

THE NOUN PHRASE IN AWNGI

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By

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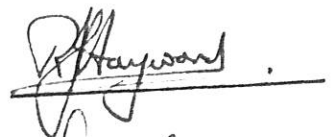
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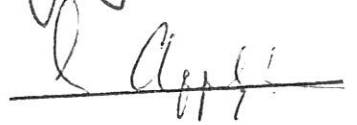
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A B S T R A C T

This thesis attempts to examine the syntactic structures of the noun phrase in Awngi.

The paper contains three chapters including the conclusion. Chapter 1 explains the background work of the thesis which involves a description about the Agew people, the Agew language and its classification, studies on Awngi and the purpose of the study.

Chapter 2 discusses the noun phrase in Awngi. In so doing, methods of identifying Awngi noun phrases and the internal structure of the noun phrase, the distribution of the constituents, external distribution and functions of the noun phrase in Awngi have been presented.

Chapter 3 deals with a summary of the major points discussed in the thesis.

Awngi is an inflectional language.¹ Any syntactic analysis may not be clearly discussed without an attempt of its morphological categories. Hence, a brief description of the noun morphology (gender, number and case inflections) has been appended to help readers understand the various inflectional elements in the thesis.

A C K N O W L E D G M E N T

I am deeply indebted to Dr. Demissie Manahlot for his valuable suggestions and comments.

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T R A N S C R I P T I O N

Due to technical difficulties, I have used:

I to indicate	ɪ	- high, central unrounded vowel.
C to indicate	ç	- voiceless, palatal plosive.
S to indicate	ʃ	- voiceless, palatal fricative.
G to indicate	ɣ	- voiced, velar fricative.
N to indicate	ŋ	- voiced, velar nasal.
B to indicate	β	- voiced, bilabial fricative.

KEY TO SYMBOLS AND ABBRIVATIONS

C	=	complement
Cm	=	case marker
comp.	=	compounding morpheme
Gm	=	gender marker
hyphen (-)	=	morpheme boundary
nomzr.	=	nominalizer
Nom.	=	nominative marker
Ø	=	zero morpheme
Om	=	direct object marker
Or.m	=	ordinal marker
Rel.	=	relative clause marker
*	=	a form that has this mark infron of it is ungrammatical

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Agew People

Agew is a general name given to four scattered Cushitic speaking groups of people in Ethiopia. They are the Bilen in Keren, Eritrea; the Kimant in Chilga, Gonder; the Xamtanga in Wag-Sekota, Wollo; and the Awka in Agewmidir-Metekel, Gojjam. However, there are other isolated people called Sahalla, found near the Simen Mountain in Gonder.² These little-known people are said to speak an Agew language, probably a dialect of Xamtanga.

In the past there were other Agew language speaking regions; among them Quara and Dembia in Gonder and Damot in Gojjam, all presently Amharic-speaking areas.

The Awka whose language is the object of my study, are about 50,000 people.³ The Awka (Aw-i masculine, Aw-a feminine and Aw-ka plural) in Agewmidir and Metekel districts have some dialectal differences between them which do not, however, affect mutual understanding.⁴

The Awka language is called Aw-Ni. The derivative-Ni stands for languages⁵ and Aw-refers to Agew.

There are also small groups of people (2.000?)⁶ known as Kunfel, found in Belaya, Metekel and Tumuha, Agewmidir.

The Kunfel speak a distinct dialect of Awngi.

Example

Awka: (1) awa tiyx^Wa (the sun dived) - The sun set.

Kunfel: (2) awa kItx^Wa (the sun died) - The sun set.

Also, a hundred - item basic word list in Kunfel has been compared with other Agew languages and shows the following agreements.⁷

with Awngi	78%
with Qimant	40%
with Xamtanga	38%
with Bilen	31%

This shows that Kunfel is a member of the language of Awngi, because a comprehension degree of 75% or more is considered satisfactory for adequate communication between two speech varieties.⁸

The Awka are predominantly farmers and all Christians. At present, they have a very peaceful relationship with the neighbouring Amharas. Intermarriage between the two groups is very common.

Contrary to the Kimant, who are branded as people who originated from the bark of a tree and as a result suffer humiliation and segregation from the Amharas in the neighbouring Gonder administrative region, the Awka of Gojjam are highly esteemed.

As a result of their previous conflicts with the Agew, the Gojjam Amharas refer to the Awka as:

(3) [Agew libbu zet'ann

(4) simmnitun dabbik'o andun aččawataññ] 9

(Agew-his heart-nine

hiding the eight - he revealed to me one)

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

The Awka are also called sobat-bet Agew (seven - house - Agew) to represent the seven sons (Awngi: LaNeta Awiya-"seven Agew sons") who are said to have migrated from Lasta, Wollo, to settle in Agewmidir.¹⁰ The various areas in Agewmidir are named after the seven leaders of the first wave of migration.¹¹ The name of the leaders are given below.

<u>In Amharic</u>	<u>In Awngi</u>
(i) AnkeSa	ANkiSi
(ii) Azena	Azeni
(iii) Banja	Banji
(iv) Čara	Cari
(v) K ^W akura	K ^W akuri
(vi) Metekel	Mitikili
(vii) Zigem	Zigami

In places bordering Amharic speaking areas and in the towns, most Awka are becoming bilingual, or in some cases speaking only

Amharic. In addition, their children receive their education in Amharic. Since the Awka have no social problems with the Amharas, their feeling of tribalism is very low. As a result, dropping Awngi and picking up Amharic is very common. Hence, Awngi, as has happened in many cases, may die without being sufficiently recorded. Although this process of Amharization may take several generations, steps either to revive the Awngi language or to record it properly before it disappears should be taken now.

1.2 The Agew Language

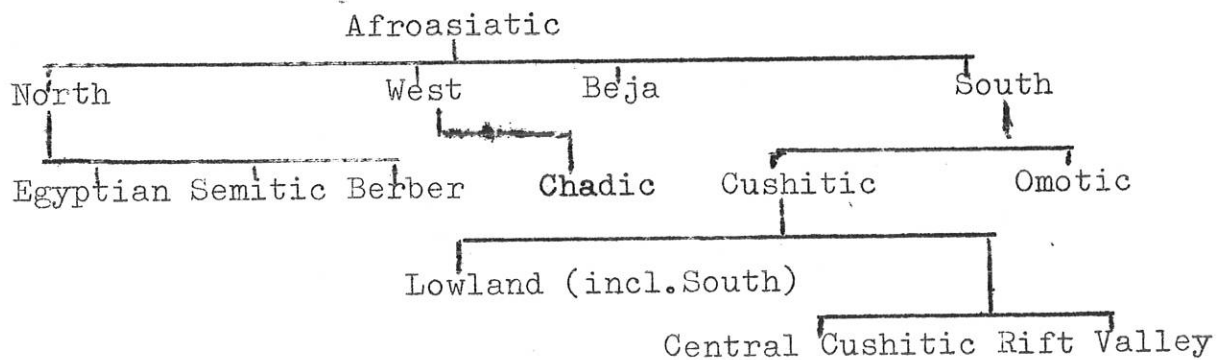
Agew is also the name given to the interrelated Cushitic languages that are spoken by the four groups of people mentioned above. The Agew language has been classified (by Moreno) as Central Cushitic,¹² differing from other Cushitic languages by its phonological, lexical and grammatical isoglosses as has been indicated by Fleming.¹³ Further, Hetzron describing the present condition of the language wrote:

It (the Agew language) was once spoken in a very large area in the northern half of Ethiopia, but was gradually superseded by Semitic languages: Amharic and Tigrigna... The once continuous Agew area is split into small islands that have escaped, so far, Semitization.¹⁴

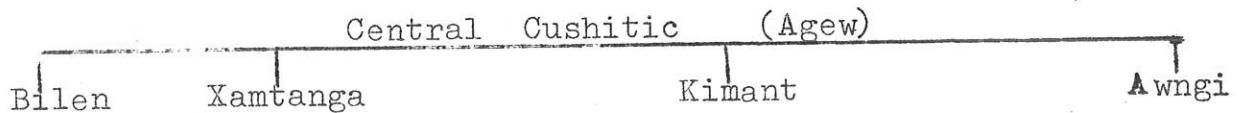
The Semitization of these 'islands' is still continuing and as a result the Agew languages are all in the process of dying. Due to isolation, these 'islands' evolved different varieties

of Agew, mutually unintelligible and consequently descriptively independent.¹⁵

The Family tree according to Bender¹⁶ appears as indicated below.



The currently spoken Central Cushitic (Agew) languages are:



It appears that a recent article by Hetzron¹⁷ suggests a reclassification of Cushitic removing Beja altogether including South Cushitic with Lowland East Cushitic and putting Central Cushitic (Agew) with Rift Valley (Highland and East Cushitic).

From among the Cushitic languages, Agew is said to reflect considerable innovation particularly in its vocabulary.¹⁸ Observe the following:

- | | | | |
|-----|------|-------------------------|---------|
| (5) | guzg | (g ^w adug) | - belly |
| (6) | naʒ | (nats) | - bone |
| (7) | KarN | (KIrn) | - stone |

In addition, the Agew languages are grammatically drifting away from the gender system of Cushitic nominals in which feminine / -t/ is maintained while masculine /-k/ has disappeared.¹⁹ Consider the following examples from Awngi.

- | | | | |
|------|--------------|---|-------------------|
| (8) | karN-Ilat-t | - | stoneless (Fem.) |
| (9) | karN-Ilati-w | - | stoneless (Masx.) |
| (10) | kal-ati-t | - | not able (Fem.) |
| (11) | kal-ati-w | - | not able (Masc.) |

Agew, though it shows peculiar characteristics, shares a range of relationships with other **Cushitic** languages:²⁰
i.e.:

with East Cushitic (Oromo, Burji,...)	-8 -14 percent
with Beja (now classified by Hetzron	
as non-Cushitic)	-8 -13 percent
with South Cushitic (Irqw,...)	-6 -10 percent

1.3 The Awngi Language

Awngi, as an Agew language, shares the above mentioned range of relationship features. Moreover, though Awngi manifests a shared feature with other Cushitic languages in its agent marker suffix,²¹ as:

Awngi	-	ant-
Afar	-	ena
Beja	-	ana
Rift valley	-	anCo;

one can observe a major peculiar characteristics in it. This is the absence of the nominative marker, what Hetzron calls "the basic characteristics of Orthodox Cushitic,"²² which is found in many Cushitic languages in varying environments. Consider the following:

Awngi	- ∅
Burgi	- u/i
Gede'o & Hadya	- final /o/ changing to -i
Kimant	- i
Sidamo	- i/u

1.4 Studies on Awngi

1.4.1 General

C.T. Beke (1845) presents a comparative vocabulary of some Ethiopian languages in which he has included Awngi.

Carlo Conti Rossini (1905) gives a general description of the people in Dangela, the capital of the district of Agewmidir and the language they speak.

F.R. Palmer (1959) forewards a description of the phonemes (including tonemes) in Awngi. He notes some obvious structural similarities between Bilen and Awngi. In addition, he has analysed the verbs of Awngi in terms of number, gender, person, tense, aspect and theme which he considers as categories required for the analysis of verb forms.

R. Hetzron (1969) also presents the various verb systems by reviewing the works of Palmer.

Tezera Alene (1962 E.C.) describes the morphology and conjugation patterns of Awngi verbs. Based on the number of consonant radicals, Tezera divides the verbs into four types. Tezera assumes that the verbs of four consonant radicals are the ones that are borrowed from Amharic.

M. L. Bender (1971) presents ninety-nine basic vocabulary items of Awngi along with other major Ethiopian languages.

1.4.2 Phonology

To my knowledge, no detailed phonological study has been done on the language. However, Palmer and Hetzron in their above-mentioned works have listed the following segmental phonemes.

1.4.2.1 Consonants

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labiovelar	Uvular	Labiouvular
Plosives	p		t			k	k ^{sw}	q	q ^w
Fricatives		f		z	s	x	x ^w		
Africates				dz	j				
				ts	ç				
Nasals	m		n			ŋ	ŋ ^w		
Semivowels	w				y				
Lateral				l					
Trill				r					

1.4.2.2 Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ɨ	u
Mid	e		o
Low	a ²³	a	

My own addition is the labio- alveolar/l^w/ that occurs in the following example.

(12) Il^wa - cow

/B/ is an allophone of /b/ intervocalically and finally after a vowel. Example:

(13) diB - mischief

(14) kɪndɪB - evil

(15) SiBaBi - narrow

1.4.23 Tonemes

Awngi is a tonal language. It has one dynamic and three static tones.²⁴ These include one contour (falling) and three level tones (high, mid and low). However, without attempting a more detailed phonological study, I have not dared to mark the tones in my transcription.

1.5 The purpose of the Study

As mentioned earlier, very little has been done on the Awngi language. Most of what has been done concern the verb.

To record and get a comprehensive knowledge of Awngi, other studies like my current attempt are necessary.

In many developing multilingual societies such as Ethiopia, many of the languages of minorities are neither used as medium of instructions in schools nor developed to have their own writing systems. As a result they are in the process of dying. These languages should be recorded before they are completely lost to us and the material should be available for further linguistic studies.

Currently, about fifteen minority languages have been used in the present literacy campaign. But, Awngi has not been included in this program. Hence, the current study and others like it will provide material for possible future development of Awngi in local and educational functions.

This study dealing with the noun phrase in Awngi is a minor contribution to Ethiopian language studies. However, it has allowed me to gain valuable experience in field work. Such experience for me and others is important since there is a great deal to be done in the area of field linguistics in Ethiopia.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study attempts to assess the syntactic nature of Awngi NP within the basic syntactic structures of Awngi sentences. In so doing, the study has been extended to include basic sentence patterns in Awngi.

There appears to be dialectal variations among Awngi speakers within Agewmidir itself. As a result, this study is restricted to Awngi speakers in Banji, Injabara.

1.7 Methods of Study

The writer of the thesis is not a speaker of Awngi. All the materials analysed are obtained from informants.

Since Awngi speakers are strongly influenced by Amharic language checking and counterchecking of the material has been done with considerable number of speakers. Depending on one informant, as it has been the case with much field work, has not been very effective in this case.

1.8 Definitions of the Terms Used

Noun phrase is any syntactic element which is either a single word or a string of words that function as a subject, direct and indirect object and as a complement in the basic sentence patterns in Awngi.

Structural Description (S.D.) is a deep structure representation of a given linguistic form.

Structural change (S.C.) is an intermediate transformational structure starting from the deep to surface level.

2. THE NOUN PHRASE

2.1 Identification of the Noun Phrase in Awngi

Any person who has a full understanding of a language can intuitively identify the acceptable and the unacceptable sentences in the language he speaks.

However, the constituent parts of a sentence cannot be correctly identified as such. It needs a linguist to formulate a syntactic method to test the function of a word or a string of words in a sentence.

Jacobs and Rosenbaum have suggested the passive, the reflexive and the cleft sentence syntactic tests for English NPs.²⁵

It is said that any member of a sentence that is inverted by the passive transformation is an NP in English. Consider the following examples:

(16a) The fat man kicked the ball - active

(16b) The ball was kicked by the fat man - passive

The phrases 'the fat man' and 'the ball' are English NPs since they are the inverted items in the passive transformation.

The Awngi equivalent expression of sentence (16a) is:

- (17a) buzz-i aq-i k^Was-a-wa tasx^Wa - active
fat-Gm man-Gm ball-Gm-Om kicked
The ²⁶ fat man kicked the ball.

and to that of sentence (16b) is also:

- (17b) k^Was-a buzz-i-s aq-i-s tastex^Wa - passive
ball-Gm fat-Gm-by man-Gm-by was kicked
The ball was kicked by the fat man.

On the same argument given to (16a) and (16b) k^Was-a and buzz-i aq-i are Awngi NPs.

The passive sentences, as indicated in (16b) and (17b), consist of transitive verbs. In this respect, sentences that have intransitive verbs do not have grammatical passive sentences corresponding to them. Then we say, the passive test cannot be used as a comprehensive method for determining all Awngi NPs.

Nevertheless, we have three satisfactory methods for identifying Awngi NPs.²⁷

2.1.1 The Cleft Sentence Test

The linguistic element to which any form of the verb 'be' is suffixed in the cleft sentence transformation is always an NP in Awngi. Given the sentence:

- (18) sanG-Ika fiyel-ka-wa widuna
leopard-pl goat-pl-Om exterminated
The leopards exterminated the goats.

we can establish two synonymous cleft sentences. They are:

- (19a) fiyel-ka-wa wid-unk^Wi sanG-Ik-x
goat-pl.-Om exterminated-Rel. leopard-pl-are
What exterminated the goats are the leopards.

and

- (19b) sanG-Ika wid-unk^Wi fiyel-ka-wa-x.
leopard-pl. exterminated-Rel. goat-pl.-Om-are
What leopards exterminated are the goats.

In (19a) sanG-Ika, the leopards, and in (19b) fiyel-ka-wa, the goats, are Awngi NPs since they are the items to which the verb 'be' morpheme / -x /, are, is suffixed.

2.1.2 The Reflexive Test

The reflexive test transformation in a given sentence applies only to NPs. In sentences that have a reflexive pronoun there are two NPs which are considered identical or co-referential.

Example:

- (20) aqi NiNara-sa kutsx^Wa
man himself-Om washed
The man washed himself.

In (20) aqi is an NP since the reflexive NiNara-sa, himself (Literally (Lit.) -" he-head") is referentially identical with the NP aqi, the man.

Reflexive Transformation

S.D.	$\left[\begin{array}{c} X \\ S \end{array} \right]$	NP ₁	NP ₂ -Om	$\left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ S \end{array} \right]$
	1	2	3	4 $\Rightarrow$
S.C.	1	2	ProN-3-Om	4

- Conditions:
- (i) 3 = head
 - (ii) NP₁ = NP₂ (co-referentially)
 - (iii) proN must agree in person, gender and number with 2.
 - (iv) -Om only occurs with transitive verb.

2.1.3 The Interrogative Test

Any NP, any constituent of a sentence except the verb for that matter, may be questioned by a question word.

2.1.3.1 Questioning Subject NPs.

The question words for subject NPs are:

ay - who (for human NPs) (aji-who-pl.)

and

Indar - who (for non-human NPs) (Indar-ka-who.pl.)

Consider the following example.

- (21) Abebe NIn-o Kebede-s weyx^Wa
 Abebe house-Om Kebede-to sold
 Abebe sold the house to Kebede.

To question the subject NP of (21) we can formulate the following type of questions.

- (22a) ay NIn-o Kebede-s wey-ux- interrogative (~~Int.~~)²⁸
 1 2 3 4
 who house-Om Kebede-to sold-Rel.
 Who sold the house to Kebede?
- (22b) 2 1 3 4 Int.
 3 2 1 4 Int.
 1 3 2 4 Int.

Whether we have 'ay' or 'Indar' as a question word the syntactic freedom in questioning a subject NP is as (22a) -(22d).

Notice, the verb in the question sentence is relativized.

2.1.3.2 Questioning Direct Object NPs

The question words for direct object NPs are:

- away - whom (aji-so - who.pl.)
 Indaray - what (Indar-ka-wa- what pl.)

In addition to the question word the verb in the affirmative sentence is relativized in the question sentence. Observe the following:

- (23) Abebe Almaz-o mitsx^Wa
 Abebe Almaz-Om married
 Abebe married Almaz.

To question the direct object NP of sentence (23) we have the following type of questions.

(24a) away Abebe mits-ux Int.

1 2 3

whom Abebe married-Rel.

Who is she that Abebe married?

(Whom did Abebe marry?)

(24b) 2 1 3 Int.

(25) feres-a Insews-e kew~~tx~~^wa

horse-Gm rope-Om cut

The horse cut the rope.

To question the direct object of sentence (25) we can formulate the following type of questions.

(26a) Indaray feres-a kewt-ux Int.

1 2 3

what horse-Gm cut-Rel.

What is it that the horse cut?

(What did the horse cut?)

(26b) 2 1 3 Int.

2.1.3.3 Questioning Indirect Object NPs

Depending on the function of the indirect object varieties of morphemes such as:

/-s/ - for

/-li/ - with

/-des/ - from

/-da/ - in etc...

may be suffixed to the question words as:

ay-des - from whom (aji-des - pl)

and

Indar-des-from what (Indar-ka-des - pl)

Consider the following for questioning indirect object NPs.

Given the sentence:

- (27) aNguC-a kan-i-des gentx^Wa
 cat-Gm tree-Gm-from came down
 The cat came down from the tree.

we can formulate the following type of questions.

- (28) Indar-des aNguC-a gent-ux Int.
 1 2 3
 what-from cat-Gm came down-Rel.
 From what did the cat come down?

- (28b) 2 1 3 Int

2.1.3.4 Questioning a Complement NP

The question words for questioning a complement NP are:

ay-i - who is (aji-who are)
 who-is

and

Indarmay - what is (Indar-ka-x-what are)
 what - is

Given the sentence

- (29) Abebe ~~k~~Insant-~~i~~-~~x~~
Abebe student-~~Gm~~-is
Abebe is a student.

we can formulate the following questions to question a complement NP.

- (30a) Abebe Indarmay Int.
1 2
Abebe what-is
What is Abebe?
- (30b) 2 1 Int.

2.2 Internal Structure of the Noun Phrase

In Awngi, single items such as N or ProN and a string of items such as Adj. + N or ~~Det~~+Adj. + N are all NPs because they regularly occupy a similar position in one type of structure. Consider the following table.

1	2	Gloss
(31) aqi man	kasx ^W a went	The man went.
(32) Ni He	ayNa yIntx ^W a yesterday came	He came yesterday.
(33) ligisimi aqi tall man	aylIs dIBsIx ^W a force spoke	The tall man spoke loudly.
(34) an dedeN Insay that short boy	giNx ^W a danced	That short boy danced.

What we can observe in the above table is that those under 1 aqi in (31) as an N; Ni in (32) as a ProN; ligisimi aqi in (33) as an Adj. + N and an dedeN Insay in (34) as Det. + Adj. + N are all NPs since their syntactic function, as a subject, is similar and as a result they can be given a common form class label NP. In similar respect those under 2 are VPs.

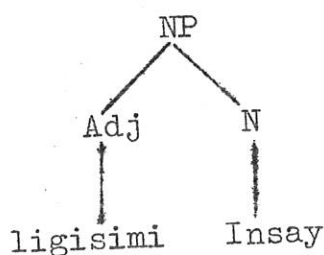
An NP consists of an obligatory noun as head. Other elements in the NP such as adjectives, numerals and determiners are modifiers of the head noun and are optional. Example:

(35) ligisimi Insay tinise
tall boy is studying
The tall boy is studying.

In the given sentence, ligisimi Insay is an NP. In this phrase 'Insay' is an obligatory head and ligisimi is an optional modifier.

The string of NP in the given sentence is made up of two elements that can be represented by the following tree.

(36)



Awngi has the following basic NPs

2.2.1 NP → PN

In sentences such as:

(37) Alemu kasx^{wa} - Alemu went.
 Alemu went

(38) Almaz temar-a-x - Almaz is a student.
 Almaz student-Gm-is

Alemu and Almaz are NPs that consist of proper nouns.

2.2.2 NP → ProN

The personal pronouns that act as an NP in Awngi are:

ani	-	I
Inti	-	you (Masc., Fem.)
Ni	-	he, she

Inoji	-	we
Intoji	-	you (Pl.)
naji	-	they.

In sentences such as:

(39) Ni tay-a-wa jew^wa
 he sheep-Gm-Om bought
 He bought a sheep.

(40) naji widuna
 They finished.

Ni and naji are NPs that constitute of pronouns.

2.2.3 NP → N

In sentences such as:

(41) aqi Ix^waGex^wa
 man laughed
 The man laughed.

(42) aGu defersIx^wa
 water got muddy
 The water got muddy.

aqi and aGu are NPs that consist of nouns.

The head noun in an NP string may have a double head word.
 Such words could be either N - N compounds or conjoined nouns.

In the N - N structure we have **two** patterns of compounding.

The first pattern is the suffixation of a morpheme /- a/ to the second noun if the two nouns are noun proper as:

- (43) KarN Its-a gibitstIx^Wa
stone fence-comp. was built
A stone fence was built.

The second type is the suffixation of the same morpheme /-a/ to the first noun if the second is an agent one. Consider the following.

- (44) aNk-a Injist-i mitsx^Wa
bread-comp. baker-Gm got married
The baker got married. (Lit. bread baker)

In sentences (43) and (44) karN Its-a and aNk-a Injist-i are compound nouns.

To conjoin nouns we use the morpheme /-sta/ which is suffixed to the first noun if it ends in a vowel while an allomorph /-Ista/ is suffixed if the first noun ends in a consonant.

Example:

(45) aNguC-i-sta gIseN kIruna

cat-Gm-and dog died

The cat and the dog died.

(46) tay-Ista fiyel-i wayestuna

sheep-and goat-Gm were sold.

The sheep and the goat were sold.

In sentence (45) and (46) both aNguC-i-sta gIseN and tay-Ista fiyel-i are conjoined nouns.

One can argue that both the N - N which manifests a noun-noun modification structure in which the first N acts as an adjectival and the conjoined compound head words are transformations of underlying sentences.

In sentence (43) the NP karN Its-a, stone fence, is a transformation of the sentence:

(47) Its-i gIbits-ux karN-Ides

fence-Gm built-Rel. stone-from

The fence is made of (from) stone.

The transformation rule of converting the sentence into an N-N compound goes as follows:

S.D.		X	NP ₁	Rel.V	NP ₂	postp	S
		1	2	3	4	5	⇒
S.C.	(i) NP ₂ dislocation	1	4	2	3	∅	5 ⇒
	(ii) Rel.V. deletion	1	4	2	∅	∅	5 ⇒
	(iii) postp. deletion	1	4	2	∅	∅	∅ ⇒
	(iv) -a insertion	1	4	2	-a	∅	∅
	(comp.)						

The deep structure of the NP, aNk-a Injist-i, baker, (Lit.-bread baker) of sentence (44) is:

(48) Ni aNk-e InjistIx^Wa
 he bread-Om baked
 He baked bread.

In the process of the transformation the sentence

(49) Ni aNk-e InjestIx^Wa
 She baked bread.
 changes into a relative clause as:

(50) aNk-e Injest-ux
 bread-Om. bake-Rel.
 She who baked bread...

and the transformation rule that follows the relative clause to give an N-Agent compound is indicated below.

S.D.		$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{NP}_1 \quad \text{-Om} \quad \text{NP}_2 \quad \text{Rel.} \\ \text{cl.} \end{array} \right]$			
		1	2	3	4
S.C.	(i) Dropping-Om	1	$\emptyset$	3	4 $\Rightarrow$
	(ii) Dropping Rel.	1	$\emptyset$	3	$\emptyset \Rightarrow$
	(iii) -a Insertion (comp.)	1-a	$\emptyset$	3	$\emptyset \Rightarrow$
	(iv) -i Insertion (Gm)	1-a	$\emptyset$	3-i	$\emptyset$

Also, the NP aNguC-i -sta gIseN, the cat and the dog, of sentence (45) is a transformation of the following double sentences.

(51) aNguC-i kIrx^Wa - The cat died.

(52) gIseN kIrx^Wa - The dog died.

The transformation rule which conjoins two NPs occurring in two sentences into one NP within one sentences is as follows:

S.D.	$\left[\begin{array}{c} X \\ S \end{array} \right]$	NP_1	$\left[\begin{array}{c} V_1 \\ S \end{array} \right]$	Conj.	$\left[\begin{array}{c} X \\ S \end{array} \right]$	NP_2	$\left[\begin{array}{c} V_2 \\ S \end{array} \right]$
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 →
S.C. V_1 deletion	1	2	∅	4	5	6	7

Condition:

$$V_1 = V_2$$

$$NP_1 \neq NP_2$$

Agreement: aNguC-i-sta gIseN kIruna

In addition to nouns, we have derived nominals in NP strings. Such nominals are derived from verbs.

To nominalize a verb the morpheme / -N/ is suffixed to verb roots. Example:

- (53) xu-N buzzitse
eat-nomzr. fattens
Eating fattens.

This morpheme has an allomorph / -IN/ that is suffixed to verb roots that end in a consonant cluster as:

- (54) kant-IN kIntsItse
see-nomzr. educates
Seeing educates.

and also in a nasal sound as:

- (55) jIm-IN deretse
dance-nomzr. makes tired
Dancing makes oneself tired.

In sentence (53), (54) and (55) xu-N, kant-IN and jIm-IN are NPs consisting of derived nominals.

2.3.4 NP $\longrightarrow$ Adj. + N

Adjectives share many features (e.g. case and number) with the class of nouns. The main characteristics distinguishing adjectives from nouns are those of comparison as:

- (56) xag-des womber-i Izk^W-i-x
bed-from chair-Gm heavy-Gm-is
The chair is heavier than the bed.

and intensification as:

- (57) malNa sark-i
very black-Gm - very black

In the sentence:

- (58) xabtam-ka aq-ka jImuna
rich-pl man-pl danced
The rich men danced.

xabtam-ka aq-ka is an NP obtained from Adj. + N.

Adjectives in Adj. + N NP structure may, as nouns, be found in compound forms.

In Awngi the compound adjectives are all in N-Adj. structures. In this pattern the N- is always a body part noun.

In the process of compounding we have two patterns.

First, when a body part ends in a consonant the joining morpheme that is suffixed to it is / -o/ as:

- | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------|---|--------------|
| | lIk ^W | - | leg |
| | ligisim-i | - | long |
| (59) | lIk ^W -o ligisim-i | - | long-legged |
| | taf | - | hand |
| | dedeN | - | short |
| (60) | taf-o dedeN | - | short-handed |

Second, when such nouns are marked for the masculine marker / -i / the allomorph / -e / is suffixed to the noun replacing the / -i / . Examples:

- | | | | |
|------|----------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| | Irk ^W -i | - | tooth |
| | fuCC-i | - | white |
| (61) | Irk ^W -e fuCC-i | - | white-tooth (having white tooth) |
| | yIw-i | - | back |
| | ligisim-i | - | long |
| (62) | yIw-e ligisim-i | - | long-backed |

In the sentence:

- (63) lIk^W-o ligisim-i aqi jImx^Wa
 leg-comp. long-Gm. man danced
 The long-legged man danced.

lIk^W-o ligisim-i aqi is an NP consisting of a compound adjective and a noun.

These N-Adj. compound forms are structures from **an underlying** sentence which is relativized as follows:

From the clause:

- (64) ligisim-i lIk^W zIq-ux
 long-Gm leg has-Rel
 He who has a long leg...

we get:

- (65) lIk^W-o ligisim-i
 leg-comp. long-Gm
 long-legged

which is a compound adjective.

The transformation rule for changing a clause into a compound adjective goes as follows:

S.D.		$\left[\begin{array}{c} X \\ \text{cl} \end{array} \right]$	Adj.	N	Rel. V	$\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{cl} \end{array} \right]$
		1	2	3	4	$\Rightarrow$
S.C.	(i) N Transposition	1	3	2	$\emptyset$	4 $\Rightarrow$
	(ii) Rel. V. deletion	1	3	2	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset \Rightarrow$
	(iii) -o Insertion					
	(comp.)	1	3-0	2	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$

2.3.5 NP $\longrightarrow$ Det. + N

A word class containing articles (a, the), possessives (my, his) and demonstratives (this, those...) is called a determiner.²⁹

In Awngi there are no articles. But the possessives are formed as follows:

<u>Independent pronouns</u>		<u>Possessive pronouns</u>	
ani	- I	yi-u ³⁰	- my
Inti	- you (Masc., Fem.)	k-u	- your (Masc., Fem.)
Ni	- he, she	Ni-u	- his
		Ni-t	- her
Inoji	- we	Inojis-u	- our
Intoji	- you (pl)	Intojis-u	- your (pl)
naji	- they	najis-u	- their

Demonstratives are:

In	- this
an	- that
In-i	- these

an-i - those

In sentences such as

(66) an NIn Itx^Wa
 that house fell down
 That house fell down.

(67) Ni-u metsaf-i dIsx^Wa
 his book lost
 His book is lost.

an NIn and Ni-u metsaf-i are NPs that are constituted of Det. + N.

2.3.6 NP $\longrightarrow$ Nu. + N

Numerals are those items that include the cardinals (one, four...) and the ordinals (first, fifth...). The process of forming ordinals from the cardinals is as follows:

laGu	- one	ImpIl-ant-i	- first
laNa	- two	laNa-nt-i	- second
Suxa	- three	Suxa-nt-i	- third
seza	- four	seza-nt-i	- fourth
aNk ^W a	- five	aNk ^W a-nt-i	- fifth
walta	- six	walta-nt-i	- sixth
laNeta	- seven	laNeta-nt-i	- seventh

suGata	- eight	suGata-nt-i	- eighth
sesta	- nine	sesta-nt-i	- ninth
sIkka	- ten	sIkka-nt-i	- tenth
sIkra-laGu	- eleven	sIkra ImpIl-ant-i	- eleventh

The morpheme of the ordinal marker is /-ant-/ which is suffixed to cardinal numbers ending in a consonant and its allomorph /-nt-/ is suffixed to those that end in a vowel /a/.

Here we may notice two morphemes meaning 'one'. These are 'ImpIl' which can be used with a head noun as:

(68a) ImpIl aqi - one man

and 'laGu' which is used only in counting, but not with a head noun as:

(68b) * laGu aqi

Hence, we say that ImpIl and laGu are identical terms whose distributions are syntactically conditioned.

In sentences such as:

(69) ImpIl-ant-a xuna mitsex^Wa
 one-Or.m-Gm woman got married
 The first woman got married.

- (70) seza tay-ka kIruna
four sheep-pl. died
Four sheep died.

Impil-ant-a xuna and seza tay-ka are NPs comprizing of Nu. + N.
pattern.

2.3.7 NP $\longrightarrow$ Det. + Nu. + Adj. + N

In the sentence:

- (71) an-i laNa sark-Ika aq-ka Aw-ka-x
those two black-pl. man-pl. Agew-pl.-are
Those two black men are Agews.

an-i laNa sark-Ika aq-ka is an NP that consist of Det. +
Nu. + Adj. + N.

2.3.8 NP $\longrightarrow$ S + NP

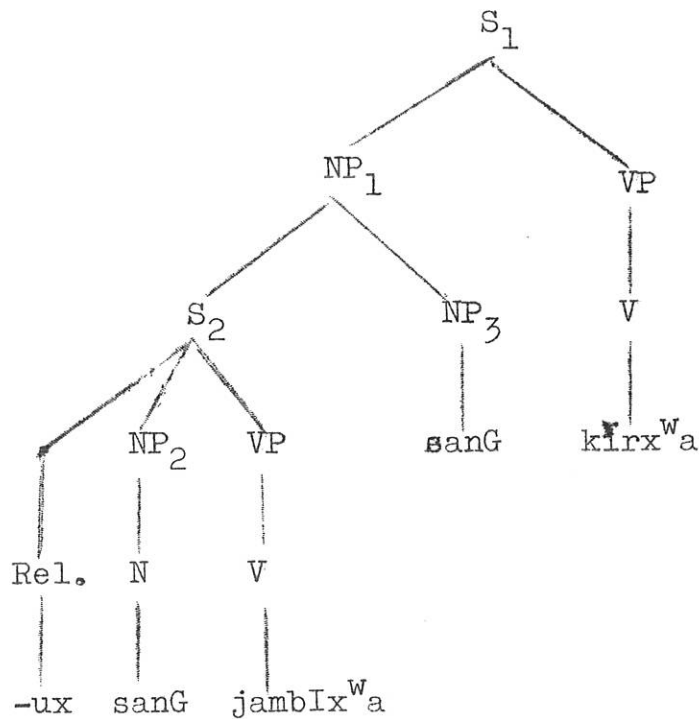
In sentences such as:

- (72) jIm-aw aqi ligisim-i-x
dance-Rel. man tall-Gm- is
The man who dances is tall.

- (73) jamb-ux sanG kIrx^Wa
jump-Rel. leopard died
The leopard that jumped died.

jIm-aw aqi and jamb-ux sanG are NPs that consist of a sentence
(S) and an NP (N). The following tree illustrates the
structure NP as S + NP as given in sentence (73).

(74)



Because S_2 as a whole is relativized at surface level, the Rel. in the deep structure appears before the NP as indicated in tree diagram (74).

According to the tree diagram (74) the subject of the embedded sentence is the same as the main clause. Such a subject is known as a co-referential subject. The underlying subject of the embedded sentence has been deleted by a transformation rule known as Equi NP-deletion.³¹

The transformation of Equi NP deletion goes as follows:

S.D.		$\left[\begin{array}{c} X \\ S \end{array} \right]$	NP ₂	V ₁	NP ₃	$\left[\begin{array}{c} V_2 \\ S \end{array} \right]$
		1	2	3	4	5 →
S.C. (i)	NP ₂ deletion	1	∅	3	4	5 →
(ii)	Relativize V ₁	1	∅	3-Rel.	4	5
	Condition: NP ₂ = NP ₃ (diagram 74)					

2.3 Distribution of the Constitutents of the Noun Phrase

The constituents of Awngi NP are characterized by the head noun (N) and a modifier (Mod.). The head is the major constituent that determines the syntactic function of the whole phrase and is always an obligatory member of the NP and the modifiers are optional.

In Awngi, all modifiers except / -gi/, a suffix meaning 'all', precede the noun they modify. / -gi/ which is not a phrase level modifier but a word level modifier occupies a post-head position since all bound morphemes are suffixed in Awngi. Observe the following morphological level example:

- (75a) aqi-gi yIntuna
 people-all came
 All people came.

but not:

- (75b) * gi-aqi yIntuna

Other modifiers such as adjectives occupy pre-head positions.

Example:

- (76) sark-a aNguC-a naka kIrtx^Wa
black-Gm cat-Gm today died
The black cat died today.

If there are two or more adjectives to modify a head noun, adjectives denoting colours precede adjectives indicating size, Example:

- (77a) fuCC-a buzz-a tay-a kIrtx^Wa
white-Gm fat-Gm sheep-Gm died
The white fat sheep died.

However, the following pattern is dubious in Awngi.

- (77b) * buzz-a fuCC-a tay-a kIrtx^Wa

In addition to an adjective modifying another adjective as indicated in (77a), intensifiers can also occur preceding an adjective.

The intensifier in Awngi is 'malNa', very (Lit.-much). Consider the following:

- (78a) malNa buzz-i aqi kundastIx^Wa
very fat-Gm man got sick
The very fat man got sick.

but not:

- (78b) * buzz-i malNa aqi kundastIx^Wa

Also numerals precede head nouns as:

- (79) seza temar-ka golelstuna
 four student-pl were chosen
 Four students were chosen.

Cardinal numerals always precede ordinal numerals.

Example:

- (80a) laNa laNa-nt-i amet-ka temar-ka yIntuna
 two two-Or, m-Gm year-pl student-pl came
 Two second year students came.

but not:

- (80b) * laNa-nt-i laNa amet-ka temar-ka yIntuna

Determiners also precede the head noun in an NP string.

Observe the following:

- (81) ani temar-ka-x
 those student-pl -- are
 Those are students.
- (82) yI-u metsaf-i dIsx^Wa
 my book-Gm. is lost
 My book is lost.

When demonstratives and possessives modify a head noun, demonstratives precede possessives. Consider the following:

- (83a) an yI-u metsaf-i dIsx^Wa
 that my book-Gm is lost
 That book of mine is lost.

But, possessive-demonstrative pattern is ungrammatical in Awngi as:

- (83b) * yI-u an metsaf-i dIsx^Wa

When a modifier modifies another modifier, determiners precede adjectives. Example:

- (84a) an Insu aqⁱ Itx^Wa
 That slim man lied.

but not:

- (84b) * Insu an aqi Itx^Wa

In addition, numerals precede adjectives as:

- (85a) laNa sark-Ika aNguC-ka w^omber-da Injikuna
 two black-pl cat-pl chair-on sat
 Two black cats sat on the chair.

but not:

- (85b) * sark-Ika laNa aNguC-ka w^omber-da Injikuna

Also, determiners precede numerals. Example:

- (86a) ani aNk^Wa NIn-ka guž-ka-x
 those five house-pl hut-pl-are
 Those five houses are huts.

However, numerals do not precede determiners. Example:

- (86b) * aNk^Wa ani NIn-ka guž-ka-x

Therefore, the acceptable sequence of the constituents in Awngi NP is:



Example:

- (87) ani laNa sark-Ika tay-ka wayestuna
 those two black-pl sheep-pl were sold
 Those two black sheep were sold.

In a modifier-head construction Awngi shows gender, number and case agreement between the head and the modifier.

The gender agreement is as:

	<u>Masculine</u>	<u>Feminine</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(88)	sark-i tay-Ø	sark-a tay-a	
	black-Gm sheep-Gm	black-Gm sheep-Gm	- black sheep
(89)	ligisim-i kan-i	legesem-a kan-a	
	tall-Gm tree-Gm	tall-Gm tree-Gm	- tall tree

The gender agreement transformation is as follows:

S.D.	NP	X	Mod.	N-Gm	NP
		1	2	3-Gm	⇒
S.C. Gender copying		1	2-Gm	3-Gm	

The number agreement is also as:

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(90)	sark-i tay-Ø black sheep	sark-Ika tay-ka black-pl sheep-pl.	black sheep
(91)	legesem-a kan-a tall tree	legesem-ka kan-ka tall-pl tree-pl	tall trees

The number agreement transformation is as follows:

S.D.	NP	X	Mod.	N-pl	NP
		1	2	3-pl	⇒
S.C. Number copying		1	2-pl	3-pl	

The case agreement is also as:

- (92) ani-s ber-ka-s
those-Cm. ox-pl-Cm - by those oxen
- (93) laNa-s aq-ka-s
two-Cm man-pl-Cm - by two men

The transformation of case agreement is as indicated below.

S.D.	NP	X	Mod.	N-Cm	NP
		1	2	3-Cm	⇒
S.C. Case copying		1	2-Cm	3-Cm.	

2.4 External Distribution of the Noun Phrase

The basic order of constituents in Awngi simple sentence is SOV. Example:

(94)	nIfas	sigar-e	bIsx ^{wa}
	wind	door-Om	opened
	S	O	V

The wind opened the door.

But, how do we syntactically justify that the order of constituents of Awngi sentence is an SOV?

The following are universal characteristics of an SOV language.³²

- (i) All modifiers come before the item they modify.

Examples:

(95)	laNa	temar-ka	zemeruna
	two	student-pl	sang
	Two students sang.		

- (ii) All bound morphemes including case markers are suffixed. Consider the following:

(96)	womber-da	(chair-on)	- on the chair
(97)	Insay-gi	(boy-all)	- all boys

(iii) All such languages are postpositional rather than prepositional. Examples:

(98)	Gonder-des	(99)	Almaz-li
	Gonder-from		Almaz -with
	from Gonder		with Almaz

(100) Kebede-s
Kebede-to
to Kebede

(iv) Comparisons are made as follows:
" Y - from X - strong-is"

Consider the following examples:

(101)	xag-des	womber-i	Izk ^w -i-x
	bed-from	chair-Gm	heavy-Gm-is
	The chair is heavier than the bed.		

(102)	Insay	wula-des	buzz-i-x
	boy	all-from	fat-Gm-is
	The boy is the fattest of all.		

In addition to the characteristics of SOV languages pointed out above, we have the following syntactic arguments to establish why the word order in the Awngi simple sentence is SOV.

First, the verb occupies a final position. Example:

(103a) Asfaw bIn-S^Was kasx^Wa
 S O V
 Asfaw river-towards went
 Asfaw went towards the river.

Moving the verb from its final position is completely unacceptable in Awngi. Observe the following:

(103b) * kasx^Wa Asfaw bIn-S^Was
 V S O

Second, in all responses of informants, the subject comes before the object as:

(104a) Insay siy-o kutsx^Wa
 S O V
 boy cloth-Om washed
 The boy washed the cloth.

However, OSV, as a variant of SOV, is also an acceptable pattern. Consider the following example:

(104b) siy-o Insay kutsx^Wa
 O S B
 cloth-Om boy washed
 The boy washed the cloth.

Because all objects in Awngi are marked for an object, the meaning of the OSV is always the same as that of the SOV i.e. a sentence with an OSV order as:

- (107a) Asfaw jImx^Wa
 Asfaw danced
 Asfaw danced*

But, a VS order is ungrammatical. Consider the following

- (107b) *jImx^Wa Asfaw

When direct object (Do) and indirect object (IO) occur in a sentence, the order of the elements is S-Do-IO-V. Consider the following:

- (108a) Asfaw metsaf-e Alemu-s wex^Wa
 S Do IO V
 Asfaw book-Om Alemu-to gave
 Asfaw gave the book to Alemu.

Other grammatically acceptable orders are:

- | | | | | |
|--------|----|----|----|---|
| (108b) | S | IO | DO | V |
| (108c) | DO | S | IO | V |
| (108d) | DO | IO | S | V |
| (108e) | IO | S | DO | V |
| (108f) | IO | DO | S | V |

but not:

- (108g) * V S DO IO

Sentences with copula verbs have Subject-Complement (SC) pattern. In Awngi the verb "be" is found suffixed to the complement. Observe the following:

- (109) aq-a astemar-a-x
 S C
 woman teacher-Gm-is
 The woman is a teacher.

If we reverse the pattern of (109) we get a different sentence as:

- (110) astemar-a aq-a-x
 S C
 teacher-Gm woman-is
 The teacher is the woman.

(109) and (110) are not synonymous and therefore, CS is grammatically an unacceptable pattern in Awngi.

With the verb to "have" we have Subject-Complement-Verb (SCV) pattern;

- (111a) biri jenj zIq^Wa
 S C V
 ox horn has
 The ox has a horn.

but CSV is ungrammatical as:

- (111b) * jenj biri zIq^Wa

Contrary to the sentence pattern in Awngi, the NP that constitutes of S + NP, (NP → S + NP), has a strict O-V-S pattern within the embedded clause. Consider the following.

- (112a) womber-o kats-ux agi yIntx^Wa
 O V S V
 chair-Om took-Rel.man came
 The man who took the chair came.

Neither:

- (112b) * V O S V

nor:

- (112c) * S V O V

order is acceptable in Awngi. This is because the pattern has an embedded sentence as indicated in (74).

2.5 Functions of the Noun Phrase

The NP in Awngi functions as follows.³⁴

2.5.1 NP as a Subject

Awngi NP functions as a subject of a sentence.

- (i) As an actor or agent of the sentence.

Example:

- (113) Insay kan-e kewx^Wa
 S O V
 boy tree-Om cut
 The boy cut the tree.

In sentence (113) Insay, the subject, is an actor subject since it is the doer of the action in the sentence.

- (ii) NP is something about which a predicate **is asserted**.

Example:

(114) Insay kasx^Wa

S V

boy went

The boy went.

In sentence (114) Insay, is an NP about which **a predicate is asserted**.

- (iii) as an experiencer. Example:

(115) temar-i mels-o yaqe

student-Gm answer-Om knows

The student knows the answer.

In sentence (115) temar-i is a subject NP that gets the experience in the sentence.

- (iv) as a subject in the deep structure.

Awngi verbs are inflected for number, gender and person of the subject. Example:

(116a) Inoji golel-n-x^Wa

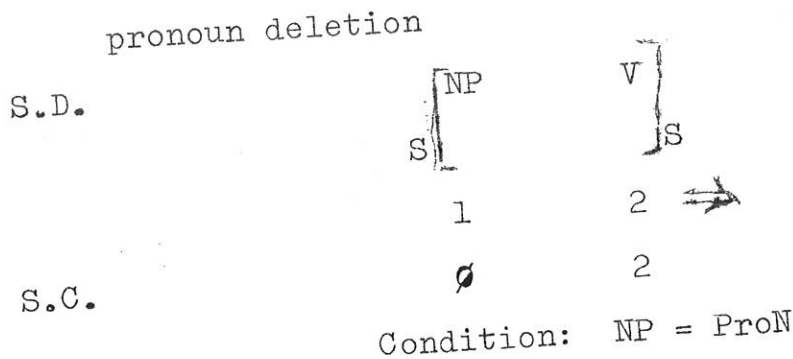
We choose - we - past

We chose.

Also:

(116b) golel-n-x^Wa
 choose-we-past
 We chose.

is considered as a variant sentence of (116a). Therefore, though the function is similar to (i) and (iii), one would semantically argue that (116b) is a reduced form of the longer sentence (116a). The transformation one would apply in this case is a pronoun deletion. Consider the following example:



However, if the subject NP is a noun it is first transformed into a pronoun by the process of pronominalization transformation as:

NP $\xrightarrow{\text{pronominalization}}$ NP
 proN

Condition: NP $\neq$ proN

2.5.2 NP as a Direct Object

Awnig NP functions as a sufferer of an action: Example:

- (117) IG^W-i sanG-o kux^Wa
 S O V
 hyena-Gm leopard-Om killed
 The hyena killed the leopard.

In sentence (117) the object, sanG-o is the sufferer since it is the receiver of the action in the sentence.

2.5.3 NP as Indirect Object

Since Awnig is a case inflected language the indirect object NPs function as follows:

- (i) as instrumental.

Example:

- (118) sanG duli-s kIrx^Wa
 S IO V
 leopard stick-by killed
 The leopard was killed with a stick.

In sentence (118) duli-s is an instrumental indirect object since it is an NP with which the action is performed.

- (ii) as a locative

Example:

- | | | | |
|-------|------------------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| (119) | gIseN | NIn-da | zIk ^W a |
| | S | IO | V |
| | dog | house-inside | there is |
| | The dog is inside the house. | | |

In sentence (119) NIn-da is locative since it indicates where the subject is located.

- (iii) as directional

Example:

- | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| (120) | gIseN | NIn-S ^W as | kasx ^W a |
| | S | IO | V |
| | dog | house-towards | went |
| | The dog went towards the house. | | |

In sentence (120) NIn-S^Was is directional since the destination of the subject is directed to it.

- (iv) as comitative

Example:

- | | | | |
|-------|------------------------|------------|---------------------|
| (121) | asfaw | almaz-li | kasx ^W a |
| | S | IO | V |
| | Asfaw | Almaz-with | went |
| | Asfaw went with Almaz. | | |

In sentence (121) Almaz-li is comitative since its activity is joined with the subject.

2.5.4 NP as Complement

In copulative sentences an NP in Awngi functions as a complement. Example:

- (122) Asfaw gitsin-i-x
 S C
 Asfaw merchant-Gm-is
 Asfaw is a merchant.

In sentence (122) gitsin-i is a complement since it is an NP to which the copula / -x / is suffixed.

3. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Agew or Central Cushitic is found widely scattered in northern Ethiopia.

This language was once spoken in a very large area but being superseded by Amharic and Tigrigna evolved into four 'islands' which have become mutually unintelligible.

One of these 'islands' is Awngi, spoken by about 50,000 people in Gojjam, particularly in the districts of Agew-midir and Metekel.

Awngi is a little studied language and whatever study has been done so far concerns only the verb. To the knowledge of this researcher no phonological and syntactic works have been done on the language.

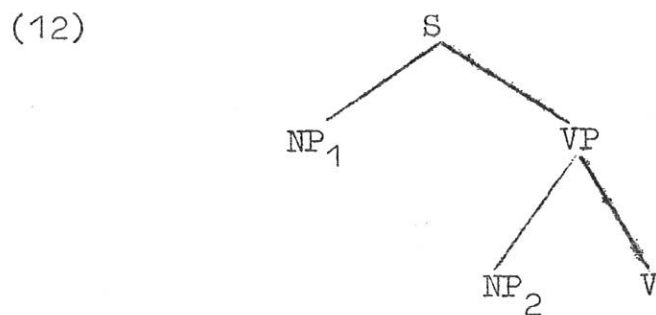
To identify Awngi NP, a syntactic test such as reflexivization, the cleft sentence and interrogative tests have been employed.

The internal structure of the NP could be summarized by the following rewrite rules.

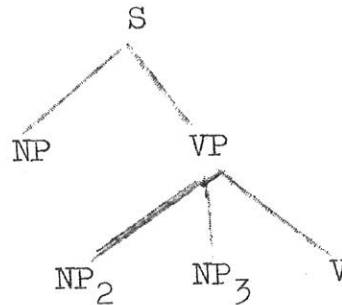
- (1) $S \longrightarrow NP + VP$
(2) $VP \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} V \\ NP + V \end{array} \right\}$

- (3) NP → { (Det.) (Nu.) (Adj.)
 Demon. possess. card. ord. **color** size
 adj. adj. }
- PN
 ProN
 N
 S + NP
- (4) PN → Almaz, Alemu
- (5) proN → Ni, Inoji
- (6) Det. → ku, an
- (7) Nu. → aNk^Wa, sIkka-nt-i
- (8) Adj. → buzz-i, sark-i
- (9) N → Insay, kan-i
- (10) V → yIntx^Wa, kasx^Wa

To illustrate the representations of the most frequent sentence types, we consider the following trees.



(13)



Tree diagram (11) is an underlying representation of a simple sentence that has an intransitive verb.

Tree diagram (12) is the deep structure of a sentence that has a transitive verb along with a direct object NP₂.

Tree diagram (13) is an underlying representation of a sentence that has a transitive verb along with a direct and an indirect object, NP₂ and NP₃, respectively.

The basic sentence pattern in Awngi is SOV. OSV pattern is always a variant of SOV. CSV and VSO patterns are ungrammatical in Awngi.

Awngi NP has a compulsory head noun and optional modifiers. Constituents of Awngi NP are always (Det.) - (Nu.) - (Adj.) - N order.

Awngi NP functions as subject, direct and indirect objects and as a complement of a sentence.

" N O T E S "

¹ Refer to Appendix A, B and C for gender, number and case inflections respectively.

² F. J. Simoons, "The Agricultural Implements and Cutting Tools of Begemdir and Semyen, Ethiopia," South Western Journal of Anthropology xiv, 4 (1958): 387.

³ M. L. Bender et. al. eds., Language in Ethiopia (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 15.

⁴ R. Hetzron, The verbal System of Southern Agaw (Berkley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 2.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Bender et. al. eds. Op. Cit., p. 15.

⁷ Teqebba Birru and Zena Adal, "The Kunfel People and Their Language," Journal of Ethiopian Studies xiv, 2 (1971): 101.

⁸ E.A. Gutt, "Intelligibility and Interlingual Comprehension Among Gurage Speech Varieties," Journal of Ethiopian Studies xiv, 14 (January, 1980): 65.

⁹ This is a rough phonetic transcription.

¹⁰ Though the exact date is not known, the people believe that this migration took place during the era of king Lalibela (12th century).

¹¹ Taye Retta, "Gojjam Governorate General," Ethiopian Geographical Journal I, 1 (June, 1963): 24.

¹² Hetzron Op. Cit., p. 1.

¹³ Bender et. al. eds. Op. Cit., pp. 40-45.

¹⁴ Hetzron, Loc. Cit.

- 15 Ibid.
- 16 M.L. Bender, A Possible Cushitic Isomorph (mimeo.) p. 21.
- 17 R. Hetzron, "The Limits of Cushitic," Sprache Und Geschichte in Afrika II (1980): 14-15.
- 18 M. L. Bender eds., The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia (Michigan: African Studies Centre, 1976), p. 42.
- 19 Ibid., p. 41-
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 R. Hetzron, "The Limits of Cushitic," Op. Cit., pp. 14-15.
- 22 Ibid., p. 98-
- 23 A phoneme that I have not come across in my study of Awngi so far.
- 24 R. Hetzron, The Verbal System of Southern Agaw. Op. Cit., p. 6.
- 25 R. A. Jacobs and P. S. Rosenbaum, English Transformational Grammar (Waltham, Massachusetts: Blaisdele publishing company, 1968), pp. 38-40.
- 26 There is no definite marker in Awngi. If one wants to be very particular he may use demonstratives. Whatever is indicated as 'the' in the linguistic data is actually 'a' or 'the'.
- 27 This section owes a great deal to Jacobs and Rosenbaum 1968.
- 28 Interrogative sentences are signalled by change of intonation.

29 R. Wardhaugh, Introduction to Linguistics (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1977), p. 208

30 -i + -u is diphthongized into -iw.

31 J. T. Grinder and S. H. Elgin, Guide to Transformational Grammar (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975), p. 101.

32 Bender eds. Op. Cit., p. 69.

33 E. Bach, Syntactic Theory (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974), p. 275.

34 This section owes a great deal to Chafe 1970 and Liles 1975.

A P P E N D I X A

Gender in Awngi

There are two genders, masculine and feminine, in Awngi.

The masculine marker is the morpheme / -i / which is suffixed to nouns whose root ends in a consonant. Examples:

- (1) kan-i tree(Masc.)
- (2) Irk^W-i tooth(Masc.)

The masculine marker ~~-i~~ has an allomorph / -Ø /. Though no scientific justification we can say that it is morphologically conditioned. Example:

- (3) guzg-Ø = stomach (Masc.)
- (4) tay -Ø = sheep (Masc.)
- (5) dad -Ø = road (Masc.)

The feminine marker is the morpheme / -a / which is suffixed to the noun root and contrasts with / -Ø / and / -i / 'masculine'. Consider the following:

	<u>Masculine</u>	<u>Feminine</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(6)	guzg-Ø	guzg-a	stomach
(7)	karN-Ø	karN-a	stone
(8)	kan-i	kan-a	tree
(9)	Irk ^W -i	Irk ^W -a	tooth

With a few nouns, in addition to the masculine marker suffix /-i/, all root /e/ vowels in the feminine form are replaced by /i/ in the masculine form. Consider the following.

	<u>Feminine</u>	<u>Masculine</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(10)	feres-a	firis-i	horse
(11)	defer-a	difir-i	courage

One can postulate a phonological rule of vowel raising whose effect would be to raise root vowel /e/ to /i/. The rule will be a vowel harmony rule. Example:

- (12) welej- + -i $\Rightarrow$ wilij-i 'old'
 (13) feres- + -i $\Rightarrow$ firis-i 'horse'

If the noun is a compound one, gender markers are attached to the element to which the compounding morpheme is not suffixed. Example:

	<u>Masculine</u>	<u>Feminine</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(14)	mI _g -i NIn-a	mIS-a NIn-a	
	mead-Gm. house-Comp.	mead-Gm. house-comp.	mead house

(15)	<u>Masculine</u>	<u>Feminine</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
	dad-a sirig-i	dad-a sereg-a	
	road-comp. cleaner-Gm	road-comp. cleaner-Gm	road cleaner

A P P E N D I X B

Number in Awngi

The commonest way of forming plurals is by suffixing a morpheme / -ka / to the root noun. Example:

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(16)	aNguC-i	aNguC-ka	cats
(17)	tay	tay-ka	sheep

The morpheme /-ka/ has an allomorph /-Ika/ which is suffixed to nouns that end in a consonant cluster. Examples:

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(18)	karN	karN-Ika	stones
(19)	Irk ^W -i	Irk ^W -Ika	teeth

and after noun roots ending in /k/. Example:

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(20)	Injuk	Injuk-Ika	a stick for hockey playing

If the noun is a **kind** of noun whose root vowels are harmonized with the masculine marker / -i / , it is the feminine form that is pluralized. However, the feminine marker

/ -a / is not maintained in the plural form. Consider the following example:

	<u>Feminine</u>	<u>Masculine</u>	<u>Plural</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(21)	feres-a	firis-i	feres-ka	horse
(22)	defer-a	difir-i	defer-ka	courage

If the noun is a compound noun, it is the second member of the compound that is pluralized. Example:

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(23)	mIs-i NIn-a	mIS-i NIn-ka	mead house
(24)	aNk-a Injist-i	aNk-a Injest-Ika	baker

A P P E N E D I X C

Case in Awngi

(i) Nominative

The nominative in Awngi has / -Ø / marker. Example:

- (25) sanG-Ø fiyel-e xux^Wa
 leopard-Nom. goat-Om ate
 The leopard ate the goat.

- (26) zagr-i-Ø kIrx^Wa
 monkey-Gm-Nom. died
 The monkey died.

(ii) Accusative

Though it is difficult to determine the accusative morpheme unless one uses some kind of reconstruction in the language we have / -e / , / -o / and / -wa / accusative marker allomorphs.

The allomorph / -e / is suffixed to nouns replacing the final masculine marker morpheme / -i / . Example:

	<u>Nominative</u>	<u>Accusative</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(27)	IG ^W -i	IG ^W -e	hyena
(28)	Sew-i	Sew-e	heart

The allomorph /-o/ is suffixed to masculine nouns that have // *Ø / masculine marker. Consider the following:

	<u>Nominative</u>	<u>Accustative</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(29)	dad-Ø	dad-o	road
(30)	karN-Ø	karN-o	stone

The allomorph / -wa / is suffixed to feminine singular nouns. Contrary to the allomorph / -e / which occurs after the masculine marker / -i / and involves the deletion of the masculine marker after its suffixation, the feminine marker is maintained.

Examples:

	<u>Nominative</u>	<u>Accusative</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(31)	tay-a-Ø	tay-a-wa	sheep
(32)	feres-a-Ø	feres-a-wa	horse

/ -wa / is also suffixed to all plural nouns. Consider the following.

	<u>Nominative</u>	<u>Accusative</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(33)	tay-ka-Ø	tay-ka-wa	sheep
(34)	feres-ka-Ø	feres-ka-wa	horse

(iii) Genitive

The genitive marker in Awngi is the morpheme /-u/ and is suffixed to nouns which have / -Ø / masculine marker. Example:

	<u>Masclunine Noun</u>	<u>Genitive</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(35)	karN-Ø	karN-u	stomach's
(36)	dad-Ø	dad-u	rood's

The genitive morpheme $// -u /$ has an allomorph $/-\emptyset/$ that is suffixed to nouns that end in $/ -u /$. Example:

(37) aGu-water aGu-Ø - water's

But $v + v \Rightarrow vw$ (diphthongization). Example:

(38) IG^W-i - hyena(Masc.) $IG^W-i + u \Rightarrow IG^W-i-w$ hyena's

(39) IG^W-a - hyena(Fem.) $IG^W-a + u \Rightarrow IG^W-a-w$ hyena's

(iv) Dative

The dative marker morpheme is $/ -s /$ which is suffixed to all nouns except those that end in consonant clusters. Example:

(40) kan-i tree(Masc.) kan-i-s to the tree

(41) kan-a tree(Fem) kan-a-s to the tree

(42) kan-ka trees(pl) kan-ka-s to the trees

but the allomorph $/-Is/$ is suffixed to nouns that end in consonant clusters. Example:

(43) karN - stone karN-Is- to the stone

(v) Other Case Relationships

The morphemes / -ta /, "as", / -li /, "with" and / -des /, "from" are suffixed to all nouns except to those that end in consonant clusters; but their allmorphs, / -Ita /, / -Ili / and / -Ides / are suffixed to nouns that end in consonant clusters.

- | | | | |
|------|-------------|---|----------------|
| (35) | jifist-i-ta | - | as a cowardly |
| (36) | jenj-Ita | - | as a horn |
| (37) | Almaz-li | - | with Almaz |
| (38) | meNgIst-Ili | - | with MeNgist |
| (39) | kan-i-des | - | from the tree |
| (40) | karN-Ides | - | from the stone |

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

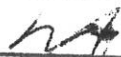
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D E C L A R A T I O N

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my work and that all sources of material used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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