

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**  
**SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

**THE MORPHOLOGY OF KOORETE**

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**THE MORPHOLOGY OF KOORETE**

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MASTER OF ARTS IN LINGUISTICS**

**BY  
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**June, 2003  
ADDIS ABABA**

## **ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED**

### **Declaration**

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

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## **ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED**

<b>Abl</b>	Ablative
<b>Aff</b>	Affirmative
<b>Abs</b>	Abstract
<b>Com</b>	Commutative
<b>Cop</b>	Copula
<b>CSA</b>	Central Statistical Authority

<b>Dat</b>	Dative
<b>Dec</b>	Declarative
<b>Def</b>	Definiteness
<b>Ept</b>	Epenthesis
<b>F</b>	Feminine
<b>Gen</b>	Genitive
<b>Imp</b>	Imperative
<b>Imprf</b>	Imperfective
<b>Inf</b>	Infinitive
<b>Inst</b>	Instrumental
<b>Loc</b>	Locative
<b>M</b>	Masculine
<b>Neg</b>	Negative
<b>Nom</b>	Nominative
<b>Past</b>	Past tense
<b>Pass</b>	Passive
<b>Perf</b>	Perfective
<b>Pl</b>	Plural
<b>Pol</b>	Polite form
<b>Pro</b>	Pronoun
<b>Sg</b>	Singular
<b>1Sg</b>	First person singular
<b>1Pl</b>	First person plural

<b>2Sg</b>	Second person singular
<b>2Pl</b>	Second person plural
<b>3Fs</b>	Third person feminine singular
<b>3Ms</b>	Third person masculine singular
<b>3Pl</b>	Third person plural
<b>V</b>	Vowel
~	Or
<b>Ø</b>	Deletion of segments
//	Phonemic notation
{ }	Encloses morphemes
( )	Option or additional reference
‘ ’	Enclose glosses
-	Indicate mo

## ABSTRACT

This study attempts to provide a descriptive account of the inflection and derivation of *Koorete* nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, postpositions, numerals and some compound nouns and adjectives are also discussed thoroughly.

Thus, it has been found out that *Koorete* nouns are inflected for number, gender, definiteness and case. Moreover, nominals such as abstract, manner and result may be derived from other nouns, verbs and adjectives. The different forms of the pronouns and their inflections are discussed in some detail.

*Koorete* verbs may be categorized into three principal classes according to their forms: infinitive, perfective and imperfective. Moreover, the verbs show simple and complex verbal morphology, in which the complex verb form repeats itself in the structure. The study has also shown that *Koorete* verbs are inflected for aspect, tense, mood, gender, number, person, and negation. In addition verbs such as passive, causative, reciprocal and frequentative may be derived from infinitive form of the verb.

Furthermore, the different types of adverbs, adjectives, postpositions, and numerals have been discussed, and as the result I have identified three types of adverbs, i.e. place, time and manner adverbs. Manner adverbs can be derived from adjectives. With regard to adjectives, they are grouped into six semantic fields, such as value, age, color, dimension, physical property, and human propensity. They are found to be inflected for number, definiteness and case, and are derived from nouns and verbs. All postpositions of *Koorete* are independent words, which stand alone in a structure. The numeral system of *Koorete* is that of quinary in which it has the base form from one to five.

In the sections where we dealt with compound words, the study indicated that *Koorete* allows compound words formed from Noun + Noun, Noun + Adjective, Noun + Verb, Numeral + Noun, and Adjective + Adjective sequences.

**Key Words:** *Koorete*, descriptive, inflection, derivation, nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, postpositions, numerals, compound nouns, number, gender, definiteness, case, abstract, manner, result, infinitive, imperfective, perfective, aspect, tense, mood, negation, passive, causative, reciprocal, frequentative, semantic field, quinary.

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

This work is concerned with the morphology of *Koorete*, a language classified under East Omoto cluster within Omotic language family. The present chapter gives background information of the people, the area, and the language; it also presents previous and current works done on the language.

### **1.1 Purpose of the Study**

At present, our knowledge of many Ethiopian languages is still far from adequate and as a component of knowledge, their linguistic descriptions are badly needed. Among those languages *Koorete* is one. It belongs to the Omoto group of languages, which has not been studied in detail so far. Thus, the main purpose of this study is to examine, analyze and discuss the morphology of the language, which includes the structure of the nouns, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives and the numerals.

### **1.2 Importance of the Study**

The study is done with a hope that it makes some contribution in the understanding of aspects of the properties of *Koorete* morphology in particular, Omoto cluster and Omotic languages in general. Since none of the previous works has dealt with the morphology of *Koorete* the study may have the following contributions.

- . It provides a descriptive grammar of the language regarding its morphology,
- . It helps to develop the language from spoken to written and in effect making it the language of basic education,
- . It provides linguistic materials for comparative study of the Ometo clusters, and
- . It helps to document the linguistic data of the language, which has not known so far.

### **1.3 Research Methodology**

The study is based on data collection and descriptive analysis. Thus, it involves eliciting of *Koorete* data from fieldwork in *Amarro* area where the language is spoken. Following this, first, a relevant questionnaire is prepared based on words and phrases of different kinds, such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, compound words...etc. in Amharic. Next, the data<sup>1</sup> are collected and transcribed phonemically by using phonetic notations. Then, all linguistic data are analyzed and described. Finally, the writing up of the thesis follows based on descriptive linguistic approach.

The present study aims at describing the inflectional and derivational morphology of *Koorete*. Thus, the model used in this study is descriptive, which should come first before theorizing.

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<sup>1</sup> The data was collected in 2001 during a fieldwork that was conducted in Amarro Special Wereda, specifically in Keelel town.

## 1.4 The Language Informant

All the information in this paper is based on the data collected from two native speakers of *Koorete*, namely: Ato Darcho Buusso and Ato Belaye Belko. Both of them speak *Koorete* as their mother tongue and Amharic as a second language. They are sixty-eight and twenty-nine years old, respectively. Ato Darcho is a farmer and Ato Belaye is a teacher in elementary school in *Keele*, a town of *Amarro*.

## 1.5 The people

The *Koore* people live in Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia in a specific area called *Amarro Special Wereda*. According to the 1999 Central Statistical Authority report the total number of the *Koore* people is about 98,315 out of which 49,277 are male and 49,038 are women at *Amarro Special Wereda level*<sup>2</sup>.

It is very difficult to trace back the exact origin of the *Koore* people. But according to my informant, Ato Darcho Buusso, the two names *Koore* and *Amarro* have got historical origin. According to my informant, the name *Koore* is derived from a place name *Koorso* that means “ancient place” where the *Koore* people lived. It is believed that sometimes in the past a group of people led by a priest called *Kaba* came from Menz through Gamo-Gofa to a place called *Koorso*, now *Amarro*. After a process of social and cultural

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<sup>2</sup>Topographically the land is mountainous and full of hills, valleys and rivers. It has different climatic zones such as lowland and highland *Amarro*. It covers an area of 170,980 hectare. The present town of *Amarro* is *Keele*, which is a trade, communication and administration center.

interaction with the indigenous people, they tend to forget their cultural identity by establishing a new one.

Haberland (1964:237) supports the same view by saying that “the dynasties of Amarro-Koyra, Dorze, Wolamo, Kaffa, Zay etc. claim Amhara or Tigrian descent.” Levine (1974:45) again states “...Ethiopians have long been accustomed to moving from one part of the country to another, in many cases to settling there. The Amarro, Janjero, Konta and other peoples have plausible traditions concerning the immigration of Amhara settlers who came from north several centuries ago.” Awoke (1985:4) also states that there is a *Koore* sub-clan called *Amare* that took its name after Amhara. This sub-clan was believed to have been headed by a priest who spoke Amharic.

Thus, the name *Amarro* according to the oral tradition and scholars is applicable to *Koore* people who claim to come from Menz. But now the official name *Koore* is more acceptable by the people. Others, however, call them by different names such as *Amarro*, *Koyra*, *Badditu*, etc. though, the last name as Cerulli (1929) said was given by the Oromo people centuries ago.

The *Koore* people share boundaries with the Derashe and Konso Spacial Weredas as well as the Lake Abaya and Chamo to the west; the Oromia to the east and northeast, and the Burji to the south, and Gedeo Zone to the north. However, because of the mountainous nature of the region the people have lived in isolation with out any contact with other people of Ethiopia or the central government. Still the area is inacassible. They have

developed traditional terrace method of agriculture producing, enset ‘false banana’, chat, wheat, barely, sorghum, pea, beans and teff. But all are used to supplement enset, as it is the dominant product and staple food of the society. Nowadays, they are known for coffee production as well.

According to Ato Darcho (informant) the people practice commerce in the form of barter. Especially the weavers who live on the highland exchange their cotton clothe for cereals, domestic animals and enset products. The potters, smiths and tanners also exchange their products for food and clothing in near by markets. But in the town, *Keele*, people are coming from the neighbouring places such as Burji, Guji and Konso for shopping using paper money along bartering. Most of the *Koore* people are followers of the protestant religion, while the next majority are followers of the traditional belief. The rest are followers of Orthodox Christian, and Islam (CSA, 1999: 58).

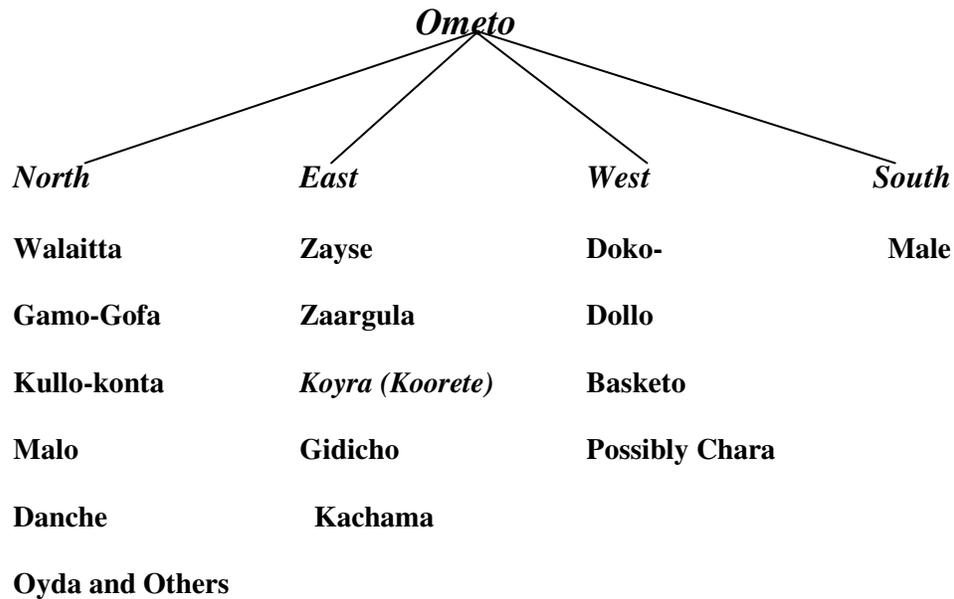
## 1.6 The Language

*Koorete*<sup>3</sup> is a member of the Omotic family under the East Ometo Cluster, which is spoken by the *Koore* people. *Koorete* is used for all social and administrative purposes and it is taught as a subject in elementary school. There are two different internal classification of Ometo languages and dialects. These are the classification proposed by Fleming (1976) and the classification by Bender (1988) as cited in Hayward (1990:ix-xii). Thus, the two classifications are presented in the following page.

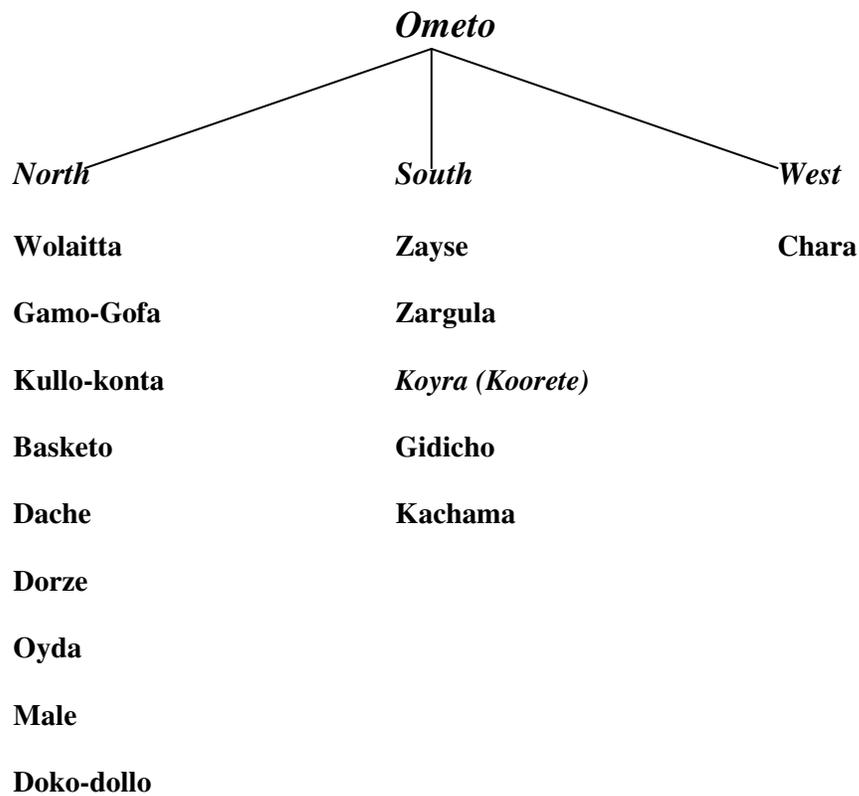
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<sup>3</sup> The word **Koorete** is a composite of the term **Koore** and the bound morpheme **{-te}** that derives the name of the language from a noun that indicates a name of people.

a) Based on Fleming (1976)



b) Based on Bender (1988)



As it is indicated in the above classification, Fleming grouped Koorete as East Ometo, while Bender classified it as South Ometo. However, the languages that are classified along *Koorete* (i.e: - Zayse, Zargula, Gidicho and Kachama) are the same in both classifications. The difference is only with regard to naming of the group.

## **1.7 Previous Studies**

There are very few works available on Koorete. The few linguistic works, which have been produced so far, are surveyed in this section.

The first sources of information on *Koorete* had been written in Italian long ago by Cerulli E. (1929) under the title “Note su alcune popolazioni Sidama dell’Abissinia meridionale II: i Sidama dell’Omo.” As cited in Binyam (2002:2), Cerulli has tried to describe about the phonology and the word structure of *Koorete*. In addition he includes some geographical and ethnographical information about the *Koore* people.

After a long period of silence, Hayward (1982) published a short and incomplete sketch of *Koorete* grammar entitled “Notes on the Koyra Language,” based on the data, which he collected in 1979 from an informant he met in Marsabit in Kenya, where he was conducting research on Cushitic language Burji. In this article he tries to examine the phonological and grammatical structures of the language. Regarding the description of the phonology, he identifies 29 consonant and 5 vowel phonemes. He also identifies that gemination and vowel length are phonemic in the language. Furthermore, he tries to describe some inflectional morphemes that mark nouns. Besides, he also identifies few

demonstratives that signify near and far objects from the speaker. Concerning the verbs, Hayward tries to classify and describe the verbs into three groups, such as the infinitive, the perfective and the imperfective forms.

Hayward (1982:211) notes about his work as concluding remark that “this incomplete and tentative work of the language will be subject to a much fuller analysis in the not-too-distant future”.

Except in some minor cases, some of the *Koorete* data presented in Hayward’s paper are very similar to my data. It is possible to say that the section on the morphology is an extension of Hayward’s (1982) outline. Thus, considering the inaccessibility of the area at the time and useful materials on the language, I believe that the result of this present study tries to fill the gap by providing a full description on the morphology of the language.

The next piece of work was published by Carolin Ford (1990), under the title “Notes on Koorete Phonology.” She made a linguistic analysis of the sound system of *Koorete* by reconsidering and making some modifications on Hayward’s (1982) work. In this study, 30 consonant and 5 vowel phonemes have been identified and the suprasegmental features are also discussed.

Azeb Amha (1994), has written an article entitled “Ometo Verb Derrivation: The case of Basketo, Male, Koorete and Kullo.” The article tries to describe the verb derivation of Basketo, Male, Koorete and Kullo representing West, South, East and North Ometo,

respectively. She has also tried to show the internal relation of these languages based on their bound morphemes, which indicate the genetic relationship of the language.

Bender (2000) attempts to collect and compiled much unpublished and published materials to satisfy the need for a detailed survey of Omotic morphology and lexicon. As he stated, he tries to make materials available to comparativists in the Afroasian field who have been hindered by lack of visible Omotic data, which until now have been scattered in many obscure sources. He is also willing to provide this book to anyone who asks.

The other contribution on the language is Zekaria's (2000) BA thesis entitled "Noun Morphology of Koorete." In this thesis he has tried to identify and describe the inflectional and derivational morphemes of nouns and the morphophonemic processes that are exhibited in the language.

The last and more recent work on *Koorete* is Binyam's (2002), entitled "The Structure of Noun Phrase in Koorete". In this MA thesis he attempts to provide a descriptive account of the structure of the noun phrase in the language.

## **0.7 Some Aspects of Koorete Phonology**

In this section, some important features concerning the phonology of *Koorete* are given as a kind of background information to the presentation of the morphological structure of the language. Thus, this section presents the phonology of the language, which includes the

phonemic inventory, phonotactics and major morphophonemic processes, each of which is presented in the following sections.

## 1.8.1 Phonemic Inventory

### 1.8.1.1 Consonant Phonemes

As stated earlier, Hayward (1982) identifies 29 consonant phonemes for Koorete, while Ford (1990) identifies 30. The consonant chart of Ford (1990) is different in two ways. First, she recognizes /ɓ/ as a basic phoneme while Hayward considers it as a marginal one. Second, she identifies /ŋ/ as a phoneme that is not included in Hayward's article. As is observed in the chart below, /p'/ and /t'/ are found only in borrowed words. The consonant and vowel phonemes adopted from Ford (1990) are displayed in the following place and manner of articulation in chart.

	Bilabials	Alveolars	Palatals	Velars	Glottals
<b>Stops</b>					
<b>Vl</b>		t		k	ʔ
<b>Vd</b>	b	d		g	
<b>Imp</b>	ɓ	ɗ			
<b>Ejective</b>	(p')	(t')		k'	
<b>Affricates</b>					
<b>Vl</b>		tʃ	č		
<b>Vd</b>		dz	j		
<b>Ejective</b>			č'		
<b>Fricative</b>					
<b>Vl</b>	p	s	š		h
<b>Vd</b>		z			
<b>Ejective</b>		s'	ž		
<b>Nasals</b>	m	n		ŋ	
<b>Lateral</b>		l			
<b>Flap</b>		r			
<b>Semi-vowels</b>	w		y		

Table I: Consonants Phonemes of Koorete. From: Ford (1990:413).

### 0.7.0.1 Vowel Phonemes

In this language there are five vowel phonemes. Each vowel phoneme occurs both as a short and long vowel. As a result the language has ten phonemic vowels. Regarding the suprasegmental features, Ford (1990) states that loudness is perceived rather than heightened pitch. Thus, stress is realized through loudness in *Koorete*.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i , ii		u , uu
Mid	e , ee		o , oo
Low		a , aa	

Table II: Vowel Phonemes of Koorete. From: Ford (1990:416)

The vowel /u/ is also used as epenthetic which splits the impermissible sequences of consonants in the language. Thus, the vowel /u/ is treated as a basic vowel phoneme and an epenthetic in this thesis.

### 0.7.0.1 Phonotactics

Phonotactics refers to the co-occurrence restriction among the consonant phonemes of the language. In Koorete, we have the following phonotactic constraints.

### 0.7.0.1 Consonant Clusters

In *Koorete* any sort of consonant cluster is not permissible at word initial or final position, rather it is occur only intervocalically (Hayward, 1982:219), with sonority greater in the leftmost member. Let us see the following examples.

- (1)
- |    |                 |                       |
|----|-----------------|-----------------------|
| a. | t <u>l</u> to   | ‘spring’              |
| b. | h <u>ar</u> ge  | ‘sickness’            |
| c. | s <u>ns</u> ’e  | ‘name’                |
| d. | te <u>l</u> go  | ‘stone of fire place’ |
| e. | ?o <u>rč</u> ’e | ‘stick’               |

### 0.7.0.1 Vowel length and consonant Gemination

In *Koorete*, both vowels length and consonant gemination are phonemic, as the following examples indicate below.

- (2) **Vowel length**
- |    |              |                  |
|----|--------------|------------------|
| a. | ?ade         | ‘father’         |
|    | <b>?aade</b> | ‘truth’          |
| b. | kele         | ‘shoulder’       |
|    | <b>keele</b> | ‘name of a town’ |
| c. | kore         | ‘saddle’         |
|    | <b>koore</b> | ‘name of people’ |

### (3) Consonant gemination

- |    |              |                     |
|----|--------------|---------------------|
| a. | ?ale         | ‘a name of a place’ |
|    | <b>?alle</b> | ‘quick’             |
| b. | gale         | ‘servant’           |
|    | <b>galle</b> | ‘grouth’            |
| c. | woga         | ‘culture’           |
|    | <b>wogga</b> | ‘dwarf’             |

As it is indicated in the above examples, both vowel length and consonant gemination bring about meaning difference in words.

## 1.9 Morphophonemic Processes

The major morphophonemic processes that are found in the processes of word formation are vowel deletion, assimilation, insertion and epenthesis.

### 0.8.0 Vowel Deletion

As indicated in section 1.8.1.3 above, the phonotactic constraints of the language do not allow the sequence of two different vowel phonemes. Thus, a final vowel of a base will be deleted before a suffix that has a vowel initial segment as shown below.

- |     |    |                   |                              |               |            |
|-----|----|-------------------|------------------------------|---------------|------------|
| (4) | a. | yele + <b>ita</b> | yel $\emptyset$ + <b>ita</b> | <b>yelita</b> | ‘children’ |
|     |    | child+Pl          |                              |               |            |



## 0.8.2 Assimilation

In Koorete, non-contiguous total assimilation is observed when the agentive formative suffix {-ase} or {-esa} and the ordinal numeral formative suffix {-ntso} are attached to verb stems that have a palatal ending and to cardinal numbers respectively. Consider the following examples.

- (6) a.   č'aš +ase or esa      č'ašaše or č'ašeša  
          insult+suf            'insulter'
- b.   geeš +ase or esa      geešaše or geešeša  
          clean+suf            'cleaner'
- c.   tamme+ntso            tan+ntso      tanntso  
          ten+suf                                    'tenth'

## 0.8.2 Epenthesis

In Koorete, due to the phonotactic constraints segments is either deleted or inserted as indicated below. In this language, an epenthetic vowel /u/ is used to split the impermissible consonant clusters at word boundaries. Thus, the vowel /u/ is treated as a basic vowelphoneme and an epenthetic in this thesis. Consider the following examples in (7).

- (7) a.   haydzo                    'three'  
          haydz ø +u+ntso      'third'
- b.   ?i č či će                'five'  
          ?i č či č ø +u+ntso    'fifth'

# CHAPTER TWO

## NOUN MORPHOLOGY

This chapter is primarily concerned with the description of noun inflection and derivation. Hence, the description of noun inflection is presented first and followed by the discussion of noun derivation.

### 2.1 The Forms of Koorete Nouns

In Koorete, all nominals in their citation<sup>4</sup> form terminate in a vowel such as /a/, /e/ and /o/ which is also the case in other related Ometo languages (Hayward, 1987). Thus, these terminal vowels of citation form are often deleted when another morphological element is suffixed to the noun. In addition, these terminal vowels of citation form are considered as noun formative markers. The following three noun classes indicate the citation form of nouns in Koorete.

(8)	Class of terminal vowel /a/	Class of terminal vowel /e/	Class of terminal vowel /o/		
maata	'grass'	toke	'leg'	kallo	'stick'
garma	'lion'	girme	'pig'	gaggo	'tooth'
tama	'fire'	s'oolinte	'star'	k'ino	'head'
toora	'spear'	?oge	'rood'	kafo	'bird'
nuuna	'mouth'	?aafe	'eye'	soro	'knife'

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<sup>4</sup> The word **citation form** is used to refer to the form of noun when it is cited in isolation before marked for nominal inflection.

In what follows, let us see how nominals in Koorete are inflected for number, gender, definiteness and case.

## 2.2 Noun Inflection

Koorete nouns are inflected to indicate different grammatical categories such as number, gender, definiteness and case. In this section, each of the inflectional affixes will be identified and discussed.

### 2.2.1 Number

The plural nouns are marked morphologically by suffixing the morpheme **{-ita}** or **{-atše}** to the base as free alternates. Consider the following examples.

(9)	<b>Singular</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Plural</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
	girme	‘pig’	girm-ita~-atše	‘pigs’
	harre	‘donkey’	harr-ita~-atše	‘donkies’
	ḡuuḡule	‘egg’	ḡuuḡul-ita~-atše	‘eggs’
	buše	‘girl’	buš-ita~-atše	‘girls’
	?indo	‘mother’	?ind-ita~-atše	‘mothers’
	kafo	‘bird’	kaf-ita~-atše	‘birds’
	kana	‘dog’	kan-ita~-atše	‘dogs’
	garma	‘lion’	garm-ita~-atše	‘lions’

As is indicated in the above examples all the terminal vowels in the citation form get deleted when the plural formative suffixes **{-ita}** or **{-atše}** are attached to them.

Hayward (1982:223) has identified the morpheme **{-atše}** and suggested that it is an archaic form of plural marker, which is found only in kinship terms. But according to my data **{-atše}** is not archaic, rather it functions as a plural formative equally and alternatively with the morpheme **{-ita}**. The other plural marker, identified by him, is **{-itte}** which is not found in my data. Moreover, the plural marker **{-atše}** seems to be similar to the Maale plural marker **{-atsi}** (Azeb, 2002:55).

### 2.2.2 Gender

Gender distinction in Koorete can be expressed in two ways. Firstly, as in many other languages natural gender of some animate nouns can be expressed by using different lexical items. Some of these have a distinct generic form as the examples given below show.

(10)	<b>Masculine</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Feminine</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
	?asune	‘husband’	maačo	‘wife’
	na?e	‘boy/son’	buše	‘girl/daughter’
	maydo	‘ox’	miise	‘cow’
	?orge	‘male goat’	deyše	‘female goat’
	?ade	‘father’	?indo	‘mother’
	mara	‘male sheep’	dore	‘ewe’
	?uduma	‘bull’	?uzze	‘heifer’

Secondly, it is also possible to identify gender by using nouns as modifiers such as **?asanse** ‘male’ for masculine and **maačo** ‘female’ for feminine nouns as in the following examples.

- |      |    |         |          |                  |
|------|----|---------|----------|------------------|
| (11) | a. | ?asanse | ?erusesa | ‘male teacher’   |
|      | b. | maačo   | ?erusesa | ‘female teacher’ |
|      | c. | ?asanse | tolko    | ‘male hyena’     |
|      | d. | maačo   | tolko    | ‘female hyena’   |
|      | e. | ?asanse | garma    | ‘male lion’      |
|      | f. | maačo   | garma    | ‘female lion’    |

Gender is also expressed in third person singular and plural demonstrative pronouns as in the following examples.

- |      |    |          |                  |
|------|----|----------|------------------|
| (12) | a. | ha-?es-i | ‘this’(M) Nom    |
|      | b. | ha-?is-i | ‘this’ (F) Nom   |
|      | c. | ha-?us-i | ‘these’ (Pl) Nom |

### 2.2.3 Definiteness

In Koorete indefinite nouns are not marked. They are the same with the citation forms. On the other hand a definite noun is expressed by suffixing the definite formative element **{-iyo}** to the base nouns as are shown below.

(13)	<b>Nouns</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Definite Nouns</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
	lukkula	‘hen’	lukkul- <b>iy</b> o	‘the hen’
	girawe	‘cat’	giraw- <b>iy</b> o	‘the cat’
	yele	‘child’	yel- <b>iy</b> o	‘the child’
	buše	‘girl’	buš- <b>iy</b> o	‘the girl’
	harre	‘donkey’	harr- <b>iy</b> o	‘the donkey’
	kafo	‘bird’	kaf- <b>iy</b> o	‘the bird’
	girme	‘pig’	girm- <b>iy</b> o	‘the pig’

As is illustrated above, the citation form of the noun dropped their terminal vowels in the process of forming definite nouns. Examples showing definite nouns in sentences are provided below.

(14)	a.	kana yood-o	
		dog come-Past	‘A dog came.’
	b.	kan- <b>iy</b> o yood-o	
		dog-Def come-Past	‘The dog came.’
	c.	ta girme wod’d’-o	
		I pig kill-Past	‘I killed a pig.’
	d.	ta girm- <b>iy</b> o wod’d’-o	
		I pig-Def kill-Past	‘I killed the pig.’

## 2.2.4 Case

Case is a grammatical category of nouns that indicates the nature of their relationship to the verb in sentences. The number of cases varies from language to language. In this regard,

Koorete nouns are inflected for nominative, genitive, dative, ablative, instrumental and locative cases.

### 2.2.4.1 Nominative Case

In Koorete the nominative case marker {-i} is attached to all nouns that ends in vowels such as /a, e, o/. Examples are presented in (15).

- (15) a. **garma-y-i** ?indo wod'd'-o  
lion-Nom woman kill-Past  
'A lion killed a woman'
- b. **tolko-y-i** dore muud-o  
hyena-Nom ewe eat-Past  
'A hyena ate (the) ewe'
- c. **harre-y-i** bušo ?ur?-o  
donkey-Nom girl push-Past  
'A donkey pushed (the) girl'
- d. **?atše-y-i** kana ?os's'-o  
man-Nom dog beat-Past  
'A man beat a dog'

As indicated in the above examples, the nominative case marker {-i} appears with vowel ending indefinite nouns. Thus, the epenthetic morpheme {-y} is inserted in between the two vowels to break the vowel sequences as cited in chapter one section 1.8.3. Besides,

attaching the plural marker **{-ita}** or **{atše}** followed by the nominative case marker **{-i}** usually forms nominative plural nouns. Observe the following examples.

- (16) a.      yel-**ita-y-i**            guls'e muud-o  
                  child-Pl-Ept-Nom fish eat-Past  
                  '(The) children ate a fish.'
- a.      garm-**atše(-ita)-y-i**      maata muud-o  
                  lion- Pl- Ept-Nom grass eat-Past  
                  (The) lions ate a grass.'
- a.      yeeč-iyo      maač-**ita-y-i**      burs-o  
                  leaves-Def woman-Pl-Ept-Nom cut-Past  
                  (The) women cut the leaves.'
- a.      haʔus-i      šooše-**atše-y-i**      gett-o  
                  these-Nom snake-Pl-Ept-Nom sleep-Past  
                  'These snakes slept.'

#### 2.2.4.2 Genitive Case

A genitive case is a common grammatical case, which is used to indicate possession of something by somebody. Thus, in genitive structures of Koorete the possessor noun comes first followed by the possessed noun. The genitive marker **{-ko}** is affixed to the possessor noun as the examples given in (17) illustrate.

- (17) a.      **garma-ko** ʔufutše  
                  lion-Gen hair                              'A lion's hair'

- b. **malsite-ko** mus'uro  
Malsite-Gen heart 'Malsite's heart'
- c. **maačo-ko** kana  
Woman-Gen dog 'Woman's dog'
- d. **miise-ko** natše  
cow-Gen tail 'A cow's tail'
- e. **šoše-ko** buuǎule  
snake-Gen egg 'A snake's egg'

### 2.2.4.3 Dative Case

A dative case refers to forms taken by a noun phrase to express an indirect object relationship. In Koorete the notion of indirect object is expressed by using the morpheme {-se}. It is suffixed to the nouns in the indirect object position, as illustrated in the following examples.

- (18) a. maačo-y-i **yele-se** katsa naddo  
woman-Nom child-Dat food prepare 'A woman prepared food to a child.'
- b. hamza-y-i **?indo-se** kamise ?antše  
Hamza-Nom mother-Dat dress send 'Hamza send a dress to (his) mother.'
- c. ?esi **bulk'o-se** miise zal?o  
he Bulko-Dat cow sell 'He sold a cow to Bulko.'
- d. tani **kaata-se** piire ?indo  
I king-Dat flower give 'I gave a flower to a king.'
- e. na?e-y-i **astere-se** miiže ?indo  
boy-Nom Aster-Dat money give 'A boy gave money to Aster.'

#### 2.2.4.4 Ablative Case

Ablative is a case that denotes a noun that is used as source of something or place of departure. In Koorete the ablative case is formed by suffixing morpheme **{-fa}** to the nouns as indicated below. The same morpheme is identified by Zekarias (2000) as locative case, which is not found in the present data.

- (19) a. nuni **guls'i-fa** zayte degesse  
we fish-Abl oil get 'We get oil from fish.'
- b. darč'oyi **gedesa-fa** yoodo  
darcho market-Abl come 'Darcho came from a market.'
- c. ?usi **šore-fa** waatše ?oodo  
they river-Abl water brought 'They brought water from a river.'
- d. ?esi **amarro-fa** yoodo  
he Amarro-Abl came 'He came from Amarro.'
- e. yeleyi **miise-fa** maatše degesse  
child cow-from milk get 'A child gets milk from a cow.'

#### 2.2.4.5 Instrumental Case

This is a case in which a noun is used to indicate the instrument with which an action is performed. In Koorete the morpheme **{-na}** is commonly suffixed to the noun to indicate the instrumental case. Consider the following examples in (20).

- (20) a. buše-y-i harre **?orč'e-na** ?os's'o  
girl-Nom donkey stick-Inst hit 'A girl hit a donkey with a stick.'

- b. malsite-y-i maata **goro-na** burso  
 Malsite-Nom grass knife-Inst cut ‘Malsite cut a grass with a knife.’
- c. ?atše-y-i tolko **šuče-na** wod’d’o  
 man-Nom hyena stone-Inst kill ‘A man killed a hyena with a stone.’
- d. ?esi miṣ-iyo **kalte-na** burso  
 he tree-Def ax-Inst cut ‘He cut the tree with an ax.’

#### 2.2.4.6 Locative case

In Koorete, this case indicates the location of a person or a thing by suffixing the case marker **{-ka}**<sup>5</sup> to the noun as shown in the following examples.

- (21) a. zawa                      zawa-**ka**  
           ‘house’                      house-Loc            ‘in a house’
- b. s’ermuse                      s’ermuse-**ka**  
           ‘bottle’                      bottle-Loc            ‘in a bottle’
- c. maatše                      maatše-**ka**  
           ‘milk’                      milk-Loc            ‘in a milk’
- d. suutše                      suutše-**ka**  
           ‘blood’                      blood-Loc            ‘in a blood’
- e. ?ota                      ?ota-**ka**  
           ‘pot’                      pot-Loc            ‘in a pot’
- f. waatše                      waatše-**ka**  
           ‘water’                      water-Loc            ‘in a water’

<sup>5</sup> The same locative marker **{-ka}** is also found in other Ometo language such as Maale (Azeb, 2001:65).

The following Examples in (22) show a locative noun in a sentence.

- (22) a.     maatše-y-i **s’ermuse-ka** yese  
           milk-Nom bottle-Loc exist           ‘There is milk in a pot.’
- b.     waatše-y-i **?ota-ka** yese  
           waterNom pot-Loc exist           ‘There is water in a pot.’
- c.     harge-y-i     **suutše-ka** yese  
           disease-Nom blood-Loc exist       ‘There is disease in a blood.’
- d.     na?e-y-i     **zawa-ka** yese  
           boyNom house-Loc exist           ‘There is a boy in a house.’

#### 2.2.4.7 Commutative Case

Commutative case indicates the notion of ‘with’ or ‘accompanied by.’ In Koorete, this case is expressed by the morpheme **{-ra}** as is shown in the examples below.

- (23) a.     miise            miise-**ra**  
           ‘cow’            cow-Com            ‘with a cow’
- b.     kaate            kaate-**ra**  
           ‘king’            king-Com            ‘with a king’
- c.     maačo            maačo-**ra**  
           ‘woman’          woman-Com        ‘with a woman’
- d.     ?indo            ?indo-**ra**  
           ‘mother/wife’    mother/wife-Com    ‘with a mother’
- e.     garma            garma-**ra**  
           ‘lion’            lion-Com            ‘with a lion’

f.	maala	maala- <b>ra</b>	
	‘slave’	slave-Com	‘with a slave’

## 2.3 Noun Derivation

In this section attempt is made to discuss the processes of noun derivation. In Koorete attaching various derivational affixes to nouns, verbs, adjectives can form different nominals. In what follows, I shall consider the derivational processes that create nominals.

### 2.3.1 Nominals Derived from other Nouns

Abstract nominals are derived from other nouns by adding the suffix {-unte} or {-ete} alternatively to the noun stems. Thus, when these abstract nominal formative morphemes are added to nouns, the final vowels of these words are deleted as the following set of examples illustrate.

(24)	Noun Stem	Gloss	Derived Nouns	Gloss
	maačo	‘woman’	maač- <b>unte</b> ~ <b>ete</b>	‘womanhood’
	dootşe	‘neighbour’	dootş- <b>unte</b> ~ <b>ete</b>	‘neighbourhood’
	geeže	‘free’	geež- <b>unte</b> ~ <b>ete</b>	‘freedom’
	maala	‘slave’	maal- <b>unte</b> ~ <b>ete</b>	‘slavery’
	?indo	‘mother’	?ind- <b>unte</b> ~ <b>ete</b>	‘motherhood’
	kayso	‘thief’	kays- <b>unte</b> ~ <b>ete</b>	‘thift’
	?atşe	‘man’	?atş- <b>unte</b> ~ <b>ete</b>	‘manhood’

kana	‘dog’	kan- <b>unte</b> ~ <b>ete</b>	‘doghood’
lagge	‘friend’	lagg- <b>unte</b> ~ <b>ete</b>	‘friendship’
kaate	‘king’	kaat- <b>unte</b> ~ <b>ete</b>	‘kingdom’

As is shown in the above examples, when {-unte} or {-ete} is suffixed to the nouns, all the terminal vowels on the citation form get deleted.

It is also possible to derive nouns that denote a name of a particular linguistic group by suffixing the morpheme {-te} to the nouns.

(25)	<b>Linguistic Group</b>	<b>Noun(Language)</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
	?olle	<b>?olle-te</b>	‘Oromifa (lang. of Oromo).’
	wolaypa	<b>wolaypa-te</b>	‘Wolayitina (lang.of Wolayita).’
	k’awwe	<b>k’awwe-te</b>	‘Amharic (lang. of Amhara).’
	Koore	<b>Koore-te</b>	‘Koorete (lang.of Koore).’

### 2.3.2 Nominals Derived from Adjectives

In this language abstract nominals can also be derived from adjectival bases through the affixation of the same morpheme {-unte} or {-ete}. Thus, all the derived nominals possess the general characteristic of being abstract. The following are illustrative examples.

(26)	<b>Adjective</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Deriveed Nominals</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
	kayma	‘young’	kaym- <b>unte</b> ~ <b>ete</b>	‘youth’
	zo?o	‘red’	zo?- <b>unte</b> ~ <b>ete</b>	‘redness’

heego	‘thin’	heeg- <b>unte</b> ~ <b>ete</b>	‘thinness’
?orje	‘big’	?orj- <b>unte</b> ~ <b>ete</b>	‘bigness’
ži?o	‘poor’	ži?- <b>unte</b> ~ <b>ete</b>	‘poverty’
mode	‘good’	mod- <b>unte</b> ~ <b>ete</b>	‘goodness’
žaše	‘fear’	žaš- <b>unte</b> ~ <b>ete</b>	‘fearness’
bootše	‘white’	bootš- <b>unte</b> ~ <b>ete</b>	‘whiteness’

### 2.3.3 Nominal Derived from Verbs

In Koorete, various kinds of nominals are derived from verb stems by affixing derivational morphemes. Thus, I will examine in the following sections nominals that are derived from verbal stem.

#### 2.3.3.1 Agentive Nominals

The agentive nominal is a nominal that refers to the doer of an action designated by the verb. In Koorete the agentive nominal can be derived from the verb-stem by suffixing the morphemes **{-ase}** or **{-esa}**. The following examples indicate the derivation of such nouns.

(27)	Verb-stem	Gloss	Agentive Nominal	Gloss
(a)	wod’-	‘kill’	wod’- <b>ase</b> ~ <b>esa</b>	‘killer’
(b)	hant-	‘work’	hant- <b>ase</b> ~ <b>esa</b>	‘worker’
(c)	č’aš-	‘insult’	č’aš- <b>aše</b> ~ <b>eša</b>	‘insulter’
(d)	book-	‘dig’	book- <b>ase</b> ~ <b>esa</b>	‘digger’
(e)	geeš-	‘clean’	geeš- <b>aše</b> ~ <b>eša</b>	‘cleaner’

(f)	siin-	‘hear’	siin- <b>ase</b> ~ <b>esa</b>	‘hearer’
(g)	šoh-	‘wash’	šoh- <b>ase</b> ~ <b>esa</b>	‘one who wash’
(h)	kem-	‘hunt’	kem- <b>ase</b> ~ <b>esa</b>	‘hunter’
(i)	worg-	‘seek’	worg- <b>ase</b> ~ <b>esa</b>	‘seeker’

As can be observed from the above examples, the nominal formative suffix **{-ase}** or **{-esa}** is used alternatively. These two free variant morphs are distributed equally in all environments. Besides, palatalization of /s/ to /š-/ in **{-ase}** or **{-esa}** is affected by /-š-/ of the verb-stems which have palatal consonant ending as in (27 c) and (e).

### 2.3.3.2 Result Nominals

Result nominal are product of verbs, which refer to the results of an action. In Koorete, these groups of nominal are formed by adding the derivational morphemes /-o/, /-a/ and /-e/ to the verb stem. Let us see the following examples.

(28)	Verb Stem	Gloss	Result Nominals	Gloss
	č’aak-	‘swear’	č’aak- <b>o</b>	‘oath’
	s’ar-	‘choose’	s’ar- <b>o</b>	‘choice’
	ḡikkil-	‘collect’	ḡikkil- <b>o</b>	‘collection’
	med-	‘creat’	med- <b>o</b>	‘creation’
	hant-	‘work (v)’	hant- <b>a</b>	‘work (n)’
	galat-	‘thank’	galat- <b>a</b>	‘praise’
	?ur?-	‘push (v)’	?ur?- <b>e</b>	‘push (n)’
	?oyč’-	‘ask’	?oy č’- <b>e</b>	‘question’

### 2.3.3.3 Gerundive Nominals

Koorete gerundive nominals are formed from verb stems by suffixing the nominalizing morpheme {-e}. The examples are as follows.

(29)	Verb-Stem	Gloss	Gerundive Nominal	Gloss
	č'aš-	'insult'	č'aš-e	'insulting'
	?um-	'fall'	?um-e	'falling'
	?im-	'give'	?im-e	'giving'
	gooč-	'pull'	gooč-e	'pulling'
	suuz-	'bless'	suuz-e	'blessing'
	zeer-	'speak'	zeer-e	'speaking'
	muud-	'eat'	muud-e	'eating'
	worg-	'seek'	worg-e	'seeking'
	ham-	'go'	ham-e	'going'
	burs-	'cut'	burs-e	'cutting'

### 2.3.3.4 Manner Nominals

This type of nominal refers to manner of doing something or the way an action takes place.

Koorete manner nominals are derived from verb stem by suffixing the morpheme {-utše}.

(30)	Verb-Stem	Gloss	Manner Nominals	Gloss
	?ut-	'sit'	?ut-utše	'manner of sitting'
	mah-	'answer'	mah-utše	'manner of answer'
	ḡikkil-	'collect'	ḡikkil-utše	'manner of collecting'
	dom-	'jump'	dom-utše	'manner of jumping'

muud-	‘eat’	muud- <b>utše</b>	‘manner of eating’
?idd-	‘carry’	?idd- <b>utše</b>	‘manner of carrying’
zeer-	‘talk’	zeer- <b>utše</b>	‘manner of talking’
?uš-	‘drink’	?uš- <b>utše</b>	‘manner of drinking’

## 2.4 Compounding

Compounding is one of the word formation processes in which new words are formed by combining two or more words from already existing words. In the following section, we will look at the nature of the most common compounds that are found in Kooerete.

### 2.4.1 Some Features of Koorete Compounding

In Koorete most of the lexical elements are combinable and productive, especially compounding of noun with noun. In this language a compound is made up of two bases, which can occur elsewhere as independent words. These compounds are categorized into two that is the syntactic and the semantic features. Based on the syntactic feature compounds belong to a certain grammatical category such as nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc. (Katamba, 1993). Under the semantic feature the notion “head” is crucial in characterizing the semantics of compounds (Selkirk, 1982: 22). Thus, the right most word, i.e. the head, of the compound gives its semantic feature to the entire compound. Semantically these compounds will have a single reference as endocentric or exocentric compound. The first one refers to head and non-head relation while the second refers to compounds that do not have head and non-head relation. All N+N Koorete compounds are right-headed endocentric constructions. The meaning of each constituent is more or less the same with

the output compound word. For example, in the compound word **?indi gil?a** ‘thumb’, the head is **gil?a** ‘hand’, and in the compound **šeyši zawa** ‘toilet room’, **zawa** ‘house’ is the head that carries the basic meaning of the whole compound. But in some exocentric compounds the meaning of the whole is different from the meaning of each constituent. As is indicated in the examples above the last segment of the first constituent deleted when the connector element **{-i}** is attached as discussed in chapter one section 1.9.1.

Another feature of compound word is the morphological feature that refers to the nature of elements to which affixes are attached. Thus, any compound form does not allow inflectional affix to intervene between its constituents, because they behave independently as lexical items in the language. The intervention of the plural and the definite marker as a suffix is acceptable when it takes place on the right member of the compound, which is the head. In addition, in the examples such as **waatši ?ota** is ‘a kind of pot’, **?erusi zawa** is ‘a kind of house’, and a **maa?i sas’ine** is also ‘a kind of box’, which can function as a modifier of the head noun **?ota** ‘pot’, **zawa** ‘house’, and **sas’ine** ‘box’ that indicates the meaning of the head more clearly as the head is the dominant of the entire compound word.

Finally, compounds are different from phrases in many aspects. The compound is treated under morphology, while the phrase is analysed under syntax. Then it is possible to say that in phrases and sentences the meaning comes from the sum total of the elements. But in case of compound it is totally different, since two or more units are combined to form a single unit with a new meaning. After giving this background, we will look at the nature of the most common compounds that are found in Koorete.

### 1.3.1 Compound Nominals

Compound nominal in Koorete are formed by a combination of two different lexical items. In this language a compound is made up of two bases, which can occur elsewhere as independent words.

### 2.4.3 Noun + Noun Compound

This is a pattern where two nouns combine to form various types of compound nouns. For example, some kinship terms are formed by combining the noun such as **?ade** ‘father’ and **?indo** ‘mother’ as a second member of a compound. Besides, the last segment of the first component of the compound noun gets deleted and a connector element **{-i-}** is inserted, as is indicated in (31) below.

(31)	a.	<b>dantše</b>	<b>?ade</b>	<b>dantši?ade</b>
		‘breast’	‘father’	‘foster father’
	b.	<b>boora</b>	<b>?indo</b>	<b>boori?indo</b>
		‘bread/injera’	‘mother’	‘step mother’
	c.	<b>boora</b>	<b>?ade</b>	<b>boori ?ade</b>
		‘bread/injera’	‘father’	‘step father’
	d.	<b>zawa</b>	<b>?indo</b>	<b>zawi ?indo</b>
		‘house’	‘mother’	‘house wife’
	e.	<b>dantše</b>	<b>?indo</b>	<b>dantši ?indo</b>
		‘breast’	‘mother’	‘foster mother’

It is also possible to form compound nouns that refer to things contained in it and the one that refer container. Each constituent combines together to form a locative compound noun as the following examples illustrate.

- (32) a.    **maa?o**        **sas'ine**        **maa?i sas'ine**  
               'cloth'        'box'            'cloth box'
- b.    **lis'e**            **miže**            **lis'imize**  
               'dough'        'container'      'dough container'
- c.    **ziizo**            **?usume**        **ziizi?usume**  
               'bee'            'hive'            'bee hive'
- d.    **kuula**            **?ota**            **kuuli?ota**  
               'porridge'      'pot'            'porridge pot'
- e.    **?aha**            **sas'ine**        **?ahi sas'ine**  
               'corpse'        'box'            'coffin'

Combining two simple nouns of which the second noun is instrumental forms the instrumental compounds. The examples are as follows.

- (33) a.    **sife**            **makina**        **sifi makina**  
               'saw'            'machine'        'sewing machine'
- b.    **šuče**            **was'a**        **šuči was'a**  
               'stone'        'mill'            'stone mill'
- c.    **waatše**        **?ota**            **waatši ?ota**  
               'water'        'pot'            'water pot'

Combining nouns that refer to location where activities taking place can be treated as locative compound. Thus, the following examples in (34) indicate locations or places.

- (34)
- |    |               |              |                    |
|----|---------------|--------------|--------------------|
| a. | <b>ši?e</b>   | <b>zawa</b>  | <b>ši?i zawa</b>   |
|    | ‘pray’        | ‘house’      | chapel/church’     |
| b. | <b>toora</b>  | <b>šanka</b> | <b>toori šanka</b> |
|    | ‘battle’      | ‘field’      | ‘battle field’     |
| c. | <b>?eruse</b> | <b>zawa</b>  | <b>?erusi zawa</b> |
|    | ‘education’   | ‘house’      | ‘school’           |

Names of certain body parts are also combined with other nouns to form compounds that indicate names of diseases.

- (35)
- |    |                |              |                       |
|----|----------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| a. | <b>zahe</b>    | <b>harge</b> | <b>zahi harge</b>     |
|    | ‘back’         | ‘pain’       | ‘backache’            |
| b. | <b>gawwo</b>   | <b>?iike</b> | <b>gawwi ?iike</b>    |
|    | ‘stomach’      | ‘cut’        | ‘stomach-ache’        |
| c. | <b>k’ino</b>   | <b>?os’e</b> | <b>k’ini ?os’e</b>    |
|    | ‘head’         | ‘beat’       | ‘headache’            |
| d. | <b>mus’uro</b> | <b>harge</b> | <b>mus’uri harge</b>  |
|    | ‘heart’        | ‘pain’       | ‘heat attack/disease’ |

#### 2.4.4 Noun + Verb Compound

There are nominal compounds formed by combining nouns with verbs as is illustrated in the following examples.

- (36) a.     **boyne**            **?ak'e**                    **boyni ?ak'e**  
           'sweat'        'pass the night'            'proletariat'
- b.     **saha**            **?ur?e**                    **sahi ?ur?e**  
           'land'            'push'                    'farmer'
- c.     **gaaje**            **doome**                    **gaaji doome**  
           'rabe'            'jump/leap'            'high jump'

### 2.4.5 Noun + Adjective Compound

In Koorete combining nouns with adjectives in which the second member is a modifier of the first forms compound adjectives. Consider the following examples.

- (37) a.     **maatşe**            **bootşe**                    **maatşibootşe**  
           'milk'            'white'                    'milky white'
- b.     **nuuna**            **?aako**                    **nuuni ?aako**  
           'mouth'            'wide'                    'wide mouth'
- c.     **?aafe**            **bel?a**                    **?aafi bel?a**  
           'eye'            'deficient'            'blind'
- d.     **gawwo**            **?aako**                    **gawwi ?aako**  
           'stomach'        'wide'                    'tolerant'

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **PRONOUNS**

In Koorete pronouns function like nouns in some way, but vary in having their own paradigm for person and number. Thus, there are different types of pronouns in this language such as, personal, possessive, demonstrative and interrogative.

#### **3.1 Personal Pronouns**

There are two sets of personal pronouns: the independent and the dependent personal pronouns. These pronouns make distinction of first, second and third person along with singular and plural numbers. In the following section, these two sets of pronouns will be discussed.

##### **3.1.1 The Independent Personal Pronouns**

The independent personal pronouns are words that occur independently without attaching themselves to other words. These pronouns are position restricted, as they only appear at subject position. They are also inflected for number, gender and case as indicated in the following charts.

Person	Sg.Nominative	Gloss	Pl. Nominative	Gloss
1 <sup>st</sup> per/sg	<b>ta-n-i</b>	‘I’	<b>nu-n-i</b>	‘We’
2 <sup>nd</sup> per/sg	<b>ne-n-i</b>	‘You’	<b>hi-nu-n-i</b>	‘You’
3 <sup>rd</sup> sg/mas	<b>?es-i</b>	‘He’	<b>?us-i</b>	‘They’
3 <sup>rd</sup> sg/fem	<b>?is-i</b>	‘She’		

Table III: The Independent Personal Pronouns

As can be noted in the above chart III, there is no gender distinction between masculine and feminine in the second person singular, while it is seen in third person singular. Hayward (1982:229) identified the same personal pronoun paradigms without any explanation about the morphemes. However, the nominative pronouns, for example, **tani** ‘I’ **neni** ‘you (Sg)’ etc. can be analyzed as **ta-n-i**, **ne-n-i**, etc. which is followed by a nominative case marker **{-i}**. Moreover, all independent pronouns except 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns have identical forms with the morpheme **{-n-}**, which represents the archaic form of some elements in the language.

Moreover, Koorete makes a familiar polite distinction in second and third person plural in its pronouns. Thus, the speaker use the second person plural form **hinuni** ‘you (pl)’ and **?usi** ‘they’ third person plural for polite expression. The determining factor for selecting second person is the age and the social status of the person.

In addition, these pronouns have another variant that is used as independent object pronouns. These pronouns are also identified by Hayward (1982: 229). Those pronouns are indicated in the following paradigm.

Person	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
1 <sup>st</sup> sg	<b>ta</b>	'me'	<b>numba</b>	'us'
2 <sup>nd</sup> M/F	<b>niya</b>	'you'	<b>hinumba</b>	'you'
3 <sup>rd</sup> Mas	<b>?esa</b>	'him'	<b>?uso</b>	'them'
3 <sup>rd</sup> Fem	<b>?iso</b>	'her'		

Table IV: Independent Object Pronouns

The above independent object pronouns occur only at object position as in the following structures.

- (39) a. tan-i **?esa** č'ašš-o  
 I-Nom him insult-Past 'I insulted him.'
- b. ?is-i **numba** durd-o  
 she-Nom us hit-Past 'She hit us.'
- c. ?es-i **niya** mus's'-o  
 he-Nom you kiss-Past 'He kissed you.'

### 3.1.2 The Dependent Personal Pronouns

The dependent pronouns in Koorete are said to be the short variants of the independent subject pronouns. Such kinds of pronouns cannot stand-alone by themselves unless they are

used in a structure. Thus, these types of pronouns in other related Omoto languages are referred as ‘clitic pronouns’ (Azeb 1993).

Person	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
1 <sup>st</sup> sg	<b>ta</b>	‘I’	<b>nu</b>	‘We’
2 <sup>nd</sup> M/F	<b>ne</b>	‘You’	<b>hi</b>	‘You’
3 <sup>rd</sup> Mas	<b>?e</b>	‘He’	<b>?u</b>	‘They’
3 <sup>rd</sup> Fem	<b>?i</b>	‘She’		

Table V: The Dependent Personal pronouns

These dependent pronouns are not position restricted; they can be at a subject position or they may occur right after the object NP in a sentence, as the following examples illustrate.

- (40) a. **nu** waatʃe ?uʃ-o  
we water drink-Past ‘We drank water’
- b. waatʃe **nu** ?uʃ-o  
water we drink-Past ‘We drank water’

As already indicated in the above examples the dependent pronouns are not inflected for case. However, both the dependent and the independent pronouns can be used alternatively at a subject position, but the independent pronouns are more preferred for indicating emphasis.

### 3.1.3 The Possessive Pronouns

The possessive pronouns in Koorete are two types. The first is the one that indicates the possessor pronoun only, and the second is the one that indicates both the possessor and the possessed. Below each of them will be discussed.

#### 3.1.3.1 Possessive Pronouns that indicate the Possessor

These possessive pronouns do not indicate the possessed noun. These pronouns are identified to have the same form, as dependent personal pronouns, which have been discussed in 3.1.2 above. Thus, such pronouns always occur preceding the possessed nouns as shown in the following chart.

	<b>Poss.Pro</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Possed.Noun</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
1 <sup>st</sup> Sg	<b>ta</b>	‘my’	<b>ta</b> maydo	‘my ox’
2Sg	<b>ne</b>	‘your’	<b>ne</b> maydo	‘your ox’
3M	<b>?e</b>	‘his’	<b>?e</b> maydo	‘his ox’
F	<b>?i</b>	‘her’	<b>?i</b> maydo	‘her ox’
1 <sup>st</sup> Pl	<b>nu</b>	‘our’	<b>nu</b> maydo	‘our ox’
2Pl	<b>hi</b>	‘your’	<b>hi</b> maydo	‘your ox’
3Pl	<b>?u</b>	‘their’	<b>?u</b> maydo	‘their ox’

Table VI: Possessive Pronouns that indicates the possessor

#### 3.1.3.2 Pronouns that indicate both the Possessor & the possessed

The possessive pronouns in this section indicate the possessor plus the possessed nouns. They are also inflected for number and case as is shown in the following chart.

Possessor	Sg. Nom	Gloss	Pl. Nom	Gloss
1 <sup>st</sup>	<b>ta-s-i</b>	'mine'	<b>nu-s-i</b>	'ours'
2M/F	<b>ne-s-i</b>	'yours'	<b>hi-s-i</b>	'yours'
3M	<b>?e-s-i</b>	'his'	<b>?u-s-i</b>	'theirs'
F	<b>?i-s-i</b>	'hers'		

Table VII: Possessive Pronouns that indicate both the possessor & the possessed NPs

As is shown in the above chart the possessed nouns are marked by the morpheme {-s-} that is followed by the nominative case marker {-i}.

## 3.2 Demonstrative Pronouns

Koorete demonstrative pronouns are used to indicate nearness and farness of the referred object or person. Such pronouns are inflected for number, gender and case. Each of these pronoun is presented below.

### 3.2.1 Demomstrative Pronouns that indicate Proximity

There are demonstrative pronouns different in forms depending on the proximity of the distance of the referred objects/person from the speaker. Each of these demonstrative pronouns is inflected for gender, number and case as presented in (41).

(41)	<b>Proximal Demo.Pro.</b>		<b>Proximal Nominative</b>	
	M/Sg	<b>ha?esa ~ ye?esa</b>	‘this’	<b>ha?esi ~ ye ?esi</b> ‘this’
	F/Sg	<b>ha?iso ~ ye ?iso</b>	‘this’	<b>ha?isi ~ ye ?isi</b> ‘this’
	Pl	<b>ha?uso ~ ye ?uso</b>	‘these’	<b>ha ?usi ~ ye ?usi</b> ‘these’

It may be noted that in (41) the demonstrative words **ha?esa**, **ha?iso** ‘this’ and **ha?uso** ‘these’ are composed of the forms for 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular masculine (**?esa**), 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular feminine (**?iso**) and 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural (**?uso**) pronouns and the prefix like element **ha** to indicate close or near objects or persons to the speaker, while **ye?esa**; **ye?iso** etc. indicates nearer objects or persons to a 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> person. The proximal nominative is formed in the same way by suffixing the nominative case marker **{-i}** by deleting the final vowel of the pronouns.

### 2.1.1 Demonstrative Pronouns that indicate Distance

Demonstrative pronouns that are used to point out far objects or persons have different forms from the demonstrative pronouns that indicate nearness. Let us consider (42).

(42)	<b>Distal Demo.Pro.</b>		<b>Distal Nominative</b>	
	M/Sg	<b>se ?esa</b>	‘that’	<b>se ?esi</b> ‘that’
	F/Sg	<b>se ?iso</b>	‘that’	<b>se ?isi</b> ‘that’
	Pl	<b>se ?uso</b>	‘those’	<b>se ?usi</b> ‘those’

As is shown in (42), the demonstratives **se?esa**; **se?iso** ‘that’ and **se?uso** ‘those’ are used for far objects or persons together with third person singular and plural pronouns. The distal nominative is also formed in the same way by the nominative case marker **{-i}**.

### 3.3 The Interrogative Pronouns

There are different kinds of interrogative pronouns in Koorete, which are used for asking questions about persons, or things. (43) presents the different interrogative.

(43)	a.	<b>?ay</b>	‘where’	(e)	<b>wayse</b>	‘how’
	b.	<b>?aba</b>	‘what’	(g)	<b>?ayde</b>	‘when’
	c.	<b>?oone</b>	‘who’			
	d.	<b>?ame</b>	‘why’			

As it is observed in the above examples all the interrogative pronouns are derived from the bound forms such as **?a-**; **?o** and **wa-** by suffixing different morphemes such as **{-me}**,**{-yde}**, **{-ba}**, etc. Let us see some of them in the following sentences.

(44)	a.	<b>?isi ?ame</b> muud-o	
		she why eat-Past	‘Why did she eat?’
	b.	<b>?ay</b> ?e hand-o	
		where he go-Pst	‘Where did he go?’
	c.	<b>?oone</b> ne ?os’s’-o	
		who you hit-Past	‘Who did hit you?’

- d.     **?ayde** nu yood-o  
          when you come-Past           ‘When did you (Pl) come?’
- e.     zine   **?aba** ne beed-o  
          yesterday what you see-Past   ‘What did you(Sg) see yesterday?’

# CHAPTER FOUR

## VERB MORPHOLOGY

In the preceding chapter, we have attempted to show the various types of pronouns in Koorete. In what follows, we will discuss the morphology of Koorete verbs along with their inflections and derivations. First, let us see the different types of Koorete verb stems.

### 4.1 Types of Koorete Verbs

The verb paradigm in Koorete has a complex pattern of verbs, which have three different stems that carry the lexical meaning. These verb stems are classified by Hayward (1982:236-38) into three groups or ‘principal parts’ on the basis of their forms. These three classes are determined on the basis of their formal behaviour regarding the infinitive, the perfect, and the imperfect stems. For convenience, I below present the three forms of Koorete verbs together with the following representative samples from each class.

The first group has only one stem form where the final segment is a coronal obstruent. In this group, verbs do not change their forms in the infinitive; imperfect and perfect verb stems.

(45)	Inf. Stem	Imperf. Stem	Perfect Stem	Gloss
	wod’-	wod’-	wod’d’-	‘kill’
	bot-	bot-	bott-	‘forget’
	žaš-	žaš-	žašš-	‘fear’

In the second group there are two stem forms where the infinitive and the imperfective verb stems remain the same, while that of the perfective stems change. The following examples in (46) illustrate this point.

(46)	<b>Inf.Stem</b>	<b>Imperf. Stem</b>	<b>Perfect Stem</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
	geh-	geh-	gett-	‘sleep’
	?ung-	?ung-	?und-	‘fall’
	goč-	goč-	gošš-	‘pull’

In the third group there are three different stem forms for the infinitive, the imperfect and the perfect stems as it is shown in (47) below.

(47)	<b>Inf. Stem</b>	<b>Imperf. Stem</b>	<b>Perfect Stem</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
	zum-	zung-	zund-	‘crawl’
	yep-	yek-	yett-	‘weep’
	tab-	tag-	tadd-	‘count’

Having presented this classification, in the following sections, we will consider the process of inflection and its results. We also describe the change of aspect, number etc. which do not bring basic meaning change.

### **3.1 Verb Inflection**

In Koorete three types of verb forms have been noted in attempting to describe the inflection of verbs. These three forms are the infinitive and two other forms, which are

differentiated for perfect and imperfect aspects. In addition, Koorete verb, exhibit two forms: The simple and the complex verb paradigms. In simple paradigm the subject markers and other verb elements are suffixed to the stem. In complex paradigm there are two occurrences of the verb. The first verb is in its infinitival form with additional suffixes for copular and affirmative expression; and the second verb may be in its perfective or imperfective form. Moreover, the short forms of pronoun have been noted to occur between the two forms of the verb. Giving this general background, we discuss the different inflectional affixes that are used to indicate grammatical relations such as aspect, tense and mood in the following sections.

#### **4.2.1 Aspect**

Aspect is concerned with the perfective (complete) or the imperfect (incomplete) of an action. In Koorete the perfective and the imperfective aspects are marked morphologically. The verb paradigms given below are of two types, simple and complex. Thus, these verbs are discussed in terms of perfective, imperfective in the following sections.

##### **4.2.1.1 The Perfective Aspect**

The perfective aspect is commonly used in expressing complete action. As it is indicated below the simple paradigm under affirmative declarative form, the perfect form contains the perfective marker and other elements that are suffixed to the verb stem. Consider the following examples in (48).

(48)	<b>Aff.Dec.Perfect</b>	
a.	han- <b>d-o</b> - $\emptyset$ - <b>sso</b>	
	go-Perf-Past-1Sg-Cop	‘I went.’
b.	han- <b>d-o-nna-kko</b>	
	go-Perf-Past-2Sg-Cop	‘you went.’
c.	han- <b>d-o</b> - $\emptyset$ - <b>sso</b>	
	go-Perf-Past-3Ms-Cop	‘He went.’
d.	han- <b>d-o-nni-kko</b>	
	go-Perf-Past-3Fs-Cop	‘She went.’
e.	han- <b>d-o-yta-kko</b>	
	go-Perf-Past-2Pl-Cop	‘You went.’
f.	han- <b>d-o-ns’i-kko</b>	
	go-Perf-Past-1Pl-Cop	‘We went.’
g.	han- <b>d-o</b> - $\emptyset$ - <b>sso</b>	
	go-Perf-Past-3Pl-Cop	‘You went.’
h.	han- <b>d-ut-o</b> - $\emptyset$ - <b>sso</b>	
	go-Perf-Pol-Past-2Pl-Cop	‘You (pol) went.’

As can be seen in the example (48) what is exhibited in the paradigm is that the entire perfective is marked by the morpheme **{-d-}**<sup>6</sup> followed by the past tense marker **{-o}**. Thus, the perfective verb stem and the past tense marker **{-o}** occur invariably throughout the conjugation. In addition, person and other verbal elements are all suffixed to the verb stem. The 1Sg; 3Ms and the 3Pl as well as the 2Pol form is expressed by zero **{- $\emptyset$ -}** morpheme

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<sup>6</sup>The same perfective marker **{-d-}** is found in related Ometo language such as Kullo (Hiwot Tefera, 1988:12).

following the tense marker. The 2Sg; the 3Fs; 1Pl; and 2Pl, are distinguished and expressed by **{-nna-}**, **{-nni-}**, **{-ns'i-}** and **{-yta-}** morphemes, respectively. In the example (48b) **{-nna}** is a second person marker for both masculine and feminine forms. Besides, the marker **{-ut-}** expresses the 2Pl polite form following the verb stem as indicated in (48h). Moreover, according to Hayward's (1982:232) analysis the regular copula **{-kko}** is appeared in adjective and noun predicates as shown in the following examples.

- (49) a. se sabba-y malla-**kko**  
that young man-Nom. fat-Cop  
'That young man is fat'
- b. se na?-i nundo na?u-**kko**  
that boy-Nom. (our) mother boy-Cop.  
'That boy is my brother'

Thus, based on Hayward's analysis the present study has identified a similar morpheme **{-sso}**, which seems to be an alternative form to the regular copula **{-kko}** as it is seen in the example (48a, c, g, h). Though, according to those examples the copula **{-sso}** appears in 1Sg; 3Ms and 2Pl polite forms as well as in 3Pl, while the copula **{-kko}** occurs in the other persons in the same positions. However, the copula **{-sso}** needs further investigation.

#### 4.2.1.2 The Imperfective Aspect

The imperfective aspect refers to an action that is not completed. This aspect has pattern of complex verb paradigms in which the verb stem is reduplicated to indicate it. Thus, the complex affirmative declarative imperfective aspect is formed by the first occurrence of the

infinitive stem with the affirmative declarative marker **{-a-}** that is not present in the negative constructions, which is followed by a morpheme like copula **{-kko}**. This is also followed by the short form of the pronoun and as well as the second occurrence of the imperfective verb stem that is marked by the morpheme **{-e}**. Thus, both the infinitive and imperfective verb stems are invariably the same throughout the conjugation. Hayward (1982:253) has identified the same form, and he further noted that all complex paradigms seem to behave as unanalysable whole. The illustrative examples are presented as follows.

- (50) a. **saas'-a-kko ta saas'-e**  
 chew-Aff-Cop I chew-Imprf 'I (will) chew'
- b. **saas'-a-kko ne saas'-e**  
 chew-Aff-Cop you chew-Imprf 'You (Sg) (will)chew'
- c. **saas'-a-kko ?e saas'-e**  
 chew-Aff-Cop he chew-Imprf 'He (will) chew'
- d. **saas'-a-kko ?i saas'-e**  
 chew-Aff-Cop she chew-Imprf 'She (will) chew'
- e. **saas'-a-kko nu saas'-e**  
 chew-Aff-Cop we chew-Imprf 'We (will) chew'
- f. **saas'-a-kko hi saas'-e**  
 chew-Aff-Cop you chew-Imprf 'You (Pl) (will) chew'
- g. **saas-a-kko ?u saas'-e**  
 chew-Aff-Cop they chew-Imprf 'They (will) chew'

The above types of constructions are usually used when there is a need to focus on the action denoted by the verb. Otherwise, we simply say **ta saas'e**, **nu saas'e**, etc. 'I (will) chew'; 'You (will) chew', etc.

## 4.2.2 Tense

Tense is a grammatical category of verbs, which indicates the time when an action takes place. Koorete is reported to have an aspect system (Hayward, 1982), but according to the present study it make distinction in tense as well. Thus, the present and the future tense are expressed by the imperfective aspect, while the present continuous, the simple past and the past continuous tense are marked morphologically. Each of them will be discussed below.

### 4.2.2.1 Present Continuous Tense

In Koorete the present continuous is used to indicate a presently continuing action. It is often expressed by combining the infinitive verb stem with the copula **{-kko}** that is followed by the auxiliary verb of existence **yese** ‘exist’ (present) in the imperfective aspect. Between these two forms there is the short form of the pronoun. Consider the following structures.

- (51) a. **zal-a-kko nu yese**  
sell-Aff-Cop we exist (Imprf) ‘We are selling.’
- b. **wos’-a-kko ?e yese**  
run-Aff-Cop he exist (Imprf) ‘He is running.’
- c. **tad-a-kko ?u yese**  
count-Aff-Cop they exist (Imprf) ‘They are counting.’

### 4.2.2.2 Simple past tense

The past tense is used to express an action, which started in the past and completed at a particular time in the past. In Koorete the simple past is based on the perfective aspect and

is marked by the past tense marker **{-o}**, which is attached next to the perfective form of the verb. The illustrative examples are given below.

- (52) a. ta **wod'-d'-o**  
           I kill-Perf-Past        'I killed'
- b. nu **zal-d-o**  
           we sell-Perf-Past        'We sold'
- c. ne **han-d-o**  
           you go-Perf-Past        'You(2<sup>nd</sup> Sg) went'
- d. ?i **?uš-š-o**  
           she drink-Perf-Past      'She drank'

As it is indicated in the examples above the perfective marker **{-d-}** is underlyingly present in the perfective stems of the verbs in which the base segment is a coronal obstruent such as **t, d, d', s', č, j, č', š, s, z** and **l** (Hayward, 1982). Thus, the stem final segment **{-d-}** undergoes varying degrees of assimilation with any base segment, that is, an obstruent.

### 3.1.1.2 Past Continuous Tense

This tense indicates a continuous action based on the perfective aspect. Thus, the past continuous tense is expressed by combining the past counter part **yeča** 'exist' (past) with the perfective verb stem that shows a period of time in the near past. Consider the following structures.

- (53) a. tani **yet-t-a-kko** ta **yeča**  
 I weep-Perf-Aff-Cop I exist (past) 'I was weeping.'
- b. neni **d'ol-l-a-kko** ne **yeča**  
 You(Sg) dance-Perf-Aff-Cop you exist (past) 'You (Sg) were dancing.'
- c. ?isi waatše **?uš-š-a-kko** ?i **yeča**  
 she water drink-Perf-Aff-Cop she exist (past) 'She was drinking water.'
- d. ?usi **get-t-a-kko** ?u **yeča**  
 they sleep-Perf-Aff-Cop they exist (past) 'They were sleeping.'
- e. nuni **mad'-d'-a-kko** nu **yeča**  
 we dress-Perf-Aff-Cop we exist(past) 'We were dressing.'

As we can see, the verbs are not inflected for person, number and gender. It is rather expressed by using the different forms of the short pronouns. Thus, the perfective verb stem occurs preceding the affirmative declarative marker **{-a-}** followed by the copula **{-kko}**. The short form of the pronoun and the past form of the auxiliary verb **yeča** 'exist' occur one after the other.

### 4.2.3 Mood

In Koorete there are different verbal affixes that are employed to show a speaker's attitude towards the action under performance. Thus, there are two types of mood, that is, the imperative and the jussive. Let us consider them one by one.

#### 4.2.3.1 Imperative

The imperative is used to express a command or an order directed from a speaker to a hearer. Thus, in Koorete the imperative mood is indicated by suffixing **{-wa}** in the second

person singular and **{-wayta}** to the plural form of the imperfective verb stems. Observe the following examples in (54).

(54)	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> Singular</b>	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> Plural</b>
	a. wod'e- <b>wa</b>	wod'e- <b>wayta</b>
	kill-Imp	kill-Imp
	'kill!'	'kill!'
	b. ?uše- <b>wa</b>	?uše - <b>wayta</b>
	drink-Imp	drink-Imp
	'drink!'	'drink!'
	c. mus'e- <b>wa</b>	mus'e- <b>wayta</b>
	kiss-Imp	'kiss-Imp
	'kiss!'	'kiss!'
	d. geh-ut- <b>wa</b>	gehe- <b>wayta</b>
	sleep-Pol-Imp	'sleep-Imp
	'sleep!'	'sleep!'

Hayward (1982:251) has also identified the same singular and plural imperative markers.

#### 4.2.3.2 Jussive

The jussive form of the verb in Koorete is used to express an indirect command for all third person singular and plural. Thus, the jussive mood is expressed by suffixing the morpheme **{-sse}** following the affirmative marker **{-a-}** for both singular and plural third persons without number distinction. There is also **{-nne}**, a jussive marker in case of third person

feminine. However, subject nouns or pronouns are obligatorily used in the structure. In addition, the infinitive verb stem is found throughout the paradigm following the subject pronouns. The examples of such verbs are provided below.

- (55) a. ?e ?uš-a-sse  
           he drink-Aff-Jus           ‘Let him drink!’
- b. ?i ?uš-a -nne  
           she drink-Aff-Jus           ‘Let her drink!’
- c. ?u ?uš-a-sse  
           they drink-Aff-Jus          ‘Let them drink!’

### 4.2.3.3 Negatives

The following section deals with the morphemes that mark negation in the imperfective, perfective, imperative and jussive forms of verb. Thus, negative in Koorete is marked morphologically by five different forms, such as, **{-ba-}**, **{-wa-}**, **{-puna}**, **{-pita}** and **{-ppe}**. Each of these is shown one after the other as follows.

#### 4.2.3.3.1 Negative in Perfective Verb

The negative declarative perfect construction in Koorete shows different forms for persons and numbers. Thus, the negative perfect is formed by suffixing the negative marker **{-ba-}** before the person. Consider the following verb conjugation in the perfective.

- (56) a.       wodʔ-dʔ-o-ba-ø-sso  
           kill-Perf-Past-Neg-1Sg-Cop           ‘I did not go.’

b.	wod'-d'-o- <b>ba</b> -nna-kko	
	kill-Perf-Past-Neg-2Sg-Cop	'You did not go.'
c.	wod'-d'-o- <b>ba</b> -∅-sso	
	kill-Perf-Past -Neg-3Ms-Cop	'He did not go.'
d.	wod'-d'-o- <b>ba</b> -nni-kko	
	kill-Perf-Past Neg-3Fs-Cop	'She did not go.'
e.	wod'-d'-o- <b>ba</b> -ns'i-kko	
	kill-Perf-Past-Neg-1Pl-Cop	'We did not go.'
f.	wod'-d'-o- <b>ba</b> -yta-kko	
	kill-Perf-Past-Neg-2Pl-Cop	'You did not go.'
g.	wod'-d'-o- <b>ba</b> -∅-sso	
	kill-Perf-Past-Neg-3Pl-Cop	'They did not go.'
h.	wod'-d'-ut-o- <b>ba</b> -∅-sso	
	kill-Perf-Pol-Past Neg-3Pl-Cop	'You (Pol) did not go.'

From the above examples, it can be seen that the negative verbs are written as one word. In addition the negative perfect morpheme {-ba-} is the same in all persons. Whereas the person markers that follows the negative marker are different. Thus, 2Sg and 2Pl; 3Fs and 1Pl. have distinctive forms, while the rest are marked by zero /-∅-/ morpheme. Besides, the perfective verb stem is the same throughout the conjugation. Moreover, the morpheme {-sso} is appeared as another form of the copula in 1Sg, 3Ms and 3<sup>rd</sup>.Per.Pl and polite form.

#### 4.2.3.3.2 Negative in Imperfective Verb

Attaching the morpheme {-wa-} to the imperfective verb stem, forms the negative declarative construction of both present and future imperfective aspect. The person markers

in the imperfective are also similar to those given in the negative perfective above. Observe the examples below for the verb **šohe** ‘wash’.

- (57) a.      šohe-**wa**- $\emptyset$ -sso  
                  wash-Neg-1Sg-Cop      ‘I do (will) not wash.’
- b.      šohe-**wa**-nna-kko  
                  wash-Neg-2Sg-Cop      ‘You do (will) not wash.’
- c.      šohe-**wa**- $\emptyset$ -sso  
                  wash-Neg-3Ms-Cop      ‘He does (will) not wash.’
- d.      šohe-**wa**-nni-kko  
                  wash-Neg-3Fs-Cop      ‘She does (will) not wash.’
- e.      šohe-**wa**-ns’i -kko  
                  wash-Neg-1Pl-Cop      ‘We do (will) not wash.’
- f.      šohe-**wa**-yta-kko  
                  wash-Neg-2Pl-Cop      ‘You (Sg) do (will) not wash.’
- g.      šohe-**wa**- $\emptyset$ -sso  
                  wash-Neg-3Pl-Cop      ‘They do (will) not wash.’

As can be seen above, the imperfective verb stem occurs invariably in all persons like that of the perfective. The second person singular and plural marker **{-nna}** and **{-yta-}**, third person feminine singular marker **{-nni-}** and first person plural **{-ns’i-}** distinguishes person, number, and gender respectively. The rest are marked by zero **{- $\emptyset$ -}** morphemes like the negative perfective above.

#### 4.2.3.3.3 Negative in Imperative Verb

The negative imperative is indicated by suffixing **{-puna-}** and **{-pita}** to the perfective verb stem both to the second person singular and plural forms respectively. The examples are as follows.

(58)	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> Singular</b>	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> Plural</b>
a.	<b>?uš-š-u-puna</b> drink-Perf-Ept-Neg 'Don't drink!'	<b>?uš-š-u-pita</b> drink-Ept-Neg 'Don't drink!'
b.	<b>d'ol-l-u-puna</b> sing-Perf-Ept-Neg 'Don't sing!'	<b>d'ol-l-u-pita</b> sing-Ept-Neg 'Don't sing!'
c.	<b>šot-t-u-puna</b> wash-Perf-Ept-Neg 'Don't wash'	<b>šot-t-u-pita</b> wash-Perf-Ept-Neg 'Don't wash'

As it is indicated in (58) above the negative imperative for the second person singular and plural is marked by the morphemes **{-puna-}** and **{-pita}**, respectively, while **{-u-}** indicates the epenthetic.

#### 4.2.3.3.4 Negative in Jussive

The negative jussive expresses prohibition for first person singular and plural, third person feminine singular, and plural. Thus, suffixing the morpheme **{-ppe}** to the perfective verb

stem marks the negative jussive. In these forms no person, number and gender distinction is made except the third person feminine singular.

- (59) a. get-t-u-**ppe**  
sleep-Perf-Ept-Neg 'Don't let me/us sleep.'
- b. wod'-d'-u-**ppe-nni**  
go-Perf-Ept-Neg-3Fs 'Don't let her kill.'
- c. č'aš-š-ut-u-**ppe**  
insult-perf-Pol-Ept-Neg 'Don't let you insult.'

As can be seen in (59) the negative jussive marker **{-ppe}** is suffixed following the perfective verb stem. The third person feminine marker **{-nni}** is suffixed following the negative jussive morpheme. Hayward (1982:251) identifies the same morpheme for third person masculine singular and plural forms. But his data do not include first person singular and plural forms. Besides, my transcription of the data differs in third person feminine singular from his **šoddoppayya**. In addition most of his verb conjugation were not written with full description of the morphemes with their gloss.

### 4.3 Verb Derivation

In Koorete verb derivation differs from the derivation of nouns or adjectives. Nouns and adjectives may derive from other word classes while verbs drive from verbs only. Thus, different verb stems such as, passive, causatives, reciprocals and frequentatives are derived from verbal stems by affixation. All these derivational morphemes occur immediately following the verb stems. Each verb formation is presented in the following sections.

### 4.3.1 The Passive Verb Stem

The passive verb indicates an action that happens to the subject of the sentence. In Koorete suffixing the morpheme **{-ut-}** to the verb stem of the transitive verbs as indicated below forms the passive verb.

(60)	Verb stem	Gloss	Passive Marker	Derived form	Gloss
	tab-	'count'	<b>-ut-</b>	<b>tabut-</b>	'be counted'
	meys-	'break'	<b>-ut-</b>	<b>meysut-</b>	'be broken'
	burs-	'cut'	<b>-ut-</b>	<b>bursut-</b>	'be cut'
	wod'-	'kill'	<b>-ut-</b>	<b>wod'ut-</b>	'be killed'
	žaš-	'fear'	<b>-ut-</b>	<b>žašut-</b>	'be feared'
	č'aš-	'insult'	<b>-ut-</b>	<b>č'ašut-</b>	'be insulted'
	saas'-	'bite'	<b>-ut-</b>	<b>saas'ut-</b>	'be bited'
	šoh-	'wash'	<b>-ut-</b>	<b>šohut-</b>	'be washed'
	?oyč-	'ask'	<b>-ut-</b>	<b>?oyčut-</b>	'be asked'

### 4.3.2 The Causative Verb Stem

Suffixing the morpheme **{-us-}** to the verb stems forms the causative verb stems. Like in the passive, the causative marker comes immediately following the verb stem as shown in (61) below.

(61)	Verb Stem	Gloss	Causative Marker	Derived form	Gloss
	šid-	'beg'	<b>-us-</b>	<b>šidus-</b>	'cause to beg'
	tab-	'count'	<b>-us-</b>	<b>tabus-</b>	'cause to count'

ʔuš-	‘drink’	<b>-us-</b>	<b>ʔušuš-</b>	‘cause to drink’
šoh-	‘wash’	<b>-us-</b>	<b>šohus-</b>	‘cause to wash’
saas’-	‘bit’	<b>-us-</b>	<b>saas’us-</b>	‘cause to bite’
d’ol-	‘sing’	<b>-us-</b>	<b>dolus-</b>	‘cause to sing’
ʔos’-	‘hit’	<b>-us-</b>	<b>ʔos’us-</b>	‘cause to hit’
harč’-	‘touch’	<b>-us-</b>	<b>harč’uš-</b>	‘cause to touch’
wod’-	‘kill’	<b>-us-</b>	<b>wod’us-</b>	‘cause to kill’

As can be seen in (61) the causative marker **{-us-}** changes to palatalized sound when it occurs following a stem final /š/ and č’ palatal sound. All the rest remain the same without changing the causative marker.

Hayward (1982) has also identified the same causative marker and plus another morpheme **{-s-}**<sup>7</sup>, which is not found in the present data.

### 4.3.3 The Reciprocal Verb Stem

Reciprocal is a verb stem that expresses an action involving two or more individuals or groups interacting to their mutual benefit or disadvantage (Baye, 1987:124-5).

There are two ways of expressing reciprocity in Koorete. The first one is by suffixing the total reduplication of the passive marker **{-ut-}** immediately following the verb stem. The second one is by using the independent word **wola** ‘each other’. The following examples illustrate the formation of reciprocal verb stems.

<sup>7</sup> For more information see Hayward (1982:246).

(62)	Verb Stem	Gloss	Recip. Marker	Derived form	Gloss
	č'aš-	'insult'	<b>-utut-</b>	<b>č'ašutut-</b>	'insult each other'
	šoh-	'wash'	<b>-utut-</b>	<b>šohutut-</b>	'wash each other'
	saas'-	'bite'	<b>-utut-</b>	<b>saas'utut-</b>	'bit each other'
	?ars-	'change'	<b>-utut-</b>	<b>?arsutut-</b>	'change each other'
	wod'-	'kill'	<b>-utut-</b>	<b>wod'utut-</b>	'kill each other'
	šid-	'beg'	<b>-utut-</b>	<b>šidutut-</b>	'beg each other'
	zer-	'speak'	<b>-utut-</b>	<b>zerutut-</b>	'speak each other'

The second type of reciprocity is expressed by the independent reflexive pronoun **wola** 'each other'. This word stands alone preceding the verb stems. Consider the following structures.

- (63) a. maač-ita **wola** muus's'-o  
 woman-Pl each other kiss-Past      '(The) women kissed each other.'
- b. kan-ita **wola** saas's'-o  
 dog-Pl each other bite-Past      '(The) dogs bit each other.'
- c. buš-ita **wola** wod'd'-o  
 girl-Pl each other kill-Past      '(The) girls killed each other.'
- d. giraw-ita **wola harč-o**  
 cat-Pl each other touch-Past      '(The) cats touched each other.'

#### 4.3.4 The Frequentative Verb Stem

Frequentative verb expresses an action that is done repeatedly or frequently. In Koorete this verb is formed by total reduplication of the verb stem. Observe the following examples.

(64)	Verb Stem	Gloss	Freq. Vb. Form	Gloss
	do?-	‘open’	<b>do?i do?-</b>	‘open repeatedly’
	?os’-	‘hit’	<b>?os’i?os’-</b>	‘hit again & again’
	?ars-	‘change’	<b>?arsi?ars-</b>	‘change repeatedly’
	piiž-	‘crack’	<b>piižpiiž-</b>	‘crack repeatedly’
	yeet-	‘cry’	<b>yeetiyeet-</b>	‘cry repeatedly’
	saas’-	‘bit’	<b>saas’isaas’-</b>	‘bit repeatedly’
	burs-	‘cut’	<b>bursiburs-</b>	‘cut into pieces’
	šoh-	‘wash’	<b>šohišoh-</b>	‘wash repeatedly’

The data above indicate that the derivation of the frequentatives use the entire reduplication of the verb stem. Besides, the first verb stem terminates in high front vowel **/-i-/** is inserted as a connector element throughout the examples.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### ADVERBS, ADJECTIVES, POSTPOSITIONS AND NUMERALS

#### 5.1 Adverbs

Adverbs are used to qualify verbs. In Koorete there are few adverbs. These adverbs are either underived or derived lexical words, which refer to the actions specified by the verbs. Based on their function, these adverbs are grouped into three different classes as illustrated below.

##### 5.1.1 Time Adverbs

The following nouns are commonly used as adverbs of time in the language.

(65)	<b>hatte</b>	‘now’	<b>sure</b>	‘middle of the day’
	<b>hanzo</b>	‘today’	<b>hinto</b>	‘the day after tomorrow’
	<b>zine</b>	‘yesterday’	<b>zimbere</b>	‘last year’
	<b>guta</b>	‘tomorrow’	<b>zinkobera</b>	‘the year before last year’
	<b>kete</b>	‘morning’	<b>langute</b>	‘next year’
	<b>k’ama</b>	‘evening’		

As it is shown above, the last two adverbs **zinkobera** and **langute** seem to be made up of two components. The first component of the compound form is **zinko**, the meaning of which is unknown while the second component **bera** mean ‘year’. The second compound form is a combination of **lan-**, which is also not known, and **guta** mean ‘tomorrow’ to

form the adverb **languta** ‘next year’. Some of the following sentences illustrate the use of time adverbs in the language.

- (66) a. nuni **hatte**-kko waatše ?uše  
we now-Cop water drink  
‘We are drinking water now.’
- b. ?atseyi **hanzo** yoodo  
man today come  
‘The man came today.’
- c. ?utalayi bolto **zine** muudo  
utala yesterday lunch ate  
‘Utala ate lunch yesterday.’
- d. **guta** ?ušše ta worge’  
tomorrow drink I want  
‘I want (to) drink tomorrow.’
- e. ?usi **zimbere** hando  
they last-year went  
‘They went last year.’

### 5.1.2 Place Adverbs

In this language there are some place adverbs, which indicate the place where an action is performed. The following lexical items are commonly used as place adverbs.

- (67) **wo-kke** ‘up/upwards.’  
**ye-kke** ‘down/downwards’

<b>?oomo</b>	‘under/below’
<b>geede</b>	‘behind/after’
<b>buro</b>	‘before/in front of’
<b>sempa</b>	‘across’
<b>?uk'e</b>	‘near/close by’

Some of the place adverbs are illustrated in sentences as in (68).

- (68) a. **wo-kke** ?i hando  
up-ward she went  
‘She went upwards.’
- b. **ye-kke** ?e hando  
down-ward he went  
‘He went downwards.’
- c. tooray diido **?oomo-kko**  
spear bed under-Cop  
‘The spear is under (the) bed.’
- d. yeleyi worbafa **buro** yoodo  
child tiger before came  
‘The child came before a tiger.’

As indicated in (68 a and b)) **wo-kke** ‘up-ward’ and **ye-kke** ‘down-ward’ are formed by combining the bound morpheme **{-kke}** with the morphemes **{wo}** and **{ye}**.

### 5.1.3 Manner Adverbs

There are few adverbs, which show the manner of action. These adverbs are derived from adjectives as the following examples show.

(69)	<b>Adjective</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Adverb</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
	<b>?uke</b>	‘haste/quick’	<b>?uk-ke</b>	‘hurry/ quickly’
	<b>šore</b>	‘slow’	<b>šor-re</b>	‘slowly’
	<b>lake</b>	‘careful’	<b>lak-ke</b>	‘carefully’

As indicated in (69) above, manner adverbs are formed by geminating the final segment of an adjective.

It is also possible to form an adverbial expression by suffixing the morpheme **{-na}** to manner adverbs. The examples are as follows.

(70)	a.	bussoyi bolto <b>?ukke-na</b> muudo	
		Busso lunch quickly-Inst ate	‘Busso ate lunch quickly.’
	b.	<b>?ukke-na</b> ne hame	
		quickly-Inst you (Sg) go	‘you go quickly.’
	c.	<b>šorre-na</b> nu ?uššo	
		slowly-Inst we drank	‘We drank slowly.’
	d.	?isi <b>lakke-na</b> muudo	
		she carefully-Inst ate	‘She ate carefully.’

## 5.2 Adjectives

Adjective is a lexical category, which occur preceding nominals they modify in a phrase. In Koorete adjectives behave similarly like nouns. They share most of the morphological and phonological features of nouns. In addition, they have also the same ending as nouns (cf. chapter two). They are also inflected for number, definiteness and case with the same markers as nouns.

### 5.2.1 Classification of Adjectives

Adjectives always precede the nouns they modify by expressing their size, quality, colour, etc. According to Dixon (1982) as quoted in Azeb (2001:133) adjectives have been grouped into various semantic fields such as, value, age, colour, speed, dimension, physical property and human propensity. Thus, adjectives in Koorete can be categorized into the following six semantic types.

(71)	<b>i.</b>	<b>Value</b>	
		<b>?iita</b>	‘bad/wicked/ugly’
		<b>mode</b>	‘good/well/beautiful’
		<b>giiga</b>	‘good’
		<b>ži?o</b>	‘poor’
		<b>woduma</b>	‘rich’
		<b>gage</b>	‘bad’
		<b>?okka</b>	‘good/well/ (for greetings)’

## ii. Age

<b>č'ima</b>	'old'
<b>kayma</b>	'young'
<b>kille</b>	'new'

## iii. Colour

<b>zo?o</b>	'red'
<b>kartşe</b>	'black'
<b>bootşe</b>	'white'
<b>jileta</b>	'green'
<b>?aaro</b>	'red (for complexion)'
<b>luuluma</b>	'brown (for complexion)'

## iv. Dimension

<b>heego</b>	'thin'	<b>?odde</b>	'small/little'
<b>?orje</b>	'big'	<b>mela</b>	'empty/dry'
<b>boja</b>	'half'	<b>zara</b>	'far/deep(for water)'
<b>s'uumo</b>	'narrow'	<b>?aako</b>	'wide'
<b>galala</b>	'tall/long'	<b>?uk'e</b>	'near/close by'
<b>hata</b>	'short'	<b>gizo</b>	'straight'
<b>?eero</b>	'small'	<b>duugo</b>	'thick'
<b>?irko</b>	'think (for liquids)'	<b>s'ooga</b>	'slim/thin(for animals)'
<b>kume</b>	'full'	<b>s'oona</b>	'thin/slim(for human)'

## v. Physical Property

<b>likko</b>	‘smooth/soft’	<b>girte</b>	‘dirty/unclean’
<b>sama</b>	‘rotten/spoiled’	<b>s'as'a</b>	‘strong/hard’
<b>deezo</b>	‘heavy’	<b>binna</b>	‘luke warm’
<b>toyya</b>	‘cold (weather)’	<b>tima</b>	‘wet’
<b>?adda</b>	‘clear/open’	<b>sook'e</b>	‘sweet’
<b>dok'o</b>	‘sour/bitter’	<b>malla</b>	‘fat (for animals)’
<b>?eero</b>	‘small’	<b>midiro</b>	‘fat (for human)’
<b>šawuka</b>	‘light/easy (in weight)’	<b>duugo</b>	‘fat/thick’
<b>?as'uma</b>	‘dirty’	<b>geeše</b>	‘clean/pure’

## vi. Human Propensity

<b>k'aro</b>	‘clever’	<b>mirtše</b>	‘crooked’
<b>gafatša</b>	‘weak’	<b>šena</b>	‘gentle/meek’
<b>?uus'a</b>	‘wise/strong’	<b>dees'o</b>	‘difficult’
<b>bels'a</b>	‘lazy’	<b>pas'e</b>	‘healthy’
<b>?aako</b>	‘patient/tolerant’	<b>muyyo</b>	‘fool/stupid’

As can be seen from the list of Koorete adjectives in (71) above, adjectives have the same formal property as nouns in suffixing the terminal vowels {-e}, {-a} and {-o}. As can be observed from the data the occurrence of {-a} is the most common one when compared with {-e} and {-o}. Moreover, according Dixon's (1982) suggestion cited in Azeb (2001:133), adjectives of value, age and colour are very small in number than those expressing dimension, physical property and human propensity. In addition, in Koorete, there is no recorded adjective for speed.

## 5.2.2 Inflection of Adjectives

Adjective in Koorete can be inflected for number, definiteness and case with the same kinds of morphemes as indicated in nouns. In what follows each of them will be discussed in some detail.

### 5.2.2.1 Number

Adjectives like nouns are inflected for number by suffixing the same plural marker that occurs with nouns. Thus, the morpheme **{-ita}** is suffixed to the adjectival bases by deleting their terminal vowel. Consider the following examples.

- (72) a. **galala** ?atšeyi yood-o  
tall man come-Past 'A tall man came.'
- b. **galal-ita** ?atš-it-i yood-o  
tall-Pl man-Pl-Nom come-Past 'Tall men came.'
- c. **hata** bušeyi hand-o  
short girl go-Past 'A short girl went.'
- d. **hat-ita** buš-it-i hand-o  
short-Pl girl-Pl-Nom go-Past 'Short girls went.'

As shown in the examples above the final vowel of the singular adjectives is deleted when a suffix beginning with a vowel such as the plural marker **{-ita}** gets suffixed.

### 5.2.2.2 Definiteness

A phrase or a sentence containing a subject noun is modified by adjectives is also inflected for definiteness by the same morpheme **{-iyo}**, as nouns. The following examples illustrate.

- (73) a. **kartş-iyo** giraweyi ?iita-kko  
black-Def cat bad-Cop 'The black cat is bad.'
- b. **?orj-iyo** miiseyi yood-o  
big-Def cow come-Past 'The big cow came.'
- c. **gafatş-iyo** kanayi gett-o  
weak-Def dog sleep-Past 'The weak dog slept.'
- d. **mod'-iyo** maačoyi hand-o  
good-Def woma go-Past 'The good woman went.'

### 5.2.2.3 Case

Adjectives are also inflected for nominative case by the same morpheme **{-i}** seen for nouns as the following examples illustrates.

- (74) a. **mod'e-y-i** maačo yood-o  
beautiful-Nom woman come-Past 'A beautiful woman came.'
- e. **mirtşe-y-i** ?atşe ?itta-kko  
crooked-Nom person bad-Cop 'A crooked person is bad.'
- c. **kayma-y-i** yele ?uše-kko  
young-Nom child drink-Cop 'A young child is drinking.'
- d. **kartşe-y-i** kana mod'e-kko  
black-Nom dog good-Cop 'A black dog is good.'

It is also possible to use sequence of adjectives. The adjective that is close to the head noun in the sequence can take the nominative marker **{-i}** or the plural marker **{-ita}** as shown below.

- (75) a. **kartše č'ima-y-i** ?atše yood-o  
 black old-Nom man come-Past 'A black old man came.'
- a. **galala s'oona-ita-y-i** yele hand-o  
 'tall thin- Pl- Nom child go-Past 'A tall thin children went'

### 5.2.3 Derivation of Adjectives

Adjectives in this language are derived from verbal and nominal bases. The derivational processes of these adjectives are presented below.

#### 5.2.3.1 Adjectives Derived from Verbal Bases

Suffixing the derivational morphemes **{-e}**, **{-a}** and **{-o}** to verbal bases form Koorete adjectives. These derivative suffixes have a category changing function, that is, they change the verbal bases into adjectivals. Besides, the same morphemes are used in the derivation of nouns. Observe some of the examples below.

(76)	Verbal bases	Gloss	Adjectivals	Gloss
	hat-	'become short'	<b>hat-a</b>	'short'
	mall-	'become fat'	<b>mall-a</b>	'fat'
	tim-	'become wet'	<b>tim-a</b>	'wet'
	kaym-	'become young'	<b>kaym-a</b>	'young'
	?uk'-	'become near'	<b>?uk'-e</b>	'near'

mod'-	'become good'	<b>mod'-e</b>	'good'
deez-	'become heavy'	<b>deez-o</b>	'heavy'
?aak-	'become wide'	<b>?aak-o</b>	'wide'

As can be seen in the examples, among these adjectives formative suffixes **{-a}** is the most productive element while **{-e}** is the least.

### 5.2.3.2 Adjectives Derived from Nouns

Attaching the derivative suffix **{-atse}** to the nouns can also form adjectives. Consider the following examples.

(77)	Nouns	Gloss	Adjectives	Gloss
	boče	'mountain'	boč- <b>atse</b>	'mountainous'
	gawwa	'stomach'	gaww- <b>atse</b>	'voracious'
	?os'a	'power'	?os'- <b>atse</b>	'powerful'
	nuuna	'mouth'	nuun- <b>atse</b>	'talkative'
	dok'k'e	'mud'	dok'k'- <b>atse</b>	'muddy'
	šuče	'stone'	šuč- <b>atse</b>	'stoney/rocky'
	waatše	'water'	waatš- <b>atse</b>	'waterish'
	toke	'leg'	tok- <b>atse</b>	'pedestrian'
	?aafe	'fruit'	?aaf- <b>atse</b>	'fuirful'

The final vowels of the base nouns are deleted when the process of derivation taking place.

## 5.3 Compound adjectives

### 5.3.1 Adjective + Adjective Compound

As stated earlier in section 2.4.1, compound adjectives are formed by combining adjectives with other adjectives that refers to names of colours. In these compounds the second component is considered to be the head since its category feature percolates to the whole compound. Observe the following examples in (78) below.

- (78) a.    **geeše + bootše**                    **geeši bootše**  
              ‘pure’    ‘white’                    ‘pure white’
- b.    **sama + zeek’e**                    **sami zeek’e**  
              ‘rotten’    ‘stinky’                    ‘rotten-stinky’
- c.    **zo?o + luuluma**                    **zo?i luuluma**  
              ‘red’            ‘brown’                    ‘fair/ light red’

As is indicated in section 2.4.1, the first element of these compounds is not inflected, rather the affixation process takes place on the right or second member of the compound as indicated below.

- (79) a.    **maatseyi bootš-ita** mod’e-kko  
              milk-    white- Pl    good-Cop  
              ‘Milky-whites    are good.’
- a.    **zo?i mod’-iyo**    maačo-y-i    yood-o  
              red-beautiful-Def    woman-Nom    come-Past  
              ‘The pretty-red woman came.’

## 5.4 Postpositions

Koorete has postpositions, which follow immediately after nouns with meanings such as ‘below’, ‘from’, ‘before’, ‘inside’, etc., The following are commonly used postpositions in the language.

(80)	Postposition	Gloss
	<b>?oomo</b>	‘below/under’
	<b>buro</b>	‘before’
	<b>geede</b>	‘behind’
	<b>?essa</b>	‘inside’
	<b>da?a</b>	‘beside’
	<b>gidda</b>	‘in the middle’
	<b>ginde</b>	‘behind/after’

The following examples show the occurrence of some of the postpositions in sentences.

- (81)
- a. ?atş-iyo worba **buro** yoodo  
man-Def tiger before came  
‘The man came before a tiger’
  - b. nu zawa **geede** miitşe-kko yese  
our house behind tree-Cop exist  
‘There is a tree behind our house’
  - c. ?ota **?essa** yese waatşe  
pot inside exist water  
‘(The) water inside a pot’

## 5.5 Numerals

The language has two types of numerals: cardinal and ordinal counting numerals. Hayward (1982:228) has also identified some of the cardinal numerals. There is some transcription differences between my and Hayward's data. The other difference exhibited is that Hayward mentioned nothing about the ordinal numerals. Both the cardinal and the ordinal numerals identified in the present data are given below.

### 5.5.1 Cardinal Numerals

Koorete has a numeral system of five bases, which is a quinary numeral system as outlined in Hayward (1982:228) and Hirut (2002). Thus, simple lexical words that are used for the basic counting cardinal numbers are from one up to five, as indicated as below.

(82)	<b>bidzo</b>	‘one’
	<b>lam?e</b>	‘two’
	<b>haydze</b>	‘three’
	<b>?oyde</b>	‘four’
	<b>?iččiče</b>	‘five’

Numerals from six to nine contain a common morpheme **{-uppe}** as a second member while number ten is expressed by using a simple lexical word **‘tamme’**. Observe the following examples.

(83)	<b>?izzuppe</b>	‘six’
	<b>laappe</b>	‘seven’

<b>hazzuppe</b>	‘eight’
<b>?odduppe</b>	‘nine’
<b>tamme</b>	‘ten’

Numerals from eleven to nineteen are formed by combining numbers from one to nine together with number ten. Thus, the word for ten ‘**tamme**’ precedes the lower numerals. These numerals literally mean ‘ten-and-one’, ‘ten-and-two’, ‘ten-and-three’, etc. as can be seen in the following examples

.

(84)	<b>tamma</b> bidzo	‘eleven’
	<b>tamma</b> lam?e	‘twelve’
	<b>tamma</b> haydze	‘thirteen’
	<b>tamma</b> ?oyde	‘fourteen’
	<b>tamma</b> ?iččiče	‘fifteen’
	<b>tamma</b> ?izzuppe	‘sixteen’
	<b>tamma</b> laappe	‘seventeen’
	<b>tamma</b> hazzuppe	‘eighteen’
	<b>tamma</b> ?odduppe	‘nineteen’

As shown in (82) the terminal vowel /-e/ in **tamme** ten is changed to /-a/ when it is used as a modifier component in the language.

Combining single numerals from two to nine with **tamme** ‘ten’ forms numerals of ten bases. These compound numerals are derived from the basic numeral **tamme** ‘ten’, which

is literally mean ‘two-ten (twenty)’, ‘three-ten’ (thirty), ‘four-ten’ (fourty), etc. Observe the following forms in (85) below.

(85)	<b>lam?i-tamme</b>	‘twenty’	<b>?izzuppi-tamme</b>	‘sixty’
	<b>haydzi-tamme</b>	‘thirty’	<b>laappi-tamme</b>	‘seventy’
	<b>?oydi-tamme</b>	‘fourty’	<b>hazzuppi-tamme</b>	‘eighty’
	<b>?iččiči-tamme</b>	‘fifty’	<b>?odduppi-tamme</b>	‘ninty’

In modifying positions, the last vowel of the first numeral is changed to {-i} as indicated above. On the other hand, when ordering items in a list we add the lower single digit such as **bidzo** ‘one’ and **lam?e** ‘two’ to multiples of **tamme** ‘ten’ as indicated in the following cardinal numerals.

(86)	<b>lam?i-tamma bidzo</b>	‘twenty-one’
	<b>lam?i-tamma lam?e</b>	‘twenty-two’
	<b>haydzi-tamma bidzo</b>	‘thirty-one’
	<b>haydzi-tamma lam?e</b>	‘thirty-two’
	<b>?oydi-tamma bidzo</b>	‘fourty-one’
	<b>?oydi-tamma lam?e</b>	‘fourty-two’
	<b>?iččiči-tamma bidzo</b>	‘fifty-one’
	<b>?iččiči-tamma lam?e</b>	‘fifty-two’ and so on.

However, hundred is expressed with a single word **s’iitše**. Combining the single digits with the word hundred forms numerals that express hundreds.

(87)	lamʔi- <b>s'iitʃe</b>	'two hundred'	izzuppi- <b>s'iitʃe</b>	'six hundred
	hydzi- <b>s'iitʃe</b>	'three hundred'	laappi- <b>s'iitʃe</b>	'seven hundred'
	ʔoyde- <b>s'iitʃe</b>	'four hundred'	hazzuppi- <b>s'iitʃe</b>	'eight hundred'
	ʔiččiči- <b>s'iitʃe</b>	'five hundred'	ʔodduppi- <b>s'iitʃe</b>	'nine-hundred'

Thousand is expressed with a single lexical item **kuma**, or with a compound word **tammi-s'iitʃe**.

### 5.5.2 Ordinal Numerals

The ordinal numerals of Koorete are derived from the cardinals by suffixing the morpheme **{-ntʃo}**. However, the epenthetic vowel /u/ is inserted between the cardinal numbers which ends with a consonant to avoid consonant sequencing as can be shown in the following examples.

(88)	bidz- <b>u-ntʃo</b>	'first'	ʔizz- <b>u-ntʃo</b>	'sixth'
	lan- <b>ntʃo</b>	'second'	laapp- <b>u-ntʃo</b>	'seventh'
	haydz- <b>u-ntʃo</b>	'third'	hazz- <b>u-ntʃo</b>	'eight'
	ʔoyd- <b>u-ntʃo</b>	'fourth'	ʔodd- <b>u-ntʃo</b>	'ninth'
	ʔiččič- <b>u-ntʃo</b>	'fifth'	tan- <b>ntʃo</b>	'tenth'

The ordinal numerals for 'second' and 'tenth' above are formed by suffixing the same **{-ntʃo}** to the first syllables of **lamʔe** 'two' and **tamme** 'ten'. Moreover, in the process of ordinal numeral formation the last vowels of **lamʔe** and **tamme** is dropped and both the

remaining sounds assimilated to the /n/ of {-ntšo}. Thus, as the result **lanntšo** and **tanntšo** appeared.

The numerals from eleven to nineteen are also derived from cardinal numbers by attaching the same suffix {-ntšo} to the last number. Consider the following examples.

(89)	tamma bidz-u- <b>ntšo</b>	‘eleventh’	?izzuppi-tamma bidz-u- <b>ntšo</b>	‘sixty-first’
	lan-ntšo-tan- <b>ntšo</b>	‘twentieth’	laappu-ntšo-tan- <b>ntšo</b>	‘seventieth’
	lam?i-tamma bidz-u- <b>ntšo</b>	‘twenty-first’	laappi-tamma bidz-u- <b>ntšo</b>	‘seventy-first’
	haydzi- ntšo-tan- <b>ntšo</b>	‘thirtieth’	hazzu-ntšo-tan- <b>ntšo</b>	‘eightieth’
	haydzi-tamma bidz-u- <b>ntšo</b>	‘thirty-first’	hazzuppi-tamma-bidz-u- <b>ntšo</b>	‘eighty-first’
	?oydi- ntšo-tan- <b>ntšo</b>	‘fortieth’	?oddu-ntšo-tan- <b>ntšo</b>	‘ninetieth’
	?oydi-tamma bidz-u- <b>ntšo</b>	‘fourty-first’	?odduppi-tamma bidz-u- <b>ntšo</b>	‘ninety-first’
	?iččiči-tan- <b>ntšo</b>	‘fiftieth’	s’iitš-u- <b>ntšo</b>	‘hundredth’
	?iččiči-tamma bidz-u- <b>ntšo</b>	‘fifty-first’	s’iitši-tamma bidz-u- <b>ntšo</b>	‘hundred-first’
	?izzu-ntšo-tan- <b>ntšo</b>	‘sixtieth’		

To sum up, in this chapter adverb, adjectives, postpositions and numerals have been discussed. There are different kinds of adverbs such as time, place and manner adverbs. Adjective shares much morphological and phonological features with nouns. In the same chapter the numeral system, that is, both the cardinal and the ordinal numerals are considered. The next chapter, which is the last chapter of the thesis, will present the summary and conclusion of the preceding chapters.

## CHAPTER SIX

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In the preceding chapters an attempt is made to analyze the morphology of Koorete, which is classified under the East Omoto cluster in the Omotic language family. The morphological description includes the morphology of nouns, pronouns, compounds, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, and numerals.

The first chapter presents the purpose, the importance and the methodology of this study. In addition it gives introductory remarks about the people and the language. Review of the literature and some description of the language have been presented.

The second chapter tries to describe the inflectional and derivational morphology of nouns. But, before going to detail discussion, the forms of Koorete nouns are discussed as a background to the following discussion. Thus, based on the citation form, nouns are grouped into three classes, i.e. nouns that have /-a/, /-e/ and /-o/ vowel endings belonging to each group. Koorete nouns are inflected for number, definiteness and case. Thus, when the plural marker is suffixed to the singular nouns, the final vowels get deleted. Besides, the other plural morpheme {-atʂe} is used equally with the plural marker {-ita}. In Koorete definite nouns are expressed by suffixing the morpheme {-iyo} to nouns as indicated in section 2.2.3. in page 19.

Gender is expressed in two ways: using natural gender of some animate nouns and by using other nouns as modifiers, such as **?asanse** 'male' for masculine and **maačo** 'female' for

feminine nouns. Gender is also expressed by third person singular and plural demonstrative pronouns.

In Koorete nouns are inflected for different cases such as nominative, genitive, dative, ablative, instrumental and locative cases. Thus, nouns that are considered to be definite are not marked for case while the indefinite nouns are marked. In addition the genitive marker **{-ko}** is used to indicate possession of something by somebody by suffixing it before the possessed noun. The dative case is also expressed by using the morpheme **{-se}** in the direct object position. The dative formative **{-fa}** suffixed to the noun to indicate the source of something. The morpheme **{-na}** is commonly suffixed to the noun to denote the instrumental case. The locative and the commutative case is marked by adding the morphemes **{-ka}** and **{-ra}** to the noun respectively.

Nouns are derived from other nouns and adjectival bases by suffixing the morpheme **{-unte}** or **{-ete}**. The agentive nominals are derived from verb stem by suffixing the morphemes **{-ase}** and **{-esa}**. Result nominals are also derived by suffixing the elements **{-e}**; **{-a}** and **{-o}** to the verb stems respectively. Gerundive and manner nominals are formed from verb stems by using the morpheme **{-e}** and **{-utşe}**.

In the same chapter five ways of compounding have been indicated. The first one is formed by combining nouns with another nouns, while, the second one is formed by combining nouns with verbs, which are linked by the vowel **/-i-/. Combining nouns with adjectives forms the third types of compounds. The fourth types are simply formed by combining**

adjective with another adjective. Combining numerals with nouns forms the fifth and the last types.

In chapter three the different types of pronouns in Koorete such as, personal, possessive, demonstrative and interrogative have been discussed. The personal pronouns are further divided as independent and dependent personal pronouns on the basis of their morphological and syntactic structure. The independent pronouns have another variant, which is used as independent object pronouns. Independent personal pronouns are inflected for number, case and gender in third person singular. Thus, these pronouns inflected for cases such as nominative, dative and genitive. Independent personal pronouns are marked by the morpheme {-i} for nominative case as shown in section 3.1.1. on page 39.

The dependent personal pronouns are not inflected for grammatical categories. Syntactically they can occur in subject as well as right after the object NP in a sentence, while the independent personal pronouns are restricted only to the subject position. The possessive pronouns are formed in two ways. The first type is the pronouns that indicate only the possessor which have the same form with the dependent personal pronouns. The second type indicates both the possessor and the possessed. Thus, the possessive pronouns that indicate the possessor occurs independently in structures where they appear preceding the possessed nouns. The possessive pronouns that indicate both the possessor and the possessed are always formed from a construction consisting of possessive pronouns plus the morpheme {-se} as in **ta-se**; **ne-se**, etc. ‘mine’; ‘yours’, etc. respectively. These pronouns are inflected for case and number but vary for gender.

There are two types of demonstrative pronouns that indicate proximal and distal object or persons. These pronouns are also inflected for case and number but vary for gender as shown in section 3.2.1, page 44. Interrogative pronouns are also identified lexically.

In chapter four, the morphology of verbs has been discussed. First, the classifications of verbs on the basis of their forms are presented. Thus, these three groups of verb stems are, the infinitive, the perfect and the imperfect forms. Based on this classification verb inflections and derivations have been treated in some detail.

These verbs are inflected for person, number, gender, aspect and tense. Thus, person, number and gender are marked by one single morpheme that cannot be divided. For instance in **han-d-o-nna-kko** ‘went he/she’, the morpheme **{-nna}** marks both second person, singular feminine and masculine.

In Koorete there are two aspectual distinctions. The perfect and imperfect both are marked morphologically. The perfective aspect is indicated with **{-d-}** that occurs following the verb stem while the imperfective is marked by **{-e}** for the present and future imperfect. Moreover, Koorete has three tenses that are marked morphologically, that is, the present continuous, the simple past and past continuous. The present continuous tense is expressed by combining the infinitive verb stem with the copula **{-kko}** followed by the verb of existence **yese** ‘exist’ (present) in the imperfective aspect. The simple past tense is based on the perfective aspect and is marked by **{-o}**. The past continuous tense is also based on the perfective aspect and expressed by combining the past counter part **yeča** ‘exist’ (past).

There are two types of mood, that is, the imperative and the jussive. The imperative mood is marked by suffixing **{-wa}** and **{wayta}** for both second person singular and plural respectively. The jussive mood is expressed by suffixing the morpheme **{-sse}** for third person singular and plural, while the third person feminine is marked by **{-nne}**.

The negatives have also been discussed in section 4.2.3.3. In Koorete the negative markers have five different forms, such as **{-ba}**, **{-wa}**, **{-puna}**, **{-pita}** and **{-ppe}**. The negative form in the perfective is marked by **{-ba}**, while that of imperfective negative is marked by **{-wa}**. The negative imperative is marked by the morpheme **{-puna}** and **{-pita}** for second person singular and plural respectively. The negative jussive is also marked by **{-ppe}** for third person singular and plural.

In section 4.3 four types of verb derivations have been presented. Here, derived verb stems such as passives, causatives, reciprocals and frequentatives have been described. Suffixing the element **{-ut-}** to the verb stems of the transitive verbs forms the passive verb stems. The causative verb stems derived from verb stems by suffixing the morpheme **{-us}**. The reciprocal verbs are expressed by using two different morphemes. The first type of reciprocal is formed by total reduplication of the passive marker **{-ut-}** and the second type is expressed by using the independent word **wola** 'each other' preceding the pronominal elements. Finally, the frequentative is derived by total reduplication of the verb stem.

In chapter five, adverbs, adjectives, postpositions and numerals have been discussed. In section 5.1.1 lists of time adverbs have been presented. Some of these adverbs are component of two forms such as **zinko-** the meaning is unknown while the second

component **bera** mean ‘year’ to form the adverb **zikobera** ‘the year before last year’. The other compound form is a combination of **lan-**, which is not known, and **guta** mean ‘tomorrow’ to form the adverb **languta** ‘next year’, etc. Place adverbs are expressed by using independent lexical items while; manner adverbs are derived from adjectives by suffixing different morphemes.

In section 5.2 adjectives of Koorete have been discussed. Koorete adjectives were classified into six semantic fields such as, value, age, color, dimension, physical property and human propensity. In Koorete adjectives behave like nouns. Thus, they are inflected for number, definiteness and case by the same morphemes that occur with nouns. Most adjectives in this language are derived from verbs and nouns by attaching different vowel suffixes and the morpheme **{-atše}** respectively.

Derivations of adjectives have been described in 5.2.3. Adjectives in this language are derived from verb stems and nominal bases. Thus, adjectives are formed from verb stems by adding the same noun derivational morphemes **{-e}**, **{-a}** and **{-o}**. However, these morphemes are often deleted when other morphological element is attached to adjectives or nouns. The morpheme **{-atše}** derives adjectives from nouns.

In 5.4, postpositions have been considered. Koorete has only postposition words, which follow, immediately after nouns. Finally, Koorete numerals are described in section 5.5. This language has a numeral system of five and ten bases. These numerals further classified into two as cardinal and ordinal numerals. The list of cardinal and ordinal numerals are presented and discussed in detail.

To sum up, this thesis attempts to give general information on morphology of Koorete that has not been studied properly. It describes both the inflectional and derivational morphology of nouns, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, postpositions and numerals. It also treats compound noun formation. It is believed that this study might be helpful for future researchers to do extensive research specifically on Omoto clusters and other related Omotic languages.

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