Morphology of Eža

Fekede Menuta

Addis Ababa University

ILS (Department of Linguistics)

Fekede Menuta

May, 2002

Acknowledgements

My appreciation is due to Mahlet Mussie who typed the thesis with care and patience. The linguistic symbols have been great trouble for her.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my classmates Biniyam Sisay (biret), Eyasu Nega (uu…f), Kebede Teklemichael (Gize- yelem) and Mahder Tesfu (Emu). Their suggestions at different stages of the data analysis have been great help.

Thank you God!

I "rejoice evermore" (Thess. 5:16)

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May, 2002

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Abbreviations

abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative
act.	actual
adv.	adverb
affir.	affirmative
aux.	auxiliary
ben.	benefactive
c.	consonant
co.	comitative
cop.	copula
dat	dative
def.	definite
df.	definite future
em.	'empty morph'
f.	feminine
gen.	genitive
ger.	gerundive
idf.	indefinite future

ins.	instrumental
lit.	literal
loc.	locative
m.	masculine
mal.	malefactive
n.	noun
nom.	nomninative
neg.	negative
o.	object
p.	plural
pass.	passive
poss.	possessive
prog.	progressive
rec.	reciprocal
ref.	reflexive
rel.	relative
s.	singular
sb.	somebody
sth.	something
v.	verb
voc.	vocative

Symbols

1. first person

2. second person

3. third person

{	}	morpheme
[	]	surface form (phonetic form)
/	/	phonemic representation

$\Rightarrow$ becomes

(   )   option, alternation, additional reference

/   in the environment of

    -        morpheme boundary

μ   morpheme tier

ABSTRACT

Eža is one of the least studied 'Gurage Languages' of the Ethio-Semitic family. This study aims to provide descriptive account of its morphology. Thus, the inflection and derivation of nouns, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, and numerals are considered. Some compound nouns and adjectives are also identified.

It is shown that nouns are inflected for number, gender, definite article, and different types of cases. Affixes deriving nominals such as abstract, gerundive, result, group identity, agent and instrument are identified.

Forms of pronouns and their inflections are discussed. Subject and object agreement pronominal affixes are shown.

Verbs are grouped based on their radical and stem patterns. It is found that the verbs are inflected for person, gender, number, aspect, tense, and mood. Affixes and stem patterns that derive verbs including passive, reflexive, causative, frequentative, reciprocal, reciprocal causative, frequentative passive, frequentative of the reciprocal, and causative of the frequentative reciprocal are shown.

Types of adverbs and their derivations are discussed. It is claimed that some time adverb deriving affixes show past and future time. Adjectives are grouped into seven semantic fields and four ways of deriving them is shown. It is found that adjectives are not inflected for number and person but can be inflected for definite article. Numerals that have simple lexical representation are found to be only twelve. The other numerals of the language are derived from the simple numeral sets. Finally, summary of the main findings of the study is provided.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. The People

Eža (or äža as the native speakers call it) refers to the people, the language they speak and the large area of land they live in. In this thesis the name Eža as used in many literature (Leslau, 1969; Getu, 2000; Hetzron, 1977) will be maintained.

The Eža people live in the Southern Nations Nationalities and People's Regional State [SNNPRS] in the Gurage zone, which is to the South-west of Addis Ababa. The name of the particularly district is Agenna, 235 km from Addis Ababa. Quite a large number of them also live outside their home villages due to migration to different towns looking for job or trading.

The number of Eža speakers is not known since the 1994 Population and Housing Census (PHC) of Ethiopia provides only the total figure of native 'Gurage Languages' speakers, which is 1,881,574.

Most of the Eža people are Orthodox Christians, though there are a few Catholics, Muslims and an insignificant number of Protestants.

The people of Eža make their living by cultivating different plants and by breeding animals. Esset 'false banana' is the most common plant out of which, wussa 'bread of Esset', their stable food, is prepared. Those living in the highlands of Eža, also cultivate potato, barely, wheat and other cereals. Mules, cows, sheep, goats, and horses are among the animals they breed.

1.2. The language

The language, Eža, genetically belongs to the Ethio-semitic languages and particularly to the 'West Gurage Languages', which is a sub-group of the general name given to 'Gurage Languages'. [1]

Different linguists have genetically and/or geographically classified 'Gurage Languages' differently. Robert Hetzron (1969), for instance, classifies them into North Gurage, West Gurage and East Gurage. North Gurage comprises Sodo, Gogot and Muxir. West-Gurage includes Masqan; Central West Gurage comprise Eža, Chaha, Gumer and Gura, and Peripheral West Gurage incorporates Geto, Ennemor [Inor], Endegegn and Ener. The East Gurage group subsumes Selti, Welene, Enneqor, Urbarag and Zway.

Leslau (1992);on the other hand, classifies the languages (dialects as he calls them) as follows:

Selti, Wolene, Zway belong to East Gurage; Chaha, Geto, Eža, Ennemor and Endegegn are grouped as West Gurage and, North Gurage represents only Sodo. Leslau (1992:226) says, "In my previous study, I provisionally classified Muhir, Masqan and Gogot as a subdivision of West Gurage, but further investigation is still necessary."

Rose (1997) classifies Muhir as a West Gurage dialect confirming the Leslau's (1969) classification to be correct with reference to Muxir.

Leaving the existing controversies in grouping each language/ dialect to its most nearest relative aside for further comparative work, the position of Eža within the proto-Ethiopic as classified by Hetzron (1977) is given in (1) below.

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[1] Gurage is no longer a meaningful linguistic term, (Hetzron & Bender, 1976). It refers to a geographical term (cf. Hetzron, 1977; Rose, 1997). According to my informants Gurage is the combination of **Gura** 'left' and **ge** or **gän** which means 'country'. Hence Gurage literally means 'left country' similar to the 'south' or 'north' part of a country.

Proto-Ethiopic

South- Ethiopic

North-Ethiopic

Outer-south Ethiopic

Transversal South-Ethiopic

Tigre

Ge'ez

Tigrinya

Gafat

West Gurage

North Gurage

Central

Eastern

Harari

Amharic

Argoba

East-Gurage

Sodo

Goggot

Muhir

Masqan

Zway

Silti

Wolane

Ineqor

Urbarag

Central West-Gurage

Peripheral West-Gurage

Ener

Eža

Chaha

Gumer

Gura

Gyeta

Inor

Endegegn
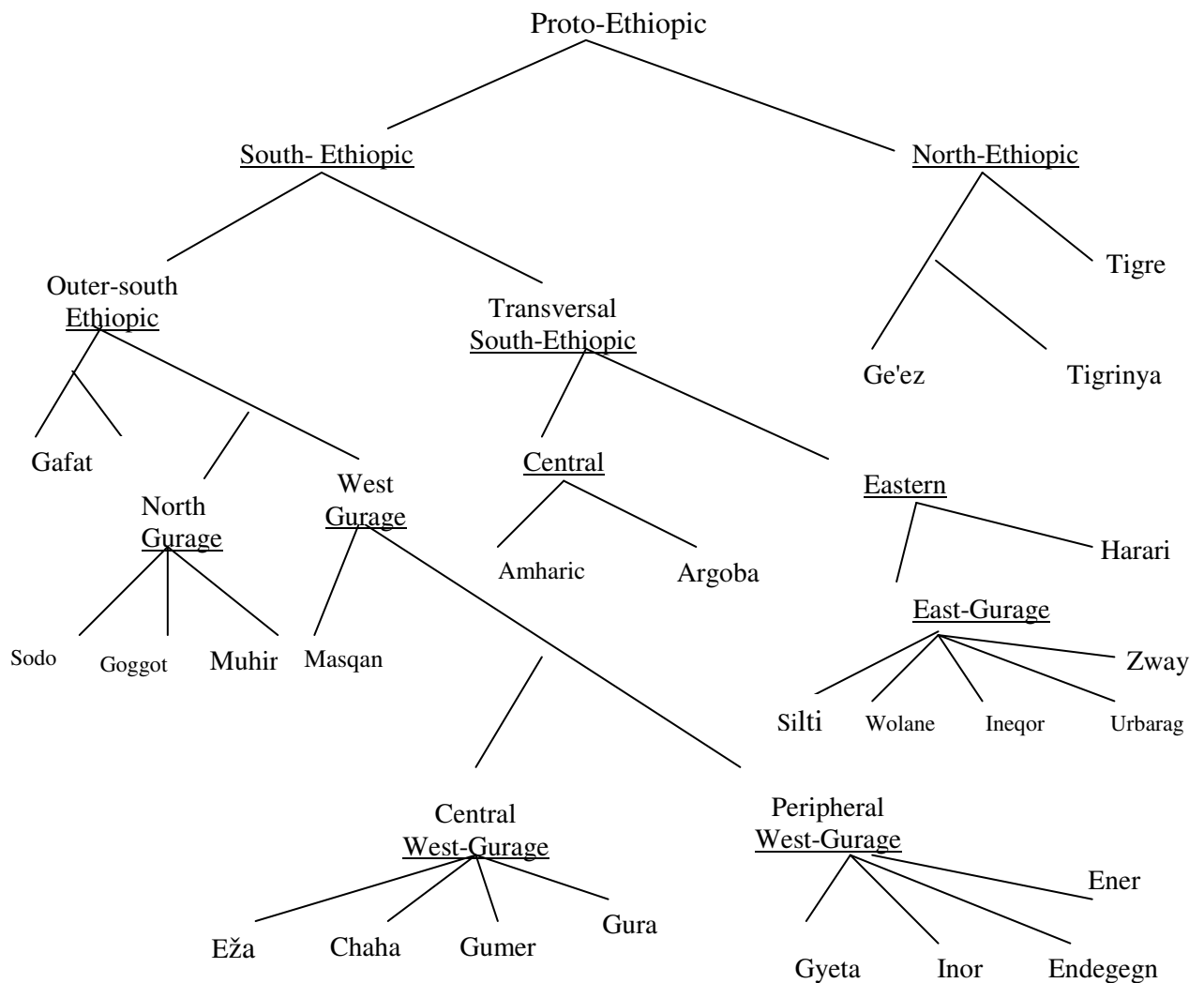
1.3. Review of Related Literature

There are only a few literature available on Eža, though there are just mentions of linguistic facts here and there in relation to other 'Gurage Languages'. From the literature I have access to, the following are found to be more relevant to this study.

Ullendorff (1955) identifies labialised and palatalized consonants such as m,^{w} b^w, f^w, k^w, g^w, k^y, k$^{'y}$, g^y, x^y…. to be phonemic in 'West Gurage Languages'.

Hetzorn (1971) confirms the phonemic status of the labialised and palatalized consonants mentioned above.

Leslau (1992) identifies segmental phonemes that are common to 'Gurage Languages' and specific to each dialect or a language. In this work, Leslau also considers labialised and palatalized consonants to be phonemic in 'West Gurage Languages'.

Leslau (1967) identifies five types of jussives in a tri-radical type 'A' verbs of Eža which he represented using the Ge'ez verb k'tl 'kill' as: yäk'täl, yäk'ïttäl, yäk'tïl, yäk'ïtl, and yäk'ïttïl. Of these patterns, yäkïttäl and yäk'ïttïl are considered to be unique to Eža.

Rose (1997) considers the labialised labials and velars and palatalized velars to be phonemic in 'West Gurage Languages'. She also offers a few examples in the verb types of Eža.

Degif (1997) argues that the labialised and palatalized consonants of 'West Gurage Languages', particularly, in Chaha, to be derivational. Hence, he excludes them from the phonemic inventory of Chaha.

Wudie (1987) provides the phonemic inventory of Eža, in which the labialised and palatalized consonants are considered as allophonic. The present study, however, considers labialised and palatalized consonants of Eža as phonemes as argued in section 1.7 below.

Wudie has also dealt with the phonotactic rules of Eža. All consonants except /r/, which is not found word initially, can occur in all positions. With reference to co-occurrence, she claims that there is no word initial consonant cluster and sequences of only two consonants are allowed in word medial and final positions. She imposes two constraints on co-occurrence as follow:

a) A nasal or liquid is always followed by an obstruent.

b) A stop or a fricative is followed by either a stop or fricative (Wudie, 1987:30)Wudie has also discussed supra segmental features such as gemination, which is phonemic

in Eža. Finally, she has treated the syllable structure and some phonological processes.

Getu (2000) discusses the inflection of Eža verbs for person, gender, number, aspect, tense and mood. He has identified the following inflectional morphemes: {-m} shows both perfective aspect and simple past tense, {∅} and {-te} express simple present and simple future respectively, and {-banä} marks remote past.

Though a paradigm of imperfective aspect is offered by Getu, a particular morpheme or stem pattern for it has not been provided.

The morpheme {bä-} and the stem patterns -(c)cac and **cäc$_2$ac$_3$** are said to mark conditional mood, jussive and imperative respectively.

Getu has also discussed the derivation of Eža verbs including passive, causative, intensive, reciprocal and causative of reciprocal. The passive and causative are said to be indicated by {tä-} and {at-} respectively. The intensive is shown by the stem pattern **cïc$_1$ac$_1$äc$_2$**. The reciprocal verb is expressed by the morpheme {tä-} plus the vowel /a/, which occurs following the first consonant of a verb stem. The causative of reciprocal is supposed to be marked by {at-} and the stem pattern is **c$_1$ac$_2$c$_2$äc$_3$.**

Getu has also identified four negative marking morphemes three of which are supposed to have their own variants. The negative 'morphemes' include:

(1) {an-}, marks negation in perfect aspect, in simple past, in remote past and conditional mood.

(2){a-} has the variants {e-} /{an-} /{a-} showing negation in imperfective aspect, in simple present, simple future, probable condition and imperative mood.

(3) {ba-} with its allomorphs {ba-}/ {be-}/ {ban-} is used to mark negation in past continuous tense.

(4) {e-} with its variants {an-} {a-}/ {e-} is used to express negation in jussive.

The morphological analysis of Getu seems dubious in many ways. First, his findings are based on the single verb /täsar/ 'ask' hence much of morphological and morphophonemic facts remain covert. Secondly, we observe wrong treatment of data as in the negative morphemes given above. The same element is considered to be morpheme as well as allomorph.

Most of the stem patterns offered by Getu do not offer generalizations. For instance, the imperfective aspect is shown by the stem pattern **-c_1c_2 äc$_3$** as in yï-tsär 'he asks'. But this pattern cannot be extended to yï-kättïf 'he chops'.

Tsehay (2001) described the inflection and derivation of Eža nouns. She has discussed the inflection of nouns for number, gender, determiner and case. According to her findings, the singular is not marked and the plural is expressed by lexical means and quantifiers. Similarly, gender distinction is shown by lexical items and personal pronouns.

Indefinite article is not marked, but definite article is shown by the morpheme {we}.

With reference to case, she has identified the following inflectional affixes: {ø} for nominative; {yä-} for accusative, dative and genitive; {bä-} for instrumental case and {tä-} for ablative or source and comitative cases.

Tsehay has also discovered the following derivational morphemes: {yä-} derives agent nominals, {wä-}, {yï… buä (k'ar)}, {-äta-} and {-nnät} derive verbal nominals, instrumental nominals, manner nominals and abstract nominals respectively.

The morphemes that derive agent nominals, instrumental nominals and manner nominals, according to Tsehay, are relinquished in this research as inappropriate. Tsehay has also identified about half a dozen of compound words of Eža

1.4. Purpose of the Study

According to Anderson (1992:7), "The object of study in morphology is the structure of word and the way in which their structure reflects their relation to other words- relations both within some larger construction such as a sentence and across the total vocabulary of the language". With this notion, this study aims at collecting linguistic data, analyze, interpret and show the structure of Eža words and their relationship within a word or a sentence.

Specifically, the study attempts to provide a comprehensive description of Eža morphology including the structure of nouns, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, and numerals.

1.5. Significance of the Study

This study may have the following contributions:

i.   As a little is known about Eža and 'West Gurage Languages' in general, the study will throw light on Eža grammar, specifically on its morphology.

ii.   It can provide linguistic facts to polcy makers, language planners, ethnographers, and economists about the people of Eža

iii. It can help language teachers to prepare literacy materials as morphology provides facts on a grammar of a language.

iv.   Linguists can use it for the comparative study of the least known 'Gurage Languages' or 'dialect clusters'.

v.   It can contribute to the study of Semitic languages and linguistic science in general.

1.6. Method of the Study

The method of study includes data collection technique and analysis. As to the techniques of data collection, first a questionnaire is prepared in the contact language Amharic, and then linguistic data are elicited from native speakers of Eža. In addition to elicitation, texts are recorded to complement the elicited data. As the researcher speaks the Gumer dialect, one of the 'Central West Gurage Languages', which is mutually intelligible with Eža, interpreter is not required.

Basically, it is assumed that linguistic study should emphasize on establishing regularities and minimizing suppletives by abstracting underlying forms from actual 'Language behavior' or surface forms. This is stated by Robey (1973:13) who says, "… it is the system of regularities which underlies the utterances produced by speakers that the linguist should make the object of his description: the language system (langue), not actual language behavior (parole). "Following this assumption, data are transcribed phonemically but when surface forms are emphasized transcription is phonetic, in which case it is shown with square brackets.

1.7. Theoretical background

The model used in this study is descriptive. This approach is preferred for there is little descriptive work in Eža. The researcher believes that theorizing should come only after comprehensive descriptive work is attained.

According to Robey (1973:13) "To describe a language is to specify both the membership of the paradigmatic sets and the possibilities of combination of one set with another in well-formed constructions."The earlier notion of combination or relation of linguistic units was based on mere successive concatenation, that is, base plus affix.

However, in natural languages morphological facts could also be expressed by non-concatenative means (McCarthy, 1981) such as using internal modification (vocalic change, gemination, etc). Such non-concatenative phenomena are explained in this study using stem patterns represented by CV (consonant and vowel). The consonant (c) is further specified using subscripts in order to distinguish geminates and clusters. For instance, the difference between the singular and plural as in: gäräd 'girl' and gïred 'girls' is shown as $c_1 \ddot{a} c_2 \ddot{a} c_3$ and $c_1 \ddot{i} c_2 e c_3$. Consonants with identical subscripts in the input and out put show identical reference whereas vowels show the changes. We may find identical reference within a word as in mïss 'man' which can be represented as: $c_1 \ddot{i} c_2 c_2$.

1.8 Phonological Preliminaries

1.8.1. Phonemic inventories of Eža

Wudie (1987) has identified nine simple vowels: /i/, /e/, /æ/, /ï/, /Λ/, /a/, /u/, /o/ and /ɔ/ and nine diphthongs: /ia/, /ua/, /ea/, /eu/, /au/, /Λu/, /ei/, /ai/ and /iΛ/.

Rose (1997) lists seven vowels /i/, /e/, /ï/ /ä/, /a/, /u/ and /o/ as phonemes common to all Ethio-semitic languages and the vowels [ɛ] and [ɔ], which are supposed to be a combination of /a/ with (i/y) or (u/w) respectively, as specific to 'West Gurage Languages'.

My study shows only the following seven vowels as the phonemic inventory of Eža:

i   ï   u

e   ä   o

a

The vowels [æ] and [ɔ], which are listed as phoneme by Wudie (1987) are found to be phonetic and the minimal pairs she offered for these vowels either do not constitute minimal pairs or are inappropriately transcribed. Consider the following pairs by Wudie (1987):

 (a) [e] and [æ] as in /yak'et'/ 'He trades' Vs. /yak'æt'/ 'It is tiresome.'

 (b) [o] and [ɔ] as in /onn/ 'Shout' Vs. /ɔnnä/ 'He –sheep.'

Checked with my informants, and as it is true in my own dialect, Gumer, which is mutually intelligible with Eža, the correct form of /yak'æt'/ is /yak'ʸk'ʸät'/ 'It is tiresome'. Similarly, /onn/ 'shout' and /ɔnnä/ 'He-sheep' differ since the latter has extra vowel /-ä/, hence the two words do not constitute minimal pairs.

These two vowels, [æ] and [ɔ] have been adopted by Getu (2000) and Tsehay (2001) as phonemes of Eža from Wudie (1987), but these vowels are found in no word in their essays except in the phonemic chart they adopted.

The diphthongs identified by Wudie are rejected as phoneme in this study for two reasons. First, the contrasts she offered are inaccurate in transcription hence do not constitute real minimal contrasts as in /wʌr [ei]t/ which must be [wärett] 'sleep'. Second, the phonological rule of Eža avoids vowel sequences (identical or different) by either deleting or devocalizing one of the vowels in the sequence.

As to consonant sounds, Wudie (1987) has identified twenty-two consonants, which were adopted by Getu (2000) and Tsehay (2001). The labialised labials and velars and

palatalized velars, which had been considered phonemes in 'West Gurage Languages' by Leslau (1950,1992), Ullendorff (1955), Hetzron (1977), Rose (1997) among others, are assigned phonetic values, that is, treated as derivations by Wudie (1987) and Degif (1997).

In this study, both labialised labials and velars and palatalized velars are considered phonemic for two reasons. First, these sounds occur distributionally in word initial, medial and final position in unpredictable way. Second, they constitute minimal pairs. Consider the distribution and contrast for the phoneme /f^w/ below.

(a) Distribution: /f^{w}är/   'back' (word initial)

   / anf^{w}ïnna/   'nose' (word medial, between c-v)

   /niff^{w}ïg/   'greedy' (word medial, between v-v)

   /anf^w/   'bird' (word final)

(b) Minimal pairs   (1) /f^{w}är/   'back'   (2) /anf/   'mouth'

   /k^{w}är/   'saddle'   /anf^w/   'bird'

For all the consonants in question can have minimal pairs in Eža, I shall leave aside the detail in order to save space and time. Thus, for granting the labilaized and palatarized consonants phonemic status, the inventory consonant phonemes of Eža is the following:

b		**t**	**d**	**k**	**g**
				k^y	**g^y**
				k'^{y}	
b^w				**k^w**	**g^w**
				k'^{w}	**(ʔ)**
f	**s**	**z**	**š**	**ž**	**x**
f^w					**x^w**
					x^y
		t'	**č'**		
			č	**ɖ**	
		n	**ň**		
m		**l**			
m^w		**r**			
w			**y**		

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1.8.2. Phonological processes

1. Vowel elision: Eža does not allow vowel sequences; hence, the first vowel in a sequence is deleted at word boundary.

    Examples:

    (a) /yä - axä/ ⇒   [y-axä]

        of - you(sm)   'your (sm)'

    (b) /yä - ïyya/ ⇒   [y- ïyya]

        of - I   'My'

In some cases, instead of vowel deletion we find devocalization of the second vowel in a sequence.

    Example: /k'äwärä/ ⇒ /k'äwärä-u/ ⇒ [k'äwäräw]

                       'fox'   fox   cop.   'It is a fox'

2. Palatalization: Alveolar and velar consonants are palatalized occurring before front high and mid vowels /i/ or /e/ respectively.

    (a) / tot -   i /   ⇒   [toč]

       plough - 3sf   you(2sf) plough!

    (b) / äggz - i /   ⇒   [äggïž]

       help -3sf   you (2sf) help!

    (c) /dak' – i/   ⇒   [dak'ʸ]

       laugh -3sf   you (2sf) laugh!

3. Weakening: Non-geminate intervocalic voiced or voiceless stops may weaken to fricatives.

    Example: (a) /säkkäräm/   ⇒   [yï – säxïr]

               'intoxicated'   'He habitually gets intoxicated'

          (b) /dännäg -xu- bbi/ ⇒   [dännäg -xä -βi]

           hit   2pm -1so   hit   2sm-1so

          'You (pm) hit (sth. /sb.) of mine' 'you(sm) hit (sth. /sb) of mine'

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4. Sonorant alternation: Sonorants such as /r/, /n/, /l/ and sometimes the glide /y/ substitute each other. The alternation between /r/ and /n/ is the most frequent one. Wudie (1987) considers the alternation between /r/ and /n/ to be phonologically conditioned. She says, "/r/ is … realized as /n/ intervocallically" (Wudie, 1987:44). However, the environment in which such sounds alternate is not restricted to intervocalic position as can be seen from the following examples.

Perfective	*Infinitive*	*Imperative*	
bänna	wä-bra	bra	'eat'
dännägä	wä-drg [wädrïg]	drg[drïg]	'hit'
naxä	wä-rax	nax	'send'

These examples show that /n/ becomes [r] not only intervocallically but also after consonants. Such sonorant alternations in Chaha have been discussed by Degif (1996) who accounts the change for various idiosyncratic factors, which cannot be generalized by phonological rules. Most of the sonorant alternations in Eža seem to follow the sonority sequencing principle (Durand, 1990: 210) in which sounds occur in a sequence of a sonority scale hierarchy, which is universal. In the examples above, for instance, stop-nasal sequence is avoided in the infinitive and imperative forms for both stops and nasals are obstruents having a lower sonority scale. Hence, /n/ is substituted by /r/. To substantiate this, however, further research is needed.

CHAPTER TWO: NOUNS

2.1. Noun Inflection

In this section the inflection of nouns for number, gender, definiteness and case will be discussed and the inflectional affixes will be identified.

2.1.1. Number

Though Eža has the notion of singular and plural, there is no morpheme that marks neither singular nor plural nouns. Number is expressed syntactically in verbs. Hence, fïyyäk can be 'goat' or 'goats' if not specified with quantifiers or verbal agreement.

The morpheme {nä-} prefixed to nouns however, shows the collective plural (Hetzron, 1977:53) as in (1):

(1)	*Singular*	*Gloss*	*Plural*	*Gloss*
	(a) žäb	'lion'	nä - žäb	'lions'
	(b) gïyyä	'dog'	nä - gïyyä	'dogs'
	(c) fur	'rat'	nä - fur	'rats'

The morpheme {-nä-} affixed to pronouns also shows plural (see 3.1) below.

The archaic Semitic plural marker {-at} is found in one noun:

(2)	*Singular*	*Gloss*	*Plural*	*Gloss*
	(a) ättämu	'sister'	ättäm-at	'sisters'

Compare the plural in Ge'ez in (Hirut, 1998: 79) as in (3):

(3)	*Singular*	*Gloss*	*Plural*	*Gloss*
	(a) k'än	'day'	k'än-at	'days'
	(b) wär	'month'	wär-at	'months'

There are also nouns, which have suppletive plurals lexically identified as singular or plural as in (4) below:

(4) | **Singular** | **Gloss** | **Plural** | **Gloss** |
|---|---|---|---|
| (a) ärïďď | 'boy' | däng^{y}a | 'boys' |
| (b) mïss | 'man' | gämmäya | 'men' |
| (c) däkk | 'calf' | mägära | 'calves' |
| (d) mïšt | 'woman' | ïšta | 'women' |
| (e) gäräd | 'girl' | gïred[2] | 'girls' |

In (4) (a - c), the number distinction is shown by total suppletive forms. In (4) (d, e), there is a systematic relation between the two forms. In (4 d), the singular mïšt deletes its stem initial consonant /m/ and adds the vowel /-a/. There is no convincing evidence whether the vowel is a plural marker or not. In (4e) the plural is shown by changing the vocalic melody of the singular noun from $c_1ä\ c_2\ ä\ c_3$ to $c_1\ ïc_2\ ec_3$.

2.1.2. Gender

Nouns in Eža distinguish two types of gender, natural and grammatical. The natural gender is designated by different lexical items as in (5):

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[2] Non-concatenative morphology represents such changes as follow:

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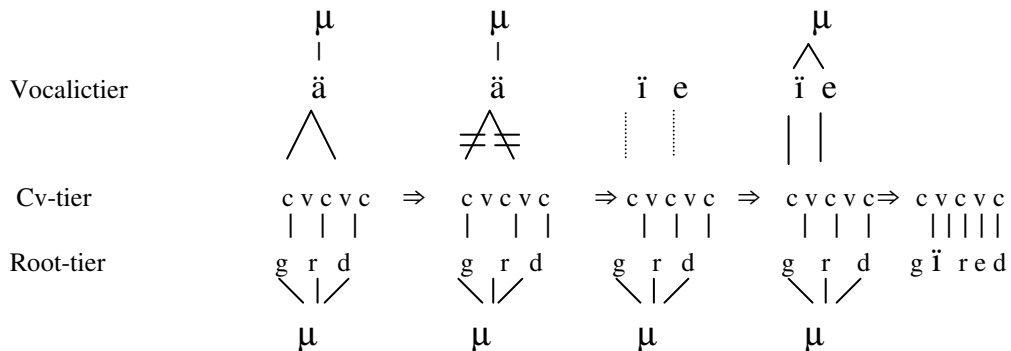
(5) | *Masculine* | *Gloss* | *Feminine* | *Gloss* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (a) ab | 'father' | adot | 'mother' |
| (b) täbatt | 'male' | arïst | 'female' |
| (c) ärïďď | 'boy' | gäräd | 'girl' |
| (d) wafer | 'bull' | anž | 'hifer' |
| (e) bora | 'ox' | äram | 'cow' |
| (f) kʷärbešša | 'young he-sheep' | noššašä | young she -sheep' |
| (g) onnä | 'ram' | t'ay | 'ewe' |
| (h) färäzz | 'horse/stallion' | wännad | 'mare' |

Grammatical gender is inflectional. The morpheme {- (v) t} indicates the feminine as in the examples in (6):

(6) | *Masculine (N)* | *Gloss* | *Feminine(N)* | *Gloss* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (a) mïss | 'man' | mïšt (from miss-it) | 'woman' |
| (b) šägʷärä | 'wizard' | šägʷär - wä - t | 'she-wizard' |
| (c) wärk' | 'gold' | wärk' - wä -t | 'proper name' |
| (d) tïkä | child' | tïk -wä -t | 'childish' |
| (e) dämam | 'master' | dämam -wä -t | mastress' |

In (6) (a) mïss becomes mïšt as follows:

    mïss + it ⟹ mïšš - t ⟹ mïšt

  In (b) and (d), the stem final vowels of the masculine nouns are deleted before{-wä-}, an adjectivizer.

In the derivation of mïšt- wä-t 'womanish,' the morpheme {-wä-} is added to mïšt 'woman' rather than to mïss 'man', and mïss-wä – t is not acceptable. This might be because the noun mïšt is lexicalized and {-t} of mïšt is no more used as a feminine marker synchronically, though historyically; it was used to mark feminine (Leslau, 1951:219).

Some proper nouns are inflected for the masculine, which is marked by {-u} as in (7)

(7)	*Common (N)*	*Gloss*	*Proper noun (M)*	*Proper noun (F)*
	numd	'expensive'	numd -u	numd-at
	xäyr	'peace'	xäyr-u	xäyr-at
	ank'	truth'	ank'-u	ank'-it
	šäd	'share'	šäd-u	šäd-ut

The fact that {-u} marks masculine is evidenced in third person singular pronoun such as in the contrast between x-u-t 'he' and x-i-t 'she', where {-u} is a masculine marker and {-i} is feminine one. We also find {-u} in second person plural masculine pronoun as in axxu 'you' and in third person plural masculine pronoun as in xinnä-u which changes to [xinn-o], in which /ä/ is deleted to avoid vowel sequencing and /u/ is lowered to /ä/ for reasons of vowel harmony.

An important point about Eža nouns is that all animals, which are biologically (naturally) female and all objects are grammatically considered masculine. Compare the examples in (8) below:

(8) (a) abb - ona   čänn - ä - m
         father - my   come - 3sm - past   'my father came'
      (b) adot - ona   čänn - ä-ti - m
         mother -my   come - 3s-f - past   'my mother came'
      (c) bora - we   čänn - ä - m
         ox - def   come - 3sm - past   'the ox came'
      (d) *äram - we   čänn - ä-ti - m
         cow - def   come - 3s-f - past   * ' the cow came'
      (e) äram - we   čänn - ä - m
         cow -def   come - 3sf - past   'the cow came'

In (8d), the noun functioning as subject of the sentence is female but it does not agree with the feminine marker of the verb rather it agrees with the masculine marker. Therefore, it is possible to say that grammatical gender distinction in Eža is important only for nouns, which are [+ HUMAN].

2.1.3. Articles

Articles that restrict the referential range of nouns are divided into indefinite and definite. Nouns whose referential range is not restricted such as säb 'man'/ 'person', and gäräd 'girl' are considered generic (Baye, 1988).

2.1.3.1. **Indefinite article**: Indefinite article is not marked. However quantifiers, such as in (9) below, morpho-syntactically show that a noun is indefinite some.

(9)	mʷanim	'any'
	k'äri	'a few/ 'little'
	nïk'	'much'
	bïzä	'many'

The numeral att 'one'/ 'a' is also used as an indefinite article as in att bora 'an (one) ox'

2.1.3.2. **Definite article**: Definite article in Eža is {-we} as shown in (10):

(10)	*Generic*	*Gloss*	*Definite*	*Gloss*
(a)	miss	'man'	miss -we	'the man'
(b)	angača	'cat'	angača- we	'the cat'
(c)	mïšt	'woman'	mïšt-we	'the woman'
(d)	bett	'house'	bett-we	'the house'

The morpheme {-we} is productive and can be used with all types of nouns, concrete or abstract except with proper nouns, which are definite by virtue of their meaning.

2.1.4. Case

Case is defined by Anderson (1971:10-11) as "grammatical relation contracted by nouns which express the nature of their 'participation' in the 'process' or 'state' represented in the sentence (or phrase) and which are represented superficially in various fashion, including inflectionally and by pre and post positions."

Traditionally, case has been divided into 'syntactic' and 'semantic'. Blake (1994) uses 'core case' for the former type and 'peripheral case for the latter. The 'core case' includes nominative, accusative (Blake, 1994:34). The 'semantic case' encompasses case types such as 'genitive,' 'dative,' 'instrumental,' 'locative', 'ablative,' 'vocative' and others.

2.1.4.1. **Core cases**

2.1.4.1.1. *Nominative*: It is not morphologically marked. Nouns functioning as subject are distinguished by their initial position in a sentence as in (11):

(11) (a) zäwdu   bora   sïyy - ä - m

       Z   ox   buy - 3sm - past

    'Zewdu bought an ox'

  (b) tamäčet   wussa   abässär- ã-ti - m

     T   bread   bake-   3s-f - past

   'Tamechet baked bread (bread of false banana)'

The nouns zäwdu and tamäčet are subjects but there is no morpheme that marks them nominative.

2.1.4.1.2. *Accusative*: the accusative case marks the direct object of a transitive verb and it is expressed with the morpheme {yä-} prefixed to the noun. The noun must be specified for the features [+HUMAN, + DEFNITE] as in (12)

(12)   (a) tadämu   yä - zärmäč'i   nämmäd - ä -   na -   m

              T   acc - Z   love-   3sm -3sfo - past

          'Tademu loved Zermechi '

       (b) käbbädä   yä - gäräd - we   k'ännäm - ä -   na -   m

              K   acc- girl -   def   insult   3sm - 3sfo - past

              ' Kebede insulted the girl'

       (c) šädut   bora   sïyy – ä-ti- m

           Sh.   ox   buy - 3s-f - past '

              'Shedut bought an ox'

       (d) mura   ďibbä - we   sïyy – ä-ti - n -   m

              M   mat-   def   buy - 3s-f - 3smo - past

              ' Mura bought the mat'

In (12c) and (12d), the accusative marker {yä-} does not surface because in (12c) the object noun is indefinite and in (12d) the object noun is inanimate.

The nouns bora 'ox' and ďibbä-we 'the mat' are functioning as object but they are not marked for the accusative case. We can say that {yä-}, as an accusative marker, is essential but not sufficient since there are nouns functioning as direct object without using this morpheme. Therefore, one also has to consider the syntactic position of the object nouns in a sentence.

2.1.4.2. Semantic cases

Most of the semantic cases of Eža nouns are prepositional and the same prepositional morpheme can mark different semantic cases as shown below.

2.1.4.2.1. Genitive, Dative and Ablative cases

These cases are marked with the morpheme {yä-} as displayed in the examples in (13)

20

(13) (a) yä – käbbädä   bora   annät' -   i -   m
         gen .- K   ox   slaughter - 3smo - past
         ' Kebede's ox is slaughtered'

   (b) yä - äram   k'änn - ota   e -   bäzza - wä
       gen - cow   horn - its   not - much - 3smo
       'A cow never feels the weight of its horns'

    (c) xaylu   yä - numdat   k'ambissa   sïyy - ä -   la -   m
        H   dat - N   dress   buy - 3sm - 3sfo - past
         ' Hailu bought a dress for Numdat'

     (d) t'ena   yä - ďäbän - we   ïf^w ät   šäk^{w}ätä – ä-ti - lä -   m
         T   dat - kittle - def   cover   make - 3s-f - 3smo - past
                ' Tena made a cover for the kittle'

   (e) yä - brät   sat'in   sïyy - ä -   m
       abl - iron   box   buy - 3sm - past
          ' He bought a box of iron'

   (f) yä - sïnnay   dabbo   bänna -x^w - m
       abl - wheat   bread   eat-   is - past
          ' I ate bread of wheat'

   In (13 a, b), the morpheme {yä-} is prefixed to genitive nouns which are possessors, in (13 c, d) it is attached to the noun functioning as an indirect object and in (13 e,f) as genitive of source. Since the morpheme {yä-} marks different cases at a time, the meaning of one form is distinguished from the other by the meaning of the noun to which the morpheme is attached. The functional overlap might be attributed to the fact that Eža has only three prepositions, {yä-}, {bä}, and {tä-}, which have to be reused to mark the various cases.

2.1.4.2.2. Locative case

   The locative case can be sub-categorized as source or place of departure, destination, static or fixed location and location of time.

2.1.4.2.2.1. Source (place of departure)

The morpheme {tä-} shows the source from which something or somebody departs or originates as shown by the examples in (14):

(14) (a) tä - wïriro   sïra- wi- m

          loc - W   buy- 3s- past

      ' It is bought from Wrior'

      (b) tä - šäwa   čänn- ä-   m

          loc - S   come- 3sm-past

      ' He came from Shewa / Addis Ababa'

2.1.4.2.2.2. Destination /Goal

The location to which someone or something goes or moves is indicated with {-e}.

(15) (a)   gänn   - e

          countryside- loc   ' to countryside'

      (c) fʷär - e   wät't'- a- m

          up - loc   climb- 3sm- past   ' He/it climbed up'

      (d) ägr   - e   wännäd - ä -   m

          leg(bottom) - loc   go (down) -3sm – past   ' He went down the 'hill''

2.1.4.2.2.3. Static Location

The static location of something or somebody is indicated with {bä-} as in (16):

(16) (a) bä - bett

          loc - house   'on/ in the house'

      (b) bä - sat'in

          loc - box   'on/in the box'

Though the morpheme {bä-} shows fixed position, it does not express the exact position of a person or an object expressed by a noun. For instance, it does not show whether the object is 'on' or 'in' the specified position. Therefore, Eža uses other adverbials

to specify this with forms like dänn 'inside', fʷär 'top', ankʼʸä 'behind', yïft 'front', mäyä (e) 'side' and 'wäxät' 'side' Thus, the location of the object in (16 b) can be specified as in (17).

(17) (a) bä - sat'in   dänn

      loc - box -   inside   'in the inside of a box'

   (b) bä - sat'in   fʷär

      loc - box   top   'on the top of a box'

2.1.4.2.2. 4. Temporal location

Location in time is expressed with {tä-} that shows 'duration' and the morpheme {bä-} that indicates 'fixed' time. The examples in (18) show this.

(18) (a) bä - msarä

      loc - night   'at night'

  (b) bä - k'ïrärä

     loc - morning   ' in the morning'

  (c) bä - subi

     loc - early (morning)   ' early in the morning'

  (d) tä - mäsk'är

     loc - Meskel   ' during Meskel'

  (e) tä - gänna

     loc -Christmas   'during Christ-mass'

2.1.4.2.3. Instrumental case

The instrument with which something is done is revealed with {bä-} as in (19)

(19) (a) bä - mʷaďďa

     ins - broom   'with a broom'

  (b) bä - genzo

      ins - ax   'with an ax'

  (c) bä - sända

     ins - knife   'with a knife'

2.1.4.2.4. Comitative case

The comitative case, which expresses the notion of 'accompanied by', is expressed with the morpheme {tä-} as in (20).

(20)   (a) tä xädir

co - Kedir   'with Kedir'

(b) tä - t'ena

co - Tena   'with Tena'

(c) tä - mïšt - äna

co -wife -my   'with my wife'

(d) tä -säb - äna

co -people -my   'with my people/ relative'

As mentioned above, the meanings of the overlapping morphemes are made clear by the meanings of the nouns to which they are affixed. For example, {bä-} is affixed to time adverbs to show temporal location where it is attached to nouns denoting instruments to show the instrumental case. Similarly, {tä-} prefixed to time adverbs shows duration while it shows comitative case when affixed to [+HUMAN] nouns. Such functional overlaps are attributed to homophony and the phenomenon is common in many languages. (See, Lyons, 1968:293; Leslau, 1981 for Muher case markers; Matthews, 1991).

2.1.4.2.5. Vocative case

The vocative case, which indicates the addressee, is shown with {-o} as in (21).

(21) (a)	*Common noun*	*Gloss*	*Vocative form*	*Gloss*
	ärïdđ	'boy'	ärïdđ - o	'boy!'
	gäräd	'girl'	gäräd - o	'girl!'
	mïss	man'	mïss - o	'man!'

Proper nouns also use {-o} to show the vocative but unlike common nouns, they have to reduce their second syllable if they are multi-syllabic in order to attach the vocative morpheme as in (22).

(22) (a) ***Proper noun***   ***Vocative form***   *Gloss*

       šädut   šäd - o   'Shedut!' [3]

       numdat   numd - o   ' Numdat!'

       wärk'wät   wark' - o   'Werk'iwet!'

To wind up, nouns in Eža are inflected for number gender, definite article and different cases. In present study, inflectional morphemes for singulative, augmentative, and diminutive are not found in the language.

2.2 Derivation of Nominals

In this section seven types of nominal derivations are discussed. These are: 'abstract', 'gerundive', 'manner', 'group identity', 'result', 'agent' and instrument nominals.

2.2.1. ***Abstract nominals***: Abstract nominals are derived from simple noun, or adjective bases with the morpheme {-nnät}. Nominals derived with this morpheme have the meaning "the quality or state of being x," where x-refers to the meaning of the base noun or adjective. The examples in (23) show the derivation of such nominals.

(23) (a) ***Noun stem***   *Gloss*   ***Abstract nominal***   *Gloss*

       neba   'thief'   neb -nnät   'theft'

       däwä   'relative'   däw - nnät   'relationship'

       tïkä   'child   tïk - nnät   'childhood'

       säb   'person'   säb - nnät   'personality'

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[3] *T*he gloss in the vocative form doesn't refer to exclamatory expression rather to the function of address like shown in English using intonation as in "***John***, are you ready?"

(b)	*Adjective*	*Gloss*	*Abstract nominal*	*Gloss*
	wäxe	'good'	wäxe - nnät	'goodness'
	xari	'wise'	xari - nnät	'wisdom'
	wabi	'kind/ donor'	wabi - nnät	'charity'
	geff	'tall'	geff - nnät	'tallness'

Nouns ending in a vowel in (23a) delete their final vowel before the abstract nominal suffix. In contrast such nominals insert the epenthetic vowel [ï] before the suffix in surface forms. The vowel is also required between geff and {-nnät} in (23b), hence we get [geffïnnät] 'tallness'.

Some abstract nominals are also derived from verb roots with the morpheme {-innär}. The derived nominals show the effect of the action of the underlying verb roots from which they are derived. The examples in (24) show such derivations.

(24)		*Verb root*	*Gloss*	*Abstract nominal*	*Gloss*
	(a)	k'-y-t'	'tire'	k'ïyït' - innär [k'ʸïč'innär]	'tirdness'
	(b)	b-k-y	'weep'	bïkïy - innär - [bïxʸinnär]	'mourning'
	(c)	n-ʔ-x	'send'	nïʔïx - innär [naxʸinnär]	'message'

In the surface forms of the derived abstract nominals, the suffix initial high vowel palatalizes the immediately preceding alveolar and velar consonant. In (24b), the non-geminate [k] becomes [x] intervocalically and in (24c) the glottal stop is deleted and its back low feature changes the central high vowel [ï] to the low open vowel [a].

2.2.2. Gerundive nominals: These are derived from verb roots and express the process or action of the verbs from which they are derived. The morpheme that derives such nominals is {wä-} as shown in (25).

(25)

Verb root	Gloss	Gerundive nominal	Gloss
m-zz-r	'count'	wä - mäzzr [wämäzzïr]	'counting/ to count'
s-r-k'	'steal'	wä - srk' [wäsïrk']	'stealing/ to steal'
d-r-g	'hit'	wä - drg [wädïrg]	'hitting/ to hit'
m-t't'-r	'select'	wä- mät't'r [wämät't'ïr]	'selecting/ to select'
f-r-t	'split'	wä - frt [wäfïrt]	'splitting /to split'

2.2.3. Manner nominals: These are nominals that show the way something is done. Eža has no morpheme that shows manner of doing. Tsehay (2001), however, identifies {wä-…..äta} as a single morpheme that derives manner nominals such as in wä-drïg-äta 'manner of hitting'. However, the glosses she gave are incorrect, the correct meaning for such forms being as in the following:

(26) wä - drïg – äta   'his hitting of…'

wä - drïg - äxita   'her hitting of….'

wä - drïg - ända   'our hitting of….'

wä - drïg - axä   'your(sm) hitting of….'

2.2.4. Group identity nominals: are nominals that designate member of a certain group as opposed to the whole member or to the activities of that selected group. In Eža such nominals are derived with the morpheme {- ännä} as shown in (27)

(27)

Common noun	Gloss	Group identity nominal	Gloss
färäzz	'horse'	färäzz -ännä	'horse-man'
ägïr	'leg'	ägïr - ännä	'pedestrian'
gaz	'war'	gaz - ännä	'brave'
šïr	'debate'	šïr - ännä	'mad person'

2.2.5. *Agent nominals:*   are nominals that show the doers of actions that verbs designate. They are derived from verb roots with the morpheme {-i}. The derived form has a stem pattern $c_1ac_2ac_3$- as shown in (28).

(28) | **Verb root** | **Gloss** | **Agent nominal** | **Gloss** |

Verb root	Gloss	Agent nominal	Gloss
m-kk-r -	'advise'	makar - i	'advisor'
k'-bb-r -	'burry'	k'abar -i	'burrier'
n-mm-d -	'love(v.)'	namad -i [namaď]	'lover'
č-w-t -	'till'	čawat-i [čawač]	'farmer'
š-kk-t-	'negotiate'	šakat - i [šakač]	'negotiator'

The morpheme {-i} palatalizes alveolar stops that come immediately preceding it. The geminated penultimate consonants of the verb root degeminate in the derived agent nominals.

2.2.6. Result nominals: These show the result or product of actions that verbs designate. There are two ways of deriving such nominals. One is derived from verb roots with {-at} and the other with {-ya}. The stem pattern for the former is $c_1äc_2(c_2)äc_3$ and for the latter $c_1c_2uc_3$. The derivation is shown in (29) (a) and (b) below.

(29) (a)

	Verb root	**Gloss**	**Result nominal**	**Gloss**
(a)	ʔ -w-n-	'shout (v)'	ʔäwy -at	'shout (n)
	m-w-n-	'complain'	mäwy-at	'complaint'
	x-tt-r-	'cover(v)	xättär - at	'peace'
(b)	č-w-t-	'cultivate'	čwut-ya [čïwuča]	'cultivation'
	ʔ-g-z-	'help(v)'	ʔguz -ya [ʔïguža]	'help (n.)'
	n-w-t'-	'run(v)'	nwut'-ya [nïwuč'a]	'run(n.)'

In (29a), the stem final /n/ changes to /y/ in the derived forms. This might be due to assimilation in sonority since /w/ and /y/ have the same sonority scale. The stem final alveolar consonants in (29b) are palatalized before /y/ of the nominalizer suffix {-ya} and the sound /y/ is deleted after the palatal feature has spread to the preceding alveolar consonants.

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2.2.7. *Instrumental nominals:* These are nominals that designate things with which one performs actions. In Eža, such nominals are derived with {-ya}, which must be suffixed to gerundive nominals as in (30).

(30) | *Gerundive* | *Gloss* | *Instrumental* | *Gloss* |
|---|---|---|---|
| want'r | 'to melt' | want'r - ya [want'ïyya] | 'melting pot ' |
| wädrg | 'to hit' | wädrg-ya [wädrïg^{y}a] | 'hammer' |
| wäftl | 'to spine' | wäftl -ya [wäftïyya] | 'spinning machine' |

Some instrumental nouns have as their base the prefix {mä-} rather than the usual gerundive nominal deriving morpheme {wä-} as shown in (31).

(31) | *Gerundive* | *Gloss* | *Instrumental* | *Gloss* |
|---|---|---|---|
| mädmät' | 'to whirl' | mädmät'-ya [mädmäča] | 'spinning wheel' |
| mät'räk' | 'to draw liquid' | mät'räk'- ya [mat'räk$^{'y}$a] | 'liquid drawing basket' |
| mäktäf | 'to chop' | mäktäf-ya | 'chopping instrument' |

Though synchronically Eža has no gerundive nominals derived with {mä-}, this morpheme historically had been used as gerundive nominal deriving affix. Amharic, a related Ethio-Semitic language, for instance, can derive gerundive nominals with {mä-} as in mä-blat 'to eat/ eating' from the verb bälla 'eat'; and instrumental nominals from the nominal gerundives such as mäb-ya.

The morpheme {-ya} in (30) and (31) causes stem final alveolar and velar consonants to become palatal at surface.

2.3. Compound Nouns

Nouns in Eža are not only formed by means of derivational affixes but also by the process of compounding, in which new words are formed by combining two or more lexical

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items. There are three rules of compounding. The first is combining two nouns or an adjective and a noun as in (32) (a) and (b) respectively.

(32) (a) akim + bett   ⇒   akimbett
   doctor house   'hospital'

   tämari + bett   ⇒   tämaribett
   student house   'school'

   sämay + bett   ⇒   sämaybett
   sky   house   'heaven'

   dänn + mänkäs   ⇒   dänmänkäs
   stomach   ache   ' stomach-ache'

  (b) nïk' + ab   ⇒   nïk'ab
   big   father   'grand-father'

   wïr + attebä   ⇒   wïr-attebä
   main   finger   'thumb'

   wïr + kuttara   ⇒   wïr-kuttara
   main   hen   'rooster'

The compound nouns in (32a) could be considered as 'subordinate compounds' in which none of the constituents of a compound modifies the other while those in (32b) as 'syntactic compound', in which the first component modifies the second constituent of a compound.

The second types are formed by combining two nouns as in (33c), or by combining a noun and verb as in (33a), or by combining a noun and an adjective as in (33b, d, e and f) below.

(33) (a) ab + g^{w}ädda   ⇒   ab - ä - g^{w}ädda
   father hurt   'friend'

  (b) ab + k'at'   ⇒   ab-ä – k'at'
   father equal   'husband'

(c) ab + t'ïb   ⇒   ab - ä - t'ïb

   father tribe   'multi- relative'

(d) äďď + sur   ⇒   äďď-ä- sur

   hand   broken   'lazy person'

(e) äďď + k'ʷät't'ärä   ⇒   äďď -ä- k'ʷät't'ärä

   hand   killed   'having low status '

(f) en + t'äräk'   ⇒   en -ä - t'äräk'

   eye   dry   'shameless'

These types of compounds, unlike those in (32), have /-ä-/ that links the two items of the compound. Such a vowel is known as 'theme vowel' (Aronoff, 1994:45) or 'empty morph' (Malkiel, 1978:144).

The third types of Eža compound nouns are formed by combining two nouns and with the morpheme {yä-}. The examples in (34) show such compounds.

(34) (a)   yä - wäšär - eb   ⇒   [yošär - eb]

           of - pot -   milk   'yoghurt'

    (b)   yä - kïstïna - ab   ⇒   [yäkïstïn -ab]

           of - christ - father   'God -father'

    (c)   yä - bett - ab   ⇒   [yäbett - ab]

           of - house - father   ' house-holder'

    (d)   yä - oďďä m ʷännä   ⇒   [yoďďä - mʷännä]

           of - lie - sack   'liar'

In (34), the first of the vowels in a sequence at a morpheme boundary is deleted to avoid vowel sequencing as in (34b, d). In (34a), the glide /w/ is deleted spreading its back feature to the following vowel /ä/, which becomes /o/. The deletion of /w/ creates a condition for vowel deletion rule to apply, hence, the vowel of {yä-} is deleted. The process can be shown as follows:

/yä - wäšär – eb/   ⇒ yä - ošär - eb ⇒ [yošär - eb]

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2.3.1.Characteristics of Eža Compound Nouns

2. 3.1.1. Morphological Characteristics

As to the constituents of compound nouns in Eža, we have distinguished three types. The first type combines two simple items such as noun plus noun into a compound noun as in (32). The second involves two simple items like a noun plus adjective that are linked by theme vowel {-ä-},a stem formative which is semantically null, as in (33). The third types combine two simple nouns and the morpheme {yä-}. The morpheme {yä-} is obligatory in the third types of compounds. For example, we can say, yä -wäšär-eb 'yoghurt,' but not * wäšär –eb for the latter form does not bear the meaning 'yoghurt' rather it has the meaning ' (one) pot of milk'.

Another morphological characteristic of compound nouns of Eža is that they do not allow inflectional categories to be inserted between the constituents. This has been considered as a test for compounds as opposed to phrases, to which inflectional elements can be attached to any one of its constituents. The examples in (35) show compounds avoiding insertion of {-we} 'the':

(35) (a)   tämari - bett - we
    Student- house- def   'the school'
  * tämari - we - bett
    student-def- house   * 'the school'
 (b) en - ä - täräk' - we
    eye-em- dry- def   ' the shameless'
  * en - we - ä - täräk'
    eye-def-em- dry   *' the shameless'
 (c) yä - wäšär - eb - we
    of- pot- milk- def   ' the yoghurt'
  * yä - wäšär - we - eb
    of- pot- def- milk   *' the yoghurt'

The form yä - wäšär - we – eb (see 35c), can be acceptable with different phrasal meaning. It means 'the pot's milk', in which {yä -} shows possession.

2.3.1.2. Semantic Characteristics

Compounds denote single item or idea rather than denoting the meanings of each of its constituents. In this respect, the Eža compounds denote a single object, idea or state. For example, yä-wäšär-eb does not refer to 'pot' and 'milk' rather it refers to 'yoghurt'.

Another semantic characteristic of compound nouns is the meaning relation that holds between the constituents and the compound noun as a whole. In this respect, Eža compound nouns exhibit at least two general semantic relations. One is that most compound nouns such as those listed in (32) and (34) have pragmatically predictable meaning, that is, the meaning of the whole can be predicted from the parts that make it. For example, tämari-bett 'school', which literally mean 'house of student'. These types of compounds are called "transparent" (Bauer, 1983:19).

Eža has also "opaque compounds" (Bauer 1983:19) in which the meaning of the whole cannot be predicted from the meanings of the constituents. Most of the examples in (33) above are of this type.

äďď - ä - sur	⇒	äďďäsur
hand broken		'lazy person'
en - ä - t'äräk'	⇒	enät'ärak'
eye dry		' shameless (person)'
ab- ä - k'at'	⇒	abäk'at'
father equal		'husband'

In this chapter, the inflection of nouns such as gender, number, case and definiteness has been discussed. It has been shown that the masculine and feminine are marked with

{-u} and {(v)t} respectively. Singular is unmarked. A collective plural is shown with {nä-}. The case markers are found to be prepositinal and mostly homophonous. Defnite article is marked with {-we} . The derivation of nominals such as abstract, gerundive, group identity, agent, result and instrumental has also been discussed. The morphemes that derive them are {-innär} or {-nnär}, {wä-}, {-ännä}, {-i},{-at}or {-ya}, and {-ya}respectively. Compound noun formation has also been dealt with, in which three types of compounding is shown.

CHAPTER THREE: PRONOUNS

3.1. Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns of Eža have singular and plural forms. They also make a distinction in gender. The pronouns are given in (1) below.

(1)

	Singular	*Gloss*	*Plural*	*Gloss*
1.	ïyya	'I'	yïnna	'We'
2m.	axä	'you'	axxu	'you'
f.	axi [ax^y]	'you'	axxïma	'you'
3. m.	xut(a) [x^{w}ït(a)]	'He'	xïnno	'They'
f.	xit(a) [x^{y}ït(a)]	'She'	xïnnäma	'They'

The personal pronouns are morphologically complex with morphophonemic changes taking place as shown in (2).

(2) 1s /ïy-a/ $\Rightarrow$ [ïyya]

2$_{sf}$ /ax-i/ $\Rightarrow$ [ax^y]

3$_{sm.}$ /xt-u/ $\Rightarrow$ /xut/ $\Rightarrow$ [x^{w}ït]

3$_{sf.}$ /xt-i/ $\Rightarrow$ /xit/ $\Rightarrow$ [x^{y}ït]

1$_{p.}$ /ïy-nä-a/ $\Rightarrow$ ïyna $\Rightarrow$ ïnna $\Rightarrow$ [yïnna]

2$_{pm.}$ /ax-nä-u/ $\Rightarrow$ axnu $\Rightarrow$ [axxu]

2$_{pf.}$ /ax-nä-ma/ $\Rightarrow$ axxäma $\Rightarrow$ [axxïma]

3$_{pm.}$ /xt-nä-u/ $\Rightarrow$ xït-nä-u $\Rightarrow$ xït-nä-o $\Rightarrow$ xït-n-o $\Rightarrow$ [xïnno]

3$_{pf.}$ /xt-nä-ma/ $\Rightarrow$ xïtnäma $\Rightarrow$ [xïnnäma]

In (2), /y/ of /ïya / is geminated. In 2sf /-i/ palatalizes the preceding velar consonant. In 3sm, first, /-u/ moves from suffix position and is infixed between the roots /x / and /t/; second, the vowel labialises the preceding velar consonant and it is deleted, and finally, the

epenthetic vowel [ï] is inserted. In 3sf, /- i / is infixed into the roots /x/ and /t/ then, the vowel is deleted after it has palatalized the preceding consonant, and finally, an epenthetic vowel is inserted. In 1p, the vowel /ä/ before another vowel is deleted to avoid vowel sequencing; then, /y/ assimilates to the following /n/. The /y/ before /ïnna/ is a possessive marker (see (8)below). So the first person plural basically is /ïnna/ similar to the forms in the other Gurage languages such as Ennemor /ina/, Masqan /inna/, Muher /ïňň/, Soddo /ïňň/ (Hetzron, 1977: 58). In 2pm, first, /ä/ before /u/ is deleted, then, /n/ assimilates to /x/. In 2pf, /n/ assimilates to the preceding consonant and the vowel /ä/ after /x/ is raised to /ï/. In 3pm, first, an epenthetic consonant is inserted; second, the vowel /-u/ is lowered to /o/ because of the preceding low vowel /ä/; then, the vowel /-u/ is deleted to avoid vowel sequencing and finally, /t/ assimilates to the following consonant. In 3pf, first, an epenthetic vowel is inserted; then, the consonant /t/ assimilates to /n/.

3.1.1. Inflection of the Personal pronouns

Person: the person markers are {- ïy-}, {ax-} and {xt} for first, second and third persons respectively. They also function as a base to which number and gender markers are affixed.

The third person marker {xt} becomes discontinuous in the third singular. The masculine and feminine marking affixes {-u-} and {-i-} respectively move from the suffix position and are infixed into the roots of the third person marker. There are three evidences for the claim that the vowels have moved from the suffix position. The first evidence comes from Geez and Tigre, north Ethio-Semitic languages. The former has [wï?ït-u] for 'he' and the latter [hït-u] 'he' (Leslau, 1992:570). The vowel [ï] in these forms is epenthetic; hence, Tigre's third person singular masculine form is /ht-u/, similar to Eža's /xt-u/. Second, gender

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markers of Eža in second person singular and plural, and third person plural are suffixes, not infixes. Third, it is {xt} not /xut/ or /xit/ that function as base for third person plural forms.

Number: The singular is not marked or it is represented by a zero morpheme. The plural is shown with {-nä-}, which is suffixed, to the person markers and followed by gender marking affixes as shown in (2) above.

Gender: Feminine is marked with /-i/ in second and third person singular and with {-ma} in the second and third person plural.

Masculine is marked with {-ä} in second person singular and with {-u} in the third singular and second plural. The morpheme {-u} changes to {-o} in the third person plural form.

As gender distinction is not made in first person, the role of /-a/ in the first singular and plural is not known. Probably, the first person might be considered feminine in Eža as /-a/ marks feminine in agreement suffixes as in (3):

(3) (a) yïnna   dännäg - nä - y   - m
         we   hit   -1p -3smo- past   ' we hit him'
   (b) yinna   dännäg - nä - y –a- m
         we   hit   1p-3so -f. past   'we hit her'

Case: The personal pronouns are inflected for cases discussed in 2.1.4 above. Except minor differences in accusative case marking, semantic cases of nouns apply for pronouns.

Nominative case: the nominative case is not marked as shown in (4).

(4)   axi -   fïyyäk'   sïyy - äxi - m
       you (sf) goat   buy   2sf - past   'you (sf) bought a goat'
       xit   ďibbä   sïyy – ä-ti - m
       she   mat   buy - 3s-f - past   'She bought a mat'

xut   bässär   sïyy - ä -   m

he   meat   buy -3sm - past   'He bought a meat'

axxu   attïqar   an -sïyy - äxxu

you   nothing   neg. - buy - 2pm   'you (2pm) bought nothing'

Accusative case: we have seen that {yä-} marks accusative in definite nouns, which

are [+HUMAN]. As personal pronouns always represent [+HUMAN] and are definite {yä-}

is obligatorily used to mark accusative case. The examples in (5) show this.

(5)   (a)   tofik' yä - xut   dännäg^{w} - ä - n -   m

              T   acc - he   hit   -3sm - 3smo - past   'Tofik hit him'

       (b)   xit   yä - xïnno   dännäg – ä-ti -   no -   m

              she acc - they (m)   hit   - 3s-f - 3pmo - past   ' She hit them(m)'

       (c)   *tofik'   xut   dännäg^{w} - ä - n -   m

               T   he   hit   - 3sm - 3smo - past * 'Tofik hit her'

The structure in (5c) is ill formed because the accusative marker {yä-} is not prefixed

to /xut/ 'he'.

The semantic cases are shown in (6) below.

(6)	**Case Type**	**Case Marker**	**Example**	**Gloss**
	Genitive	yä -	yä - xut	'his/for him'
	Dative	yä -	yä - xit	'her/for her
	Locative:			
	Source (Departure)	tä - - - e	tä - xut - e	'from his place'
	Destination (goal)	yä - - - e	yä - xit -e	'to his place'
	Static location (locative)	bä - - - e	bä - xut -e	'in his place'
	Comitative	tä - - - (gam^{w}ä)	tä - xut - (gam^{w}a)	' with him'

In (6), the morphemes under locative are combinations not discontinuous. For

instance, in {tä… e} the morpheme {tä-} shows the source, while {-e} shows location.

Similarly, {yä-} shows possession and {-e} location in {ya….e}. In {bä … e}, {bä -} shows a general but fixed position while {-e} shows the location of that specific position.

In the comitative case {tä-} is used obligatorily and the post position gam^wä[4] 'with' is optional as in (7)

(7) (a) tofiqu   tä käbbädä   (gam^wä) gäbya   wär-ä-   m
         T   co K   with   market   go -3sm -past
         'Tofiku went to a market with kebede'.

    (b) axä tä - xut (gam^wä)   tï- tïmär bannä
         you co- he   with   2sm-learn   were
         ' You were learning with him'

As /xut/ in (7b) is in accusative case, the expected form is /tä - yä-hut/, but in the language when two prepositions come in a sequence the second one is deleted (Hetzron, 1977:55).

3.2. Possessive Pronouns

The possessive pronouns of Eža show the prefixing {yä-} attached to their base as shown in (8) below.

(8)		Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
	1.	yä - ïyya [yïyya]	'my'	yïnna	'our'/'we'
	2m.	yä - axä [yaxä]	'your'	yä -axxu [yaxxu]	'your'
	f.	yä - ax^{y -}[yax^y]	your'	yä - axxïma [yaxxïma]	'your'
	3m.	yä - xut [yäx^wït]	'his'	yä - xïnno	'their'
	f.	yä - xit [yäx^yït]	'her'	yä - xïnnäma	'their'

---

[4] See the adverbial role of gam^wä in unit five, section 5-1.

The first person plural possessive form does not prefix the possessive marker {yä} because it already has it. Thus, /yïnna/ refers to both 'we' and 'our' as in (9)

(9)(a) yïnna   gädär   bett   sïyyä -nä - m

        we   new   house   buy   1p- past

        ' We bought a new house'

(b)   yïnna   bett   gädär - u

        our   house   new - is

        'Our house is new'

        Possession is also expressed with possessive suffixes as shown in (10).

(10)	*Singular*	*Plural*
1	-o- na	-o- n-da
2m.	-o- ax-ä [axä]	-o- ax-u [axu]
f.	-o- ax-i [ax^y]	-o- ax-ma [axma]
3m	-o- x-t(a)[ott(a)]	-o- x^{w-}na
f.	-o- x-i-t(a)[ox^{y}t(a)]	-o- x-nä-ma

The possessive pronouns are composites of person, gender and/ or number markers. For instance, {-na-}, {-ax-} and {-xt (a)} show first, second and third person subject agreement respectively. The consonant /x/ assimilates to /t/ in 3sm; {ä} marks masculine in second person; {-i-} marks feminine in second and third person singular. The morphemes {-da}, and {u} show first plural and second plural masculine respectively. The morpheme {-ma} in the second and third plural show feminine and {nä-} in the same persons shows plural. The morpheme {-o-} marks possession.

The above possessive suffixes occur with nouns as in (11) below.

(11) bett – o-na   'my house'

    bett – o-ax-ä[bettaxä]   ' your (sm) house'

     bett –o- ax-i [bettax^y]   ' your (sf) house', etc.

Chaha has {-ä-} instead of {-o-} to mark the possession in such affixes. Pronouns attached to nouns without {-ä-} show definiteness but not possession. Compare the following:

gäräd-xit(a) 'the girl' versus gäräd- ä -xit(a) 'her daughter'.

3.3. Demonstrative pronouns

Eža has only two demonstrative pronouns zï(x) 'this' and xï(x) 'that'. They can be used with both plural and singular nouns as in (12) below.

(12) (a) zï(x)   ärïdď   tämari - w

             this   boy   student - is   ' This boy is a student'

       (b) zï(x)   deng^ya   tämari - l-o

             this   boys   student – is-3pm   'These boys are students'

       (c) xï(x)   gäräd   t'ïra -na

             that   girl   call –3sfo   'Call her that girl.'

       (d) xï(x)   gïred   t'ïra - näma

             that   girls   call – 3pfo   ' Call them those girls'.

The consonant (x) is optional in fast speech and the pronouns appear as xï 'that' and zï 'this'.

When one points at a person or object the following forms are used.

(13) zïx-o-t-ta   'this one' (3sm)   zïx-o-x^w-na   'these ones' (3pm)

       xïx-o-t-ta   'that one' (3sm)   xïx-o-x^w-na   'those ones' (3pm)

       zïx-o-x-i-ta   'this one' (3sf)   zïx-o-x-nä-ma 'these ones' (3pf)

       xïx-o-x-i-ta   'that one' (3sf)   xïx-o-x-nä-ma 'those ones' (3pf)

As mentioned above, in fast speech [x] gets dropped**.** In such cases the above forms are reduced to the following.

(14) z-o-t-ta   'this one' (3sm)   z-o-x^w-na   'these ones' (3pm)

      x-o-t-ta   'that one' (3sm)   x-o-x^w-na   'those ones' (3pm)

      z-o-x-i-ta   'this one' (3sf)   z-o-x-nä-ma   'these ones' (3pf)

      x-o-x-i-ta   'that one' (3sf)   x-o-x-nä-ma   'those ones' (3pf)

When [x] is dropped, the vowel /i/ is also deleted to avoid vowel sequencing, which is not permissible.

The affixes used in (13) and (14) above are the same as the third person possessive suffixes shown in (10) above. They seem to show some sort of possession in this case, too. For example, z-o-x-i-ta literally has the meaning 'this (one) of her' and z-o-x-ta [zotta] 'this (one) of his'.

The demonstrative pronouns have different case forms as in (15).

(15) | *Case Type* | *Marker* | *Example* | *Gloss* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Genitive | yä- | yä –zïx | ' of this' |
| Locative: | | | |
| Destination | -e | zïx - e | 'here' |
| | | xïx-e | 'there' |
| Departure (source) | tä…..e | tä - zïx-e | 'from here' |
| Static location | bä…..e | bä-zïx-e | 'in this place' |
| Instrumental | bä- | bä-zïx | 'with /by this' |
| Comitative | tä- | tä-zïx | 'with this' |

3.4. Polite form of pronouns

Politeness is expressed with the plural forms of personal pronouns yinna 'we', axxu 'you (m),' axxïma 'you (f)', xïnno 'they (m)' and xïnnäma 'they (f)'. Their reference is to single person as shown in (16)

(16)(a) yïnna mïxïr   sïm -o

     our   advice listen-3pm.

    'Listen to my advice'

(b) xïnno   gʷeta -na -lo

they (m)master-my 3pm.

'He is my master'

3.5. Reflexive pronouns

Reflexives are formed by using the word gägg 'body' and the possessive suffixes as in (17).

(17) | *Singular* | *Gloss* | *Plural* | *Gloss* |
|---|---|---|---|
| gägg-o-na | ' myself' | gägg-o-nda | 'our selves' |
| gägg-ax-ä | 'yourself (m)' | gägg-ax-u | 'yourselves (m.)' |
| gägg- ax-i | yourself (f)' | gägg- - ax-ma | 'yourselves (f.)' |
| gägg – o-t-ta | himself' | gägg – o-xʷ-na | 'themselves (m)' |
| gägg- o-x-i-ta | herself' | gägg- o-x-nä-ma | 'themselves (f)' |

The morpheme {yä-} can be prefixed to the above pronouns for the meaning 'x's own' as in (18)

(18) yä – gägg-o-na   'My own'

   yä – gägg-ax-ä   ' your(sm) own'

   yä – gägg-ax-i   'your(sf) own', etc

The morpheme {-m-} infixed between gägg 'body' and the possessive suffixes such as {-o-na} has the meaning 'by….. self'.

(19)   gägg - m – o-na   'by my self'

   gägg - m – ax-ä   ' by yourself (sm)'

   gägg - m – ax-i   ' by yourself (sf)'

   gägg - m – ax-u   'by yourselves (pm)'

We find an epenthetic vowel between gägg and /-m-/ at surface forms as in /gägg–ï-m- ax-u/ 'by yourselves (pm)'

3.6. Reciprocal pronouns

The morpheme {tä} infixed to pronouns or prefixed to verbs show reciprocal action as shown is (20).

(20)　(a)　xïnno -tä -xïnno

　　　　　they(m) -rec- they (m)　　　　　'They (m) each other'

　　　　　xïnnämä -tä - xïnnäma

　　　　　they(f)　- rec- they (f)　　　　　'They (f) each other'

　　　　　 axxu　-tä - axxu　[axxu-t-axxu]

　　　　　you(pm) - rec- you(pm)　　　　　'You (pm) each other'

The morpheme {tä-} is also prefixed to verbs to express reciprocity.

　　　(b)　xïnno tä-dannäg -o　-m

　　　　　they(m)　rec-hit - 3pm-past　　　　　'They hit each other'

　　　　　xïnnäma tä- k'annäm - äma -m

　　　　　they (f)　rec-insult　-3pm -past　　　　　'They insulted each other'

3.7. Interrogative pronouns

 Eža has the following interrogative pronouns :

　　　　　mʷan　　　　'who'　　　ett　　　　　' which'

　　　　　mïr　　　　　'what'　　ett-e　　　　　'where'

　　　　　bä-mïr　　　'how'　　ett-ota　　　'which one'

　　　　　yä-mïr　　　'why'　　mäč-ra/mäč-ä　'when'

Some of the interrogative pronouns are composites as shown in (21)

(21)　yä-mïr

　　for-what　　　　　　'why'

　 ett-e

　 which-loc　　　　　'where'

　 ett-ota

　 which- one　　　　'which one'

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mäč-ra[5]

when-past   'when'

mäč-ä

when-future   'when'

bä-mïr

in-what   'how'

The structures in (22) show the interrogative pronouns.

(22)   (a)   mʷan   čänn - ä   - m

             who   come -3sm - past   'Who did come'

       (b)   mïr   t   - šä

             what   2sm -want   'What do you want?'

       (c)   **y**ä-mïr   y - bäxʸ

             why   3sm - weep   ' Why does he weep?'

       (d)   ett-e   wär - ä   - m

            where   go - 3sm - past   'Where did he go?'

       (e)   ett-ota   y - fäzz

             which- one 3sm - better   'Which one is better?'

       (f)   mäč-ra   čänn - ä   - m

             when   come - 3sm - past   ' When did he come?'

3.8. Indefinite pronouns

The indefinite pronouns of Eža are compounds formed by attaching the words k'ar 'thing' and säb 'body/ person' to different free or bound morphemes as shown in (23) below.

(23)   ïnn -k'ar   'everything'   'inn-säb   'everybody'

       aš-k'ar   'something'   at-säb   'somebody/ someone'

       att-k'ar   'nothing'   att-säb   'nobody/ no one'

       mïr-yäm-k'ar   'anything'   mʷan- yäm-säb   'any body'

---

[5] See the claim that /-ra/ and /- ä / show time in chapter 5, section 5.1.

In (23), {ïnn-} has the meaning 'every' and {att-} refers to 'none'. The non-geminated {at-} that alternates with {aš-} refers to 'some'. The morpheme {-yäm-} suffixed to /mïr/ 'what' /m^{w}an/ 'who' has the meaning 'any'.

3.9. 'Restrictive Pronouns'

'Restrictive pronouns' (Azeb, 2001) or pronouns of 'isolation' (Leslau, 1981) are forms that have emphatic reference. They are formed with ïmmat 'alone/only' and possessive suffixes as in (24).

(24)

Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
ïmmat –o-na	' I alone'	ïmmat - o-n-da	'We alone'
ïmmat – ax-ä	'you(sm) alone'	ïmmat -ax-u	'you(pm) alone'
ïmmat – ax-i	'you(sf) alone'	ïmmat - ax-ma	'you(pf) alone'
ïmmat –o-t-ta	'He alone'	ïmmat - o-x^w-na	'They (m) alone
ïmmat –o-x-i-ta	'she alone'	ïmmat- o-x-nä-ma	'They (f) alone'

Such 'restrictive pronouns' can occur in subject or object positions as in (25)

(25)   xut y- ïmmatota   čänn - ä - m
       he   acc-he - alone   come -3sm - past   ' He came alone'
       xïnno y-ïmmatox^{w}na   y - räbr - o
        they acc they -(pm) alone   3pm - live -3pm 'They (pm) live alone'
       ïmmatotta aggena   wär- ä-m
       he-alone   A   go 3sm-past   'He-alonewent to Aggena.

3.10. 'Selective pronoun'

Selective pronouns are that which refer to a particular individual from an existing whole. They render the meaning 'one of us,' 'one of you', etc. In Eža, selective pronouns are

formed by attaching the plural forms of the possessive suffixes to the word att 'one' as in

(26)

(26)　att – o-n-da　　　　　'one of us'

att – ax-u　　　　　' one of you (pm)'

att – ax-ma　　　　　'one of you (pf)'

att – o-x^{w-}na　　　　' one of them (m)'

att – o-x-nä-ma　　　'one of them (f)'

Such pronouns can be used in structures like:

attonda　　n -tän　-nä -šä

one of us 1p -come -1p-idf　　'One of us will come'

The pronoun attonda ' one of us' can be substituted by simple pronouns such as yïnna

'we':

yinna　　　n - tän　- nä -šä

we　　　1p - come -1p -idf　　　　'We will come'

3.11. 'Non-selective pronouns'

These are forms of plural references. Leslau (1981) calls them pronouns of totality.

They are formed by attaching the plural forms of possessive suffixes to the word ïnnïm 'all/

every'.

(27)　ïnnïm – o-n-da　　　' all of us'

ïnnïm –ax-u　　　　' all of you (pm)'

ïnnïm –ax-ma　　　' all of you (pf)'

ïnnïm – o-x^{w}-na　　' all of them (m)'

ïnnïm – o-x-nä-ma　　' all of them (f)'

3.12. 'Exclusive' pronouns

The term 'exclusive' is used to refer to pronouns that exclude all or part of the participants in a discourse as in the English phrases 'non of us', 'none of you' and 'none of them'. They are formed by attaching plural possessive suffixes to the word attïm 'none' as in (28)

(28) attïm - o-n-da   ' none of us'

attïm – ax-u   ' none of you (pm)'

attïm – ax-ma   ' none of you (pf)'

attïm – o-x^w-na   ' none of them (m)'

attïm – o-x-nä-ma   ' non of them (f.)'

3.13. Agreement affixes

3.13.1. Subject agreement affixes

Subject agreement affixes of Eža are suffixed to verbs in perfective forms while they are prefixed in imperfective and jussive forms. They are shown in (29) (A), (B), (C) and (D) below.

(29) (A) Subject agreement suffixes in perfective aspect.

	Singular		*Plural*	
	Person	*Gender*	*Person*	*Gender/number*
1	-x^w –	-Ø	-Ø-	- nä -
2m.	-x-	-ä	-x-	- u -
f.	-x-	-i	-x-	- ma -
3m.	-ä-	Ø	-ä-	- u -
f.	-ä-	-ti	-ä-	- ma -

The following are some examples showing the affixes:

(30)   dännäg - x^w – n   -m

  hit   - 1s -3smo-past   ' I hit him.'

dännäg - xä   -na-   m

hit   - 2sm – 3sfo-past   ' you (sm) hit her.'

dännäg - xi –ndä- m

hit   - 2sf – 1po past   ' you (sf) hit us.'

(B) **Subject agreement prefixes in imperfective aspect.**

	Singular		**Plural**	
	Person	*Gender*	*Person*	*Gender/ number*
1	ä-		n-	- nä
2m	t-		t-	- o
f	t-	- i	t-	- äma
3m	y-		y-	- o
f	t		y-	- äma

The following conjugation shows examples of the subject agreement suffixes in imperfective aspect.

(31)   ä - därg -xä [ädärgïxä]

    1s - hit -2smo   ' I hit you(sm)'

   t -   därg –na [tïdärgïna]

    2sm - hit –3sfo   ' you (sm) hit her'

   t -   därg –i- n '[tïdärg^{y}ïn]

    2s -   hit   -f-1so   ' you (sf) hit me', etc.

(C) **Subject agreement affixes in jussive**

	Singular	**Plural**	
	Person	**Person**	**Number/gender**
1	n-	n -	-nä
3m.	yä -	yä -	-o
3f.	t -	yä -	-äma

Compare the examples below:

(32)　　n　-　sbr [nïsbïr]

　　　　1s　- break　　　　　　　　　　　' Let me break'

　　　　yä　- sbr [yäsbïr]

　　　　3sm - break　　　　　　　　　　' Let him break'

　　　　t　- sbr [tïsbïr]

　　　　3sf　- break　　　　　　　　　　' Let her break'

　　　　n　- sbr　- nä[nïsbïrnä]

　　　　1 p　- break - 1p　　　　　　　　' Let us break'

　　　　yä　- sbr　- o [yäsbïro]

　　　　3pm - break - 3pm　　　　　　　' Let them (m) break'

　　　　yä　- sbr　- äma [yäsbïrama]

　　　　3pf　- break　- 3pf　　　　　　　' Let them (f) break'

(D) **Subject agreement affix in Imperative:**

	Singular		*Plural*	
	Person	*Gender*	*Person*	*Number/gender*
2m.	- ø		- ø -	- o
2f.	– ø	- i	- ø -	- äma

The subject agreement affix is zero in singular and plural. The examples in (33)
show this.

(33)　　sbr - ø　[sïbr]　　　' you break! (2sm)'

　　　　sbr - ø　- i　[sïbi]　　' you (2sf) break!'

　　　　sbr- o　　　　　　　' you (2pm) break!'

　　　　sbr - äma　　　　　　' you (2pf) break!'

The stem final /r/ is deleted occurring before the feminine marker /-i/ because /r/ has
vocalic property.

3.13.2. Object agreement affixes

Object agreement affixes are suffixed to verbs. They are direct and indirect object affixes referring to complement.

3.13.2.1. Direct object suffixes

Direct object agreement suffixes are singular and plural in form. They also vary according to the aspectual form of the verb particularly in the second person. They are shown in (34) below.

(34)	*Singular*		*Plural*	
	Perfect	*Imperfect*	*Perfect*	*Imperfect*
1.	n ~ y (e)	n ~ y(e)	- n-dä	- n-dä
2m.	n-ax-ä ~ kk-ä	x-ä ~ kk-ä	n-ax-u ~ kk-u	x-u ~ kk-u
f.	n-ax-i ~ kk-i	x-i ~ kk-i	n-ax-ma ~kk-ma	x-ma ~kk-ma
3m.	n ~ y	n ~ y	n-o ~ y-o	n-o ~ y-o
f.	n-a ~ y-a	n-a ~ y-a	n-ä-ma ~ y-ä-ma	n-ä-ma ~ y-ä-ma

Paradigm of verbs showing the affixes will be given as we proceed discussing each allomorph.

The alternations between object suffixes are common in most of the Gurage languages and different linguists have treated them differently. They have been grouped as heavy and light sets by Hetzron (1977: 62). The cause of the alternations according to Hetzron is not phonologically conditioned.

Rose (1996) maintains the light-heavy distinction in which the distinction "constitutes a separate morpheme expressing both the person of the object and the person of the subject" (Rose, 1996: 207). However, the examples she offers do not clearly show the distinctions she claims.

As to the allomorph of Eža object suffixes the light- heavy distinction does not seem to be relevant except in the second person, in which allomorphs with the velar fricative /x/ might be considered light whereas those with the geminate /-kk-/ heavy on phonetic ground for the former is continuant whereas the latter is stop.

In Eža, the alternations seem to be caused by grammatical, semantic and phonological conditions.

To begin with, the allomorphs in the second person object forms are aspect sensitive. In light suffixes we have {– n-ax-ä -} in the perfect aspect and {–x-ä -} in the imperfective for 2smo and {-n-ax-u}~ {-x-u} for 2pmo. Similarly, in the 2sfo we have {- n-ax-i} ~ {x-i} and in the 2pfo {-n-ax-ma} ~ {-x-ma} where the first member in each alternants (for example, {-ax-i} in pairs {ax-i} ~ {-xi}) is in the perfective and the second in the imperfect aspect. The heavy affixes are not aspect sensitive and have the same form in the perfective and imperfective aspect.

To gain an insight on the variations between {-n-ax-ä }/{xä} ~ {kk-ä}, let us see the data in (35) below.

(35) (A) **Perfective aspect**

      (a) nämmäd - ï- kk-ä -   ' I loved you'

      (b) nämmäd - ä - n-ax-ä -   ' He loved you'

      (c) nämmäd - ä-ti - n-ax-ä -   ' She loved you'

      (d) nämmäd - nä - kk-ä -   ' We loved you'

      (e) nämmäd - o - kk-ä -   ' They (m) loved you'

      (f) nämmäd - ä-ma- kk-ä -   ' They (f.) loved you'

 (B) **Imperfect Aspect**

      (a) ä - rämd – x-ä   ' I love you'

      (b) y - rämd – x-ä   ' He loves you'

      (c) t - rämd - x-ä   ' She loves you'

(d) n - rämd - nä - kk-ä   ' We love you'

(e) y - rämd - o - kk-ä'   'They (m.) love you'

(f) y - rämd - äma - kk-ä   ' They (f.) love you'

In the data on (35) (A) and (B), there are two conditioning factors for the alternation. First, the heavy suffixes occur only when the subject affix is plural, except in (35A) (a) in which we have {-kk-ä} though the subject affix is singular. The reason for this is semantic. Using the light affix {-x-ä} instead of {-kk- ä} in the first person as in /nämmäd –x-ä/ 'you (sm.) loved someone' has different reading from the expected gloss 'I loved you.' Thus, we may argue that all the light suffixes occur with singular subject affixes and the heavy suffix, {-kk-ä-} in the first person singular perfective form is used to avoid confusion. Second, we observe that /x/ is always degeminated unlike the heavy object suffix /-kk-/ and is restricted to intervocalic position. Therefore, it is claimed here that the non-geminate /k/ changes to [x] intervocallically.

Degif (1997) argues that the opposite phonological process is happening in Chaha, that is, /x/ is strengthened to /k/. As far as Eža is concerned, there is no motivation for strengthening /x/ to /k/ and what is happening is weakening of /k/ to /x/ between vowels. The weakening process is phonologically plausible since /k/ becomes a continuant occurring between vowels, which are continuants. Furthermore, there is a general tendency for non-geminate stops to become continuants or approximants in intervocalic position in Eža as well as in other Gurage languages (cf. Hetzron, 1977:537; Leslau, 1992:32).

Now let us consider the allomorphy of the first person singular object suffixes using the paradigm in (36)

(36)   (a) nämmäd – x-ä - y [nammädxe]   ' you (sm.) loved me'

        (b) nämmäd – x-i - n [nämmädx^y n]   ' you (sf.) loved me'

(c) nämmäd - ä - y   [nämmäde]   ' He loved me'

(d) nämmäd – ä-ti - y [nämmädäče]   ' She loved me'

(e) nämmäd – x-u - n   ' you (pm.) loved me'

(f) nämmäd- x-ma- n [nämmädxïman]   ' you (pf.) loved me'

(g) nämmäd - o - n   'They (m.) loved me'

(h) nämmäd – ä-ma - n   'They (f.) loved me'

In the data, {-y} occurs when the subject is singular except in the second person feminine singular whereas {-n} occurs with plural subject. Which means, the alternation is grammatically conditioned and no phonological factor is visible for the alternation. If the change between {y} ~ {n} is caused by singular versus plural subject, why do we have the object marker {-n-} in the 2sf. form? This is due to a semantic reason operating in general in the grammar of Eža. As shown in (37) below {-y-} marks 3smo when the subject is 2sf. Therefore, to avoid confusion and secure the unique read off, {-n-} is used to refer to 'me' with 2sf subject, and {-y-} to 'him' with 2sf subject.

Consider, the systematic alternations of object suffixes for third person singular masculine in (37)

(37)   (a) nämmäd - x^w - n -   'I loved him'
        (b) nämmäd - x^w -ä - n -   'you (sm) loved him'
        (c) nämmäd – x-i - y -   'you (sf.) loved him'
        (d) nämm^{w}äd - ä - n -   ' He loved him'
        (e) nämm^{w}äd - ä-ti - n -   'She loved him'
        (f) nämmäd - nä - y -   'We loved him'
        (g) nämmäd - x-u   - y -   'You (pf.) loved him'
        (h) nämmäd - x-ma   - y -   'You (pf.) loved him'
        (i) nämmäd - o   - y -   'They (m.) loved him'
        (j) nämmäd - ä-ma - y -   'They (f.) loved him'

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Since both {n} and {y} can occur after vowels, they are not phonologically predictable. Contrary to object suffixes of the first person singular, in the third person object affixes, {-y} occurs with plural subjects except with 2sf subject and {-n-} occurs with singular subjects. These alternations systematically maintain the unique reading between the first and third person objects.

What triggers labialization of /x/ and /m/ in (37 a, b, d, e) and the palatalization in (37c)?

In (37c), the palatalization is triggered by the feminine marker {-i}. As to the labialization, I assume that the third person singular marker {-u}, as in /x-u-t/ 'he', is floating and can labialise the right most labilalizable consonant; in (37a,b) /x/ is the right most labializable consonant, hence, it is labialised. In (37d,e), the process applies to /m/, which is relatively the right most labializable element.

The source of labialisation and palatalization has been a topic of many linguists. Hetzron (1977: 45) quoting (Polotsky, 1938: 163; 1951: 19'; Leslau, 1950 b: 235; Hetzron, 1971a: 200 - 5) argues that labialisation "comes from the absorption of an originally suffix u."

Hetzron also proposes that labialisation might be concomitant with palatalization, for instance, in the construction of impersonals. The palatalization usually operates on a word final palatalizable consonant, Hetzron calls it end palatalization (EP), whereas labialisation applies to the relatively right most labilaizbable consonant.

Hetzron's observation correctly predicts the labialisation and palatalization processes in Eža impersonal forms shown in (38).

(38)   ***Present form***   ***Gloss***   ***Impersonal present***   ***Gloss***

(a)	y-därg	' He hits'	y-därg-u	[yïdärg^{w-}]	'one is hit'
(b)	y-rämd	'He loves'	y-rämd-u	[yïräm^{w}ď -]	one is loved'
(c)	y-k'ät'r	' He kills'	y-k'ät'r-u	[yïk'^{w}ät'ïr -]	'one is killed'
(d)	y-šättr	' He/it withers'	y-šättr-u	[yïšättïr -]	'one/ sth. withers'

In (38a), the stem final consonant is labializable and is labialized in the impersonal surface forms. In (38b), the final consonant is palatalizable and is palatalized. The back feature, hence, moves and applies to the second segment from the last consonant, that is, to /m/. In (38c) labialization applies to the third consonant from the last since the other right most consonants are not labilaizable. 'End palatalization' applies vacuously since the last consonant /r/ is not palatalizable. In (38d) both labialization and 'end palatalization' apply vacuously since there are no labializable consonants in the word and the last consonant is not palatalizable.

Digif (1997) argues that in Chaha /u/ has three realizations: [u] and [w], which are nuclear and non- nuclear respectively, and another autonomously floating [u] with the features [+round] and [+high]. He claims that the floating [u] triggers labialization and / or palatalization for it has both features by virtue of its being labiodorsal (Degif, 1997: 188).

Winding up the triggering force of labialization and palatalization, let us go back to the other allomorphs of object suffixes in the 2sf, 3sf and the plural object suffixes. These suffixes are governed by the same rules discussed above in examples (35) - (37). For instance, the non-geminate [k^y], which is basically /-ki/ where /i/ marks feminine, in 2sf changes to [x^y] or /x-i/ intervocalically.

3.13.2.2. Indirect or Second Object Suffixes

Based on formal differences and the semantic notion, indirect object suffixes can be divided into two: (i) 'benefactive' with the notion 'for the benefit or advantage of' and (ii) 'malefactive' with the meaning 'against' or 'to the detriment of ' somebody or something.

(i) Benefactive object suffixes

This is shown by {n} ~{l}, which is followed by person suffixes. The object suffixes with the benefactive meaning are given in (39) below.

(39)

	Singular	Plural
1	- n-i	- n-dä
2m.	- n-xä ~ n-kk-ä	- n-x-u ~ n-kk-u
f.	- n-x-i ~ n-kk-i	- n-x-ma ~ n-kk-ma
3m.	- l-ä	- l-o
3f.	-l-a	- l-ä-ma

The examples in (40) illustrate the use of the benefactive objects given in (39) above.

(40)　(a) dännäg – x-ä -n-i　　　　　　'you(sm) hit (past) (sb./sth.) for me'.

　　　(b) dännäg - x-ä -n-dä　　　　　　 'you(sm) hit (past) (sb/sth.) for us' or ' you hit us'

　　　(c) dännäg – n-kk-ä [dännägnïkkä]　 'I hit (past) (sb/sth.) for you (sm.)'

　　　(d) dännäg - ä - n-x-ä [dännägänïxä]　'He hit (past) (sb/sth.) for you (sm.)'

　　　(e) dännäg – n-kk-i [dännägnïkk^y]　 'I hit (past) (sb/sth.) for you (sf.)'

　　　(f) dännäg -ä –n-x-i[dännägänïx^y]　　 'He hit (past) (sb/sth.) for you (sf.)'

　　　(g) dännäg - x^w- l-ä[dännägx^{w}ïlä]　　 'I hit (past) (sb/sth .) for him.'

　　　(h) dännäg – x-i –l-a　　　　　　 ' I hit (past) (sb/sth .) for her'.

　　　(i) dännäg -x –l-o [dännägxïlo]　　 'I hit (past) (sb/sth .) for them (m.)'

As the sample data shows, the benefactive marker for the first and second person object is /n/, which becomes /l/ in the third person benefactive object. Thus, [n] and [l] are

in complementary distribution. The complementation is not phonologically conditioned; it is motivated by semantic reason. Using /-n/ in the third person benefactive forms leads to a structure and meaning, which is similar to those used in direct object. Consider the following contrasts, for example:

(a) dännäg - x– n-o   ' I hit them'
(b) dännäg - x– l-o   ' I hit (sb/sth.) for them '

Here, the two affixes differ due to the difference in {-n-} and {-l-} of {-n-o} and {-l-o} in the paradigms (a) and (b). Had {-n-} been used in place of {l}, the semantic reading between (a) and (b) would have been the same, hence, leading to no benefactive meaning.

In (40b), the morpheme {-n-dä} is used with the meanings 'us' and 'for us'; it is ambiguous. The two readings are understood only from the context of discourse.

In the second person benefactive object suffixes, the light-heavy alternation is accounted for with the same rule discussed earlier, that is, non-geminate /k/ changes to [x] intervocalically assuming that the second person feminine [k^y] is sequence of /k/ and /i/.

(ii) Malefactive object suffixes

The malefactive is expressed by {-bb-}, which changes to [β]/ [w] intervocalically when it is not geminated. It is followed by person suffixes as shown in (41) below.

(41)   ***Singular***   ***Plural***

1.   bb-i ~ β-i   bb-nd-ä ~ β-nd-ä
2.m. bb-kk-ä ~ β-x-ä   bb-kk-u ~ β-x-u
  f. bb-kk-i ~ β-x-i   bb-kk-ma ~ β-x-ma
3m. bb^w-ä ~ β^w-ä (wä)   bb-o ~ β-o
  f. bb-a ~ β-a   bb-ä-ma ~ β-ä-ma

Compare the examples in (42) below.

(42) (a) säbbär - xä- β-i-   ' You(sm) broke (sth.) of mine/me'

   (b) säbbär -ä-β-xä- [säbbäräβïxä-]   'He broke (sth.) of you (sm.)'

   (c) säbbär-ä-ti-β-x-i [säbbäräčïβïx^y]   'She broke (sth.) of you (sm.)'

   (d) säbbär - xä- β^w-ä (wä)-   'You(sm) broke (sth.) of him'

   (e) säbbär - xä- β-a-   'You(sm) broke (sth.) of her'

   (f) säbbär – x-u- bb-i-   'You(pm) broke (sth.) of mine/me'

   (g) säbbär -o-bb-kk-ä[säbbärobbïkkä]   'They (m) broke (sth.) of you (sm)'

   (h) säbbär-ä-ma-bb-kk-i [säbbärämabbïkk^y]   'They(f) broke (sth.) of you(sf.)'

   (i) säbbär – x-u- bb^w-ä   ' You(pm) broke (sth.) of him'

   (j) säbbär – x-u- bb-a   'You(pm) broke (sth.) of her'

The malefactive marker, as can be seen from the data is /b/, which is geminated when used with plural subjects and degeminated as well as weakened in intervocalic position whenever used with singular subjects. Similarly, labilized [b^w] becomes [β^w], which is mostly heard as [w] between vowels. The labialization of /b/ to [b^w] and the weakening of [β] to [β^w] in the third person masculine object form in (41d,i) is caused by the masculine morpheme {-u}.   Thus, the underlying form of [-bb^{w}ä-] is {-bbuä} and the vowel /u/ is deleted after labialising the preceding consonant /b/ to avoid impermissible vowel sequences.

As discussed so far, there is a general tendency in Eža for non-geminated stops to become continuants intervocallically. This morphophonemic change can be stated as follows:

(43)   C $\Rightarrow$ C   / V - V

$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ obs} \\ - \text{ cont.} \end{bmatrix} \qquad [+\text{cont.}]$$

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This rule reads, a consonant with features plus obstruent but minus continuant changes to plus continuant between vowels.

In this chapter, I have discussed different types of pronouns including personal, possessive, demonstrative, reflexive, reciprocal, interrogative, indefinite, 'restrictive', 'selective', 'non-selective' and 'exclusive'. It is shown that the personal pronouns of the language are inflected for person, gender, number, definite article and cases. Subject and object agreement affixes has also been dealt with. It is shown that the object affixes have allomorphs, which are governed by grammatical, semantic and phonological conditions.

CHAPTER FOUR: VERBS

4.1. Types of Verbs

Verbs in Gurage languages, as in most Semitic languages, have been typologically grouped in two ways. One approach is by the number of consonantal roots or radicals (Leslau, 1992; Berhanu, 1996). The other which is more customarily used, is by their stem patterns particularly, by the vowel quality between the first and second radical of a stem and by whether the penultimate radical is a geminate or not in different aspects and moods.

Following the second approach stems of verbs in most 'Gurage Languages' have been grouped as type A, type B, Type C and type D (Leslau, 1992; Rose, 1997;Getu, 2000; and Hetzron, 1977).

4.1.1. **Radicals**

In Eža, roots range from mono-radical to quadri-radicals. However, tri-radicals are the majority. The examples in (1) show the possible radicals.

(1)

Radical Type	Radical	Stem	Gloss
Mono-radical	š -	šä	'want/ search'
Bi-radical	w - r	wärä	'go'
	t - nn	tännä	'swear'
	s - č'č '	säč'č'ä	'drink'
Tri-radical	s - bb - r	säbbärä	'break'
	k - ff - t	käffätä	'open'
	b- tt - r	bettärä	'separate'
	k' - t't' – r	k'at't'ärä	'tie'
Quadri-radical	m - s - kk - r	[mïsäkkärä]	' testify'
	k' - r - t't' – m	[kïrät't'ämä]	' cut (usu. log)'
	k'ʷ - r - t't' – s	[k'ʷïrät't'äsä]	' pinch'
	g - r - mm - t'	[gïrämmät'ä]	' look askance'

Some of the verbs, which, synchronically, show mono or bi radicals are, reduced forms of other bi or tri-radicals. The most commonly reduced radicals are the semi vowels /w/ and /y/, and the consonant /ʔ/, which is represented by /A/ in Degif (1997). Examples of reduced roots are shown below:

(2)	*Reduced root*	*perfective*	*Basic root*	*Perfective*	*Gloss*
	-b-	[abä]	ʔ–b	/ʔäbä/	'give'
	-mm-	[amma]	ʔ-mm-ʔ-	/ʔämmäʔä/	'backbite'
	-nn-	[onnä]	ʔ-w-n-	/ʔäwänä/	'shout'
	-č'č'-	[ač'č'ä]	ʔ-t't'-y-	/ʔät't'äyä/	'close'
	d-k'-	[dak'ä]	d-ʔ-k'-	/däʔäk'ä/	'laugh'
	č-t-	[čotä]	č-w-t-	/čäwätä/	'till/ plow'
	n-t'-	[not'ä]	n-w-t'-	/näwät'ä/	'run'
	b-nn-	[bänna]	b-nn-ʔ-	/bännäʔä/	'eat'
	f-t't'-	[fäč'č'ä]	f-t't'-y-	/fät't'äyä/	'grind'

In the examples all the reduced forms, except /-b-/, which seems basically bi-radical, have tri-radical bases. Some of them have lost two of their radicals as in -/mm-/ and others only one of their radicals.

Almost, all verbs of Eža begin with consonants and those verbs that begin with /o/ or /a/ have lost their original radicals /ʔ / and /or /w/. The vowels /o/ and /a/ originally belong to the same vowel /ä/ with a trace of /ʔ / and/or /w/. In fact, there are verbs beginning with vowels such as /a -sïyyä/ 'sell' from /sïyyä/ 'buy'. Such verbs are prefixes and are not part of the verb root (Degif, 1994).

As the mono, bi, and quadri-radicals are rare in Eža, I shall use only tri-radicals to represent stem classes in the sections that follow.

4.1.2. Stem Classes

Based on the stem patterns Eža verbs have been divided into type A, B, and C by Getu (2000). Rose (1997) adds a type D to the three mentioned.

The criterion for Getu's classification was merely based on whether the penultimate radical of a verb is geminated or not in perfective and imperfective aspects and in the jussive mood. Rose (1997); however, considers the gemination or non-gemination of the penult radical of verbs and the vowel that occurs between the first and the second radical. Rose has only [ä] and [a], of which [ä] occurs in Types A, B and D verbs whereas [a] occurs only in Type - C Verbs of Eža.

Type D verbs identified by Rose (1997) for Eža and by Degif (1993) as cited in (Rose 1997: 16) for Chaha are characterized by having initial radical which is labialised and the vowel /ä/ between the first and the second radicals.

I recognize only Types A, B, and C verb stems in Eža. Type - D of Rose (1997) can be subsumed under Type A verbs since both types behave the same in having vowel /ä/ between the first and the second radical and in geminating their penultimate radical. The three types of verbs based on their stem patterns are given in (3).

	Verb Type	*Perfect*	*Imperfect*	*Jussive*	*Gloss*
(3)	A	säbbär-	y- säbr	yä- sbr	'break'
		dännäg-	y – därg	yä –drg	'hit'
		k'ä't'tär	y- k'ät'r	yä -k't'r	'kill'
	B	met't'är-	y- met't'r	yä -mät't'r	'choose'
		bettär-	y- bettr	yä –bättr	'separate'
		šäkkät-	y-šäkkt	yä –säkkt	'prepare'
		ďäbbär-	y -ďäbbr	yä –däbbr	'finish'

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C	mʷannäx	y - mʷannx	yä- mʷarx	'confiscate'
	bannär-	y-bannr	yä-barr	'demolish'
	k'at't'är-	y-k'at't'r	yä-k'at'r	'tie'

The Type A stems

The type A stems have geminated penultimate radical in the perfective aspect and a non-geminated root in imperfective and jussive. They have also the vowel /ä/ between the first and the second radicals in both perfective and imperfective aspect but not in the jussive. Type A verbs in the perfective, imperfective and jussive can be represented in CV's as: $c_1äc_2c_2äc_3$; - $c_1äc_2c_3$; and - $c_1c_2c_3$, respectively.

The Type B stems

Type B stems are characterized by gemination of the penultimate radical in perfective, imperfective and jussive. They also show the vowel /e/ between the first and second radical in perfective and imperfective aspects and the vowel /ä/ in the jussive mood.

In some verbs of Type B, /e/ is substituted by /ä/ in all perfective, imperfective and jussive, but the trace of /e/ still exists in verbs with /ä/ which have their initial consonant palatalized if it is palatalizable consonant. When there is no palatalizable consonant initially, the penultimate radical (mostly velars) is palatalized. Rose (1997: 14) attests to this in other west 'Gurage Languages' when she says:

> In west Gurage, Type B verbs are characterized by palatalization of the initial consonant if coronal obstruent or velar, otherwise palatalization of the penultimate consonant if velar. If neither of these conditions are met, the front vowel appears in non-geminating languages but no palatal element in geminating languages.

Rose's generalization that the palatal element occur only in non-geminating languages of West Gurage is misleading for Eža, which is a geminating language has the palatal feature (cf. (3)) above and the examples in (4) below.

(4)   *Perfective*   *Imperfective*   *Jussive*   *Gloss*

       näg^{y}g^{y}äm-   y - räg^{y}g^{y}m   yä-räggm   'mount a horse'

       mäg^{y}g^{y}är-   y - mäg^{y}g^{y}r   yä-mäggr   'burn'

       ďabbär-   y – ďäbbr   yä-däbbr   'finish'

       žännär-   y – žännr   yä-zännr   'stretch clothe to cover'

       čäkkär-   y – čäkkr   yä-täkkr   'cook'

Thus, Type B verbs consistently show the patterns $c_1ec_2c_2äc_3$, - $c_1ec_2c_2\ c_3$, and $c_1äc_2c_2c_3$, in perfective, imperfective and jussive stems respectively.

The reason why Type B verbs have a palatal feature between their first and second radicals in perfective and imperfective aspects and not in jussive mood is not clear. One assumption is that /e/ is historically the combination of [ä] and [i](Degif, 1997: 9) and the palatal feature of [i] surfaces only in Type B verbs in the perfective and imperfective, and totally suppressed in other forms. This assumption; however, requires more evidence and is left open for further historical and comparative study.

The Type C stems

Type - C stems are characterized by gemination of their penultimate radical in the perfective and imperfective and by degemination of the penultimate radical in the jussive. They also show vowel /a/ between their first and second radicals in perfective, imperfective and jussive. Their stem pattern is: $c_1ac_2c_2äc_3$, - $c_1ac_2c_2c_3$, and - $c_1ac_2c_3$ in perfective, imperfective and jussive respectively.

4.2. Verb inflection

Verbs in Eža are inflected for person, gender, number, aspect, tense mood and negation. In this section I shall discuss the way these inflectional categories are expressed.

4.2.1. Person, gender and number

The person, gender and number markers are so fused that it is difficult to isolate them. They are shown in (5) below.

(5)

	Perfective				Imperfective			
	Singular		Plural		Singular		Plural	
	Person	Gender	Person	Gen./ Num.	Person	Gender	Person	Gen./Num.
1	. - xʷ-	∅	−∅-	-nä	ä -	∅	n …	nä
2m	- x-	−ä	-x-	-u	t -	∅	t ….	o
f.	- x -	-i	- x-	- ma	t …	.i	t …	äma
3m	- ä -	−∅	- ä-	- o	y -	∅	y …	.o
f	- ä -	- ti	- ä-	- ma	t-	∅	y ….	äma

Person: The person markers in the perfective in the table above are {-xʷ }, {-nä}, {-x} and {-ä} in first person singular, first person plural, second person and third person respectively. In imperfective {ä-} and {n-} mark first person singular and plural respectively. The morpheme {t} indicates second person singular and plural as well as third person singular feminine. Third person singular and plural masculine, including third person plural feminine is revealed by {y-}.

Gender: The gender markers in the perfective are {-i},{-ti}/[č], {-ma}, for 2sf, 3sf, 2pf and 3pf respectively. The masculine is expressed with {−ä} in second person singular with {-u} in 2pm and becomes {- o} in 3pm.

In the imperfective the feminine is marked by {-i} for 2sf and by {-äma} for 2p and 3p. The masculine is designated by {- o}.

Number: The number markers are fused with gender markers. The singular is unmarked whereas the plural is shown by {-nä} for first person plural, by {-u} or {-o} for

second person plural masculine. The morpheme {-ma}or {-äma} shows second and third plural feminine.

The examples in (6) (a) and (b) demonstrate the person, gender, number affixes in perfective and imperfective respectively using the verb √sbr 'break'.

(6)	(a)	1s.	/säbbär - x^w - m /	' I broke'
		2sm	/säbbär – xä – m/	'You broke'
		sf	/säbbär – xä -i – m/	'You broke'
		3sm	/säbbär - ä – m/	'He broke'
		sf	/säbbär – ä-ti – m/	'She broke'
		1p	/säbbär - nä – m/	'We broke'
		2pm	/säbbär – x-u – m/	'You broke'
		pf	/säbbär – x-ma – m/	'You broke'
		3pm	/säbbär – ä-u – m/	'They broke'
		pf	/säbbär – ä-ma – m/	They broke'

The morpheme {-m} shows past tense in (6) (a) above, as we shall see later. This morpheme does not appear in imperfective as we observe in (6) (b) below.

(b)	1s	ä – säbr	' I break'
	2sm	t – säbr	'you break'
	sf	t - säbr – i [tïsäbi]	'you break'
	3sm	y – säbr	'He breaks'
	sf	t – säbr	'She breaks'
	1p	n -säbr – nä	'We break'
	2pm	t - säbr –o	'You break'
	pf	t - säbr – äma	'You break'
	3pm	y -säbr – o	'They break'
	pf	y - säbr - äma	They break'

As can be seen from the examples in (6) (b), the second person singular masculine and the third person singular feminine form have the same form:

/t- säbïr/ 'you(sm) break'/ 'she breaks'. The two possible readings are distinguished syntactically by using subject pronouns as in (7).

(7) (a) axä   äč'č'ä   t - säbr

      you(sm)   wood   2sm - break   ' you (sm) break wood'

  (b) xit   äč'č'ä   t- säbr

     she   wood   3sf - break   'She breaks wood'

4.2.2. Aspect

The perfective aspect in Eža shows completion of an action performed. It is indicated by the vowel {-ä-} following the penultimate and preceding the ultimate consonant as shown in (8).

(8)

Type A	Gloss	Type B	Gloss	Type C	Gloss
/säbbär-/	' break'	/met't'är-/	'choose'	/bannär-/	'demolish'
/dännäg-/	'hit'	/bettär-/	'separate'	/k'at't'är/	'tie'
/säkkär-/	'intoxicate'	/đäbbär-/	'finish'	/m^{w}annäx/	'confiscate'

As can be observed from (8), all the types have /ä/ preceding the ultimate radical to mark perfective aspect. This vowel does not appear in imperfective aspect (cf. (6b) above). The perfect aspect can be represented by **cv's** as **$c_1vc_2c_2äc_3$-**.

The imperfective aspect is shown by the stem pattern - **$c_1vc_2(c_2)c_3$**. The penultimate radical in the imperfective is geminated in Type B and Type C but not in Type A. The examples below show this.

(9)   Type A   /y – säbr/   ' He breaks'

        Type B   /y – bettr/   ' He separates'

        Type C   /y – bannr/   ' He demolishes'

4.2.3. Tense

4.2.3.1. Simple past tense

The simple past tense, which shows completed action at a particular time in the past, is expressed by the morpheme {-m}, which is attached to the perfective stem as in (10).

(10) (a) xewan   dïnniča   čäkkär – ä-ti-m

     H   potato   cook - 3s f - past   'Hewan cooked potato'

 (b) tïrama   č'amma   sïyyä - x^w - m

     yesterday   shoes   buy - 1s - past   ' I bought shoes yesterday'

4.2.3.2. Remote past tense

The remote past, which expresses an action or event that took place before another past action, is expressed by the auxiliary verb /bannä/, which is attached to simple past tense form of the verb as in (11).

(11) (a) emra   čänn -ä-ti - m bannä

     last year   come -3s-f - past aux

    ' She had come last year'

 (b) axä   yä - čännä – x-ä gam^{w}ä   ädyana   banna -x^w-m bannä

     you - rel - come - 2s-m when   lunch   eat   1s-past aux

     ' When you came, I had eaten my lunch'

4.2.3.3. Progressive Past

The progressive action in the past is expressed by the auxiliary /bannä/, and by the imperfective aspect form of the verb as in (12).

(12) (a) ärbat   y- bära   bannä

     dinner   3sm - eat   aux   ' He was eating dinner'

 (b) andïr   t - därïg   bannä

     drum   3sf - hit   aux   ' She was hitting a drum'

 (c) t -   met't'ïr – äma bannä

     2pf -   choose - 2pf   - aux   ' You(pf) were choosing'

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4.2.3.4. Simple Present

The simple present is based on the imperfective aspect form as shown in (13)

(13)   (a)   ä- säbr

           1s - break   ' I break'

      (b)   y - met'tïr

           3sm - choose   ' He chooses'

      (c)   n - k'at'tïr - nä

           1p - tie-   1p   ' We tie'

Habitual actions are also expressed by the same form as exemplified in (14) below.

(14)   (a)   abäg^{y}ar y-bära

           pig   3sm - eat   ' He eats pig'

      (b)   weg   y - därs

           song   3sm - sing   ' He sings (a) song'

4.2.3.5. Future tense

The future tense is indicated with the morpheme {-te} or {-šä} (Hetzron, 1996). The morpheme {-te} is used to express definite future, which is predetermined by the speaker whereas {-šä} is used to show indefinite future.

Hetzron (1996: 109) says, "jussive **+ šä,** may express uncertainty, announce intention, willingness, offering something, wish; …." The examples in (15) (A), and (B) show definite and indefinite future respectively.

(15) (A) (a)   ä   -   säbïr - te

           1s   -   break - df.   ' I will break'

      (b)   y   -   met'tïr -   te

           3sm - choose - df   ' He will choose'

      (c)   n - m^{w}annïx   - nä - te

           1p -confiscate - 1p - df   ' we will confiscate'

(B) (a)   ä -   sbïr - šä

            1s - break - idf   ' I shall/may break'

   (b)   y -   mät't'ïr - šä

         3sm -   choose - idf.   ' He will/may choose'

   (c)   n -   barïr   - nä - šä

         1p - demolish - 1p - idf.   ' We will/may demolish'

The two morphemes: {-te} and {-šä } may be used within the same sentence as in

(16).

   (16) (a)   zïrab y - zärb   - te   -y - xïr   - šä

                rain (n) it - rain (v) - df - it - happen - idf.

                ' May it rain ((the) rain)'

      (b)   xewan ďapan t - ar - te   y - xïr   - šä

             H   J   3sf - go - df. It - happen - idf.

             ' May Hewan go to Japan?'

/y - xïr - šä/ 'it may happen' has the equivalent rendering   'probably'. Thus, the

sentences in (16) (a) and (b) might be glossed as "probably it will rain" and "probably,

Hewan will go to Japan". Thus, {- šä} not only shows future tense but also mood.

4.2.4. Mood

4.2.4.1. The Jussive

As it was mentioned in the introduction, Leslau (1967) identifies five patterns of

jussive, which he showed using the Ge'ez verb k'tl 'kill'. These are: yä- k'täl, yä-k'ïttäl, yä-

k'tïl, yä-k'ïtl and yä- k'ïttïl. To his list, I add two other patterns: yä- k'ättïl and yä- k'atïl.

Each of these patterns is shown in (17).

(17)

	Jussive pattern	Example	Gloss
(a)	[yä - k't äl]	[yä - brär]	'Let him/it fly'
(b)	[yä - k'ïttäl]	[yä – bïddär]	'Let him be first'
(c)	[yä - k't ïl]	[yä – drïg]	'Let him hit'
(d)	[yä - k'ïtl]	[yä - sïrk']	'Let him steal'
(e)	[yä - k'ïttïl]	[yä – kïttïf]	'Let him chop'
(f)	[yä - k'ättïl]	[yä – täkkïr]	'Let him cook'
(g)	[yä - k'atïl]	[yä - k'at'ïr]	'Let him tie'

It seems prima-facie, that Eža has seven jussive patterns listed above, but closely examined, Eža has only three such patterns. The patterns (c) and (d) alternate freely as it is possible to say: [yä-drïg] or[yä- dïrg] 'let him hit' and [yä-sïrk']or [yä-srïk']'let him steal'. These can thus be collapsed into one **- $c_1c_2c_3$** with the epenthetic [ï] appearing at surface level. The pattern (e), which differs from (c) and (d) with its penultimate geminated radical, can be categorized with (c), (d) and (e) as: **- $c_1c_2(c_2)c_3$.**

Similarly, (17) (a) and (b) can be represented as **$c_1c_2(c_2)\text{äc}_3$** . And finally, the patterns (f) and (g) can be collapsed as: - **$c_1vc_2(c_2)c_3$,** with the vowel /ä/ or /a/. The generalized three jussive patterns that represent all the verb types are given in (18).

(18)

	Jussive Patterns	Examples	Gloss
(a)	**- c_1 c_2 (c_2) c_3**	/n - sbr /	' Let me break'
		/n - k'bbr/	Let me plant'
(b)	**- c_1 c_2 (c_2) ä c_3**	/yä – bnär/	Let him fly'
		/yä – bddär/	Let him be first'
(c)	**- c_1 v c_2 (c_2) c_3**	/t – täkkr/	'Let her cook'
		/t - k'at'r/	'Let her tie'

4.2.4.2. The imperative

The imperative mood is used to give order and the pattern is - $c_1(v)c_2(c_2)c_3$ as in (19).

(19)   ***Imperative form***   ***Gloss***
   (a)   sbr [sïbïr]   ' break!'

   (b)   mät't'r [mät't'ïr]   'choose!'

   (c)   k'at'r [k'at'ïr]   'tie!'

4.2.4.3. The Conditional mood

Two types of conditional moods are distinguished the present conditional and the past conditional. The present conditional is represented by the morpheme {bä-}, and the past conditional by {tä-}. Both are prefixed to perfective stems. The past conditional uses the auxiliary /bannä/. The examples in (20) (i) and (ii) show the two conditionals respectively.

(20) (i) Present conditional
   (a)   bä - säbbär - xä   t - käs - te

       If - break - 2sm   2sm - pay -df

       'If you break, you will pay'

   (b)   bä - met't'är - x^w t -mač - šä y - xïr   - šä

       If - choose -1s   3sf - angry - idf - 3s- happen - idf

       ' If I choose, may she be angry?'

   (c)   bä-bannär -xu   ab -axu   y -k'ät't'ïr -xu -te

       If -demolish - 2pm   father -2p poss   2p - kill   - 2pm - df

       'If you demolish, your father will kill you?'

(ii) Past conditional
   (a)   tä - säbbär – x-ä   t - k't'tïr - xä -bannä

       If - break - 2s-m   3sf - kill - 2sm - aux

       'If you had broken, she would have killed you'.

   (b)   tä - met't'är – x-i   y - sar   - x-i -bannä

       If - choose - 2s-f   2s - happy -2s-f - aux

       'If you had chosen, you would have been happy'

(c)　tä - k'at't'är - xʷ - n　　　y - gïd　　-bannä

　　　If - tie　　　-1s - 3so　　3s- fasten - aux

　　　If I had tied it, it would have fastened?

4.2.4.4. Negation

　　　The negative in Eža has two allomorphs that are grammatically conditioned, that is, conditioned by the different tenses and moods. The negative markers are: {a-} and {an-}. I have mentioned in the introduction that Getu (2000) identifies four negative forms {an-}, {a-}, {ba-} and {e-} each of which are again allomorphs of one another.

　　　Getu's negative marker {ba-} is progressive tense marker and {e-} is the realization of negative marker (a-}, which is palatalized when it occurs before palatal sound /y/ as in /a-y- säbr/ [e- säbïr] 'he does not break'.

4.2.4.4.1. Tense and negation

　　　Negation in the simple and remote past is expressed with the prefix {an -} as in (21) (ï) and (ii) respectively.

(21)　(i)　(a) an - säbbär - ä

　　　　　　neg - break - 3sm　　　　　' He did not break'

　　　　(b) an - mettär　 - ä

　　　　　　neg - choose - 3sm　　　　'He did not choose'

　　　　(c) an　 - bannär　 - ä

　　　　　　neg - demolish - 3sm　　　'He did not demolish'

　　(ii) (a) an -säbbär- x-ä　bannä

　　　　　　neg-break -2s-m　aux　　'You had not broken'

　　　　(b) an -mettär -xu　　bannä

　　　　　　neg-choose -2pm　aux　　'You (pm) had not chosen'

　　　　(c)　an　-bannär　- nä　bannä

　　　　　　neg-demolish -1p　aux　　'We had not demolished'

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Negation in the progressive past is shown with {-a-} to which the progressive marker {ba-} is prefixed. However, as vowel sequencing is not allowed the vowel of {ba-} is deleted before the negative marker {-a-}, hence the progressive marker is reduced to just {b-} as in (22).

(22) (a) ba -a - t -säbr [batsäbïr]
     prog - neg- 3sf - break   'She was not breaking'

  (b) ba - a - n - säbr – nä [bansäbïrnä]
     prog - neg.- 1p - break -1p   'We were not breaking'

  (c) ba - a - y - säbr – o[besäbïro]
     prog - neg -3p - break - 3pm   'They (m) were not breaking'.

In (22) (c), first, /a/ of {ba-} is deleted, then /y/ palatalizes /a/ to /e/ and is deleted later, hence, the actual phonetic form is as shown in the square brackets.

Negation in simple present and future is shown with the prefix {a-}. The formal difference between simple present and future is not maintained in the negative form because the future marker {-te} is deleted. Negation and tense markers are in complementary distribution in the language. The examples in (23) show this.

Affirmative   **Negative**

(23) (a) y - säbr   (a') a -y - säbr [esäbïr]
     3sm, - break   'He breaks'   neg -3sm - break   'He will not break'

  (b) y - säbïr -te   (b') a - y - säbr [esäbïr]
     3sm - break -df 'He will break   neg-3sm - break   'He will not break'

  (c) t - met't'r   (c') a -t - met't'r
   2sm- choose   ' you choose'   neg -3sm- choose 'you don't /won't choose'

   (d) n - bära - nä - te   (d') a -n -bära - nä
   1p - eat - 1p – df   'We will eat'   neg -1p eat - 1p   'We do/will not eat'

4.2.4.4.2. Mood and Negation

In jussive and imperative moods, negation is expressed with {a-} and in conditional moods by {an-} as shown in (24) (A), (B), and (C) respectively.

(24) (**A) Negation in jussive**

   (a) a - t - sbr   [atsïbïr]   'Let her not break'

   (b) a - y - sbr   [esbïr]   'Let him not break'

   (c) a - n - sbr   [anïsïbïr]   ' Let me not break'

   (d) a - n - sbr - nä   [anïsïbïnnä]   'Let us not break'

   (e) a - y - sbr - o   [esbïro]   'Let them (m.) not break'

   (f) a - y - sbr - äma [esbïräma]   'Let them (f.) not break'

      The morphemes between the negative marker /a/ and the verb stem - sbr - in (24) show object. Thus, {-t-} refers to '3sfo', {-y-} refers to '3smo' or '3po', and {-n-} refers to '1so' and '1po'. In the plural forms, we see the suffixes {-nä}, {-o} and {-äma} showing 1p, 3pm and 3pf respectively. These forms help to distinguish object markers used in the singular.

(B) **Negation in the Imperative**

(a) a - t - sbr   [atsïbïr]   '(you (sm)) do not break !'

(b) a - t - sbri   [atsïbi]   ' (you (sf)) do not break !'

(c) a - t - sbr - o   [atsïbïro]   ' (you(pm)) do not break !'

(d) a - t - sbr - äma   [atsïbräma]   '(you(pf)) do not break !'

   The morpheme {-t-} in (24) (B) shows 2s in (a) and (b), and 2p in (c) and (d). The morphemes {-o} and {-äma} are amalgams of plural and gender.

 (C) **Negation in conditional Mood**

(i) Present conditional

   (a) bä - an - säbbär - ä   [bansäbbärä]

    If - neg - break - 3sm   'If he does not break'

   (b) bä - an - met't'är – ä-ti [bammet't'äräč]

     If - neg- choose   -3s-f   'If she does not choose'

(c) bä - an - bannär - nä   [bambannärnä]

    If - neg - demolish - 2p   'If we do not demolish'

(ii) Past Conditional

(a) tä - an   säbbär   - ä [tansäbbärä]

    If - neg - break -3sm

     'If he did not break' /'Had not he break'

(b) tä -an - met't'är – ä-ti [tammet't'äräč]

    If - neg - choose - 3sf

     'If she did not choose' /'Had not she choose'

(c) tä - an - bannär - nä [tambannärnä]

    If - neg- demolish -2p

  'If we did not demolish' /'Had not we demolish'

        In the examples, /n/ of {-an-} partially or completely assimilates homorganically to the immediately following consonant.

To wind up, negation in Eža is marked by {a-} and {an-}. The former is used in the progressive past, simple present, simple future, jussive and imperative and the latter in the simple and remote past tenses, and in the conditional moods.

However, it is possible to argue that Eža has a single negative marker, which is {an-} and it becomes {a-} when it is prefixed to person markers beginning with consonants. If we look at all the examples in (21), (23)(a') - (d') and (24) (A) and (B), we find {a-} and in all other cases we see {an-}. The motivation for the deletion of /n/ of {an-} seems to avoid consonant clusters but as the language uses epenthetic vowel [ï] in such cases, the conditioning factor is more of grammatical.

4.3. Derivation of Verbs

Distinction is made between simple and complex verbal derivations. Simple derivation refers to verbs derived by means of a single derivational affix and/or internal

stem change, and by complex is meant derivation of verbs by combining two or more affixes in addition to internal modification.

4.3.1. Simple Derivation

Simple verbal derivations include reflexive, passive, causative, adjutative, intensive/ frequentative and reciprocal verbs.

4.3.1.1. Reflexive and Passive

In Eža, reflexive, which is also called 'mideopassive' or 'anti-causative' (Palmer, 1994), has the same form as the passive. It is derived with the morpheme {tä-} (Getu, 2000: 27), which is attached to a stem pattern $c_1vc_2c_2äc_3$- in the manner shown in (25).

(25)		*Verb root*	*Gloss*	*Reflexive/ passive*	*Gloss*
	(a)	s-bb-r	'break'	tä-säbbär-	'be broken'
	(b)	b-tt-r	'separate'	tä- bettär-	'be separated'
	(c)	k'-t't'-r	'tie'	tä -k'at't'är[6]	' be tied'
	(d)	d-nn-g	'hit'	tä-dännäg-	'be hit'
	(e)	s-dd-b	'curse'	tä-säddäb-	'be cursed'

The forms derived with this morpheme are more of reflexive than passive. For instance, the forms (a) - (c) are reflexives while those (d) and (e) can be either reflexive and/ or passive as demonstrated in the examples in (26) below.

(26) (a) wägu   dadd-ota   tä -dännäg-ä   -m

       W   chest-his   ref-hit   -3sm -past

       'Wegu hit his chest'

   (b)   wägu   tä -säddäb -ä - ni - m

       W   ref- curse -3sm - 1so –past

       'Wegu cursed himself for me'

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[6] This form has the same meaning as the reciprocal, which is derived from another verb stem k'ät't'är- 'kill' (see 4.3.1.5. below).

(c) wägu   bä-gurz [7]   mïšt   tä -dännäg -ä   - m

    W   by-old   woman pass-hit   -3sm - past

    'Wegu is hit by an old woman'

(d) wägu   bä - barik' tä   -säddäb -ä   -m

    W   by- old(m) pass. - curse- 3sm- past

    'Wegu is cursed by old (m) people'

As can be observed from the examples in (26), {tä-} is reflexive in (a) and (b) whereas it

is passive in (c) and (d). There are some verbs, however, that cannot be passivized with

{tä-}. Compare the examples in (27 a - d).

(27) | ***Verb root*** | ***Gloss*** | ***Reflexive/ passive*** | ***Gloss*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| (a) s-nn-k' | 'steal' | * tä-sännäk'- | *'be stolen' |
| (b) k'-t't'-r | 'kill" | * tä-k'ät't'är- | *'be killed' |
| (c) d-mm-d | join' | tä - dämmäd- | 'be joined' |
| (d) b-nn-r | 'demolish' | tä-bannär- | 'be demolished' |

In (27), (a) and (b) are not allowed in Eža though perfectly possible in other Ethio-

Semitic languages such as Amharic as in:

(a)   tä -särräk'- 'be stolen'   from särräk' - 'steal'

(b)   tä -gäddäl - 'be killed'   from gäddäl - 'kill'

Verbs that cannot be passivized with {tä-} in (27) can be passivized with what

Palmer (1994) calls 'Impersonal passive' discussed below.

4.3.1.2. Impersonal passive

Impersonal passives are common in many languages. They can be formed from

intransitive verbs as in Latin, German and Dutch or from transitive verbs as in Irish (Palmer,

1994:127-130).

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[7] See the difference between **gurz** 'old' and **barik'** 'old' in chapter 5, section 5.2.

In the passivization of transitive verbs, an agent is demoted to patient whereas in passivization of intransitive verbs the agent is demoted to being impersonal. A language may have the same form to express both impersonal passive with demoted agent and regular passives with patient subject or two separate forms. This fact has been expounded by Palmer (1994: 139) as follow:

> --- A language may be said to have more than one passive.[8].. and, further, that these passives may be expressed by the same construction as in English or by different ones as in German.

Impersonal passives in Eža, and of course in Chaha (Leslau, 1992:430), and Gumer are expressed with the morpheme {-u}, which is attached to stem pattern $c_1vc_2(c_2)\ddot{a}c_3$. The morpheme {-u}, however, does not stay in situ rather it floats and labializes the relatively right most labializable labials or velars and /or palatalizes[9] the immediately adjacent right most palatalizable alveolars. The examples in (28) show the derivation of impersonal passives.

(28)		*Verb root*	*Gloss*	*Passive*		*Gloss*
	(a)	s-nn-k'	'steal'	sännäk'-u	[sännäk'ʷ-]	'be stolen'
	(b)	k'-t't'-r	'kill'	k'ät't'är-u	[k'ʷät't'är-]	'be killed'
	(c)	b-ʔ–r	'say'	bäʔär-u	[bʷar-]	'It is said'
	(d)	d-ʔ–k'	'laugh'	däʔäk'-u	[dak'ʷ-]	'It is laughed'
	(e)	m-nn-t'	'peel'	männät'-u	[mʷännäč'-]	'be peeled'
	(f)	m-t't'-r	'choose'	met't'är-u	[mʷet't'är]	'be choosen'

In (28) (a) and (d), a labializable segment occurs as the last radical of the stems and are hence labialised; in (b), (c) and (e) the labilaizable segments occur as the first radical, thus {-u} floats to that position and labializes them. The glottal stop /ʔ/ in (28 c, d) is deleted and its back feature is acquired by the vowel /ä/, which changes to /a/.

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[8] Palmer labels the two passives in German as 'true' passive and stative passive.
[9] For similar role of /u/ in Chaha see (Degif, 1997)

Impersonal passives can be reflexivized with the morpheme {tä-} as in [tä -mᵂännäč] 'one is peeled by himself' from männät'-u [mᵂännäč-] 'be peeled'.

In the impersonal passives, object suffixes function as demoted or patient subject markers whereas in reflexives there is the morpheme {-i-} or {-y} referring to the indefinite pronoun 'someone'. Compare the examples in (29).

(29) (a) mᵂännäč'   - i - m
         be peel -   3sm - past   'It/he is peeled'

   (b) mᵂännäč' -   ya- m
         be peel -   3sf - past   'She is peeled'

   (c) mᵂännäč'-   ndä - m
         be peel -   1p - past   'We are peeled'

   (d) tä - mᵂännäč' - i - m
         ref -be peeled –3s - past   'Someone is peeled by himself'

   (e) *tä -mᵂännäč' - ya -m
         ref- be peeled -3sf - past   -----------------

Demoted patient subject cannot be stated but implied as indefinite in the reflexive impersonal forms.

An other important point is the possibility of deriving impersonal passives from intransitive verbs such as dak'ᵂ - 'It is laughed' and mᵂäč- 'It is dead' from dak' 'laugh' and mᵂät - 'die' respectively. These types of passives cannot be formed with the reflexive /passive marker {tä-} as * tä-dak' and * tä-mᵂät' are not acceptable. Unlike in Eža, intransitive passives can be formed using {tä-} in Amharic as in tä-sak'- 'it is laughed' from the root s-ʔ-k' 'laugh' (see Baye, 1999 for extended or reduced roots like s-ʔ-k', in Amharic).

In Eža, it is also possible to derive reflexive jussive verb roots. In the derivation, the penultimate geminated radicals of the roots are degeminated, thus the stem becomes

$c_1vc_2\ddot{a}c_3$. Furthermore, the reflexive marker {tä-} that occurs between the person marker and the verb stems loses its vowel /ä/. The derivation processes is shown in (30) below:

(30)

Verb root	Goss	Reflexive	Gloss
s-bb-r	'break'	yä-t-säbär	'Let it be broken'
b-tt-r-	'separate'	yä-t- betär	'Let it be separated'
k'-t't'-r-	'tie'	yä-t-k'at'är'	'Let it be tied'

To wind up, Eža has two ways of forming passives: using the morpheme {tä-} and {-u}. The former derives mediopassive or reflexive and the later derives passive proper.

4.3.1.3. Causative

There are two types of causative verbs, 'direct' and 'indirect' causatives. The former refers to a verb that describes an action done by an agent whereas the latter refers to a verb that shows an action done by someone with the initiation by another. For instance, a direct causative can express the action of a mother feeding her baby and the indirect causative has the notion of the mother making her elder daughter feed the baby.

4.3.1.3.1. Direct Causative

Direct causative is formed with the prefix {a-} that is attached to stem pattern $c_1\ddot{a}c_2c_2\ddot{a}c_3$ as shown in the examples in (31).

(31)

Verb root	Gloss	Direct causative	Gloss
č-ff-r	'take morsel'	a- čäffär-	'feed morsel'
k'-mm-s	'taste'	a-k'ämmäs-	'make taste'
b-nn-ʔ	'eat'	a-bännäʔ–	'make eat'
t'-bb-t'-	'catch'	a-t'äbbät'-	'make catch'

4.3.1.3.2. Indirect causative

Indirect causatives are derived with the morpheme {at-} prefixed to a stem pattern $c_1vc_2(c_2)\ddot{a}c_3$ as in (32).

(32)   Verb root   Gloss   Indirect causative   Gloss

  c-w-t 'plaugh' at- čäwät- 'cause someone to plough'

  b-ss-r 'cook' at-bässär- ' cause someone to cook'

  k'-nn-m 'insult' at-k'ännäm- 'cause someone to insult'

  d-nn-g 'hit' at-dännäg- 'cause someone to hit'

  m-t't'-r 'choose' at-met'ät- 'cause some one to choose'

The direct and indirect causatives above could be equated with what Baye (1999) calls adragi and asdäragi in Amharic respectively. But Eža has also the third type of causative, which will be discussed in (4.3.2) below.

4.3.1.4. Adjutative

Adjutative forms express actions that a person performs in aid of another who is engaged in the action. The adjutative is formed with the morpheme {at-} prefixed to verb stems with the pattern -$c_1ac_2c_2\ddot{a}c_3$ - as in (33).

(33) | *Verb root* | *Gloss* | *Adjutative* | *Gloss* |
|---|---|---|---|
| n-ss-ʔ | 'pick' | at-rassäʔ- | 'help in picking' |
| s-bb-r | 'break' | at-sabbär- | 'help in breaking' |
| m-t't'-r | 'choose' | at-mat't'är- | 'help in choosing' |
| š-kk-t | ' negotate' | at-šakkät- | 'help people negotiate' |

4. 3.1.5. Intensive/ frequentative

Intensives show actions performed frequently or intensively and are marked by reduplicating the penultimate radical of a verbs. The derived form has the pattern $c_1c_2vc_2c_2\ddot{a}c_3$ as in (34)

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(34)	*Verb root*	*Gloss*	*Intensive*	*Gloss*
	s-bb-r	'break'	sbäbbär-	'break into pieces'
	m-t't'-r	'choose'	mt'et't'är-	'choose repeatedly'
	b-nn-r	'demolish'	bnannär-	'demolish completely'
	k-tt-f	'chop'	ktättäf-	'chop into pieces'
	k-ff-t	'open'	kfäffät-	'open repeatedly'

4.3.1.6. Reciprocal

Reciprocal verbs show reciprocity of actions performed by participants. The morpheme {tä-} prefixed to the stem pattern $c_1ac_2c_2äc_3$- derives the form. This morpheme also derives passives/reflexives. However, the reciprocal differs from the passive because the former has the vowel /a/ instead of /ä/ between the first and the penultimate radical of stems as shown below.

(35)	*Verb root*	*Gloss*	*Reciprocal*	*Gloss*
	d-nn-g-	'hit'	tä- dannäg-	'hit each other'
	k'-t't'-r-	'kill'	tä -kat'är-	'kill each other'
	k'-nn-m-	'insult'	tä -k'annäm-	'insult each other'
	m-t't'-r-	'choose'	tä -mat't'är-	'choose one another'

Reciprocals are always transitive and semantically they imply that their subjects to be both agent and patient at the same time. They also have plural subject affixes since they presuppose the existence of more than one participant in the discourse or action.

Example: tä -dannäg - o -m

rec- hit   3pm- past   'They (m) hit each other'

tä -dannäg - äma –m

rec - hit   -3pf- past   'They (f) hit each other'

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4.3.2. Complex Verbal Derivation

In Eža, the following types of complex verbal derivations have been attested:

(i) Frequentative Passive (FP)

(ii) Frequentative of Reciprocal (FR)

(iii) Frequentative Causative (FC)

(iv) Reciprocal Causative (RC), and

(v) Causative of the Frequentative Reciprocal (CFR)

4.3.2.1. Frequentative Passive

Frequentative passive is formed with the passivizer {tä-} and the frequentative stem.

The examples in (36) show the derivation.

(36)	*Root*	*Gloss*	*Frequent-ative stem*	*Frequentative passive*	*Gloss*
	s-bb-r	'break'	sbäbbär-	tä - sbäbbär-	'be broken into pieces'
	m-t't'-r	'choose'	mt'ät't'är-	tä - mt'ät't'är-	'be chosen repeatedly''
	k-tt-f	'chop'	ktättäf-	tä - ktättäf-	be chopped into pieces'
	k-ff-t	'open'	kfäffät-	tä - kfäffät-	'be opened repeatedly'

4.3.2.2. Frequentative of Reciprocal

The frequentative of reciprocals are formed with {tä-} prefixed to reciprocal stems and reduplication of penultimate radical of the stem in the way shown in (37)

(37)	*Root*	*Gloss*	*Reciprocal stem*	*Frequentative of Reciprocal*	*Gloss*
	s-bb-r	'break'	-sabbär-	tä -sbabbär-	'break one another seriously
	m-t't'-r	'choose'	- mat't'är-	tä - mt'at't'är-	'choose one another repeatedly'
	k'-t't'-r	'kill'	- k'at'tär-	tä - k't'at'tär-	'kill one another severely'
	č-ff-r	'feed'	- čaffär-	tä - čfaffär-	'feed one another repeatedly'

4.3.2.3. Frequentative Causative

As we have two simple causatives, we can derive frequentatives of direct and indirect causatives.

Frequentative of direct causative is derived with {a-}, attached to frequentative stem as shown in (38) below.

(38)	Root	Gloss	Frequentative stem	Frequentative direct causative	Gloss
	č-ff-r	'feed'	čfäffär-	a-čfäffär-	'feed morsel repeatedly'
	k'-mm-s	'taste'	k'mämmäs-	a-k'mämmäs-	'cause sb.taste repeatedly'

Frequentative of indirect causative is formed with the indirect causative affix {at-} attached to frequentative stem as in (39).

(39)	Root	Gloss	Frequentative stem	Frequentative indirect causative	Gloss
	b-ss-r	'cook'	bsässär-	at - bsässär-	'cause sb. to cook repeatedly'
	k'-nn-m	'insult'	k'nännäm-	at - k'nännäm-	'cause sb. to insult again and again'
	s-bb-r	'break'	sbäbbär-	at - sbäbbär-	'cause sb. to break repeatedly'
	m-t't'-r	'choose'	mt'et't'är-	at - mt'et't'är-	'cause sb. to choose repeatedly'

The frequentative direct causative in (38) differs from the frequentative indirect causative in (39) in that, in the former the agent participates in the action of the verb whereas in the latter it does not but causes someone else to be involved.

4.3.2.4. Reciprocal Causative

Prefixing the indirect causative marker {at-} to a reciprocal verb stem derives a reciprocal causative. The direct causative marker {a-} is not used for this purpose, as the agent is not involved in the reciprocal action of the verb that takes place between or among

the participants. The causer simply instigates the action. The derivation process is exemplified in (40).

(40)	Verb root	Gloss	Reciprocal stem[10]	Reciprocal causative	Gloss
	d-nn-g-	'hit'	-dannäg-	at- dannäg-	'cause to hit one another'
	k'-t't'-r-	'kill'	-k'at't'är-	at-k'at't'är-	'cause to kill one another'
	k-nn-m-	'insult'	-k'annäm-	at-k'annäm-	'cause to insult one another'
	m-tt-r-	'choose'	-mattär-	at-mattär-	'cause to choose one another'

As can be observed in (40) the {tä-} of the simple reciprocal form (see example (35) is deleted in reciprocal causative forms therefore, the structures like * at-tä-dannäg- for 'cause to hit one another' is not acceptable. This is because using {tä-} makes the agent participate in the action that actually is not.

The reciprocal of causative and the adjutative forms in Eža have the same form. They are distinguished from one another by context in a discourse. In some instances, however, the difference can be detected on the bases of the inherent meaning of the simple verbs. For example, the words at-rassäʔ- 'helped in picking' and at -šakkät - 'help in negotiating' (see 4.3.1.4. (33)), are usually used with adjutative meaning while at-k'at't'är- 'cause to kill one another' and at-k'annäm- 'cause to insult one another' (see 4.3.2.4. (40)), necessarily refer to reciprocal causative. However, at-mat'tär can have the meaning adjutative 'help in choosing' or reciprocal causative 'cause to choose one another' based on the context of the discourse.

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[10] The glosses are the same as those in (35) above.

4.3.2.5. **Causative of Frequentative reciprocal**

The causative of frequentative reciprocal expresses three notions at a time. First, it expresses the causer or the instigator of the action; second, two or more active participants performing the action stated by the verb in reciprocity; and finally, the fact that the action performed by the participants is done intensively or frequently.

It is formed using the indirect causativizer {at-} that shows the instigator, the frequentative reciprocal stem that shows reciprocity and intensity as shown in (41).

(41)	*Frequentative reciprocal stem* [11]	*causative of Frequentative reciprocal*	*Gloss*
	-sbabbär-	at- sbabbär-	'cause to break one another badly'
	- mt'at't'är	at - mt'at't'är	' cause to 'choose one another repeatedly'
	- k't'at'tär-	at - k't'at'tär-	' cause to kill one another severely'
	- čfaffär-	at- čfaffär-	' cause to feed one another repeatedly'

The causative of frequentative reciprocal differs from the frequentative of indirect causative (see 4.3.2.3. (39)) in that the former uses /-a-/, which occurs before the penultimate radical of the derived form.

In this chapter the morphology of verbs has been expounded. Verbs have been grouped as mono-.bi-, tri- and quadri- radicals based on their number of consonant roots. It is also mentioned that most of the verbs are tri-radicals. The verbs have also been grouped as type A, B, and C based on their stem patterns. The inflection of verbs for person, number, aspect, tense, and mood; and derivation of verbs such as passive, reflexive, causative, adjutative, reciprocal, and frequentative is shown. Finally, complex verbal derivations, such as frequentative passive, frequentative of reciprocal, frequentative causative, reciprocal causative, and causative of frequentative reciprocal are discussed.

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[11] The glosses are the same as those in exmple (37) above.

CHAPTER FIVE: ADVERBS, ADJECTIVES AND NUMERALS

5.1. Adverbs

Adverbs are used to express circumstances, or contents of actions that verbs describe. They are traditionally divided as adverbs of time, degree, place, manner etc. Shopen (1985) calls place adverbs as 'directional adverbs'. He also identifies 'sentence adverb' such as 'unfortunately'.

5.1.1. Time adverbs

The most common time adverbs of Eža are listed in (1) below.

(1)	mäč-ra	'when (past)	tïrama	'yesterday'
	mäč-ä	'when' (future)	säst-ra	'a day before yesterday'
	äxʷa	'now'	nabbät-ra	'four days ago'
	gäbbat	'evening'	amst-ra	'five days ago'
	k'ïrärä	'morning'	em-ra	'last year'
	nägä	'tomorrow'	sarsä-ya	'three years ago'
	säst-ä	'a day after'	nabä-ya	'four years ago'
	nabbät-ä	'four days later'	mäxär-ä	'next year'
	äkkʷa	'today'	sars-ä	'a year after next year'
	nab	'four years'	nab-ä	'four years later'
			gamʷ ä	'time/when'

The following are example of sentences with time adverbs.

(2)　(a)　mäč-ra　　　　　　wär-ä　-m
　　　　　when- (past)　　　　go　-3sm-past　'When did he go?'

　　　(b)　äkkʷa　　　wär - ä　 -m
　　　　　today　　　　go　-3sm-past　　　'He went today'

　　　(c)　mäč-ä　　　y　-čän　 - te
　　　　　when-(future) 3sm - come- df　　　'When will he come?'

(d)   näbat-ä   ä -čän   -te bar - ä - m

　　　 four days later -1s- come -df- say- 3sm- past

　　　 'He said, I will come four days later '

It seems that some of the time adverbs are marked with different morphemes to express the temporal notion of past and future. Compare the examples in (3).

(3) | *Stem* | *Gloss* | *Past form* | *Gloss* | *Future form* | *Gloss* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| mäč- | 'when' | mäč-ra | 'when' | mäč-ä | 'when' |
| sost | 'three' | säst- ra | '3 days ago' | säst-ä | '3 days after' |
| nabbät[12] | 'four days' | nabbät-ra | '4 days ago' | nabbät-ä | '4 days after ' |
| amïst | 'five' | amïst-ra | '5 days ago' | amïst-ä | '5 days after' |
| sars | 'three years' | sars-ya | '3 years ago' | sars-ä | '3 years after' |
| nabb | 'four years' | nabb-ya | '4 years ago' | nabb-ä | '4 years after' |

The morpheme {-ra} shows past time and {-ya} shows 'remote' past, that is a time farther than a year. The morpheme {-ä} shows future time.

Other time adverbs which are not in relations with possible bases might have the {-ra} or {-ä} elements if they refer to past or future respectively. For instance we have -ra- in tïrama 'yesterday' which might be infixed as tï-ra-ma or transposed with the last syllable which had originally been *tïma-ra. We also find {-ä} as in näg-ä 'tomorrow'. Time adverbs not referring to past and future do not have the affixes discussed above. Words such as äkkʷa 'today', äxʷa 'now', and gäbbat 'evening' are evidences.

Therefore, the morphemes {-ra}, {-ya} and {-ä} might be considered as derivational affixes showing tense. Tense as a derivational category has been observed in Kwakiutl language. Bybee (1985:161) expresses this as follows:

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[12] Is lexical item particularly referring to four day's as opposed to the numeral **arbät** 'four'. Similarly **nabb** refers to 'four years' which might have been formed from **nabbät** by back formation or it might have been the base for **nabbät** 'four days'.

Tense very rarely occurs as a derivational category. In the present sample of languages, non-inflectional affixes coding temporal notions were found only in Kwakiutl…. These affixes may occur on both nouns and verbs, for example Ɛ́ompƐwƐl "the late father", and g: a' xƐwƐlƐn "I came long a go".

Though tense marking inflectional affixes of Eža verbs, {-m} and, {-te}or {-šä}, for past and future tense respectively differ formally from the derivational affixes of adverbs {-ra} or {-ya} for past and {-ä} for future tense, it is still possible to claim that the latter express temporal notions of past and future for the fact that these morphemes have also derivational role and, therefore, should not be formally identical with verbal tense markers, which are non-derivational.

5.1.2. Frequency adverbs

Frequency adverbs show how often an action of a verb takes place. They are derived by means of total reduplication as shown in (4).

(4)		*Time adverb*	*Gloss*	*Frequency adverb*	*Gloss*
	(a)	äx^{w}a	'now'	äx^{w}a -m- äx^{w}a-m	'now and then'
	(b)	gäbbat	'evening'	gäbbat - gäbbat	'every evening'
	(c)	wut'ät	'Monday'	wut'ät - wut'ät	'every Monday'
	(d)	k'ïrärä	'morning'	k'ïrärä - k'ïrärä	'every morning'

In (4a), {-m} which is attached to äx^{w}a 'now' has the meaning 'and'. Some frequency adverbs can be formed by combining two different time adverbs with {-m} as in (4a), rather than reduplicating only a single time adverb as in:

(e)   äk^{w}a -m - nägä   -m
        today- and -tomorrow- and   ' Everyday'

(f)   gäbbat -m -k'ïrrä -m
        evening-and moring- and   'Every time'

The morpheme {-m} is not used with reduplicated time adverbs except in (4a). For instance, it is not acceptable to say:

(g) * gäbbät - m gäbbat - m

      evening-and evening-and   * 'every evening'

(h) * wut'ät-m wut'ät - m

      monday-and monday-and   * 'every Monday'

The reduplication rule in (4a) is possible because semantically the reduplicated element has different meaning **'then'** from the original **'now'.**

5.1.3. Manner Adverbs

Adverbs of manner show how an action of a verb is performed. Most of them are derived from nouns with the morpheme {bä} as in (5)

(5)   (a)   bä-ruč'č'a   ne   -xä

                 adv. - run   come-2sm   'Come quickly (running)'

        (b)   bä- dïngät   wär- ä - m

                 adv -abrupt   go -3sm- past   'He went abruptly'

        (c)   bä - taf^{w}ešnär   nässa - n   - m

                 adv - carelessness   pick   -3smo-past   'He picked it carelessly'

        (d)   bä - bet'nät   y - räbr

                 adv- wiseness   3sm - live   'He lives wisely'

I found only one adverb which is derived with {tä-} attached to the noun x^{y}ïn 'heart' as in: tä   - x^{y}ïn - axä   ne -x-ä

                 with -heart -2sm come-2s-m,   'come quickly'

Manner adverbs can also be derived from adjectives by suffixing {-xäma}, which nearly means 'like' as shown in (6)

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(6)   ***Adjective***   ***Gloss***   ***Adverb***   ***Gloss***

    (a)   wäxe   'nice/good'   waxe - xäma   'nicely'

    (b)   t'ïff^{w}ä   'bad'   t'ïff^{w}ä - xäma   'badly'

    (c)   gäwwa   'foolish'   gäwwa - xäma   'foolishly'

    (d)   ožža   'lazy'   ožža -xäma   'lazily'

The following are example sentences with such forms.

(7)   (a)   zïx   bett   wäxe - xämma   ʔarräsä - wi -m

               this   house   nice -adv.   build 3s- past

               'This house is built nicely

    (b)   kännä - we   t'ïff^{w}ä - xämma wät't'äk'-ä   -m

               carpenter-def -bad -adv.   fall -3sm-past

               'The carpenter fell off badly'

5.1.4. **Place Adverbs**

Adverbs of place show where an action is performed. The most common place adverbs are formed in the manners discussed below.

(i) Using the locative morpheme {-e}.

The morpheme {-e} attached to nouns, pronouns can show different places as in (8)

(8)   (a)   zïx - e   när   -ä

               this -loc   exist -3sm   'Here it is'

    (b)   xïx-e   wär - ä -m

               that -loc   go -3sm-past   'He went there'

    (c)   ägïr-e   wïyy   -ä   -m

               leg -loc   go down -3sm- past   'He went down (the hill)'

(ii) Using lexical items showing location.

The following is list of adverbial particles showing location.

(9)   f^{w}är   'top/on '   mäye   'near'

        dänn   'inside'   wäxätt   'side'

        ank'^{y}e 'behind'   täxatt   'across'

        yïfte   'infron of'   dänn- dänn   'through'

Consider the following examples:

(1)   bä -sat'in   fʷär   när - ä
       on - box   top   exist-3sm   'It is on (the) top of (a) box'

(2)   bä -bett   yïfte   ʔäžž- n
       in-house   front   look   3smo   'Look (see) it in front of (the) house'

(3)   tä - gura   wäxätt čänn -ä   -m
       from -left   side   come-3sm-past   'He came from left side'

5.1.5. Adverbs of Direction

Adverbs showing direction can be derived from place adverbs with the morpheme {-nyä} as in (10) (A) and   (B).

(10) (A)   *Place adverb*   *Gloss*   *Direction adverb*   *Gloss*

       fʷär   'top'   fʷär - nyä   'towards the top'
       dänn   'inside'   dänn - nyä   'towards the inside'
       zïxe   'here'   zïxe - nyä   'towards here'
       xïxe   'there'   xixe - nyä   'towards there'

The morpheme {-nya} can also be affixed to nouns serving the same purpose as in bett- nyä 'towards a house'. The following are structures showing such adverbs :

(B) (a)   zïxe - nyä   ne   -xä
              here -towards -come 2sm   'Come towards here'

       (b)   xïxe - nyä   wär
              there-towards   go   'Go towards there'

       (c)   fʷär   - nyä   wät't' - a   - m
              up (top) -towards climb -3sm - past 'He climbed (towards) up'

       (d)   äža - nyä   war -ä   - m
              Eža - towards go 3sm -past   'He went towards (land of) Eža'

In 5.1, five types of adverbs including adverbs of time, frequency, manner, place, and direction have been discussed. It is claimed that some of the time adverbs show past and

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future with morphemes {-ra}/{-ya} and {- ä} respectively. It has been shown that frequency adverbs are formed in two ways; by total reduplication and by linking two different time adverbs with {-m-} 'and'. It is shown that manner adverbs are derived with {bä-} from nouns and with {-xäma} from adjectives. Place adverbs are marked with the locative morpheme {-e} and various adverbial particles. Adverbs of direction is marked with {-nya} attached to nouns or pronouns.

5.2. Adjectives

5.2.1. Types of Adjectives

Adjectives have been categorized into the following seven semantic fields: dimension, physical property, human propensity, colour, age, value and speed (cf. Azeb (2001) for six of these in Maale).

It is also claimed that with a parametric variation, the number of adjectives in the different semantic fields fall in a predictable range. Dixon (1982) as cited in Azeb (2001:133) makes such a claim and offers the following generalizations:

> … Value, age, colour and speed type normally have very restricted size involving from two to half a dozen words, according to the language. Dimension usually involves a dozen or so words, rarely very many more. Physical property always involves at least several score items, while human propensity words can run into the hundreds.

The semantic fields of Eža adjectives are provided in (11) below.

(11) *(i) Dimension*

mura	'full'	k'ura	'not full'
geff	tall(for object)	ač'č'ïr	'short'
nïk	'big'	ïrs	'small'
bättït	'wide'	t'äbïb	'narrow'
ʔäräk'ʷ -e	'far'	k'ïnawä	'nearby'
ďänďir	'thick'	sïssä	'thin'

fat'ura	'tall (for human)	dink	'dwarf'
fïk'ʷïr	'fat'	k'ʸäč'č'-ännä	'teeny-weeny'

(ii) Physical Property

mʷäk'	'hot'	ziza	'cold'
dïrzïz	'blunt'	k'ʸäk'ʸa	'sharp'
märk-ama	'beautiful'	nozzänä	'ugly'
t'äräk'	'dry(of wood)	yïra	'wet'
k'ʷäšaša	'dirty'	nït'u	'clean'
k'ʷïk'ʷïm	'dry(of food)	bära	'soft' (of leaf)
tïwwa	'hard/strong'	t'äk'ïk'	'weak'

(iii) Human Propensity

be't't'	'thrifty'	gäwwa	'foolish'
nägräg	'selfish'	wabi	'kind/donor'
fennät-ännä	'healthy'	bašä-nnä	'diseased/infected'
ožža	'lazy'	t'uri	'industrious'
xari	'wise/witty'	gango	'stupid'
attaxar-i	'troublesome'	adäbät-ännä	'calm'
dafar	'courageous'	gagära	'fearful'
zängär-änna	'talkative'		

(iv) Colour

näč'č'ä	'white (for object & human)	t'ïk'ʷïr	'black'(for object& human)
gʷad	'white (for animals)	gämbänna	'black' (for animals)
bïšša	'red' (for object, human & cow)	gʸïlä	'blackish' (for horse)
dämyät[13]	'red' (for sheep)	dong	'yellow' (for horse)
dama	'red' (for horse)	wet'a	'yellow' (for cow)
šäxla [14]	'redish' (for mule)	amäč'a	'yellow' (for sheep)
gärdo	'black and white' (for cow)	käsyät	'yellow &red' (for goat)
xämbär	' black and white (for sheep)	bäräss	'black & red' (for cow)

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[13] Literally means 'looking like däm 'blood'.
[14] I t literally means looking like brick colour.

(v) Age

barik'	'old' (for + HUMAN, + MALE)
gurz	'old' (for object and + HUMAN, - MALE)
gädär	'new'
wädya	'teenage' (for + HUMAN, + MALE)
zïyyä	'teenage' (for + HUMAN, - MALE)
tïkkä	'kid/baby'
arde	'young'

(vi) Value

wäxe	'good/ok'	dängännä	'rich'
t'ïrä	'expensive'	zega	'poor'
gïwwa	'cheap '	männat'i	'extremely poor'

(viii) Speed

t'uri 'fast'	(for horse)
nuč'č'-ama	'fast' (for Human)
gʷätata	'slow'

The morphemes {-i}, and {-e} above are genitive and locative markers respectively.

As predicted by Dixon, adjectives of speed, value and age are highly restricted in number. However, adjectives of colour surpass Dixon's prediction for he says the range is from two to six but Eža has more than a dozen of them.

5.2.2. **Properties of Adjectives**

Adjectives in Eža are not inflected for number, gender, and person. However, like nouns adjectives can be inflected for definiteness. Consider the examples in (12) below.

(12)   (a) Number

Singular: geff ärïdď

                   tall boy   '(a) tall boy'

Plural: geff dengʸa

                   tall boys   'tall boys'

(b) Gender

　Masculine:　geff miss

　　　　　　　tall- man　　　'(a) tall man'

　Feminine:　geff mïšt

　　　　　　　tall woman　　'(a) tall woman'

As can be seen from the examples, the adjective geff 'tall' is inflected neither for number nor gender. In other words, there is no number and gender agreement between adjectives and nouns in Eža.

(c) **Definiteness:**

　　　　　　geff-we

　　　　　　tall-def　　　'the tall'

　　　　　　ač'č'ïr - we

　　　　　　short -def.　　'the short ' as in the sentence:

　　　　　　geff-we yï -fäzz　　we(m) ač'č'ïr -we

　　　　　　tall-def 3s -better or　　short -def.

　　　　　　 'Is the tall one better or the short one?'

5.2.3 Derivation of Adjectives

Adjectives of Eža are derived in different ways. The most common ones are discussed as follow.

(i) Using {-ama}

The morpheme {-ama} derives adjectives from nouns as in (13)

(13)	*Noun*	*Gloss*	*Adjective*	*Gloss*
	ođđä	'lie'	ođđ-ama	'liar'
	märk	'appearance'	märk-ama	'beautiful'
	äđđ	'hand'	äđđ-ama	'skillful (in handicraft)
	t'onna	'power'	t'onn-ama	'powerful'
	wärk'	'gold'	wärk'-ama	'goldish'
	bïšša	'red'	bïšš -ama	'reddish'

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(ii) using {-ännä}

Adjectives showing manner or state can be derived from nouns with {-ännä} in the manner shown in (14).

(14)	*Noun*	*Gloss*	*Adjective*	*Gloss*
	mäza	'wound'	mäz - ännä	'wounded'
	ďïg^warä	'problem'	ďïg^war- ännä	'problematic'
	bašä	'disease'	baš -ännä	'diseased'
	bässär	'meat'	bässär - ännä	'fat'
	amär	'conduct'	amär- ännä	'bad mannered'

(iii) Using {-ina}

Adjectives showing the language of a particular linguistic group are derived with {-ina} in the way shown in (15).

(15)	*Linguistic group*	*Adjective (Language)*	*Gloss*
	amara	amar-ina	Amharic (lang. of Amhara)
	äža	äž -ina	Eža (lang. of Eža)
	ïnnor	ïnnor-ina	Ennemor (lang. of Ennemor)
	oromo	orom-ina	Oromifa (lang. of Oromo)
	tïgre	tïgr-ina	Tigrinya (lang. of Tigre)

The stem final vowels before the suffixes {-ama}, {-ina}, and {-ännä} are deleted to avoid impermissible vowel sequences in (13),(14) and (15) respectively.

(iv) Using the Stem Pattern $C_1C_2C_2uC_3$

Some adjectives are derived from a verb root with the pattern $C_1C_2C_2uC_3$ as in (16).

(16)

		Verb root	Gloss	Adjective	Gloss
	(a)	f-nn-r-	'amputate'	fnnur [f^{w}ïnnïr]	'amputated'
	(b)	n-t't'-r-	'melt'	nt't'ur [nïč'č'ïr]	'melt'
	(c)	b-ss-r-	'ripe'	bssur [b^{w}ïssïr]	'ripen'
	(d)	m-t't'-r-	'select/choose'	mt't'ur [m^{w}ïč'č'ïr]	'selected'
	(e)	b-nn-r-	'demolish'	bnnur [b^{w}ïnnïr]	'demolished'
	(f)	s-k'k'-r-	'hang'	sk'k'ur [sïk'k'^{w}ïr]	'elevated'
	(g)	n-ff-g-	'be avarice'	nffug [nïff^{w}ïg]	'avaricious'

The adjectives in (16) are like participles that function as adjectives. The pattern of derivation is common in Ethio-semitic languages such as Ge'ez as in k'ïtul or k'ïttul 'killed' and, Amharic nïs'uh 'clean' and kïbur 'honoured'.

Leslau (1992) argues that the Ethio-Semitic participle pattern $C_1C_2(C_2)uC_3$ has disappeared in 'Gurage Languages' due to the floating nature of /u/ in the languages. Degif (1997), on the other hand, claims that Chaha, a Central West Gurage Language, has the pattern "for adjectives/ nominal participles and verbal particles" (Degif, 1997: 203).

Concerning the participles functioning as adjectives in Eža, we observe $C_1C_2C_2\ uC_3$ is the underlying representation, and $C_1iC_2C_2\ uC_3$, is the surface form.

The stem internal /-u-/, which occurs between the ultimate and the penultimate consonants floats and labialises the nearest labilaizable labial or velar consonant on the left and/or palatalizes palatalizable alveolar consonant on the immediate left in surface forms. As /-u/ has the features [+ROUND] and [+HIGH], the former triggers labialization while the latter palatalization. For instance, in (16 a, c, e) the vowel /-u-/ labialises the first consonants, wherever the labializable segments are found. In (16b), it merely palatalizes the immediate left palatalizable consonant /t'/ whereas labilaization applies vacuously as there is no labilaizable segment in the word. In (16d), /-u-/ palatalizes its immediate left segment, that is, /t'/, and labialises the labilaizable consonant /m-/ that occurs at the left most edge of

the word. In (16f) the vowel labialises the penultimate consonant /k'/ and in (16g) the vowel /-u-/ labialises the penultimate /-f-/ though we find a stem final labializable segment /g/. This is so because the back feature of /-u-/ spreads from right-to-left[15] in Eža.

The fact that /-u-/ labialises and/or palatalizes relatively its immediate left labializable and/or palatalizable segment should not be confused with my earlier statement (see unit two),which asserts that /-u-/ labialises and /or palatalizes the right most labializable and/or palatalizable segment. The latter statement applies when /-u/ is suffixed to a stem while the former applies when /-u-/ is stem internal. In both cases, the direction of labialization and/or palatalization feature spread(s) uniformly from right to left (see section 4.3.1.2).

In the examples in (16) the original site vacated by the vowel /-u-/ is filled by the epenthetic vowel [ï] in the surface forms.

5.2.4. Compound Adjectives

There are a few compound adjectives in Eža. They are formed by combining a noun and an adjective which are joined by the 'theme vowel' {-ä-} as in (17).

(17)	*Noun*	*Gloss*	*Adjective*	*Gloss*	*Compound Adjective*	*Gloss*
	enn	'eye'	t' är äk'	'dry'	enn - ä- t' ärak'	'shameless'
	äďď	'hand'	sur	'broken'	äďď - ä -sur	'lazy'
	xʸïn	'heart'	t'uri	'industrious'	xʸïn- ä-t'uri	'honest'
	xʸïn	'heart'	ďänďïr	'thick'	xʸïn - ä- ďänďïr	'cruel'

To wind up, the adjectives have been grouped into semantic fields of dimension, physical property, human propensity, color, age, value, and speed. It has been shown that the adjectives are not inflected for number and person but can be inflected for definite

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[15] In non-concatenative approach to phonological or morphological features such as rounding might spread either from left-to-right or right-to-left depending on the rules of a language (cf. Kenstowicz,1994)

article. The derivation of adjectives has also been discussed. It is shown that {-ama}, {-ännä}, and {ina} derive adjectives from nouns. Some adjectives are also derived from verb roots with the stem pattern $c_1c_2c_2uc_3$.

5.3 Numerals

Numerals can be grouped into cardinals and ordinals. The former are those that are used in counting such as one, two, three, etc. The latter types are those that are used in ordering items, people, animals, etc. as first, second, third….

According Greenberg (1978:253), "Every language has a numeral system of finite scope." He cites an example that the highest limit of numerals for American English is 'decillion' or 10^{36}

Zero as a numeral has been rejected by some linguists who claim that counting usually begins with 'one'. Others argued that as far as a language has expression for zero, it should not be avoided from the system. Greenberg (1978:255) presents both sides of the arguments as follow:

> Since the numeral system is based on counting, and counting begins with 'one' we do not count a set without members. However, it is worth stating since a linguistic expression of the numeral system to include 'zero' is not logically excluded.

5.3.1. Cardinal numerals

In Eža the following cardinal numerals have fixed lexical representations:

(18)

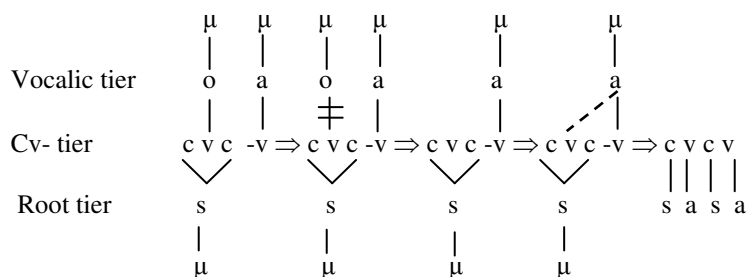| att	'one'	säbatt	'seven'
xuyt [xʷet]	two'	sïmutt	'eight'
sost	three'	žät'ä	'nine'
arbätt	'four'	assïr	'ten'
amïst	five'	bäk'k'ïr	'hundred'
sïddïst	'six'	xum	'thousand'

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In addition to these fixed lexical representations, bado 'zero' is used to express something 'null'. Such fixed numeral sets are known as 'frames' by Salzmann (1950) as cited in Greenberg (1978:256). Greenberg, however, prefers the term 'atoms' rather than 'frames'.

The other numerals of Eža are derived from, the 'atoms', to use Greemberg's term, given in (18) above. For instance, the numerals in ten's, that is, twenty, thirty… ninety are derived from the corresponding simple numerals two, three… nine as shown in (19) below.

(19)		*Simple numerals*	*Gloss*	*Derived numerals*	*Gloss*
	(a)	xuyt	'two'	xuy -a	'twenty'
	(b)	sost	'three'	sas-a	'thirty'
	(c)	arbätt	'four'	arb-a	'forty'
	(d)	amïst	'five'	amïs-a	'fifty'
	(e)	sïddïst	'six'	sïddïs -a	'sixty'
	(f)	säbatt	'seven'	säb-a	seventy'
	(g)	sïmutt	'eight'	sïm-ra	'eighty'
	(h)	žät'ä	'nine'	žät'ä -ra	'ninity'

The derivational affix {-a} changes to {-ra} in (19) (g) and (h) for no reason. The stem final /t(t)/ of the simple forms is truncated before {-a} or {-ra}. The deletion of /t(t)/ also creates a condition for a vowel deletion rule to apply as in (19c,f,g). In (19b), /o/ of sost 'three' changes to /a/ in assimilation to the derivational suffix {-a}[16]. We may represent these two rules as follow:

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[16] In non-concatenative approach to morphology, the vowels in the structure sos-**a** are said to be adjacent for they occupy their own tier separate from consonantal tier. Hence, the assimilation is possible as shown below:

Rule: 1. #...-t(t) # ⟹ Ø /- {a(ra)}

2. V → Ø/ -V

Thus, the derivation process can be shown using the numeral säbatt 'seven', to which {-a} is attached to derive säb-a 'seventy' as in (20)

(20) säbatt + a ⟹ säba- Ø-a ⟹ säba-a (Rule -1)

   säba - a ⟹ säb-a (Rule (2)

Rule -2, that is, the vowel deletion generally applies to the language, however, rule -1 has been applied restrictively to the derivation of numerals and no general reason could be attributed for this.

Numerals between ten's are formed by combining the simple and derived forms by the morpheme {-m-}, which has the meaning 'and'. Compare the examples in (21)

(21) (a) assïr-m-att
       ten-and-one   'eleven'
   (b) xuya -m -sost
       twenty -and -three   'twenty -three'
   (c) amsa -m- žät'ä
       fifty- and -nine   'fifty-nine'

Numerals between hundred's are formed by combining bäk'k'ïr 'hundred' and simple or derived numerals. The morpheme {tä-}, which roughly has the meaning of the preposition 'with,' is attached to the second numeral. Consider the examples below.

(22) (a) bäk'kïr   tä-sasa
       hundred with-thirty   'one hundred ten'
   (b) bäk'k'ïr tä-sasa -m   -att
       hundred with -thirty-and-one.   'one hundred thirty-one'
   (c) bäk'k'ïr   tä-sïmra -m sïmut
       hundred with-eighty-and-one   'one hundred eighty-eight'

To express a numeral, which is a combination of a thousand, hundred and ten, the morpheme {tä} is prefixed to both hundred's and ten's as shown in (23).

(23) (a)   xum   tä -bäk'k'ïr   tä -sasa
             thousand -with -hundred with-thirty
             'one thousund one hundred thirty'

      (b)   xum   tä -bäk'k'ïr   tä-sasa   -m   -att
             thousand-with- hundred with- thirty - and -one
             'one thousand one hundred thirty-one'

5.3.2. Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals are derived from cardinal numerals with the morpheme

{- ännä} as in the examples below.

(24)	*Cardinal numeral*	*Gloss*	*Ordinal numeral*	*Gloss*
(a)	att	'one'	att- ännä	'first'
(b)	sïddïst	'six'	sïddïst- ännä	'sixth'
(c)	assïr	'ten'	assïr- ännä	'tenth'
(d)	assïr-m-žät'ä	'ninteen'	assïr-m žät'-ännä	'nineteenth'
(e)	sasa	'thirty'	sas - änna	'thirtieth'

Stem final vowels in (24, d and e) are deleted before the vowel initial suffix {- änna} to avoid vowel sequencing.

In 5.3, cardinal and ordinal numerals have been discussed. The cardinal numerals that have fixed lexical representations are found to be only twelve. The other numerals are derived from the fixed lexical sets or 'atoms'. Ordinal numerals aer derived from cardinal numerals with the morpheme {-änna}.

To sum up, I have discussed adverbs, adjectives and numerals in this chapter. These topics have been treated in a single chapter only for convenience in organization.

CHAPTER SIX:SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The objective of this thesis is to offer descriptive account of Eža morphology, which includes the morphology of nouns, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, and numerals.

In the first chapter, general introductory remarks about the language, the people, and the research method have been made. A brief overview of the phonemic inventory of Eža has also been given.

The inflections and derivations of nouns have been treated in chapter two. It is found that nouns in Eža can be inflected for number, gender, definite article and case.

The grammatical category, number is shown in various forms. The singular is not marked. The collective plural is expressed with {nä-}. Some nouns distinguish singular and plural forms lexically whereas others show the plural by vocalic change as in gäräd 'girl' and gïred 'girls'. The morpheme {-at} is also found to mark plural only in one noun.

Nouns have two types of gender: biological and grammatical. The former is expressed by lexical means whereas the latter is marked with {-(v)t} and {-u} for feminine and masculine respectively.

It has been shown that nouns referring to [-HUMAN] are grammatically masculine though biologically they might refer to female beings.

With regard to the referential range of nouns, it has been shown that indefinite article is not morphologically marked whereas definite article is indicated with {-we}.

As to case system of nouns, 'core' and 'semantic' cases were identified. The former includes the nominative and accusative while the latter various semantic cases. It has been shown that the nominative case is not morphologically marked but the accusative is indicated by the morpheme {yä -} attached to an object NP with features [+HUMAN] and

[+ DEFINITE]. The semantic cases are prepositional and are homophonous in most cases. For instance, {yä-} marks the genitive, dative and ablative cases. The morpheme {bä-} indicates static location, temporal location and instrumental case. The morpheme {tä-} shows source as well as comitative cases. Destination of movement is show with {-e}.

Nouns are derived as abstract, gerundive, manner, group identity, result, agent and instrumental nominals.

The morpheme {-nnät} derives abstract nominals from simple concrete nouns or adjectives, while {-innär} derives some such other nominals from verbs. Gerundive nominals are derived from verb roots by prefixing {wä-}. Group identify nominals are derived from simple nouns with {-ännä}. This morpheme is also used to derive adjectives as well as ordinal numerals. Agent nominals are formed from verb roots using the morpheme {-i} and the stem pattern $C_1aC_2aC_3$. Result nominals are derived in two ways: by adding suffixes {-at} and {-ya} to verb roots. The stem pattern for the former is $\mathbf{c_1äc_2c_2äc_3}$ and for the latter $\mathbf{c_1c_2uc_3}$. Finally, attaching the morpheme {-ya} to a gerundive nominal stem derives instrumental nouns.

In section 2.3, three ways of deriving compound nouns have been presented. The first types are simply formed by combining two nouns or an adjective and a noun. The second types are formed by joining two nouns or a noun and an adjective, which are linked by the 'empty morph' {-ä-}. The third types are combinations of two nouns to which the prefix {yä-} is added.

In chapter three the pronouns of Eža have been discussed. The following pronoun types were mentioned: personal, possessive, demonstrative, reflexive, interrogative, indefinite, 'restrictive' or pronouns of 'isolation', 'selective', 'non-selective', and 'exclusive' pronouns. Furthermore, pronominal suffixes have been considered.

The personal pronouns are inflected for number, person, gender and case. It has been shown that {ïy-}, {ax-} and {xt-} mark first, second and third person respectively. It has also been shown that singular is not marked while the plural is shown by {-nä-}. The feminine in expressed with {-i} ~{-ma} and the masculine with {-u}. The case markers used in pronouns are found to be the same as those found in nouns.

Possession in pronouns is expressed by prefixing {yä-} to the personal pronouns or by using possessive suffixes that are attached to nouns.

Two demonstrative pronouns zï(x) 'this'/ 'these' and xï(x) 'that'/ 'those' have been identified for near and far to the speaker respectively. Reflexive pronouns are derived from gägg 'body'/ 'self' with possessive suffixes. Indefinite pronouns are compounds of k'ar 'thing' or säb 'body'/ 'person' to which different morphemes are attached. Interrogative pronouns are lexical.

Possessive suffixes attached to the words ïmmat 'alone/only' att 'one', ïnnïm 'all/every' and attïm 'no/none' to form 'restrictive', 'selective', 'non-selective' and 'exclusive' pronouns respectively.

Subject agreement affixes are suffixed to verbs in the perfective aspect and in jussive mood but prefixed in the imperfective aspect.

In chapter four, the morphology of Eža verbs has been presented. First, verbs are classified by number of radicals as mono-,bi-,tri-and quadri-radicals, and by the stem patterns of tri-radical verbs as type 'A', 'B' and 'C'. The latter classification uses the vowel types between the first and the penultimate radical and gemination or absence of gemination of the penultimate radical in different aspects and moods.

Verbs are inflected for person, gender, number, aspect and tense. The person, gender and number markers are some times fused and cannot be divided. For instance in säbbär-ä (break- he), the morpheme {-ä} marks third person, singular and masculine.

The perfecitve aspect is shown with {-ä-}, which occurs between the ultimate and penultimate radical while the imperfective aspect shows the pattern - $C_1VC_2(C_2)$ $C3$ to which person markers are prefixed.

Morphemes that mark various tenses have also been distinguished. The past is indicated by {-m}, the present is shown by the stem pattern that shows the imperfective aspect. The future tense is expressed in two ways. One is with the morpheme {-te} for the definite future and the other with {-šä} for indefinite future. The auxiliary verb bannä attached to simple past tense shows the remote past and when it is attached to simple present tense shows the past progressive tense.

The jussive mood is shown with three different stem patterns: $C_1C_2(C_2)C_3$, - $C_1C_2(C_2)äC_3$, and - $C_1VC_2(C_2)C_3$. The imperative mood has the stem pattern - $C_1(V)C_2(C_2)C_3$. Two types of conditional moods have also been identified: the present and the past. The former is marked with {bä-} while the latter is shown with {tä-}.

Negation has also been treated. It is found that {an-}, is the negative marker which changes to {a-} before two consonants and the {a-} itself changes to {e-} when followed by the palatal consonant /y/.

I have distinguished two types of verbal derivations: simple and complex. The former consists of reflexive, passive, causative, adjutative, iterative, and reciprocal forms of verbs. The reflexive is marked with {tä-}, which also shows the passive. It is, however, argued that this morpheme is basically reflexive and the passive is best expressed by the

'impersonal passives', which is formed with the suffix {-u}. This vowel has a floating property and labialises and/or palatalizes labializable and palatalizable consonants to its left.

There are two types of causative verbs: direct and indirect. The former is derived with the morpheme {a-} and the latter with {at-}. The morpheme {at-} also derives the adjutative, but the adjutative form has a vowel /-a-/ that occurs between the first and the penultimate radical of a verb stem.

The frequentative is derived by reduplicating the penultimate radical of a verb root. The reciprocal is expressed by {tä-} and the vowel /-a-/ which occurs between stem initial and penultimate consonant of a verb stem.

Under complex verbal derivations, the frequentative passive, frequentative reciprocal, frequentative causative, reciprocal causative and causative of the frequentative reciprocal have been treated.

It has been shown that the frequentative passive is shown with {tä-} attached to frequentative verb stem. The frequentative reciprocal is expressed with {tä-} prefixed to the reciprocal verb stem. The frequentative causative is shown by causative marker {a-} or {at-} and frequentative verb stem.

The same form that derives adjutative expresses the reciprocal causative. They are distinguished by context and an inherent meaning of the lexical verbs.

The causative of frequentative reciprocal is derived with {at-}, attached to the frequentative reciprocal verb stem.

In chapter five, adverbs, adjectives and numerals of Eža have been discussed. In 5.1, different types of adverbs have been mentioned.

Lists of time adverbs are given and it is claimed that some of the time adverbs are derivational and the derivational affixes at the same time indicate time. It has been shown that the morpheme {-ra} with its variant {-ya} shows past time and {-ä} shows future time.

Frequency adverb is expressed by total reduplication such as wut'ät-wut'ät (Monday-Monday) 'each Monday'.

Manner adverbs are derived from nouns with {bä-} and from adjectives with {-xäma}.

Place adverbs are expressed with the locative morpheme {-e} added to nouns, or pronouns, and adverbial particles.

Adverb of direction is shown with {-nya}, which is suffixed to nouns, pronouns and place adverbs.

In 5.2, adjectives of Eža have been considered. The adjectives were classified into seven semantic fields showing: dimension, physical property, human propensity, colour, age, value and speed.

It is found that the adjectives are not inflected for number, gender, and person but could be inflected for definite article.

Four types of derivation of adjectives have been distinguished. Adjectives showing attribute or appearance are derived from nouns with {-ama}. The morpheme {-ännä} derives adjectives showing state or manner from nouns. Adjectives that show language of a linguistic group are derived with {-ina}. And finally, a large number of adjectives are derived from verbs roots with the stem pattern $C_1C_2(C_2)uC_3$.

A few compound adjectives are formed by combining a noun and an adjective linked by the 'empty morph' {-ä-}.

In 5.3, numerals are treated. It is found that Eža has a dozen of fixed sets of cardinal numerals and one more numeral bado 'zero', which seems to be a loan. The numerals in ten's are derived from the fixed numeral sets that range between two and nine by affixing {-a}, which becomes {-ra} in the derivation of 'eighty' and 'ninety'.

The numerals between ten's are derived by combining the simple fixed numeral sets and the derived ten's linked by the morpheme {-m}. Numerals above hundred are expressed by adding {tä-} as in bäk'k'ïr tä-xuyt (hundred with -two) 'a hundred and two'. Ordinal numerals are derived from cardinal numerals using the morpheme {-ännä}.

To wind up, this thesis attempts to provide some insights on morphology of Eža. It describes the inflection and derivation of nouns, pronouns, adverbs, adjectives, and numerals. It also treats some compound noun and adjective formation. I feel that this study could serve as a reference material and as a stepping-stone for further researches in Eža and other related Ethio- Semitic languages.

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