ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
INSTITUTE OF LANGUAGE STUDIES

VERBAL MORPHOLOGY OF GEDEO

BY

MATHEWOS W. GIORGIS

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MATHEWOS W. GIORGIS

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APPROVED BY	**SIGNATURE**
Dr. Joachim Crass	_____
ADVISOR	
Dr. Getahun Amare	_____
EXAMINER	

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“Yo’oshsha galateeffatannon !”

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my family who always stand behind and before me next to the Almighty God.

Abstract

This study entitled 'Verbal Morphology of Gedeo' consists of five chapters which are classified in different subsections. The study is largely a descriptive one and hence does not involve much theoretical discussion.

Chapter one provides the introduction thesis including a brief summary of the phonology. The second chapter deals with the inflectional and derivational morphology of the language. In chapter three the analysis of subordinate verb forms are presented involving some kinds of subordinate clauses, such as relative clauses, complement clauses, converbs and some adverbial clauses including conditionals.

The fourth chapter deals with the negation of all verb forms. In the fifth chapter the main points are summarized and the general points about the verb structure of the language concluded on the base of above descriptions.

At the end, an appendix of words is attached followed by a list of bibliography.

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CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter begins with an introduction of the main points which give a hint about the whole thesis, such as background of the study, objectives of the study, significance of the study, scope of the study, and methodology. Theoretical framework and phonological sketch are also included with a short revision. In what follows, each point will be presented step by step.

1.1 Background of the Study

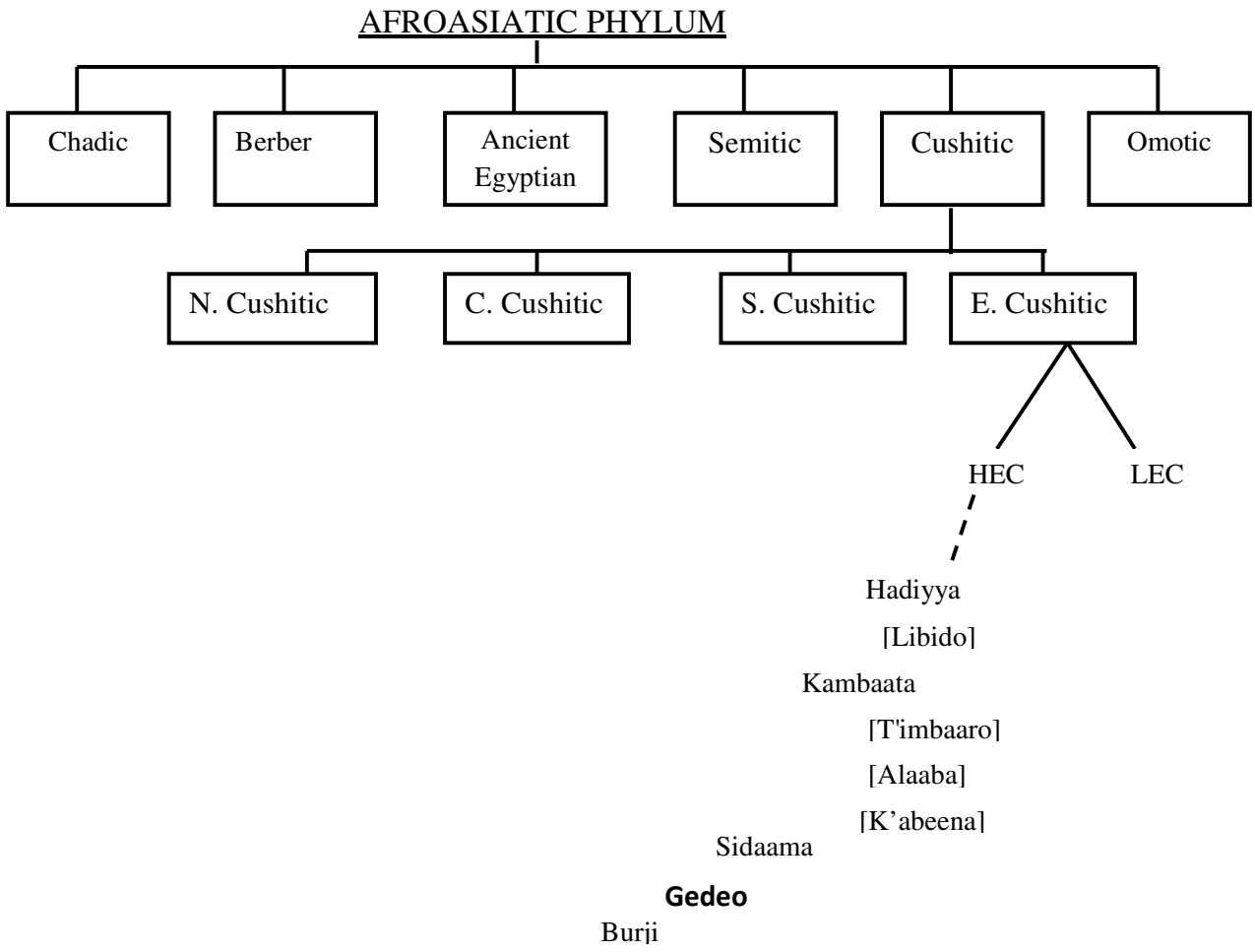
1.1.1 The People

The term Gedeo refers to both the people and the language. According to the current administrative situation, the people live in the SNNPR state. The 2007 Peoples and Housing Census of Ethiopia shows that the total figure of the population could reach 986, 977 (FDREPCC: 86). The majority of the people are protestant. Their life is based on agriculture, especially on Enset and Coffee production (Taddese 2005:1).

The people of Gedeo have a number of neighbors like Sidaama to the North, Burji and Kore/Koyra (Omotic) to the South, and Oromiya (Borana) to the East which covers a more wider boundary than others. There are also Rift and Lake Abaya to the East of Gedeo. The people are frequently bilingual, speaking Oromiiffa and their native language (Hudson 1976:232ff and ታደሰ ክጴና ሌሎችም 2000:1-6).

1.1.2 The Language

The people themselves call their language “Gedeuffa”. This language belongs to the HEC languages family which itself is from the Afro-Asiatic phylum. Cf. the family-tree diagram of the Afro-Asiatic supper family and the Cushitic family itself (Bender 1976:2-3) with the position of Gedeo in HEC languages (Hudson 1976:244).



Gedeo is used as working language of the Gedeo Zone Administration and as medium of instruction in elementary schools. Taddese (2005:1) mentions that the language has two dialects, namely northern and southern. But according to the information I got during fieldwork, there are three dialects, namely Riibata, Riiqata and Suubo. The first one is spoken around Dilla town whereas the second one is spoken around Yirgachefe. The last one, the Subo dialect, is spoken in the north part of Gedeo Zone. The dialect which is used for official cases is Riiqata.

The language has lexical similarity with HEC languages, such as Sidaama, Hadiyya, Kambaata and Burji. The Similarity expressed by figure, especially with Sidaama and Burji is 40% and 60% respectively (Taddese 2005:1).

1.1.3 The Previous Works

Gedeo is one of the least studied languages of Ethiopia, especially of the HEC group. Since minority languages have got attention in the field of research, the language should benefit from this exposure. There are several studies dealing with different aspects of the language mainly phonology, morphology and syntax.

Hudson (1976) undertakes a comparative study on the five HEC languages dealing with lexical comparison, word structure, and phonology and noun morphology in general. Wedekind (1980) provides a comparative study on phonological similarities and differences of the three HEC languages, namely Burji, Gedeo and Sidaama. Lulseged (1981) provides a contrastive work on the phonology of Gedeo and Amharic.

Concerning Morphology, Wedekind (1985) provides a general description on verb morphology and a few notes on aspect and agreement markers including derivative affixes. The monograph that wedekind presents focuses on verb morphophonemics and the paradigms of independent verb forms included are aimed at providing some background for the morphophonemics. Tadesse (2005) deals with the noun morphology of the language. Eyob (2006) undertakes a study on word formation, but he mainly deals with the formation of new lexemes focusing on derivation. Eyob discusses morphemes used in the processes of nominalization, verbalization, adjectivization, etc.

However, none of the works does focus on verb morphology. This means that verb morphology is not studied in detail. The absence of such a work initiated the present researcher to undertake an investigation of the verbal morphology of Gedeo.

1.2. Objective of the Study

The main objective of the study is to analyze and describe the structure of Gedeo verb morphology dealing both inflection and derivation, namely tense/aspect markers, agreement affixes, mood markers, and affixes of subordinate verbs and negation. Furthermore, the order of the affixes will be analyzed. In addition, the study as much as possible suggests some comments of previous studies.

1.3. Significance of the Study

The study may be of importance, first, in contributing to the knowledge of the morphology of Gedeo. Second, it may provide important information for the preparation of school and other materials. Third, it may serve as a source for further investigation.

1.4. Scope of the Study

This thesis is restricted to the inflectional and derivational morphology. Thus, the analysis and description are limited to the structure of verbs. However, the function of the verb forms did not take turn to be investigated in detail. Moreover, theoretical discussion is not used in this study.

1.5. Methodology

The descriptive method is employed to conducting this study. Hence, the related descriptive and typological works have been consulted in the first step. Then data are collected by elicitation from native speakers. Interview and recording are used as the main instruments of data collection.

1.6. The Informant

To collect such an ample of data, I selected two informants, called Girum Haile and Wondu Abebe who are the native speakers of Gedeo, during field work. Ato Girum Haile is from Feseha Genet, Kochore Woreda in Gedeo Zone. Ato Wondu Abebe lives in Yirgachef around Idido town. They both are 20 years old and both are second year students of Law in College of Debub Ethiopia in Hawassa. They can speak Amharic out of their native language.

Besides, when I was gathering additional data for the rechecking up purpose, I used one else informant who is Tariku Mengistu. He is from Gedeo Zone particularly from Yirgachefe and an age of 28. He graduated in English of BED from Dilla University some years ago. He has been lived in Addis Ababa since last two years, working in a sector of Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Both informats speak the Riiqata dialect. It is the most used dialect in Gedeo Zone (see cf. section 1.1.2).

1.7 Theoretical Framework

Morphology is since long time a descriptive level in linguistics. According to Lyons (1970:96), it accounts for the internal structure of words. Matthews (1974:6) defines morphology as it concerns the formation of words in different uses and constructions. According to him, the elements entering into the formation of words refer to morphemes. So, the morpheme is the minimal indivisible unit although Bauer (2003:110-120) considers that there are problems with regard to its definitions. Nida (1949:1) describes that the arrangements of morphemes include all combinations that form words or parts of words.

Eyob (2006:1) citing Baure (1983) mentions that morphology can be classified as inflectional morphology and derivational morphology. But Bauer (2003:91) declares that the distinction between them could be difficult although scholars try to make some criteria towards each type. For instance, the morphemes which form new words (words of another class or category) are called derivational while other morphemes which are attached to a word to show grammatical relationships are called inflectional.

As Anbessa (2000:10) mentions, to study morphology of a language, one can use different approaches like descriptive grammar or traditional grammar. This study will use a descriptive approach because descriptive grammar is an attempt to give a principled account of a language based on grammatical facts from the language under investigation. Traditional grammar, however, makes its base on semantic or notional criteria rather than formal linguistic facts. Therefore, I refuse to use this approach for my work.

1.8 Phonological Sketch

This section presents a brief description of Gedeo phonology. Though this study is to undertake the verbal morphology of Gedeo, it is necessary to give an overview of the sound system of the language in order to facilitate the presentation of verbal affixes. Thus, the phonemes, the consonant clusters, the syllable structures, and the morphophonemic processes are part of the discussion as follows:

1.8.1 The Phonemes

According to Lulseged (1981:9-19), there are 23 consonant and 5 vowel phonemes of Gedeo. Hence, the phonemic inventory of the language is shown in the following charts:

1.8.1.1 Consonants

		Labial	Alveolar	Retroflexive	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	Vd	b	d			g	
	Vl		t			k	ʔ
	Ejective Vl	P’	t'			k’	
	Implosive Vd			ɗ			
Affricate	Vd				ɟ		
	Vl				c		
	Ejective Vl				c’		
Fricative	Vl	f	s		ʃ		h
Nasal		m	n				
Tap/Trill			r				
Lateral approximant			l				
Approximant		w			j		

Table1. The Phonemic Chart of Gedeo Consonants, Lulseged (1981:18)

I use the symbols ɗ, c, c’, ʃ and j instead of d’, č, č’, š, and y respectively and ‘ejective’ instead of ‘glottalized’ in the chart.

Lulseged (1981:19) claims that all consonants, except */h/,* can be geminated phonemically. He also mentions that gemination occurs after */r/* and */l/* in imperative plural forms. This would mean that there are clusters of three consonants. Eyob (2006:10) supports Lulseged’s idea providing more conditions for such a kind of gemination. For example, gemination can occur after */ʔ/, /n/* or */m/* even out of the imperative plural forms. Some examples provided by Eyob are:

(1) a. gane**ndd**e ‘He is beaten’

b. wo**ʔmm**a ‘full’

c. si**rbb**e ‘Dance!(pl.)’

According to Ferguson (1971:102) ,in case of Amharic, "clusters of three or more consonants do not exist, and whenever grammatical processes would lead to such a cluster, it is broken up by the automatic insertion of a vowel''. This Amharic case in a similar way indicates that epenthesis (cf. section 1.8.2) will take place in Gedeo if gemination may happen after */n/, /m/, /l/, /r/* or */ʔ/*.Therefore, there are no such conditions, as in (1), in Gedeo.

Regarding the sequences of phonemes in consonant clusters, Gedeo has two types of it, namely sonorant-obstruent and glottal-sonorant in word medial position having the following phoneme sequences (Lulseged, 1981:21).

- Nasal +Stop /mp', mb,nt, nt', nk,nk' nd, ng/
- Nasal + Affricate /nc, nc', nʄ/
- Nasal + Fricate /mf, ns,nʃ/
- Lateral +Stop / lt, lt', lk, lk', lb,ld, lg/
- Lateral +Affricate /lc, lc', lʄ/
- Lateral + Fricate / lf, ls, lʃ/
- Trill + Stop /rt, rt',rk, rk',rb, rd,rg/
- Trill + Affricate /rc, rc', rʄ/
- Trill + Fricate /rf, rs, rʃ/
- Glottal + Nasal /ʔm, ʔn/
- Glottal + Lateral /ʔl/
- Glottal + Semivowel /ʔj, ʔw/

Concerning allophonic variations, Lulseged (1981:9) describes the following allophones.

[β] is an allophone of /b/ between vowels

[ɱ] is an allophone of /m/ before /f/

[ñ], [ŋ] and [m] are allophones of /n/ before palatals, velars and labials respectively.

Lulseged (1981:10) discusses that there are aspirated consonants in Gedeo i.e, /t^h, k^h/ word initially. However, Ladefoged (1971:9ff) defines an aspiration as

> *…aspiration…refers to the release of an extra puff of air. This usage is not really enough. There are at least two possibilities as to how this extra*

> *puff of air might be produced: it could be the result of an extra push from the respiratory muscles, or it could be due to a valvelike action of the glottis, allowing more air to be released.*

Based on this fact, therefore, I hesitate that such a phenomenon can be happened in Gedeo.

Regarding the syllable structure, Gedeo, in general, has the following structures (Eyob 2006:12):

1. Word initially

Syllable structure	*Example*	*Gloss*
cv-	*ʔi*-da-ga	to bring
cvv-	*buu*-ra	to oint
cvc-	*ʔad*-da-ta	to believe
cvvc-	*ʔeeb*-bi-ʃa	to boil

2. Word medially

-cv-	ga-*la*-teef-*fa*-ta	to praise
-cvvc-	ga-la-*teef*-fa-ta	to praise
-cvc-	wo-*dan*-fa-ta	to rest

3. Word finally

-cv	haʔ-*wa*	to drink

Table 2. The Syllable Structure of Gedeo

Gedeo verb stems have the following syllable pattern:

Syllable structure	Example	Gloss
1. cvc-	dar-	tear
2. cvc_1c_1	goll-	fence
3. cvc_1c_2-	gaʔm-	bite
4. cvvc-	diip'-	sleep
5. $cvvc_1c_2$-	koonʃ-	Peel
6. $cvcvc_1c_2$-	ʔafenʃ-	meet
7. cvc_1c_1vc-	ʔaddat-	believe
8. $cvc_1c_2vc_1c_1$-	c'anc'iss-	bluster
9. $cvvc_1c_1vc$-	ʔeebbiʃ-	boil
10. $cvc_1c_1vvc_1c_1$-	k'it't'eess-	Prepare
11. $cvcvcvvc_1c_1vc$-	galateeffat-	Praise
12. $cvcvvcvc_1c_2vc$-	wodamfat-	rest

Table 3. The Syllable Pattern of Gedeo Verb Stems

However, stem-final consonants of Gedeo verbs are C- or CC-

1.8.1.2 Vowels

There are five vowel phonemes. Each short vowel phoneme has its own long counterpart phonemically.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

	Front	Central	Back
High	ii		uu
Mid	ee		oo
Low		aa	

Table 4. Short and Long Vowels, Wedekind (1985:82)

1.8.2 Morphophonemic Processes

Hudson (1976:250) describes that there are three important phonological processes in HEC languages, namely epenthesis, nasal metathesis, and assimilation. There are others, too.

The epenthesis takes place, first, when clusters of three or more consonants exist as in (2a) and second, when offending sequences of two consonants occur as in (2b):

(2) a. /ʔaɗɗ-/ + /-te/ → /ʔaɗɗite/ 'She took'

b. /ʔit-/ + /-siis/ → /ʔitisiis-/ 'cause to be eaten'

(3) *ʔit- + -s → **ʔits** 'cause to eat', because there is no a 'Stop-Fricate' phoneme sequence in the language. To avoid such a condition, */-i/* is inserted between such consonants, in (2b).

Nasal metathesis is observed in verb suffixing when the verb stem ends in a short obstruent and when the suffix has initial */n/*. Examples,

(4) /k'ot-/ + /-ne/ → /k'onte/ 'They dug'

Assimilation takes place when a nasal consonant takes the position of articulation of a following consonant. Wedekind (1985:98) also describes various types of assimilations including voicing after liquids and nasals, deletion of semi vowels, etc. Anbessa (2000:20) also describes that there are partial and total assimilations in Sidaama classifying the latter as progressive obstruent assimilation, regressive obstruent assimilation, and ejectivization. Partial assimilation causes a nasal to copy the place of articulation feature of an adjacent obstruent after nasal metathesis is processed. Progressive obstruent assimilation causes gemination of stem–final obstruents. Regressive obstruent assimilation takes place in reduplication forms. Ejectivization is processed when reflexive maker is added to stem-final consonants. Examples,

(5) Partial assimilation

	Phonemic	Phonetic	Gloss
a. /duk-/ + /-ne/	→ /dunke/	[duŋke]	'They carried'
b. /ʔaɟaɟ-/ +/-nenne/	→ /ʔaɟanɟenne/	[ʔaɟañɟenne]	'We ordered'

In the phonetic realization, */n/*, as in (5a) and (5b), is changed to [ŋ] and [ñ] copying the feature of the next consonants i.e., velar stop */k/* and palatal affiricate */ɟ/* respectively.

(6) Progressive assimilation

a. hir- + -nenne→ /hirrenne/ 'We bought'

b. /kul-/+/-ne/ → /kulle/ 'They told'

Here, *r* + *n* → *rr* and *l* + *n* → *ll,* thus the following consonant */n/* assimilates to the preceded consonants.

(7) Regressive assimilation

/tuk-/ 'touch'
/tuk'~tuk'-/ → /tuttuk'-/ 'touch repeatedly'

Here, *k'*+ *t* → *tt*, thus the preceded consonant assimilates to the following consonant.

(8) Ejectivization

ʔit-tee-boʔ-tt-on→ ʔitteebott'on 'You (sg) have not eat'

Here, *-boʔ-+-tt* → *-bott'*1[1], thus *-tt-* is ejectivzed when */ʔ/* occurs in the preceding position.

[1] Some writers put geminated ejectives like /t't', p'p', k'k', c'c'/ whereas others put them like /tt', pp', kk', cc'/. I use the latter in my work for the sake of economy.

Hudson (1976:250) describes [Gedeo] voices */t/* after */n/* and */l/*. Though it is true, */t/* is not assimilated in all conditions that he had explained. In other words, sometimes */t/* can not assimilate after */n/* and */l/*. For examples:

(9) a. k'ot-n-e [k'onte] 'They dug'
dig-3P-PFV

b. ʔulat-nenne [ʔulantenne] 'We smelt'
smell-1P:PFV:1P:AUX

c. ʔil-te [ʔilte] 'She gave birth'
give birth-PFV:3FS

Hence, such a condition provided as in (9a-c) shows that it is exceptional perhaps due to some historical or phonological reasons.

According to Wedekind (1985:102), preglottalization is one of the assimilation processes that takes place when a glottal stop */ʔ/* or retroflexive */ɗ/* at final stem position merges with */n/* which is the initial syllable consonant of a suffix. For example:

(10) /heɗ-/ + /-ne/ → heʔne 'They lived'

Spirantization is also one of the phonological processes which is observed in Gedeo. Foley (1977:31) states that intervocalic velars, or dentals or labials spirantize in some languages while so does not in other languages. Lulseged (1981:9) indentifies [β] as an allophone of /b/ and [ɸ] as an allophone of /p'/, but he claims nothing about the process.

Nevertheless, it can be ruled as:

/p',b/→ [ɸ,β]/ V_V

Examples,

(11) a. [ʔaβida] 'to catch'

b. [goɸa] 'to refuse/lose '

In concluding, the phonology of Gedeo is summarized on the points, such as the phonemes, the consonant clusters, the syllable structures, and morphophonemic processes. There are 28 basic phonemes: 23 consonants and 5 vowels. Very few modifications are made on certain points like reducing ‘CCC’ consonant cluster to ‘CC’. Thus, the maximum number of consonants in cluster is two,/CC/.The main morphophonemic processes are epenthesis, metathesis, and various types of assimilation.

CHAPTER TWO

2. VERB INFLECTION AND DERIVATION

In this chapter I attempt to present the description of verb inflection and derivation in two sections. Indeed, some previous works, especially, Hudson (1976) and Wedekind (1985) (cf. section 1.1.3) provide a general description with insufficient details on verbal morphology. The analysis of affixation processes in word formation presented by Eyob (2006) includes verb derivation. My intention here is not to repeat that again, but rather to provide sufficient details with different paradigms and to argue towards certain points. In what follows, I will present the analysis of each section.

2.1 Verb Inflection

The verb is one of the categories that functions as a predicate. Gedeo verbs occur in a sentence-final position or a clause-final position. Verbs differ morphologically from other categories in that they are inflected for aspect/tense, subject agreement and mood.In proceeding with this section, first I will analyze tense/aspect markers and then agreement affixes, providing different paradigms.

2.1.1 Tense/Aspect

According to Bybee (1985:28), aspect refers to the way the internal temporal constituency of the situation is viewed. Tense locates an event in time with respects to an established point in time, either the moment of speech, or some other point in time.

First of all, let us consider the aspect paradigms. Aspect has two forms, namely perfective and imperfective.

A. Perfective

To show stem-affix conjugation clearly, I divide the whole word into two: the stem and inflections in a complex form in the paradigms. The verb used here is **/haʔw-/** *'drink'* for all paradigms.

1S	haʔw-enne
2S	haʔw-itette
3MS	haʔw-e
3FS	haʔw-ite
1P	haʔw-inenne
2P	haʔw-itine
3P	haʔw-ine

Table 5. The Perfective Paradigm

B. Imperfective

1S	haʔw-annon
2S	haʔw-itatton
3MS	haʔw-aan
3FS	haʔw-itaan
1P	haʔw-inannon
2P	haʔw-itinaan
3P	haʔw-inaan

Table 6. The Imperfective Paradigm

As considered, in both paradigms an inflected form begins with the vowel **/-i/** except 1S and 3MS. It is an epenthetic vowel that is inserted to avoid a three consonant cluster when the stem and inflections merge together. Now let us compare the inflected complex form of perfective and imperfective paradigms to indentify aspect markers, as in the table 7:

	Perfective	Imperfective
1S	-**e**-nne	-**a**-nnon
2S	-t-**e**-tte	-t-**a**-tton
3MS	-**e**	-**a**-an
3FS	-t-**e**	-t-**a**-an
1P	-n-**e**-nne	-n-**a**-nnon
2P	-tin-**e**	-tin-**a**-an
3P	-n-**e**	-n-**a**-an

Table 7. The Inflection Parts of Perfective and Imperfective Paradigms

As clearly shown, **/-e/** in a perfective and **/-a/** in an imperfective paradigms are common suffixes for all persons. Hence, with no doubt these are the perfective aspect and the imperfective aspect markers, respectively. Further we will analyze other inflection parts in the next sub-sections. Now let us proceed with other two kinds of perfects and progressives.

There are present perfect and past perfect tenses. The present continuous and past continuous tenses are also other forms of progressive. Perrett (2000:57ff) calls them "Complex tenses" which are formed by the sentential aspects in a different sense from perfective and imperfective aspects. Perrett claims, "a verb to which sentential aspects in applied expresses either a perfect or a progressive state". Charlotte W. (1985:116) calls as 'composites or dependent forms'. Hence, I use Perrett's term i.e., 'Complex forms' for such forms in this study. Then let us consider the paradigms of 'complex forms' as follows:

C. Present Perfect

According to Perrett (2000:66), in the present perfect 'there is some consequent state arising from a past event which is predicated of the present'. Consider the paradigm, as in table 8:

1S	haʔw-ee-nnen
2S	haʔw-i-t-ee-tten
3MS	haʔw-e-en
3FS	haʔw-i-t-e-en
1P	haʔw-i-n-ee-nnen
2P	haʔw-i-tin-e-en
3P	haʔw-i-n-e-en

Table 8. The Present Perfect Paradigm

As can be seen, the long vowel **/-ee/** in 1S, 2S and 1P, and the short vowel **/-e/** in 3S, 2P and 3P can be indentified as the suffixes of present perfect tense which is a sentential aspect.

Concerning the past perfect, I will not provide a paradigm in table form, because it has an identical form of inflections on a main verb with past continuous progressive form of inflections on an auxiliary verb, as in (12) and (13) :-

(12) Past Perfect

a. ʔani mine gurgur-ennani
I house sell-PS PRF
'I had sold the house'

b. ʔisi mine gurgur-emmani
he house sell-PS PRF
'He had sold the house'

(13) Past Continuous

a. ʔani mija gurgur-ateʔni heɗ-ennani
I goods sell-PRG be-PS CON
'I was selling the goods'

b. ʔisi mija gurgur-ateʔni heɗ-emmani

he goods sell-PRG be-PS CON

'He was selling the goods'

As considered, the inflected form */-ennani/* or */-emmani/* is the same for PS PRF and PS CON except having different structures of sentences. Nevertheless, the past continuous paradigm will be provided with present continuous paradigm. Hence, we can consider them as in tables (9 and 10).

D. Progressive

The progressive consists of present and past continuous tenses. In Gedeo, these paradigms have two different forms each. The first form consists of two parts: a subordinate verb with a continuous suffix and a present perfect conjugation of the auxiliary verb */heɗ-/* 'be'. The second contractive form has a fused form of a continuous suffix and present perfect conjugation, displacing the auxiliary verb */heɗ-/*. Each of the paradigms will be presented below:

- **Present Continuous**

(____ am/is/are drinking)

1S	haʔw-ateʔni	heɗ-enneni	
2S	haʔw-ateʔni	het'-t'etteni	(<heɗ-t-tteni)
3MS	haʔw-ateʔni	heɗ-eeni	
3FS	haʔw-ateʔni	het'-t'eeni	(<heɗ-t-eni)
1P	haʔw-ateʔni	heʔ-nenneni	(<heɗ-n-nneni)
2P	haʔw-ateʔni	het'-t'ineni	(<heɗ-tineni)
3P	haʔw-ateʔni	heʔ-neeni	(<heɗ-n-eni)

Table 9. The Paradigm of Present Continuous Tense

- **Past Continuous**

(--- was/were drinking)

1S	haʔw-ateʔni	heɗ-enneni	
2S	haʔw-ateʔni	het'-t'ettani	(<heɗ-t-ttani)
3MS	haʔw-ateʔni	heɗ-emmani	
3FS	haʔw-ateʔni	het'-t'emmani	(<heɗ-t-mmani)
1P	haʔw-ateʔni	heʔ-nennani	(<heɗ-n-nnani)
2P	haʔw-ateʔni	het'-t'inemmani	(<heɗ-tin-mmani)
3P	haʔw-ateʔni	heʔ-nemmani	(<heɗ-n-mmani)

Table 10. The Paradigm of Past Continuous Tense

As considered, first, the first part i.e, a subordinate verb with a continuous suffix is the same for both present and past continuous paradigms. Secondly, the suffix of a continuous form is /-**ateʔni**/. Thirdly, */-ni/* occurs with a vowel that is null in the perfect and imperfect paradigms. With respect to the vowel */-i/,* Lulseged (1981:14) states that it is devoiced in a final position. So since it is devoiced, I do not use it after */-n/* in those paradigms. However, I could observe that devoiced */-i/* can occur in case of progressive so that I use it after */-n/* in the progressive paradigms. Now continue to observe on those contractive paradigms, as in tables (11) and (12):

- **Present Continuous**

1S	haʔw-anneni
2S	haʔw-itatteni
3MS	haʔw-aʔneni
3FS	haʔw-itaʔneni
1P	haʔw-inanneni
2P	haʔw-itinaʔneni
3P	haʔw-inaʔneni

Table 11. The Contractive Paradigm of Present Continuous Tense

- **Past Continuous**

1S	haʔw-annani
2S	haʔw-itattani
3MS	haʔw-aʔnemmani
3FS	haʔw-itaʔnemmani
1P	haʔw-inannani
2P	haʔw-itinaʔnemmani
3P	haʔw-inaʔnemmani

Table 12.The Contractive Paradigm of Past Continuous Tense

In cases of tables (8) and (9), we can observe that, firstly, a continuous marker */-ateʔni/* is reduced to **/-a/** in 1S, 2S and 1P or /-**aʔn/** in 3S, 2P and 3P in both paradigms following the disappearance of the auxiliary verb */hed-/* that functions as a carrier for agreement affixes. In everyday speech people prefer to use a contractive form to simplify their speech.

Generally, what we have observed in all paradigms is, first, that Gedeo interestingly has different forms for progressive. Secondly, there is no aspect marker that is coded in both paradigms. Therefore, Gedeo should have another way to make aspectual distinction between present and past progressives. It seems that the auxiliaries may account on such a distinction. I will come later with regard to this issue in a sub- section of affixes of auxiliaries.

Secondly, the vowel */-e/* which occurs next to the stem in the tables (9) and (10) but later reduced in the table (11) at all and observed in 2P and 3S and P in the table (12) does have no clear function. But rather it may have an epenthetic function as Vago (1977:30ff) states that there are some vowels like */-o/* can insert to comfort the right consonant clusters in some languages, like in Hungarian. Perhaps, but I am not sure, Gedeo may be a language which can share such a kind of feature. For instance, this vowel, */-e/*, occurs between CC-CC/C-CC except C-V/CC-V in the table (9). The position that it occurs is a position that tense/aspect markers could occur formerly in the perfective and imperfective paradigms.

	Markers		
	Perfective (T/A)	**Imperfective(T/A)**	**Present Perfect**
1S	-e	-a	-ee
2S	-e	-a	-ee
3MS	-e	-a	-e
3FS	-e	-a	-e
1P	-e	-a	-ee
2P	-e	-a	-e
3P	-e	-a	-e

Table 13. Tense/Aspect and Present Perfect Markers

2.1.2 Agreement

Nominal features such as person, number and gender identify a subject or object, appearing on a verb. A verb shows agreement with a subject NP. However, Gedeo verbs do not allow object agreement suffixation.

A. Person

The person is one of the features of agreement which Gedeo verbs distinguish it. Perrett (2000:63) notes that there is a two-part person agreement marking in Hadiyya. She calls them 'the first string' and 'the second string' of person agreement. But she does not explain why this is realized as such rather than it occurs once. Incidentally, this is a common feature of HEC languages, so that I use Perrett's expression for this study.

Person agreement of the first string occur preceding tense/aspect suffixes following the verb stem whereas person agreement of the second string occur after tense/aspect markers but with some other suffixed elements. Let us return back to the table (7) and consider such conditions in the perfective and imperfective paradigms.

	Perfective	**Imperfective**
1S	∅-nne	∅-nnon
2S	-t-tte	-t-tton
3MS	∅-∅	∅-∅an
3FS	-t-∅	-t-∅an
1P	-n-nne	-n-nnon
2P	-t-n-∅	-t-n-∅an
3P	-n-∅	-n-∅an

Table 14. Both Strings of the Person Suffixes in the Perfective and Imperfective Paradigms

As can be seen clearly, 1S and 3MS have zero morphemes after the stem. On the other hand, 2P and third person have zero morphemes after T/A markers, too. Whereas 3FS and 3P lack the second part of person string, 3MS lacks both parts of person string. Lacking the first string of person suffixes is unclear but lacking the second string of person suffixes in 3S, 2P and 3P may become an interesting issue that can be related to the suffixes which appear with the second string of person markers in 1S, 2S and 1P. Once, let us consider only the second part of the person string in the following table:

	Markers		
	Perfective	Imperfective	Present perfect
1S	-nne	-nno(n)	-nne(n)
2S	-tte	-tto(n)	-tte(n)
3MS	-	-an	-en
3FS	-	-an	-en
1P	-nne	-nno(n)	-nne(n)
2P	-	-an	-en
3P	-	-an	-en

Table 15. The Second Part of the Person String with the Following Suffixes in the Perfective, Imperfective and Present Perfect Paradigms

As considered, the occurrence of person suffixes of the second string seems to be important for the occurrence of other suffixes in the next position. For that matter, when 2P and 3S and P lack the second part of the person string they also lack other suffixes which come in a next position in the perfective paradigm. However, the occurrence of such other suffixes, for the same persons, in the imperfective and present perfect paradigms may seem that opposes the pervious idea. But there are also other suffixes which occur following such suffixes. For instance, consonant suffixes occur in the perfective and present perfect paradigms. The suffixes */-n/* in case of 2S and 1S and P are optional because such a suffix is not used in everyday speech except in a formal usage.

Nevertheless, such a suffix, */-n/,* is not optional in case of 3S, 2P and 3P, because it has a supporting function. To mean that it supports the occurrence of other suffixes in preceding position. Anyhow the discussion of other suffixes which follows the second string person suffixes will continue in the next subsections.

When we return back to the second part of person string, it is difficult to split them from the next suffixes, for instance, like */-nn-e/* or */-tt-e/* or */-nn-o-n/* or /*-tt-o-n/,* because they are closely related as discussed above. Besides, the occurrence of person suffixes of the second string in past progressive provides a further evidence for its importance to occur obligatorily. In present progressive such suffixes occur in the same way as in the imperfective and present perfect. Firstly, let us consider the table below:

	Present Progressive	**Past Progressive**
1S	-nneni	-nnani
2S	-tteni	-ttani
3MS	-∅eni	-mmani
3FS	-∅eni	-mmani
1P	-nneni	-nnani
2P	-∅eni	-mmani
3P	-∅eni	-mmani

Table 16. The Second Part of the Person String in Progressive

Third person and second plural of present progressive do not have the second string person suffixes. In contrast, the same persons in the past progressive need such kinds of suffixes for supporting the following suffixes i.e, */-mm/* as a second part of person string. When it is realized as obligatory for the construction of past continuous tense, why it is lacking such a realization in the construction of present continuous tense may be challenging to give an explanation supported with tangible evidence.

In another way, why past progressive construction alongside persons which totally have no person markers, needs support where another supporting suffixes occur in the next position is difficult to explain in this study, but rather it needs a deep and well established investigation further ahead.

In general, further to our discussion, we agree that the second string of person occur linking with other suffixes in perfective, imperfective, present perfect, present progressive and past progressive except 3S, 2P and 3P. These persons lack the second part of person string in all forms except the past progressive form. Incidentally, what could such suffixes which linked with the second part of person string represent? It will be the next issue of discussion in the following subsections as I promised earlier. However, consider the summarized person makers in the different forms below:

	Forms out of Past Continuous[2]	**Past Continuous**
1S	∅-nn	∅-nn
2S	-t-tt	-t-tt
3MS	∅-∅	-∅-mm
3FS	-t-∅	-t-mm
1P	-n-nn	-n-nn
2P	-t-n-∅	-t-n-mm
3P	-n-∅	-n-mm

Table 17. The Person Markers

Note: I consider that */-i/* inserted between */-t/* and */-n/* in 2P as an epenthetic vowel.

[2] Forms out of past continuous include perfective, imperfective, present perfect and present continuous.

B. Number and Gender

The suffixes /-n/ is 2P and 3P is the plural marker whereas it is the person marker in 1P. However, it may also have function of plural marker like it is used in other HEC languages. Bybee (1985:35) argues that "number markers in a large majority of languages occur in portmanteau expression with person markers". Perrett (2000:56) also claims that the first part of person string consists 'a complex person-number suffixes'.Besides, Gedeo verbs do not show distinction between masculine and feminine gender bearing morphological elements on it, especially in the independent verb form. But it may appear in the subordinate clauses, especially in the relative clauses.

2.1.3. Other Suffixes

In this subsection, the suffixes which occur following the second string of person suffixes will be analyzed. As discussed in above subsections, there are other suffixes which occur next to the person markers. In the perfective form, the final vowel */-e/* is set in 1S, 2S and 1P closer to the person markers. Their occurrence is depended on such person markers, because they disappear in 2P and 3S and P where the second string of person suffixes are absent.

On the other hand, other suffixes which have initial consonant */-n/* or */-ni/* occur in the imperfective, present perfect and progressive forms at final position. When such suffices occur in that position, the missing suffixes, in a perfective form in the preceding position, occur immediately in those four forms. This indicates that the occurrence of such suffixes is important for their occurrence.

Therefore, such suffixes which occur after the second person string can be auxiliary markers, such as **/-e/** in the perfective, present perfect and present continuous forms for all persons and **/-o/** and or **/-a/** in the imperfective form */-o/* for 1S, 2S and 1P and */-a/* for 3S, 2P and 3P. In addition, **/-a/** in the past continuous form marks an auxiliary for all persons.

However, these the auxiliary markers do not occur independently, so that it is difficult to split person suffixes in a preceding position from the suffixes that occur in a following position.

The suffixes that occur in the next position of auxiliary suffixes such as */-n/* or */-ni/* may mark an independent verb form, because lack of such suffixes indicates dependency. For instance */-n/* which is put in the bracket (cf.table 14) drops in everyday speech whereas it is used in a formal usage as discussed above. But */-n/* or */-ni/* which is not put in the bracket drops in subordinate clauses when subordinators appear. As a result, I call them the markers of 'an independent verb form' using Perrett's (2000:63) term. For example,

(14) a. meʔʔa dandeʔ-a-an
to go out can-IPFV:3MS-AUX:IND

'He can go out'

b. meʔʔa dandeʔ-a-nno (n)
to go out can-IPFV-1S:AUX:IND

'I can go out'

c. hir-a-a-tt'a
buy-IPFV:3SM-AUX-COMP

'That I bought'

d. ʔati ʔit-ateʔni het'-t'in-eki (< hedˀ-tin-eni-ki), ʔit-t-e
you eat-PRG be-2P-AUX:SUBF eat-2P-IMP

'You (pl.) who are eating, go ahead!'

As can be seen, */-n/* is not optional as in (14a) because it gives a supporting function for an auxiliary marker. In case of (14b), it is optional because an auxiliary marker can be supported by a person marker in the preceding position. However, in case of (14c), it is covert due to the complementizer. In the same way, */-ni/* in (14d) lacks when a subordinate suffix attaches to a verbal form. This, in general, indicates that such suffixes which occur at final position make independency by their presence and dependency by their lacking in forms.

In addition, the suffixes of auxiliary sometimes assimilate to another form due to some morphophonemic processes when the subordinators are suffixed. For example,

(15) haʔw-a-nne-tt'a (< haʔw-a-nnon-tt'a)

drink-IPFV-1S:AUX-COMP

'That I (will) drink'

As seen, */o/* assimilates to */e/* when the complemetizer present.

Finally, the person-auxiliary-independent verb form (P2-AUX-IND) suffixes of all forms are suffixes which are shown in the tables (14) and (15).

Summarizing, the first section of this chapter comes to an end with identifying the verbal suffixes, such as tense/aspect, perfect, subject agreement and a complex suffix form of perfective, present perfect, imperfective and progressives which consist of the second string person-auxiliary-independent verb from suffixes. It is better to put up such suffixes with a complex form, because a deep investigation is needed further as mentioned so far. The summarized complex forms are shown in the following table:

	PERFECTIVE	**PRESENT PERFECT**	**IMPERFECTIVE**	**PROGRESSIVE**	
				PRESENT CONTINUOUS	**PAST CONTINUOUS**
1S	-nne	-nnen	-nno(n)	-nneni	-nnani
2S	-tte	-tten	-tto(n)	-tteni	-ttani
3MS	-	-en	-an	-eni	-mmani
3FS	-	-en	-an	-eni	-mmani
1P	-nne	-nnen	-nno(n)	-nneni	-nnani
2P	-	-en	-an	-eni	-mmani
3P	-	-en	-an	-eni	-mmani

Table18. The Complex Form (P2-AUX/P2-AUX-IND) Suffixes

Note that */-n/* in the brackets is optional in declarative sentences (main clauses) whereas */-n/* or */-ni/* is not in a bracket lacks only in subordinate clauses. The optional case is related to dialect so that it is optionally used by people who speak the Riibata dialect around Dilla town. It

does not mean that such a use is totally unusual in other dialects but it is oftenly used in such a dialect whereas the frequency is less in those dialects.

2.1.4 Mood

Bybee (1985:22ff) defines mood as the way the speaker presents the truth of a proposition including expression of assertion, command, and other expressions of the speaker's attitude.

Palmer (1986:9) presents Jespersen's discussion of mood that it expresses the speaker's attitude of mind towards the contents of the sentence. The attitude of mind is shown in the form of the verb.

There are sentence types termed as declaratives, interrogatives, imperatives, and 'jussive' that is proposed by Lyons cited in Palmer (1986:24). The ways in which languages make statements, ask questions and give commands are important and relevant to a typological study of modality (Palmer 1986:23).

2.1.4.1. Declaratives

The verbs do not carry a special marker that indicates declarative sentences (Sadock and Zwicky 1985:165). Hence, it is unmarked or, according to Palmer (1986:28), 'unmodalized' due to the absence of any of the morphological markers in declaratives. He suggests that declaratives "simply present the proposition to the hearer, generally for acceptance". For example:

(16) a. baɗaaso soodo dag-a-an

B. tomorrow come-IPFV:3MS-AUX:IND

'Badhaso will come tomorrow'

b. noʔo noʔott'a huɟe muunt'-e-nne

we our work finish:1P-PFV:1P:AUX

'We finished our work'

2.1.4.2 Interrogatives

According to Palmer (1986:30ff), there are varieties of the ways in which questions are expressed in all languages. This is because of having a sentence device that does not belong to any modal system, being introduced by particles, and being indicated by intonation. But he declares that the latter is unacceptable at least for two reasons, such as lacking one-to-one correspondence between intonation and questions and the necessity of consideration to be given similar status for many other intonation tunes.

Nevertheless, Gedeo questions can be indicated in two ways, such as by intonation or using a marker **/-si/,** especially in yes/no questions. According to (Sadock and Zwicky 1985:178), yes/no questions are the most basic interrogative types and the most widely distributed.

The case of intonation, anyway, is left back due to above expression in this study but for the second case see examples below:

(17) a. me??-i-t-a-tte-si ?/ [metattesi ?] (<?me??-t-a-tton-si)
go out-Ep-2S-IPFV-2S:AUX-INT

'Do you (sg.) go out?'

b. me??-i-tin-e-si ? (<me??-tin-a-an-si)
go out-Ep-2P-IPFV-INT

'Do you (pl.) go out?'

Note that the auxiliary marker */-o/,* as in (17a) assimilates to /-e/ and an independent former */-n/* is covert when the interrogative marker */-si/* is present. In case of (17b), the form */-an/* becomes null and the aspect marker */-a/* assimilates to */-e/* following the occurrence of the interrogative marker.

2.1.4.3 Imperatives

There are two forms of imperatives, such as singular and plural of the second person. An imperative form drops all other inflections, because, according to Palmer (1986:108), the

absence of tense is due to the fact that the required action is always in the future. Consider examples below:

(18) Singular

a. haʔw-i 'Drink!'

b. muut'-i 'Finish !'

c. ʔanʃ-i 'Wash !'

(19) Plural

a. haʔw-e 'Drink!'

b. muutt'-e 'Finish !'

c. ʔanʃ-e 'Wash '

As considered, in a singular form, imperative is marked by /-**i**./. In a plural form, the imperative marker **/-e/** occurs it alone after geminated stem-final consonants or geminating a stem-final consonant. The reason why gemination happens is not yet clear.

In some cases, for example,

(20) a. meʔʔ-e 'Go out!'

b. haasoʔw-e 'Speak!'

In case of (a), /-e/ simply occurs after */ʔʔ/* but in case of (b) */w/* appears rather than */ʔ/* is geminated as usual and becomes */ʔw/*.

Apart from this, Hudson (1976:268) notes that Gedeo has a kind of basic verb which has regular and irregular imperatives, but the irregular imperatives have no negatives. For example,

(21) Regular imperatives

a. dag-	'come'	stem
b. dag-i	'Come! '	imperative (2S)
c. dagg-e	'Come!'	imperative (2P)

(22) Irregular imperatives

a. ʔam-o ‘Come!’ imperative (2S)

b. ʔamm-e ‘Come!’ imperative (2P)

2.1.4.4 Jussive

Hudson (1976:268) describes that the basic use of the jussive conjugation is as an indirect imperative in HEC languages.

There are two alternative forms of jussive, having first plural and third person for one and first plural, second and third persons for the other. Consider paradigms, as in (A) and (B):

A. ‘Let ------eat’

3MS	ʔit-uni
3FS	ʔit-tuni
1P	ʔind-o
3P	ʔind-uni

Table 19. Jussive Paradigm Alternative One

B. ‘Let----------eat’

2S	ʔit-tottowaal
3MS	ʔit-owaal
3FS	ʔit-towaal
1P	ʔind-o
2P	ʔit-tinowaal
3P	ʔind-owaal

Table 20. Jussive Paradigm Alternative Two

A form of the second person that Hudson (1976:268) ignores it is included here in the second alternative form.

The first alternative form is identical to Kambaata (Hudson1976:268) and somewhat to K'abeena (Alemtsehay 1988:30) jussive conjugation interestingly where those peoples have no a common boarder or social relationship but linguistic relationship.

Nevertheless, these two alternative forms are used in different situations. The first one indicates an action that has already begun before the time of speaking and a speaker permits an addressee goes ahead on it rather than stop doing, because it seems that the speaker embraces a special command behind that the addressee has to do it. The action planned in an embraced command might be done after the former action had been accomplished or become to be failed in case of the first action. The second one indicates indirect command or suggestion on the action that had not started, but to be done after the time of speaking.

Apart from this, unlike the imperative, the jussive verb carries subject agreement, i.e, the first string of person markers in case of (A) and the same person markers, except 2S, in case of (B).

However, the jussive marker for the third person is **/-uni/** in the first paradigm whereas **/-owaal/** is for second and third persons in the second paradigm. In both cases, first plural person is marked by the suffix **/-o/**.

First singular person, in Gedeo, has no jussive form, rather it emerges from the polite questions to ask for permission to do something. Palmer (1986:111) notes that the jussive can be used in deliberative questions. For example,

(23) a. *ʔit-o 'Let me eat'

b. ʔit-ó ? 'Do let me eat?'

Hudson (1976:268) and Wedekind (1985:93) present that 1S can be marked in a formal way as other persons do , but that is wrong due to example (23).

In summary, mood markers are shown in the following table:

Mood	Person	Markers	
		Singular	Plural
Declarative	1, 2, 3	Ø	Ø
Interrogative	1, 2, 3	-si	-si
Imperative	2	-i	-e
Jussive	1P		-o
	2	-owaal	-owaal
	3	-uni/-owaal	-uni/-owaal

Table.21. Mood Markers of Gedeo

2.2 Verb Derivation

In proceeding with the second section of this chapter, I analyze the verbal morphology of the derived stems with a brief description, providing some paradigms in the first place. Then the interaction of such forms will be analyzed step by step. Finally the description of compound verbs will be presented with a short analysis.

Derivational morphemes are different from inflectional morphemes in changing the syntactic category of the resulting word (Bybee 1985:81). Verbs can be derived from other categories such as nouns or adjectives. But in most cases they are extended by various means of verb derivation processes from simple verb stems.

The derived stems of verbs are passives, causatives, autobenfactive (middle voice) and intensive (reduplicative). Their derived stems cannot be considered as different word classes because the derivational rules involved in verbals are not category changing.

2.2.1 Passive

A passive is formed when the grammatical subject receives the action denoted by the verb. When Keenan (1985:247,251) expresses about passive formation in the world's languages, he claims that "some languages have no passives whereas others do have it. …… Among the

languages which have passives, there are languages which have the 'Strict morphological passives that are formed by suffixing".

Gedeo has a passive verb form which is formed by suffixing Eyob (2006:62) claims the passive marker in its correct form i.e, **/-em/** rather than others like (Hudson (1976:271) and Wedekind (1985:108)) claim it as */-am/* and */-m/* respectively in a wrong way. The preceding vowel of this marker may differ from other Cushitic languages. Consider the following examples:

(24) **Verb stem**	**Gloss**	**Passive verb form**	**Gloss**
a.ʔeejj-	'love'	ʔeejjem-	'be loved'
b. lak'-	'ask'	lak'em-	'be asked'
c. gurgur-	'sell	gurgurem-	'be sold'

The passive verb form in Gedeo is shown in the following paradigms:

	Present Perfect	**Imperfective**	
1S	gurgur-em-ee-nnen	gurgur-em-a-nnon	
2S	gurgur-en-d-ee-tten	gurgur-en-d-a-tton	(n-d<m-t)
3MS	gurgur-em-e-en	gurgur-em-a-an	
3FS	gurgur-en-d-e-en	gurgur-en-d-a-an	(n-d<m-t)
1P	gurgur-em-m-ee-nnen	gurgur-em-m-a-nnon	(m<n)
2P	gurgur-en-din-e-en	gurgur-en-din-a-an	(n-d<m-t)
3P	gurgur-em-m-e-en	gurgur-em-m-a-an	(m<n)

Table 22. The Present Perfect and Imperfective Passive Paradigms

As seen, the passive marker occurs preceding the complex inflected form closer to the stem. Nevertheless, passives do not have markers with intransitive verbs like */ʔib-/* 'fail' and

intransitive verbs which have lexical transitive forms like */rej-/ 'die'*, its lexical transitive form is */ʃij-/ 'kill'*.

2.2.2 Causative

According to Katamba (1993:274), the causative verb stems are formed from both intransitive and transitive verbs stems. Eyob (2006:45) claims that an intransitive verb form is changed to a transitivized verb form by the suffix **/-s/**. For example,

(25) a. ʔuurr- 'stand'
ʔuurris- 'make stand'

b. diip'- 'sleep'
diip'is- 'make sleep'

As seen, such intransitive verb forms are transitivized by such a suffix.

On the other hand, some transitive verb forms can be changed to causative form by the same suffix. For example,

(26) ʔit - 'eat'
ʔitis- 'feed'

All seen above, as in (25) and (26), is a single causative form of the language. Now let us take turn to the double causative form.

Eyob (2006:50ff) indentifies the suffix of double causative form as */-is/* wrongly. However, the double causative marker is **/-iis/** and it occurs after a single causative form. For example,

(27) a. ʔuurris- 'make stand'
ʔuurrisiis- 'cause to make stand'

b. ʔitis- 'feed'
ʔitisiis- 'cause (someone) to feed'

Sometimes there are some transitive verbs which are not formed with a single causative suffixes, but have the double causative form. Anbessa (2000:85) calls them 'factitive' for the case of Sidaama. Such kinds of verbs are directly causativized suffixing both single and double causative markers. For example,

(28) a. gansiis- 'cause to hit'

b. *gans- 'make hit'

c. *ganiis- 'cause to hit'

In (28a), the causative form of */gan-/* 'hit' is formed by both single and double causative suffixes. Such verbs are not causativized using either one of the suffixes alone, as in (28 b and c).

In terms of these verbs, there is a change of shape on initial consonant of the suffixes on the boarder of a stem during suffixation due to morphophonemic processes, as in (29):

(29) ʔil- 'to give birth'

ʔilciis- (<ʔil-siis-) 'cause to give birth'

As observed, the single causative marker */-s/* is changed to */-c/* due to a phonological process.

There are also some verbs whose stems end in a consonant */s/*. Such kinds of verbs take only the double causative marker */-iis/*,

(30) bass- 'squeeze'

bassiis- 'make squeeze'

To show the interaction with tense/aspect and agreement inflections, the perfective and imperfective paradigms are provided below:

	Present Perfect	**Imperfective**	
1S	gan-s-iis-ee-nnen	gan-s-iis-a-nnon	
2S	gan-s-iis-s-ee-tten	gan-s-iis-s-a-tton	(s<t)
3MS	gans-s-iis-e-en	gan-s-iis-a-an	
3FS	gan-s-iis-s-e-en	gan-s-iis-s-a-an	(s<t)
1P	gan-s-iins-ee-nnen	gan-s-iins-a-nnon	
2P	gan-s-iis-sin-e-en	gan-s-iis-sin-a-an	(s<t)
3P	gan-s-iins-e-en	gan-s-iins-a-an	

Table 23. The Present Perfect and Imperfective Causative Paradigms

2.2.3 Autobenefactive (Middle Voice)

Nava and Maldonado (2004:462ff) citing Kemmer (1993, 1994) claim that reflexives and middles differ in involving the number of participants. The former involves two participants in the action whereas the latter involves only one. This idea in their words likes,

> *Reflexives involve an action where agent and patient are co-referential. Middles refer to actions or states only involving the subject….Reflective involves a deviation from the transitive as two participants refer to the same referent. These two participants can still be differentiated. In contrast, middles do not allow a split representation of the self.*

They also quote Symth (1956:390) as 'the middle voice shows that the action is performed with special reference to the subject.

Wedekind (1980:3) notes that the middle voice is */-ed/* whereas Eyob (2006:66) argues it as */-d/*, considering */-e/* as epenthetic may be due to some historical and phonological reasons. Consider examples as in (31):

(31) Verb stem	Gloss	Autobenefactive form	Gloss
a. duk-	'carry'	ɗukeɗ-	'carry for one self
b. hir-	'buy'	hiɗɗ- (<hir-eɗ)	'buy for one self'
c. ʔidag -	'bring'	ʔidakk'- (<ʔidag-eɗ)	'bring for oneself'

Now let us consider the perfective paradigm of autobenefactive form:

1S	duk-eɗ-e-nne
2S	duk-et'-t'-e-tte /duk-eɗ-tette/
3MS	duk-eɗ-e
3FS	duk-et'-t'-e (<duk-eɗ-te)
1P	duk-eʔ-n-e-nne (<duk-eɗ-nenne)
2P	duk-et'-t'in-e (<duk-eɗ-tine)
3P	duk-eʔ-n-e (<duk-eɗ-ne)

Table 24. The Perfective Autobenefactive Paradigm

2.2.4 Reduplicative

Anderson (1985: 169) defines reduplication as a process which modifies stems copying part or all of it. In addition, Anderson stresses it 'most typically affects the leftmost portion of the stem'.

According to Aikhenvald (1988:12), in most of the Cushitic languages, and in a great many Afro-Asiatic languages as well, intensives are formed by reduplication of a whole verbal stem or part of it. Eyob (2006:109-10) describes that partial and complete reduplication can be formed as in the following examples:

(32) Verb stem	Gloss	Autobenefactive form	Gloss
a. gan-	'hit'	gaŋgan-	'hit repeatedly'
b. ban-	'open'	banban-	'tear repeatedly'
c. wot'-	'cut'	wowwot'-	'cut repeatedly'
d. dar-	'tear'	daddar-	'tear repeatedly'
e. leb-	'add'	lelleb-	'add repeatedly'
f. tuk'-	'touch'	tuttuk'-	'touch repeatedly'

However, Wedekind (1985:108) assures that reduplication is not productive.

The perfective paradigm of Reduplicative form is presented below:

1S	gan~gan-e-nne	
2S	gan~gan-d-e-tte	(<gan~gan-tette)
3MS	gan~gan-e	
3FS	gan~gan-d-e	(gan~gan-te)
1P1	gan~gan-n-e-nne	
2P1	gan~gan-din-e	(gan~gan-tine)
3p1	gan~gan-n-e	

Table 25.The Perfective Paradigm of Reduplication

In summary, the derivative suffixes are presented below:

Forms→	**Passive**	**Causative**	**Autobenefctive**
markers→	-em	-s (single) -iis (double)	-ed

Table 26. The Derivative Suffixes

2.2.5 Interaction of Derived Verb Stems

The derived stems can interact each other in various ways. Two, in rare cases three, derivative forms can be combined to form a single basic stem. The combinations formed from the interaction of derived stems are causative–autobenfactive interaction, reduplicative-passive interaction, reduplicative-causative interaction, reduplicative-autobenefactive interaction, and reduplicative-causative-autobenefactive interaction. Autobenefactive–passive or reduplicative- autobenefactive-passive interaction may be possible, but it is not examined and included in this study. Now in what follows we will take up each step by step.

2.2.5.1 Causative–autobenefactive interaction

This form occurs when the causative marker is followed by the autobenefactive marker. Consider the following examples:

(33) a. seema ʔidag-i-s-eɗ-e
cloth bring-EP-CAUS$_1$-BEN-PFV:3MS

'He made a cloth to be brought for himself'

b. hir-s-iis-eɗ-e
buy-CAUS$_1$-CAUS$_2$-BEN-PFV:3MS

'He caused ….to be bought for himself'

2.2.5.2 Reduplicative-passive Interaction

This interaction forms a basic stem when the reduplicative is combined with passive as in the following examples.

(34) a. saank'uwwi ban∼ban-em-m(<n)-e
doors RED-open-PASS-3P-PFV.

'The doors are opened repeatedly'

b. saank'i gan~gan-em-e

door RED-hit-PASS-PFV:3MS

'The door is knocked repeatedly'

2.2.5.3 Reduplicative-causative Interaction

During this interaction the passive marker follows a reduplicative stem to form a basic derived stem, as in the following examples:

(35) a. ʔisi maallak'a lel~leb-i-s-e

he money RED-add-EP-CAUS$_1$-PFV:3MS

'He made (someone) add the money'

b.ʔani saank'a gan~gan-s-iis-e-nne

I door RED-hit-CAUS$_1$-CAUS$_2$-PFV-1S:AUX

'I caused the door is knocked repeatedly'

2.2.5.4 Reduplicative-autobenefactive Interaction

When the autobenefactive marker follows the reduplicative verb stem, the reduplicative–autobenfactive stem is formed, as in:

(36) a. gan~gan- + eɗ → [gan~gaʔn-] 'hit repeatedly for oneself

b. dad~dar- + eɗ→[dad~daɗɗ-] 'tear repeatedly'

Consider the following paradigm:

1S	gan~gaʔn-e-nne
2S	gan~gaʔn-i-t-e-tte
3MS	gan~gaʔn-e
3FS	gan~gaʔn-i-t-e
1P	gan~gaʔn-i-n-e-nne
2P	gan~gaʔn-i-tin-e
3P	gan~gaʔn-i-n-e

Table 27.The Perfective Paradigm of Reduplicative-autobenefactive

As considered, in the above paradigm, when a stem and autobenfactive marker are merged together, assimilation takes place and causes the occurrence of glottal stop */ʔ/,* i.e., an allomorph of */-ɗ/,* before a stem-final consonant.

2.2.5.5 Reduplicative-causative-autobenefactive Interaction

This structure is built when the reduplicative stem is followed by the causative and autobenefactive markers and then forms a basic stem of the combination, as in examples below:

(37) a. gan~gan-s-iis-ɗ-

RED-hit-$CAUS_1$-$CAUS_2$-BEN

'Cause to be knocked repeatedly for one's benefit'

b. lel~leb-i-s-iis -ɗ-

RED-add-EP-$CAUS_1$-$CAUS_2$-BEN

'Cause someone to add the money for oneself'

To summarize, it is noted that the reverse of all interactions is impossible because such combinations present ill-formed structures.

2.2.6 Compound Verbs

Gedeo has compound verbs which have two parts. The first part of the compound consists of words do not belong to a specific lexical category. According to Gabas and Auwera (2003:401), such words are called ideophones which are semantically similar to verbs in that their meanings convey descriptions of actions/states. They resemble particles by showing no morphological structure. The account of receiving inflectional or derivational markers is on the second part. Such a second part, in Gedeo, is the auxiliary verb */hijj-/* 'say' or */ʔass-/ 'make',* as in the examples:

(38) a. k'opp'i hijj- 'be rose up'

k'opp'i ʔass- 'make rise up'

b. ʃikki hijj- 'be approached'

ʃikki ʔass- 'make approach'

Sometimes, however, compound verbs can be considered as single words. Wedekind (1985:84) claims that "some Gedeo people think of them as a two-word-phrase whereas some consider them as single words when writing", as in:-

(39) a. bukki ʔass- → bukkass- 'collect'

b. himmi hijj- → himmijj- 'blench'

The affixes of tense/aspect and agreement occur being conjugated with the second part of compound words as mentioned so far. For example:

(40) a. ʔisi ʔanibaaʔa ʃikki hijj-e

he I:LOC approach say-PFV:3MS

'He approached me'

b. ʔisi beera ʔinsaʔneebaaʔa ʃikki ʔass-e

he table they:LOC approach make-PFV:3MS

'He made the table approach to them'

Some derivative affixes can also be attached to the second part of compound words preceding inflectional suffixes. For example:

(41) With causative

ʔati ʔisooʔo ʔanibaaʔa ʃikki ʔass-iis-s-e-tte (< ʔass-siis-tette)
he table I: LOC approach make-CAUS$_2$-2S-PFV-2S:AUX

'You (sg.) made him approach me'

(42) With autobenefactive

ʔisi beera ʔifibaaʔa ʃikki ʔass-eɗ-e
he table himself: LOC approach make-BEN-PFV:3MS

'He approached the table to himself'

In concluding, compound verbs can interact with other derived classes, such as causative and autobenefactive. Compound verbs which are formed with */hijj-/ 'say'* are intransitive whereas which are formed with */ʔass-/ 'make'* are transitive.

A compound verb-passive interaction is impossible because compound verbs which contain the auxiliary */hijj-/* are intransitive and there is no passive formation with such verbs. Even transitive-passive formation becomes questionable because such a usage seems to be unusual though it does not lack acceptability. For example:

(43) ? ʃikki ʔass-em-
approach make-PASS

'Being approached'

CHAPTER THREE

3. SUBORDINATE VERB FORMS

In this chapter I will convey the analysis of subordinate verb constructions identifying its verbal morphology in different subordinate clauses.

According to Palmer (1986:131ff), when two clauses are combined to form a single sentence they are joined either by coordination or subordination. Clauses which are formed by subordination are called subordinate clauses. Thompson et al (2007:237) argue that "the relationship between 'subordinate' and 'main' clauses is clearly a continuum".

There are different types of subordinate clauses. In this study, however, I included relative clauses, complement clauses, converbs, time clauses, and if-clauses (conditionals). Among those types, according to Thompson et al (2007:237), 'complement clauses and relative clauses usually represent an embedding structure at the subordinate end of the continuum.

3.1 Relative Clauses

According to Culicover (1976:179) and Palmer (1994:96), the relative clause is a modifier of a noun phrase. Thompson et al (2007:238) mention it as modifiers of nouns.

First of all, let us consider the following examples:

(44) a. berek'e ʔuud-ee-nne-ki manjicci rej-e
yesterday see-PRF-lS:AUX-REL(m):NOM man:NOM die-PFV:3MS

'The man who I saw yesterday died'

b. berek'e ʔuud-ee-nne-tt'i ʔoose me??-i-n-e
yesterday see-PRF-1S:AUX-REL(f):NOM children go-EP-3P-PFV

'The boys who I saw yesterday went out'

c. satt'eett'a wogga hir-ee-nne-tt'i sajjicco bereke ʔil-t-e
last year buy-PRF-1S:AUX-REL(f):NOM cow yesterday give birth-3P-PFV

'The cow which I bought last year bred yesterday'

(45) a. berek'e dag-e-e-ka manɟicco ʔuud-e-nne
yesterday come-PRF:3MS-REL(m):ABS man see-PFV-1S:AUX

'I saw the man who came yesterday'

b. berek'e ʔuud-ee-nne-tt'a sajjicco hir-e-nne
yesterday see-PRF-1S:AUX-REL(f):ABS cow buy-PFV-1S:AUX

'I bought the cow which I saw yesterday'

c. bereke'e meʔʔ-i-t-e-e-tt'a ʔoose ʔudd-e-nne
yesterday go-EP-3P-PRF-AUX-REL(f):ABS boys see-PFV-1S:AUX

'I saw the boys who went out yesterday'

As considered in (44) and (45), the relative clause marking is related to gender marking and case marking. Hence, Gedeo has 'nominative relatives', as in (44) and 'absolutive relatives'[3], as in (45). Nominative relatives are marked by the 'nominative masculine' suffix and by the 'nominative feminine' suffix. In the same fassion, absolutive relatives are marked using 'absolutive masciline' suffix and 'absolute feminine' suffix.

Thus, the nominative masculine marker or the absolutive masculine marker is **/-k/** whereas the nominative feminine marker or absoluative feminine marker is **/-tt'/.** Then, consider the following paradigms of the present perfect and imperfective which illustrate nominative and absolutive relative clauses. The verb used here is */ʔuud-/ 'see'*:

[3] These terms has been used by Anbessa Tefera (2000:63) for the case of Sidaama.

	Nominative	Absolutive	
1S	ʔuud-ee-nne-ki/-tt'i	ʔuud-ee-nne-ka/-tt'a	
2S	ʔuud-d-ee-tte-ki/-tt'i	ʔuud-d-ee-tte-ka/-tt'a	(d<t)
3MS	ʔuud-e-e-ki/-tt'i	ʔuud-e-e-ka/-tt'a	
3FS	ʔuud-d-e-e-ki/-tt'i	ʔuud-d-e-e-ka/-tt'a	
1P	ʔuund-ee-nne-ki/-tt'i	ʔuund-ee-nne-ka/-tt'a	
2P	ʔuud-din-e-e-ki/-tt'i	ʔuud-din-e-e-ka/-tt'a	(d<t)
3P	ʔuund-e-e-ki/-tt'i	ʔuund-e-e-ka/-tt'a	

Table 28. The Present Perfect Paradigms of the Relative Clauses

	Nominative	Absolutive	
1S	ʔuud-a-nno-ki/-tt'i	ʔuud-a-nno-ka/-tt'a	
2S	ʔuud-d-a-tto-ki/-tt'i	ʔuud-d-a-tto-ka/-tt'a	(d<t)
3MS	ʔuud-a-a-ki/-tt'i	ʔuud-a-a-ka/-tt'a	
3FS	ʔuud-d-a-a-ki/-tt'i	ʔuud-d-a-a-ka/-tt'a	
1P	ʔuund-a-nno-ki/-tt'i	ʔuud-a-nno-ka/-tt'a	
2P	ʔuud-din-a-a-ki/-tt'i	ʔuud-din-a-a-ka/-tt'a	(d<t)
3P	ʔuund-a-a-ki/-tt'i	ʔuund-a-a-ka/-tt'a	

Table 29. The Imperfective Paradigms of the Relative Clauses

In general, the relativizers are shown in the following table:

	Nominative relatives	Absolutive relatives
Masculine (m)	-ki	-ka
Feminine (f)	-tt'i	-tt'a

Table 30. The Suffixes of Nominative and Absolutive Relatives

3.2 Complement Clauses

Complement clauses may have finite and non-finite forms. Apart from these forms, there may be a complement clause that has a modal form that Palmer (1986:162) it as reporting attitudes or opinion. Each of the above point will be discussed below:

A. Finite clauses

According to Palmer (1986:162), the declarative form can be considered to be the finite form because concordial features (aspect, tense, mood, and agreement) can be marked on it. Consider examples, as in (46):

(46) a. baɗaaso geʔrecco hir-ee-tt'a lak'-ee-nnen

B. sheep buy-PRF:3MS-COMP hear-PRF-1S:AUX:IND

'I have heard that Badhaso bought a sheep'

b. rooddu ʔiso ʔeejj-i-t-a-a-tt'a ʔegeʔn-ee-nnen

R him love-EP-3FS-IPFV-AUX-COMP know-PRF-1S:AUX:IND

'I know that Rodu loves him'

As seen from above examples (46), finite clauses are marked by /-**tt'a**/ that for all persons has a regular form. It is identical in form with the absolutive feminine relativizer, but they are not the same morphemes in function. When */-tt'a/* is suffixed, the suffix */-n/* in both paradigms is dropped and */-o/* assimilates to */-e/* in both paradigms, as in the table (31) whereas */-a/* remains the same in the imperfective paradigm alongside 1S, 2S and 1P. Consider the paradigms as follows:

	Present perfect	Imperfective
1S	haʔw-ee-nne-tt'a	haʔw-a-nne-tt'a
2S	haʔw-i-t-ee-tte-tt'a	haʔw-i-t-a-tte-tt'a
3MS	haʔw-e-e-tt'a	haʔw-a-a-tt'a
3FS	haʔw-i-t-e-e-tt'a	haʔw-i-ta-a-tt'a
1P	haʔw-i-n-ee-nne-tt'a	haʔw-i-n-a-nne-tt'a
2S	haʔw-i-tin-e-e-tt'a	haʔw-i-tin-a-a-tt'a
3P	haʔw-i-n-e-e-tt'a	haʔw-i-n-a-a-tt'a

Table 31. The Present Perfect and Imperfective Paradigms of Finite Clauses

Note that finite clauses are formed with the present perfect and imperfective forms.

B. Non-finite Clauses

Palmer (1986:156) defines that 'non-finite' is a form that is unmarked for person as well as for aspect, tense, mood and other agreement. He also declares that the most common names for such a form used in complements are 'gerund' and 'infinitive'. Such a characteristic is common for the verbs of the non-finite clauses in Gedeo, as in:

(47) a. baɗaaso geʔrecco hir-a-teeʔe has-a-an

B. sheep buy-INF-COMP want- IPFV:3MS-AUX:IND

'Badhaso wants to buy a sheep'

b. ʔati wodeʔe haʔw-a-teeʔe jor-t-a-tton

you water drink-INF-COMP wish-2S-INF-2S:AUX:IND

'You (sg.) want to drink water'

c. ʔise baraccisanjo kad-a-teeʔe jor-t-a-an

she teacher be-INF-COMP wish-3FS-IPFV-AUX:IND

'She wishes to be a teacher'

d. haʔno finfinne meʔʔ-a-teeʔe has-sin-a-an

you A.A go-INF-COMP want-2P-IPFV-AUX:IND

'You (pl) want to go to Addis Ababa'

As can be seen, non-finite clauses are marked by **/-teeʔe/.**

C. Clauses with Modal Forms

First of all, consider the following example:

(48) ʔisi belti minibaaʔa meʔʔ-o- ʔaaʔa kul-e

he boy house: LOC go-JUS-COMP tell-PFV:3MS

'He told the boy to go to home'

Such a complement clause, seen above (48), seems to be modal. Palmer(1986:26-30) states that modal forms can occur in subordinate clauses where some verbs that express modality like 'instruct', 'order', 'command', 'tell', etc are used. According to him many subordinate clauses, specifically object complements report the attitudes and opinions of the subject of the main clauses. Here is a paradigm for more observation, as in the table (32):

1S	meʔʔ-o-nn-aaʔa
2S	meʔʔ-i-t-o-tt-aaʔa
3MS	meʔʔ-o-ʔaaʔa
3FS	meʔʔ-i-t-o-ʔaaʔa
1P	meʔʔ-i-n-o-nn-aaʔa
2P	meʔʔ-i-tin-o-ʔaaʔa
3P	meʔʔ-i-n-o-ʔaaʔa

Table 32. The Paradigm of a Modal Complement Clause

As clearly shown, modality is indicated by the part of jussive mood marker, occurring between the stem or the first sting of person marker and other agreement affixes which are followed by a complement clause marker **/-ʔaaʔa/**.

As also can be seen, in the above paradigm (table 32), initial glottal stop of the complementizer */ʔaaʔa/* becomes null after a second string of person marker, but it appears where such a person marker is covert after a modal marker.

Finally, those clauses are finite, non-finite and modal are marked by */-tt'a/*, */-teeʔe/* and */ʔaaʔa/* which are clearly overt at the final position of all other agreement.

3.3 Converb

The converb sometimes termed as 'conjunctive' and is a conjugation used to express coordination of verbs and verb phrases (Hudson 1976:269).[4] It is used as a subordinate verb preceding the main verb.

In the the formation converbsexcept the first string of person marker all other markers are covert and the converbs are formed with a rising intonation towards the ending vowel /-e/, as in:

(49) a. mar-é 'I/he going….'

b. hir-t-é 'You (sg.)/she buy(s)…'

For more observation here is a paradigm as in the table (33):

[4] Hudson argues, "[T]he conjunctive is comparable in use to the Amharic converb ('gerund' or 'gerundive).

	A	B	C	D
	buying	washing	coming	giving
1S	hir-é	ʔanʃ-é	dag-é	ʔuuww-é
2S	hir-t-é	ʔanʃ-i-t-é	dag-g-é	ʔuu-t-é
3MS	hir-é	ʔanʃ-é	dag-é	ʔuuww-é
3FS	hir-t-é	ʔanʃ-i-t-é	dag-g-é	ʔuu-t- é
1P	hir-r-é	ʔanʃ-i-n-é	dang-é	ʔuu-n- é
2P	hir-tin-é	ʔanʃ-i-tin-é	dag-gin-é	ʔuu-tin- é
3P	hir-r-é	ʔanʃ-i-n-é	dang-é	ʔuu-n- é

Table 33. The Converb Paradigms

The language allows one or more than one constructions of converb with one main verb. Consider the following examples:

(50) a. ʔind-é́ diimp'-e-nne
eat:1P-CVB sleep:1P-PFV-1P:AUX

'Having eaten, we slept'

b. baɗaaso suuketibaaʔa mar-é́ mija hir-é dag-e
B. shop:LOC go-CVB goods buy-PFV:3MS come-PFV:3MS

'Going to a shop and buying goods, Badhaso came'

As observed, a converb construction in 1P, 2S and 2P, and 3FS and 3P drops other suffixes except the first string of person markers. But in 1S and 3MS none of the suffixes is overt except a converb suffix. In case of (D), the person marker */-t/* or */-n/* displaces stem final geminated consonant */ww/*. Besides, the forms in 1Sand 3MS, 2S and 3FS and 1P and 3P are identical.

3.4 Time Clauses

Time clauses have a function of expressing time (Schachter 1985:51). According to Thompson et al (2007:237), there are grammatical morphemes with lexical content like 'before', 'when', etc. of English and such conjunctive elements may be prepositional or postpositional. The postpositional elements occur after the adverbial clause in head-final languages (i.e., SOV).

Subordinating morphemes of time clauses are illustrated below:

(51) a. ʔisi dag-a-a wooda, noʔo muuze ʔit-ateʔni heʔne-nnani
he come-IPFV- when we banana eat-PRG present:1P:AUX:IND

'When he came, we were eating banana'

b. dang-a-nno-o wodda
come:1P-IPFV-1P:AUX- when

'When we come'

As considered, there is a suffixed element /*-a/* or */-o/* and an independent morpheme /*wodda/* 'when' which appears immediately following an element suffixed to the verb. It is important for the occurrence of /*wodda/*. For more consideration see the paradigm as in:

1S	dag-a-nno-o	wodda
2S	dag-a-tto-o	wodda
3MS	dag-a-a	wodda
3FS	dag-g-a-a	wodda
1P	dang-a-nno-o	wodda
2P	dag-gin-a-a	wodda
3P	dang-a-a	wodda

Table 34. The Paradigm of 'when'

Thus, the form of the adverbializer can be descrbied as **/-a/o wooda/** *'when'*. The morpheme wodda exists by lengthening the final vowel of the inflected subordinate verb, displacing an independent verb former */-n/*. This clause is constructed only with the imperfective form.

Now let us turn to another kind of time clauses, as in (52):

(52) dag-e-nne-ʃʃani, bukkitibaaʔa mar-e-nne
come-PFV-1S:AUX-as meeting:LOC go-PFV-1S:AUX

'Just as I came, I went to the meeting'

'Lit. Directly after coming [home] I went to the meeting'

As can be seen, an adverbializer **/-ʃʃani/** 'as' occurs at final position of an inflected subordinate verb. It means that the verb in the adverbial subordinate clause remains with all agreement markers when the adverbializer is suffixed to it. For more consideration see the paradigm as follows:

1S	dag-e-nne-ʃʃani
2S	dag-g-e-tte-ʃʃani (<dag-tette-ʃʃani)
3MS	dag-e-ʃʃani
3FS	dag-g-e-ʃʃani (<dag-te-ʃʃani)
1P	dang-e-nne-ʃʃani
2P	dag-gin-e- ʃʃani (<dag-tine-ʃʃani)
3P	dang-e- ʃʃani

Table 35. The Perfective Paradigm of 'as'

For another kind of the time clause, now consider the following examples:

(53) a. nabbaba muut'-e-e-ccini ʔuduma, diip'-e
studying finish-PRF-AUX- after sleep-PFV:3MS

'He slept after he had finished studying'

b. muunt'-ee-nne-ccini ʔuduma
finish:1P-PRF-1P:AUX- after

'After we had finished'

c. muut'-t'in-e-e-ccini ʔuduma
finish-2P-PRF-AUX- after

'After you (pl.) had finished'

d. meʔʔ-i-tin-e-e-ccini ʔuduma, ballo noʔaa bilbil-l-e
go-EP-2P-PRF-AUX- after please us call-2P-IMP

'After you (pl.) went out, please call us! '

As seen in (53), the verb in the time clauses signals all suffixes except the final */-n/* when part of an adverbializer */-ccini/* is suffixed to it. But */ʔuduma/* 'after' follows independently, like */wodda/* 'when', at the end position of the clause.

Now consider the following example of another kind of time clauses:

(54) a. diip'-a-teeʔe maʔnatibaaʔa meʔʔ-e-e-ccini ʔedi darre, lekka
sleep-INF-COMP bed:LOC go-PRF-AUX before legs
ʔanʃ-eɗ-e
wash-BEN-PFV:3MS

'He washed his legs before him going to the bed'

b. meʔʔ-i-n-ee-nne-ccini ʔedi darre
go-EP-1P-PRF-1P:AUX- before

'Before we went out'

As seen, the formation of this clause is the same as the above 'after' clauses and 'when' clauses, but more similarly with the 'after' clauses. Then an adverbializer */ʔedi darre/ 'before'*, is a two-word-phrase morpheme which occurs at final position.

Summarizing, in this section different subordinating morphemes of time clauses are analyzed. Such morphemes are **/-a wodda/**, 'when' **/-ccini ʔuduma/** 'after, **/-ccini ʔedi darre/** 'before' and **/-ʃʃani/** 'as'. The first three[5] occur with the suffixed obligatory elements and the latter occurs directly being suffixed to a subordinate verb.

3.5. Conditionals

According to Bybee (1985:188-9), the conditional indicates an action or event that is contingent upon some other action or event. The conditional verb form appears in the 'if-clause' that states the condition. Palmer (1986:189-93) also describes that conditional sentences are unlike all others in that both the subordinate clause and the main clause are non-factual. It only indicates the dependence of the truth of one proposition upon that of another. According to him, there are real, unreal and past unreal[6] conditions. The real conditions refer to future events and unreal conditions indicate improbable condition in the future. The past unreal conditions indicate that impossible conditions.

Thompson et al (2007:256) note that most languages signal conditionals by means of subordinating morphemes. The if-clause, in Gedeo, is inflected for tense/aspect, and person before the conditional marker is suffixed to a subordinate verb. The conditional marker in all types of conditions is **/-le/**, as in the following examples:

(55) **a. Real Condition**

ʔit-o-no-le, me??-a-nnon
eat-IPFV-1S:AUX-if go-IPFV-1S:AUX:IND

'If I eat, I will go'

[5] These independent morphemes affect the verb structure attaching the suffixed elements with theire occurrence. So, that is why I considered them as verb morphology. However, I suggest that further investigation is needed in this area.

[6] When 'extra' past tense is added in conditionals, Palmer (1986:193) calls it 'conditional perfect'.

b. Unreal Condition

ʔit-ee-nne-le, me??-a-nnani
eat-PRF-1S:AUX-if go-IPFV-1S:AUX:IND

'If I ate, I would go'

c. Past unreal Condition

ʔit-é kad-ee-nne-le sila, me??- ee-nnani
eat-CVB become-PRF-1S:AUX-if had go-PRF-1S:AUX:IND

'If I had eaten, I would have gone'

Regarding a real condition, as in (a), it is considered that aspect marker */-a/* assimilates to */-o/* and interestingly, the geminated /-nn/ or /-tt/ i.e., the second string of person marker becomes degeminated */-n/* or */-t/* by unclear reasons. For more consideration here is a paradigm:

1S	ʔit-o-no-le
2S	ʔit-t-o-to-le
3MS	ʔit-o-o-le
3FS	ʔit-t-o-o-le
1P	ʔind-o-no-le
2P	ʔit-tin-o-o-le
3P	ʔind-o-o-le

Table 36. The Imperfective Paradigm of a Real Condition

In case of unreal condition, as in (b), consider the paradigm as follows:

1S	ʔit-ee-nne-le
2S	ʔit-t-ee-tte-le
3MS	ʔit-e-e-le
3FS	ʔit-t-e-e-le
1P	ʔind-ee-nne-le
2P	ʔit-tin-e-e-le
3P	ʔind-e-e-le

Table 37. The Present Perfect Paradigm of Unreal Condition

With regard to past unreal condition (cf. 55c), it is considered that Gedeo has the verbs /*kad-*/ 'become' and /*sila*/ ' a remote past of the verb of presence' that occur independently after a subordinate verb. First, a subordinate verb ends with a converb marker. Second, the conditional marker and other suffixes appear with the verb /*kad-*/ 'become'. Third, an auxiliary *sila* i.e., verb of presence in a remote form takes the end position of if-clause.

Finally, though the form of each condition is likely to be different, the conditional marker of if-clause occurs in the same manner in all conditions.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. NEGATION

In the previous two chapters, the analysis of verbal morphology is presented in detail, describing different affixes that Gedeo verbs carry in the independent verb forms, modal forms and subordinate forms. This chapter, now, presents the negation analysis of all such forms.

According to Bybee (1985:176), negation may occur as a verbal inflection. Vetoshkina (1988:149) also notes that negation, in morphological point of view, is a verbal category.

Negation can be found in the different forms, such as, in the declative sentence forms or independent verb forms, imperatives, jussives, derived stems, and subordinate forms. The marker of negation is phonologically conditioned in some cases while in other cases it has entirely different forms. Each point will be analyzed below:

4.1 Negation of the Independent Verb Forms

This form includes present perfect, imperfective and progressive. All share a common negative marker. Consider examples below:

(56) Present perfect

ʔit-ee-boʔ-non (< ʔit-ee-boʔ-nnen)
eat-PRF-NEG-1S:AUX:IND

'I did not eat/ I have not eaten.'

As considered, when the negative marker **/-boʔ/** occurs in the middle position of an inflected form, change happen on person and tense marker. The change that happens on the person marker is to fit the maximum number of consonant cluster (i.e, */ʔnn/→/ʔn/*). Vago (1977:29) states that a geminate consonant is degeminated next to another consonant, then */n+n/* is degeminated to */n/* because of the preceding consonant */ʔ/*. Secondly, the mid vowel */-e/*

assimilates to */-o/* when the negative marker occurs before the second string of person marker in 1S, 2S and 1P. For more consideration let us see the following paradigm:

1S	ʔit-ee-boʔ-non	(<ʔit-ee-boʔ-nnen)
2S	ʔit-t-ee-bo-tt'on	(<ʔit-t-ee-boʔ-tten)
3MS	ʔit-e-ba-an	(<ʔit-e-baʔ-en)
3FS	ʔit-t-e-ba-an	(<ʔit-t-e-baʔ-en)
1P	ʔind-ee-boʔ-non	(<ʔit-n-ee-boʔ-nnen)
2P	ʔit-tin-e-ba-an	(<ʔit-tin-e-baʔ-en)
3P	ʔind-e-ba-an	(<ʔit-n-e-baʔ-en)

Table 38. The Negative Present Perfect Paradigm

The negative marker in 3S, 2P and 3P appears with a form **/-baʔ/**. Following such a condition, */-e/* of the next suffix assimilates to */-a/*. Note that there is no a form of negative with perfective.

Now, let us turn to the imperfective example, as in (57):

(57) Imperfective

ʔit-a-boʔ-non (<ʔit-a-boʔ-nnon)
eat-IPFV-NEG-1S:AUX:IND

'I do not eat/ will not eat'

Consider the following paradigm:

1S	ʔit-a-boʔ-non	(<ʔit-a-boʔ-nnon)
2S	ʔit-t-a-bo-tt'on	(<ʔit-t-a-boʔ-tton)
3MS	ʔit-a-ba-an	(<ʔit-a-baʔ-an)
3FS	ʔit-t-a-ba-an	(<ʔit-t-a-baʔ-an)
1P	ʔind-a-boʔ-non	(<ʔit-n-a-boʔ-nnon)
2P	ʔit-tin-a-ba-an	(<ʔit-tin-a-baʔ-an)
3P	ʔind-a-ba-an	(<ʔit-n-a-baʔ-an)

Table 39. The Negative Imperfective Paradigm

However, sometimes */-boʔ/* is reduced to */-ʔ/* in the fast speech, as in the following examples.

(58) a. ʔit-a-ʔ-non

eat-IPFV-NEG-1S:AUX :IDN

'I will not eat'

b. hir-s-iis-eɗ-ee-ʔ-non

buy-CAUS$_1$-CAUS$_2$-BEN-PRF-NEG-1S:AUX:IND

'I did not cause (anybody) to buy a cloth (for myself)'

Therefore */-ʔ/* can be a variant of *-boʔ* in case of 1S, 2S and 1P. The usage of this short form is common for the Riibata dialect speakers.

Now let us consider two negative progressive forms, namely present and past continuous tenses. For example,

(59) Present Continuous

ʔit-ateʔni heɗe-boʔ-non (heɗ-boʔ-nneni)

eat-PRG live-NEG-1S:AUX:IND

'I am not eating'

As the negative marker occurs next to the verb stem of presence, */-e/* is tends to be changed to */-o/* or */-a/* as seen in the negative present perfect form in (56). In addition, the final vowel */-i/* also becomes devoiced in a negative form. The mid vowel */-e/* which appears between a consonant final stem and an initial consonant cluster seems to be a strange one (cf. section 2.1.2), so that I left it with the stem, as in the following paradigm.

1S	ʔit-ateʔni	heɗe-boʔ-non	
2S	ʔit-ateʔni	het't'e-bo-tt'on	(<heɗ-t-boʔ-tteni)
3MS	ʔit-ateʔni	heɗe-ba-an	
3FS	ʔit-ateʔni	het't'e-ba- an	(<heɗ-t-baʔ-eni)
1P	ʔit-ateʔni	heʔne-nna-ba-an	(<heɗ-n-boʔ-nneni)
2P	ʔit-ateʔni	het'-t'ine-ba-an	(<heɗ-tin-baʔ-eni)
3P	ʔit-ateʔni	heʔne-ba-an	(<heɗ-n-baʔ-eni)

Table 40. The Negative Present Continuous Paradigm

Now let us consider the following example:

(60) Past Continuous

ʔit-ateʔni heɗe-nna-ba-an (<heɗ-nna-baʔ-ani)
eat-PRG live-1S-NEGAUX:IND

'I was not eating'

Here we can consider that the negative and person markers exchange their position, so that the negative marker, unlike present continuous and other forms, occurs between the second string of person and the final two suffixes. In other forms, it occurs between tense/aspect marker and the second part of person string. In this form all persons take */-baʔ/* as a negative marker. In case of 3S, 2P and 3P, */-mma/* obligatorily occurs to mark a person preceding the negative marker. It is an interesting phenomenon and common for affirmative form of past continuous tense (cf. Table 12). In addition, the second string of person marker appears with the vowel */a/* in case of 1S, 2S and 1P. Now consider the paradigm, as in the table (41):

1S	ʔit-ateʔni	heɗe-nna-ba-an	
2S	ʔit-ateʔni	heɗt'e-tta-ba-an	(<heɗ-t-tta-baʔ-ani)
3MS	ʔit-ateʔni	heɗe-mma-ba-an	
3FS	ʔit-ateʔni	het't'e-mma-ba-an	(<heɗ-t-mma-baʔ-ani)
1P	ʔit-ateʔni	heʔne-nna-ba-an	(<heɗ-n-nna-baʔ-ani)
2P	ʔit-ateʔni	het'-t'ine-mma-ba-an	(<heɗ-tin-mma-baʔ-ani)
3P	ʔit-ateʔni	heʔne-mma-ba-an	(<heɗ-n-mma-baʔ-ani)

Table 41. The Negative Past Continuous Paradigm

To summarize, it can be considered that there are two forms of negative marker i.e, */-boʔ/* and */-baʔ/*. The former occurs with first person and second singular whereas the latter occurs with third person andsecond plural. In many cases glottal stop in /-baʔ/ is deleted in the articulation process. But in some cases it survives where it is not followed by any other suffixes. For instance, in the negation form of verb 'to have'[7], as in (61):

(61) a. ʔaf-e-baʔ
have-PFV:3MS-NEG

'He has no….'

b. ʔanf-e-baʔ
have:3P-PFV-NEG

'They have no…

Interestingly, the form */-baʔ/* is identical to *-baʔa* which is the negative suffix of K'abeena (Alemtsehay 1988:21). It is placed at final position in the verb structure whereas *-baʔ* is placed in medial position in Gedeo. In general, I assume that *-baʔ* may be the basic form of negation in Gedeo and *-boʔ* is the form which is the result of assimilation.

[7] I am grateful to Terrefe Shonto a native of Gedeo and a student of DLing in AAU (2008-10) for his valuable help in offering such pieces of information regarding this issue.

4.2 Negation of the Imperative

Sadock (1985:175) notes that negative imperatives refer to 'prohibitives' that are handled differently from negative declaratives.

As described so far, the imperative mood is not marked for other agreement except person marker of 2P in the affirmative case (cf.section 2.1.4.3). However, in its negative form, the person markers occur preceding a negative suffix. The imperative suffix */-e/* assimilates to /-o/ following the suffixing */-k'eʔ/*. Consider the following affirmative and negative paradigms:

-Affirmative (Eat!)

2S	ʔit-i
2P	ʔit-t-e

-Negative (Do not eat!)

2S	ʔit-t-o-tt'-eʔ-e	(ʔit-t-e-tt-k'eʔ-i)
2P	ʔit-tin-o-k'eʔ-e	

Table 42. The Affirmative and Negative Paradigms of Imperative

The imperative mood marker **/-i/** of 2S assimilates to /*-e/* due to stressed */-e/* in */-k'eʔ/* on backward position. Finally, the negative marker of an imperative form is **/-k'eʔ/.**

4.3 Negative Form of Jussive

The form of negative marker in jussive mood is similar to that of imperative mood i.e, **-k'eʔ**. But it is a form of first plural and third person, because second person has the same form as negative imperative. The suffix *-k'eʔ* occurs at final position of the verb structure, as in the paradigms:

-'Let… not eat'

3MS	ʔit-o-k'eʔ
3FS	ʔit-t-o-k'eʔ
1P	ʔind-o-nn-o-k'eʔ
3P	ʔind-o-k'eʔ

Table 43. The Negative Jussive Paradigm

As can be seen, the negative form of jussive is marked for person. Jussive mood marker of the affirmative form occurs partially in a negative form as */-o/* or */-o-o/*.

Incidentally, second person is included in the affirmative jussive form. However, the negative jussive form is possible only with first plural and third person. Second person of the negative jussive form has an identical form with the negative imperative form.

4.4 Negation of Subordinate Clauses

Payne (1985:240) mentions that many languages use different devices to negate subordinate clauses from those used in main clauses. Gedeo, indeed uses somewhat different forms, i.e, **-beʔ** and **gop'**- or **gib-** *'refuse/lose'* in some cases. But in other cases **-ba** remains as is in the main clauses.

The form *gop'*- or *gib*- occurs independently next to the main verb. It is considered as inherently negative verb and negates the main verb in subordinate clauses, occurring after the main verb. As the second part of compound verbs consist of agreement affixes, such an independent negative particle does so.

The negation of different subordinate clauses, namely relative clauses, complement clauses, time clauses and if-clauses are going to be analized as follws:

4.4.1 Negative Form of Relative Clauses

In relative clauses, the negative suffix */-boʔ/* gets another form i.e, /*-beʔ/*. This form is similar to that of Hadiyya that Sim (1985:20ff) notes as */beʔe/ 'It is lacking, not present.* It can occur in the independent form */beʔi/*. Wedekind (1985:96) mentions that *-beʔ* is the dialectal form in Gedeo.

The form /*-baʔ~ba*/ also occurs in the relative clauses with the same form as was in the independent verb forms. Consider the following examples:

(62) a. ʔuud-ee-beʔ-no-ki manɟicci
see-PRF-NEG-1S:AUX-REL(m):NOM man:NOM

'The man who I did not see…'

b. dag-e-ba-a-ka manɟicco
come-PRF:3MS-NEG-AUX-REL(m):ABS man:ABS

'…..the man who did not come'

c. hir-en-d-e-ba-a-tt'i (<hir-em-t-e-baʔ-en-tt'i)
buy-PASS-3FS-PRF-NEG-AUX-REL(f):NOM

'[The cow] which has not been bought'

d. geʔrecco ʔit-i-s-iis-s-e-ba-a-tt'a (<ʔit-s-iis-t-e-baʔ-en-tt'a)
sheep eat-EP-CAUS$_1$-CAUS$_2$-3P-PRF-NEG-AUX-REL (f):ABS

'…the boys who did not cause a sheep to be eaten'

e. hiɗ-ɗ-i-t-ee-be-tt'o-ki (<hir-eɗ-t-ee-beʔ-tton-ki)
buy-BEN-EP-1S-PRF-NEG-1S:AUX-REL(m):NOM

'You (sg.) who did not buy [for yourself]'

f. k'opp'i ʔass-i-t-e-ba-a-tt'i

rise make-EP-3FS-PRF-NEG-AUX-REL(f):NOM

'She who did not make rise [it] up'

g. haʔw-i-n-a-beʔ-no-ki

drink-EP-1P-IPFV-NEG-1P:AUX-REL:NOM

'We who do not (will not drink)'

For more consideration here are paradigms of present perfect and imperfective, as in tables (44) and (45):

1S	haʔw-ee-beʔ-no-ki	(<-beʔ-nnen-ki)
2S	haʔw-i-t-ee-bet'-t'o-ki/-tt'i	(<-beʔ-tten-ki/-tt'i)
3MS	haʔw-e-ba-a-ki	(<-beʔ-en-ki)
3FS	haʔw-i-t-e-ba- a-tt'i	(<-baʔ-en-tt'i)
1P	haʔw-i-n-ee-beʔ-no-ki	(<-beʔ-nnen-ki)
2P	haʔw-i-tin-e-ba-a-ki	(<-baʔ-en-ki)
3P	haʔw-i-n-e-ba-a-ki	(<-baʔ-en-ki)

Table 44. The PR PRF Paradigm of the Negative Form of Nominative Relatives

1S	haʔw-a-beʔ-no-ki	(<-beʔ-nnon-ki)
2S	haʔw-i-t-a-bet'-t'o-ki/-tt'i	(<-beʔ-tton-ki/-tt'i)
3MS	haʔw-a-ba-a-ki	(<-beʔ-an-ki)
3FS	haʔw-i-t-a-ba- a-tt'i	(<-baʔ-an-tt'i)
1P	haʔw-i-n-a-beʔ-no-ki	(<-beʔ-nnon-ki)
2P	haʔw-i-tin-a-ba-a-ki	(<-baʔ-an-ki)
3P	haʔw-i-n-a-ba-a-ki	(<-baʔ-an-ki)

Table 45. The Imperfective Paradigm of the Negative Form of Nominative Relatives

As considered, the distrubtion of the form */-beʔ/* is limited to 1S, 2S and 1P whereas the distrubtion of */-ba/* is limited to 3MS, 3FS, 2P and 3P.

4.4.2. Negative Form of Complement Clauses

In complement clauses, the same negative suffixes occur as in the relative clauses i.e., *-beʔ* and *-ba*. In addition to that, the independent form *gop*'- occurs in most cases. Consider the following examples:

(63) Finite clauses

a. hir-ee-beʔ-no-tt'a
buy-PRF-NEG-1S:AUX-COMP

'….. that I did not buy'

b. hir-en-d-e-ba-a-tt'a
buy-PASS-3FS-PRF-NEG-AUX-COMP

'… that it has not been bought'

c. k'opp'i ʔass-a gop'-e-e-tt'a
rise make-INF refuse -PRF:3MS-AUX-COMP

'… that he refuse to rise [it] up'

Now consider the present perfect paradigm of negative finite clauses:

1S	haʔw-ee-beʔ-no-tt'a
2S	haʔw-i-t-ee-be-tt'o-tt'a (<haʔw-t-ee-beʔ-tton-tt'a)
3MS	haʔw-e-ba-a-tt'a
3FS	haʔw-i-t-e-ba-a-tt'a
1P	haʔw-i-n-ee-beʔ-no-tt'a
2P	haʔw-i-tin-e-ba-a-tt'a
3P	haʔw-i-n-e-ba-a-tt'a

Table 46. The Present Perfect Paradigm of Negative Finite Clauses

(64) Non-finite clauses

a. hir-a gop'-a-teeʔe
buy-INF refuse-INF-COMP

'Refuse to buy'

b. hiɗ-ɗ-a gop'-a-teeʔe mur-e-en
buy-BEN-INF refuse-INF-COMP decide-PRF:3MS-AUX:IND

'He decided to refuse to buy [for himself]'

As considered, *gop'*- can occur in both finite and non-finite clauses, as in (63c) and (64a and b). However, */-beʔ/* and */-ba/* occur only in the finite clauses.

4.4.5 Negative Form of Time Clauses

Among the time clauses, most of the clauses, except 'before'- clauses do not seem to interact with negation. The 'before'- clause marker is *ʔedi darre*. In the affirmative form it is preceded by */-ccini/* that suffixes to the verb. In a negation form, however, that suffixed particle is lost and ʔedi *darre* occurs without such a suffix independently at the end position of a clause, as in:

(65) a. diip'-e-ba-a ʔedi darre
sleep-PRF:3MS-NEG-AUX before

'Before he had gone to bed'

b. diinp'-ee-boʔ-no ʔedi darre
sleep:1P-PRF-NEG-1P:AUX before

'Before we had gone to bed'

As seen in (65), the verb ends with assimilated suffixes due to the negative suffix as discussed in section (4.1). Moreover, the negative construction of the 'before'-clauses takes the form */-boʔ/* or */-ba/,* but their distribution is limited to the persons discussed above.

4.4.6 Negative Form of If-clauses

Conditionals use gop'**-** or **gib-** to negate if-clauses. When such a form carries the aspect and agreement affixes like the second parts of compound verbs, any form of subordinate verb stem remains with an infinitivizer at the beginning position. Consider the following examples.[8]

(66) a. ʔit-a gop'-oo-le
eat-INF refuse-IPFV: 3MS:AUX-if

'If he refuses to eat…'

b. ban-em-a gop'-oo-le
open-PASS-INF refuse-IPFV:3MS:AUX-if

'If it refuses to be opened… '

c. ʔit-a gonp'-o-nno-le
eat-INF refuse-IPFV-1P:AUX-if

'If we refuse to eat'

In concluding, we have seen some different forms of negative morphemes. The suffixes *-boʔ* and *-baʔ* are used in a wide range to negate simple and complex sentences. Such suffixes have their variants like *-ʔ* and *-ba* repectively. Nevertheless, *-ba* is the most frequent suffix in the language. Besides, we could also see another kind of the negation suffix i.e, *-keʔ*. It is used only in imperative and jussive mood forms. All such suffixes attach to verbs, occuring with other suffixes. They do not occur \independentely to mark negation, except *gop'*-. It is an inherent negative verb stem. Apart from it, there is another negative particle **/mee/** that Wedekind (1985:97) claims as a prefix in the imperative forms. But it does not show the combination with a verb in use.[9] It is less frequent which is used only in the impeartive form, preceding the affirmative form of it. Forexample,

(67) mee ʔit-i
NEG eat-IMP
'Do not eat! (sg.)'

[8] Examples provided here are only from real conditions because other kinds of conditionals have the same form as real conditions.

[9] I am grateful to Tariku Mengistu for his valuable help in providing sufficient data with this and other regards.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. THE SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The pervious chapters dealt with the verb morphology of Gedeo in different forms. This chapter attempts to summarize what mainly the preceding chapter has covered and to generalize the structure of Gedeo verbs.

5.1 Summary

This section presents the highlights of the whole analysis made in last three chapters. There are inflectional and derivational affixes which occur in a verbal construction of Gedeo. The subordinators are also other kinds of affixes which form subordinate clauses. On the other hand, there are affixes which negate all the forms analyzed so far.

First, there are inflectional affixes which occur in the independent verb forms, such as tense/aspect, agreement and some other kinds of affixes. Agreement affixes are affixes which verbs show agreement with the subject. Such suffixes are the person suffixes which occur before and after tense/aspect suffixes. The suffixes which occur before T/A suffixes are the first string of person suffixes whereas the suffixes which occur after T/A suffixes are the second string of person suffixes.

The suffixes that occur after the second string of person suffixes may be considered as the suffixes of an auxiliary. Such suffixes can be assimilated when the suffixes of subordinate clauses attach to subordinate verb form. In the next position of such suffixes there are other suffixes which become null in almost all dependent forms. Their presence indicates that the verbs are in independent form. That is why they are called the independent verb form (IND) suffixes. However, the independent verb forms of perfective do not have such suffixes at all. Consider the summarized suffixes in the following table.

		T/A		PERFECT	P2- AUX-IND				
	P1	PFV	IPFV	PRPRF	PFV	PR PRF	IPFV	PR CON	PS CON
1S	-	-e	-a	-ee	-nne∅	-nnen	-nnon	-nneni	-nnani
2S	-t	-e	-a	-ee	-tte∅	-tten	-tton	-tteni	-ttani
3MS	-	-e	-a	-ee	-	-∅en	-∅an	-∅eni	-mmani
3FS	-t	-e	-a	-e	-	-∅en	-∅an	-∅eni	-mmani
1P	-n	-e	-a	-ee	-nne∅	-nnen	-nnon	-nneni	-nnani
2P	-t-n	-e	-a	-e	-	-∅en	-∅an	-∅eni	-mmani
3P	-n	-e	-a	-e	-	-∅en	-∅an	-∅eni	-mmani

Table 47. The Tense/Aspect, Agreement and Other Suffixes

Second, there are derivative affixes which occur in a verbal construction, such as *-em, -s* or *-iis*, and *-eɗ*. Such suffixes form the passive, causative and autobenefactive stems respectively. Reduplication is formed either by repeating the whole stem or partially like other languages. The summarized derivative suffixes are shown in the following table:

Stem	Gloss	Passive	Causative	Autobenefactive	Gloss
ban-	open	ban-em-			opened
ʔuurr-	stand		ʔuurr-i-s-		make stand
ʔit-	eat		ʔit-i-s-iis-		cause to feed
duk-	carry			duk-eɗ-	carry for oneself

Table 48. The Derivative Suffixes in the Derived Stems.

Third, the subordinators are affixes which form subordinate verb forms in the dependent clauses, such as relativizers, complementizers, adverbializers, etc. There are nominative masculine and nominative feminine suffixes, *-ki* and *-tt'i* and absolutive masculine and absolutive feminine suffixes, *-ka* and *-tt'a*. The relative clauses of Gedeo are marked by such suffixes. These clauses are formed with the present perfect and imperfect forms.

The complement clauses have finite, non-finite and modal clauses which are marked by *-tt'a*, *-teeʔe* and *-ʔaaʔa* respectively. Finite clauses are formed with present perfect and imperfective forms. Non-finite clauses are formed with the infinitive form of a verb. The modal form of complement clauses shows only subject agreement with a modal suffix in a verb form. The adverbializers of time clauses, for instance, 'when'-clauses, 'after'-clauses, 'before'-clauses and 'as'-clauses are marked by *-a/o wodda, -ccini ʔuduma, -ccini ʔedi darre*, and *-ʃʃani* respectively. The 'when'- clauses are formed with the imperfective forms whereas others are formed with the present perfect forms. However, 'as'-clauses are formed with a perfective form. The converb is marked by *-é*. There is rising intonation with this suffix. When it suffixes to a subordinate verb, only the first part of person suffix is overt in the structure. The conditionals are marked by the suffixes *-le*. When if-clauses are constructed, almost all suffixes occur in a subordinate verb. Note that all suffixes of subordinate clauses occur at the final position of a clause.Now consider the summarized suffixes of subordinate clauses.

Types of clauses	**Suffixes**
Relative clauses • Nominative masculine • Nominative feminine • Absolutive masculine • Absoultive feminine	 -ki -tt'i -ka -tt'a
Complement Clauses • Finite clauses • Non-finite clauses • Modal clauses	 -tt'a -tteʔe -ʔaaʔa
Time Clauses • 'when'-clauses • 'after'-clauses • 'before'-clauses • 'as'-clauses	 -a wodda / -o wodda -ccini ʔuduma -ccini ʔedi darre -ʃʃani
If -clauses	-le
Converbs	-é

Table 49. The Summarized Suffixes of Subordinate Verb Forms

Fourth, the negation of all forms described above are marked by different negative suffixes like *-boʔ, -baʔ, -k'eʔ* and *-beʔ*. The suffixes *-boʔ* and *-baʔ* have the variant forms, such as *-ʔ*, and *-ba* respectively. There is also a morpheme, like *gop'-/gib- 'lose/ refuse'* that is inherently negative form and it is used to negate if-clause and some forms of finite and non-finite clauses. But it occurs as an auxiliary verb carrying the suffixes like the verb of presence in the progressive form, occurring after a main verb. Nevertheless, the structures of the main verb in two forms are different. The main verb of the progressive form is suffixed by a progressive marker whereas the main verb of the negative if-clause is suffixed by the infinitivizer.The summarized negation suffixes are shown in the following table:

Forms	**Negative morphemes**
Declarative (simple) sentence (Independent verb form)	-boʔ, -ʔ, -baʔ, -ba
Imperative	-keʔ, mee
Jussive	-k'eʔ
Subordinate - Relative clauses -Complement clauses -'before'- clauses -If -clauses	 -beʔ, -ba -beʔ, -ba, gop'- - boʔ, -ba gop'-

Table 50. The Negation Markers

5.2. Conclusion

In this section I present the conclusion of Gedeo verb morphology analyzing the order of morphemes in non-derived and derived stems including the subordinate verb forms.

According to Bybee (1985:33), 'derivational morphemes occur closer to the root to which they attach than inflectional morphemes do'.

First, let us consider inflections in a form of T/A and agreement –that is an independent verb form. For example,

(68) Perfective

haʔw-i-t-e-tte ‘You (sg.) ate’

V– AGR1–T/A–AGR2:AUX

(69) Present perfect

haʔw-i-t-ee-tten ‘You (sg.) have eaten’

V–AGR1–PRF–AGR2:AUX:IND

(70) Imperfective

haʔw-i-t-a-tton ‘You (sg.) have eaten’

V–AGR1–T/A–AGR2:AUX:IND

As can be seen, the first part of agreement occur next to the verb stem and the position of the T/A suffix is between two parts of agreement suffixes. Hence, the structure that shows the order of suffixes in independent verb form is:

(71) **V–ARG1–T/A(PRF)–AGR2:AUX:(IND)**

Note that I use the second singular person to show the order of suffixes, because this from contains all inflections.

Second, now let us consider the interaction of the inflected verb and the derivative suffixes, as in:

(72) gurgur-en-d-ee-tten ‘You have been sold’

(<gurgur-em-t-ee-tten)

V–PASS–AGR1–PRF–AGR2:AUX:IND

(73) gan-s-iis-et'-a-tton 'You will make someone to hit yourself'

(<gan-s-iis-eɗ-t-a-tton)

V–CAUS–BEN–AGR1–T/A–AGR2:AUX:IND

Firstly, the derivative suffixes occur closer to a verb stem than inflectional suffixes. Secondly, the verb stem that consists of derived and non-derived suffixes can be extended to the extent of that shown structure, as in (72) and (73). In the possible interaction among derived stems, the causative marker takes the closer position to a stem than other derivational suffixes. Hence, the maximum possible structure can be:

(74) V–PASS–AGR1–PRF–AGR2:AUX:(IND)

(75) **V–CAUS–(BEN)–AGR1–T/A(PRF)–-(AGR2):AUX:(IND)**

The paradigm of the example (73) can be shown in the following table to consider the distinction of suffixes, as in:

Person	Verb stem	CAUS	BEN	AGR1	T/A	AGR2:AUX:IND
1S	v-	-s-iis	-eɗ	-	-a	-nnon
2S	v-	-s-iis	-eɗ	-t	-a	-tton
3MS	v-	-s-iis	-eɗ	-	-a	-an
3FS	v-	-s-iis	-eɗ	-t	-a	-an
1P	v-	-s-iis	-eɗ	-n	-a	-nnon
2P	v-	-s-iis	-eɗ	-t-n	-a	-an
3P	v-	-s-iis	-eɗ	-n	-a	-an

Table 51. The Imperfective Paradigm That Shows the Interaction of Inflectional and Derivational Morphology.

Third, in a subordinate verb form, the suffixes of clauses occur in a final position, displacing the suffixes of IND and/or assimilating the suffixes of AUX in 1S, 2S and 1P for the independent verb forms. For examples,

(76) gan-s-iis-s-ee-tte-tt'i 'Who you cause [him] to hit'
(<gan-s-iis-t-ee-tten-tt'i)

V–CAUS–AGR1–PRF–AGR2:AUX:∅-REL

(77) haʔw-i-t-a-tte-tt'a (<haʔw-tatton-tt'a) 'That you will drink'
V–AGR1–T/A–AGR2:AUX:∅–COMP

As seen, the suffix of an IND lacks in both examples. In addition, the suffix of AUX, as in (76) remains as it is while it assimilates, *-o→-e,* alongside 1S, 2S and 1P, as in (77) when the subordinator is suffixed. Consider the following table:

Person	Verb stem	(DRV)	AGR1	T/A	AGR2:AUX:∅	SUBF
1S	v-		-	-a	-nne	-tt'a
2S	v-		-t	-a	-tte	-tt'a
3MS	v-		-	-a	-∅a	-tt'a
3FS	v-		-t	-a	-∅a	-tt'a
1P	v-		-n	-a	-nne	-tt'a
2P	v-		-t-n	-a	-∅a	-tt'a
3P	v-		-n	-a	-∅a	-tt'a

Table 52. The Order of Suffixes in the Imperfective Paradigm of a Finite Clause

The negative suffixes in both tables (51 and 52) interfere between tense/aspect suffix and the second part of person string. For consideration, here is a paradigm, as in the table (53):

Person	Verb stem	(DRV)	AGR1	T/A	NEG	AGR2:AUX:∅	SUBF
1S	v-		-	-a	-beʔ	-∅no	-tt'a
2S	v-		-t	-a	-beʔ	-tto	-tt'a
3MS	v-		-	-a	-ba	-∅a	-tt'a
3FS	v-		-t	-a	-ba	-∅a	-tt'a
1P	v-		-n	-a	-beʔ	-∅no	-tt'a
2P	v-		-t-n	-a	-ba	-∅a	-tt'a
3P	v-		-n	-a	-ba	-∅a	-tt'a

Table 53. The Order of Suffixes in the Negative Imperfective Paradigm of Finite Clauses.

Now consider the order of affixes in the negative if-clauses or clauses that use an independent negative verb:

Person	Main Verb	Negative independent verb stem	AGR1	PRF(T/A)	AGR2:AUX:∅	SUBF
1S	V-(DRV)-a	v-	-	-ee/o	-no(-nne)	-le
2S	V-(DRV)-a	v-	-t	-ee/o	-to(-tte)	-le
3MS	V-(DRV)-a	v-	-	-e/o	-e/o	-le
3FS	V-(DRV)-a	v-	-t	-e/o	-e/o	-le
1P	V-(DRV)-a	v-	-n	-ee/o	-no(-nne)	-le
2P	V-(DRV)-a	v-	-t-n	-e/o	-e/o	-le
3P	V-(DRV)-a	v-	-n	-e/o	-e/o	-le

Table 54. The Present Perfect and Imperfective Forms that Show the Order of Affixes in a Negative If-clauses/Other Clauses that Use the Same Form as If-clauses.

Note that the derived or non-derived main verb has an infinitive form as shown in the table (54).

Finally, the order of verbal affixes of Gedeo is concluded as follows:

1. In an independent verb form:

   V–(DRV)–INFL

   [V–(DRV)–(DRV)–AGR1–T/A(PRF)–(NEG)–(AGR2):AUX:(IND)]

2. In a subordinate verb form:

   V–(DRV)– INFL–SUBF

   [V–(DRV)–AGR1–T/A(PRF)–(NEG)–(AGR2):AUX:∅:SUBF]

In the negative If-clauses or the clauses that use negative independent verb:

[V–(DRV)–a + Negative independent V–INFL–SUBF]

In general, Gedeo verbs show a number of interesting features in suffixing inflectional and derivational morphemes including subordinators (suffixes that form dependent clauses). Hence, this study may have provided important information on verb morphology of Gedeo.

However, it does not mean that it is free from any problems. There are some challenges that I could not able to tackle, especially with regard to the suffixes which occur after the second part of person string that I called a 'complex form' and made its structure as *'P2–AUX–IND'* or *'AGR2–AUX–IND'*.[10] There are also some problems regarding the progressive constructions, especially the formation of the past continuous tense and regarding the suffixes of relative clauses. I hope that any problems that I was unable to handle in this study may be solved in the future.

[10] The structure is used in a gloss line as P2:AUX:IND/AGR2:AUX:IND.

APPENDIX

In this section, first, the list of verbs in their infinitve form and in their stem form is presented. The infinitive form is written in orthography and their stems are written in IPA. Their translation is written in the third column across each verb. Second, personal pronouns in their nominiative forms are listed in the next part. It can serve as a quick reference and also a data source for anyone interested in Gedeo.

I. Verbs of Gedeo

No	Orthography	IPA	Gloss/Translation
1	aaga	ʔaag-	to enter
2	abida	ʔaid-	to catch
3	abidisa	ʔaβidis-	to bind
4	addata	ʔaddat-	to believe
5	adhdha	ʔaɗɗ-	to take/receive
6	afa	ʔaf-	to get/has/have/
7	afensha	ʔafeñʃ-	to meet
8	ajaja	ʔaɟaɟ-	to order
9	ansha	ʔañʃ-	to wash
10	assa	ʔass-	to do
11	ba'lisa	baʔlis-	to enlarge
12	badhaasa	baɗaas-	to reward
13	bana	ban-	to open
14	baqata	bak'at-	to flee
15	barata	barat-	to learn
16	bassa	bass-	to squeeze
17	boca	boc'-	to split (wood)
18	borreessa	borreess-	to write
19	boxxa	bot't'-	to griple
20	bukkassa	bukkass-	to collect
21	bulleessa	bulleess-	to grind
22	buqa	buk'-	to cover
23	buta	but-	to abduct
24	buura	buur-	to oint
25	ca''a assa	c'aʔʔa ʔass-	to clean
26	cancissa	c'avc'iss-	to bluster
27	caqasa	c'ak'as-	to hear
28	ci'misa	c'iʔmis-	to pinch

29	ciilcha	c'iilc-	to yawn
30	corqa	c'ork'-	to chew
31	cufa	c'uf-	to close
32	daaka	daak-	to swim
33	dada	dad-	to create
34	daga	dag-	to come
35	dammaqa	dammak'-	to wake up
36	dande'a	dandeʔ-	can
37	dara	dar-	to tear
38	daraara	daraar-	to flower
39	darba	darb-	to throw
40	dedha	deɗ-	may
41	deedha	deeɗ-	to forget
42	dhiiba	diiβ-	to push
43	dhowa	ɗow-	to burst
44	diipha	diip'e-	to sleep
45	diriirsa	diriirs-	to stretch
46	dowa	dow-	to circulate
47	duka	duk-	to carry
48	duna	dun-	to flow
49	duta	dut-	to bark
50	e''a	ʔeʔʔ-	to enter/come in
51	eebbisa	ʔeebbis-	to bless
52	eebbisha	ʔ eebbiʃ-	to boil
53	eeti'i	ʔetiʔ-	to allow/ permit
54	eeyya	ʔeejj-	to love
55	ege'na	ʔegeʔn-	to know
56	eloa	ʔeloʔ-	to toil
57	enqa	ʔedk'-	to break
58	enqedha	ʔeŋk'eɗ-	to regret
59	erga	ʔerg-	to send
60	fakkata	fakkat-	to seem
61	fakkeessa	fakkeess-	to draw
62	fayyisa	fajjis-	to save
63	fiya	fij-	to sweep
64	foodha	food-	to bow
65	fowa	fow-	to separate
66	fula	ful-	to come out
67	fulcha	fulc-	to over turn
68	gaabba	gaabb-	to regret
69	ga'ma	gaʔm-	to bit
70	gala	gal-	to spend night
71	galateeffata	galateeffat-	to praise

72	galcha	galc-	to govern
73	gammashsha	gammass-	to glad
74	gana	gan-	to hit
75	gargaara	gargaar-	to help
76	gattowaali'i	gattowaaliʔ-	to forgive
77	geeba	geeβ-	to play
78	giba	giβ-	to hate
79	gogo'misha	gogoʔmiʃ-	to roll up
80	golla	goll-	to fence
81	gonga	goŋg-	to run
82	gopha	gop'-	to lose
83	gorsa	gors-	to advice
84	gosha	goʃ-	to extract
85	guba	guβ-	to burn
86	guluffata	guluffat-	to kneel down
87	gurgura	gurgur-	to sell
88	haama	ham-	to harvest
89	haasoa	haasoʔ-	to speak
90	ha'wa	haʔw-	to drink
91	hadha	haɗ-	to walk
92	harkisa	harkis-	to pull
93	hasa	has-	to find/want
94	hasiissaani	hassiissaani	should/have to
95	heda	hed-	to think
96	hedha	heɗ-	to dweel/be present
97	hedha gopha	heɗa gop'-	be absent
98	hega uuda	hega ʔuud-	to examine
99	heqqa	hek'k'-	to wait for
100	hexxifata	het't'ifat-	to make sneeze
101	hira	hir-	to buy
102	hiisa	his-	to answer
103	higa	hig-	to return back
104	himmiyya	himmijj-	to blench
105	hirbeesaa	hirbeess-	to kick
106	hiyya	hijj-	to say
107	holla	holl-	to proud
108	hoqooqa	hok'ook'-	to scratch
109	hordofa	hordof-	to participate/follow
110	hoyya	hojj-	to avoid
111	hudha	huɗ-	to strangle
112	huja	huʄ-	to work
113	iba	ʔiβ-	to fail
114	idaga	ʔidag-	to bring

115	ijadhdha	ʔiɟaɗɗ-	to build
116	ila	ʔil-	to give birth
117	ita	ʔit-	to eat
118	jajjabeessa	ɟajɟabeess-	to encourage
119	kaasa	kaas-	to plant
120	kada	kad-	to become
121	kadha	kaɗ-	to pray
122	kadhata	kaɗat-	to beg
123	karsa	kars-	to mix
124	kipha	kip'-	to support
125	kakata	kakat-	to swear
126	koonsha	konʃ-	to peel
127	kula	kul-	to tell
128	kuta	kut-	to cut
129	lakkoa	lakkoʔ-	to count
130	laqa	lak'-	to ask
131	laqqa	lakk'-	to hear
132	laqisa	lak'is	to feel
133	leba	leβ-	to add
134	leellisha	leelliʃ-	to show
135	liqeessaa	lik'eess-	to lend
136	liqeessida	lik'eessid-	to borrow
137	liqinsa	lik'ins-	to swallow
138	lixa	lit'-	to sink
139	luu'medha	luuʔmeɗ-	to embrace
140	me'a	meʔʔ-	to go
141	meela	meel-	to sing
142	mella	mell-	to elect
143	mooga	moog-	to bury
144	moora	moor-	to steal
145	muddansa	muddans-	to fasten
146	mufata	mufat-	to be angry
147	mundaasha	mundaaʃ-	to bleed
148	murteessa	murteess-	to decide
149	muummeessa	muummess-	to begin
150	muuxa	muut'-	to finish
151	nabbaba	nabbaβ-	to read/study
152	oddo'wa	ʔoddoʔw-	to wear
153	ofo'la	ʔofoʔl-	to sit
154	oso'la	ʔosoʔl-	to laugh
155	phirri hiyaa	p'irri hijj-	to fly
156	qalbeeffata	k'albeeffat-	to remember
157	qixxeessa	k'it't'eess-	to prepare

158	qoca	k'oc'-	to pick
159	qoqqooda	k'okk'ood-	to classify
160	qota	k'ot-	to dig
161	qulleessa	k'ulleess-	to assure
162	raaga	raag-	to predicate
163	raara	raar-	to cry
164	ra'a	raʔ-	to decay
165	raissa	raʔiss-	to cook
166	rarraasa	rarraas-	to hang
167	reya	rej-	to die
168	sa'a	saʔ-	to pass
169	shiya	ʃij-	to kill
170	shorra	ʃorr-	to chase
171	shoa	ʃoʔ-	to hide
172	shuquna	ʃuk'un-	to correct(weed)
173	siileha'wa	siilehaʔw-	to conceive
174	sirba	sirb-	to dance
175	soba	soβ-	to lie
176	sodaata	sodaat-	to fear
177	solo''a	soloʔʔ-	to starve
178	sossoba	sossoβ-	to cheat
179	sunqa	suŋk-	to kiss
180	tuffata	tuffat-	to look down
181	turat	turt-	to stay
182	tuqa	tuk'-	to touch
183	tuula	tuul-	to store up
184	ugga	ʔugg-	to put
185	ulata	ʔulat-	to smell
186	ulfeessa	ʔulfess-	to respect
187	usura	ʔusur-	to tie
188	uttaala	ʔuttaal-	to jump
189	uuda	ʔuud-	to see
190	uurisa	ʔuuris-	to stop
191	uuraa	ʔuurr-	to stand
192	uuwwa	ʔuuww-	to give
193	waala	waal-	to leave
194	welisa'a	welisaʔ-	to exceed
195	wo'laana	woʔlaan-	to try
196	woccassa	wocc'ass-	to release
197	wondaanfata	wodaɱfat-	to rest
198	wonsha	woñʃ-	to fill
199	xuuxa	t'uut'-	to sip
200	yaada	jaad-	to sad

201	yea	je?-	to call
202	yowwa	joww-	to insult

II. Personal pronouns of Gedeo

Nominative	**Pronouns**	**Absolutive**	**Pronouns**
ʔani	'I'	ʔaneʔe	'me'
ʔati	'you (sg.)'	ʔateeʔe	'you (sg.)'
ʔisi	'he'	ʔiso	'him'
ʔise	'she'	ʔisee	'her'
noʔo	'we'	noʔaa	'us'
haʔno	'you (pl.)'	haʔnooʔo	'you (pl.)'
ʔinsaʔne	'they'	ʔinsaʔnee	'them'

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ABBREVIARIONS AND SYMBOLS

ABBREVIATIONS

1- first person

1P - first plural

1S - first singular

2 - second person

2P - second plural

2S - second singular

3 - third person

3FS - third feminine singular

3MS - third masculine singular

3P - third plural

ABS - absolutive

ADV - adverbializer

AGR - agreement

AUX - auxiliary

BEN - autobenefactive

C - consonant

CAUS - causative

COMP - complementizer

CVB - converb

DRV - derivational suffixes

EP - epenthetic

F(f) - feminine

FDREPCC -federal democratic republic of Ethiopia population census commission

HEC -high land east Cushitic

IMP - imperative

IND - independent verb form

INF - infinitive

INFL - inflectional suffixes

INT - interrogative

IPFV - imperfective

JUS - jussive

LOC - locative

M(m) - masculine

MD - mood

NEG -negation

NOM - nominative

Obj - object

P/p1 - plural

P1 - the first string of person

P2 - the second string of person

PASS - passive

PFV - perfective

PR CON - present continuous

PRF - present perfect

PRG - progressive

PS CON - past continuous

PS PRF - past perfect

PR PRF - present perfect

RED - reduplicative

REL - relativizer

S/sg – singular

SNNPR -southern nation nationalities and peoples region

SOV - Subject-Object-Verb

Sub - subject

SUBF - subordinate former

T/A - tense aspect

V- - verb stem

Key to Symbols

? **- a questionable grammatical sentence**

∅ **- null**

***** **- ill-form**

C_1C_1 - gemination

C_1C_2 - clusters

V **- vowel**

(<) - underlined form

/ / - phonemic transcription

[ ] - phonetic transcription or missing word(s)