

WORD FORMATION IN YAM

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WORD FORMATION IN YAM

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Aff.	Affix
Age	Agentive
Adj.	Adjective
Body P.	Body Part
CAUS	Causative
CAUS Rec.	Causative of Reciprocal
def.	definite
exp.	experiencer
Ger.	Gerundive
Imp.	Imperfect
Int.	Intransitive
N	Noun
Np	Noun phrase
Obj.	object
Obl.	oblique
Pass.	Passive
Pat.	Patient
Pf.	Perfect
Pl.	Plural
Pol.	Polite
Res.	result
resp.	respect
So	Someone
SUBJ	Subject
tv	transitive
v	verb
vr	verb root

∅	Zero morpheme
+	Plus
}	or/either or
--->	becomes
/ /	enclosed phonemic and allomorphic items
[]	enclosed phonetic items and WFRs
*	ill-formed structure

ABSTRACT

Complex words are formed by applying different word formation rules to simple or derived forms. This study aims at presenting possible ways of word formations in Yam. It also tries to describe the structures and nature of the derived forms. In this connection, affixation compounding and reduplication have been dealt with as major processes of word formation. Nominals, verbals and adjectivals are formed by attaching different affixes to different roots or stems.

Compounding is another type of word formation, in which two words are combined to form a new one. Moreover, more complex compounds, that is, compounds with three components are also possible in the language.

Reduplication of words can also result in deriving new words. Reduplication of verb roots, for instance, results in intensive and frequentative forms.

Changing tone patterns of existing words is also a possible word formation process, though not as productive as the others.

Derived words behave differently from their base forms phonologically, morphologically, syntactically and semantically.



CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

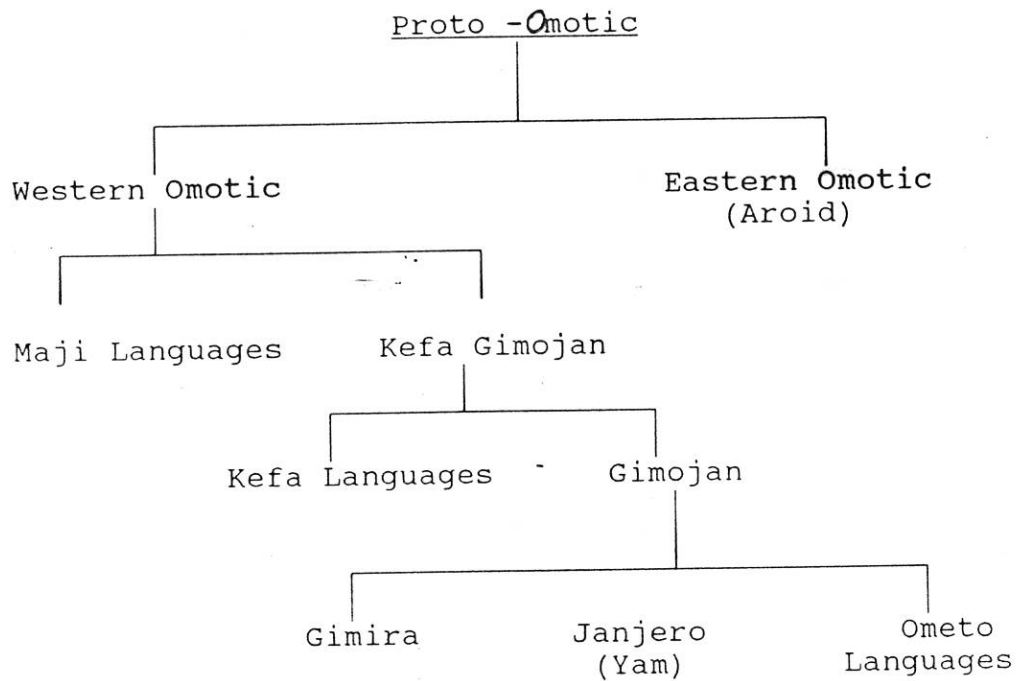
1.1 The Yam People and Their Language

The Yam people, who are estimated to be 20,000 live in Keffa Administrative region. They are distributed between the Gibe river in the west and the Omo River in the east, (Huntingford, 1955:138).

The people call themselves Yamma or Yam. The name by which they were known until recently was Janjero. According to Huntingford, (1955:138) this name is the Oromo form of the Amharic Zenjaro, "baboon". The people say that after they were driven out to the mountains and valleys where baboons live, they were given the name "Janjero". The Marxist government of Mengistu H/Mariam changed their name to Yamsa. However, this term was also considered as taboo because it sounded very much like one of the four letter words in Amharic. It was hence reduced to just Yam.

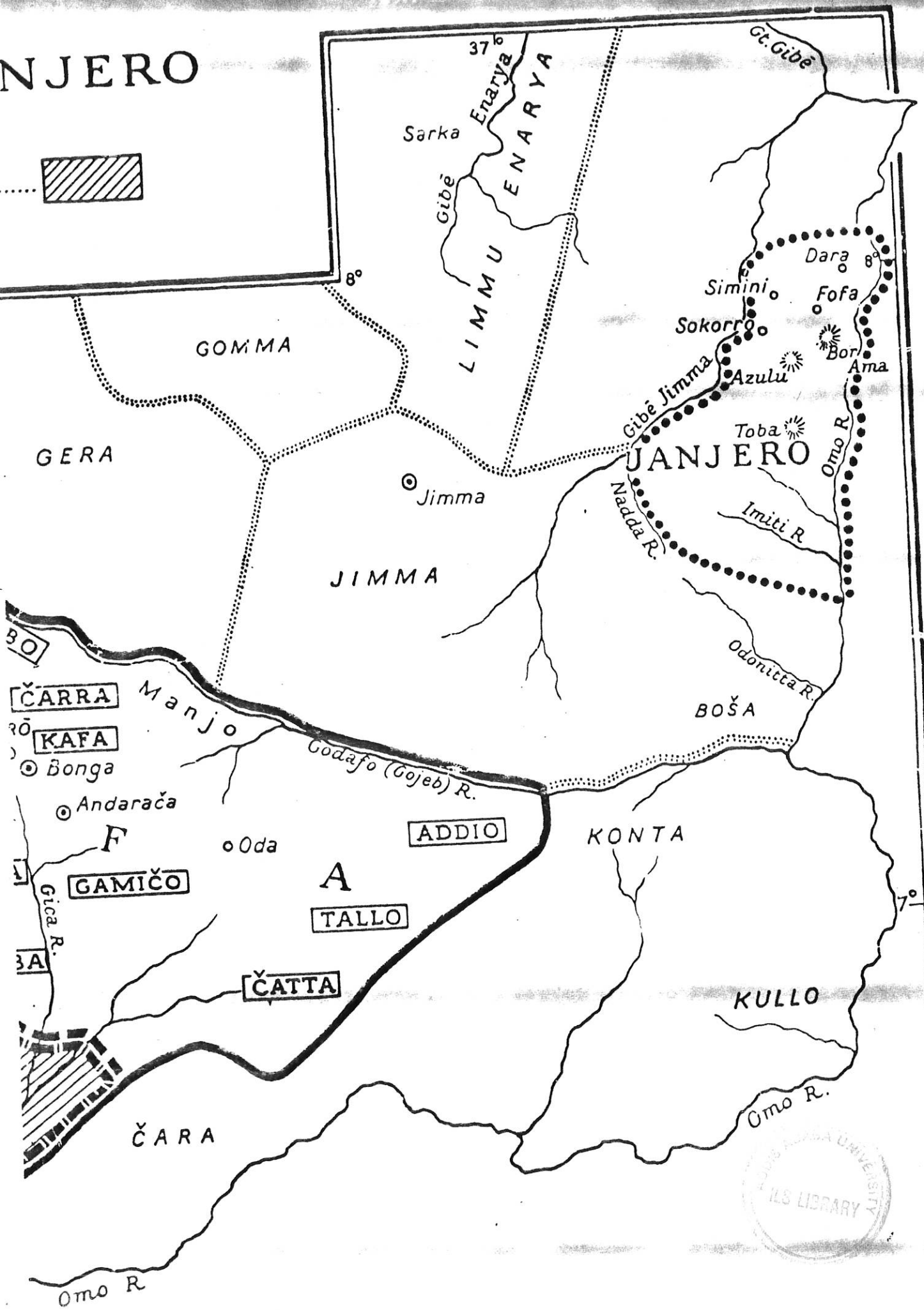
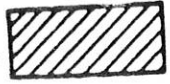
The Yam language is an omotic language belonging to the Western branch of the sub-class known Gimojan, (Fleming, 1976:47). This is shown in the following figure.

THE OMOTIC FAMILY TREE



During the "Kingdom of the Janjero" there was a "Royal version of the language "consisting of special vocabulary for the parts of the body, names of weapons, and members of the Royal family. There was also another version containing words denoting ordinary actions of the notables. Both the royal and the honorific versions were different from those used by the ordinary people. The improper use of the royal form, according to Huntingford and my informants, was a serious crime punishable by death.

NJERO



1.2 Previous Studies

The linguistic works available in Yam are the following.

Cerulli (1938) made a description of pronouns, nouns, verbs, adjectives and some syntactic aspects of the language. The phonology of the language had also been first attempted by him. He presented the consonant and vowel segments and tried to give a comparative treatment of Yam in relation to other languages which he called the Sidama languages.

Huntingford (1955) has found out that the vocabulary of Yam belong to the royal , honorific and ordinary type. The following are some examples of each forms.

Ordinary	Royal	Honorofic	
afa		Kema	'eye'
tato		amno	'king'
kusu		zurma	'hand'
odo		weso	'to hear'
usa		boc	'to drink'
mu	tar?		'to eat'
imma	kus		'to give'

Fleming (1976) made a comparative study of omotic languages including Yam on the basis of similarities

and differences in pronouns, gender forms, basic vocabularies, etc...

Fissaha (1984) described the inflection of nouns for the different grammatical categories like number gender case, definiteness etc. and also showed some derivations of nouns and compound structures.

Girma (1986) has described the verbal inflections for person, aspects, mood, etc. and some derivational affixes. According to him, passive forms are derived by gemminating the last consonant of the root verb and by adding the vowel /e/

Finally, Wedekind (1990) has attempted to sketch the phonology of Yam in comparison with Bencho. The Yam phonemes according to him are the following.

Consonants:

	Labial	denti alveolar	Palatal	Velar postvelar	Glottal
Stops and Affricates:					
vd.	b	d	j	g	
vl.	p	t	c	k	ʔ
glottal	p'	t'	c'	k'	
nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Fricative:					
vd.		z			
vl.		s	ʃ		h
Liquids:		l, r			

He has also identified three levels of tone with tonemic value. These are, high , low , and mid tones. He presented examples like the following for syllabic tone contrasts.

bar¹ 'he'
 bara²² 'time'
 bar³ 'she'
 eeta¹¹ 'my sister'
 eesa²¹ 'honey'
 eewa²² 'false banana'
 eeto³³ 'Lion'

1.3 The Present Study

As far as the word formation of Yam is concerned, there has not been any adequate work done. Fissaha Hailu (1984) and Girma Mammo (1986) have given a very brief description of a few derivational affixes.

The main objective of this study is, therefore, to provide an exhaustive account of this

aspect of the language. Specifically, the paper tries to treat nominalization, adjectivization and verbalization processes of affixation and compounding. It also attempts to investigate other possible word formation processes in the language.

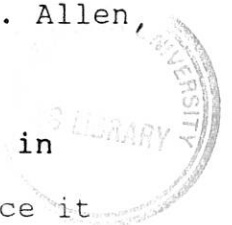
1.4 The Theoretical Framework

Within the context of Generative Grammar, a variety of approaches to morphology have been proposed. Of such approaches, the "Transformationalist" and the "Lexicalist hypothesis" are the main ones.

The "Transformationalist hypothesis" presented in Chomsky (1957), Lees (1960), among others, claims that complex words are derived through the operation of syntactic transformations from deep structures of clauses which contain only simple forms (Lees, (1960)).

On the other hand, the Lexicalist hypothesis proposed in Chomsky (1970) advocates that the syntax of a language cannot combine morphemes into words. The argument goes to the extent that derivationally complex words are presented in deep structures of sentences (cf. Allen, 1978).

The theoretical framework followed in this study is the lexicalist hypothesis. Hence it takes the view in Halle (1973), Jackendoff (1975),



Siegel (1974), Aronoff (1976), Allen (1980), Williams (1981a), that affixation and compounding are not formed by syntactic transformations as a point of departure.

Along with this, I also adopt the view that inflection is not treated along with derivation and compounding as part of the morphological component of grammar. This is the view known as the weak lexicalist hypothesis of Chomsky (1970), Halle (1973), among others. It is not the intention of the researcher to argue for one or the other of these approaches.

On the notion of the organization of the lexicon, the claim of the weak lexicalist hypothesis is that the lexical component contains a list of lexical items (roots or stems) called the dictionary. Secondly, it also contains a list of affixes of the language which form the extended dictionary. Thirdly, it includes a set of word formation rules characterizing the possible morphological structures of a language and generating complex words (Selkirk 1982). Other divisions within the morphological subcomponent include rules of allomorphy and readjustment. Such rules are believed to be separate from the other rules operating in the syntactic and phonological components. In general, all morphological processes are exclusively limited

to the lexical component of the grammar (Aronoff, 1976: 22-23, Jensen, 1990: 13-14).

The word formation rules specify the syntactic label and subcategorization frames of words along with their semantic readings. It also specifies phonological rules which operate on the output.

The theory also claims that a rule specifies a set of words on which WFRs operate. This set or any member in it is termed as the 'base' of that rule, (Aronoff, 1976:22). For example, a word X is a base if a WFR attaches a suffix to it (x-suffix). This base is the morpheme for Halle (1973) and the word for Aronoff (1976). Scalise, (1984: 73-74) proposes that Aronoff's notion of 'word' should be relaxed to include both bound stems and words (free forms).

Following Scalise, the base of a WFR in Yam is taken to be the word in its relaxed sense of being a bound or free form.

In the morphological component assumed here, each lexical item, simple or complex, is assigned to a category and has a lexical entry. Any information associated with it is part of this entry. The information is syntactic, semantic and phonological (Selkirk, 1982:59). Following Selkirk (1982) and Williams (1981a), this study assumes that

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affixes like other morphemes can be assigned syntactic category features.

The assignment of such syntactic category features may provide information about the syntactic category of the item dominating affixes in word structures. This relates to the head theory of Williams (1981a), Selkirk (1982), among others, which says that structures are headed. A WFR generates structures in which one of the constituents is a head, bearing the same syntactic category features as the dominating category. In other words, the element which has the same category feature as the dominating (mother) node (word) is considered as the head of the word. This means that affixes can be heads. In the case of compounds, the component with the same syntactic category feature as the whole compound constitutes the head. The head of the compound denotes the basic meaning of the whole, as pointed out by Selkirk (1982:22), who says:

"The notion head is crucial in characterizing the semantics of compounds".

The theory also provides the mechanism of percolation of features. This relates to the category features of a head of a morphologically complex word carried over to the whole word by percolation. In other words, the head of a word assigns its feature to the entire word. This is our view of Selkirk's (1982:21) as follows:

constituent α is the head of a constituent β , α and β are associated with an identical set of features (syntactic and diacritic)."

The theory predicts that diacritic and syntactic features associated with the head are 'induced' on the parent node dominating the head. This means that the head of a word has a feature complex which is the same as that of the whole constituent.

In light of these claims, the study tries to describe the word formation processes of Yam.



CHAPTER TWO

AFFIXATION

This section deals with the formation of new words by means of affixation. In Yam, it is possible to form nominals, adjectivals, and verbals by attaching different affixes.

2.1 NOMINALIZATION

Nominalization refers to the formation of new nominals from other word forms such as adjectives, verbs, and other nouns.

In Yam, nominals can be formed by attaching nominal affixes to adjectives and verbs. In addition to this, changing the tone patterns of words can also result in new nominals. In what follows, we shall consider the processes of affixation first.

2.1.1 Nominals Derived from Adjectives

Nominals can be derived from adjectival bases by suffixing such elements as /-ba/ or /-a/.

/-ba/ is attached only to adjectives that end in a vowel, while /-a/ is found with those ending in a consonant. The following are examples:

Adjective	Gloss	Nominals	Gloss
kešu	good	kešu-ba	goodness
gada	excellent	gada-ba	excellence
faya	fine	faya-ba	fineness
futo	true	futo-ba	truth
kara	black	kara-ba	blackness
aru	intellegent	aru-ba	intellēge/ knowledge
mettan	sick	mettan-ba	sickness
ottum	rich	ottum-ba	richness
Cim	strong	Cim-ba	strength
kul	fat	kul-ba	fatness

Table 1 Nominals from adjectives

Such derived nominals can occur as a head in NPs like the following:

1. na-si kara-ba

boy-poss. blackness

'The boy's blackness' (The blackness of the boy)

This is the same as structures with simple nominal heads like:

2. (a) inna gono

big hyena

'A big hyena'

(b) kana-si-mu

dog-poss. food

'The dog's food'. (The food of the dog)

From the above facts a word formation rule of the type: $[[x]_{adj} + -ba/-a] \rightarrow [x]_N$ can be formulated.

2.1.2 Nominals Derived from Verb Roots and stems

In Yam, different types of nominals such as agentive, experiencer, patient, result, manner, gerundive, etc. can be formed from verbal roots or stems.

2.1.2.1 Agentive Nominals

Agentives are nominals with the feature [+HUMAN]. They refer to the "doer" of an action designated by a verbal base.

The suffixes /-iñña/, /-ir/, /-es/ and /as/ are used to form such nominals.

a) The suffix /-iñña/

Nominals with this suffix include the following:

Verb Roots	Gloss	Agentive Nominals	Gloss
me?-	insult	me?-iñña	insulter
wost-	work	wost-iñña	worker
us-	drink	us-iñña	drunkard
bo-	rob	bo-iñña	robber
bul-	farm	bul-iñña	farmer
am-	backbite	am-iñña	backbiter
yis-	dig	yis-iñña	digger

Table 2 Agentive nominals with /-inna/

With intransitive roots, /-iñña/ is used to derive experiencer nominals like the following.

Verb Roots	Gloss	Expeiencer Nominals	Gloss
dig-	fear	dig-inna	coward
es-	lie	es-inna	liar
tey-	swear	tey-inna	swearer

Table 3 Experiencer Nominals with /inna/

(b) Like /-iñña/ the suffix /-ir/, /-es/ and /-as/ also forms agentive and experiencer nominals when attached to transitive and intransitive verb roots respectively. Such nominals have the feature [+ ANIMATE].

Verb Roots	Gloss	Nominals	Gloss
kut-	go	kut-ir	traveller
tes-	create	tes-ir	creator
wor-	kill	wor-ir	killer
mes-	break	mes-ir	breaker
neb-	fight	neb-ir	fighter
kit-	die	kit-es	deceased
ar-	get	ar-es	one who is annoyed
kep ^l	collect	kep-as	collector
im-	give	im-as	giver

Table 4 Agentive and Experiencer Nominals with /-ir/, /-es/, and /-as/

Such nominal affixes are category changing in that the derived nominals belong to a category which is different from the category of the bases. The base forms have a [+V] category feature while their derivatives are [+N] category feature. The feature comes from the affixes to the derived nominals. Unlike the base that occurs as a verb in a structure, the derived form occurs as a subject or an object of a sentence. Compare the following structures with the verb wost- 'work' and the derived nominal wost-iñña "worker"

3. (a) C'absa keya wost-i

Chabsa house work-pf

"Chabsa built a house".



- (b) wost-iñña-s keya wost-i
 Worker-def house work-pf
 "The worker built a house".
- (c) bar wost-iñña-s-in wor-i
 he worker-def-acc kill-pf
 "He killed the worker".

The first sentence shows the occurrence of the base wost - 'work' as a verb. The second and the third shows the occurrence of the agentive nominal as a subject and as an object respectively.

The derivation of the nominals can be represented by the following word formation rule:

$$[[X]_{vr} + -iñña/-ir/-es/-as] \rightarrow [X]_{Agen./Exp.N}$$

2.1.2.2 Result or "verb-product" Nominals

Such nominals refer to results of actions. They are derived by suffixing /-a/ or /-o/ to verb roots as in the following table.

Verb Roots	Gloss	Result Nominals	Gloss
me?	insult (v)	me?-a	insult (n)
tey-	swear	tey-a	oath
ebb-	thank	ebb-a	praise
dil-	vary	dil-a	variety
omar-	rush	omar-a	fluid

Verb Roots	Gloss	Result Nominals	Gloss
rakin	suffer	rakin-a	problem
šaab-	milk (v)	šaab-o	milk (n)
neeb-	fight/hunt	neeb-o	war/fight
iC-	hit	iC-o	fight with hands
wost-	work	wost-o	work (n)

Table 5 Result Nominals

The result nominals belong to a different category type than their bases. They have a [+N] category feature coming from the affix. Such nominals can occur as a subject NP or an object NP as examples like the following:

4. (a) na-s šaabo šaab-i
 boy df. milk(n) milk-pf
 "The boy milked milk".
- (b) šaabo-s fal-i
 milk df. boil-pf.
 "The milk boiled".

In (4a) the derived nominal appears as an object while its verbal base occurs as a verb. The nominal also occur as a subject as in (b).

The word formation rule of the nominals shown here can be represented as follows:

$$[[x-]_{vr} + -a/-o] \rightarrow [x]_{Res.N}$$

2.1.2.3. Body Part Nominals

During the kingdom of Yam, words that refer to certain parts of the body of the royal family were different from those words that refer to the same body parts of the ordinary people. In other words, the common people had to use special words to refer to the body parts of the royal family. Such forms are derived from verbs with the suffix [-a] as in the following:

Verb Roots	Gloss	Body Part Nominals	Gloss
od-	hear	od-a	ear
kem-	look	kem-a	eye
tam-	suck	tab-a	breast
kuš-	give	kuš-a	hand/arm

Table 6. Body Part Nominals

The following sentences can illustrate **this**.

5. (a) ba goño kem-i-te
 he (resp.) hynea see-pf-pol.
 "He (resp.) saw a hynea".
- (b) basi kema iñña wa
 his (resp.) eye big is
 "His (resp.) eye is big".

The derivation of such nominals follows the rule:

$$[X-]_{vr} + -a \rightarrow [X]_{\text{Body P. nom.}}$$

1.2.4 Patient Nominals

These are nominals that refer to entities or beings affected by the action of a verb. They are derived with the suffix /-a/.

Verb Roots	Gloss	Nominals	Gloss
uš-	drink	uš-a	drink
may-	dress	may-a	dress
mu-	eat	mu-a	food
wal-	talk	wal-a	news

Table 7 Patient Nominals

The following can illustrate the occurrence of the verbal base and the corresponding in nominal structures of sentences as (6).

6. (a) bar uša uš-i

he drink (n) drink-pf

"He drank a drink".

(b) C¹ absa gado maya may-i

Chabsa new cloth dress-pf

"Chabsa dressed new clothes".

The derivation of result, body part and patient nominals follows the following rule:

$$[[x-]_{vr} + -a] \rightarrow [x]_N$$

1.2.5 Passive Result Nominals

These are formed by attaching the result nominal suffix [-o] to a passive verb stem. The passive stem is formed by a WFR proposed in section 2.2.1.3 below. The following table shows some such nominals.

Verb Stems	Gloss	Nominals	Gloss
days-t-	be added	days-t-o	addition
bat-t-	be broken off	bat-t-o	slice/piece for bread
fus-t	be cut	fus-t-o	slice/piece for honey
mes-t-	be broken off	mes-t-o	addition
tes-t-	be created	tes-t-o	creature
kup'-t-	be collected	kup'-t-o	gathering

Table 8 Passive Result Nominals

Such nominals differ in their function in sentences from their verbal counterparts. They occur as an NPs in sentences like the following:

7. (a) asu ha?o-nik tes- t-e

man God-by/with create-pass-pf.

"Man is created by God".



(b) han keya-se oma tes-t-o far
 this house-in special creature exist

"There is a special creature in this house".

A WFR $[[x-]_{Pa.Stem} + -o] \rightarrow [x]_N$ accounts for the derivation of such nominals.

1.2.6 Gerundive Nominals

In Yam, Gerundive nominals are formed with the suffix /-o -a -u/ as shown in the table below:

Verb Roots	Gloss	Gerundive Nominals	Gloss
wag-	buy/sell	wag-o	buying/selling
teg-	call	teg-o	calling
morm-	deny	morm-o	denying
kem-	see	kem-o	seeing
wis-	steal	wis-o	stealing
ko?-	insult	kop-o	insulting
bat-	break	bat-a	breaking
fus-	cut	fus-a	cutting
iC-	hit	iC-a	hitting
šaab-	milk	šaab-a	milking
wor-	kill	wor-u	killing
koon-	giving	koon-u	giving birth
	birth		
ha?-	discard	ha?-u	discarding
sur-	sing	sur-u	singing

Table 9 Gerundive Nominals

The following examples show the occurrences of such nominals in structures.

8. (a) ba na -s -in ko?-i -te
 he (res.) boy def. acc. insult pf. pol.
 "He (res.) insulted the boy".

(b) Ko?o mangu wa
 insulting (insult) bad is
 "Insulting (insult)^{is} bad/not good".

The WFR of such nominals is the following:

$[[x-]_{vr} + -o/-a/-u] \rightarrow [x]_{Ger.N}$

1.2.7 Manner Nominals

This type of nominals refer to the way an action takes place. In yam, such nominals are derived with the suffix /-oba/.

Verb Roots	Gloss	Manner Nominals	Gloss
yer-	stand	yer-oba	manner of standing
wost-	work	wost-oba	manner of working
mest-	break	mest-oba	manner of breaking
uš-	drink	uš-oba	manner of drinking
ham-	go	ham-oba	manner of going/ walking

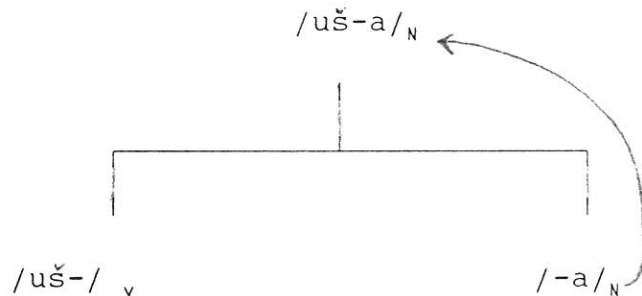
Table 10 Manner Nominals

we have the following examples showing syntactic distributions of such nominals.

9. (a) bar uša us-i
 he drink(n) drink-pf
 "He drank a drink".

- (b) basi uš-oba kešu wa
 his manner of drinking good is
 "His manner of drinking is good".

All the nominalization processes shown so far are category changing. The attachment of an affix results in changing the category type of the base. This is because, the affixes have the category feature [+N] that percolates up to the derived nominals. This process of feature percolation is shown for the nominal uš-a 'drink' as follows, for illustration.



The affix in the above representation is the head since its category feature percolates up to the nominal. This suggests that in this language, the head of derived forms is found to the right of the base.

Finally, the following general rule of nominalization can be proposed:

$$\begin{array}{l}
 [[x-] + \text{Aff}] \rightarrow [x] \\
 [+v] \quad [+N] \quad [+N]
 \end{array}$$

The rule indicates that, in Yam, it is possible to form nominals by attaching a nominal affix ^{a base} to with [+N] feature, that is adjectival or verbal form.

2.2 VERBALIZATION

In this section, we shall be concerned with the formation of new verb stems. The formation of such stems takes place by affixing certain morphemes to verb roots and also by reduplicating certain parts of the root. The latter will be discussed in chapter four.

2.2.1 Verb stems formed from Verb roots

In Yam, there are three types of verb stems derived from verbal roots. These are caus^astives, passives and frequentatives or intensives. The first two are formed by affixations where as the last one uses reduplications. All such processes are non-category changing. In other words, their effects are on sub-categorizations rather than on categorial membership. Each type is presented as follows.

2.2.1.1 Causative Stems

In general, causativization refers to the act of causing or forcing someone or something to do something. Anderson, (1985:330) defines causative as "a verb that describes a situation where some

entity of a causer either brings about an action or atleast, fails to prevent it."

In Yam, causative stems are formed by attaching the suffixes [-(i)s] and [-(i)sis]. Their distribution is determined by the transitive or intransitive nature of the verbal root. [-(i)s] goes with transitive roots while [-(i)sis] goes with intransitive ones. The latter is a sort of a reduplicated form of the former.

A. Causativization of Transitive Verbs

As stated above, the affix [-(i)s] is used to derive causative stems from transitive verb roots. The i of the suffix can be considered as an epenthetic vowel used to avoid impermissible sequences of consonants.

Verb roots	Gloss	Causative Verbs	Gloss
wor-	kill	wor-s-	cause to kill
kid-	break	kid-s-	cause to break
dam-	kiss	dam-s-	cause to kiss
mak-	tell	mak-s-	cause to tell
teg-	call	teg-s-	cause to call
wag-	buy/sell	wag-s-	cause to buy/sell
fas-	nag	fas-is-	cause to nag
kas-	sing	kas-is-	cause to sing
ta?-	touch	ta?-is-	cause to touch
wis-	steal	wis-is-	cause to steal

Table 11 Causative Stems (I)

The causative morpheme [-s], may surface as [-š] after roots ending in C or J. The process can be captured by the following allomorphy rule, $s \rightarrow \check{s}/\{C\}-$. As Aronoff, (1976:98) states such a rule "effects a phonological change", and "only applies to certain morphemes in the immediate environment of certain other morphemes..." The followings are examples of causative stems with [-š].

Verb Roots	Gloss	Causative Verbs	Gloss
iC-	hit	iš-š-	cause to hit
gaC-	open	gaš-š-	cause to open
kej-	kill	keš-š-	cause to kill
foC-	massage	foš-š-	cause to massage
tuj-	spit	tuš-š-	cause to spit

Table 12 Causative Stems (II)

From the above examples, we can observe that a process of bi-directional assimilation takes place between the underlying causative morpheme **[-(i)s]** and the root final consonants. Both **[-(i)s]** and the root final consonant are changed to **[-š]**. It seems that first the causative suffix **[-(i)s]** assimilates with the root final palatal affricate **/č/** or **/j/** in point of articulation to become **/-š/**. In other words, there is a process of palatalization taking place. Then, the root final consonant also assimilates to the already assimilated suffix **[-š]**

in manner of articulation. The two processes can be represented as follows.

1. s -> š /{č}- palatalization/suffix assimilation
2. {č}-> š /-š root final consonant assimilation

Both processes can be shown with the root /iC-/ hit as follows.

iC-s > iC-š > išš - Cause to hit

The rules are ordered in that the causative suffix assimilation or palatalization takes place before the assimilation of the root final segment, the first feeding the second.

Syntactically, a causative verb has a different characteristic from its non-causative counterpart. This is because the causative has a valency of one NP more than its non-causative counterpart. This is not peculiar to Yam causatives. Comrie, (1976:261) as quoted in Saksena, (1980:125-136) says:

In general, a given causative verb will be expected to have one more noun phrase argument than the corresponding non-causative verb, since in addition to the subject and objects, if any, of that verb, there will be a noun-phrase expressing the person or thing that causes, brings about the action.

Causativization, thus, has valency increasing effect. In this connection, again Comrie, (1985:323) says,

The causative verb may be a transitive verb formed from an intransitive; but it may also, in many languages, be formed from a basic verb already of higher valency, in which case the derived causative always has (atleast potentially) one more noun phrase argument than the basic verb.

In Yam, a monotransitive verb root, like /wor-/ 'kill' which strictly subcategorizes only one argument noun phrase can get an additional argument NP or PP whenever it is causativized.

Hence: /wor-/ 'kill' v + [NP-]

/wor-s-/ 'cause to kill' v + [NP NP-] or
v + [NP PP-]

Similarly, a bitransitive verb like /im-/ 'give' which strictly sub categoriezes two arguments can get one more argument or PP for the same reason. Compare the forms below.

/im-/ 'give' = v + [NP NP-]

/im-s-/ 'cause to give' = v = [NP NP NP-] or
[NP NP PP]

We have structures of sentences like the following as illustrations:

10. (a) asu-s goño wor-i

man-def hyena kill-pf

"The man killed a hyena".

(b) C absa asu-s-in goño wor -s -i

Chabsa man-def-acc hyena kill-CAUS-pf

"Chabsa made the man kill the hyena".

(c) na-s nawa-s -ik waga im-i
 boy-def girl-def-to money give-pf
 "The boy gave money to the girl".

(d) asu-s na-s- in nawa-s -ik waga im-s-i
 man-def boy-def-acc girl-def to money give-CAUS-pf
 "The man made the boy give money to girl".

In such structure, the cause NP can be either optionally omitted or expressed as an oblique object since we have structures like the following:

11.(a) C absa goño wor -s-i

Chabsa hyena kill-CAUS-pf

"Chabsa caused (somemore) kill a hyena".

(b) C absa goño -s-on asu -nik wor -s-i

Chabsa hyena-def-acc man with/by kill-CAUSE-pf

"Chabsa had the hyena killed by a man".

In such structures, there is an extra agent or causer NP. Which appears as the subject of the causative sentence.

The cause which was the grammatical subject of the basic verb (non-causative form) cannot remain as the subject of the causative verb, since it is now the causer which takes the subject position of the sentence. The cause has to change its syntactic relationship by being an object of the causative verb marked with the accusative marker [-in/-on], or by being an oblique NP marked with [-nik].

It may vanish from the structure as in the above (11.a) example. The new syntactic relationship which has come about as a result of causativization is represented in the following manner.

Causativization:

Add new agent = SUBJECT

SUBJECT ->OBJECT /OBLIQUE/ \emptyset

The above representation shows how an underlying (logical) subject becomes an object (oblique) or zero as the result of the introduction of a new agent NP which functions as a subject,.

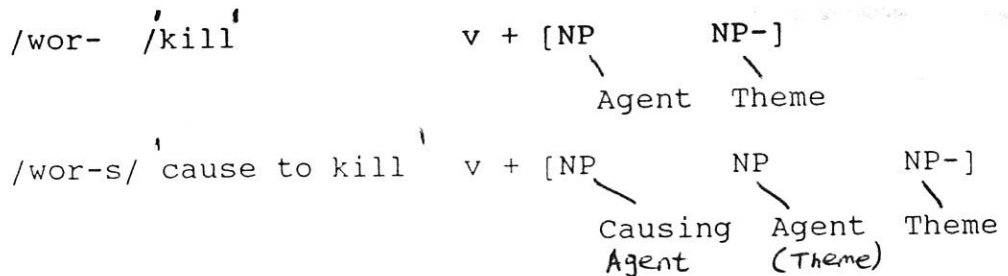
According to the fact presented here, the causee is the patient of the causative predicate when it is expressed as an object as in (10b) but not when it is suppressed and expressed as an oblique as in (11b). Since a patient is, according to Jakendoff (1990), "the entity affected by the action," the object causee is interpreted as affected by the causation. The oblique causee, on the other hand is an agent unaffected by the causing event (compare the above examples:(10b and 11b)

The semantic difference between the two forms of the causee lies in the causer's intentions: in (10b), for example, where the causee asu 'man' is expressed as an object, the causer C' absa 'chabsa' intends to make the causee, asu 'man' kill a hyena. In this case, the causer is acting on



affecting the semantic subject of the base predicate. In the latter case in (11b), where the causee asu 'man' is expressed as an oblique, the causer is not acting on the logical subject of the base predicate, because it is acting instead on the patient of the base predicate, goño 'hyena'. Here, the causee is only an intermediary who carries out the action of killing. The causee asu 'man' is, therefore, the patient of the causative predicate in the former (10b) but not in the latter (11b). In the latter case, it is the base patient goño 'hyena' that is the patient of causation.

Thus, change in subcategorization is not the only thing brought about by the causativization process. The process also induces a new theta role causing agent into the structure of verbs. It also changes the role of the Agent NP into a Theme as it is affected by the causation action as in example (10b) above. This can be represented in lexical entries, like for /wor-/ 'kill' and /wor-s-/ 'cause to kill' as follows.



B. Causativization of Intransitive Verbs

In this sub section, we shall consider the causativization of verbs that have no internal arguments. The reduplicated form of the causative affix, used to derive causative stems from transitive bases [- (i)sis], is used here to causativize such verbs. The single causative suffix [- (i)s] is used, here only to transitivise such verbs. The attachment of the same suffix to a transitivized stem results in the formation of the causative form. It is, hence possible to say that the causativization of intransitive verbs is different from that of transitives as it allows the process to apply twice: first to transitivise and, then to causativize. The following are some examples of transitivized forms.

Intransitive		Transitivized	
Verb Roots	Gloss	Forms	Gloss
fal-	boil	fal-s-	boil (tv)
bo?-	get hot	bo?-is-	make hot
fat-	get fat	fat-is	fatten
ell-	run	ell-s-	run

Table 13 Transitivized Verbs

The subcategorization frames of such verb are different from those of their intransitive base forms as they are characterized by an NP complement

which they acquire as a result of their having the affix [-(i)s]. An intransitive verb like ell-'run', for example, is subcategorized for an NP complement, when it is causativized. Compare the following:

- | | | | |
|----|---------|-------------|---------|
| a. | /el-/ | 'run' (int) | V+[-] |
| b. | /el-s-/ | 'run' (tv) | V+[NP-] |

The subcategorization frame of such verbs as els-'run' (tv.) is the same as that of a transitive verb. This is why the suffix [-(i)s] can be considered as a transitivizing morpheme. The following are structures with both types of verbs.

12. (a) Č'absa ell-i
 Chabsa run-pf
 "Chabsa run".
- (b) na-s C'absa -s -in ell -s -i
 boy-def chabsa-def-acc run-CAUS-pf
 "The boy made Chabsa run".

The causativization of an intransitive verb changes the subject in (a) to an object in (b), and introduces a new NP subject.

Moreover, as stated earlier, the transitivized verbs can also undergo

causativizations by having the affix [-(i)s] as in the following examples:

Transitivized		Causativized	
Verb Stems	Gloss	Verb Roots	Gloss
fat-is-	fatten	fatisis-	Cause (so)to fatten
bo?-is-	make hot	bo?isis-	Cause(so)to boil
fals-	boil(tv)	falsis-	Cause(so)to boil
ha?-is-	drop (tv)	ha?isis-	Cause(so)to drop

Table 14 Causativized forms of Transitive Verbs

The subcategorization frames of such verbs is like that of transitive based causative forms. The number of complements that a verb requires increases as the verb changes from intransitive to transitive and then to causative. This is shown in the following entries for the lexical items /bo?-/'boil (at low temp)' (int) /bo?-is-/'boil (at low temp)' (tv) and /bo?-isis-/'cause (someone) boil (at low temp)' respectively to illustrate this point.

/bo?-/	v + [-]
/bo?-is-/	v + [NP-]
/bo?-isis-/	v + [NP NP-]

The followings are structures with such forms respectively:

13. (a) aka bo? -i

water boil - pf

"The water boiled".

(b) na -s aka -s -on bo? -is -i

boy def water-def-acc boil-CAUS-pf

"The boy made the water boil".

14. (a) C'absa na-s -in aka bo? -isis-i

Chabsa boy-def-acc water boil-CAUS-pf

"Chabsa caused the boy make water boiled".

(b) C'absa aka -s -on na -nik fal-isis-i

Chabsa water-def-acc boy-with/by boil-CAUS-pf

"Chabsa had the water boiled by a boy".

In such sentences, there is a change in the syntactic status of NPs. The subject of sentence (14.a) aka 'water', for instance, cannot remain as the subject of the transitivized verb in sentence (14.b). As the subject position is occupied by the newly introduced a subject NP, na 'boy' becomes the object, again identified by the same element -in or by its position as an oblique object identified by the suffix /-nik/ as in (14.b).

The increase in the number of NPs and the change in the grammatical relations of NPs are not the only changes brought about by the transitivization and causativization processes. An agentive role is introduced as a result of the transitivization process and a new causing NP agent

is also introduced to be associated with new role. Moreover as it is stated previously, causativization changes the agent NP of the transitivized verb into a theme NP. This NP occurs as the object of the causative verb as in (14a). But it remains as an agent NP when it appears as an oblique object as in (14b). This can be represented in lexical entries as shown for /bo?-/ boil (at low temp) int., /bo?-is-/ boil (at low temp.) tv. and /bo?-isis-/ cause to boil (at low temp) as follows.

/bo?-/ 'boil (at low temp.)' int. v + [NP-]

|
Theme

/bo?-is-/ 'boil (at low temp.)' tv v + [NP NP-]

| |
Agent Theme

/bo?-isis-/ 'Cause to boil' v + [NP NP NP-]

| | |
Causing Agent Theme
Agent (Theme)

2.2.1.3 Causatives of Reciprocal Verb Stems

Though the reciprocal action, in this language, is expressed syntactically with a word wal 'each other' as in



wal iC -e 'hit each other'
 each other hit-pf
 wal ta? -e 'touch each other'
 each other touch-pf

the causative of such reciprocal action is expressed morphologically. The process refers to causing two or more people doing something to each other. The affix used to derive such stems is [-sisis] which is the reduplicated form of the causative suffix already shown. The affix occurs immediately next to the verb root and expresses that someone causes the action indicated by the verb to take place in a reciprocal manner. The following table shows such forms.

Verb Roots	Gloss	Causative Recip	Gloss
dam-	kiss	dam-sisis-	cause to kiss each other
ta?-	touch	ta?-sisis-	cause to touch each other
ʃun-	love	ʃun-sisis-	cause to love each other
ki?-	kick	ki?-sisis-	cause to kick each other
mak-	tell	mak-sisis-	cause to tell other other

Table 15 Causative of Reciprocal Verbs

Such verbs do not have increased valency any more than simple transitive verbs. The only difference between such forms and simple transitives is that, these have a causing Agent NP which has a grammatical function of subject and also an object NP which has both the Agent and Theme roles. The object which is inherently plural is both a causee as well as patient. The subject NP causes the object NPs to do something to each other.

The lexical entries of the verb [dam-] ^{causative of} 'kiss' and its reciprocal [dam-sisis-] 'cause to kiss each other', for instance, is as follows:

/dam-/	v: [NP	NP-]
	Agent	Theme
/dam-sisis/	v: [NP	NP-]
	Causing Agent	Agent Theme

The following structures show the structural similarities between the two types of verbs:

15. (a) bar nanguta -s -n dam-i

he children-def-acc kiss-pf

"He kissed the children".

(b) bar nanguta -s -on dam -sisis-i

He children-def-acc kiss-CAUS of Rec-pf

"He made the children kiss each other".

A word formation rule, $[[x-] + -sisisi] \rightarrow [x-]_{\text{CAU. of Rec.}}$ may be formulated for the derivation of such forms.

2.1.2 Passive Verb Stem Formation

Passive verbs are derived from active roots with the suffix [-t]. The followings are examples of such forms:

Verb Roots	Gloss	Passive Verb Stems	Gloss
wor-	kill	wor-t-	be killed
mak-	tell	mak-t-	be told
dam-	kiss	dam-t-	be kissed
wag-	buy/sell	wag-t-	be bought/sold
šun-	love	šun-t-	be loved
sol-	find	sol-t-	be found
om-	hate	om-t-	be hate

Table 16 Passive Verbs (I)

The passive morpheme has the allomorphs $[-d \sim s \sim \check{S} \sim C]$ which are phonologically conditioned. The passive affix /-t/ assimilates with the root final consonant as in the following.

Verb Roots	Gloss	Passive Verb Stems	Gloss
uš-	drink	uš-š-	be drank
kiC-	burn	kiC-C-	be burnt
iC-	hit	iC-C-	be hit
fas-	annoy	fas-s-	be annoyed
kad-	cut	kad-d-	be cut
kid-	break	kid-d-	be broken

Table 17 Passive Verbs (II)

The allomorphic variations are the following:

t --> C/C-

t --> s/s-

t --> d/d-

t --> š/š-

The derivation of the passive follows the following rule, $[[x-] + -t] \rightarrow [x-]_{\text{passive}}$

The same rule can also derive impersonal passives from intransitive roots, like the following.

Verb Root	Gloss	Impersonal Passive Stems	Gloss
kit-	die	kit-t-	(it)be died
el-	run	el-t-	(it)be run
kun-	sleep	kun-t-	(it)be slept

Table 18 Impersonal Passives

The syntactic property of such forms is that their external arguments are impersonal or non-referential. The interpretative source for the unexpressed subject is in the verb itself. One can understand what the subject is from the verb.

Passivization results in the reduction of arguments of verbs. A verb with an x number of arguments changes to one with an $x-1$ arguments as a result of the passive morpheme. The following structures illustrate this.

16. (a) C'absa na -s -in wor-i
Chabsa boy-def-acc kill-pf
"Chabsa killed the boy".

(b) na -s wor -t -e
boy-def kill-PASS-pf
"The boy was killed".

In the passive structure (b), the direct object has become the subject and the subject of the structure in (a), is missing. The subject of the passive (na-s 'the boy') has the thematic role of patient and it obtains its meaning of receiver of the action .

The agent NP of the active structure in (a) can occur optionally as an oblique object of [nik] by in structures like the following.

17. na -s C absa-nik wor -t -e
boy-def chabsa-by kill-PASS-pf
"The boy was killed by Chabsa".

What is going on here, is the demotion of the old subject NP and the promotion of the direct object to subject. This is the property of passivization as pointed out in Perlmutter and Postal, (1977), Keenan (1975) quoted in Van Valin, (1980:316) as follows:

...the basic function of the passive is direct object-to-subject promotion, with demotion of the initial subject as a consequence of direct object promotion, ... Subject demotion (Actor Suppression) is the basic function of the passive, with direct object promotion being an optional feature: Both of these positions take passivization to have two aspects, subject demotion and direct object promotion.

Such demotions and promotions of arguments can be indicated as follows:

Passivization

(SUBJ) --> \emptyset /oblique Agent
 (OBJ) --> (SUBJ)

This shows that passivization changes the arguments associated with the function object into subject, and the argument paired with the function subject into an oblique Agent phrase which is optional.

Finally, a WFR $[[x-]_{vr} + Aff_v]$ --> $[x]_v$ can generate verbal stems from other roots or stems.

2.3. ADJECTIVIZATION

Adjectives can be formed from verbal and nominal stems/roots. The process of derivation is

affixation and reduplication. The reduplication part will be presented in Chapter 4.

2.3.1 Adjectives Formed From Verbs

This is a productive process. The bases are intransitive verbs. The derivational affixes are [-a- or -u]. These suffixes have category changing functions, that is, they change verbals into adjectivals.

The following tables show some derived adjectives:

Verb Root	Gloss	Adjectives	Gloss
diC-	become tall	diC-a	tall
išm-	become dry	išm-a	dry
tum-	become full	tum-a	full
šup' -	become soft	šup' -a	soft
kin-	become dirty	kin-a	dirty
kaim-	become clean	kaim-a	clean
še?-	become red	še?-a	red
ses-	become thin	ses-a	thin
for-	become white	for-o	white
zag-	become strong	zag-o	strong
tugg-	become narrow	tugg-o	narrow

Verb Root	Gloss	Adjectives	Gloss
koC-	become cold	koC-o	cold
far-	become fat (for cattle)	far-u	fat (for cattle)
kas-	become beautiful	kas-u	beautiful
gum-	became hot	gum-u	hot
man-	become bad	man-u	bad

Table 19 Derived Adjectives

A word formation rule like the following can be suggested for such forms.

$$[[X-]_{\text{int.vr.}} + -a/-o/-u] \rightarrow [X]_{\text{Adj}}$$

Other affixes used for the same purpose are [-um], [-am] and [-an]. They are found with a small number of verbs like the following.

Verb Root	Gloss	Adjectives	Gloss
turk-	become poor	turk-am	poor
ott-	become rich	ott-um	rich
titt-	become greedy	titt-an	greedy
mett-	sick (v)	mett-an	sick (adj.)

Table 20 Adjectives with [-um/-am/-an]

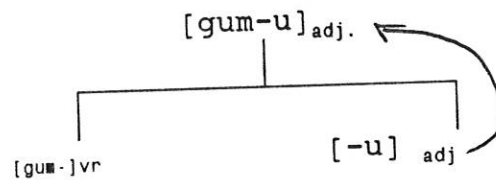
There are still a few intransitive verbs that can be used as adjectives without any overt adjectival affix. The following are some of them.

Verb Root	Gloss	Adjectives	Gloss
dig-	fear	dig	fearful
kawn-	become short	kawn	short
cim-	become strong	cim	strong
zag-	become clever	zag	clever

Table 21 [0] as an adjectivizer

Such forms can be accounted for in terms of zero affixation.

All the affixes have adjectival features that percolate up to the newly derived forms as shown in the following tree representation for [gum-u] hot



The following structures illustrate the distribution of the base verbs and the derived adjectives.

18. (a) maya -na Kaim -i
 clothes my become clean-pf
 "My clothes become clean".
- (b) bar kaim-a maya far
 he clean clothes has
 "He has clean clothes".

19. (a) i?o -s diC -i
 wood (tree)-def become tall-pf
 "The tree became tall (big)".
- (b) i?o -s diCu wa
 tree def. tall is
 "The tree is tall (big)"
20. (a) fizo-bo - far -i
 goat-his become fat-pf
 "His goat became fat".
- (b) fizo-bo far-u wa
 goat his fat is
 "His goat is fat".
21. (a) bar turk- -i
 he become poor-pf
 "He became poor".
- (b) bar turk-am asu wa
 he poor man is
 "He is a poor man".
22. (a) bar goño dig-i
 he hyena fear-pf
 "He frightened^a hyena".
- (b) bar dig wa
 he fearful is
 "He is fearful".
23. (a) bar kawn -i
 he become short-pf
 "He became short".

(b) bar kawn asu wa
 he short person (man) is
 "He is a short man".

The derived adjectives, in this language, are like gerundive nominals. They use the same derivational morphemes.

Generally, it is possible to formulate a general word formation rule for all adjectivals:

$$[[x-]_v + \text{Adj.}^{\text{Aff.}}] \rightarrow [x]_{\text{adj.}}$$

CHAPTER THREE

COMPOUNDING

Compounding is one of the processes of word formation in which new words are formed by combining two or more existing words. In Yam, compound words can be formed by combining two or sometimes even three words.

The compounds in Yam belong to three different categories: Noun, Adjective or verb. The structures of such compounds are presented below.

3.1 Compound Nouns

Compound nouns can be formed by combining two elements, such as two simple nouns, a noun and a gerundive nominal, and an Adjective and a noun. More complex structures are possible as well, though they are not very productive. These include compounds formed out of three nouns or an adjective and two nouns.

3.1.1 Noun + Noun Compounds

This is a pattern in which compound nouns are formed out of two nouns. There are two types of such compounds: Endocentric and Exocentric compounds.

a. Endocentric Compounds

An endocentric compound is one in which one of the components is a head which conveys the basic meaning of the whole compound. In such compounds the class of elements denoted by the compound are a subset of the class of elements that would be denoted by the head noun itself (cf. Selkirk, 1982:22).

In Yam such compounds are the most common ones. The following are representative examples:

1.

duma da	'mountain'
a. duma	'peak'
b. da	'earth'
2.

bun safira	'a meal eaten before coffee'
a. bun	'coffee'
b. safira	'breakfast'
3.

aba kusu	'thumb'
a. aba	'father'
b. kusu	'hand'
4.

toon asu	'a person from desert'
a. toona	'desert'
b. asu	'person/man'
5.

toon ebo	'favourable season for people who live in desert/January'
a. toona	'desert'
b. ebo	'happy time'

6. font umba 'sheep's excrement'
 a. fontu 'sheep'
 b. umba 'excrement'



In the last three examples a phonological rule that deletes a word final vowel before a vowel initial component takes place, $v_1 \rightarrow \emptyset / -v$. The inputs and outputs of the rule are:-

toona ebo --> toon ebo
 toona asu --> toon asu
 fontu umba --> font umba

There are also other types of N + N compounds which are characterized by the element -ni-/-n- occurring between them. In other words, a phonological rule that inserts a connecting element at the juncture is applied with some such compounds. This includes some names of the months of the year which use the word ebo 'happy time' and another noun as in:

1. yem-n-ebo 'February'
 a. yema 'name of the ethnic group'
 b. ebo 'happy time'
2. wag-n-ebo 'march'
 a. wag 'name of a tribe in Kefa region'
 b. ebo 'happy time'

By combining boto 'box/container' with another noun it is possible to form compounds like the following:

1. mee-ni-boto 'a container of grain'
 - a. meya 'grain'
 - b. boto 'container'
2. ees-ni-boto 'beehive'
 - a. eesa 'honey'
 - b. boto 'box/container'

Such forms show the locative relation holding between the two nouns. Others can also be formed by combining keya 'house' with another noun as in:

kas-ni-keya	'nest'
kasa	'bird'
keya	'house'

Some kinship terms are also formed by combining two nouns with the combining element -n-

Example:

tuš-n-aba	'step father'
tuša	'bread/injera'
aba	'father'

As can be seen from the above examples, compounds with -ni/-n elements denote a sense of possession. In other words, some sort of possessor-

possessed relationship is shown between the components of the compounds. In the syntactic structures of the language the suffix used to indicate a possessor noun in Nps is /-si/ but not /-ni/ as in the following.

1. kana-si-mu

dog of food

'The food of the dog'

2. eto -si -nawa

lion of child

'The cub of the lion'

/-ni/ is also used to indicate a possessor which is a proper noun. (cf. Fisseha, 1984:22)

1. Kabada ni faza

kebede of horse

'the horse of Kebede'

2. hiruti-ni keya

Hirut of house

'the house of Hirut'

3. C'absa-ni nawa

Chabsa-of child

'the child of Chabsa'

There is a phonological rule which operates on the compounds with -ni/n. The rule deletes the last segment or syllable of the first constituent. Consider the following.

which one the category feature percolates to the whole compound. However, based on the semantic criterion that says "The notion head is crucial in characterizing the semantics of the compounds" (Selkirk, 1982:22) and based on the position of the head in Yam, the feature of the whole component percolates from the second (right) member of the compound.

A compounding rule of the type: $[x_N + x_N] \rightarrow [x]_N$ can be formulated for all the compounds considered so far.

b. Exocentric Compounds

In this language, there is a small number of compound nouns that are said to be exocentric. Such compounds are formed by combining two nouns whose meaning is entirely different from the meaning of the whole.

Examples:

1. gaima da 'a stick used to mix Borde/drink
in the pot'
- a. gaima 'pot'
- b. da 'earth/ground/country'
2. aba suuta 'cardamom/a kind of spice'
- a. aba 'father'
- b. suuta 'neck'

The second member can be considered as the head in such compounds as the head position is already identified in **Endocentric** compounds.

Hence the word formation rule formulated above can generate such compounds, too.

3.1.2. Compounds with Noun + Gerundives

The other class of compounds is the type formed by combining a noun and a gerund. The gerund is the second member. The linking element, **-ni-/-n-** is also used with most such compounds.

Examples:

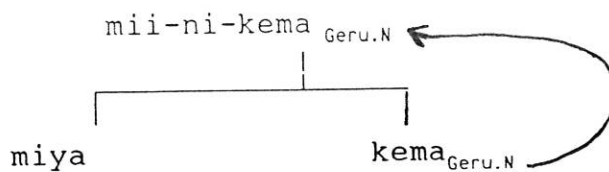
1.gero kesa	\ excreting \
a.gero	\ outside \
b.kesa	\ going \
2.mii-ni-kema	\ cattle keeping \
a.miya	\ cattle \
b.kema	\ keeping \
3.mee-ni-kada	\ harvesting \
a.meya	\ grain \
b.kada	\ cutting \
4.may-ni-zooru	\ dress sewing \
a.maya	\ dress \
b.zooru	\ sewing \

The phonological rule that deletes the final segment(s) takes place specially to compounds with **-ni-**. This is also followed by the compensatory lengthening in the case of examples (2) and (3).

This phonological process does not take place in other phrasal structures which contain Nps and Vs.

1. a. bar meya kad-i
he grain cut-pf
"He harvested(cut)the grain."
- b. nawa-s mee-ni-kada areriwa
 girl-def harvesting knows
 "The girl knows harvesting."
2. a. bar miya-s kem-i
 he cattle-def keep-pf
 "He guarded(kept)the cattle."
- b. barsi mii-ni-kema kesu wa
 his cattle keeping good is
 "His cattle keeping is good."

In such compounds the gerundive which is the right hand member is the head. The percolation of the features can be therefore be represented in the following manner.



The word formation rule that generates such forms can be shown as follows:

$$[X_N + X_{Geru.N}] \text{ ----> } [X]_{Geru.N}$$

3.1.3 Compounds with Adjective + Noun

These are compounds formed by combining adjectives and nouns. The head in such compounds is the noun as it determines the category type of the compound and its basic meaning.

Examples:

1.kenn aša	'abdomen'
a.kenna	'inner'
b.aša	'meat'
2.oyta kusu	'right hand'
a.oyta	'right'
b.kušu	'hand'
3.halda kušu	'left hand'
a.halda	'left'
b.kušu	'hand'

Moreover, by combining the noun asu 'person' with an adjective, it is possible to form a compound noun which refer to a person with the quality expressed by the adjective.

Examples:

1.mašk asu	'woman/lady'
a.mašk	'female'
b.asu	'person/human being'

2.hark' asu	'man'
a.hark'a	'male'
b.asu	'person/human being'
3.kud asu	'elder'
a.kuda	'old'
b.asu	'person human being'

In such compounds, the last segment of the first member drops. In other types of compounds, the compositional element -n- intervenes between the two constituents as in:

foro-n-aka	'ocean'
foro	'white'
aka	'water'

For all such forms, a compounding rule of the type: $[X_{Adj} + X_N] \rightarrow [X]N$ can be formulated.

3.2 Compound Adjectives

Compound adjectives can be formed by combining nouns and adjectives and adjectives with other adjectives.

3.2.1. Noun + Adjective Compounds

These are formed by combining nouns and adjectives. they can be endocentric or exocentric.

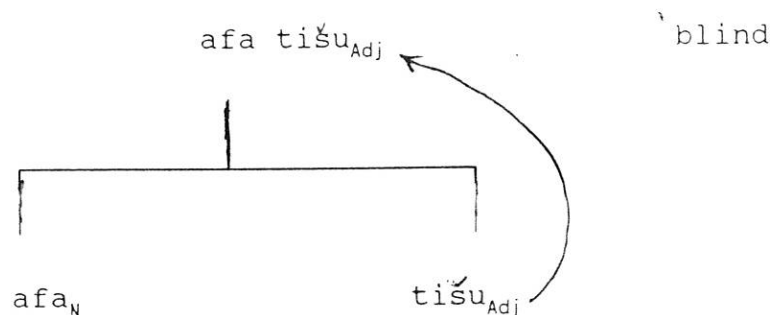
a. Endocentric compounds

These have an adjectival head representing the basic meaning and categorical features of the compound.

Examples:

- | | |
|---------------|---------------------|
| 1. gido fonto | 'weak' |
| a. gido | 'power' |
| b. fonto | 'deficient/lacking' |
| 2. faya fonto | 'patient/sick' |
| a. faya | 'health' |
| b. fonto | 'deficient/lacking' |
| 3. afa tišu | 'blind' |
| a. afa | 'eye' |
| b. tišu | 'deficient/lacking' |

The heads of such compounds are those whose category features are identical with that of the whole compounds. The following branching tree shows the percolation of adjectival features from the head to the compound.



There are also other types of compound adjectives whose meaning is entirely different from

the meaning of the component parts. These are exocentric compounds.

Examples:

1. odo foro	'absurd'
a. odo	'ear'
b. foro	'white'
2. niba ta?to	'dumb'
a. niba	'heart'
b. ta?to	'tied'

As can be observed from the examples the meaning of such compounds cannot be predicted from the meanings of its components. the second member is the head in such compounds because it has the same category feature as the compound.

It is possible to formulate a Word formation Rule like: $[X_N + X_{Adj}] \rightarrow [X]_{Adj}$ to generate such compounds.

3.2.2. Adjective + Adjective Compounds

There are also endocentric compounds of adjectives formed by combining two adjectives. Such compounds refer to names of colours. the following are Examples:

1. Še?a kata	'dark red/carmine'
a. Še?a	'red'
b. kata	'ripe'

2. kara sititu	'dark black/mulberry'
a. kara	'black'
b. sititu	'dark'
3. zawa wašifar	'deep yellow(for human skin color)'
a. zawa	'yellow'
b. wašifar	'shiny/bright'

Such compounds follow the rule:

$$[X_{Adj} + X_{Adj}] \rightarrow [X]_{Adj}.$$

Though the compounds and their components have the same category type, that is, adjective, the second component is considered to be the head. This is because in all such compounds it is the second member whose category feature percolates to the whole compound.

3.3 Compound verbs

Compound verb stems, in Yam, are formed by combining two verbs. The first verb in such structures is a bound morpheme with no category feature. the second member is a verb root, *i-* 'say' or *g-* 'do'. The category feature of such compounds comes from the second component which is a head.

The following are examples of such compounds.

- | | |
|---------------|----------------------------|
| 1. harfak i- | 'raise up fastly' |
| a. harfak | 'raise' |
| b. i- | 'say' |
| 2. bustruk i- | 'sleep fastly or suddenly' |
| a. bustruk | 'sleep' |
| b. i- | 'say' |
| 3. fu:l i- | 'run fastly' |
| a. fu:l | 'fly' |
| b. i- | 'say' |
| 4. firir g- | 'throw fastly' |
| a. firir | 'throw' |
| b. g- | 'do' |
| 5. kap' g- | 'take fastly' |
| a. kap' | 'take' |
| b. g- | 'do' |

The following structures show the occurrence of such compound verbs in sentences.

1. c'absa maya-s-on kap, g-i
 chabsa clothes-def-acc take-pf
 "Chabsa take the clothes."
2. c'absa su?a firir g-i
 chabsa stone throw-pf
 "Chabsa throw a stone."

3. c'absa bustruk i-i
 chabsa sleep-i.
 "Chabsa slept."

A Word formation rule $[(X-)]_{vr}^1 + [X]_{vr}^2 \rightarrow [X_{vr}]^3$ can produce such compounds.

3.4. Complex Compounds

This is a complex process of compounding in which new words are formed from three constituents. The possibility of forming such compounds in a language is pointed out in Selkirik, (1982:15) who says " More complex structures are possible as well, since compounding is in principle recursive". The notion of recursive implies that a compound may have another compound as its right or left hand member. In other words, a compound can itself appear as a part of another compound which inturn may be a part of still another compound, and so on.

In Yam, Compound nouns can be formed out of three nouns or an adjective and two nouns, although the process is not productive. Consider the following Examples:

1. gero kesa keya 'a house used by women
 during their menustration'
- a. gero 'outside'
- b. kesa 'leaving/going'
- c. keya 'house'

2. mašk asu zoma 'girl friend'
 a. maška 'female'
 b. asu 'person/human being'
 c. zoma 'friend'
3. atk' asu zoma 'boy friend'
 a. atk' a 'male'
 b. asu 'person/human being'
 c. zoma 'friend'

The first member is a compound word whereas, the second is a simple word.

A phonological rule that deletes the final segment (vowel) of the first component takes place in examples like (2) and (3) above.

Following Selkirk's (1982) recursive word formation rule, one would form such compounds in two cycles using a word formation rule like $[X_{N/Adj} + X_N] \rightarrow [X]_N$. At the first cycle the rule forms for instance, $[[gero]_N [kesa]_N]_N$ by taking $[gero]_N$ and $[kesa]_N$ as first and second members respectively. Then at the second cycle, the same rule applies to form $[[gero kesa]_N [keya]_N]_N$ by taking the already formed word $[gero kesa]_N$ as first and $[keya]_N$ as second member. The same applies to the other compounds.

So far we have attempted to show all possible ways of forming compounds we shall now see whether such compounds are really lexical items or not.

3.5. The Lexical Status of Compounds

In this section, we shall attempt to argue for the lexical status of the compounds presented so far. For this phonological, morphological, semantic and syntactic evidence will be presented.

Phonologically all the forms treated as compounds are characterized as single phonological units, that is, one breath, and possibly one major accent group.

Like in other complex lexical items there occurs an adjustment rule that deletes or inserts certain segments at the juncture of the constituents.

Examples:

1. meya boto ---> mee-ni-boto 'grain container'
2. miya kemo ---> mii kemo 'cow boy/cattle
keeper'
3. tuša aba ---> tuš-ni-aba 'step father'
4. kuda asu ---> kud asu 'elder'

These two properties are pointed out in Klingebiel, (1989:114) as follows:

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

Such adjustments make compound structures different from their constituents in that their syllable boundaries no longer coincide with the boundaries between the component parts.

On the other hand, the tone pattern of the compound exhibits a pattern which is different from that of the constituent parts. The tone pattern of a word in isolation is different from the pattern it assumes when it appears as a part of a compound consider the following examples (cf. Wedekind's Yamsa word list, 1982)

- | | | |
|----|-------------|-----------------|
| 1. | ká asú | 'cattle driver' |
| a. | kalá | 'cattle' |
| b. | ású | 'person' |
| 2. | fó ró-n-áká | 'ocean' |
| a. | fó ró | 'white' |
| b. | áká | 'water' |
| 3. | át k' asú | man |
| a. | át ká | 'male' |
| b. | ású | 'person' |

As can be observed from the examples, the Compounds have tone patterns which are different from those of their constituents. In other words, there is variation in the tone patterns of a word when it appears as a part of a compound and as an independent form.

The shift in tone pattern and the deletion of the vowel suggest that the compound is not composed of the original constituent parts each time it is used. In normal speech, the native speakers of Yam does not recognize them as combinations of sequences of words but as single words, which means that they are lexicalized.

Morphologically, compound forms do not allow inflections to intervene. Lehiste (1964: 335) says,

The difference between compounds and phrases is often fluid compounds are recognizable on morphological grounds: the first element of the compound is not inflected and the compound normally belongs to the same form class as its second member.

In Yam, it is not possible to attach inflectional elements to each constituent because the constituent cannot behave independently. For example, each constituent cannot take the definite marker [-s] or the plural marker [-skio] independently. It is rather the whole compound which is characterized by such affixes. Consider the following examples:

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------|
| 1. <i>duma da</i> | 'mountain' |
| peak earth | |
| * <i>duma-sda</i> | 'the peak earth' |
| peak-df earth | |
| * <i>duma-skio da</i> | 'peaks earth' |
| peak-pl. earth | |

duma da-s	'the mountain'
peak earth-df.	
duma da-skio	'mountains'
2. maskasu zoma	'girl friend'
*maskasu-skio zoma	'girls friend'
girl/woman-pl.friend	
*maskasu- s zomo	'the girl friend'
maskasu zoma -skio	'girl friends'
maskasu zoma -s	'the girl firend'

This characteristic of compounds are also pointed out by Allen, (1978:112) who says "inflectional affixes donot appear inside compounds, just as they do not appear inside suffix-or prefix-derived words".

As shown in the above examples, the intervention of the plural suffix or the definite marker as a suffix of the first constituent of the compounds results in unacceptability. This illustrates that each constituent cannot function as an independent element; it is rather the whole compound which acts as a single lexical element with respect to inflections.

On the other hand, there is a compositional element -ni/-n- that intervenes between the constituents of some compounds. The existence of such elements in compounds of Africans, is attested in Meys, (1975:65) who says "compounds containing

link-phonemes ...are not so common in English as they are in Africans"

Semantically, all forms of compounds refer to a single unit of reference and may not be compositional, that is emanating from the meanings of the constituents. Infact the meaning of some compounds are different from the sum total of the meanings of their parts. This characteristics of compounds is stated by Meys, (1975:80) as follows:

Semantically, compounds can be seen to be isolated from ordinary syntactic constructions by having a meaning which may be related to but cannot simply be inferred from the meanings of its parts.

In light of this, let us compare some of the compounds with their corresponding free syntactic combinations.

Syntactic Phrases	Lexical Compounds
1. maška asu 'female person' female person	maškasu 'woman/lady'
2. meya boto 'any container grain container of grain'	mee/ni-boto 'a container made up of clay'
3. yama ebo 'a season in yama happy time which Yamas be pleased'	yam-n-ebo 'February'

As can be observed from the examples, the compounds have single semantic units of reference while the corresponding phrases have compositional meanings. The difference between the meanings of a compound as a whole and the combined meanings of its constituent parts can be elaborated in the following way: not all maška asu /female person/ is mašk-asu /lady or woman/. The phrase maška asu refers to 'any human being who is female', while the compound mašk-asu refers to 'a woman or a lady who looks after the domestic affairs of a family, the female head of a household or a mistress'. In the same way, the compound yam-n-ebo 'February' refers not to all seasons in which Yama are pleased but to a particular month, February. The phrase Yam/ebo, on the other hand, refers to 'anytime in which the Yamas are pleased'. The phrase has the compositional meaning of Yama 'the name of the ethnic group' and ebo 'happy time', whereas the compound refers to the single season, 'February' only. The same is, also, true with complex compounds which refer to a single semantic unit of reference. The compound gero kesa keya, for example, means 'toilet or a house used by females during their menstrual period' while its phrasal counterpart refers to 'a house located outside the home'.

Keeping in mind all such facts, then, it is possible to say that a compound has a meaning that is more than or different from, the sum-total meaning of the corresponding syntactic combinations. Compounding, then, can be regarded as a special kind of linguistic "chemical reaction" by means of which two or more units are combined into one new unit, with a new meaning. This is stated in Meys, (1975:1), as follows.

Compounding appears to be a kind of chemical reaction in language. Once a compound has become established, the components which went into the making of the compound may no longer provide a key to its meaning.

Finally, compounds belong to one major syntactic category. Aronoff, (1976:49) states this characteristics of complex words as follows: syntactically every new word must be a member of some major lexical category, the exact category being determined by the WFR which produces the word...". The compounds in Yam belong to one of the major categories. So, there is a remarkable similarity between them and simple lexicon forms. As single items, they are entered in the lexicon with their specifications.

Finally, the combinational possibilities of the categories in forming compounds are shown below.

	N	V	Adj.
N	+	-	+
V	-	+	-
Adj.	+	-	+
Adv.	-	-	-

+ Possible
- Impossible

As can be observed from the chart, a verb cannot be combined with another category such as noun or adjective. This is because such combinations tend to be phrasal rather than lexical.

Lastly, the word formation rules that generate compounds in Yam can be generalized as follows:

1. $\begin{bmatrix} + N \\ - V \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} + N \\ - V \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow N$
2. $\begin{bmatrix} - V \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} - V \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow A$
3. $\begin{bmatrix} + V \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} + V \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow V$

CHAPTER FOUR

Reduplication

According to Jenson, (1990:68) reduplication is

...the repetition of all or part of a morpheme to express a morphological category. If an entire morpheme is reduplicated, it is complete reduplication; if only a part is reduplicated, it is partial reduplication.

In Yam the only productive process of reduplication is the doubling of the whole base. The process occurs in nouns, adjectives and verbs. In nouns and adjectives the process expresses plurality. This part is rather outside the scope of this study. It is also found in affixes as shown in section 2.2.1.1 under causativization.

The reduplication process presented here is that which is used as a particular type of derivation.

It involves verbs and its function is to show frequency or intensity. On the other hand, reduplication in adjectivals results in the formation of nominals. It is also possible to derive certain time adverbial nominals by repeating nominal forms. In what follows we shall show some such processes.

4.1 Frequentatives and Intensives

The frequentatives and intensives are formed by reduplicating verb roots. The reduplication of the whole root is a regular process of forming such verbs as shown in the examples.

Verb Root	Gloss	Intensive/ Frequentative	Gloss
wor-	kill	worwor-	kill repeatedly
kar-	cut	karkar-	cut into pieces
kid-	break	kidkid-	break into pieces
iC-	hit	iCiC-	hit repeatedly
gaC-	open	gaCgaC-	open repeatedly
baC-	taste	baCbaC-	taste repeatedly
bog-	destroy	bog-bog-	destroy into pieces

Table 22 Frequentatives and Intensives

The process can be captured by the following rule:

$$[X_{vr}^1 + X_{vr}^1] \text{ ---> } [X_{vstem}] + \text{Frequentatives}$$

$$\quad \quad \quad \leftarrow + \text{Intensive}$$

Syntactically, frequentatives and intensives do not have argument structures different from their base form. The only difference is their semantics which is one of denoting the repetitive or intensive nature of the actions. Compare the following:

1. bar iʔon-s-on kar-i
 he wood-def.-acc cut-pf.
 "He cut the wood"
2. bar iʔon-s-on karkar-i
 he wood-def.-acc cut (INTENSIVE)-pf.
 "He cut the wood into pieces."

4.2 Adjectivization

In this language, adjectives can be derived from nouns by the process of reduplication as in the examples below:

Verb Root	Gloss	Adjectives	Gloss
suʔa-	stone	suʔa suʔa	stony
golo-	plain	golo golo	plainly
kuma-	hill	kuma kuma	hilly
gaw-	valley	gaw gaw	having the quality of valley
šabo-	milk	šabo šabo	milky

Table 23 Adjectives formed from Nouns

Examples of such forms in NPs include the following:

1. a. suʔa suʔa da
 stony , region/country
 'stony region or country'
2. b. golo golo da
 plainy region/country
 'plainy region or country'

The rule for such adjectives is as follows:

$$[[x]_N^1 + [x]_N^1] \text{ ----> } [x]_{Adj.}$$

4.3 Adverbial Nouns

In Yam, it is also possible to form nominals that have adverbial functions by reduplicating nouns that refer to time like in the following:

Verb Root	Gloss	Adverbials	Gloss
wona-	day	wona wona	daily (every day)
?eso-	morning	?eso ?eso	every morning
wala-	night	wala wala	nightly (every night)

Table 24 Adverbial Nouns

The following structures can illustrate this:

- C'absa wona wona uša uš.nir
 Chabsa daily drink (n) drink - Imp.
 "Chabsa drinks a drink daily."
- bar wal wala da-ba ham-nir
 he nightly region.his go-Imp.
 "He goes to his region (village) every night."

A rule like $[[x]_N + [x]_N] \text{ ---> } [x]_{\text{Adverbial nouns}}$ can produce such forms form time nominals.t

CHAPTER FIVE

Word Formation by Changing Tone Patterns

According to wedekind, (1990:78-81), Yam has three levels of tone: Low (1), Mid (2) and High (3)

To has morphological significance in this language. New nominals can be formed by changing the tone patterns of other nominals. This process is not productive, but we have examples like the following:

1. $\bar{s}ip'ò$ (21) 'beg' (n)
 $\bar{s}ip'ó$ (23) 'begger'

2. $\bar{k}urc'í$ (21) 'leprosy'
 $\bar{k}urc'í$ (23) 'leper'

3. $\bar{t}a?tò$ (21) 'being imprisonal'
 $\bar{t}a?tó$ (23) 'prisoner'

The change of tones from ML to HL results in Agentive or Experiencer nominals, as in the examples above.

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categories: Noun, Adjective and verb and the whole compound belongs to any of these three categories.

The last process of word formation is Reduplication. Frequentatives and Intensives are derived in this process. Temporal adverbials and spatial adjectives are derived by reduplicating nouns.

It is also possible to derive some nominals by changing tone patterns.

The derived words behave differently from their base counterparts. The derivational processes and the phonological adjustment rules change the base to have a different phonetic shape. These make the derived form to have a syllable structure and a tone pattern that do not coincide with that of the base syntactically, the derived form may belong to a different syntactic category or possess a different argument structure semantically, the derived form mean different or more than its base.

Finally, it has been shown that Yam is a head final language as the head of a complex word is on the right

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CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing chapters, we have attempted to show possible ways of word formations in Yam. Affixation, Compounding and Reduplication have been discussed as major processes of word formation..

Nominals can be derived by attaching different affixes to adjectivals and verbals.

The types of nominals derived from verbals include: agentives, experiencers, result, patient, gerundives etc.

Verbal stems are derived from verb roots. The stems are those of causatives and passives. The causative marker is /- (i)s/. It changes intransitive verb roots into transitives and transitives into causatives.

Passives are derived from active roots with a suffix /-t/. Passivization results in the reduction of argument structures of verbs, unlike causativization which increases such structures.

Adjectives are formed from intransitive verb roots by affixing /-a~ -o~ -u/.

Compounding is another process of word formation in Yam. Compound words can be formed by combining two or sometimes three words together. Each member of the compound comes from one of the