



ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITIY SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

### THE MORPHOLOGY OF SAHO



**TEWODROS KIDANE** 

JANUARY, 2009 ADDIS ABABA THE MORPHOLOGY OF SAHO

# A THESIS SUBMITED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES OF ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER IN LINGUISTICS



JANUARY, 2009 ADDIS ABABA ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITIY SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

### THE MORPHOLOGY OF SAHO

BY



**TEWODROS KIDANE** 

Approved by

Signature

Advisor

Examiner

Examiner

#### Acknowledgements

First and for most, I would like to thank my almighty God for giving me the strength to bear all the challenges I encountered throughout my study.

Next, my heart felt thank goes to my dearest adviser Dr. Hirut Weldemariam for her invaluable guidance, constructive criticisms and useful comments in the preparation of this paper starting from its conception until its completion. With out her help, this work could not have completed.

My thanks are also due to Dr. Biniam Sisay for paying me part of his busy time to go through and comment on this thesis. I am also indebted to Professor Orin Gensler and Dr. Zelalem Leyew for their material and moral support.

My informants Alemat Sbagads, Bilal Beyene, Yared Gebrehiwot and Tsegay Meles deserve my best gratitude for their unreserved cooperation and great concern they showed me during the data collection. Especially, Tsegay was highly devoted to help me when I repeatedly checked the linguistic data. He deserves my special thanks.

### TABLE OF CONTENTS

### Contents

	-
Acknowledgementi	i
Table of Contentsi	i
Abbreviation	V
Abstract	7ii

## **Chapter One**

## Introduction

1.1The people and the language	1
1.2 Statement of the problem	3
1.3 Objective of the study	4
1.4 Significance of the study	.4
1.5 Delimitation of the study	5
1.6 Research methodology and procedures	5
1.7 Previous works on the language	6
1.8 Theoretical framework	9
Charter True	

### Chapter Two

## Inflectional Morphology

2.1 Nominal inflectional morphology11
2.1.1 Number1
2.1.1.1Nouns marked for singulative number12
2.1.1.2 Nouns marked for plural number15
2.1.1.2.1 Plural marked via suffixation1
2.1.1.2.2 Internal modification17
2.1.1.2.2.1 Reduplication17
2.1.1.2.2.2 Base modification19
2.1.1.2.2.3 Broken plurals
2.1.1.2.2.4 Suppletion2
2.1.1.3 Un-marked base forms2
2.1.2 Gender

### Pages

2.1.3Definiteness	27
2.1.3.1 Indefiniteness	27
2.1.3.2 Definite	28
2.1.4 Case	30
2.1.4.1 Grammatical case	31
2.1.4.1.1 Nominative case	31
2.1.4.1.2 Accusative case	33
2.1.4.1.3 Dative case	34
2.1.4.1.4 Genitive case	36
2.1.4.2 Oblique case	37
2.2 Pronominal	40
2.2.1 Personal pronouns	40
2.2.2 Indefinite pronouns	42
2.2.3 Interrogative pronouns	43
2.2.4 Demonstrative pronouns	45
2.3 Adjective	46
2.3.1 Number	46
2.3.2 Gender	48
2.4 Verbal inflectional morphology	49
2.4.1 Agreement	49
2.4.2 Inherent verbal properties	51
2.4.2.1 Conjugation	51
2.4.2.2 Aspect	53
2.4.2.3 Tense	56
2.4.2.4 Mood	59
2.4.2.4.1 Imperative mood	59
2.4.2.4.2 Jussive mood	61

## **Chapter Three**

## **Derivational Morphology**

Ch	ntor Four	
	3.2.4 Reciprocal7	7
	3.2.3 Autobenefactive7	6
	3.2.2 Causative	1
	3.2.1 Passive6	8
3.2	Verb derivation6	7
	3.1.3 Agentive nominals6	б
	3.1.2 Infinitive nominals6	5
	3.1.1 Abstract nominals62	)
3.1	Nominal derivational morphology62	2

### **Chapter Four**

Summary and Conclusion	80
References	83

## List of Abbreviation

Abs- Abstract Aff- Affix Ag- Agentive Aub-Autobenefactive Aux- Auxiliary Caus- Causative Dat-Dative Def- Definiteness F- Feminine f.o.b- For one's benefit Gen- Genitive Imp- Imperfect inf- Infinitive M- Masculine N- noun Nom-Nominative NP- Noun phrase Obl- Oblique Pas-Passive Perf- Perfective PL- Plural Prog- Progressive Reci- Reciprocal SG- Singular Sg- Singulative V- Verb VP- Verb phrase 1SG- First person singular 2SG- Second person singular 3MS- Third person masculine singular

3FS- Third person feminine singular

1PL- First person plural

2PL- Second person plural

3PL- Third person plural

#### Abstract

The general objective of this study is to describe the morphology of Saho language with particular emphasis on the Irob dialect. This general objective includes the following specific objectives.

- i) Identifying the inflectional morphology of the language
- ii) Identifying the derivational morphology of the language

The study describes the inflectional categories of Saho nouns, adjectives, pronouns and verbs. Nouns are inflected for number and case whereas gender and definiteness are basically indicated via independent words. Some pronouns of the language are derivatives and can inflect for different grammatical categories. Gender in adjectives is marked through vowel lengthening while number is marked by adding different affixes. Adjectives always precede the nouns they modify and should agree in number and gender with the head nouns.

Based on the subject agreement affixes they take, Saho verbs are classified in to two classes. Verbs in Saho are inflected for the categories aspect, mood, number and person, whereas tense is marked by the auxiliary verb -**in**-. This verb has the same verb conjugation as stems of class II. The perfective form -**ine** indicates the past tense and its imperfective form -**ane** indicates the non past tense.

In Saho nominals are basically derived from adjectives, verbs and other nouns as an abstract, agentive, and infinitive. In addition to nouns verbs are also derived as causative, passive, reciprocal and autobenefactive by adding different affixes.

## Chapter One Introduction

#### 1.1The people and the language

The Saho speaking people inhabit the northern administrative region of Tigray and the south eastern of Eritrea. According to the "Ethnologue report for Eritrea" (John 1993, http://www.ethnologue.com) the Saho speaking people in Eritrea number about 144,000 and the total population in both Ethiopia and Eritrea is 166,750. From this we can infer that the Saho speaking people in Ethiopia number about 22,750. On the other hand, according to the 2007 population and housing of Ethiopia, the Saho speaking people in Ethiopia are 33,372.

According to Welmers (1952:145) Saho consists of various dialects. The people who speak these dialects are the Assaorta, Hadu (hazu), Meniferi, Debri-Mela, and Irob. The Irob people are distinct from the other tribes as they are agriculturalists, Christian in religion and found only in Ethiopia. However; the other tribes are pastoralists, predominantly Muslims and are found in Low lands of Eritrea. In addition to, except in their language in other socio-cultural practices such as wedding ceremonies, dress, dance, foods, and religion, the Irob people are more similar to the neighboring Tigrinya speaking people other than the other Saho speaking tribes (Souba 1998)

Soho is a Low Land East Cushitic language of the Hamito-Semitic family closely related to Afar. As it has been mentioned above, Saho has five dialects: Assaorta, Meniferi, Hazu, Debri-mela, and Irob. These dialects are named after the people who speak them. Genetically, Saho is classified under the sub group Northern Lowland East Cushitic family. In addition to Saho, the sub group includes Afar as the following tree diagram shows.



Adapted from Fleming (1976:43)

However, other scholars consider Saho as one variety of the Saho-Afar sub group as the following diagram indicates.



Adapted from Hetzron (1980) in Tosco (2000:91)

On the other hand, Ewnetu (2005) claims that Irob is an independent language different from Afar and Saho and he further suggests that this sub-group could be classified into Afar, Saho and Irob.

In addition, Bender (1976:12) identifies Asaorta, Miniferi and Hudu but not Irob as dialects of Saho. From these, we can infer that the genetic classification of the sub-group is not clear and this vague classification is emanated from the poor grammatical description of the languages of the sub group. With regard to this Bender, et al (1976:44-5) stated the following point: "Because so many East Cushitic languages are poorly described grammatically, the principal arguments for the East Cushitic sub-division are based on vocabulary."

#### 1.2 Statement of the problem

The Saho language particularly the Irob dialect is not only one of the least studied languages but also one of the endangered languages of Ethiopia. The main factors that have resulted in the endangerment of the language include the following points.

First, the majority of the Irob community is bilingual, speaking Irob and Tigrinya. This is due to the high interactions in socio-cultural, administration, education and business affairs with their neighboring Tigrinya speakers. The Irob speaking people use Tigrinya as a working language and medium of instruction in elementary and junior schools since they are governed under the regional administrative state of Tigray. This restricts the language to remain at home.

Similarly, according to my informants the speakers especially the youngsters of Irob are not comfortable to use the language when they get out of their woreda. As it has been mentioned they prefer to use Tigrinya over their language in different domains.

3

The language is non-written and as it has been mentioned in the review of literature, there are only few linguistic works done. With regard to studies on the morphology of Saho, most of the available works focus on the inflectional aspect with many inconsistency of information among them. For example, concerning the inflection of Saho nouns Awash Hailemariam (1987:11) states "The nouns in Saho are inflected for number and case. Other grammatical categories such as gender and determiner are expressed by adding certain modifiers to the noun." However, Ewnetu (2005:24) in his MA thesis says "Irob nouns are inflected for number, gender, case and determiner." In addition the derivational aspect is almost ignored. These motivate the researcher to work on the morphological description of the language to fill the gap in Saho grammar.

#### 1.3 Objective of the study

The general objective of the study is to describe the morphology of Saho language. The specific objectives are:-

- 1. to describe the inflectional morphology of the language
- 2. to describe the derivational morphology of the language

#### 1.4 Significance of the study

As it has been mentioned in section 1.2, the Saho language especially the Irob dialect is one of the endangered languages of Ethiopia. This study, therefore, can play a significant role in documenting the language.

Secondly, as it has been mentioned in section 1.1, since there is same controversy in classifying the sub group Northern Lowland East Cushitic family; this study can contribute towards a better genetic classification of the sub group by providing the morphological description of the language. Thirdly, since the language is one of the less studied languages of Ethiopia this study plays a significant role with increasing our linguistic knowledge of the Saho language by providing the morphological facts on the language.

Finally, this study can also serve as a reference for any further linguistic studies in the language.

#### 1.5 Delimitation of the study

This study has the following limitations:

- 1. It is limited to morphological aspect of the language
- 2. The description is based only on the Irob dialect which is the only dialect spoken in Ethiopia

#### 1.6 Research methodology and procedures

In conducting this study the following methodology and procedures have been considered. First, descriptive and theoretical works related to the study have been consulted. Following this list of words, phrases, and clauses, which are helpful in describing the morphology of the language, have been collected in advance. Then primary data from the native speakers of the language have been collected using the elicitation method. The informants was asked to utter all the listed words, phrases and clauses and then the researcher was transcribed them using IPA. The contact language was primarily Tigrinya with some English. This is because of Tigrinya is a common language for both the informants and the researcher. Finally, the collected data have been analyzed and described based on the word and paradigm approach to morphology.

#### 1.7 Previous works on the language

In this section linguistic works conducted on Saho will be reviewed. The first work on Saho is a PhD dissertation by Welmers (1952) entitled "Notes on the structure of Saho". The study deals with the general linguistic description of Saho as it is spoken in Eritrea particularly in Irafalo and Ghinda. In this study Welmers identifies twenty five consonants and five vowels of the language. He presented these consonant and vowel phonemes according to their place and manner of articulation as in the following chart.

		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Pharyngeal	Glotal
Stop	voiced	b		d		g		
	voiceless			t		k		
	ejective			ť'				
Fricatives	voiced			Z	ž		٢	
	voiceless		f	S	ŝ	x	ħ	h
	ejective			s'				
Affricate	voiced				j			
	voiceless				č			
Nasal		m		n				
Lateral				1				
Flap				r				
Retroflex				þ				
Glide		W			У			

Consonant phonemes

	Front	Center	Back
High	i, i:		u, u:
Mid	e, e:		0, 0:
Low		a, a:	

Vowel phonemes

#### Adapted from Welmers (1952:146)

In addition, Welmers provides a brief morphological description of the language mainly dealing with gender, number, mood and aspect.

Tadessa Beyene (1974 (E.C)) describes the phonology of Saho. Similar to Welmers, Tadesse identifies twenty five consonants and five vowel phonemes. In addition, he describes the supra-segmental features of the language.

Daniel Mahari (1984) in his senior essay entitled "The morphophonemic of nouns and verbs in Saho" tries to describe the morphophonemic processes, such as change of the vowel quality of roots, deletion of vowels, reduplication, assimilation of consonants, metatheses and epenthesis in nouns and verbs of Saho.

Awash H/mariam (1987) in his senior essay entitled "Noun Morphology of Saho" tries to describe the inflection and derivation of nouns including compounding processes. Concerning noun inflection, he pointed out that nouns are inflected for number and case. Other grammatical categories such as gender and determiner are expressed by adding certain modifiers to the noun. With regard to derivation, he stated that most nouns are derived from nouns, adjectives and verbs by affixing the morphemes /-ino/, /-ina/, /-aye/ and /-so/. Finally, he shows how compound nouns are derived. According to him compound nouns are derived by combining nouns with nouns, verbs and adjectives.

Tsegay Muhur (2005) in his senior essay entitled "Noun phrase in Saho" identifies the constituents of NP and their distribution within the NP. According to him, Saho NPs consists of an obligatory head noun and other optional constituents such as specifiers and modifiers. In addition he describes the function of NP with in a sentence.

Finally, Ewnetu Amera (2005) in his M.A. thesis entitled "Inflectional Morphology of Irob" tries to describe the inflectional morphology of the language. In his work he claims that Irob is a distinct language from Saho and considers his study as the only work so far done on the language. However, except that of Welmers's, the data of all the aforementioned reviewed works have been collected from the Irob dialect of Saho. According to Ewnetu, nouns in Irob are inflected for number, gender, case and determiner and verbs are inflected for tense, aspect, mood and person. However, according to the present study, nouns in Saho are inflected only for number and case. Gender and definiteness are expressed via independent words. With regard to verbs, they are inflected for number, person, aspect and mood, but tense is marked by the auxiliary verb -in-.

In addition to the above differences, there are many other distinctions in describing the inflectional categories such as number, case, gender, definiteness, aspect, tense, person etc between Ewnetu's work and this study. The difference between Ewnetu's analysis and the present study will be presented in the relevant sections of the thesis where the various grammatical categories in Saho are discussed.

8

#### **1.9 Theoretical framework**

In this study the 'word and paradigm' (WP) model of the structuralist approach is used to describe the inflectional and derivational morphology of the Saho language. Such model of morphology as stated by Bauer (2003) is more appropriate than the other models to handle morphologically complex languages such as Saho. This approach can better capture morphological systems that involve portmanteau morphemes, allomorphs, homophonous morpheme etc which are the properties of Saho language. In Saho, there are several instances in which a single form can appear in different parts with different meanings or functions. For example, the morpheme /-h/ is a homophonous morpheme which marks the dative and oblique cases.

Spenser (1991:52) emphasizes the suitability of word and paradigm to handle syncretism and overlapping exponent. A single morpheme can simultaneously represent for more than one grammatical function in the language. For example, in Saho the morpheme /t/ in a verb is used as an agreement marker for 2SG, 3FS and 2PL. Thus, the morphosyntactic properties associated with the word is important to identify the grammatical function related to the morpheme. In addition, in Saho it is difficult to distinct the grammatical markers for pairs of grammatical features such as number and case. For example, the suffix /-yti/ in the word **Siydo-yti** 'a sheep' marks both the singulative number and nominative case. The singulative is marked with the morpheme /-yta/ and the nominative case is marked with the morpheme /-i/. However, since the vowel **a**, of the singulative morpheme is replaced by the nominative case marker /-i/ the two morphemes are fused together. Therefore, the WP model enables us to handle such problems of portmanteau and overlapping exponence.

Furthermore, Saho morphology is not always about adding distinct morphemes to express certain grammatical features. It includes zero

9

marking, deletion of segments, internal modification, reduplication etc. Since word-and-paradigm is concerned with the word form as a whole rather than with the shape of individual morphs within the word form, it can easily deal with such features (Bauer, 2003:198)

## Chapter Two Inflectional Morphology

#### 2.1 Nominal inflectional morphology

According to Lehman (1976) inflectional categories widely found with nouns are number, gender, case and definiteness. In Saho, nouns are inflected only for number and case. However, gender and definiteness are mainly expressed via independent words. In Saho various strategies are used to express number in nouns. These include affixation, internal modification, reduplication and zero marking. With regard to case, heads of some subject NPs exhibit a marked nominative case forms. Such nouns are overtly marked for the nominative case via the morpheme /-i/. However, accusative case is morphologically unmarked. It is rather identified syntactically. It occurs immediately preceding a verb in a sentence. Gender of animate nouns is mainly expressed via independent words that indicate maleness or femaleness. These independent words that correspond to 'male' and 'female' are lab and say respectively. Gender of inanimate nouns is treated based on the phonemic structure of the nouns. Similarly to indicate definiteness it uses the words inki 'one' and amay 'the' to express indefiniteness and definite respectively.

#### 2.1.1 Number

Expression of number in Saho nouns is very complicated. Various strategies are used to expressing number. Broadly, we can classify nouns in to three number categories. These are nouns marked for singulative number, nouns marked for plural number and unmarked base form, where the singular, the plural and the generic forms are all identical.

#### 2.1.1.1 Nouns marked for singulative number

A singulative form of a noun refers to a single individual or a single specimen of a class. Singulative is marked by the suffixes /-ta/, /-to/, /-yta/ and/-yto/ to the base forms. Nouns classified under this category have a plural form identical to the generic form.

The distribution of singulative affixes is based on the phonological shape of a noun base. Nouns which end with a vowel take the singulative suffix /yta/. However if the final vowel of the base form appears as  $\mathbf{a}$ , the vowel of the suffix undergoes dissimilates and occurred as  $\mathbf{o}$ , and the suffix becomes /-yto/. The noun which has the same form as that of plural is used as a base for singulative noun.

1.	Generic/plural	Gloss	Singulative	Gloss
	sasa	'animals'	sasa-yto	'an animal'
	furta	'seeds'	furta-yto	'a seed'
	ħoga	'neighbors'	ħoga-yto	'a neighbor'
	ħasama	'pigs'	ħasama-yto	'a pig'
	ifo	'lights'	ifo-yta	'a light'
	۲iydo	'sheep'	Siydo-yta	'a sheep'
	okolo	'donkey'	okolo-yta	'a donkey'
	safari	'travelers'	safari-yta	'a traveler'

As it can be seen from example (1) nouns listed 1-4 which end with the vowel **a** take the singulative marker suffix /yto/. However, nouns listed 5-8 which end with vowels other than **a** mark their singulative form with the suffix /yta/.

On the other hand nouns which end with a consonant take the suffix /-ta/ as a singulative number marking. But with nouns having final consonant preceded by the vowel  $\mathbf{a}$ , the vowel of the suffix undergoes dissimilation and appears as  $\mathbf{o}$ , and the suffix becomes /-to/. The following example indicates this.

2.	Generic/plural	Gloss	Singulative	Gloss
	ħutuk	'stars'	ħutuk-ta	'a star'
	geden	'guest'	ge <b>d</b> en-ta	'a guest'
	Sulul	'guns'	Sulul-ta	'a gun'
	Satir	'bean'	Satir-ta	'a bean'
	ħiyaw	'men'	ħiyaw-to	'a man'
	dagar	'hair'	dagar-to	'a hair'
	kasay	'flies'	ka§ay-to	'a fly'
	da <b>d</b> ay	'leaves'	da <b>q</b> ay-to	'a leaf'

In example (2) nouns listed 1-4 have a final consonant preceded by vowels other than **a**. With such nouns the singulative number is marked by the suffix /-ta/. However, nouns listed 5-8 have a terminal consonant preceded by the vowel **a** in their base forms. With such nouns the singulative is marked by the suffix /-to/.

As shown above, the singulative marking suffixes /-yta/or /-ta/ are more frequent than the suffixes /-yto/ or /-to/ respectively. However, it demands to know the phonotactics of the language in order to identify one of the former suffixes as a morpheme. We need to understand whether the glide **y** is an inherent part of the suffix or not. If it is an inherent part of the singulative suffix we can consider the suffix /-yta/ as morpheme and could assume that the glide **y** is deleted when a noun ends with a consonant inorder to avoid cluster of three consonants which is not allowed in Saho language. However; if it is not an inherent part of the singulative suffix, the suffix /-ta/ could be considered as the singulative morpheme. Here we could assume that **y** is inserted in morpheme boundary, before the suffix /-ta/, in vowel final base forms in order to make the syllable preceding the singulative suffix heavy, i.e. cvc.

According to Ewonetu (2005:29-30) the suffixes /-yto/, /-to/, /-yta/ and /ta/ which are identified as singulative marker in the present study are plural markers. He expresses the process as plural marking through root reduction. For example, according to him the plural noun **kimbir** 'birds' is derived from the singular form **kimbirto** 'bird' by deleting the final syllable **to**.

However, in order to consider the process as a plural marking through root reduction or singulative marking through affixation; we need to compare the generic form with the plural and singular forms. Before we describe the process we need to ask ourselves the question "does the generic form has the same form as the plural or the singular, or totally different from both?", and the answer we get from it will indicate us which one is marked.

In the above example the generic form is **kimbir** the plural is also **kimbir**, whereas the singular form is **kimbirto**. Here the basic form coincides with the plural form. Hence, what is marked is obviously the singular by adding the suffix /-to/. Therefore, the process is affixation rather than root reduction. Corbett (2000:141) illustrates such relation as follows.



#### 2.1.1.2 Nouns marked for plural number

Nouns under this category have plural counterparts marked morphologically. With such nouns the base and the singular have identical forms. In Saho, nouns for plurality are marked in different ways. Broadly speaking, plural marking involves two strategies. The first type involves suffixation of number markers to the base form. The second type is through internal modification of the base form which involves processes of reduplication, vowel change, vowel deletion and suppletion. Each type of plural marking will be present in turn below.

#### 2.1.1.2.1 Plural marked via suffixation

In Saho, some nouns marked their plurals with the suffixes/- it/, /-a/ and/-wa/. The suffix /-it/ occurs with vowel-final nouns. The final vowel of the base undergoes deletion in the process of suffixation. The following are a few examples.

3.	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
	ayʕa	'baby'	ay <b>S</b> -it	'babies'
	filla	'neck'	fill-it	'necks'
	birta	'nail'	birt-it	'nails'
	alsa	'month'	als-it	'months'
	igida	'year'	igid-it	'years'

There are some exceptions to the above case. For example, the plural form of the masculine noun **gombo** "boy" appears to be **gombo-le** "boys", though it is vowel-final, its plural form is expressed by adding the suffix /-le/.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the above suffixes, plural number is also marked with the suffix /-wa/. Nouns which end with vowel  $\mathbf{e}$  in their base forms involve the suffix /-wa/ as a plural marker. In Saho, there are only a few nouns which end with the vowel  $\mathbf{e}$  in their base forms. The following example illustrates the use of /-wa/ as a plural marking element.

4.	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
	kare	'dog'	kare-wa	'dogs'
	Sare	'room'	Sare-wa	'rooms'
	gade	'river'	ga <b>d</b> e-wa	'rivers'
	same	'boat'	same-wa	'boats'

<sup>1</sup>Except the noun **gombo** 'boy' I couldn't find any other noun, from the collected data or from the discussion made with the informants, that marks its plural with the suffix /-le/. Hence, it could be suggested that the plural marker /-le/ is lexically conditioned for it appears only with the noun **gombo** "boy".

In addition, there are other nouns in Saho which mark their plurals by suffixing the morpheme /-a/. Such nouns are identified by having a consonant ending as shown below.

5.	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
	awur	'ox'	awur-a	'oxen'
	dik	'house'	dik-a	'houses
	dingil	ʻgirl'	dingl-a	'girls'
	mandug	'gun'	mandug-a	'guns'

### 2.1.1.2.2 Plural formation through internal modification

In Saho, inaddition to affixation plural formation through internal modification is also exhibited. The processes involved as a means of pluralization are reduplication, base modification, broken plurals, and suppletion. Each process will be presented in turn below.

### 2.1.1.2.2.1 Plural formation through reduplication

Reduplication is the repetition of all or part of a base in order to convey same grammatical information or to drive a new word.

Reduplication can take place to the left of the root, as a prefix, to the right, as a suffix, or inside the root, as an infix; and the material reduplicated can be a whole word, a whole morpheme, a syllable or sequence of syllable, or simply a string of consonants and vowels which doesn't form any particular prosodic constituent (i.e. syllable, foot, morpheme, etc) (Spencer, 1991:150).

As mentioned above, one way of marking plural in Saho, is through reduplication. The type of reduplication revealed in Saho takes place on the right side of the base and the reduplicated element is added as a suffix. Nouns which undergo reduplication usually end in vowel. The material reduplicated is a string of consonant. The consonant that precedes the final vowel of the base form is reduplicated and suffixed to it to mark the plural. Nouns that end with a vowel other than  $\mathbf{a}$ , mark their plural by simply suffixing the reduplicated consonant as follows.

6.	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
	dummu	'cat'	dummu-m	'cats'
	Sangu	'breast'	Sangu-g	'breasts'
	Sinti	'eye'	Sinti-t	'eyes'
	romi	'knife'	romi-m	'knives'
	Sayti	'ear'	Sayti-t	'ears'

However, those nouns which end with the vowel  $\mathbf{a}$ , mark plural by changing the vowel  $\mathbf{a}$  in to  $\mathbf{o}$ , inaddition to reduplicating the last stem consonant.

7.	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
	lafa	'bone'	lafof	'bones'
	gaba	'hand'	gabob	'hands'
	numa	'wife'	numom	'wives'
	ina	'mother'	inon	'mothers'
	aba	'father'	abob	'fathers'

Same exceptions to the above forms are also observed. Although; most of the nouns which form their plurals through reduplication are vowel-final, there are a few consonant- final nouns which mark plural through similar process. These, nouns mark plural by suffixing the vowel **o**, followed by a copy of the last consonant as in the following example.

8.	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
	san	'nose'	sanon	'noses'
	lak	'leg'	lakok	'legs'
	af	'mouth'	afof	'mouths'

### 2.1.1.2.2.2 Plural formation through base modification

Base modification is the process of making some kind of phonological change to a base to form a new word or to convey some grammatical information. The change may be segmental or supra-segmental and, if segmental, it may affect consonants or vowels and one or more segments Bauer (2003:32). In Saho, plural is also marked through internal modification of the base. The modification of the base is segmental and it affects only vowels.

Formation of plural through the process of internal modification is exhibited in two ways. The first one concerns consonant final nouns. Some di-syllabic consonant final nouns form their plurals by changing the vowel  $\mathbf{a}$ , which precedes the final consonant of the base form into  $\mathbf{o}$  as in the following example.

9.	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
	Sarat	'bed'	Sarot	'beds'
	faras	'horse'	faros	'horses'
	saSal	'brother'	saSol	'brothers'
	arab	'tong'	arob	'tongs'
	lubak	'lion'	lubok	'lions'

The second way of forming plural nouns through internal modification concerns vowel final nouns. With a group of vowel-final nouns that have trisyllabic base the final vowel of the base undergoes deletion, in addition to the change of vowel from  $\mathbf{a}$  to  $\mathbf{o}$ .

19

10.	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
	masado	'door'	maʕod	'doors'
	Sandawa	'rat'	Sandow	'rats'
	wagaba	'lip'	wagob	'lips'
	ħalaga	'clothe'	ħalog	'clothes
	saSala	'sister'	saSol	'sisters'

### 2.1.1.2.2.3 Broken plurals

In Saho, plural number of some nouns is marked through broken forms. Basically broken plural is derived by changing the CV template of the base form CVCCVC to CVCVaCViC form. Since, "broken plurals appear only in Semitic languages" Bauer (2003:30) and the nouns given as an example are also common to Tigrinya language; such plural formation is may be borrowed with the words from Tigrinya and adapted to Saho with slight variations. This can show us how much the morphology of Saho is influenced by Tigrinya.

11.	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
	bismar	'nail'	bisamir	'nails'
	wanber	'chair'	wanabir	'chairs'
	dambil	'basket'	<b>d</b> amabil	'baskets'
	dambar	'forehead'	damabir	'foreheads'
	madħan	'millstone'	madaħin	'millstones
	manfas	'sprit'	manafis	'sprits'
	manfer	'wing'	manafir	'wings'
	maskat	'window'	masakit	'windows'

#### 2.1.1.2.2.4 Suppletion

Corbett (2000:155) defines suppletion as "the relation between two stems when a regular grammatical opposition is expressed with maximum irregularity." Here, the base and the stem are so different from each other and it is not possible to generate rules to show how the stem is derived from the base. In Saho, there are few nouns which mark plural through suppletion.

12.	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
	awka	'son'	irro	'sons'
	saga	'cow'	laa	'cows'

#### 2.1.1.3 Un-marked nouns/Zero marking

In Saho, there are some nouns which do not take any affix nor make any internal modification to mark number. These nouns, therefore, have the same form in both the singular as well as the plural categories.

13.	Base	Singular	Plural	Gloss
	baska	baska	baska	'honey'
	ħan	ħan	ħan	'milk'
	laye	laye	laye	'water'
	ħado	ħado	ħado	'meat'
	kaħan	kaħan	kaħan	'love'

#### 2.1.2 Gender

Lyons (1968:283) define gender as one of the categorization of nouns, pronouns and adjectives in to masculine, feminine, and in some languages neutral based on whether a noun is considered as male, female, and with out sex respectively. However, Crystal, (1997:165) broadly classified gender into natural and grammatical. The former refers to the natural sex of animate things; and the later assigns gender to inanimate things too. In other words, natural gender refers to gender where items are defined in terms of the sex of real world entities as male or female. While the consideration of inanimate and animate things into masculine or feminine is that of grammatical gender. Accordingly, when we look at Saho nouns, gender is distinct grammatical and natural. Both animate and inanimate nouns are assigned gender.

In Saho, there are some sexually differentiable animate nouns, in which we could relate gender based on their inherent semantic properties. In such nouns gender is marked lexically as indicated below.

14.	Male	Gloss	Female	Gloss
	aba	'father'	ina	'mother'
	gombo	'boy'	dingil	ʻgirl'
	basal	'husband'	numa	'wife'
	awur	'ox'	saga	'cow'
	sagab	'male goat'	lah	'female goat'

Except in the case of sexually differentiable animate nouns like the examples given above, where gender is marked lexically; it is not possible to relate gender based on the natural sex. For the overwhelming majority of nouns gender is distinguished by the independent words which indicate maleness or femaleness. These independent words that correspond to 'male' or 'female' are **lab** and **say** respectively. For instance, the nouns **harestay** 

'farmer', **dummu** 'cat', **faras** 'horse', and **lubak** 'lion'; are related to both genders. In order to identify the gender of such nouns, we need to use the words **lab** 'male' or **say** 'female'.

- 15. (a) lab lubak 'Male lion'
  - (b) say lubak 'Female lion'
  - (c) lab faras'Male horse'
  - (d) say faras 'Female horse'

In example (15) the nouns **lubak** 'lion' and **faras** 'horse' are generic terms that do not distinguish between the two genders on their own way. The gender distinction is specified by the help of the preceding words **lab** and **say**.

In addition to animate nouns, inanimate nouns and body parts fall into the various gender categories. To a large extent, the gender of such nouns is predictable based on their phonological structure. There is regular correlation between the phonological form of a noun and its gender. Thus, all inanimate nouns which are consonant final are considered as masculine as presented in the following example.

16.	Noun	Gloss	Noun	Gloss
	dagar	'hair'	fas	'axe'
	dik	'village'	san	'nose'
	arab	'tongue'	ħan	'milk'
	nef	'face'	<b>d</b> ambar	'forehead'
	garab	'forest'	digir	'game'

All the above nouns are masculine in gender by the virtue of being consonant-final. These nouns therefore, agree in gender with verbs in sentences as in the following structure.

17. amay ħan faħ-im-ø-eDef milk boil-Pas-3MS-PerfThe milk was boiled'

In the above example, since **han** 'milk' is masculine in gender the verb also takes the 3MS agreement marker ø.

On the other hand vowel final nouns are feminine in gender. The following nouns belong to the feminine gender.

18.	Noun	Gloss	Noun	Gloss
	inti	'eye'	filla	'neck'
	gaba	'hand'	gira	'fire'
	degħa	'head'	rimidi	'root'
	ħa <b>d</b> a	'tree'	Sare	'room'
	dagħa	'porage'	ħado	'meat'

All the above nouns are feminine. The following structure shows gender agreement of such nouns with the gender of the verb in a sentence. 19. ħado bet-im-t-emeat eat-Pas-3FS-Perf'Meat was eaten'

Although, most vowel final nouns are feminine in gender, there are a few vowel final nouns which are masculine in gender as in the following example.

20.	Noun	Gloss
	ifo	'light'
	kara	'knife'
	baska	'honey'

The following structure indicates gender agreement of such nouns with the verb in a sentence.

21. baska' dam-im-ø-ehoney buy-Pas-3MS-Perf'Honey was bought'

Ewnetu (2005:34-35) states that Irob is inflected for gender and involves the suffix /-i/ as a masculine gender marker. The following nouns are some of the examples he provided as a support for his argument.

Male	Female	Gloss
kari	kare	'dog'
gali	gale	'camel'
ay <u>ſ</u> i	ay <u></u> fa	'child'

However, as presented in section (2.1.4.1.1) the morpheme /-i/ is rather a nominative case marker but not gender marker. In Saho, the nouns **kare** 'dog', **gale** 'comel' and **ay^a** 'child' in their bare forms refer to both genders. However, when they come as a subject of a sentence the terminal vowel of the nouns are deleted and replaced by the nominative case marker /-i/ if the noun stated as a subject is masculine. The morpheme /-i/ is only attached to vowel final masculine nouns. Had it been a gender marker, it would have been also attached to consonant final masculine nouns. For example, the noun **lubak** 'lion' like the above nouns refers to both genders. However, it does not take the morpheme /-i/ when it refers to male lion.

Second, had the morpheme /-i/ been a gender marker, it would have revealed when the masculine nouns come as a direct object (accusative case) of a sentence. If a morpheme appears when a noun is in a nominative case and vanished when it is in an accusative case, it does not seem plausible to consider it as a gender marker.

Finally, the morpheme /-i/ is also suffixed to some lexically marked masculine nouns such as **gombo** 'boy' when they come as a subject of a sentence. Since such nouns have already lexically marked, it does not seem convincing to argue the affixation of the morpheme /-i/ to such nouns is to mark gender.
### 2.1.3 Definiteness

Definiteness is a category concerned with the identifiability and nonidentifiability of referents on the part of the speaker or addressee. Definiteness is divided in to definite and indefinite.

### 2.1.3.1 Indefiniteness

Indefiniteness is a kind of definiteness which indicates that one or both of the participants of a discourse is/are not aware of the referent(s) because of lack of shared knowledge or situation. In Saho, indefiniteness is expressed by using the quantifier **inki** which is literally mean 'one'. Let us consider this in the following example.

22. (a) inki temaharayone student'A certain student'

(b) inki gomboone boy'A certain boy'

Both the above expressions lack specificity in terms of familiarity of the objects referred to by the nouns. For example in (a), the speaker is talking about any one member of the class, **temahary** 'student'. It does not tell about the age, sex, grade, school, etc of the referent. Generally, the identity of the referent is unknown. The only thing that the listener can perceive is the fact that the individual whom the speaker is talking about is someone from the set of individuals referred to by the generic term **temahary** 'student' and that the referent is specified in terms of quantification, i.e. it is one.

In order to quantify the object as more than one, quantifiers which indicate plurality are employed.

23. (a) lama temahary two student 'Two students'

(b) adoħa gombo-lethree boy-PL'Three boys'

The only difference between these examples and those in (22) is that the objects are specified differently in terms of quantification. Except for such quantificational differences, all the examples in both (22) and (23) impose no specification of familiarity.

# 3.1.3.2 Definite

Definite expresses the idea that individuals who are involved in a certain discourse are both aware of the object of the discourse because of a shared knowledge or situation including the previous mentioning of the object. In Saho, definiteness is expressed by using the independent word **amay** which is equivalent to the English article 'the'. This definite marker is always occurred before a noun as in the following examples.

24. (a) amay gomb-i ħan y-osob-e
 the boy-Nom milk 3MS-drink-Perf
 The boy drunk milk'

- (b) amay dingil t-ed-e the girl 3FS-go-Perf 'The girl went'
- (c) amay ay<sup>s</sup>-it bani bet-a-nthe child-PL bread eat-Imp-PL'The children eat bread'
- (d) ise amay lubak t-igdif-eshe the lion 3FS-kill-Perf'She killed the lion'

As it can be seen from the above example, the definite marker **amay** 'the' is not sensitive to number, gender and case. It occurs with the masculine subject **gombo** 'boy', the feminine subject **dingil** 'girl', the plural subject **ay**<sup>r</sup>**it** 'children' and the direct object **lubak** 'lion' in (a), (b), (c) and (d) respectively. However, it does not change its form. In other words, the definite marker **amay** 'the' does not show any formal agreement with the noun in number, gender and case. The position of **amay** 'the' is always at the beginning of an NP. In the above example it comes immediately before the noun, but if the definite noun is preceded by an adjective or a quantifier, the definite marker appears before the adjective or quantifier as in the following example.

25. (a) amay Sinda gomb-i the small boy-Nom 'The small boy' (b) amay kona dingl-a the five girl-PL 'The five girls'

Ewnetu (2005:45) describes the suffixes /-yti/ and /-ti/ as definite markers. According to him, these morphemes are portmanteaus which indicate case, gender, number and definiteness. But, as it has been mentioned above definite in Saho is marked by the element **amay** 'the'. The morpheme /-yti/, which is considered as definite marker by the earlier study, is not a single morpheme. Instead, it is a composition of two morphemes /-yta/ and /-i/. These morphemes do not show definiteness. For example' if we consider the noun **Siydo** 'sheep (PL) and **Siydo-yti** 'sheep (SG)', it is possible to infer the number, gender and case of the noun. The noun is singular because of the singular marker morpheme /-yta/. It is in the subject position of a sentence because of the nominative case marker morpheme /-i/ replaces the terminal vowel of the singulative marker morpheme. It is masculine not because of /-i/ is gender marker, but because of only the vowel final masculine nouns are inflected for case. The individuals involved in the discourse do not have any further information or shared knowledge about the sheep. So these morphemes do not indicate definiteness.

#### 2.1.4 Case

According to Stump (2001:27) case is a grammatical category that distinguishes the various relations that a noun phrase bears to a governing head. However, Katamba (1993: 238) classified case in to grammatical and oblique. According to him, grammatical case marks the syntactic function of a noun whereas oblique case marks the semantic function of a noun.

# 2.1.4.1 Grammatical case

grammatical case is used to mark the function of a noun phrase as nominative case (subject), accusative case (the direct object) and dative case (the indirect object), depending on its position in relation to the verb in a sentence.

### 2.1.4.1.1 Nominative case

In Saho, heads of same subject NPs exhibit a marked nominative case forms. However, not all nouns are overtly marked for nominative case. Only vowel final masculine nouns are overtly marked for nominative case via the morpheme /-i/. The following are examples of structures with vowel final masculine nouns.

- 26. (a) amay awk-i y-emet-e Def child-Nom 3MS-come-Perf 'The child came'
  - (b) amay gomb-i laħut-ø-eDef boy-Nom Sick-3MS-Perf'The boy was sick'
  - (c) amay kar-i y-emet-eDef dog-Nom 3MS-come-Perf'The dog came'

As we can see from the above examples, overt nominative case marking occurs with vowel final masculine nouns, in which the suffix /-i/ replaces the terminal vowel. Thus, the nouns **awka**(M) 'child', **kare**(M) 'dog' and **gombo**(M) 'boy' in examples (a), (b), and (c) respectively mark the nominative case by replacing their final vowel by the suffixe /-i/.

On the other hand, feminine nouns and all nouns ending with consonant are not marked by the nominative case marking suffix /-i/ or any other marker. The following structures indicate unmarked nominative case.

- 27. (a) amay kare t-emet-e Def dog(F) 3FS-come-Perf 'The dog came'
  - (b) amay awka t-emet-e Def. child(F) 3FS-come-Perf 'The child came'
  - (c) amay dingil laħut-t-e
     Def girl sick-3FS-Perf
     'The girl was sick'
  - (d) yi sa\al lahut-ø-e
     my brother sick-3MS-Perf
     'My brother was sick'
  - (e) inki lubak ħado bet-eone lion(M/F) meat eat-Perf'A lion ate meat'

In the above example, the nouns **awka**(F) 'child', **kare**(F) 'dog', **dingil**(F) 'girl', **sa{al**(M) 'brother', and **lubak**(M/F) 'lion', show no nominative case marking.

#### 2.1.4.1.2 Accusative case

Unlike the nominative case accusative case is morphologically unmarked. The accusative case is rather identified from its position in a sentence. It occurs immediately preceding the verb as shown in the following structures.

- 28. (a) yi sa\al gombo y-igdif-e
  my brother boy 3MS-kill-Perf
  'My brother killed a boy'
  - (b) inki gomb-i lubak y-igdif-eone boy-Nom lion 3MS-kill-Perf'A boy killed a boy'
  - (c) inki numa inki ħiyaw-to t-ubl-eone woman one man-Sg 3FS-see-Perf'A woman saw a man'
  - (d) inki ħiyaw-t-i inki numa y-ubl-eone man-Sg-Nom one woman 3MS-see-Perf'A man saw a woman'

As it can be seen from the above example, there is no overt accusative marker in Saho. If we look at the nouns **gombo** 'boy' and **hiyawto** 'man' in examples (b) and (d) respectively they take the nominative case marker /-i/ when they appear as a subject of the sentences. However, when they come as an object of the sentence, in (a) and (c), they remain the same as their generic forms. They do not take any overt marker which indicates that they are in the accusative case.

According to Ewnetu (2005:36-37) the nominative case is not marked since the subject is mostly found at the beginning of the sentence, where as accusative case is marked with the morphemes /-yti/, /-ti/ and /-i/ for feminine gender and with the morphemes /-yta/, /-to/ and /-a/ for masculine gender. However, the present study indicates the reverse. As it has been stated above, the nominative case is marked with the morpheme /-i/, whereas the accusative case is unmarked. The finding in this study is also similar to Awash in this respect.

When we look at these feminine and masculine case markers, they differ only in their terminal vowels. For example, /-yti/and /-yta/ differ only in their terminal vowels. Therefore, we could not consider the whole element as case marker.

Furthermore, Ewnetu (2005:49-54) states that adjectives are also inflected for case and he came up with the same finding as the nouns. Nevertheless, case expresses the kind of role played by nouns or NPs in a sentence (Katamba, 1993). Here since adjective is also part of the NP, it is treated with in it when we are dealing with case. Otherwise, we are going to have two case markers with in the same NP.<sup>2</sup>

# 2.1.4.1.3 Dative case

Dative case refers to the indirect object of a sentence. In Saho the dative case is marked with the morpheme /-h/ if the noun in the indirect object is vowel-final. However, if the noun is consonant-final the morpheme /-h/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> As it seems to me Ewnetu's problem is emanated from the technique he used. He simply tried to show case by using list of words only. However, it is crucial to show the relation of the noun or the NP with the head verb in a sentence when we are dealing with case. Otherwise, simply showing list of words with some affixes could not indicate the relation of that word to a verb in a sentence. Instead, it could lead us into a wrong conclusion.

usually occurs with a copy of the vowel that precedes the final consonant of the noun as in the following example.

- 29. (a) yi sasal mal yi sasala-h akahfar-ø-e
   my-brother money 3MS-sister-Dat send-3MS-Perf
   'My brother sent money to his sister'
  - (b) yi sa\al mal yi sa\al-ah akahfar-ø-e
     my-brother money 3MS-brother-Dat send-3MS-Perf
     'My brother sent money to his brother'
  - (c) inki ħiyaw-ti amay gombo-h zanta aky-ø-e one man-Sg:Nom Def boy-Dat story tell-3MS-Perf 'A man told story to the boys'
  - (d) inki ħiyaw-ti amay dingil-ih zanta aky-ø-e
     one man-Sg:Nom Def girl-Dat story tell-3MS-Perf
     'A man told story to the girls'
  - (e) usuk mal merhawi-h akaħfar-ø-e
     he money M-Dat send-3MS-Perf
     'He sent money to Merhawi'
  - (f) usuk mal tedros-oh akaħfar-ø-e
     he money T-Dat send-3MS-Perf
     'He sent money to Tedros'

In the above example, the nouns **sa\ala** 'sister', **gombo** 'boy', and the proper noun **Merhawi**, in (a), (c), (e) respectively takes the dative case marker suffix /-h/ for, they are vowel final nouns. On the other hand, the nouns sa (al 'brother', **dingil** 'girl', and the proper name **Tedros** in example (b), (d), and (f) respectively mark their dative case not only by suffixing the morphem /-h/ but also by copying the vowels preceding their final consonants, i.e., **a**, **i** and **o** respectively.

In Saho, since the dative case is marked morphologically, reversing the order of the direct and the indirect object in a sentence do not cause any change of meaning or grammatical information. For instance, 29(f) in the above example can be re-write as in 30 below.

30. usuk tedros-oh mal akaħfar-ø-ehe T-Dat. money send-3MS-Perf'He sent money to Tedros'

# 2.1.4.1.4 Genitive case

Katamba, (1991:240) states the following point about genitive case: "Genitive case is used to signal the fact that one noun is subordinate to the other, i.e., one noun is the head and the other noun is the modifier which adds some further specification to the head." In Saho the genitive case is marked with the suffix /-t/ or /ti/. The morpheme /-t/ is suffixed to vowel final masculine nouns, while /-ti/ is suffixed to consonant final masculine nouns. The modifier noun takes the genitive marker morpheme /-t/ or /-ti/to add some specification to the head noun.

31. (a) yi sa\ala-t kamis my-sister-Gen dress 'My sister's dress'

- (b) yi sa\al-ti kabelamy-brother-Gen. shoe'My brother's shoe'
- (c) lubak-ti laklion-Gen leg'Lion's leg'
- (d) saga-t lak cow-Gen leg 'Cow's leg'

In the above example, the nouns **saĩala**, 'sister', and **saga**, 'cow' in examples (a) and (d) respectively mark genitive case with the suffix /-t/ for they are vowel-final nouns. However, the nouns **saĩal** 'brother', and **lubak** 'lion' in examples (b) and (c) respectively take the genitive marker /-ti/ for they are consonant-final. In examples (a) and (b) the genitive case marker is used to mark possession, i.e. to whom the head nouns are belong to, in addition to specifying them. Thus, the nouns **qamis** 'dress' and **kabel** 'shoe' belongs to the nouns **saĩala** 'sister' and **saĩal** 'brother' in (a) and (b) respectively.

#### 2.1.4.2 Oblique case

According to Katamba (1993) the oblique case marks the semantic function of a noun rather than its syntactic position. According to him oblique case is used to express direction or location and to make the instrument used to perform the action indicated by a verb. The oblique case, instrumental, is marked in the same way as the dative case. It is marked with the morpheme /-h/ if the instrumental noun is vowel-final; otherwise, it is marked by reduplicating the vowel precedes the final consonant simultaneously with the morpheme /-h/. Let's see the following structures.

- 32. (a) inki ħiyaw-t:i inki numa ilo-h t-asaba\e
   one man-Sg:Nom one woman stick-Obl 3MS-hit-Perf
   'A man hit a woman with a stick'
  - (b) usuk fas-ah ħada y-igri\-e
     he axe-Obl tree 3MS-cut-Perf
     'He cut a tree with an axe'
  - (c) ise mandug-uh lubak t-igdif-eshe gun- Obl lion 3FS-kill-Perf'She killed a lion with a gun'

In the above example the vowel-final noun **ilo** 'stick' is marked by simply suffixing the morpheme /-h/ for it is vowel final. However, the nouns **fas** 'axe' and **mandug** 'gun' are marked by reduplicating the vowels **a** and **u**, which preceded the final consonant, simultaneously with the morpheme /-h/ respectively.

The second use of oblique case is to express location or direction. Here, oblique case is basically related with the concept of time and place. Saho language uses different inflections to mark these concepts.

- 33. (a) mekele-ko y-emet-eM-from 3MS-come-Perf'He came from Mekele'
  - (b) Sadigrat-ko t-emet-eA-from 3FS-come-Perf'She came from Adigrat'
  - (c) esuk addisababa-l mara<sup>3</sup>
     he A-at live
     'He lives at Addis Ababa'
  - (d) ise Sadigrat-al mara she A-at live 'She lives at Addigrat'
  - (e) esuk Sare-d y-anehe house-in 3MS-Aux:Imp'He is in the house'
  - (f) ise makina-d t-aneshe car-in 3FS-Aux:Imp'She is in the car'
  - (g) Sadigrat-ah y-ed-e A-to 3MS-go-Perf 'He went to Addigrat'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The verb **mara** 'live' does not take agreement marker. It is different from verbs of classI and II. Here I suspect that Saho could have a third kind of verb class though I found only **mara** 'live'

(h) awasa-h t-ed-e
A-to 3FS-go-Perf
'She went to Awasa'

(i) amay mes'haf t'awla-k y-aneDef book table-on 3MS-Aux:Imp'The book is on the table'

As it can be seen from the above example, the oblique case expressing location or direction is marked by adding different morphemes to the nouns. The suffixes /-ko/, /-l/, /-d/, /-h/, and /-k/ are added to different nouns to indicate locations denoting positions from, at, in, to, and on respectively.

The oblique case indicating destination is marked by the same morpheme and in the same way as instrumental and dative cases. In other words, the suffix /-h/ is used to mark the dative, oblique instrumental and oblique location which indicates destination. Hence, we can consider the morpheme /-h/ as a homophonous morpheme.

#### 2.2 Pronominal

A pronoun is a pro-form which is regarded as a sub class of noun. The category pronoun is composed of different sub categories that are categorized on the basis of their morphosyntactic behavior. In the following sub sections the different pronouns of Saho such as personal pronouns, indefinite pronouns, interrogative pronouns and demonstrative pronouns will be investigated.

#### 2.2.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns are used to refer to a speaker, the person spoken to and others whose referents are assumed to be known from the context (Tesfay, 2002:118). Saho, has three forms of independent pronouns. These are subject, object and genitive pronouns. These pronouns make a three way person distinction  $(1^{st}, 2^{nd} \text{ and } 3^{rd})$  with their plural counter parts. The following paradigm shows the list of these pronouns.

34.

		Subject	Object	Genitive
SG	1	anu	yo	yi
	2 MS/FS	atu	ko	ku
	3 MS	usuk	ka	ka
	3 FS	isi	te	te
PL	1	nanu	no	ni
	2 MS/FS	atin	sin	sin
	3 MS/FS	isin	ten	ten

As it can be seen from the above paradigm, the object and genitive pronouns have almost the same form. They show slight difference only in 1SG, 1PL, and 2SG in their terminal vowels. However, no formal relation is shown between subject pronouns and the other two categories. They are formed by supplation.

The Saho independent pronouns show number distinction for the three persons, but gender distinction is made only in third person singular pronoun.

The subject and object pronouns can substitute a noun or a noun phrase and functions as a subject and object of a sentence respectively, whereas the genitive pronouns always precede the possessed nouns. Let us consider the following example.

- 35. (a) yi sa\ala amay gombo t-igdif-emy sister Def boy 3FS-kill-Perf'My sister killed the boy'
  - (b) isi ka t-igdif-eshe him 3FS-kill-Perf'She killed him'

In (a) the genitive pronoun **yi** 'my' precedes the possessed noun **saîala** 'sister'. In addition, the subject NP **yi saîala** 'my sister' and the object NP **amay gombo** 'the boy' are replaced by the subject pronoun **isi** 'she' and the object pronoun **ka** 'him' respectively, in (b).

#### 2.2.2 Indefinite pronouns

In Saho, the indefinite pronouns that correspond to the English forms 'some one', 'any thing', 'any body' etc are derivative forms that are derived in different ways. Some indefinite pronouns are derived by merging the indefiniteness marker **inki** 'one' or the quantifier **uli** 'some/any' with the nouns **hiyaw** 'man/person' or **neger** 'thing' as in the following example.

- 36. (a) inki ħiyaw-toone man-Sg'Somebody/Anybody'
  - (b) inki negerone thing'Something/Anything'

- (c) uli hiyaw-toany man-Sg'Anybody/Somebody'
- (d) uli negerany thing'Anything/Something'

In addition, some other indefinite pronouns are derived by reduplicating the indefiniteness marker element **inki** 'one' and by suffixing the morpheme /-m/ to it.

37. (a) inki inki 'everyone/everybody'

(b) inki-m 'no one/nothing/none'

Based on the connotational meaning of **inki-m** 'no one', we can infer that the morpheme /-m/ is a negative marker. Generally, we can conclude that the indefinite pronouns in Saho are basically derived from the indefiniteness marker **inki** 'one'.

# 2.2.3 Interrogative pronouns

The Saho interrogative pronouns which are used to generate interrogative utterance are the following.

38.	Interrogative pronouns	Gloss
	iyy	'who'
	ati	'which'
	ayim	'what'
	anda	'when'
	alle	'where'

The interrogative pronoun **iyy** 'who' inflects for case and number. This pronoun takes the morphemes /-i/, /-a/' /-ah/ and /-in/ to mark nominative, accusative, dative and genitive respectively as in the following example.

39.	Interrogative pronoun	Gloss	Case
	iyy-i	'who'	nominative
	iyy-a	'whom'	accusative
	iyy-ah	'to whom'	dative
	iyy-in	'whose'	genitive

The interrogative pronoun **iyy** 'who', in its bare form is used to question about more than one person. If we want to refer to one individual we should attach the singular marker morpheme /-tiya/. Hence, the singular form of **iyy** 'who' becomes **iyyitiya** 'who(SG)'. This morpheme is also used as a singular marker for adjectives. Let us consider this in the following example.

- 40. (a) iyy-i t-emet-e who-Nom 3PL-come-Perf 'Who (PL) came?'
  - (b) iyy-i-tiya t-emet-ewho-Nom-Sg 3FS-come-Perf'Who(FS) came?'

In addition, the singular marker morpheme /-tiya/ is suffixed to the interrogative pronoun **ati** 'which' to refer to an object exclusively as in the following example.

- 41. (a) ati-tiya \iydo-ytawhich-Sg sheep-SgWhich particular sheep?'
  - (b) ati-tiya kare which-Sg dogWhich particular dog?'

# 2.2.4 Demonstrative pronouns

In Saho, there are two types of demonstratives for spatial references of objects. These are **tay** 'this/these' and **toy** 'that/those'. The form **tay** 'this/these' refers to an object situated nearer to the speaker, whereas the form **toy** 'that/those' is used to refer to an entity situated at a distal position in relation to the speaker. Demonstratives, in Saho do not inflect for number and gender. They do not even show any formal agreement with the objects they precede. The following example illustrates this.

42. <b>Near</b>	Distal
(a) tay gom	bo toy gombo
this boy	that boy
This boy	' 'That boy'

- (b) tay gombo-letoy gombo-lethese boy-Plthose boy-PlThese boys'Those boys'
- (c) tay dingil toy dingil
   this girl
   This girl'
   That girl'

(d)	tay dingil-a	toy dingil-a
	these girl-Pl	those girl-Pl
	'These girls'	'Those girls'

As it can be seen from the above example, the demonstrative pronouns do not show any formal difference when they precede masculine, feminine, singular and plural nouns.

# 2.3 Adjective

In saho adjectives are inflected for number, but gender is marked through vowel lengthening.

## 2.3.1 Number

Adjectives in their bare forms do not indicate any number. If we want to refer to a single specimen or to two and more elements, we need to use the number marker morphemes /-tiya/ and /-am/. The former morpheme marks singular and the latter marks plural. The formal relation among the base adjective, the singular and the plural is that, all are distinct. The following table illustrates this.

Base adjective	Singulative	Plural	Gloss
udud	u <b>d</b> ud-tiya	u <b>d</b> ud-am	'short'
dat	dat-tiya	dat-am	'black'
Sasa	Sasa-tiya	Sasa-m	'red'
ded	de <b>q</b> -tiya	de <b>d</b> -am	'tall'
kuns'	kuns'-tiya	kuns'-am	'thin'
s'ir	s'ir-tiya	s'ir-am	'clean'
Sunda	Sunda-tiya	Sunda-m	'small'
ado	ado-tiya	ado-m	'white'
	Base adjective uqud dat Sasa deq kuns' s'ir Sunda ado	Base adjectiveSingulativeuquduqud-tiyadatdat-tiyafasafasa-tiyadeqdeq-tiyakuns'kuns'-tiyas'irs'ir-tiyafundafunda-tiyaadoado-tiya	Base adjectiveSingulativePluraluquduqud-tiyauqud-amdatdat-tiyadat-amfasafasa-tiyafasa-mdeqdeq-tiyadeq-amkuns'kuns'-tiyakuns'-ams'irs'ir-tiyas'ir-amfundafunda-tiyafunda-madoado-tiyaado-m

As it can be seen from (43), the plural number is marked with the suffix /am/ if the adjective is consonant final whereas if it is vowel-final, it is marked with the suffix /-m/. Here we can consider the suffix/-am/ as the morpheme because it is suffixed to consonant final adjectives and we can say /a/ is deleted in vowel final adjectives since sequence of vowels is not allowed in Saho. However, if we consider the suffix /-m/ as a basic one, we could not argue that the vowel /a/ is inserted in consonant final adjectives because cluster of two consonants is allowed in Saho.

Ewnetu considers the suffix /-am/ as the only plural marker. However, as it has been mentioned above /-am/ is suffixed only to consonant final adjectives whereas vowel final adjectives are marked by the suffix /-m/. These different realizations can be considered as the allomorphs of the morpheme /-am/.

#### 2.3.2 Gender

As it has been mentioned the gender of adjectives in Saho is marked through vowel length. As it is indicated in the vowel phoneme chart in chapter one, Saho has short and long vowels. The long vowel indicates feminine gender and the short vowel indicates a masculine gender. In adjectives feminine gender is marked by lengthening the terminal vowel of the base adjective. However, if the adjective is consonant final it is marked by lengthening the vowel that precedes the terminal consonant of the base adjective.

44.	Base	Male	Female	Gloss
	udud	u <b>d</b> ud	u <b>d</b> u:d	'short'
	dat	dat	da:t	'black'
	Sasa	Sasa	Sasa:	'red'
	ded	ded	de:d	'tall'
	kuns'	kuns'	ku:ns'	'thin'
	s'ir	s'ir	s'i:r	'clean'
	Sunda	Sunda	Sunda:	'small'
	ado	ado	ado:	'white'

When an adjective modifies a noun, it has to show formal agreement in number and gender with the noun it modify as in the following examples.

45. (a) amay udud-tiya gomb-i y-emet-eDef short:m-Sg boy-Nom 3MS-come-Perf'The short boy came'

- (b) amay udud-am gombo-l-i y-emet-i-n
   Def short:M-PL boy-PL-Nom 3P-come-Perf-PL
   'The short boys came'
- (c) amay da:t-tiya dingil t-emet-eDef black:F-Sg girl 3FS-come-Perf'The black girl came'
- (d) amay da:t-am dingil-a y-emet-i-nDef black:F-PL girl-PL 3P-come-Perf-PL'The black girls came'

In example (a) the adjective **udud** 'short' takes the short vowel and the singular marker morpheme /-tiya/since the noun it modifies, **gombo** 'boy', is masculine in gender and singular in number. However, in (b) it takes the plural marker morpheme /-am/ because the noun **gombole** 'boys' is plural. Similarly, in (c) because the noun **dingl** 'girl' is feminine the adjective **da:t** 'black' is also takes the long vowel to indicate feminine gender.

# 2.4 Verbal Inflectional Morphology

According to Lehman (1976) inflectional categories widely found with verbs are tense, aspect, person, number and mood. However, Katamba (1993: 220-5) adds some more categories such as conjugation and gender; and generally classified them in to two groups. These are inherent verbal properties and agreement properties of verbs.

#### 2.4.1 Agreement

The agreement properties of verbs are person, gender and number. Saho verbs are inflected only for person and number; they do not distinguish gender. This is may be because the gender system of nouns is basically grammatical. Concerning these, Vaux and Cooper (2003:106) state the following point. "A language which exhibits grammatical gender may show no gender marking in its verb morphology."

As it has been mentioned in section (2.4.2.1), the person marker morphemes are suffixed to stems of class I; and prefixed to stems of class II. In class I verbs, the 1SG, 3MS, and 3PL are marked with a zero morpheme, the 2SG, 2PL and 3FS are marked with the suffix /t/; and the 1PL is marked with the suffix /n/.

In verbs of class II, the 1SG is again marked with a zero morpheme; the 2SG, 2PL and 3FS are marked with the prefix /t/; the 1PL is marked with the prefix /n/; and 3MS, 3PL are marked with the prefix /y/. Both verb classes are marked with the same person markers except for 3MS and 3PL. These are marked with a zero morpheme for verbs of class I; and with the morpheme /y/ for verbs of class II.

Saho verbs distinguish number for 2PL and 3PL. The plural number for these persons is marked with the morpheme /n/ for verbs of both classes. Its position is always final following the vocalic suffix /e/.

Ewnetu (2005:59-60) considers the morpheme /-n/ as a plural number marker for all persons. He describes the 1PL person marker morpheme /-n/as a number marker and consider it the same as the 2PL and 3PL number marker morpheme /-n/. However, when we look at their place of occurrence in the verb paradigm (page 53), it is totally different. It might create some confusion in verb stems of class I for both number and person marker morphemes are suffixed to the verb. But such kind of confusion could be avoided in verbs stems of class II for the position of the person marker and number marker morphemes is distinct. The person marker morphemes are prefixed to the verb stems while the number markers are suffixed to the verb stems. Like the other person marker morphemes, since the position of the morpheme /-n/ in 1PL is before the verb stems as a prefix, there is no way of considering it as a number marker morpheme.

#### 2.4.2 Inherent verbal properties

Inflectional categories which are considered as inherent verbal properties are conjugation, tense, aspect and mood. The categories conjugation, aspect and mood are expressed morphologically whereas tens is marked by using the auxiliary verb **in**.

# 2.4.2.1 Conjugation

The selection of affixes that co-occur with a particular base may depend on that base being a member of a particular paradigm. These verb paradigms are described in terms of their distinct morphological class called conjugation. Inflectional affixes that a verb can take may depend on the conjugation that it belongs to (Katamba 1993). Accordingly, when we look at Saho verbs, the morphology involves stems of two classes. These classes of stems are distinguished based on the subject agreement affixes they take. Thus, stems where subject agreements are suffixed to can be grouped under one class; and those subject agreements are prefixed to can be considered as another class. Let's see these in the following example.

46. (a <b>)</b>	Indep	endent	Class I stems	Class II stems
	Pronouns		bet- 'eat'	-o <code>Sob- 'drink'</code>
	1SG	anu	bet-ø-e 'I ate'	ø-oʕob-e 'I drunk'
	2SG	atu	bet-t-e 'you ate'	t-osob-e 'you drunk'
	3MS	usuk	bet-ø-e 'he ate'	y-osob-e 'he drunk'
	3FS	isi	bet-t-e 'she ate'	t-osob-e 'she drunk'
	1PL	nanu	bet-n-e 'we ate'	n-olob-e 'we drunk'
	2PL	atin	bet-t-e-n 'you ate'	t-oʻlob-i-n 'you drunk'
	3PL	isin	bet-ø-e-n 'they ate'	y-oʻlob-i-n 'they drunk'

(b)	Independent		Class I stems	Class II stems	
	Prono	ouns	dam- 'buy'	-igdif- 'kill'	
	1SG	anu	dam-ø-e 'I bought'	ø-igdif-e 'I killed'	
	2SG	atu	dam-t-e 'you bought'	t-igdif-e 'you killed'	
	3MS	usuk	dam-ø-e 'he bought'	y-igdif-e 'he killed'	
	3FS	isi	dam-t-e 'she bought'	t-igdif-e 'she killed'	
	1PL	nanu	dam-n-e 'we bought'	n-igdif-e 'we killed'	
	2PL	atin	dam-t-e-n 'you bought	' t-igdif-i-n 'you killed'	
	3PL	isin	dam-ø-e-n 'they bough	nt'y-igdif-i-n 'they killed'	

If we examine the verb paradigms in 46(a) and 46(b), we find four basic subject agreement marking morphemes. These are:

 1SG. 'I': Ø

 1PL. 'we': /n/

 2SG. 2PL and 3FS:- /t/

 3MS. and 3PL: /y/ as prefix or ø as a suffix

52

These subject agreement morphemes are suffixed to the verb stems **bet**-'eat' and **dam**- 'buy', and prefixed to stems -**o\ob**- 'drink' and -**igdif**- 'kill'. As suffixes they immediately follow the stems and as prefixes they take the initial position. Generally in this study, all stems such as **bet**- 'eat' and **dam**- 'buy' which take the suffix conjugation of the pronoun morphemes are considered as class I. However, stems such as -**o\ob**- 'drink' and -**igdif**- 'kill' which take the prefix conjugation of the pronoun morphemes are considered as class II.

# 2.4.2.2 Aspect

Aspect indicates whether an event or action denoted by the verb is completed or not. Aspect reflects the status of the action rather than its time relationship. An action may be completed or not completed. If completed, the aspect is called perfective; if not completed imperfect (Lehman 1976:139)

The perfective aspect which indicates the completion of an action is marked by adding the suffix /-e/ to both verb classes; and the imperfective which indicates the incompletion of an action is marked with the morpheme /a/. Here the perfective and the imperfective are translated as the English simple past tens and present tense respectively. 47. (a) class I stem dam- 'buy'

Pron	ouns	Perfective		Imperfectiv	ve
1SG	anu	dam-ø-e	'I bought'	dam-ø-a	'l/will/ buy'
2SG	atu	dam-t-e	'you bought'	dam-t-a	ʻyou/will/ buy'
3MS	usuk	dam-ø-e	'he bought'	dam-ø-a	'he/will/ buy'
3FS	isi	dam-t-e	'she bought'	dam-t-a	'she/will/ buy'
1PL	nanu	dam-n-e	'we bought'	dam-n-a	'we/will/ buy'
2PL	atin	dam-t-e-n	'you bought'	dam-t-a-n	ʻyou/will/ buy'
3PL	isin	dam-ø-e-n	'they bought'	dam-ø-a-n	'they/will/ buy

(b) class II -igdif- 'kill'

Prono	un	Perfective		Imperfect	ive
1SG	anu	ø-igdif-e	'I killed'	ø-agdif-e	'I/will/ kill'
2SG	atu	t-igdif-e	'you killed'	t-agdif-e	'you/will/ kill'
3MS	usuk	y-igdif-e	'he killed'	y-agdif-e	'he/will/ kill'
3FS	isi	t-igdif-e	'she killed'	t-agdif-e	'she/will/ kill'
1PL	nanu	n-igdif-e	'we killed'	n-agdif-e	'we/will/ kill'
2PL	atin	t-igdif-i-n	'you killed'	t-agdif-i-n	ʻyou/will/ kill'
3PL	isin	y-igdif-i-n	'they killed'	y-agdif-i-n	'they/will/ kill'

As it can be seen from the above paradigm, the perfective aspect is marked by adding the suffix /-e/ to stems of both classes, with the alternant /i/ before the final /n/ in class II verbs. In class II verbs, the perfective marker /e/ is changed to /i/ when it is followed by the plural marker suffix /-n/. In verbs of class I /e/ is suffixed following the person marker morphemes. However, in class II verbs it is immediately suffixed to the stem because the person marker morphemes are already prefixed to the stem. The imperfective is marked with the morpheme /a/. For stems of class I, it is suffixed to the verb following the person marker morphemes. However, for stems of class II /a/ replaces the initial vowel of the stem and there is always the suffix /-e/. In Saho, all stems of class II have an initial vowel.

In addition to the imperfective, verbs in Saho are inflected for progressive aspect which indicates the action is on going. The progressive aspect is marked with the morpheme /-k/. The imperfective progressive is translated as the English present continuous tense. Let us consider the following example.

- 48. (a) ise bani dam-t-a she bread buy-3FS-Imp. 'She buys a bread'
  - (b) ise bani dam-t-a-kshe bread buy-3FS-Imp-Prog'She is buying a bread'

Example 48(a) tells us that the action of buying is not completed, but it doesn't tell us any information whether the action is stopped or in progress. However, example 48(b) tells us not only the incompleteness of the action but also its progress; the action is ongoing. Here we can consider the progressive as a type of the imperfective aspect.

According to Ewnetu (2005), verbs in Irob are inflected for both tense and aspect. He identified the morpheme /e/ as a perfect aspect and past tense marker and the morpheme /a/ as an imperfect and non past tense marker. He also identified the morpheme /ak/ as a progressive aspect marker.

Ewnetu's finding on the description of aspect is almost similar to the present study. As it has been described above, the perfective aspect is marked with the morpheme /e/ and the imperfective aspect is marked by the morpheme /a/. However there is slight difference on the description of the progressive aspect. Unlike him, the present study indicates that the progressive aspect is marked by the morpheme /k/. Since the morpheme /a/ is already identified as an imperfect marker, the progressive is marked only with the morpheme/k/. They are two distinct morphemes.

#### 2.4.2.3 Tense

Tense is a category which specifies the time of the action. The system of tense distinction varies from language to language. Languages may distinguish tense as present, past and future, as past and non-past, and as future and non-future. In Saho, the system of tense distinction is as past versus non-past. Tense in Saho is expressed by means of an independent existential auxiliary verb **in**. This tense marker existential auxiliary verb has similar verb conjugation as verbs of class II, i.e. it takes the prefix conjugation of the person marker morphemes.

Let's consider the following examples of the verb paradigm for the two aspectual types, the perfective and the imperfective, in relation to the two tenses, the past and the non-past, where only the 3FS is shown for classes I and II. 49. (a) class I **dam**- 'buy'

Past perfect	Present Perfect		
dam-t-e t-in-e	dam-t-e t-a:ne		
buy-3FS-Perf 3FS-Aux-Perf	buy-3FS-Per 3FS-Imp:Aux		
'She had bought'	'She has bought'		
Past continuous	Present Continuous		
dam-t-a-k t-in-e	dam-t-a-k t-a:ne		
buy-3FS-Imp-Prog 3FS-Aux-Per	rf buy-3FS-Imp-Prog 3FS-Imp:Aux		
'She was buying'	'She is buying'		
(b) class II - <b>igdif</b> - 'kill'			
Past Perfect	Present Perfect		
t-igdif-e t-in-e	t-igdif-e t-a:ne		
3FS-kill-Perf 3FS-Aux-Perf	3FS-kill-Per 3FS-Imp:Aux		
'She had killed'	'She has killed'		
Past continuous	Present Continuous		
<b>Past continuous</b> t-a-gdifi-k t-in-e	<b>Present Continuous</b> t-a-gdifi-k t-a:ne		
<b>Past continuous</b> t-a-gdifi-k t-in-e 3FS-Imp-kill-Prog 3FS-Aux-Perf	<b>Present Continuous</b> t-a-gdifi-k t-a:ne 3FS-Imp-kill-Prog 3FS-Imp:Aux		

As it can be seen from the above examples, the past is indicated by the perfective form of the existential auxiliary verb -**in**. The non-past is expressed by its imperfective form for both verb classes. The perfective form of -**in**- is -**in**-**e** and its imperfective form is -**a:ne**. Let's elaborate it in the following example.

- 50. (a) ise bani dam-t-e she bread buy-3FS-Perf 'She bought a bread'
  - (b) ise bani dam-t-e t-in-eshe bread buy-3FS-Per 3FS-Aux-Perf'She had bought a bread'
  - (c) ise bani dam-t-e t-a:neshe bread buy-3FS-Perf 3FS-Imp:Aux'She has bought a bread'

The tense in (a) is ambiguous between the past and the non-past. It indicates that the action of buying is completed without referring to any specific time. The ambiguity became clear in (b) and (c) with the help of the auxiliary verb -**in**-. Hence, in (b) we use its perfective form -**ine** to indicate that the action of buying is completed in the past; and in (c) we use its imperfective form -**ane** to indicate the action is completed in the present.

As it has been mentioned in section (2.4.1.2), according to Ewnetu the morpheme /e/ and /a/ are portmanteaus for they simultaneously express aspect and tense. If tense and aspect are expressed with the same morpheme and do not show any semantic difference between them; it means Saho could not distinguish the past perfect tense from past tense or perfective aspect and the non past perfect from the non past tense or imperfect aspect. For instance, the utterance **usuk lubak y-igdif-e** 'he killed a lion' expresses the perfective aspect and the past tense.

Nevertheless, as it has been shown above tense is marked with the independent auxiliary verb -in. This verb has the same verb conjugation as

the verbs of class II, i.e. it takes the prefix person agreement markers. The perfective form of this auxiliary –**in-e** expresses the past tense and its imperfective aspect –**a:n-e** indicates the non past tense.

For example, if we take the above utterance again it shows only the aspect (whether the action of killing is completed or not), it does not tell when the killing happened, i.e. the tense. If we want to specify the time we need to use the auxiliary verb -in- as in the following example.

- 51. (a) usuk lubak y-igdif-e y-in-ehe lion 3MS-kill-Perf 3MS-Aux-Perf'He had killed a lion'
  - (b) usuk lubak y-igdif-e y-a:nehe lion 3MS-kill-Perf 3MS-Imp:Aux'He has killed a lion'

Example (a) tells us that the action of killing is completed in the past, whereas (b) indicates the action of killing is completed at the present time. Both expressed the completion of the action; but at different times.

### 2.4.1.4 Mood

The verbs in Saho make distinction for the imperative and jussive moods

# 2.4.1.4.1 The imperative mood

The imperative mood expresses a direct command given to the second person singular and plural. In Saho, the imperative is expressed in two ways; as an affirmative and negative. The affirmative imperative is not marked. It has the same form as the stem for both verbs classes.

52.		Verb Stem	Gloss	Imperative		Gloss
				2SG	2PL	
	Class I	dam-	buy	dam	dam-a	'buy!'
		bet-	eat	bet	bet-a	'eat!'
	Class II	-igdif-	kill	igdif	igdif-a	'kill!'
		-olop-	drink	osob	osob-a	'drink!'

As it can be shown from the above example, the affirmative imperative has the same form as the stem. The morpheme /a/ in the 2PL imperative form indicates plural number. However, there is no morpheme standing for person.

The negative imperative mood is constructed with the circumfix morpheme/ma...in/. The negative is made by adding a prefix /ma-/ and a suffix /-in/ simultaneously, i.e., the stem verb is enclosed with in the affixes.

53.	Imperative		Gloss Negati		ve	Gloss
	2SG	2PL		2SG	2PL	
Class I	dam	dama	'buy!	ma-dam-in	ma-dam-in-a	'don't buy!'
	bet	beta	'eat!	ma-bet-in	ma-bet-in-a	'don't eat!'
Class II	igdif	igdifa	'kill!	ma-gdif-in	ma-gdif-in-a	'don't kill!'
	oSob	osoba	'drink!	ma-Sob-in	ma-Sob-in-a	'don't drink!'

In verbs of class II when we add the negative marker morpheme the initial vowel is deleted. This may be because sequence of vowels is not allowed in Saho.

# 2.4.1.4.2 Jussive mood

The jussive is marked with the suffix /o/ for verb stems of both classes. With stems of class II all the vowels of the stem are replaced by **a**.

54.	Stem	Gloss	Jussive	Gloss
Class I	dam-	'buy'	damo	'let me buy'
	bet-	'eat'	beto	'let me eat'
Class II	-igdif-	'kill'	agdafo	'let me kill'
	-olop-	'drink'	asabo	'let me drink'

As it can be seen from the above example, stems of class I expresses jussive mood by simply suffixing the morpheme /o/. However, in stems of class II in addition to suffixing the morpheme /o/, all vowels of the stem are replaced by the vowel **a**. Thus, the vowels **i** and **o**, in the verbs -**igdif**- and -**oiob**- respectively are replaced by **a** in the jussive form.

# Chapter Three Derivational Morphology

# 3.1 Nominal derivational morphology

According to (Beard, 2001:64) derivation is the morphological process by which new words are formed with new meanings from other words or lexemes. In Saho, nouns can be derived from adjectives, verb stems and other nouns. In this section the derivation of such nominal as abstract, agentive and infinitive have been considered.

#### **3.1.1 Abstract nominal**

In Saho, abstract nominal can be derived from adjectives and other nouns by adding different morphemes. They are derived from adjectives by adding the suffixes /-aye/ and /-ina/. The suffix /-aye/ is added to adjectives which end with consonants; while /-ina/ is added to vowel final adjectives to form abstract nouns. Nominal derived with these morphemes have the meaning "the quality or state of being x; where x refers to the meaning of the base adjective." The following example indicates the derivation of abstract nominal from adjectives by adding the morpheme /-aye/.

55.	Adjective	Gloss	Abstract nouns	Gloss
	quns`	'thin'	quns`-aye	'thinness'
	s`ir	'clean'	s`ir-aye	'cleanness'
	akad	'great'	akad-aye	'greatness'
	fi <b>d</b> in	'wide'	fi <b>d</b> in-aye	'wideness'
	dat	'black'	dat-aye	'blackness'

Abstract nouns are also derived from vowel final adjectives by adding the morpheme /-ina/.
56.	Adjective	Gloss	Abstract nouns	Gloss
	Sasa	'red'	Sas-ina	'redness'
	Տun <b>d</b> a	'small'	Sun <b>d</b> -ina	'smallness'
	ado	'white'	ad-ina	'whiteness'
	agiro	'clever'	agir-ina	'cleverness'

The word formation rule for the derivation of abstract nouns from adjectives can be understood as follows.

7	E	
)/	č	
1	L	

Adj

+ [-aye/-ina]Aff------ N [+ABSTRACT] [+ABSRACT]

[quns`]Adj +	$[-aye]Aff \longrightarrow$	[quns`aye]N
thin	[+ABSRACT]	thinness

Abstract nouns are formed from adjectives with two different suffixes whose distribution is determined based on the nature of the terminal sound. Vowel deletion takes place in the process of forming abstract nouns from vowel-final adjectives. The final vowel of the base adjective should be deleted before we add the morpheme /-ina/.

In addition to adjectives abstract nouns are also derived from other nouns by adding the suffixes /-ina/ and /-ino/ to the basic forms that end with vowels and consonants respectively.

58.	Base	Gloss	Abstract nouns	Gloss
	aba	'father'	ab-ina	'fatherhood'
	ina	'mother'	in-ina	'motherhood'
	ayla	'baby'	ayʕ-ina	'babyhood'
	fiSimto	'friend'	fisimt-ina	'being a friend'
	sasal	'brother'	sasal-ino	'brotherhood'
	zemed	'relative'	zemed-ino	'kinship'
	inki	'one'	ink-ino	'unity'
	memhir	'teacher'	memhir-ino	'being a teacher'

As we can see from example (58) nouns which end with a vowel take the suffix /-ina/; while those which end with consonant take the suffix /-ino/ to derive abstract nouns. The derived abstract nouns have the meaning the fact of being x where x refers to the meaning of the base nouns. For instance, the word **fi**(**imto** 'friend' is a noun with the feature [-abs] while **fi**(**imt-ina** 'friendship' refers to the abstract form of the noun **fi**(**imto** 'friend'; i.e. the notion of being **fi**(**imto** 'friend'. The word formation rule for the derivation of abstract nouns from other nouns can be understood as follows.

59.

With regard to derivation of abstract nouns the morpheme /-ina/ can be considered as a basic one because it is used to derive abstract nouns from both adjective and noun bases. Hence, we can say /-ina/, /-aye/ and /ino/ are allomorphs of the morpheme /-ina/.

#### **3.1.2 Infinitive nominal**

Infinitive nominal are derived from verb stems through different processes that vary depending on the class of the verb stem. For stems of class I, infinitive nominal are derived by adding the morpheme /-a/. Where as, for stems of class II they are derived by using the discontinuous morpheme /m.....a/. When we derive infinitive nominal from verb stems of class II a phonological process vowel change is took place. In addition to using the morpheme /m.....a/ all the vowels of the verb stem are changed to **a**. Nominals derived with these morphemes express the process or action of the verb from which they are derived. The following example indicates derivation of infinitive nouns from verbs of class I.

60.	Verb Stem	Gloss	Infinitive	Gloss
	digir-	ʻplay'	<b>d</b> igir-a	'playing'
	dam-	'buy'	dam-a	'buying'
	kuddum-	'jump'	kuddum-a	'jumping'
	wanis-	'speak'	wanis-a	'speaking'
	goylis-	'sing'	goylis-a	'singing'

As we can see from example (60), infinitive nominals for stems of class I are derived by suffixing the morpheme /-a/. For instance, the infinitive **digira** 'playing' is derived by adding the morpheme /-a/ to the verb stem **digir** 'play'.

Infinitive nominals can also derive from stems of class II as in the following example.

61.	Verb Stem	Gloss	Infinitive	Gloss
	igdif	'kill'	magdafa	'killing'
	ibiħ	'sell'	mabaħa	'selling'
	ifrid	'judge'	mafrada	'judging'
	οίορ	'drink'	maʕaba	'drinking'
	enges	'fight'	mangasa	'fighting'

Unlike stems of class I, derivations of infinitive nominal from stems of class II is a little bit complicated for it needs two processes. These processes are suffixation and vowel change. For example, the infinitive nominal **magdafa** 'killing' is derived from the verb stem **igdif** 'kill' by using the discontinuous morpheme /m. . .a/ and simultaneously changing the vocalic vowel **i** in to **a**.

The word formation rule for the derivation of infinitive nominal from verbs can be understood as follows.

62.

02.

V	+	[-a/ma]Aff	Ν
		[+inf]	[+inf]

[digir]V	+	[-a]Aff	 [digira]N
play		[+inf]	playing

#### **3.1.3 Agentive nominal**

In Saho, agentive nominals are derived by suffixing the morpheme /-eyna/ to verb stem of both class I and II. Agentive nominals have the meaning like one who does the action of the verb (Comrie et al, 1985:35). The following example indicates derivation of agentive nominals.

63.	Verb stems	Gloss	<b>Agentive Nominal</b>	Gloss
	digir	'play'	digir-eyna	'player'
	dam	'buy'	dam-eyna	'buyer'
	wanis	'speak'	wanis-eyna	'speaker'
	goylis	'sing'	goylis-eyna	'singer'
	igdif	'kill'	igdif-eyna	'killer'
	ibiħ	'sell'	ibiħ-eyna	'seller'
	iskir	'drunk'	iskir-eyna	'drunker'
	enge۶	'fight'	enge <sup>s</sup> -eyna	'fighter'

As it can be seen from the above example agentive nominals are derived by simply suffixing the morpheme /-eyna/ to the verb stems. The agentive noun **igdif-eyna** 'killer' which is derived from the stem **igdif** 'kill' refers to the one who does the action of killing. The word formation rule for the derivation of agentive nominals can be understood as follows.

64.

V

 $V + [-eyna]Aff \longrightarrow N$   $[+Ag] \qquad [+Ag]$   $[-igdif-]V + [-eyna]Aff \longrightarrow [-igdif-eyna]N$ kill [+Ag] killer

# 3.2 Verb derivation

In Saho verbs are derived from other verbs as passive, causative, reciprocal and autobenefactive. The process of deriving these verbs will be presented in turn in the following sub sections.

#### 3.2.1 Passive

Passivization is the derivation of passives from basic transitive and transitivized verbs. In Saho, the passive verb stem is formed by affixing different morphemes depending on the type of the verb stem. For stems of class I, it is formed by adding the morpheme /-im/.

65.	Stems of	Gloss	Perfective	Passive	Gloss
	Class I		stem	perfective	
	bet	'eat'	bet-e	bet-im-e	'was eaten'
	duf	'push'	duf-e	duf-im-e	'was pushed'
	dam	'buy'	dam-e	dam-im-e	'was bought'
	faħ	'boil'	faħ-e	faħ-im-e	'was boiled'
	fak	'open'	fak-e	fak-im-e	'was opened'

For stems of class II passive is formed by infixing the morpheme /-n-/ as in the following example.

66.	Stems of	Gloss	Perfective	Passive	Gloss
	Class II		Stem	Perfective	
	igdif	'kill'	igdif-e	i-n-gidif-e	'was killed'
	ikfil	'pay'	ikfil-e	i-n-kifil-e	'was paid'
	igdil	'break'	igdil-e	i-n-gidil-e	'was broken'
	၀ၭ၀b	'drink'	oîob-e	o-n-sob-e	'was drunk'
	ubl	'see'	ubl-e	u-n-bul-e	'was opened'

As it can be seen from (66), when passive forms are derived from stems of class II, the reduplicated form of the initial vowel of the verb stem is inserted between the first consecutive consonants of the verb stem to avoid cluster of three consonants. For example, when we derive the passive verb **i-n-gidif-e** 'was killed' from the verb stem **igdif** 'kill' the vowel **i** is inserted between **g** 

and **d** to avoid cluster of three consonants which results from the infixation of the passive marker morpheme /-n-/

According to Katamba (1993:214-5) passivization changes objects in to subjects and may allow the deletion of the original subject; hence the number of arguments of the passive would be reduced by one from the nonpassive counter part. The following structures illustrate this.

- 67. (a) yi sasal gombo y-igdif-e my brother boy 3MS-kill-Perf 'My brother killed a boy'
  - (b) gomb-i y-i-n-gidif-eboy-Nom 3MS-Pas-kill-Perf'A boy was killed'
- 68. (a) isi ħado bet-t-e she meat eat-3FS-Perf 'She ate meat'
  - (b) ħado bet-im-t-emeat eat-Pas-3FS-Perf'Meat was eaten'

In the above structures the patients of the active are promoted to the subject position and the agents are suppressed which results in a decrease of arguments. For instance, if we consider 67(a), the predicate **igdif** 'kill' has two arguments i.e. **yi sa`al** 'my brother' and **gombo** 'boy' as subject NP and object NP respectively. However, when the passive is formed as in 67(b) the

object NP **gombo** 'boy' is promoted to the subject position and the subject NP **yi sa`al** 'my brother' is missing. As a result, the argument is reduced to one. Thus only the promoted NP is available. Optionally, however; the subject of the active can appear as an oblique NP of the passive as in the following example.

69. (a) gomb-i yi sa\al-ah y-i-n-gidif-e
boy-Nom my-brother-Obl 3MS-Pas-kill-Perf
'A boy was killed by my brother'

What is going on here is that the object of the active is promoted to the subject position and the subject is demoted to the object position instead of deleting it as in 67(b). The effect of the passive morpheme is thus syntactic in that it reduces and/or changes the argument structure of the predicates.

Eventhough, the active and passive sentences differ in their grammatical relations, semantically they remain the same Katamba (1993:268). Both express the same proposition. For example, if we consider example (67) again in both cases the verb **igdif** 'kill' is predicated to the arguments **yi sa`al** 'my brother' and **gombo** 'boy' with **yi sa`al** 'my brother' as an agent and **gombo** 'boy' as a patient. The promoted subject **gombo** 'boy' never takes an agentive role for it is the receiver of the action denoted by the verb **igdif** 'kill' and the demoted NP **yi sa`al** 'my brother' will never play a patient role as it is the doer of the action.

#### **3.2.2 Causative**

Causativization is the derivation of causative verbs from transitive and intransitive verb stems. The causative verb is may be a transitive formed from an intransitive verb or it is may be formed from a basic transitive verb. The derived causative verb has one more NP argument than the basic verb (Comrie 1985:323).

Causativization can be expressed in three ways. These are syntactically, lexically and morphologically. Syntactically causatives are expressed by separate predicates expressing the notion of causation. For example, as in make the boy sleep is the causative of the boy sleeps. Lexically they are expressed by using un-derived lexicalized forms which tends to have no formal relation to the predicate. For example, as in kill is the causative of die. Morphologically, they are expressed by affixing different morphemes to the verbs (Katamba 1993:213).

In Saho, causative verbs are formed morphologically from both transitive and intransitive verb stems. It is formed by using different morphemes that are distributed based on the class of the verb stem. With stems of class I; causatives of intransitive verb is formed by adding the morpheme /-s/ if the verb ends with a vowel. However, for verbs with a final consonant, it is formed by adding the morpheme /-is/ with the alternant /-us/. The morpheme /-us/ is used if the vowel preceding the terminal consonant of the verb stem is **u** and the morpheme /-is/ is used elsewhere. Here we can consider the morpheme /-is/ as a basic one for we use it with more verbs as compared to the other forms. This morpheme is added to intransitive verbs so as to make them transitive.

70.	Intransitive verb	Gloss	Transitivized	Gloss
	Stems of class I		Verb stems	
	din	'sleep'	din-is	'make sleep
	bil	'bleed'	bil-is	'cause to bleed'
	ħab	'leave'	ħab-is	'cause to leave'
	ħankab	'fright'	ħankab-is	'cause to frighten'
	lahu	'sick'	lahu-s	'cause to sick'
	ogu	'get up'	ogu-s	'cause to get up'
	kuddum	'jump'	kuddum-us	'cause to jump'
	usul	'laugh'	usul-us	'cause to laugh'

Causative of transitive verbs are formed by using the suffix /-sis/ or the alternative form /-sus/. The latter is used with verb stems that are preceded by the vowel **u** in their final consonant. The latter is used elsewhere. Here, as far as my data is concerned almost all transitive verbs of class I are consonant final. The following example illustrates causative of transitive verbs of class I.

71.	Transitive verb	Gloss	Causative	Gloss
	Stems of class I		forms	
	dam	'buy'	dam-sis	'cause to buy'
	duf	'push'	duf-sus	'cause to push'
	fugut	'kiss'	fugut-sus	'cause to kiss'
	bet	'eat'	bet-sis	'cause to eat'
	fak	'open'	fak-sis	'cause to open'

For stems of class II, causative of both transitive and intransitive verbs is formed by infixing the morpheme /-s-/ before velar stops ( $\mathbf{k}$  and  $\mathbf{g}$ ) and pharyngeal ( $\mathbf{h}$  and  $\mathbf{s}$ ); and by infixing the morpheme /-y-/ elsewhere. These

morphemes change intransitive verbs in to transitive verb and transitive verb in to causative one.

72.	Verb stems	Gloss	Causative	Gloss
	Of class II			
	iħzin (int)	'sad'	isħizin	'make sad'
	igdif (tr)	'kill'	isgidif	'cause to kill'
	ikħin (tr)	'like'	iskiħin	'cause to like'
	ukruร (int)	'proud'	uskuru	'make proud'
	oໂob (tr)	'drink'	osíob	'cause to drink'
	iskir (int)	'drunk'	iysikir	'make drunk'
	ubl (tr)	'see'	uybul	'cause to see'
	iftiħ (tr)	'untie'	iyfitiħ	'cause to untie'
	imin (tr)	'believe'	iymin	'cause to believe'
	ilim (tr)	'weave'	iylim	'cause to weave'

As it has been mentioned in section (2.4.2.2) all verbs of class II are vowel initials. The causative marker morphemes are infixed between the initial vowel and the first consonant of the verb stem. In (72) causative of the verbs listed 1-5 are formed by infixing the morpheme /-s/ since the first consonant of the verb stems are velar stops and pharyngeal. However, those listed 6-10 are formed their causatives by infixing the morpheme /-y-/ since the first consonant of the verb stems are different from the aforementioned sounds. Here the reduplicated form of the initial vowel is inserted between the consecutive consonants that come following the causative marker to avoid cluster of three consonants.

As it has been mentioned, syntactically a causative verb has one higher valency than its non causative counterpart. Let us examine this in the following lexical entry for the causative of the intransitive verb **din** 'sleep' and the transitive verb **dam** 'buy' in (73) and (74) respectively.

73. (a) din- 'sleep' = V: [NP, \_]
(b) din-is 'cause to sleep' = V: [NP, NP]

74. (a) dam- 'bay' = V: [NP, NP] (b) dam-sis 'cause to buy = V: [NP, NP, NP]

In 73(a) the intransitive verb **din** 'sleep' has only a subject NP. It does not need a complement for it is a one place predicate. However, in 73(b) since it becomes a two place predicate (transtivized verb), it needs a complement thus a new NP is introduced in the lexical entry.

Similarly, the mono transitive verb **dam** 'buy' in 74(a) has two argument NPs, one as a subject and the other as an object. But, when it is causativized in 74(b), it gets a new argument NP and becomes a three place predicate. Let us elaborate these with in a sentence in examples 75 and 76 below.

- 75. (a) amay awka din-t-e Def child(F) sleep-3FS-Perf 'The child(F) sleeps'
  - (b) ina amay awka din-is-t-e mother Def child sleep-Caus-3FS-Perf 'Mother made the child sleep'
- 76. (a) amay gomb-i ħan dam-ø-eDef boy-Nom milk buy-3MS-Perf'The boy bought milk'

(b) yi sa\al amay gombo han dam-sis-ø-e
 my brother Def boy milk buy-Caus-3MS-Perf
 'My brother made the boy buy milk'

In 75(a) the intransitive verb **din** 'sleep' has only one argument NP, i.e. **awka** 'child' as a subject. It does not need a complement for it is a one place predicate. However, in 75(b) when it is transitivized a new subject NP **ina** 'mother' is introduced. The NP **amay awka** 'the child' which is the subject of **din** 'sleep' in 75(a) becomes an object due to the transitivizing effect of the causative morpheme /-is/.

In 76(a) the two place predicate (transitive verb) **dam** 'buy' has a subject NP **gombo** 'boy' and an object NP **han** 'milk'. However, the causative in 76(b) introduces a new causer NP **yi saSal** 'my brother' as a subject. The NP **gombo** 'boy' which is the subject of 76(a) becomes an object and the NP **han** 'milk' which is the direct object in 76(a) becomes a second object due to the effect of the causative morpheme /-sis/. These indicate us that an increase in the number of NPs causes a change in grammatical relation in a sentence.

In addition to valency increment and change in grammatical relations of NPs, causativization induces a new agent  $\theta$ -role of agentive NP into the structure of the verb. In addition, it changes the role of the agent NP of the non causative counter part in to a theme. For instance, in 76(a) the NP **amay gombo** 'the boy' refers to the agent and the NP **han** 'milk' refers to the theme. However, in 76(b) a new causer agent NP **yi sa**sal 'my brother' is introduced and the  $\theta$ -role of the NP **amay gombo** 'the boy' which is an agent in 76(a) is changed to theme in 76(b).

# **3.2.3** Autobenefactive

According to Hayward (2000:636) autobenefactivization is the derivation of forms that indicate the doer of an action denoted by a verb is performed for his or her own benefit. In Saho, autobenefactive verb stems of class I are formed by suffixing the morpheme /-it/ or /-ut/ to the verb stem. The latter is used with stems having vowel **u** preceding the final consonant. With stems of class II, it is formed by geminating the first consonant of the verb stems. Consider the following example.

77.	Verb stems	Gloss	Autobenefactive	Gloss
	of class I		forms	
	dam	'buy'	dam-it	'buy f.o.b.'
	fak	'open'	fak-it	'open "'
	baħ	'bring'	baħ-it	'bring "'
	duf	'push'	duf-ut	'push"'
	digir	'play'	digir-it	ʻplay "'

The following example shows autobenefactive verbs with geminated initial consonant.

78.	Verb stems	Gloss	Autobenefactive	Gloss
	of class II		forms	
	osob	'drink'	ദ്ദ്	'dring f.o.b.'
	ubl	'see'	ubbul	'see "'
	enges	'fight'	enneges	ʻfight "'
	igdif	'kill'	iggidif	'kill "'
	ibiħ	'sell'	ibbiħ	'sell "'

Like causative and passive when we derive autobenefactive from stems of class II, the copy of the initial vowel is inserted to avoid cluster of three consonants.

In autobenefactive construction the subject of a sentence does the action or participates in the action for his/her own benefit. Let us consider the following example.

- 79. (a) yi sa\ala ħan dam-t-emy sister milk buy-3FS-Perf'My sister bought milk'
  - (b) yi sa\ala han dam-it-t-e
     my sister milk buy-Aub-3FS-Perf
     'My sister bought milk for herself'

Example, 79(a) does not tell us for whom the milk is bought. The subject **yi sa\ala** 'my sister' may bought the milk for herself or for some one else, we do not know it. However, in 79(b) the autobenefactive marker morpheme /-it/ indicates that the girl bought the milk for herself.

### 3.2.4 Reciprocal

Reciprocalization derives an intransitive verb from basic transitive verb, which results in valency reduction (Comrie, 1985:326). The reciprocal verb in Saho is formed by prefixing the morpheme /tita-/ for both verb stems of class I and II.

80.	<b>Transitive</b> Stems	Gloss	Reciprocal	Gloss
	of class I and II		stems	
	duf	'push'	titaduf	'push each other'
	futug	'kiss'	titafutug	'kiss each other'
	bet	'eat'	titabet	'eat each other'
	dam	'buy'	titadam	'buy each other'
	fak	ʻopen'	titafak	'open each other'
	igdif	'kill'	titagdif	'kill each other'
	ubl	'see'	titabl	'see each other'
	ikħin	'like'	titakħin	'like each other'
	iftiħ	'untie'	titaftiħ	'untie each other'
	imin	'believe'	titamin	'believe each other'

In the above example the verbs listed 1-5 are stems of class I and those listed 6-10 stems of class II. When the reciprocal morpheme /tita-/ is prefixed to stems of class II, the initial vowel is always deleted and replaced by the final vowel of the prefix morpheme.

The reciprocal verb expresses an action performed by two (or more) participants, who play the role of agent and patient simultaneously, thus it is always plural. According to Katamba(1993:278), the process of reciprocalization prerequisites the presence of two sentences with transitive verbs. These sentences have subjects and objects in agent and patient roles that do something to each other. When reciprocalization takes place the two sentences are merged and then the subject of the verb refers to two (or more) participants while the object function eliminates. The following example illustrates this idea.

81. (a) gomb-i dingil y-igdif-eboy-Nom girl 3MS-kill-Perf'A boy killed a girl'

- (b) dingil gombo t-igdif-egirl boy 3FS-kill-Perf'A girl killed a boy'
- (c) dingil-ke gomb-i tita-gdif-i-ngirl -and boy- Nom Reci-kill-Perf-PL'A girl and a boy killed each other'

In example 81(a) and 81(b) the transitive verb **igdif** 'kill' has subject and object NPs. In 81(a) it has the subject **gombo** 'boy' and the object **dingil** 'girl' as an agent and patient roles respectively; with viseversa roles in 81(b). However, when reciprocalization takes place in 81(c) the transitive verb **igdif** 'kill' receives a reciprocal marker morpheme /tita-/ and became intransitive. In addition, the reciprocal verb in 81(c) has two subjects **gombo** 'boy' and **dingi** 'girl' combined with the conjunction **ke** 'and' and the verb shows the plural marker morpheme /-n/. The two subjects are involved not only in performing the action of killing but also in undergoing it.

## **Chapter Four**

# **Summary and Conclusion**

This study intends to describe the morphology of Saho language with particular emphasis on the Irob dialect. The specific objectives, the researcher seeks to achieve are:

- i) Identifying the inflectional morphemes in the language
- ii) Identifying the derivational morphemes in the language

With regard to the first objective, the inflectional categories of Saho nouns, adjectives, pronouns and verbs have been identified. Nouns in Saho are inflected for number and case. Expression of number is very complicated. Nouns are marked for singulative and plural. Singulative is marked with the morphemes /-yta/, /-ta/, /-yto/ and /-to/ whereas plural is marked in different ways through affixation, base modification, suppletion and broken plurals. In this language nominative, dative, genitive cases are marked with the morphemes /-i/, /-h/ and /-t/ respectively whereas the accusative case remain unmarked.

Saho animate and inanimate nouns are marked for gender. Except, for inherently gender marked nouns, animate nouns distinguish gender via independent words which indicates maleness and femaleness. These independent words that corresponds to 'male' and 'female' are **lab** and **say** respectively. Gender of inanimate nouns is predictable based on the nature of the terminal sound, thus all consonant final nouns are masculine and most vowel final nouns are feminine. Similarly, the category definiteness employs the independent words **amay** 'the' and **inki** 'one' to mark definite and indefiniteness respectively. Saho has subject, object and genitive independent personal pronouns. In addition, Saho pronouns include interrogative, demonstrative and indefinite pronouns. The indefinite pronoun is basically derived from the indefiniteness marker element **inki** 'one'.

Adjectives in Saho are inflected for number. The morphemes /-tiya/ and /am/ are used to mark singulative and plural numbers respectively. However, gender is marked through vowel lengthening. Long vowels indicate feminine gender whereas short vowels indicate masculine gender. Adjectives always precede the nouns they modify and should agree in number and gender with the head nouns.

Saho verbs have been classified in to two classes based on the subject agreement affixes they take. Hence, verb stems such as **dam**- 'buy' and **bet**-'eat' which takes the suffix conjugation of subject agreement have been considered as class I. Verb stems such as **-igdif**- 'kill' and **-o**\obb- 'drink' which takes the prefix conjugation of subject agreement have been considered as stems of class II. Verbs in Saho are inflected for the categories aspect, mood, number and person. The morphemes /e/ and /a/ are used to mark the perfective and imperfect aspects respectively. Unlike the aforementioned verbal inflectional categories, tense is marked with the independent auxiliary verb **-in**-. This verb has the same verb conjugation as stems of class II. The perfective form **in-e** indicates the past tense and its imperfective form **a:ne** indicates the non past tense.

With regard to the second objective, derivational morphemes that help to derive nouns and verbs have been identified. In Saho nominals are basically derived from adjectives, verbs and other nouns as an abstract, agentive, and infinitive. The morphemes /-ina/, /ino/ and /-aye/ are used to derive abstract nouns from adjective and noun bases. Both infinitive and agentive

nouns are derived from verbs. Agentive nouns are derived by adding the morpheme /eyna/ for stems of both class I and II; and infinitive nouns are derived form verb stems of class I and II using the morphemes /-a/ and /m ... a/ respectively.

In Saho, verbs are derived as causative, passive, reciprocal and autobenefactive. Passive is formed by adding the morpheme/-im/ and by infixing the morpheme /-n-/ to stems of class I and II respectively. Causative is basically formed by adding the morpheme /-is/ to stems of class I and by infixing the morphemes /-s-/ and /-y-/ to stems of class II. Reciprocal is formed by prefixing the morpheme /tita-/ to stems of both class I and II. Autobenefactive is derived by adding the morpheme /-it/ to stems of class I whereas for stems of class II it is derived by geminating the first consonant of the verb stem.

## References

- Aronoff, M. 1976. Word Formation in Generative Grammar. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT press
- Awash Hailemariam. 1987. "Noun Morphology of Saho". Senior Essay, Department of Linguistics, Addis Ababa University.
- Bauer, L. 1983. English Word Formation. Cambridge: Cambridge University press.

\_\_\_\_\_ 2003. Introducing Linguistic Morphology. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University press.

- Beard, R. 2000. 'Compounding' In Spencer, A and Zwicky, A.M. ed. The Hand Book of Morphology. Oxford, Blackwell Publishers LTD.
- Chomsky, N. 1970. "Remarks on Nominalization". in: Spencer A., ed. Morphological Theories: An Introduction to word Structure in Generative Grammar. Oxford. Blackwell.
- Comrie, B. 1985. Grammatical Category and the Lexicon. Vol. III. Cambridge: Cambridge University press.
- Corbett, G. 2000. Number. Cambridge, Cambridge University press.
- Crystal, D. 1997. The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Languages. New York Cambridge University press.
- Daniel Mehari. 1984. "The Morphophonemic of Noun and Verb in Saho". Senior Essay, Department of Linguistics, Addis Ababa University.
- Ewnetu Amera. 2005. "Inflectional Morphology of Irob". MA Thesis, Department of Linguistics, School of Graduate Studies, Addis Ababa University.
- Fleming, H. 1976. 'Cushitic and Omotic' in: Bender, M. et al. Language in Ethiopia. London: Oxford
- Hayward, J. 2000. 'Qafar (East Cushitic)' In Spencer, A and Zwicky, A.M. ed. The Hand Book of Morphology. Oxford, Blackwell Publishers LTD.

- John, S. J. 1993. Ethnologue Report on Eritrea. (on line). Available :<u>http://www</u>.ethnologue.com/saholanguage-ssp.
- Katamba, F. 1993. Morphology. London. The Macmillan Press LTD. Lehmann Winfred P. 1976. Descriptive Linguistics: An Introduction. New York. Random House.
- Lyons, J. 1968. Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University press.
- Lyons, C. 1999. Definiteness. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Souba, H. 1998. Some Facts About Irob. (on line) available:http://www. Geocites.com/-degmawi/newsjJan/background-Irob.httml.
- Spencer, A. 1991. Morphological Theory: An Introduction to word Structure in Generative Grammar. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Stump, G.T. 2001. Inflectional Morphology: A Theory of Paradigm Structures. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Tadesse Beyene. 1974E.C. "The Phonemes of Saho". In Ethiopian Languages academy:Addis Ababa University. Unpublished (1-23)
- Tesfay Tewolde, 2002. A Modern Grammar of Tigrinya. Italy: Rome.
- Tosco, M. 2000. Cushitic Overview. Journal of Ethiopian Studies, xxxIII. 2.87-116. Addis Ababa.
- Tsegay Muhur. 2005. "The Noun Phrase in Saho". Senior Essay, Department of Linguistics, Addis Ababa University
- Van Valin, R.D. 2001. An Introduction to Syntax. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Vaux, B. and Cooper, J. 2003. Introduction to Linguistic Field Method. LINCOM : EUROPA.
- Welmers, W. E. 1952. Notes on the Structure of Saho. Ph.D. Dissertation Reprinted from word. 8: 2 and 3 (145-165), (236-251): New York.
- Zaborski, A. 1976 'Cushitic Overview' in Bender, M. The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia. USA: Michigan State University.(67-84)

# Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university, and that all source of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

The examiners' comments have been dully incorporated.

# Declared by:

Name:	
Signature:	-
Date:	-

# Confirmed by Advisor:

Name:		
Signature	2:	-11-12

Date:

Place and date of submission: