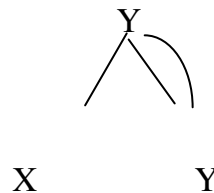
Compounds can be distinguished from ordinary syntactic construction. First, they can inflect for different grammatical purposes as in (93)(i) but they do not allow inflectional affixes to intervene as in(93) (ii) for example,

- | | | | |
|----------------------------|-------------|----------------|---------|
| (93) (i) adă | iş -uns | *(ii) adă-uns | işe |
| father | brother pl. | father pl | brother |
| ‘brothers of one’s father’ | | | |

Second, compounds belong to one major syntactic category. In Oyda for example, compound words can be nominal, verbal or adjectival. In connection with the syntactic category, it is the head that assigns to the entire word its category by means of percolation. Percolation of features expresses: “*If a constituent ∞ is the head of a*

constituent β , ∞ and β are associated with an identical set of features (Syntactic and diacritic)” (Selkirk:1982)

For Scalise (1986) Selkirk’s definition is regarded as valid in expressing the English compound words. Consequently, he suggests a useful generalization to predict the category of every word. He visualizes the percolation of features as follows:



This formulation represents the percolation of the category label from the head to the entire compound. In the formula drawn above, ‘x’ and ‘y’ are English ‘words hence ‘x’ is a modifier and ‘y’ is the head.

5.4.1 Semantic Constraint

Compounds can be distinguished from simplex words since the meaning that they have is different from the meanings of the components. As observable in the examples presented below, the meanings of the compounds in (94)(i) and (ii) are different from the meanings of the two items.

(94) (i) maco + daco maci daco
 woman coffee with its ingredients ‘homosexualist’

(ii) dille + irringe dille irringe
 mortar embrace ‘when one marry before his elder brother’

Note

5. For example the English nouns ‘*steam*’ and ‘*boat*’ can be combined to produce the compound noun ‘steamboat’

6. For Bauer(1983)the classification of compounds is done in many different ways: by the form classes of the items that make up the compound

(Marchand: 1969), by the semantic classes (Hatcher: 1960; Warren: 1978), by presumed underlying operators linking the two elements (Zepic: 1970), by presumed underlying syntactic function (Lees; 1960) and so on. Many scholars are a mixture of two or more of these methods of classification (Adams; 1973; Jespersen: 1942)

However, various scholars such as (Hirut:1993, Azeb:1994, Askale :1994, Baye:1994, Getahun:1996) who conducted linguistic research in Ethiopian languages in general and in Omotic language family in particular favour the classification of compounds by their word class

For Scalise (1986) compounding rules are word formation rule. Consequently, he proposes the following:

$$[]_x []_y \rightarrow [[]_x Q []_y]_z$$

He further illustrated the structure to the right of the arrow will receive external boundaries assigned by the boundary Insertion convention in the following way $[\# []_x Q []_y \#]_z$ 'Q' stands for the internal boundary of the compound.

Conclusion

In this study an attempt was made to examine the various types of word formation processes, in Oyda.

As it is mentioned in the first chapter, the theoretical framework followed in this research is the weak lexicalist hypothesis. In addition a hypothesis outlined by Aronoff (1976), which stipulates that all regular word formation processes are word based, is employed.

In chapter two, we have seen that complex nominals can be derived from nominal, adjectival and verbal bases by attaching different derivational suffixes. Suffixes such as **-iDe** and **-itmo** can be attached to nominal and adjectival bases, respectively. But the suffixes, such as **-ize**, **-its** (manner nominal forming), **-e**, **-its** (process/result forming) may be added to verbal root bases.

In chapter four, the formation of derived adjectives is presented. Suffixing derivational morphemes to nominal or verbal bases forms these adjectives. Apparently, **-iDe** and **-ma** are attached to concrete and abstract nominal bases respectively **-e**, **-o**, **-a**, **anco** and **-its** to verbal root bases.

The process of compound word formation is treated in the fifth chapter . The formation of compound nominals involve the nominal + nominal and adjectival + nominal compounding. New compound adjectives are also formed by adjective+ adjective compounding and by nominal + adjective compounding. And, verbal compounds are created by combining nominal and adjectival bases.

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