

A TAGMEMIC ANALYSIS OF THE WOLAITTA LANGUAGE

by

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Wolaitta is a member of the Omotic group of languages clustered around the Omo river in southern Ethiopia. The thesis represents a data-intensive analysis of the phonology and syntax of this language. The theory of language in which this analysis is framed is the tagmemic one, which, among other things, assumes the existence of phonological and grammatical hierarchies within a language.

The first part of the thesis deals with the phonological levels in Wolaitta: the phoneme, syllable, phonological-word, phonological phrase, phonological-clause, and phonological-sentence. Important phonological features of Wolaitta, such as gemination, vowel length, stress, and tone are discussed and exemplified.

The rest of the thesis treats the various levels in the grammatical hierarchy. Starting with the clause level, basic clause types are identified, along with their variants and entailments. Exotic entailed clause types, such as the causative-passive-reciprocal clause, are considered together with the accompanying complex morphology. The majority of dependent clauses are shown basically to be embedded within the structure of clausal subordinating postpositional phrases. The clause in microcosm is then seen in the verb phrase and the verb. The numerous aspect categories which are expressed morphologically in the Wolaitta verb phrase are given a prominent place in the analysis; there are at least 21 such categories, e.g., experiential, immediacy, durative, exclusion, etc.

Nominal phrases are next treated, together with postpositional phrases, numeral phrases, adjective phrases, and nominalized phrases. The "headless" relative construction, which is a feature typical of the languages of that area is described. Nouns are then analysed, the complicated, morphological feature of definiteness being highlighted. These major sections are followed by chapters containing a brief treatment of sentences, and the other word classes: i.e. proforms, determiners, adjectives, numerals, and particles.

Only surface structure phenomena have been utilized for the analysis. An attempt has been made to avoid appealing to deep structure in determining the identities and category status of Wolaitta language features.

I am deeply indebted to my supervisor, Dr. R. J. Hayward, for encouraging me to undertake this study and for his continued, patient, and self-sacrificing support in bringing it to its present form. Without his critical insights and suggestions this study would have been greatly lacking in linguistic incisiveness and cohesiveness.

This study would not have been possible without the financial help of SIM International and our many private supporters, who during the years have underwritten it along with our Bible translation and literacy work. I am also grateful for the time that SIM International and our supporters have allowed me for writing up the study.

The original corpus of data on which this study is based was amassed through the persevering efforts of many Wolaittas; prominent among them were Michael Gunta, Data Dargass, Ayela Maja, Wendemu Dea, and Yosef Gabato. During the write-up of this study Markina Maja provided many examples and gave helpful consultation. Special citation must go to Desalegn Enaro, who through years of experience in the Wolaitta orthography has given me invaluable aid in transcribing the Wolaitta forms. He has checked the greater part of the Wolaitta material in the study; however, I must assume full responsibility for any errors persisting into the final form. I must also express my deep gratitude to the Wolaitta Awraja administration and the local community in which we lived for all their cooperation and hospitality.

It is difficult to express sufficiently the appreciation due to my wife, Betty, for her typing of this study and for the many sacrifices she has made to help this project through to completion. Recognition is also due our children, Larry, Karen, Dale, Dean, and Patricia, whose cooperation and willing sacrifice has greatly furthered the project. And a final tribute is due to God, the One I consider to be the ultimate Creator of language, for His enabling.

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1.1. Aim of the Thesis

Until the present no in-depth study of the Wolaitta language has been published. And this is surprising, since Wolaitta ranks next after Oromo, Amharic, and Tigrinya as the fourth largest language in Ethiopia.

The aim of this thesis is to provide a unified description of a language that has not been described in depth before—and hopefully, through this description to provide insights about other members of the Omotic family of languages, about which little detailed study has been undertaken.

The approach used here is that of a data-intensive analysis of the phonology and syntax of Wolaitta. It aims to provide an overview of the main features of the language, but may because of such an extensive objective fail to treat in sufficient detail certain areas that some might have wished to see so treated.

1.2. The Theoretical Framework of the Thesis

The theory of language in which this analysis is framed is the tagmemic one. Speaking for tagmemics, Longacre (1964:10) says, "Our approach is frankly analytic and taxonomic." And this is ideal here, for an analysis that seeks to give an overview of the Wolaitta language features.

Tagmemics has its own emphases, which have been well described in the available literature; and these only need to be highlighted here. The tagmeme refers to the correlation between a grammatical function and the set of items that may manifest it (Algeo 1970:5, Longacre 1965:11). "By function is meant the peculiar office or role of one formally distinguishable part of a construction type in relation to other parts of the same construction..." (Longacre 1965:11). Thus in the clause "Men talk", there is the function, Subject, which is manifested by the set of nouns represented by "men"; this is followed by the function, Predicator, which is manifested by the set of verbs represented by "talk". "Tagmemics is frankly and unapologetically interested in functional relations in the internal structure of words, phrases, clauses, and sentences as well as in such relations and contrasts among constructions." (op cit.:13)

"Tagmemicists approach a language with the positive expectation of discovering a hierarchical organization within its structure." (Hayward 1976:18) However, "tagmemicists do not approach a language with an *a priori* assumption about how many hierarchical levels may need to be recognized for the most economical statement of its structure." (op cit.:20).

For Wolaitta two sets of hierarchical levels have here been posited: the phonological hierarchy and the grammatical hierarchy. Within the phonological hierarchy and the grammatical hierarchies certain partially corresponding levels are recognized:

<u>Phonological</u>	<u>Grammatical</u>
Phoneme	Morpheme
Syllable	Hyper-morpheme
Phonological-word	Word
Phonological-phrase	Phrase
Phonological-clause	Clause
Phonological-sentence	Sentence

In referring to the levels as "corresponding", it is not meant that there is a one-to-one equivalence between a phoneme and a morpheme, but rather that they are the smallest category in each hierarchy. Similarly, the syllable and hyper-morpheme are not directly equivalent, but are recognized as levels between the word or the phonological-word and the lowest levels in the phonological and grammatical hierarchies respectively. Recognition of these levels enables us to realize the most economic statement of the structure.

The phonological counterpart to the tagmeme is the phonotagmeme, which correlates a phonological function and the set of items that may manifest it. The use of 'phonotagmeme' here is adapted from Crawford (1963:2). For example, in the syllable \$mad\$ there is the function, Onset, which is manifested by the set of consonantal phonemes type one represented by /m/; this is followed by the function, Nucleus, which is manifested by the set of vocalic phonemes represented by /ə/; this is followed by the function, Coda, which is manifested by the set of consonantal phonemes type 2 represented by /d/.

In this thesis the customary tagmemic demarcation between phonology and grammar has been set aside in treating Wolaitta stress, and the grammatical item, morpheme, has been brought in to deal with

the predictability of the phonological suprasegmental, stress.

Cook (1969:8) points out that "In tagmemic string-type analysis, the construction is viewed as a set of multiple relations." This is in contrast to the immediate constituent analysis which "ascribes ideally to every simple clause a binary structure, viz. two primary constituents, a (subject) nominal phrase and the rest (predicate). Whatever other noun phrases or adverbial phrases are present are separated from each other only by subsequent constituent cuts." (Hayward:1976:20). In the literature concerning both these types of analysis will be found adequate discussion of the issues involved. The string-type analysis better fits the taxonomic nature of this study in that it is not hampered by a limitation pointed out by Longacre (1960:86) "the immediate constituent approach...occasionally separates phrase types which are hypertagmemically identical, while it occasionally joins phrase types that are hypertagmemically distinct...it obscures Trique phrase structure at several points."

Modern syntactic typological studies of parametric variation seem to suggest that many of the syntactic properties of certain languages are best described in terms of a "flat" (= string constituency) sentence structure rather than a "configurational" (= binary S...P immediate constituency) sentence structure.

In tagmemics matrices and other displays of structures and systems are utilized to present a panoramic (or field) view of language features. Pike (1962:244) notes that "Dimensional displays of constructions should contribute in various ways (a) toward the display of grammatical structure to help the reader gain insight into the nature of grammatical systems, just as a phonetic chart helps him to grasp quickly the dimensions of a phonemic system; (b) toward cutting descriptive redundancy; (c) toward the typology of constructions...(d) toward testing for validity of grammatical conclusions by preliminary displays of constructions leading to checking for contrast, variation, and distribution." These devices are used here to reduce descriptive redundancy, and to present data in a concise form (which is necessary when seeking to give an overview of the whole language).

If one were to use traditional (ie. pre 1962) tagmemics as a framework for presenting data (without resorting to matrices), in an inflectional language like Wolaitta one would encounter a limitation, namely that it would be impossible to segment a form so that all the

functions could be identified by overt markers, e.g., on the long vowel /-i:/ in /hent-i:/? "Is he herding?" converge the following functions: SUFFIX Initial Subject Agreement, Primary Aspect and Tense, and Mood. These cannot be segmented out in terms of a "string" of the three functions, and so have been handled here as a portmanteau feature. Pike (1977:189) handles this problem by charting it in a matrix form as a "cell formative". He notes that "If it is impossible or not feasible to segment the phonological data in a cell into separate morphemes (either because there is no evidence of an earlier bimorphemic status of the formative, or because fusion has gone so far that clear segmentation is not apparent) a cell formative (rather than a vector formative) is present, in which the formative is restricted to the one cell and simultaneously signals the meaning of each vector intersecting in that cell." (Pike (1963:1-23) extensively illustrates and discusses this concept in a treatment of the Fore language.).

Since no in-depth write-up of the Wolaitta language has previously appeared, the aim of this thesis is to provide an overview of the main features of Wolaitta. In doing so, to make as perspicuous as possible the surface structures which are realized in a very complex morphology, certain of the features of more recent models of tagmemics, such as relating surface grammatical functions to underlying semantic roles, have not been incorporated. This limitation has been imposed upon the thesis in order to concentrate on an overview of the surface structure—which is a jumping off point for future deep structure and higher level studies of Wolaitta.

1.3. Conventions Used in this Thesis

Since the majority of tagmemic notational conventions have been in widespread use for some time, no detailed explanation is given here, only certain features that are thought to need comment.

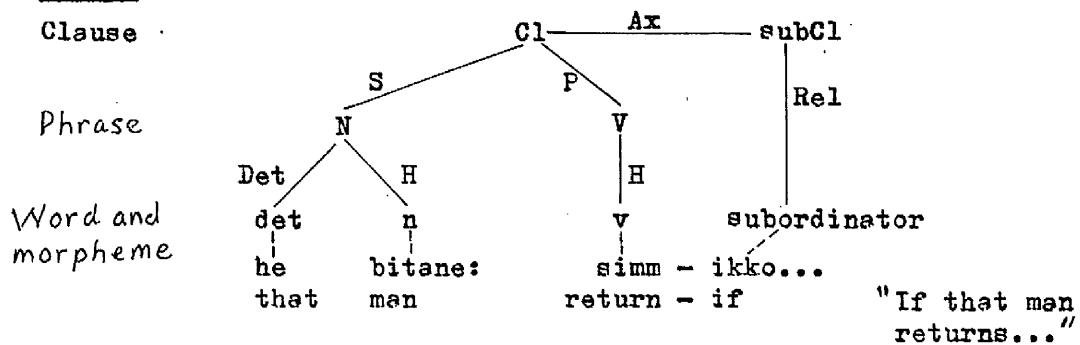
a) Tree Diagrams

Hayward's adaptation of Longacre's (1970:174) tree diagrams is employed here to illustrate varieties of syntagmemic and tagmemic exponence. "Tree diagrams have no formal status in tagmemic theory (such as that of phrasemarker in generative-transformational grammar)" (op. cit.:174). Three varieties of exponence are here

illustrated: descending exponence, level-skipping exponence, and recursive exponence; problems encountered in using such are discussed.

In the following tree diagram (1), these three varieties of exponence are illustrated:

(1) Levels



1) Descending Exponence

In clause (1) the pyramidal structure characteristic of descending hierarchy can be seen descending from Cl on down through N and V at phrase level to det, n, and v at word and morpheme level. The branches represent functions, and the node represents a particular choice from the set of items that may manifest the function. At the Cl node is a syntagmeme (or unit) consisting of two tagmemes, 1) a S manifested by a N, and 2) a Predicator manifested by a V. As Longacre (op cit.:178) puts it, "each tagmeme is manifested by a syntagmeme (or unit) on the next descending level...Thus...Clause-level tagmemes are manifested by phrase types" [in (1) N and V]. "And phrase-level tagmemes...are manifested by word types." [in (1) det, n, and v].

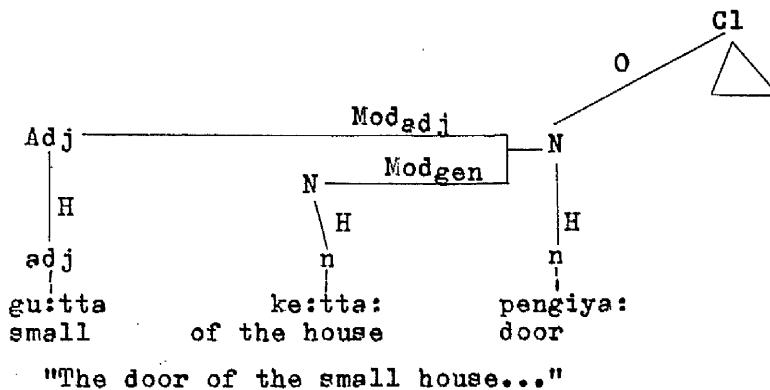
While Longacre (op cit.:175) states that "tagmemic trees...are hierarchically oriented", in his TREE DIAGRAM V (op cit.:183), he has a PossNP commanding an AntiSentence which commands a TrCl in a descending exponence in the pyramidal structure. In this thesis an endeavor has been made to avoid having higher level syntagmemes dominated in the display space by lower level ones by keeping each constituent at its own level, even though embedded, as will be seen under "recursive exponence". This is done in order to adhere visually to hierarchical structure.

2) Recursive Exponence

Recursive exponence here is used to mean the occurrence of more than one element on the same hierarchical level in a tree diagram. It will be noted in (1) that the Clause tagmeme manifesting

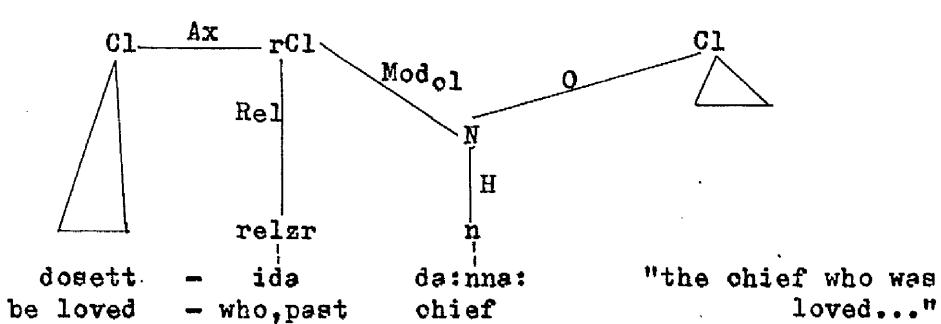
the Axis function in the subCl is an item occurring at the same hierarchical level as subCl, and hence is kept at the same level as the subCl in the tree diagram. In (2) below it can be seen that the Adj and the two N's are all items on the same hierarchical level and so are kept at the same level in the tree diagram, even though both the Adj and one N are pre-modifying to the left of the N manifesting O, e.g.,

(2)



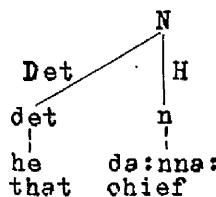
The embedding of an item that is a member of a higher level within a member of a lower level is always to the left in a tree diagram here because Wolaitta is a typical SOV ordered language and is entirely left-branching; and so in this thesis the tree diagrams maintain these levels, as can be seen in (3) by the rCl occurring on a higher level than the N in which it is embedded, e.g.,

(3)

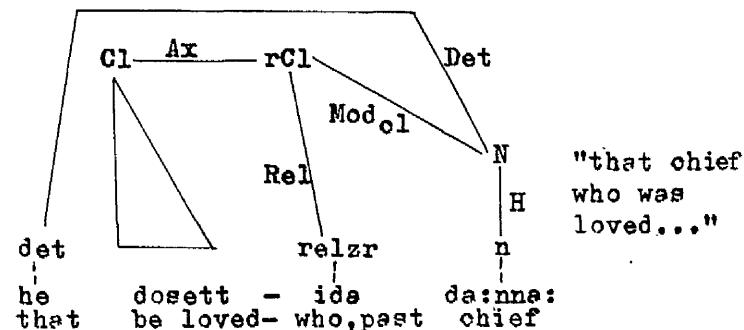


However, there is one problem in this diagramming that some tagmemists are not troubled by when they keep straightforwardly to descending exponence, and that is a branch with a modifying function on it that has its necessary termination in descending exponence, and yet it occurs out to the left of another modifying element that is a member of a higher level than that of the member in a lower level within which it is embedded, and which is modified by both modifiers, e.g.,

(4)



(5)



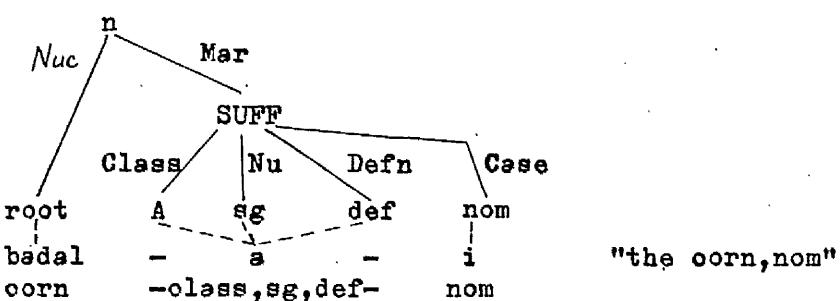
As seen in (4) the Determiner function finds its normal necessary termination in descending exponence, but in (5) the branch on which Det is located must go up from Phrase level and over the Cl level before descending to word level, its termination. The N tree diagram in (8) section 6.1.1.1. is a further illustration of this. This up-and-over format seems more desirable than crossing directly from N and going through the other functions to get to det.

3) Level-skipping Exponence

Level-skipping exponence occurs when an element such as a clause level function is not manifested by a member of the next lower level, a Phrase, but skips past the phrase level and is manifested by a member of the word level or morpheme level. An example of this is seen in (1) where the Relator function of the subCl at clause level is manifested by a subordinator at the morpheme level—thus Phrase and word level are skipped in this exponence.

Within the tree diagrams, "convergence" notation is used where the joint realization of the manifestations of two or more functions converges on the same item, e.g.,

(6)



In (6) the broken lines between /-a-/ and A, between /-a-/ and sg, and between /-a-/ and def indicate that the realizations of A manifesting the Class function, of sg manifesting the Nu function, and of def manifesting the Defn function jointly converge on the morpheme /-a-/.

One other device is used in the tree diagrams—solid/broken lines. Solid lines indicate grammatical exponence relationship, for example, in (6) the solid line descending from *n* indicates the category of Margin as a function that is manifested by SUFF at the termination of the solid line. On the other hand, broken lines indicate lexical selection, for example in (6) the broken line descending from *nom* to /-i/ indicates that /-i/ is the actual lexical item realized in the nominative case. This solid line/broken line notation was suggested to me by Dr. R. Hayward.

- b) Obligatory tagmemes in a formula are represented by a "+" sign preceding them, and optional tagmemes by a "+" sign. However, there is another type of tagmeme that is nuclear to the identification of a construction but which may nevertheless be contextually omitted (deleted). To indicate these tagmemes, in this thesis use is made of Hayward's (1976:27) device: "Where a tagmeme may be contextually omitted (deleted) the fact is indicated by enclosing the entire tagmeme in parenthesis. The fact of its having nuclear status is indicated by a preceding "+" sign. The "+" notation is retained for indicating optionally occurring tagmemes only." +(Tag) means nuclear but optionally absent, while +Tag means Tag is optionally present.
- c) The term "SUFFIX" used here (see 5.2.) is in contrast to the commonly used term "suffix" in that the latter is usually one morpheme that is affixed to the right of a stem; whereas for Wolaitta, which is a highly inflectional language, the use of the term SUFFIX is employed to represent an inflectional entity with one or more morphemes, and to comprise a whole unit that can be suffixed to a stem; and yet it can in many cases be segmented into separate morphemes.
- d) A literal word for word or morpheme for morpheme English gloss is provided for each example cited, along with a freer English equivalent. However, sometimes the large gap between a literal back translation and the equivalent in normal English needs to be bridged by a gloss that is in between the two. Consequently, in some sections, especially subordinate variants, a literal morpheme by morpheme gloss is given, below which is given a literal rendering that reflects the distinctiveness of the Wolaitta construction and yet gives the sense; this is labelled "(literally)". A third

rendering is then given, labelled "(meaning)", which gives the English equivalent in acceptable idiom. A morpheme by morpheme gloss is given only where it is pertinent to the matter being discussed, in order not to burden the reader overmuch with morphological distinctions not germane at that point. Each item occurring in examples that contain a general gloss can be found analysed, discussed, and exemplified in detail in the related section.

e) The postpositions that manifest the Relator function in a PP are here glossed in quotation marks because in different contexts they need to be translated by different prepositions in English. Thus the postposition /-ni/ in /ke:tta-ni/ is glossed in quotation marks house -"in"

because in /mašša-ni/ the /-ni/ postposition has the meaning of knife—"by"

"by". There is no one English gloss that can cover all the meanings of /-ni/, or any other postposition in Wolaitta, and so quotation marks are employed.

f) The notation (Y)^X is used here to represent any type of a certain category—the Y can be any item such as Cl, Phrase, etc., and the superscript^X signifies any type or class of the item noted within the parenthesis, e.g., (Cl)^X means any type of clause.

1.4. Inventory of Abbreviations and Symbols

Apart from proper nouns, any word in the definition that has its initial letter in upper case is a function.

A. = Allen	B. = Bender
abs = absolute	Ben = Benefactive
Acc = Accompaniment	bi-inCl = bi-intransitive clause
act = active	bi-inV = bi-intransitive verb
Adj = Adjective phrase	phrase
adj = adjective	bistCl = bistative clause
aff = affirmative	bistV = bistative verb phrase
Ag = Agent	bitCl = bitransitive clause
agree = agreement	bitV = bitransitive verb phrase
asp = aspect	C = any Consonant
Aux = Auxiliary	c = consonant
aux = auxiliary	C. = Cerulli
Ax = Axis	

Cs = Causee	H = Head
cau = causative	hh = high high pitch
cauCl = causative clause	hyp = hypothetical
cau-recipCl = causative-reciprocal clause	imp = imperative
cau-recipV = causative-reciprocal verb phrase	inCl = intransitive clause
Caus = Causative	ind = independent
cause = causative	indCl = independent clause
cauV = causative verb phrase	indef = indefinite
CB = Beke	Inst = Instrument
Cd = Coda	Int = Intensifier
cf. = correct form/compare	int = intensifier
Cl = clause	Inten = Intensive
Clpred = predicate-only clause	inten = intensive
Co = Complement	interr = interrogative
cont = continuous aspect	Intro = Introductory
Coord = Coordinator	inV = intransitive verb phrase
coord = coordinator	Lit. = literal
cop = copula	Loc = Location
complx = complex	M. = Moreno
complxCI = complex clause	Man = Manner
complxSn = complex sentence	Mar = Margin
cSn = coordinated sentence	masco = masculine
decl = declarative	med = medium
def = definite	mkr = marker
Defn = Definiteness	Mod = Modifier
Det = Determiner	Modadj = adjective Modifier
det = determiner	Modcl = clause Modifier
Dir = Direction	Modgen = genitive Modifier
di-inCI = di-intransitive clause	Modnum = numeral Modifier
di-inV = di-intransitive verb phrase	Modpp = postpositional Modifier
ditCl = ditransitive clause	mSn = minor sentence
ditV = ditransitive verb phrase	n = noun
fem = feminine	N = noun phrase
fut = future	neg = negative
G. = Gofa	Nm = nominal phrase
h = high pitch	Nmz = nominalized phrase
	NN = double headed noun phrase
	nom = nominative
	nomzr = nominalizer
	nr = noun root

nsubg = subordinating noun	relzr = relativizer
Nu = Number	s = singular
Nuc = Nucleus	S = Subject
Num = Numeral	Sc = Scope
num = numeral	sg = singular
obl = oblique	Sim = Simulative
O.H. = Ohman and Hailu	sing = singular
On = Onset	So = Source
P = Predicator	Sn = sentence
Pa = Path	stCl = stative clause
Pass = Passive	stV = stative verb phrase
pass = passive	sub = subordinate/subordinator
pass-cau-recipCl = passive-cau- sative-reciprocal clause	subCl = subordinate clause
pass-cau-recipV = passive-cau- sative-reciprocal verb phrase	subg = subordinating
passCl = passive clause	subgN = subordinating noun phrase
Phono = Phonological	subgPP = subordinating postposi- tional phrase
Pl = Place	subj = subject
pl = plural person	SUFF= SUFFIX
pls = plural persons	T. = Tucker
PP = postpositional phrase	Tag = Tagmeme
pp = postposition	tCl = transitive clause
pred = predicator-only	Temp = Temporal
prof = proform	tV = transitive verb phrase
proN = pronoun phrase	V = verb phrase/Vowel
punct = punctilliar	v = verb/vowel
Quo = Quote	Voo = Vocative
quoCl = quotation clause	voo = vocative
quoV = quotation verb phrase	voi = voice
r = relative/root	W. = Wolaitta
rCl = relative clause	WFP = Word Final Position
Recip = Reciprocal	wf\$ = word final syllable
recip = reciprocal	WIP = Word Initial Position
recipCl = reciprocal clause	wi\$ = word initial syllable
recipV = reciprocal verb phrase	WMP = Word Medial Position
Reflx = Reflexive	wm\$ = word medial syllable
reflx = reflexive	
Rel = Relator	1s/1 = first person singular
	2s/2 = second person singular

3f = third person singular feminine

3m = third person singular masculine

1pl = first person plural

2pl = second person plural

3pl = third person plural

2Ca = Second Causee

3Ca = Third Causee

2cauCl = double causative clause

3cauCl = triple causative clause

2cauV = double causative verb phrase

3cauV = triple causative verb phrase

2cau-passCl = double causative-passive clause

2cau-passV = double causative-passive verb phrase

2cau-recipCl = double causative-reciprocal clause

2cau-recipV = double causative-reciprocal verb phrase

: = manifested by

+ = obligatory

± = optional

+() = nuclear but may be contextually deleted

> = stronger than

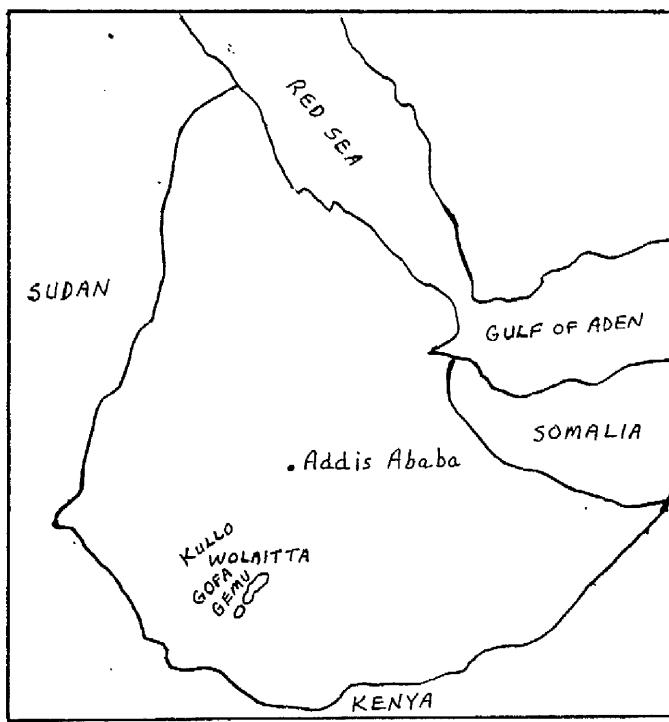
ⁿo = zero-n times

()^x = any type of item in the parenthesis

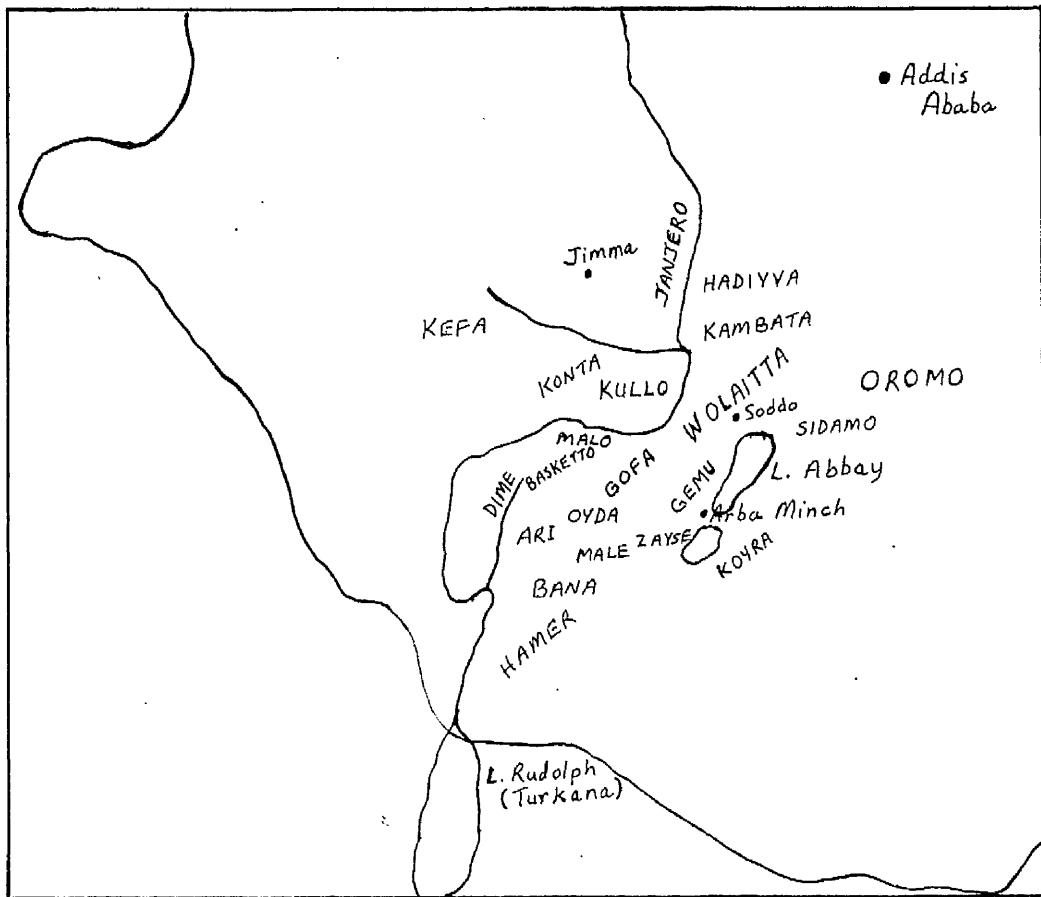
\$ = syllable

1.5. Wolaitta: Its People and Language

Wolaitta is an area in southern Ethiopia within the Sidamo Administrative Region, and is just northwest of Lake Abbay.¹ Part of the area is mountainous, but a large part of it consists of plains and rolling country. It is bounded on the west by the Omo River, on the far side of which are found speakers of Kullo—a dialect of Wolaitta. On the south, Wolaitta is bounded by mountainous districts in which speakers of Gemu and Gofa (also dialects of Wolaitta) live. On the north, Wolaitta borders the Kambatta and Oromo languages.



Map 1. The Geographical Setting
of Wolaitta



Map 2. Languages Adjacent to Wolaitta

The term "Wolaitta" has always been used by the Wolaitta as the name by which they refer to themselves and their language, even though others have called them Wolasamo. However, since the Ethiopian Revolution in 1974, others in Ethiopia have ceased using the name Wolasamo for them and their language, and now also refer to them as Wolaitta.

The greatest portion of the Wolaitta people are engaged in farming, living on scattered, individual, small farmsteads, rather than in hamlets. There are a few towns, and the administrative center is located in the city of Soddo.

Accepting Fleming's (1976a:51) grouping of the Wolaitta, Gemu, Gofa, Kucha, and Kullo dialects as one language called Wolaitta (or Wolaitsa as the dialects bordering the Wolaitta proper call themselves), it is estimated that today there are some 1.8-2 million speakers of Wolaitta.² This makes it the fourth largest language group in Ethiopia, ranking close to Tigrinya, in third

place.

In linguistic literature, Wolaitta is quite often referred to as Ometo, or Wolaamo (variously spelled), or by the name of any of its dialects, i.e. Gofa, Kullo, Gemu, etc.

1.6. Language Classification of Wolaitta

Wolaitta was originally considered to be a member of the West Cushitic branch of Cushitic by writers such as Moreno (1938:17); and even later the same conclusion was reached by Greenburg (1970:49, 65). Greenberg (*op cit.*:49) lists some 30 languages under the one group, Western Cushitic. Cerulli had called these languages "Sidama" (Fleming 1976a:35).

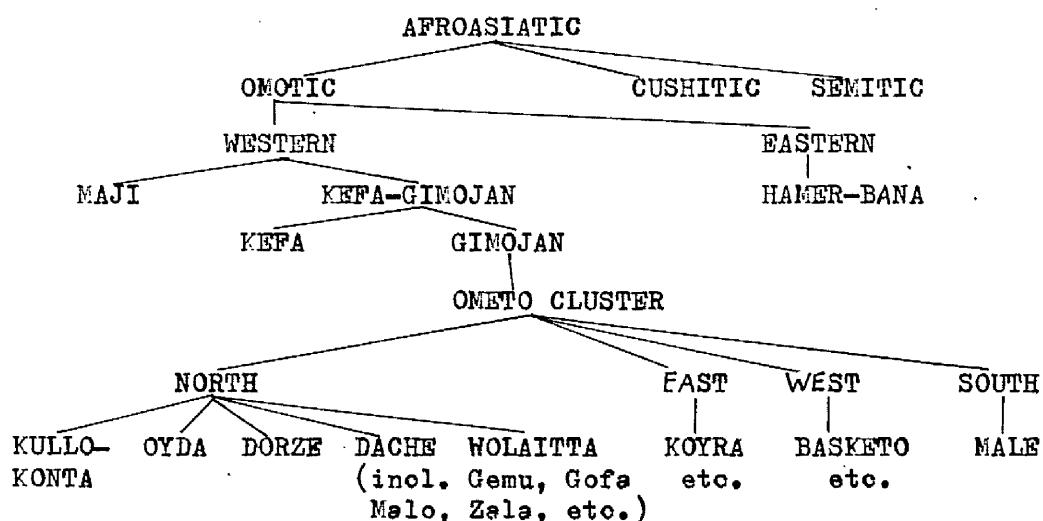
Tucker (1966) recognized that Ometo (another name used for Wolaitta and the languages related to it) "differs from the other Cushitic languages...in several...important respects. It will be seen, for instance, that the conjugation of the Verb in Ometo differs almost entirely from that of Cushitic, both in its system of Moods and Aspects, Affirmative and Negative, and in the conjugation Affixes for Person...Ometo...is therefore here regarded as partially Cushitic."(555). Later, he refers to Western Cushitic as "Fringe Cushitic" (1967:661), but does not set up a separate group as others did later.

Fleming (1969:3), after intensive research on the languages of the Cushitic family, noted that "West Cushitic vocabulary refers back to common Cushitic less often than do the vocabularies of other Cushitic languages."(*op cit.*:17). This and a number of grammatical differences convinced Fleming that "the Western branch of Cushitic should be reclassified."(*op cit.*:3). He proposed that it should be called Ari-Kafa and be viewed as one of the daughter languages of Afroasiatic.³ By 1976, however, both Fleming (1976a:35) and Bender refer to the group as "Omotic". This name is used because most of the languages in this group are spoken in the vicinity of the Omo River system. While some Cushitic languages are spoken outside Ethiopia, the Omotic languages are spoken only within Ethiopia and are therefore, in a way, the most indigenous of Ethiopian languages.

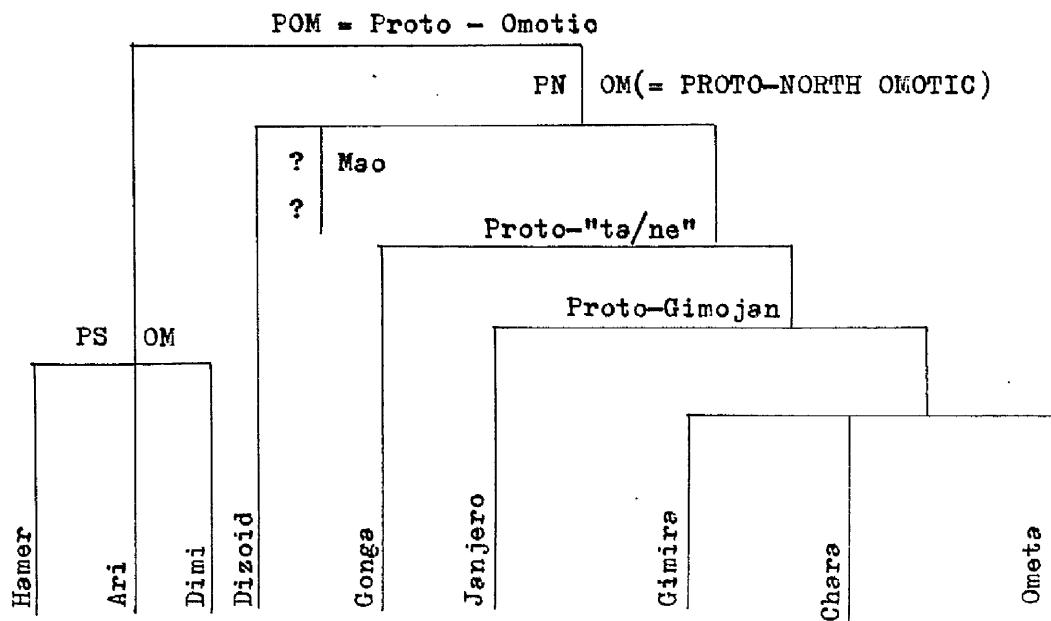
Bender (1971:166, 167), in his classification of Ethiopian languages and later in his monograph (1975:224), places Omotic on an equal level with Cushitic as coordinate member families of Afro-

asiatic, and does not include it within Cushitic. Even more intriguingly, Ehret (1978:1) concurs with Bender (1975) and Fleming (1969:20) in strongly suggesting that Omotic may have been the first split off from proto-Afroasiatic. Ehret suggests that since Omotic has a much lower rate of inclusion in Bender's proposed set of grammatical isoglosses than the other five divisions of Afroasiatic, these defining grammatical elements had never been present for Omotic, which had already become distinct before the other five divisions developed in an ancestral northern Afroasiatic language.

Fleming (1976a:46) notes that "Omotic has almost as much diversity within itself as Cushitic does." However, since this thesis is mainly concerned with Wolaitta, instead of all the divisions within Omotic being mentioned, mostly those that pertain to Wolaitta are noted. Fleming divided Omotic into Eastern and Western Omotic. Within the Western Omotic, a line is traced through Kefa-Gimojan, and on through Gimojan, to the Ometo cluster, in which Wolaitta (termed "Welamo") is assigned to the division of North Ometo. The family tree constructed was as follows:

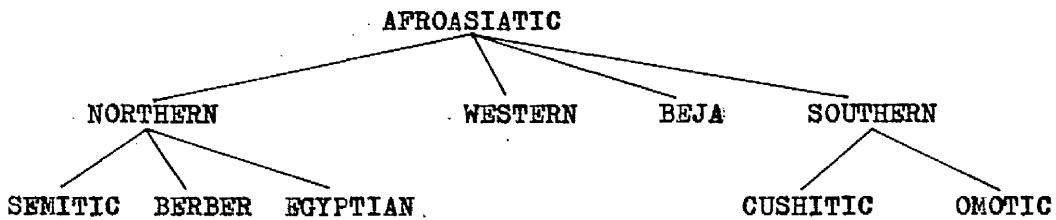


However, Fleming (1976b:300) has continued to revise his internal classifications of Omotic. As the following family tree shows, he labels the Hamer-Buna group "South Omotic", rather than "Eastern Omotic", which is geographically more correct. He also introduces the term "proto-'ta/ne'".



Of more relevance to the language considered in this thesis, Fleming re-names 'North Omoto' as 'Central Omoto'. And, instead of separating Wolaitta, Kullo, Dorze, Dache, and Oyda from each other as he did before, Fleming (1976b:300) classifies Central Omoto as a "dialect cluster with possibly more than 40 varieties." This cluster of Wolaitta dialects he separates from Oyda, making them the two parts of Central Omoto.

While there has been this insistence on the part of some to reclassify the Omotic group of languages as one of the coordinate branches of Afroasiatic, this has not satisfied others. Currently the literature is divided over the whole issue of how to classify the Omotic group. On the one hand, Newman (1980:22) says, "I do not consider the Omotic languages (Greenberg's "Western Cushitic") to be Afroasiatic at all." However, since there are no languages outside Ethiopia that are very obviously related to Omotic, to exclude Omotic from Afroasiatic would be to make it into an isolated language family. On the other hand, Bender (forthcoming) quotes Zaborski as seeing "the presence of an isomorph in the verbal system: Perfect suffixes - e/i, Imperfect - s, Subordinate - o/u as one bringing Omotic back into Cushitic." (*op.cit.:1*). Bender, himself, would not put Omotic back into Cushitic, but on the basis of Zaborski's isomorph and Hetzron's recent thorough review of Cushitic morphological properties (Hetzron 1980), Bender (forthcoming) now views Afroasiatic as having four main divisions:



Bender now sees "an Omotic-Cushitic affinity" which brings them back together as members of one group which ranks with three others as a main branch of Afroasiatic.

And so the classification of the languages grouped around the Omo River has in some ways moved full circle back to Cerulli's original classification of "Sidama" (Omotic) being a division of Cushitic, equal with Lowland Cushitic!⁴

With all the uncertainty surrounding the internal classification of Omotic and its external relationships, it is difficult to be definitive in classifying Wolaitta. However, until further comparative studies are undertaken and Omotic classification is clarified, it is probably justifiable to consider the family tree of Wolaitta to be traced from Afroasiatic (however this is related to Cushitic), through North Omotic on through Gimojan to Central Omoto of which it is the principal member.

1.7. Corpus on Which This Analysis is Based

When I was appointed by the Sudan Interior Mission to coordinate a team of Wolaitta speakers and expatriates to produce a translation of the Bible in the Wolaitta language, my first task was to organize linguistic research on this language which had had no previous tradition of writing.⁵

Right from the beginning, Wolaitta men were trained to transcribe Wolaitta material in a provisional fairly narrow phonetic script, which was gradually phonemicized and refined. Over a period of time some 16 men were trained to write Wolaitta. They transcribed texts, the contents of which amounted to over 43,000 words. This exercise was carried out for purposes of linguistic analysis and the preparation of literacy material. Different types of discourse were transcribed: conversations, fables, stories, argumentation, prayer, teaching, preaching, formal legal pronouncements, etc. The present analysis has had access to this large body of materials

Wolaitta secondary school students and university students carried out the linguistic research, which included charting 1250 independent sentences and 1071 dependent clauses. They tabulated from these charts hundreds of morphs, which were classified, and their occurrences counted to yield a 'grammatical frequency count'. Among other linguistic exercises, some 66,000 phones were tabulated to produce a letter frequency count for literacy purposes. With a background in Amharic and English grammar, these educated Wolaittas were able to take from the data any occurring verb form and then generate from this all the other related forms of its paradigm, so that within a short period of months a great amount of data was accumulated upon which a Wolaitta orthography was based.

The Wolaitta orthography has now been in use for ten years. The Government literacy materials are being produced in the same orthography, and hundreds of literacy teachers have been trained in it. Thus, the system of writing has had time to be proven, which reflects on the reliability of the data and method upon which it was based.

A further indication of the reliability of the data is the fact that for the last 7-8 years, those who did the research, and those who learned the orthography, even though geographically separated, have not altered their own individual way of writing, and corporately have kept on writing it the same way. Even though hundreds of educated Wolaittas have subsequently been exposed to the orthography, have discussed it, and argued about it, no modifications have been made.

Wolaitta men put in thousands of hours amassing and agreeing upon this data. It is upon such a corpus that this thesis is based.

1.8. An Appraisal of Writings on Wolaitta

Since the region of Wolaitta, and related dialects, has not always been easily accessible, early travellers to Wolaitta, such as Beke, Cerulli, Moreno, and Ohman, need to be commended on their noble efforts to describe the Wolaitta language. The conditions under which they conducted the studies, and the educational level of the informants they had to use, must be kept in mind and allowed for when their work is evaluated.

The Wolaitta students that have collected and written the linguistic data upon which this thesis is based are of high school and university level--two were even seniors in university. And by having to take their schooling in the Amharic and English languages, they were acquainted with grammar before commencing on the Wolaitta analysis. Hence, there are bound to be discrepancies between the work of foreigners who were under time and cultural pressures, and the work of native speakers of Wolaitta who are trained in a systematic transcription of the language, and were actually involved in pioneering the orthography that is now currently used also by other organizations concerned with writing Wolaitta.

Most of the grammatical analysis done by previous writers, though limited in scope, was accurate enough. But the phonological features of Wolaitta were not adequately investigated nor consistently recorded by any of the writers.

This evaluation of their writings deals with the three areas of phonology, morphology, and syntax.

1.8.1. Phonology

1.8.1.1. Vowels

Vowel length is usually considered by the writers to be an insignificant feature. Allan (1976) declares that "the difference between long and short vowels is not distinctive...cases of clear contrast are rare."(325). Tuoker (1966:555), (based on Moreno, 1938) states that Moreno uses only five vowel symbols, for he indicates length only where he considers it to be significant. Ohman and Hailu (1976:155) have only a brief statement on vowel length: "The basic vowel system is the usual five-vowel system: i, e, a, o, u... Vowels do occur long and short with differences in meanings." And yet, while recognizing vowel length, rarely do they transcribe vowel length in their article.

However, the ten Wolaitta vowels, five short and five long, are all contrastive and phonemic. (See 2.1.4.3.). All of the writers record some occurrences of vowel length but are frequently inconsistent and incorrect.

In his vocabulary, Moreno lists "awa" twice successively with the meanings "father" and "sun", whereas long /a:/ and short

/a/ contrast in these two words in identical environment, ie, /?a:wa:/ "the father", and /?awa:/, "the sun". Since such phonemic contrasts of long and short vowels are numerous, it is impossible to predict the length of vowels, even though "Moreno states that the length of vowels varies according to position and stress." (Tucker 1966:555). Moreno appears to record in his vocabulary list no difference between the long and short vowels, /o/ and /o:/, nor /u/ and /u:/; e.g., M. dos-, to love, cf. (correct form) /dos-/ , and M. dor-, to choose, cf. /do:r-/; or M. gup-, to jump, cf. /gupp-/ , and M. dufo, grave, cf. /du:po/. He also confuses /e/ and /e:/, e.g., M. deša, goat, cf. /de:šša:/, and M. bēs-, to show, cf. /bess-/; and yet he writes the vowel correctly in M. bēt-, to be seen, cf. /be:tt-/ . The vowels /i/ and /i:/ are inconsistently written; e.g., M. ira, rain, cf. /?ira/, and M. its, bad, cf. /?i:ta/; but he recognizes the short vowel /i/ in M. hadirsa, left, cf. /haddirsa:/ . Numerous more instances of inconsistent representation of vowel length could be demonstrated.

Cerulli (1929) is no better on recording vowels, for he, too, writes "father" and "sun" as the same word C. awā, cf. supra. He misses the difference between long /u:/ and short /u/, e.g., C. ut, to sit, cf. /?utt-/ , and C. uttā, plantain, cf. /?u:tta:/ . Similarly he writes /i/ and /i:/ as the same in C. gitā, large, cf. /gita/ , and C. bitta-pe, from the ground, cf. /bi:tta:ppe/ . He does sometimes write the vowels correctly, e.g., C. akek, to understand, cf. /?ake:k-/ , and C. tā-s, for me, cf. /ta:ssi/ .

However, Cerulli seems to make the assumption that all words ending in the low vowel /ə/ must be C.-ā (long and unstressed), which is incorrect, for many words end in short /ə/, e.g., all class /ə/ nouns, such as /kəna/, "a dog." Moreover, all word-final syllables are not unstressed as his C.-ā indicates, e.g., /mi:š'sa:/ , which he writes as C. mišā, money. He even writes the imperative form, "go!" as C. bā, which should be written /ba/ , for it is in direct contrast with /ba:/ , "it is not present." Numerous other examples of incorrect recording of vowels could be cited, e.g., C. hezzā, three, cf. /he:zza/ , or C. doy, to open, cf. /do:y-/ .

Even though Ohman and Hailu (1976:155) state that "vowels do occur long and short with differences in meanings", and give as an example of length, "kallis 'he was satiated'...ka:llis 'he followed,'" (op cit.:155), there does not appear to be any further recording

of vowel length in the article, e.g., O.H. hoge, oh my! of. /ho:ge/; O.H. guta, small, of. /gu:tta/; O.H. keta, house, of. /ke:tta/; O.H. kita, send! of. /ki:tta/; O.H. tani, I, of. /ta:ni/.

Bender does record some long vowels in his Swadesh Word List, e.g., B. ſo:ſa, snake, of. /ſo:ſſa/, or B. he:za, three, of. /he:zzə/. However, about 19% of the vowels recorded in the roots of words in his list are incorrect (exclusive of noun endings).⁶

Allan (1976) records some long vowels correctly, e.g., A. ba:na, dust, of. /ba:na/. But he incorrectly records others, e.g., A. hezu, three, of. /he:zzu/; A. gutsa, little, of. /gu:tta/. Concerning contrastive vowel length, he observes that "In most cases of purported contrast... contrasts seem to be conveyed by gemination as opposed to non-gemination of consonants."(op cit.:325). Such an observation stems from the "scanty data"(op cit.:329) obtained during the short time he must have had to do the research (op cit.:324), for the Wolsitta informants for this thesis have drawn up a list of 58 pairs of words differing by only /a/ and /a:/ in identical environment. This is not an exhaustive list; nor does it include many other words containing vowels other than /a/ and /a:/ that contrast only in length in identical environment.

While Beke (1845) does seem to record vowel length in the words CB. dées, it exists, and CB. lée, pumpkin, he misses the vowel length most of the time, e.g., CB. ketss, house, of. /ke:tta/, or CB. lapuna, seven, of. /la:ppuna/.

However, the serious mistake in phonological analysis of vowels that previous writers about Wolsitta have made is that of incorrectly recording word final vowels. In doing so, none of the writers have identified the feature of definiteness in nouns, which is signalled by noun suffixes comprising single vowels, long vowels, and diphthongs, by pitch, and other features (see 1.5.3 and 7.2.5.), e.g.,

/ na?a:/, "the boy (abs)"	/həre:/, "the donkey (nom)"
/ na?a/, "a boy (abs)"	/hare/, "a donkey (abs)"
/kəpo:/, "oh bird (vocative indef.)"	
/kəpo/, "a bird (abs)"	
/kapoi (low-medium pitch)", "the bird (nom)"	
/kapoi (low-high pitch)/, "a bird (nom)"	

Allan (1976) differentiates between the vowels [t] and [i],

which correspond to short /i/ and long /i:/ . He goes on to say that "[t] is relatively uncommon"(324). Actually 23% of all vowels occurring in running text are the short vowel /i/. Out of the ten Wolaitta vowels, it ranks second for frequency in running texts. It ties with short /o/ for being the second most frequent vowel in Wolaitta word roots. (Adams 1973:2)

1.8.1.2. Diphthongs

Writers rarely treat diphthongs in any detail. The sequence /ui/ has not been observed in any of the writers' transcriptions. It occurs in the root form of words such as /suiliya:/, "leg."

The noun suffix /-uwa:/, has been transcribed as "-wa" by Moreno and Allan. The noun suffix /-iya:/, has been recorded by Cerulli as "-ya". Now since Moreno interprets the two vowels in the sequence /-au/ as M. -aw, and since Cerulli interprets the two vowels in the sequence /-ai/ as C. -ay, they must then interpret the semi-vowels in M. -wa and C. -ya as two vowels in a diphthong. This interpretation does not agree with that given in section 2.1.4.2. of this thesis, which interprets /-uwa:/ and /-iya:/ as consisting of two syllables, rather than being the complex peak of just one syllable.

1.8.1.3. Consonants

All the Wolaitta consonants are noted by the writers on Wolaitta except the consonant /z/ and [h]. It is understandable that they should miss these, for there have been only 2 or 3 words observed that contain /z/, e.g., /požžu giis/, "It was ripped." The other rare consonant, not mentioned by other writers, is the nasalized [h]. [h] has been observed in only two words, [?aša], "corpse", and [mooho] "leaky pot".

The gemination of consonants has been deemed by some to be relatively unimportant, such as Allan (1976) who while taking note of gemination, says that "because in many cases I found it difficult to decide whether a consonant was truly geminated or whether it was an artifact of elicitation, I have not marked gemination in the text."(op cit.:327)

Even those who use gemination in their own language are in-

consistent in their recording of such. Moreno (1938) correctly records gemination in words such as M. issi, one, but fails to record it in M. agidi, having quit, of. /?aggidi/, or in M. na's, two, of. /na:??s/, and in many more words.

Similarly Cerulli (1929) records gemination in words like C. giddo, inside, but incorrectly records it in C. oittama, forty, of. /?oitama/, or misses it in C. miša, money, of. /mi:šša/. He lists C. isso in his vocabulary the same for "one," of. /?isso/, and for "bedbug," of. /?iso/. Many more instances of unrecorded gemination can be cited in Cerulli's writing.

Whereas Moreno and Cerulli correctly record gemination of /-kk-/ and /-nn-/ as a feature of negation in Wolaitta verbs, Allan, Hailu and Ohman miss it.

Ohman and Hailu (1976) seem to feel that gemination is not too important, for they state that "it is necessary to distinguish between words which differ only in this feature."(155) However, they register gemination in the suffix O.H. -ppe, "from", which is never in contrast with /-pe/, and on the other hand, they omit gemination from most of their transcription of word roots, which are all potentially contrastive, for gemination is phonemic and unpredictable (see 2.1.3.).

Gemination is a significant feature of Wolaitta, for it is estimated that 49% of all Wolaitta word roots contain gemination of one or more consonants (Adams 1974:1). Even 51% of all words in running text material contain gemination of one or more consonants in their roots and/or in their suffixes.

1.8.1.4. Stress and Pitch

Tucker (1966) notes the uninvestigated state of stress and pitch in Wolaitta when he says, "Nothing is known of tone. Stress is recorded by Moreno, but the principles governing its occurrence are not known."(556).

Allan (1976:328) refers to pitch as the contrastive element that distinguishes certain pairs of words, and does not call it stress. On the other hand, as discussed in section 2.3.1.4., a sequence of lower-higher pitch in the word /zare:/ "lizard (nom)", lexically distinguishes it from the word /zare:/ "relative (nom)", containing a sequence of higher-lower pitch. However, the sequence

of lower-higher pitch can further be grammatically contrastive in pitch sequences of low-medium pitch /zare:/, "the lizard (nom)", and low-high pitch /zare:/, "a lizard (nom)".

Allen (1976) states that "for the most part, pitch is predictable and non-contrastive." (328). He gives no rules for prediction; however, the opposite has been found to be true. Since some 40 pairs of words contrasting only by stress in identical environment have been observed (see 2.3.1.3.), stress is phonemic and lexically contrastive in words. But in certain verb and noun inflections, stress has been observed to occur not on the word root, but on the suffix, and so has a limited grammatically-determined predictability. (See 2.3.1.3.).

Moreno and Cerulli make efforts to record stress, but when their work is compared to that of Wolaitta speaking phonologists, many inconsistencies are found, e.g., C. mišā, money, cf. /mi:s'sa/, or M. pällis, it flew, cf. /pa:l'li:s/.

1.8.2. Morphology

From the following examples:

/na?ə/,	"a boy (abs)"	/mehiye:/	"the animal (abs)"
/na?i/,	"a boy (nom)"	/mehe/	"an animal (abs)"
/na?o:/,	"oh boy! (voc. indef.)"	/meho:/	"oh animal! (voc. indef.)"

it can be observed that the morphological cut between the noun root and suffix in /na?ə/ comes between /na?-/ and /-ə/, or in /mehiye:/ between /meh-/ and /-iye:/. Below, the morphological cut between the verb root and suffix comes between /b-/ and /-ə/ in /ba/, "go!", and between /?imm-/ and /-ə/ in /?imma/, "give!", as the following paradigm indicates:

/ba/,	"go!"	/?imma/,	"give!"
/bo/,	"let him go!"	/?immida/,	"we gave"
/bu/,	"let her go!"	/?immenne:?,/	"will he not give?"

While most writers recognize such a morphological cut between root and suffix, they do not keep to it consistently. Moreno

(1938), in his vocabulary, lists in a somewhat abstract way the verb root M. *gel-*, "enter", but lists the whole word in the case of "go!", M. *ba-* "go!". He does the same for M. *ma-*, M. *ga-*, M. *ya-*.

M. *awa-ra*, "with the father", should be /?a:w-a:ra/, for "a father (nom)" is /?a:w-i/.

Tucker (1966) continues the misconception created by Moreno's abstract entry, M. *ba-*, by stating that verb stems are all structurally cv. However, as partially demonstrated above, no verb root or stem has been observed to consist of cv. Allan (1976) correctly notes that "all Kullo verb stems end in a consonant or consonant cluster."(333). Tucker makes further incorrect morphological cuts, e.g., T. *sun-tsa*, name, cf. /sunts-a:/.

Similarly Ohman and Hailu (1976) while making many correct morphological cuts, also make inconsistent ones, e.g., O.H. *b-e?a-s*, I saw, cf. /be?-a:si/. Or, in what seems to be a forcing of a derivational rule, instead of correctly making the morphological cut between root and suffix in the word /de?-e:si/ according to their definition of root on page 159, on the next page they write it as O.H. *de?e-s*, "there is", in order to obtain the negative O.H. *de?e-na*, "there is not", cf. /de?-enna/. However, two lines further down the page they write a negative form with a different morphological cut between root and suffix: O.H. *gid-ena*, "not", cf. /gid-enna/. And whereas they write O.H. *de?e-s*, on page 160, they write it as O.H. *d-e?es*, cf. /de?-e:si/, on page 163.⁸

Some of the writers did not research sufficiently the differentiation between word and suffix. Allan (1976:338) interprets the infinitive form /m-a:nau/, "to eat", as two words A. *ma* new. However, the word /ma/ written separately as a word has been observed to mean only the imperative "eat!". And Allan's "new", has no meaning as a separate word; nor has it ever been interpreted by Wolaittas as a separate word. The sequence /ma:'nau/, has a low-high pitch sequence, which indicates that the /ma:-/ syllable is unstressed and the /-nau/ is the stressed part of the word. It does not consist of two stressed syllables, which would be necessary, if it were to be interpreted as two words, according to the definition of a Wolaitta phonological-word as given in section 2.3.2.

Conversely, Ohman and Hailu's (1976:159) interpretation of O.H. -*gidikko* as a suffix is incorrect, for it may occur alone as a complete utterance meaning "if it is sufficient/if it be", and

possesses its own high-pitch, stressed syllable /gi.'dik.ko/. Moreno (1938:122) breaks the word /ya:g-a:su/, "she said", into two words M. $\hat{y}á \hat{g}ásu$, which, if it were written /ya/, "come!", and not /*ya:/, would mean "she said, 'Come!'" instead of "she said." Moreno's transcription M. $\hat{y}á \hat{g}ásu$ wrongly shows two stressed syllables, for the word "she said", /'ya:ge:su/, has only one stressed syllable in it. Moreno (1938:126) erroneously says that M. bišin = bis ſin, "he went, but", trying to show that the /ſini/ is signaling the word "but". However, in the text, the word /b-i:ſini/ comprises the root /b-/ "go", and the suffix /-i:ſini/, meaning "while in the process of..." and has nothing to do with the contrastive "but".

1.8.3. Syntactic Categories

Due to faulty phonological analysis all writers miss the feature of definiteness in nouns. Moreno (1938:31), Ohman and Hailu (1976:157) state that there is no definite article in Wolaitta; however, definiteness is differentiated in noun suffixes by vowel length, combinations of vowels, by phonemic pitch, and other features (see 7.2.5.).

Cerulli demonstrates his non-recognition of definiteness and the difference between noun cases when he writes word-final, long vowels in the form which he sets up as basic (his 'Forma assoluta') for nouns in his vocabulary list. One class of nouns he transcribes in the definite absolute form, C. $kána$, another class in the definite nom form, C. $kúse$, and another class in the indefinite vocabulary form, C. $kutto$.

Most writers have trouble with tense and aspect in Wolaitta. They like to refer to the continuous aspect (see 5.3.3.1.1.1.2.) as the "present tense" (Moreno:41,50; Ohman and Hailu:159,161; Cerulli: 16). However, what these writers call "present tense" can occur with temporal words such as "long ago", "yesterday", "now", "tomorrow", and "next year". Clearly then it is more than just "present tense". Allan (1976:335) tries to differentiate between "Affirmative Present", "Affirmative Habitual", and "Affirmative Continuous" (op cit.:343) categories. However, the data with which he illustrates this distinction is questionable, for he uses the form A. $haik'edewa$, "who died", for the affirmative past (op cit.:342), and A.

haik'idewa, "who is dying", for the affirmative continuous (op cit.: 343). The only difference between A. haik'edewa and A. haik'idewa are the vowels /-i-/ and /-e-/ which, even by Allan's own definition of "Pronominal Vowel", have to do with persons and have nothing to do with tense or aspect, for these vowels are used in various tenses and aspects.

None of the writers refer to the hierarchy of aspect that is found in Wolaitta (see 4.2. and 5.3.3.1.1.), but seek to explain aspect in terms of the tenses of western languages, e.g., Ohman and Hailu (1976:159) speak of the "perfect tense", whereas this form is signalling aspectual haste due to some imminent happening, as well as completion, and cannot be confined to a western language, perfect tense slot, although it might overlap with such.

None of the writers refer to verb phrases that signal various secondary aspects and can be conjugated through more primary aspects (see 4.2.).

The complicated relative constructions (see 3.2.0.3.2., 3.2.1.5., 5.3.3.2.5., 5.3.3.2.7.3.) are scarcely referred to by the writers. The division between definite and indefinite relative forms is not mentioned by any writer. Cerulli (1929:18) wrongly interprets the nominalizer /-ga:/ on relatives as an auxiliary verb, C. ga, which combines with the gerund to form recent past.

It is clear from the foregoing that previous attempts to record and describe the Wolaitta language have fallen short in many respects. However, in the appraisal given above no damaging criticism is intended, and it is hoped that the present analysis will clarify some of these deficiencies.

The general aim of this thesis is to give a unified description of the Wolaitta language; and it is hoped that this overview will be useful not only to those who work with tagmemics, but because of the copious illustrative examples, will be of interest to general linguists.

2.0. Introduction

The data upon which this thesis is based was originally produced for the practical purpose of collecting linguistic information to be used in creating an adequate orthography for Wolaitta, which has had no literary tradition. Consequently, fine phonetic distinctions were not carefully searched out, but only those phonological distinctions that affected a practical orthography in the Ethiopic script. For this reason this treatment of phonology may not contain all the phonetic observations that a specialist in phonology might wish.

2.1. Phonemes

2.1.1. Phoneme Inventory

A listing of the Wolaitta phonemes together with an indication of the pronunciation of the allophone with the widest distribution is contained in chart 1. Also listed is any other allophone which is pronounced distinctly different from the principal allophone; its distribution is also noted. The letter symbols that are used in the narrow transcription of the allophones are the symbols used by the International Phonetic Association.

CHART 1¹. PHONEMES

<u>Phoneme and principal allophone</u>	<u>Other allophone(s)</u>
b voiced labial obstruent	[b]
p voiceless labial obstruent	[ɸ] [pʰ~f], ([pʰ~ɸ] as free variants word initially, [f~ɸ] as free variants in non-geminated medial occurrences)
g glottalized labial obstruent	[p']
d voiced coronal obstruent	[d]
t voiceless coronal obstruent	[tʰ]
t' glottalized coronal obstruent	[t']
j voiced palatal obstruent	[dʒ]
c voiceless palatal obstruent	[tʃ]
ç glottalized palatal obstruent	[tʃ']
g voiced velar obstruent	[g]
k voiceless velar obstruent	[kʰ]

k	glottalized velar obstruent	[k']
z	voiced coronal sibilant	[z]
s	voiceless coronal sibilant	[s]
ž	voiced palatal sibilant	[ʒ]
š	voiceless palatal sibilant	[ʃ]
m	labial nasal.	[m]
n	coronal nasal	[n] [ŋ] preceding velar ob- struents
l	lateral	[l]
r	vibrant	[r] preceding only con- sonants [f] preceding only vowels
w	labiovelar "glide"	[w]
y	palatal "glide"	[j]
h	laryngeal fricative	[h]
h̚	laryngeal nasalized fricative	[h̚]
?	glottal stop	[ʔ]
i	high front vowel	[i] [j] as a variant in a limited distribution
e	mid front vowel	[ɛ]
a	low vowel	[ʌ]
o	mid back vowel	[o]
u	high back vowel	[u] [y] as a variant in a limited distribution

2.1.2. Notes on the Phoneme Inventory

(a) In this phoneme inventory 12 phonemes are described as obstruents. The term obstruent is used to maintain the grouping of the allophones, [Φ], [p^h], [f]. Rather than list the allophones separately as stop and fricatives, the close relationship of the free variants, [Φ] and [p^h], is maintained when they are grouped as obstruents.

Using the term labial, rather than specifying the phonetic category of bilabial : labiodental for [p^h] and [Φ], enables them to be treated as members of a phonological class.

(b) Although [Φ] fluctuates quite freely with [p^h] and even may be realized as [f] at times, Wolaittas who are more highly educated prefer to write /p/ at the beginnings of words. For, even though

they, themselves, fluctuate in their usage of [ɸ], they feel that /p/ is "more correct" word initially and that /f/ is "more correct" in word medial position. Thus, while in this thesis /p/ is phonologically written in all positions where the allophones occur, in the practical Wolaitta orthography, /f/ is used word medially for the single consonant—and this is good, for in the Ethiopic script there is no way of showing gemination of consonants. And so when /f/ is used word medially for non-geminated [ɸ] variants, and /p/ is used word medially for the geminated consonant, [p^h], it helps readers differentiate between single and geminated [p^h]. And since there is definite closure in the geminated stop, [p^h], but only partial closure in [ɸ], using /f/ and /p/ medially in Wolaitta orthography is not only practical but phonetically realistic.

(c) The rare phoneme [h] has been observed in only two words, ['?ahə:] "the corpse", and [mo:'hə] "leaky pot".

(d) The phones [w] and [j] are categorized as "glides", for in Wolaitta they pass from the open degree of stricture in a glide to a more close degree of stricture. And so "glide" is a loose way of describing their nature, for in phonetic nomenclature I have not come across a term which enables one to ignore the distinction between frictionless continuants and fricatives.

These "glides" pass through three degrees of stricture: 1) They occur as true glides in the diphthongs /əu/ and /ai/ (see 2.1.4.1.). 2) They occur with greater stricture as word initial consonants in [wo:sə:] "the prayer", and in [ya:də] "you having come". 3) However, they occur with considerable stricture as long consonants. In forming [j:], the tongue seems closer to the palate in creating more stricture than even the fricative [š:] creates, e.g. [ja:j:a] "fear!". In forming the [w:] in [baw:iJa:] "the bole of a tree", the lips move to greater roundedness than in forming the [w] in [kawiJa:] "the queen (nom)".

(e) Although the short vowel /ə/ generally corresponds to [ʌ], in a word like [?awsə:] "the sunshine" the short vowel corresponds to cardinal [ə]. And yet in a word like /'mat:a:/ "the bee", the short vowel approximates even to [ə]. However, there are no contrasts in meaning between these variants of /ə/.

(f) Wolaitta contains two voiceless vowels [i] and [y]. They con-

trast in identical environment and mark person in the past tense of the punctiliar aspect: [?*i'm:a:sj*] "I gave"

[?*i'm:sə:sj*] "she gave"

If a speaker wishes to emphasize that it is "she", and not "I" that was the actor in the verb, the voiceless [u] can be voiced. The voiceless [i] is sometimes voiced in reading, especially by older people.

Since [i] and [i] can fluctuate in the same environment [ba:s-], in ['ba:sj] "I went", and ['ba:si], and since [i] never contrasts with [i] in other environments, [i] and [i] can be interpreted as allophones, [i] having the widest distribution.

Voiceless vowels do not have a wide distribution in Wolaitta; however, because they are found in frequently recurring grammatical functions, they occur frequently in the speech continuum. Voiceless vowels occur only as the nucleus of a phonological-word final syllable. [u] has been observed following only the consonant [s], and only in the verb suffix marking punctiliar aspect past tense, 3rd person, singular, feminine, e.g. [ba:sj] "she went". The voiceless vowel [i] has been observed following only the consonants /s/, /ss/, and /n/. These occurrences are limited to those within verb suffixes and postpositions.

The morphological change in suffixes caused by voicing of the voiceless vowel [i] is discussed in section 2.7.5.

2.1.3. Long Consonants

Long consonants occur in Wolaitta. And while most people who write about the Wolaitta language observe that consonant length exists in Wolaitta, they fail to recognize how extensively it occurs. Some 49% of Wolaitta word roots signal lexical differences by consonant length, and 51% of all words in running text material contain one or more long consonants (Adams 1974:1).

Most writers are unaware to what extent long consonants contrast with short consonants in Wolaitta. The following examples demonstrate how different consonants in identical phonetic environments (and capable of occurrence in identical syntactic contexts) contrast just in gemination and within the same word class:

[b]	[la b a] ²	"entice!"	[la b:a]	"burn!"
[p']	[lip' p s]	"blink!"	[lip: p s]	"wind thread!"

[d]	[gī:di]	"having said"	[gī:d:i]	"while saying".
[t]	[mā:ta:]	"the authority"	[mā:t:a:]	"the milk"
[t']	[mut'ījā:]	"the meat cutter"	[mut:'ījā:]	"the sharp point"
[g]	[pūgi:jā:]	"the bladder"	[pūg:i:jā:]	"the civet cat"
[k']	[bāk'sā]	"flee!"	[bāk:'ā]	"slap on cheek!"
[s]	[?isūwā:]	"the bedbug"	[?is:ūwā:]	"the one"
[l]	[t'ālā]	"be brave!"	[t'āl:a:]	"heal!"
[m]	[tʃ'īmā]	"grow old!"	[tʃ'īm:ā]	"deceive!"
[n]	[sonījā:]	"the decline (hill)"	[son:ījā:]	"the cold (illness)"
[j]	[tījā]	"paint!"	[tīj:ā]	"mature!"

The long consonants occurring in Wolaitta need to be interpreted. Are they geminates that are interpreted as two identical consonants in sequence? Or are they single consonants which contain the feature of length? These questions need to be answered within the context of Wolaitta consonant clusters and their distribution.

In Wolaitta, only one type of consonant cluster, C_1C_2 , has been observed, and it has restrictions placed upon it. Only certain consonants may occur as C_1 in the cluster. Similarly only certain consonants may occur as C_2 (see 2.2.3.). However, the second member of the cluster has been observed to occur only long, phonetically, that is.

Since there is no simple C_1C_2 consonant cluster in Wolaitta, i.e., a cluster consisting of two different short consonants in sequence, there is no totally convincing precedent for interpreting long consonants as geminated on the basis of comparing the long consonant with a C_1C_2 consonant cluster. Although long consonants cannot be phonetically compared with consonant sequences, they can be compared in terms of their distributional similarities and failure to recognize these would lead to some problems. If long consonants were interpreted as single consonants containing the feature of length, then there is encountered the burden of explaining why they do not have the distribution of short single consonants. Long consonants cannot occur word initially, nor as the first member of a consonant cluster, C_1C_2 , like short consonants can. Conversely, there would remain the burden of explaining why long consonants share the distributional restriction of consonant sequences, i.e., they cannot occur initially or pre-consonantly.

Moreover, there is another argument for analyzing long consonants in a way which will demonstrate that they can be interpreted as geminates.

In Wolaitta an intervocalic voiced consonant bears the same pitch as its immediately following vowel, and usually has a different pitch from the vowel immediately preceding it. This is characteristic of a single voiced consonant. For example, [hns] "become!" has a low pitch on the segment [ha-], and a higher pitch on the segment [-ns].

When a single voiced consonant occurs as the first member of a consonant cluster, it bears the same pitch as its preceding vowel, and is a different pitch from the consonant that immediately follows it, e.g., [hind:a] "let us rise up and go!", has a low pitch on the segment [hin-] and a higher pitch on the segment [-d:a].

The long consonant [n:] in the pitch group [han:a] "this (fem.)" consists of a pitch glide which starts out on the low pitch of the vowel preceding it and ends on the higher pitch of the vowel following it.

From the above examples the following observations can be made. In the pitch group, [hna] (low-higher pitch pattern), the intervocalic [n] occurs on the same pitch level as its higher pitched succeeding vowel. Thus, an intervocalic single voiced consonant carries the same pitch as its succeeding vowel. On the other hand, a single consonant which occurs as the first member of a consonant cluster carries the same pitch as its preceding vowel, as illustrated by the [n] in [hind:a] carrying the same pitch as its preceding vowel [i]. A single voiced consonant, then, can be identified with the vowel that carries the same pitch it carries.

In the case of the long consonant, [n:], in the pitch group [han:a], one part of the long consonant, by virtue of its pitch correspondence with its preceding low-pitched vowel, has an affinity toward the low-pitched vowel in a way similar to that in which a single, voiced, first member of a consonant cluster has a pitch affinity with its preceding vowel. The other part of the long consonant, [n:], by virtue of its pitch correspondence with its succeeding higher-pitched vowel, has an affinity toward the higher-pitched vowel in a way similar to that in which a single voiced intervocalic consonant has an affinity toward its succeeding vowel.

By this analysis, voiced, long consonants in Wolaitta can be

interpreted as geminates and can be symbolized as CC. Invoking the principle of symmetry here, we can interpret voiceless long consonants also as geminates.

In this thesis post-consonantal long consonants are treated as single phonemically, when in phonetic pronunciation they are clearly long. This might look as if there is phonemic overlap. But two points need to be considered: 1) Length in post-consonantal consonants is always predictable. It would be missing a generalization not to predict the phonetic length by means of a rule. 2) To interpret a phonetically long consonant as a geminate (cc) means that intervocally there can be three consonant sequences--which is a new pattern, not observed, except in the case under discussion.

CHART 2. Long Consonant Phoneme Inventory

/bb/	voiced labial obstruent	[b:]
/pp/	voiceless labial obstruent	[p: ^h]
/pg/	glottalized labial obstruent	[p:']
/dd/	voiced coronal obstruent	[d:]
/qd/	glottalized coronal implosive	[?d̪]
/tt/	voiceless coronal obstruent	[t: ^h]
/t̪t/	glottalized coronal obstruent	[t:']
/jj/	voiced palatal obstruent	[d: ^ʒ]
/cc/	voiceless palatal obstruent	[t: ^ʃ]
/qg/	glottalized palatal obstruent	[t: ^ʃ ']
/gg/	voiced velar obstruent	[g:]
/kk/	voiceless velar obstruent	[k: ^h]
/k̪k/	glottalized velar obstruent	[k:']
/zz/	voiced coronal sibilant	[z:]
/ss/	voiceless coronal sibilant	[s:]
/s̪s/	voiceless palatal sibilant	[ʃ:]
/mm/	labial nasal	[m:]
/nn/	coronal nasal	[n:]
/ll/	lateral	[l:]
/l̪l/	lateral e"	[w:]
/ww/	labiovelar "glide"	[j:]
/yy/	palatal "glide"	[?:]
/??/	glottal stop	

Sequences and Long Vowels

Two groups of vowel sequences are observed in Wolaitta:

	<u>Group One</u>	<u>Group Two</u>
Members	[aj] [ej] [oj] [uj] [aw]	[iJa] [iJa:] [ijo] [ijo:] [uWa:]
Pitch Characteristic	glide	contains two distinct pitch levels
Distribution	phonological-word medial and final ([uj] hasn't been observed final)	only phonological-word final

Each vocoid sequence needs to be analyzed to see if it is completely a vocalic sequence, or if it contains consonantal elements, i.e., an interpretation of them needs to be given.

2.1.4.1. Group One Vocoid Sequences

2.1.4.1.1. Interpretation of the Doubtful Segments [j] and [w] in Vocoid Sequences

In Wolaitta, all non-suspicious phonological-words have been observed to end in only vowels. If the doubtful vocoid sequence [aw] were to be interpreted as VC, then the phonological-word [ba: new] "to go" would contain a consonant in phonological-word final position, which is a pattern not found in non-doubtful Wolaitta phonological-words. Since the doubtful [w] in the vocoid sequence [aw] can occur in phonological-word final position, [w] needs to be interpreted as vocalic.

Similarly, because the vocoid sequences [aj], [ej], and [oj] can occur in phonological-word final position, e.g., [ba:j] "are you going?", [he:j] "receive it!", and [ke:po:j] "bird (nom)", the phonological-word final member of the vocoid sequences, [j], must be interpreted as vocalic, for in all non-doubtful cases only vowels occur finally in Wolaitta phonological-words.

It would then follow that even though the vocoid sequence, [uj] has not been observed in phonological-word final position, the second member of the vocoid sequence, [j], should be interpreted as vocalic also, in order to be consistent with the interpretation of its related vocoid sequences.

Another reason for not interpreting [j] and [w] in vocoid sequences to be consonantal is the restriction on sequences of consonants occurring in Wolaitta. Whenever two different consonants

occur in non-doubtful sequences in Wolaitta, the second member of the consonant cluster is always realized phonetically as a long consonant, e.g., [ment:hi:si] "he broke". If [w] in the vocoid sequence [aw] were interpreted to be a consonant, then in the phonological-word, [?awde:] "when?", a consonant cluster consisting of C₁C₂ would be set up in which the second consonant is not long. However, since a Wolaitta speaker will always geminate the second consonant in a consonant cluster, interpreting [w] as a consonant in [?awde:] would generate a consonant cluster not found in Wolaitta speech. Therefore, the [w] in the vocoid sequence [aw] should be interpreted as vocalic.

Similarly, since [aj] [ej] [oj] and [uj] can all occur before single consonants, e.g., [hajra] "work quickly", [wojse:] "how much?", [?ojše:] "the question", [sujka] "whistle!", [sujliya:] "the leg", in order that a non-Wolaitta consonant cluster be not generated, the doubtful [j] in these vocoid sequences should also be interpreted as vocalic.

2.1.4.1.2. Interpretation of Vocalic Sequences

As shown in the previous section, the doubtful segments of the vocoid sequences, [aj], [ej], [oj], [uj], [aw], have been interpreted as vocalic, i.e., as /ai/, /ei/.... Hence, the vocoid sequences can be interpreted as vocalic sequences. However, these sequences need to be interpreted further as to whether they consist of two vowels, or are one complex vowel.

The vocalic sequences can be interpreted as complex vowels for the following reasons:

- 1) The vocalic sequence /ai/, and the uninterpreted vocoid sequence, [ija], are phonetically different. /ai/ bears one pitch level with more prominence being given to the [a] segment than to the [j] segment. They are not two vowels in sequence that are equal in duration. On the other hand, [ija], contains the two pitch levels, higher pitch on [i], and lower pitch on [a]. Since the syllable in Wolaitta can be defined and delineated on the basis of pitch, the vocoid sequence, [ija], by virtue of containing two distinct pitch levels, would be interpreted as containing two syllabic elements. In the phonological-word [hajsīja] "the fable", containing three pitch levels, the difference is illustrated. The segment [haj-]

carries a pitch glide of medium pitch level, whereas the segment [-sija] carries two pitch levels, high pitch on [si], and low pitch on [s].

The two sequences, /ai/ and [ija], actually contrast in final position in the two phonological-words: [da'rəj] "the bush (nom)", containing low pitch on [s] and a medium pitch glide on [aj], and [da'rīja] "which is more", containing a low pitch on [da], a high pitch on [ri], and a medium pitch on [s].

2) The vocalic sequences, such as /ai/, occur in the same environments as single vowels, e.g., /min[u^wa:/]/ "brave one" and /main[ija:/]/ "barren woman", the only difference being that the gliding vowel /ai/ is of longer duration than the single vowel /i/ in the first word.

Since the vocalic sequences, /ai/, /ei/, /oi/, /ui/, and /au/ are vowel glides occurring as the peak of one syllable, and in this way are different from vocoid sequences that contain two pitch levels, such as [ija], and since they occur in the same environments as monophthongal short vowels in Wolaitta phonological-words, they can be interpreted as complex vowels, or diphthongs, rather than as two-vowel sequences. They are phonologically written as /ai/, /ei/, /oi/, /ui/, and /au/.

CHART 3. Diphthong Phoneme Inventory

/ei/	front mid-high diphthong	[ej] / [e᷑]
/ai/	front low-high diphthong	[əj] / [a᷑]
/au/	back low-high diphthong	[əw] / [a᷑]
/oi/	back mid-front high diphthong	[o᷑] / [o᷑]
/ui/	back-front high diphthong	[u᷑] / [u᷑]

2.1.4.2. Group Two Vocoid Sequences

All previous writers on Wolaitta have recognized the two vocoid sequences [u^wa:] and [ija:]. Some have mentioned [ijo], but none have recognized the difference between [ija] and [ija:], nor the difference between [ijo] and [ijo:].

The vocoid sequence [ija:] occurs as definite absolute suffix on one class of Wolaitta nouns, whereas [ija] is the relativizer part of the verb that occurs in the predicate of a relative

clause. And these two sequences are in contrast with each other, e.g., [kariījs:] "the doorway (abs)", [kariīja] "who despises". The vocoid sequence [ijo:] is the definite absolute suffix on feminine nouns, whereas [ijo] is the relativizer part of the verb that occurs in the Predicate of a relative clause, e.g., [hariījo:] "the female donkey (abs)", and [ha:rījo] "which he rules".

The five doubtful vocoid sequences, [ija], [ija:], [ijo], [ijo:], and [uwa:] can be interpreted as /iys/, /iys:/, /iyo/, /iyo:/, and /uwa:/ for the following reasons:

1) Each of the vocoid sequences, [ija], [ija:], [ijo], [ijo:] and [uwa:] can contain two levels of pitch. Since pitch is the basis for defining and delineating the syllable in Wolaitta (see 2.2.1.), two pitch levels in a sequence would indicate that the sequence contains two syllables. In Wolaitta, a syllable of the type V does not occur (unless the examples under discussion are so interpreted), and so there would be no precedent for interpreting the two syllables in the sequence [ija:], with higher pitch on [i] and lower pitch on [a:] as [\$i\$a:\$] with a syllable break occurring before and after each vocalic segment in the sequence. Since Wolaitta syllable types (see 2.2.4.) can be interpreted as CV and CV:, in the phonological word [hariīja:] "donkey", by inserting a consonantal element between the two syllabic nuclei [i] and [a], the syllables could be interpreted as /ha\$ri\$ya:/, ov.ov.ov:, with the pitch pattern of medium pitch on the syllable /ha/, high pitch on the syllable /ri/, and low pitch on the syllable /ya:/. The vocoid sequence [ija:], is then interpreted as /iys:/.

Similarly, because the other four vocoid sequences each contain two pitch levels and should be interpreted on the basis of non-doubtful Wolaitta syllable patterns, [ija] is interpreted as /iys/, [ijo:] as /iyo:/, [ijo] as /iyo/, and [uwa:] as /uwa:/.

2) The vocalic sequence [ija:] contains greater vocalic quantity than the vocalic quantity that has been observed in non-doubtful Wolaitta vocalic elements. Single vowels, long vowels, and the complex vowel sequence, such as /si/, have been observed in Wolaitta, but no vocalic duration or quantity beyond these. Therefore, the doubtful sequence [ija:], which in view of its being doubtful, ought

not to be interpreted as having a vocalic duration beyond that observed in Wolaitta vowels, the quantity of which is non-doubtful; it can nicely be interpreted as consisting of two differently pitched, vocalic elements /i/ and /a:/ in the /iys:/, vowel sequence, which matches the vocalic quantity allowed by Wolaitta syllable interpretation.

Similarly, the vocalic sequence [iyo:] is also restricted by Wolaitta syllable interpretation from being interpreted as a vowel sequence with vowel quantity in excess of long vowels or diphthongs, for such has not been observed in Wolaitta. Therefore, [iyo:] should also be interpreted as /iyo:/.

3) The doubtful vocoid sequence [ija:] is phonetically the same as an identical, non-doubtful Wolaitta sequence.

The [j], in the following non-doubtful Wolaitta sequence, contrasts with the [d] in the following two identical environments:

/ha:r̄[j]a:ga:/ "he who rules"
 /ha:r̄[d]a:ga:/ "he who ruled".

And so the [j] is a non-doubtful discrete segment of a verb suffix, just as [d] is.

The doubtful vocoid sequence [ija:], occurring in a noun suffix indicating definiteness, and the non-doubtful suffix in the word mentioned above, [ha:r̄ja:ga:], are observed to be phonetically the same in identical segments within similar environments:

Non-doubtful — /ha:[r̄ja:]ga:/ "he who rules"
 Doubtful — /ha[r̄ja:]ga:/ "the donkey's thing"

Thus, since the vocoid sequence [ija:] is phonetically the same as the sequence /-iys:-/, which occurs in a Wolaitta non-doubtful sequence, there is one more reason to interpret the vocoid sequence [ija:], as /iys:/.

And so, because of the foregoing reasons, the Wolaitta, group two, disyllable vocoid sequences are interpreted as /iys/, /iys:/, /iyo/, /iyo:/, and /uwa:/.³

2.1.4.3. Long Vowels

Long vowels occur in Wolaitta, and they contrast with short vowels in identical environments within the same word class, e.g.,

/i/	/'pituwa:/	"the sweepings"	/'pi:tuwa:/	"the peeling"
/e/	/?es'sa/	"stop it!"	/?e:s'sa/	"make honey!"
/ə/	/'mərə:/	"the calf"	/'mə:rə:/	"the row"
/o/	/'kɔriya:/	"the door lintel"	/'kɔ:riya:/	"the throat"
/u/	/'?utta/	"sit!"	/'?u:tta/	"plantain"

The question is whether long vowels should be interpreted as two vowels in sequence, or as a vowel containing the feature of length.

In Wolaitta, double vowel sequences, v_1v_2 , have not been observed, and so there is no pattern for interpreting long vowels as two vowels of the same quality in sequence. (It will be recalled that [əj] and [əw] etc. have been interpreted as single vowel phonemes.)

The pronunciation of Wolaitta long vowels does not have two syllabic entities or pulses separated by an hiatus, as occurs in some languages.

The duration of long vowels is definitely longer than short vowels and approximates the duration of the Wolaitta diphthongs /ai/, /oi/, etc. Generally, long vowels are characterized by only one pitch level, but sometimes a speaker will pronounce a long vowel with a slight pitch glide, which is also a characteristic of Wolaitta diphthongs.⁵

Long vowels may occur in all the same positions and environments in which short vowels and diphthongs occur.

And so for these reasons, in this thesis, Wolaitta long vowels are interpreted as vowels containing the feature of length rather than as being two vowels occurring in sequence.

CHART 4. Long Vowel Phoneme Inventory

/i:/	high front long vowel	[i:]
/e:/	mid front long vowel	[e:]
/ə:/	low long vowel	[ə:]
/o:/	mid back long vowel	[o:]
/u:/	high back long vowel	[u:]

2.2.0. Introduction

Syllables, which are combinations of phonemes, constitute the second level in the Wolaitta phonological hierarchy. The basis for locating boundaries of Wolaitta syllables consists of two phenomena:

- 1) the potential for pitch level difference in segments,
- 2) the shifting of stress from one segment to another segment that has potential for pitch level difference.

2.2.1. Basis for Locating Boundaries of Wolaitta Syllables

- 1) The potential for pitch level difference is demonstrated in the word [mela] "dry". The segment [me], carrying high pitch contrasts with the segment [la], carrying low pitch. These segments, which each carry one pitch level, may be termed pitch segments. They contain a consonant and a vowel, in the pattern cv.

The potential for pitch level difference can be further demonstrated in the word [manda] "threaten!". The high pitch segment [man] contrasts with the low pitch segment [da], and contains two consonants and a vowel in the pattern ovo.

In Wolaitta, these contrastive pitch segments can be equated with syllables. These syllables can be represented in a very general formula as:

cv(c)

- 2) The shifting of high pitched stress from one pitch segment to another in Wolaitta can be demonstrated by the following: in the word [ga'l-o] "newborn calf", high pitched stress occurs on the post-root segment, [ga'l-]. However, when the recessively-stressed vocative morpheme [-o:] is suffixed to the basic root form [ga'l-], the high pitched stress shifts to the initial pitch segment of the root in the word ['gal-o:] "Oh newborn calf". But when the auto-stressed morpheme [-o'ta] is suffixed to [ga'l-], the high pitched stress occurs on the suffix in the word [gal-o'ta] "newborn calves".

The phonological units between which the Wolaitta stress shift occurs are pitch segments, which syntagmatically bind phonemes together on the same pitch level. Thus the termini of Wolaitta stress shift can be equated with syllables.

2.2.2. Need for the Syllable in Wolaitta to Describe the Distribution of Phonemes

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At the phonological-word level, there is no obvious pattern of phoneme grouping, for there is extensive and random coocurrence of phonemes in Wolaitta phonological-words.

However, at the syllable level, since patterns of phoneme coocurrence are observed, the syllable is relevant to describing the distribution of phonemes.

2.2.3. Composition of Wolaitta Syllables

The Wolaitta syllable comprises three phonotagmemes: Onset (On), Nucleus (Nuc), and Coda (Cd). These are manifested by sets of consonant phonemes and vowel phonemes. This relationship can be expressed in the following notation:

Syllable = +On: Consonantal Phoneme I +Nuc: Vocalic Phoneme
+Cd: Consonantal Phoneme II

The Consonantal Phoneme I consists of sets of consonants which occur as syllable onset. The Consonantal Phoneme II sets of consonants occur as syllable coda. These are listed in detail in Chart 5, but can be generally summarized as:

Consonantal Phoneme I:

C_n = all single consonant phonemes

C₁ = all single consonant phonemes except /z, r, h̄/

C₃ = the second member of all geminates

C₅ = all single consonants except /p, n, w, y, h, r, h̄, z/
(second member of consonant cluster)

Consonantal Phoneme II:

C₂ = the first member of all geminates

C₄ = /z, s, m, n, l, r/ (first member of consonant cluster)

Consonant clusters in Wolaitta consist of only two consonants in a sequence, occurring only intervocally. The first consonant of a cluster manifests the coda of a syllable, and the second consonant manifests the onset of the immediately following syllable. The second consonant has been observed phonetically to occur only geminated, e.g., [hosppuntta] "eighth". However, since single consonants never occur as the second member of a consonant cluster, on the basis of complementary distribution the second consonant is here

phonemically interpreted as a single consonant.

The actual combinations which have been observed to date are:

rb	rp	rd	rt	rʈ	rg	rk	rƙ		rq	rz	rs	rš	rm	r?
		nd	nt	nt̪	ng	nk		nj	no	nq			n?	
lb	ld	lt	lʈ	lg	lk			le	lq		ls		l?	
mb	mp												m?	
sp		st			sk									
			zg											

The Vocalic Phoneme, which manifests the Nucleus function in the Syllable consists of three sets of vowels. These are listed in detail in chart 5, but are generally summarized as:

V_n = all short, long, and diphthong vowels

V₁ = all short vowels

V₂ = all long vowels except /u:/, and diphthongs except /ui/, and all short vowels.

Assigning such a classification on the basis of all possible cooccurrences of the members of the three vowel sets with each different consonant is beyond the scope of this thesis. Only the co-occurrence of sets of consonants and sets of vowels has been the basis for defining in this thesis the 16 kinds of Wolsitts syllables, which manifest the syllable types in phonological-words.

Chart 5 is displayed on the following page:

Single Consonants		Geminated Consonants		Consonant Clusters	
Word Medial	Word Initial	1st Mem-ber	2nd Mem-ber	1st Mem-ber	2nd Mem-ber
C _n	C ₁	C ₂	C ₃	C ₄	C ₅
b	b	b	b		b
p	p	p	p		p
B	B	B	B		
d	d	d	d		d
t	t	t	t		t
t̪	t̪	t̪	t̪		t̪
j	j	j	j		j
o	o	o	o		o
g	g	g	g		g
k	k	k	k		k
z	z	z	z		z
s	s	s	s		s
m	m	m	m		m
n	n	n	n		n
l	l	l	l		l
w	w	w	w		w
y	y	y	y		y
s	s	s	s		s
?	?	?	?		?
h	h				r
r̪					
z		q	q		

CHART 5. TYPES OF
SYLLABLE PHONOTAGMEME FILLERS

■ Onset Phonotagmeme

□ Coda Phonotagmeme

▨ Nucleus Phonotagmeme

Non-Word Final	Word Final	Preceding a Consonant Cluster
V _n	V ₂	V ₁
Short Vowels	i i e e a a o o u u	i i e e a a o o u u
Long Vowels	i: i: e: e: a: a: o: o: u: u:	
Diphthongs	ei ei ai ai au au oi oi ui ui	

2.2.4. Distribution of Wolaitta Syllables

The distribution of Wolaitta syllables needs to be stated in terms of the next higher phonological level, in which syllables occur as sets manifesting functions in phonological-words. The phonological-word comprises three types of syllables. This relationship is expressed in the formula:

$$\text{Phonological-Word} = \underline{\text{WIP:wi\$}} \ (\underline{\text{WMP:wm\$}})^n \ \underline{\text{WFP:wf\$}} \ --- \text{Prosody:Stress}^6$$

The formula states that a phonological-word is composed of an optional Word Initial Position syllable type which is manifested by the word initial syllable set, plus an optional Word Medial Position syllable type which is manifested by the word medial syllable

set, plus an obligatory Word Final Position syllable type which is manifested by the word final syllable set. The phonotagmeme Prosody: Stress is treated in section 2.3.1. The postscript "ⁿo" and the parentheses in (+WMP:wm\$)ⁿo signify that this type of syllable can be repeated in a phonological-word from 0-n times. Although 2-4 such syllables in a word are common occurrence, a Wolaitta word can contain 10-14 such syllables, or perhaps more, e.g.,

men.te.ret.tis.sir.gi.be:n.nə:.ge:.tes.sin.ne "and for those who
have not already caused it to be broken"

Wolaitta Syllable Sets:

wi\$ = °₁v_n, °₁v_n°₂, °₁v₁°₄

wm\$ = °_nv_n, °_nv_n°₂, °_nv₁°₄

°₃v_n °₃v_n°₂ °₃v₁°₄

°₅v_n °₅v_n°₂ °₅v₁°₄

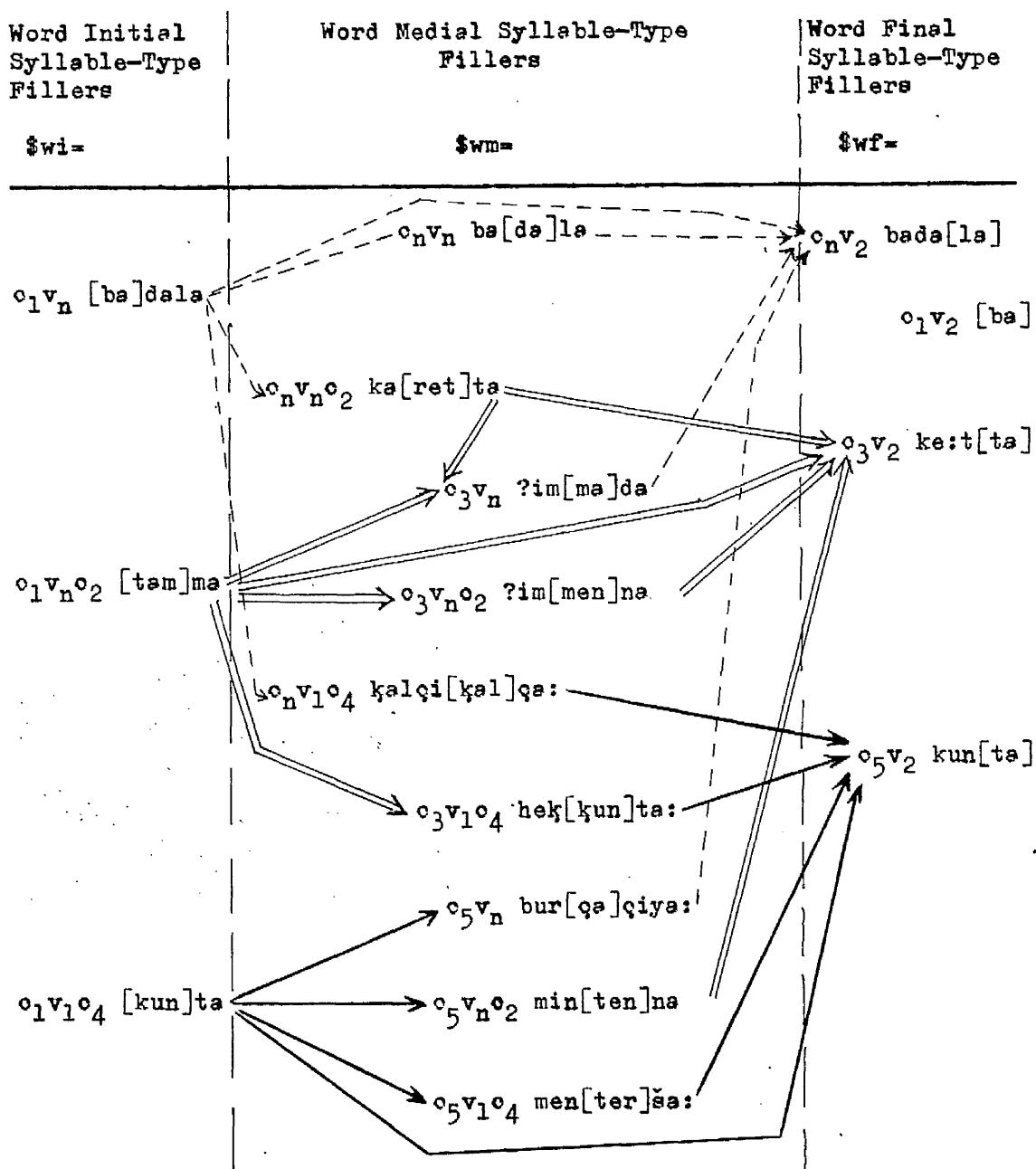
wf\$ = °₁v₂, °_nv₂, °₃v₂, °₅v₂

(The listing of the consonants and vowels which manifest the different classes of consonants and vowels is found in Chart 5.)

A description of all the coocurrence restrictions on combinations of syllable classes within Wolaitta phonological-words is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, it can be generally stated that open syllables can be followed only by a syllable whose onset is not a member of a geminate or a single consonant cluster. A syllable whose coda is the first member of a geminate or a single consonant cluster must be followed by a syllable onset containing the second member of that consonant cluster.

This is illustrated in Chart 6.

CHART 6. GENERAL COOCCURRENCE RESTRICTIONS



**General
Cooccurrence Restriction**

Coda: v_n must go to Onset: o_n →
 Coda: o_2 must go to Onset: o_3 →
 Coda: o_4 must go to Onset: o_5 →

KEY
 ----- → = open syllable
 → or → = closed syllable
 [] Bracketed syllable = illustration of syllable in a Wolaitta word

2.3.0. Introduction

The phonological-word is the third level in the Wolaitta phonological hierarchy. Phonological-words are comprised of syllables. As was seen in 2.2.4. a phonological-word is comprised of an obligatory word final syllable type plus other non-obligatory syllable types. The distribution of these within phonological-words was discussed in 2.2.4.

In a phonological-word, the combination of syllables is bound together syntagmatically by stress, for only one stress occurs in a phonological-word. Thus, stress can be viewed as manifesting an overall prosodic function in a phonological-word.

These phonological features of the phonological-word can be represented as:

$$\text{Phonological-Word} = \underline{+WIP:wi\$} \ (\underline{+WMP:wm\$})_0^n \ +WFP:wf\$ \ —\text{Prosody:Stress}^6$$

The interpretation and commentary on this formula was given in section 2.2.4.

The phonological-word manifests functions in the next higher level of the phonological hierarchy, the phonological phrase.

2.3.1. Phonological-Word Stress

The term stress is used in this thesis rather than any other term to describe the prominence that is the syntagmatic feature binding syllables into phonological-words. The reason for this usage is discussed in the section on tone in Wolaitta (see 2.3.1.4.).

Those who have written about Wolaitta have not dealt with the role of stress in the language. It has been claimed that Wolaitta stress is predictable. In this section the predictability of Wolaitta stress is investigated, especially in the light of Garde's (1973) claim that even in a free-stress language (see 2.3.1.3.) stress can be predictable in terms of the accentual properties of morphemes.

Also, in this section, consideration is given to the role of stress in determining whether a doubtful Wolaitta sequence is a suffix or a word.

2.3.1.1. Pitch Prominence - the Principal Cue of Stress

It has frequently been claimed that the primary cue of

stress is intensity (perceived as loudness) (Hyman 1975:207), i.e., an acoustic property relatable to the energy expended in producing a sound. Hyman further explains, however, that "phonetic investigations have revealed that intensity is not a reliable correlate of stress (Mol and Uhlenbeck, 1956; Fry 1955,58). Instead, pitch and duration (in that order) are much more effective cues of stress than intensity." (207). Lehiste (1970) also states that "in all studies fundamental frequency provided relatively stronger cues for the presence of stress than did intensity." (131).

In Wolaitta, heightened pitch is the most perceptible cue for detecting stress. When Wolaitta speakers are learning to mark stress on Wolaitta transcriptions, identifying the stressed syllable by isolating the one with the highest pitch helps them more quickly recognize stress than by any attempt to identify it in terms of intensity or effort.

2.3.1.2. Effort - Another Cue of Stress

Even though heightened pitch is the principal cue for identifying stress in Wolaitta, effort is another cue, for as Lehiste (1970:110) says, "if all other factors are kept constant, greater effort will produce a higher degree of stress." In Wolaitta, if a speaker, when angry or trying to make himself heard, emphasizes a phonological-word, the syllable with the highest pitch, impressionistically, seems to come through with greater force and intensity of effort.

Duration, however, plays a minimal role as a cue of stress in Wolaitta, for phonemic length and phonemic stress can combine in such patterns that unstressed syllables often occur longer than stressed syllables.

2.3.1.3. The Predictability of Stress in Wolaitta

In relation to stress, some writers classify languages either as 'fixed-stress' or 'free-stress'. Fixed stress, according to Hyman (1975:204) will "restrict the placement of stress to one particular syllable within each word", but "in a language with free stress, prominence can occur on different syllables, depending on the word." It is phonemic. However, as Garde (1973:311) points out, "'Free stress' does not mean 'unpredictable stress'."

Garde (1973) states that stress is not a distinctive feature or property of the phoneme, but a different entity superimposed upon it. However, the role of stress is not to establish an opposition which is on the paradigmatic plane, but a contrast which is on the syntagmatic plane (op cit.: 310). Hence, he feels it is necessary to analyze the stress of a word in a "free-stress" language as the realization of the accentual properties of the morphemes of which it is made up (op cit.: 313).

For a free-stress language like Wolaitta, following Garde, it would seem that since every word contains several morphemes, each with its own accentual potentialities, but only one stress, the conflict between the accentual properties of the different morphemes will necessitate the formation of rules that will determine the place of stress (op cit.: 313). In doing so, one will then be able to predict in a free-stress language where stress will be placed.

Of the three types of free-stressed languages classified by Garde (op cit.: 314-15), Wolaitta seems to be a mixture of two types of free-stress; where 1) stress is "linked to the nature of the morphemes", and also where 2) stress is "linked exclusively to a hierarchy of morphemes."

Wolaitta fits Garde's first type of free-stress language, in that the nature of Wolaitta morphemes consists of two categories: stressed and unstressed. Apart from a few exceptions, all Wolaitta word roots are stressed and all suffixes are unstressed. The exceptions to this generalization cause Wolaitta to be characterized by Garde's third type of free-stress language in which the hierarchy of morphemes, each with its own accentual properties, determines the placement of stress.

Bringing the morpheme, which is a unit of grammar (the study of meaningful units), into this treatment of Wolaitta phonology (the study of non-meaningful units), might appear out of order since in a Tagmemic approach usually a distinction is clearly made between grammar and phonology. However, as Garde (op cit.: 318) points out,

Stress in free-stress languages appears to stand in the way of drawing such a distinction, since it looks as if it is the formal mark of a meaningful unit, the word, which is larger than the minimal meaningful unit. Our proposed method allows us, by an analytical operation, to associate stress with the morpheme, and hence to delimit clearly the boundary between phonology and morphology.

Morphemes occurring in the Wolaitta hierarchy of morphemes

are characterized by two properties, which relate to: a) the place of stress, b) accentual strength.

a) The Place of Stress

The placing of stress is governed by morphemes with two types of accentual potential: there are auto-stressed morphemes (cf. Garde op cit.:315), which require the stress to be located on themselves; and there are recessively-stressed morphemes which require the stress to be located on the initial syllable of the word.

In Wolaitta there are four types of auto-stressed morphemes:

1) Future indicating SUFFIXES:

- a'ne (punot., fut., decl., aff.) e.g. ?imm-a'ne "will give"
- a'ne: (punot., fut., interr., aff.) e.g. ?imm-a'ne: "will give?"
- a'na:ge: (Nmz, punct, fut, decl, aff, nom, 1,2,3 m.sing.)
- a'na:ra (" " " " " 3 f. ")
- a'na:ge:ti (" " " " " pls.)
- a'na:ge:^{pitch} (" " " interr, " " 1,2,3, m.sing.)
- a'na:ri: (" " " " " 3 f. sing.)
- a'na:ge:te: (" " " " " pls.)
- a'na:ga: (" " " decl, " abs 1,2,3 m. sing.)
- a'na:ro (" " " " " 3 f. sing.)
- a'na:ge:ta (" " " " " pls.)
- a'na:i (" " " " " nom all pers.)
- a'na:bai (" " " " " " ")
- a'na:ba: (" " " " " abs " ")

e.g. ?imm-a'na:ge: "he who will give (nom)"

-a'nau (infinite) e.g. ?imm-a'nau "to give"

2) Imperative, plural SUFFIX -i'te, e.g. ?imm-i'te "give!"

3) Causative, stem-forming suffix -is's- e.g. ?im-is's-i:si "he caused to give"

4) Noun-pluralizing SUFFIXES, e.g. par-a'ti "horses"

- nom., -a'ti, -e'ti, -o'ti
- abs., -a'ta, -e'ta, -o'ta
- obl., -a'tu, -e'tu, -o'tu
- voc., -a'to:, -e'to:, -o'to:

The recessively stressed morpheme /-o:/, the vocative suffix, causes the post-root positioned stress to move to the initial syllable of the root, e.g. stress is on the

word-final syllable in the following noun forms:

<u>Definite</u>	<u>Indefinite</u>
?i.'š-ai, "the brother (nom)"	?i.'š-i, "a brother (nom)"
?i.'š-a:, "the brother (abs)"	?i.'š-a, "a brother (abs)"
?i.'š-au, (voc.)	

But ?i.'š- + o: = '?i.š-o: "oh brother (indef.)" The stress shifts to the word-initial syllable.

b) Accentual Strength

Accentual strength is "the morpheme's capacity to impose its stress pattern on that of the other morphemes in the same word." (Garde *op.cit.*:315). The Wolaitta vocative morpheme suffix causes the post-root positioned stress to shift to the initial syllable of the root. For example, as shown above, the post-root positioned stress in /?i.'š-/⁷ "brother", shifts to the root-initial syllable when the suffix /-o:/ is present, ['?i.š-o:] "oh brother (indef.)". However, when the noun pluralizer morpheme /-t-/, occurs with the vocative /-o:/ morpheme in a suffix, the post-root positioned stress does not shift recessively to the root-initial syllable, but is attracted to the syllable containing the morpheme /-t-/, e.g. /?i.ša.'to:/ "oh brothers (def. or indef.)". Thus the accentual potential of /-t-/ is greater than that of /-o:/; in other words it is stronger. In the accentual hierarchy of morphemes /-t-/ is stronger than /-o:/, and may be represented as /-t->-o:/ (the sign > means "is stronger than"). (Garde *op.cit.*:315).

However, whenever the noun pluralizer /-t-/ morpheme, or any of the other auto-stressed morphemes listed above, occur in a suffix, if the stressed syllable of the word root is root-initial,⁸ then the stress will not shift, but is maintained on the initial syllable of the root, e.g. from /?i.'š-/ "brother", stress shifts to the morpheme /-t-/ in /?i.š-a.'ts/ "brothers (abs.)"; but in /'mi:z.z-a.ts/ "cows", the stress does not shift to the morpheme /-t-/ , but remains on the root-initial syllable as in the basic root form, /'mi:z.z-/ "cow". Thus the root-initial syllable has stronger accentual potential than the auto-stressed morpheme /-t-/ , which itself is stronger than the recessively-stressed morpheme /-o:/, which is stronger than the post-root syllable.

In nouns, this hierarchy of accentual strength may be

represented as:

Root Initial \$>-t->-o:> Root Non-initial Segment/\$

In verbs the hierarchy of accentual strength can be illustrated in the following and a representation of it formulated:

to:k.'k-i:.si "he carried" (stress on 2nd syllable)
 + the morpheme -is's- = to:kk-is's-i:si "he caused to carry"
 + the 2nd -is's- = to:kk-is-is's-i:si "he got someone to cause to carry"
 + the morpheme -a'na = to:kk-is-iss-a'na "he will get someone to cause to carry"
 or -i'te = to:kk-is-iss-i'te "get someone to cause to carry!"

'tokk-i:.si "he planted" (stress on initial syllable)

+ the morpheme -is's- = 'tokk-iss-i:si "he caused to plant"

Formula of verb accentual strength

root initial syllable>-'na>-is's-(2nd)>-is's-(1st)>root non-initial
 -i'te> syllable.

The predictability of Wolaitta stress cannot be stated in phonologically-oriented terms, for there are no phonological rules by which stress may be predicted in Wolaitta. This is different from the patterns of stress predictability that occur in an Ethiopian language such as Amharic.

The predictability of stress in Wolaitta is morphologically-oriented.

As will be seen in 2.3.1.4., stress is the only feature by which certain pairs of words contrast. These pairs can contain two or three syllables in the word, and can be from the same class of words. Some 45% of Wolaitta disyllable word roots are stressed on the initial syllable of the root, and 55% are stressed on the other part of the root. Because it is not possible to predict where stress will occur in a word root, it is necessary to mark in the Wolaitta dictionary the stress potential of each word root.

Lexically, high pitch combines with effort to be the contrastive feature in words with trisyllable roots, such as:

- ['kāretta] "limbing (a tree)"
- [ka'rētta] "blackness"
- [kāret'tā] "make black!"

The contrastive feature of high pitch combined with effort abounds in words with disyllable roots. This contrastive feature occurs in roots within the same word class, as well as within different word classes, e.g.,

[<u>'goda:</u>]	"the Lord"	/	[<u>go'da:</u>]	"the wall" ⁹
[<u>'zariya:</u>]	"the relative"	/	[<u>za'riya:</u>]	"the lizard"
[<u>?asuwa:</u>]	"the saving"	/	[<u>?a'suwa:</u>]	"the meat"
[<u>koya</u>]	"seek!"	/	[<u>ko'ya</u>]	"answer!"
[<u>lo?o?</u>]	"it is good"	/	[<u>lo?'o?</u>]	"let it be good"
[<u>do:ya</u>]	"it is open"	/	[<u>do:'ya</u>]	"open!"

And so, it is possible to predict the placement of stress in Wolaitta:

- 1) if we know which part of the word root has stress potential,
- 2) if we know which suffixes attract stress and which do not, as well as which suffixes shift stress within the word,
- 3) if we know the accentual strength of each type of word root and suffix.

Although stress is phonemic in Wolaitta, findings have shown that only 3% of words in text material contain genuine contextual ambiguities that are caused by alternative possibilities of stress that should be marked. Hence, in this thesis stress is marked only in places where it is pertinent to the discussion.

2.3.1.4. The Role of Pitch in the Expression of Definiteness

The indefinite form of the Wolaitta noun is, in this thesis, considered to be the basic form of a noun to which inflectional processes are applied, as is explained in 7.2.5.

In that section, it is shown that to change from the indefinite form of a noun to the definite form, Wolaitta utilizes various processes—one of which is the lowering of pitch.

An indefinite form of a noun containing root initial syllable stress such as /'za.re:/ "a lizard, nom", will have high pitch on the stressed syllable and high pitch signalling the indefinite on the second syllable. The definite form, however, will have a lowering of the pitch on the second syllable, e.g., /'za.re:↓/ "the lizard, nom", (the ↓ indicating that the pitch is lowered from the high pitch).

Similarly, an indefinite form of a noun containing stress on the post-root syllable such as /za!re:/ "a relative, nom", will have high pitch on the stressed post-root syllable. And the definite form will indicate the definite by a pitch that is lowered from that of the indefinite form and yet is still higher than the non-stressed root initial syllable, e.g., /za!re:↓/ "the relative, nom".

2.3.2. Is it a Word or a Suffix?

When Wolaitta-speaking language researchers differed with each other as to whether a doubtful sequence was one word, two words, or a suffix, one important question would be asked when interpreting the sequence: "Does the sequence contain just one stressed syllable?" Non-doubtful Wolaitta phonological-words usually contain only one stressed syllable, e.g.,

[ke:tta:danka] "even as the house". But since the

sequence [ke:tta:mala] "like the house" contains two high pitched stresses, it is interpreted as two words /ke:t'ta: ma'lə/ just as

[gi'ta ke:t'ta:] "the big house", a non-doubtful sequence, is considered.

2.4. Phonological-Phrases

The phonological-phrase, the fourth level in the Wolaitta phonological hierarchy, is comprised of phonological-words. Phono-

logical-phrases combine to form phonological-clauses. The terminal boundary of the phonological-phrase is characterized by the prosodic features of obligatory pause and optional slight pitch contour. This can be represented as:

Phonological-Phrase = (+Margin:Non-Phrase-Final Phono.-Word)₀ⁿ +Base:
Phrase-Final Phono.-Word —Prosody:Phrase Terminal

The obligatory Base of the Phonological-Phrase is manifested by a Phrase-Final Phonological-Word, which differs from the optional Non-Phrase-Final Phonological-Word manifesting the Margin of the Phonological-Phrase, in that the phonological-phrase terminal prosodic feature is obligatorily carried by it. The symbol ⁿ₀ and the brackets indicate that the Non-Phrase-Final Phonological-Word may occur 0-n times in a phonological-phrase. The symbol — before "Prosody" means that the item following the — is obligatory, but is suprasegmentally related to the whole syntagmeme and is not just linear in its ordering.

The main Phrase Terminal Juncture feature is pause, which has been observed in three lengths, referred to as three moras of length. The mora used here is not an absolute measurement of pause length, but is relative in terms of the three types of phonological-phrases that contrast in pause length. Hence Mora₃ = long pause length, Mora₂ = medium, and Mora₁ = short.

CHART 7
CONTRASTIVE FEATURES OF PHONOLOGICAL-PHRASE TERMINAL JUNCTURE

Phonological- Phrase Types	Terminal Juncture:				
	Pause			Pitch Contour	
	(Long) Mora 3	(Medium) Mora 2	(Short) Mora 1	Slight Down- Glide	Slight Up- Glide
Phono-Phrase I	+	-	-	+	-
Phono-Phrase II	-	+	-	-	±
Phono-Phrase III	-	-	+	-	-

The three types of phonological-phrases generally match syntactical phrases and syntactically express or contain the following items:

1) Phonological-Phrase I

- a) Reason, /hega: giššau/ "because of that"
- b) Vocative, /?indira:ss:/ "oh Andrew"

2) Phonological-Phrase II

- a) Items in a series, /hariya: gitā mi:zza:/ "the donkey, the large cow..."

3) Phonological-Phrase III

- a) Temporals, /hega:ppe guyyiyan/ "after that"
- b) Apposition /ta ?iša: bara:na/ "my brother, Baraṇa"
- c) Long Noun Phrases manifesting Subjects and Objects

2.5. Phonological-Clauses

The phonological-clause is composed of phonological-phrases. It is the fifth level in the Wolaitta phonological hierarchy, and manifests functions of the phonological-sentence. The phonological-clause characteristically contrasts with the phonological-phrase and with the phonological-sentence in certain general features, as seen in Chart 8:

CHART 8. CONTRASTING PROSODIC FEATURES

	Prosodic Features							
	Terminal Junctures				Breath	Intonation Pitch Registers (see 2.6.)		
	Pause		Pitch Contour					
	Longer	Shorter	Slight	Marked				
Phonological-phrase	-	+	+	-	-	-		
Phonological-clause	+	-	-	+	±	-		
Phonological-sentence	+	-	-	+	+	+		

The phonological-clause can be represented as:

Phonological-Clause= (+Margin:Non-Clause-Final Phono.-Phrase)_oⁿ +Base:
Clause-Final Phono.-Phrase —Prosody:Clause Terminal Juncture

The obligatory Base of the Phonological-Clause is manifested by a Clause-Final Phonological-Phrase, which differs from the optional Non-Clause-Final Phonological-Phrase which is repeatable

On times and manifests the Margin of the Phonological Clause in prosodic features that were discussed in section 2.4..

The Clause Terminal Juncture of the phonological-clause consists of a pause that contains one more more of length than phonological-phrases contain, i.e., mora₄. It also contains length of mora₃ and mora₂, which are found in phonological-phrases. Variants of the Dependent-Phonological-Clause type contrast in pause length. Pitch contour is either markedly-up-glide, markedly-down-glide, or flat in phonological-clauses. Breath is a frequent feature, depending on the length of the clause. The contrastive prosodic features of the three types of phonological-clauses are displayed in Chart 9:

CHART 9. Clause Terminal Juncture

	Pause			Pitch Contours			Breath
	Mora 4	Mora 3	Mora 2	Markedly-up-Glide	Markedly-down-Glide	Flat	
Phonological-Dependent-Clause I	+	-	-	+	-	-	±
Phonological-Dependent-Clause II	-	+	-	+	-	-	±
Phonological-Dependent-Clause III	-	-	+	+	-	-	±
Phonological-Independent-Clause	+	-	-	±	±	-	+
Phonological-Conjoined-Clause	-	+	-	-	-	+	±

Phonological-clauses generally match syntactical clauses, as seen in the following examples of phonological-clause types and the propositions expressed in each type:

1) Phonological-Dependent-Clause I

- a) Reason, "Because the boy went to Thursday market, ..."
- b) Condition, "If I go to Thursday market, ..."

2) Phonological-Dependent-Clause II

- a) Progression, "Having taken the sickle, having cut the grass, ..."
 - b) Termination, "Until he returns, ..."
- 3) Phonological-Dependent-Clause III
- a) Simultaneity, "When he was speaking to the crowd, ..."
 - b) Succession, "After he said that, ..."
 - c) Sentence-initial clauses which join sentences together by reference backwards, e.g., "That boy which returned, ..."
- 4) Phonological-Independent-Clause
- a) With up-glide "... go to the market!"
 - b) With down-glide "... the boy was angry with his brother."
- 5) Phonological-Conjoined-Clause
- a) Contrast, "He went to town but, ..."
 - b) Conjoined, "Do you wish to go to his house, or..."

The features of pause and pitch contour are generalized in this thesis and are not definitive, for the features of the next higher level, or levels, in the phonological hierarchy will modify phonological features on the lower levels, and all these variations are beyond the scope of this thesis to describe.

2.6. Phonological-Sentences

Phonological-sentences are comprised of phonological-clauses, and constitute the sixth level of the Wolsitta phonological hierarchy, which is the highest level discussed in this thesis. The phonological-sentence would manifest functions in the next higher level that would be identified in the Wolsitta phonological hierarchy.

The phonological-sentence may be represented in the notation:

Phonological-Sentence = (Margin:Phono.-Dependent-Clause)₀ⁿ
 + Base:Phono.-Independent-Clause/Phono.-Conjoined-Clause
 ---Prosody: Sentence Terminal Juncture
 ---Intonation: Pitch Register

The obligatory Base of the Phonological-Sentence is manifested by either a Phonological-Independent Clause or a Phonological-Conjoined Clause. These differ from the Phonological-Dependent Clause, which manifests the Margin of a Phonological-Sentence, in

terminal juncture features that were discussed in section 2.5..

There are four types of phonological-sentences that can be identified on the basis of pitch characteristics in their terminal junctures, as well as on the basis of registers of pitch and intonation. These registers impose levels of pitch, and patterns of intonation, over the whole sentence. For example, in the phonological-quotation-sentence, the reported speech segment is spoken in a higher pitch register than the rest of the phonological-sentence, and is uttered in a rather flat range of pitch fluctuations, far narrower in rise and fall than other segments of the phonological-sentence.

The contrastive prosodic features of the four general types of phonological-sentences are displayed in Chart 10:

CHART 10. PHONOLOGICAL-SENTENCE FEATURES

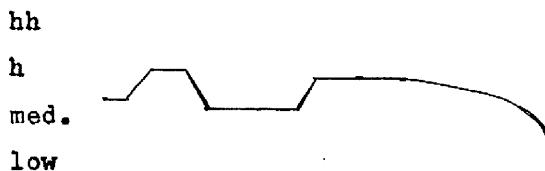
Breath and Pause	Sentence Terminal Juncture			Intonation Pitch Registers			
		Pitch			Fluctuations		Levels
		Slight- ly Falling	Decided- ly Falling	High Level	Flat	With Vari- ations	High Med.
Phono- Statement -Sn	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
Phono- Question -Sn	+	+	-	-	-	+	-
Phono- Command -Sn	+	-	-	+	-	+	-
Phono- Quotation -Sn	+	-	+	-	+	-	+

Since the phonological-question-sentence syntactically has a system of overt question-marking suffixes, pitch does not play a large role in marking questions. Although its terminal juncture does usually contain slight down-glide, and may contain higher pitch at times, it is not characterized by the lower pitch level and decidedly falling pitch contour that characterizes the phonological-statement-sentence. Nor is it characterized by the marked terminal high pitch level that is true of phonological-command-sentences. It

is in between.

Phonological-sentences generally match syntactical sentences, as seen in the following examples of phonological-sentence types:

1) Phonological-Statement-Sentence

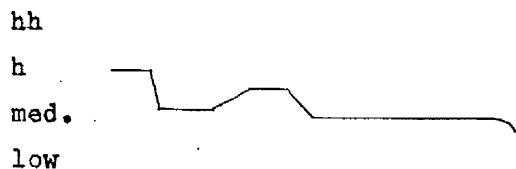


Ba'ra:ni gi'ya: 'be:si.

Bareana the market he is going to.

Bareana is going to the market.

2) Phonological-Question-Sentence

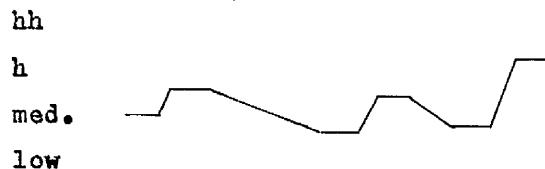


'?awa 'ba:da 'mai?

Where you having are you
gone eating?

Where will you be eating?

3) Phonological-Command-Sentence

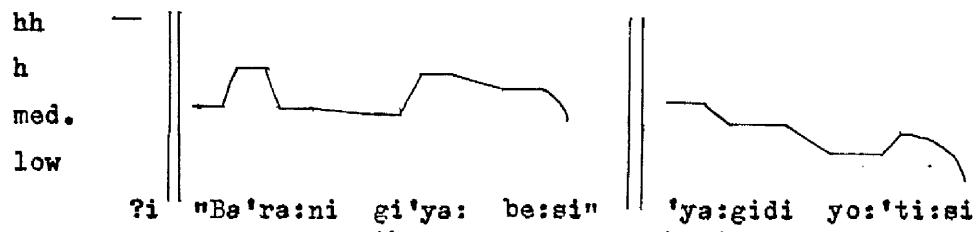


gi'ya: ?e:'suwani be!

the market by haste go to!

Go quickly to the market!

4) Phonological-Quotation-Sentence (|| = Pause)



?i "Ba'ra:ni gi'ya: be:si" 'ya:gidi yo:'ti:si
he "Bareana the market he went" having said he told

He mentioned that Bareana went to the market.

The four basic phonological-sentence types described above will have numerous variations imposed upon them by intonation patterns created when higher level features such as emphasis, focus, etc., are added to the phonological-sentence.

2.7. Morphophonemic Alternations

In the Wolsitta language a large number of morphophonemic alternations have not been observed. The few that have been observed are as follows:

1) Loss of gemination

When the causative voice marker /-iss-/ , or the passive voice marker /-ett-/ , is suffixed to a verb root that contains a geminated consonant finally in the root, the geminated consonant in the root becomes a single consonant, e.g.,

/?utt-i:si/ "he sat"	/?ut-iss-i:si/ "he caused to sit"
/ma:dd-i:si/ "he helped"	/ma:d-ett-i:si/ "he was helped"

When both affixes /-ett/ and /-iss/ are suffixed to a verb root to form a stem, gemination is retained only stem finally, so that the passive affix, /-ett/ loses its gemination, and the verb root final gemination changes to become a single consonant, e.g.,

/ma:dd-+ett-+iss-+i:si/ = /ma:d-et-iss-i:si/ "he caused to be helped"

2) Elision

When the word /ke:tta:/ "house", ending in the long vowel /a:/, is combined with the word /?a:wa:/ "the father", which contains the long vowel /a:/ initially, the ? is dropped and the two contiguous long vowels /a:/ become one, i.e.,

/ke:tta:+ ?a:wa:/ = /ke:tta:wa:/
the house the the master of the house
father

similarly /ke:tta: + ?a:yyiyo:/ = /ke:tta:yyiyo:/
the house the mother the mistress of the house

However, it is not a general rule that two contiguous word final and initial vowels assimilate.

3) The postposition /-re/ "with", when suffixed to a word, lengthens

the final vowel of the word, e.g.,

/na?ə + -ra/ = na?ə:ra /tənə + -ra = /tənə:ra/
 a boy - with with a boy me - with with me

The morpheme, /-ga:/ "(nominalizer)", similarly lengthens the vowel preceding it, and the morpheme /-nne/ "and" lengthens the final vowel in the noun preceding the postposition in a conjoined PP, e.g.,

/tə + -ga:/ = /tə:gə:/
 my - nominalizer my thing
 /na?ə + -ni + -nne/ = /na?ə:ninne/
 a boy - by - and and a boy

- 4) The postposition /-ni/ "by", when suffixed to a word, shortens the final vowel of the word, e.g.,

/na?ə: + -ni/ = /na?əni/
 the boy - by by the boy

- 5) In a penultimate syllable, a long vowel will shorten when the vowel in the following syllable is devoiced, e.g, when the final vowel [-i] in [bi:ni] is devoiced, the long vowel [-i:-] in the ultra heavy closed syllable (cvvc) thus created becomes phonetically realized as a short vowel, [bin]. Similarly, [ke:tta:ni] or [ke:ttan] . These two forms seem to contain the same meaning.

3.0. Introduction

A Wolsitta clause is different from other hierarchically higher grammatical units since it may contain one and only one predicate, or predicate-like tagmeme. Clauses are made up of phrases. Clauses manifest functions at the sentence level of the syntactical hierarchy. An independent clause may be equated with a simple sentence.

3.1. Clause Level Tagmemes

3.1.1. Clause Nuclear Tagmemes

Wolaitta clause nuclear tagmemes are those:

- 1) which are essential to the distinctiveness of the clause type, e.g., the object tagmeme is distinctive to the transitive clause, and the causee to the causative clause,
 - 2) which are obligatory (although not all nuclear tagmemes are obligatory in the sense that they must always occur in a clause; however, any tagmeme that must occur in a clause is nuclear),
 - 3) which may contain an explicit cross reference in the predicate,
 - 4) which have a higher frequency of occurrence within a specific clause type,
 - 5) which may be re-expressed as other functions in entailments of clause types.

3.1.1.1. Subject (S) The Subject governs the person and number marking elements in the predicate. When manifested by a noun phrase, the Head is morphologically marked as nominative in a way that distinguishes it from the absolute case form, e.g.,

An item manifesting Subject may be functionally re-expressed as an item manifesting the Causee tagmeme in a causative entailment. e.g..

- (2) S O P
ta na?-ai bitəniyə: mə:ddi:si.
my boy-def, the men he helped
nom.

My boy helped the man.

S	Ca	O	P
ta:ni	te na?-s:	biteniya:	ma:d-iss-a:si.
I	my boy-def,sbs	the man	help-cause-ls, past
		I got my boy	to help the man.

Likewise the Subject of a causative clause can be functionally re-expressed as the Second Causee of a double causative clause. And the Subject of a double causative clause can be functionally re-expressed as the Third Causee of a triple causative clause (see 3.1.1.10.)

3.1.1.2. Object (O) The Object does not govern the selection of any element in the predicator, e.g.,

(3) O P
 na?:s: be?:si. "I saw the boy."
 the boy I saw

The Object manifesting item can be functionally re-expressed as the item manifesting the Subject in the passive entailment. The Head of a N manifesting Object does not take any special object marking elements, and occurs in the absolute case.

3.1.1.3. Complement (Co) Although the Head of the N manifesting Complement is in the absolute case, similar to that in the Object, the item manifesting it may not be functionally re-expressed as a Subject manifesting item. The Complement cannot be deleted from the stative clause, which it characterizes. It cannot govern the selection of any element in the predicator.

(4) S Co P
 te ?a:wai da:nn- a. "My father is a judge."
 my father judge- "be"

3.1.1.4. Predicator (P) The Predicator has various characteristics:

- it always occurs clause final;
- it has its own set of distinctive markers, i.e., suffixes marking categories that occur only on verbs, e.g., /b-i:si/ "he went"
 go-3m, past tense,
 punctiliar;
- it is obligatory.

3.1.1.5. Agent (Ag) The Agent is the function which characterizes

a passive entailment. The item manifesting Agent may be functionally re-expressed as the Subject manifesting item in an entailed transitive clause. The Agent is manifested by a postpositional phrase whose Relator function is manifested by the postposition, /-ni/.

- (5) S Ag P
 kaisoi polis-iya-ni ?oh-ett-i:si.
 thief police-def,abs-"by" seize-pass.-3m,past.
 The thief was seized by the police.

Although most Agents are morphologically marked by the postposition, /-ni/, the Agent which occurs in passive entailments of clauses in which the verbs manifesting P are /'sak-ett-/ 'was made ill', and /hərg-/ 'was sick', is unmarked and in the absolute case. The parallelism in the behaviour of these two types of Agent is the justification for calling them both Agent: the item manifesting this unmarked Agent can be functionally re-expressed as the item manifesting the Subject of the entailed active clause, e.g.,

- (6) S Ag P
 ta:ni ?oššino-s: sak-ett-aisi.
 I cold-def,abs,(by) sicken-pass.-ls,cont.
 Lit. I am sickened by the cold.

- (7) S O P
 ?oššinc-ai tana sakke:si.
 cold-def,nom me it sickens
 Lit. The cold sickens me.

3.1.1.6. Quote (Quo) The Quote tagmeme which characterizes the quotation clause, must always be present in a quotation clause, must always directly precede the quotation Predicator, and comprises the exact words spoken.

- (8) S O Quo P
 nu ?a:wai numa "ha: yi:te!" ya:gi:si.
 our father us "here come!" he said
 Our father said to us, "Come here!"

3.1.1.7. Scope (Sc)¹. The Scope tagmeme is comparatively uncommon, and its occurrence is limited to cases where certain lexical features occur in the Head of the V manifesting P. It is manifested by a postpositional phrase whose Relator function may be manifested by various

postpositions. Thus formally it resembles a Benefactive or Location tagmeme, but is different in that unlike the Benefactive or Location tagmemes, which may be absent unless the appropriate discourse circumstances require it, the Scope may not be absent when certain verbs occur, e.g.,

- (9) S O So P
 ta:ni mi:ssa ?a-ppe tal?-a:si.
 I money him—"from" borrow/loan-ls,past.
 I borrowed money from him.

- (10) S O So P
 ta:ni mi:ssa ?a-ssi tal?-a:si.
 I money him—"for" borrow/loan-ls,past.
 I loaned him money.

As seen in (9) and (10), it is obligatory for Scope to be manifested by the appropriate PP that may occur with the verb /tal?-/ "loan/borrow" in order to differentiate between the "loan" and "borrow" meanings of the one verb /tal?-/ . This makes the Scope tagmeme distinctive from other tagmemes.

Five types of postposition have been observed to manifest the Relator function in the postpositional phrases that manifest the Scope tagmeme:

a) /-issi/ or /-yyo:/ or /-u/ meaning "for". All three postpositions seem to mean the same and are quite interchangeable, as seen underlined in the following examples of Scope usage in the first edition of the Gospel of Luke:

- (11) [So P
?o:-ssi yayyana:kko] ta:ni ?intena ?ersane;
 whom—"for" that you fear I you will cause to know
 I will teach you whom to fear;
- [So P
gaha:nnameiyani ?olanau wolksi de?iyo:ga - u yayyite;
 into hell to throw power the one for -"for" fear!
 whom it exists]
- "for" whom power exists
 fear him who has power to throw into hell;
- ?e: [So P
?a-yyo: yayyite.
 Yes him—"for" fear!]
 Yes, fear him!

A revision of the translation of above verse used only

/-ssi/ in all three Scope positions, which may indicate a preference.

b) /-ppe/ meaning "from", e.g.,

- (12) /-ppe/ + the verb /tal?-/ "loan/borrow" = "borrow".

So P
 ne:-ppe tal? - ans koyiya ?urau diggoppa.
 you—"from" loan/ -to who wants for the person don't
 borrow prevent

Don't withhold from a person who wants to borrow from you.

c) /bolli/ meaning "against, on"

- | (13) | S | So | P |
|------|---------|----------|--------------------------------|
| | da:nsei | ta bolli | pird-i:si. |
| | judge | I "on" | condemn/-3m, past
exonerate |

The judge condemned me.

The verb /pird-/ "judge", potentially contains the meanings, "condemn/exonerate". Only the item manifesting Scope indicates which meaning is intended, e.g.,

- | (14) | S | Sc | P |
|------|---------|-----------|----------------------------------|
| | da:nnaɪ | ta:-ssi | pird-i:sɪ. |
| | judge | me -"for" | condemn / -3m, past
exonerate |

The judge exonerated me.

d) /-ra/ meaning "with" e.g.,

- (15) So P
 ?isatammu birs gidiys:ga: ?immida:ga:-ra gaittidi...
 fifty birr that which the one who—"with" having met
 ("dollar") is gave

Having met the one who had given about fifty birr...

e) -ni meaning "in", e.g.,

- (16) So S P
 ?eta ?ubba-ni ge:šša ?a:yyanai kumidi...
 them all "-in" Holy Spirit having filled

The Holy Spirit having filled all of them..

When the verb /kum-/ "fill" is used with people, the Scope is obligatory, but with inanimate things the absolute form occurs, e.g.,

- (17) S So P
 talahe: ne wozan-a -ni kumi:si.
 Devil your heart-def,abs-"in" he filled

The Devil filled your heart.

- (18) S O P
 hattai ?ot-uwa: kumi:si.
 water pot-abs,def it filled
 The water filled the pot.

- (19) S O P
 guntai ?eti ?utt-ido ke:tta: ?ubba: kumi:si.
 sound they in which house all it filled
 (they) sat
 The sound filled the whole house in which they sat.

In (18) above the absolute form is said to manifest the Object function. This corresponds to the forms set out in this thesis. However, one could also possibly view the absolute form, /?otuwa:/ "pot", as another kind of item that may manifest the Scope tagmeme, in addition to a PP.

3.1.1.8. Causee (Ca)² The item manifesting the Ca can be functionally re-expressed as the Subject manifesting item of any clause except the stative clause. The Ca resembles the Object in that the item manifesting the Head of the N manifesting Ca is also in the absolute case form; however, the Ca is distinct from the O in that it usually occupies a position preceding the O when both it and the O co-occur; this enables the two tagmemes to be distinguished. When the Ca occurs in a clause, it is obligatory that a causative marker occur in the verb manifesting the Head of the V manifesting P, e.g.,

(20) Entailing Sentence

- S O P
 bakkal-i ba:ss-a to:kk-i:si.
 Bakkala-nom Baassa-abs carry-3m,past

Bakkala carried Baassa.

(Causative)

- S Ca O P
 ta ?issi bakkal-e ba:ss-a to:k-iss-i:si.
 my brother Bakkala-abs Baassa-abs carry-cause-3m,past

My brother got Bakkala to carry Baassa.

- S Ca O P
 ta ?issi ba:ss-a bakkal-e to:k-iss-i:si.
 my brother Baassa-abs Bakkala-abs carry-cause-3m,past

My brother got Baassa to carry Bakkala.

However, when the tagmemes are unambiguous, the order of Ca and O may be reversed, e.g.,

- (21) O S Ca Men P
 šini hega: ?inte tana wolka-ni ?o:t-iss-idets.
 but that you me power—"by" do-cause-2pl,past
 But you forced me to do that.

3.1.1.9. Second Causee (2 Ca) The item manifesting the 2 Ca can be functionally re-expressed as the item manifesting S in a causative entailment. The item manifesting 2 Ca is distinguished from the item manifesting Ca by the same morphological marking as that occurring on the item manifesting Agent, the postpositional suffix /-ni/ "by". Similar to the item manifesting an Agent, an item manifesting the 2 Ca tagmeme can be functionally re-expressed as a Subject manifesting item. However, the 2 Ca is distinct from the Ag in three regards:

- The Subject manifesting item which may be functionally re-expressed as a 2 Ca manifesting item must occur in a causative entailment, whereas in the case of the Ag manifesting item, its re-expression as an item manifesting S must occur in a transitive clause.
- When the Ag occurs in a clause, the passive marker, /-ett or etett/ must occur in the V manifesting Predicator. However, when the 2 Ca occurs in a clause, the causative marker /-iss-/ must occur in the V manifesting P. Ag and 2 Ca command two different markers in the V manifesting P.
- Actually, the preferred form of the 2 Ca manifesting item is not the postpositional phrase taking the relator postposition /-ni/, but is a subordinate clause which indicates that the 2 Ca was sent to cause the Ca to do something. A subordinate clause is not a substitute for an Ag manifesting item, and so the 2 Ca and the Ag are different in this respect.

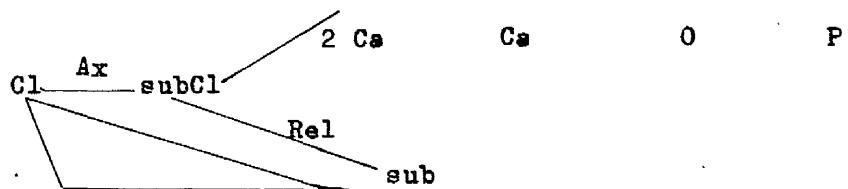
In the following double causative entailment (22) the 2 Ca /mana-ni/ "Mana-by", is acceptable Wolaitta usage:

- (22) S 2 Ca Ca O P
 ba:ssi mana-ni ta na?sa: ha:tta: ?u-š-iss-i:si.
 Baassa Mana—"by" my boy water drink-cau -cau -3m,
 abs past
 Baassa caused Mana to get my boy to drink the water.

However, such a line-up of participants one after another is difficult for the average listener to identify quickly. Consequently, for better communication, 2 Ca is usually expressed by a subord-

inate clause, rather than by a postpositional phrase as above,

/mənə-ni/ "Mana-by", e.g.,



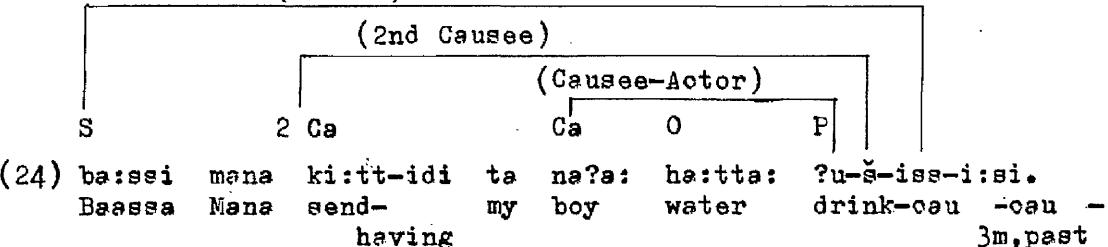
- (23) ba:ssi mana ki:t-t-idi ta na?:a: he:tta: ?u-š-iss-i:si.
 Baassa Mana send-having my boy water drink-oau -oau -
 3m,past

(literally) Baassa, having sent Mana, caused (him to cause) my boy to drink the water.

(meaning) Baassa caused Mana to get my boy to drink the water.

It is to be noted how that the different functions in the clause (24) require a corresponding element to occur in the V manifesting Predicator:

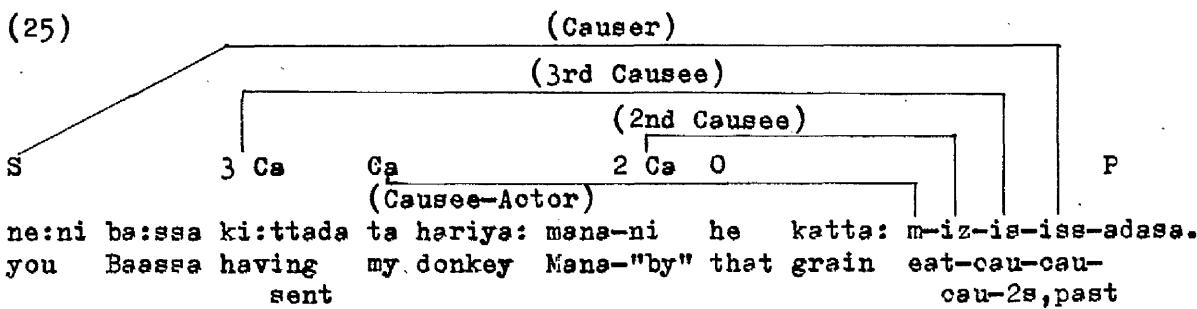
(Causer)



3.1.1.10. Third Causee (3 Ca) The item manifesting 3 Ca can be functionally re-expressed as the item manifesting S in a double causative entailment. The item manifesting 3 Ca has the same possible forms as the item manifesting 2 Ca, and so it can be confusing when both 3 Ca and 2 Ca are manifested as postpositional phrases whose Relators are manifested by /-ni/ "by". However, if both 3 Ca and 2 Ca should occur together, manifested by postpositional phrases, the one closest to the Predicator is always 2 Ca, for by means of this ordering it is possible to distinguish the various participants in the chain of causation. The occurrence of 3 Ca will always cause the suffix /-iss/ to occur in the V manifesting predicator.

The more customary way to express 3 Ca is by a subordinate clause, and 2 Ca will then be expressed by a postpositional phrase, e.g.,

(25)



(literally) You having sent Ba:ssa, caused (him to cause) Mana to cause my donkey to eat that grain.

(meaning) You got Ba:ssa to cause Mana to make my donkey eat that grain.

3.1.2. Clause Peripheral Tagmemes

Wolsitt's clause peripheral tagmemes are not obligatory,³ and occur less frequently than nuclear tagmemes; moreover they are not distinctive of only one clause type, and thus occur in many clause types. They usually occur either clause-initially, that is, before the Subject tagmeme, or after the nuclear non-predicator tagmemes, i.e., just before the predicate; however, peripheral tagmemes may occur elsewhere in the clause.

3.1.2.1. Clause Initial Peripheral Tagmemes

3.1.2.1.1. Vocative (Voc) The Voc almost invariably occurs clause initial. The N manifesting the Voc tagmeme has its own set of distinguishing markers, distributed according to the declension type of the noun, e.g.,

- (26) ta ?iš-a... ta ?a:yy-e:... par-o:...
 my brother-oh my mother-oh horse-oh
 Oh my brother... Oh my mother... Oh horse...

- Voc also has its own distinguishing set of manifesting items, which usually consists of names, kin terms, or proforms, but can include common nouns also.

3.1.2.1.2. Introductory (Intro) The Intro tagmeme is characteristically clause initial, except when the Vocative is present; it has its own set of manifesting items, such as,

- (27) hega: gis̥səu "because of that"
 that because

3.1.2.1.3. Temporal (Temp) The Temp tagmeme must agree with aspect and tense elements in the verb phrase which manifests the Predictor. The Temp tagmeme contains its own distinguishing set of items which may manifest it. Single temporals may manifest it, such as /zino/ "yesterday", /ha??i/ "now", /wonto/ "tomorrow".

The Temp tagmeme may also be manifested by a temporal noun phrase, which usually has as its head the noun, /wode/ "time", e.g.,

- (28) he wode "that time" he wode "this time"
 that time this time

The temporal noun phrase is different from other noun phrases in that the head of the noun phrase, /wod-e/ "time-indef,abs" may occur only in the indefinite, absolute form.

The Temp tagmeme can be manifested by temporal postpositional phrases such as:

- (29) merina-u "forever"
 eternity—"for"
 gu:ra-ni "early in the morning"
 early hours—"in"
 wode-ppe "in the future"
 time—"from"
 guyye-ppe "afterwards"
 back—"from"

The statistically predominant ordering of these clause peripheral tagmemes is: VOCATIVE INTRODUCTORY TEMPORAL.

3.1.2.2. Non-Clause Initial Peripheral Tagmemes

The peripheral tagmemes which usually occur immediately preceding the Predictor are similar, in that the item manifesting these tagmemes is predominantly a postpositional phrase. However, it is possible to test the likeness of these postpositional phrases in terms of their potential for conjunction, as Comrie (1981:105) advocates for establishing constituents that are alike. By such testing it has been found that certain postpositional phrases can be conjoined, and others cannot be conjoined. Items which can be conjoined are considered in this thesis to manifest the same tagmeme, and those which cannot be conjoined are generally considered to

manifest separate tagmemes.

For example, the two items:

- (30) ſa:pə:-ppe "from the river"
river—"from"

?ake:ka-ni "carefully"
understanding—"by"

cannot be conjoined in the same clause, i.e., the clause (31) is ungrammatical:

- (31)* ?i ſa:pə:-ppe-nne ?ake:ka-ni-nne yi:si.
he river—"from"-and understanding—"by"-and he came.

He came from the river and carefully.

Since these two items cannot be conjoined within the same clause, but can occur as two separate items in the clause (32), /ſa:pə:pe/ "from the river" is considered to manifest a Source (So) tagmeme, and /?ake:kəni/ "carefully", is considered to manifest a Manner (Man) tagmeme. The postposition, /-ppe/ is considered here to be the source postpositional suffix in the item manifesting Source (So) tagmeme, and /-ni/ to be the manner postpositional suffix in the item manifesting Manner tagmeme, e.g.,

- (32) S So Man P
?i ſa:pə:-ppe ?ake:ka - ni yi:si.
he river—"from" understanding—"by" he came

He came carefully from the river.

On the other hand, because the two items:

?ake:ka-ni "carefully"
understanding—"by"

kumette kopa:-ppe "thoughtfully"
complete thought—"from"

can be conjoined in clause (33), the two items are considered to manifest the Man tagmeme:

- (33) S Man P
?i ?ake:ka:-ni-nne kumetta kopa:-ppe ?o:tti:si.
he understanding—"by"-and complete thought- he worked
"from"

He worked carefully and thoughtfully.

Here the relator postpositions /-ppe/ and /-ni/ are both considered to be the manner postpositional suffixes in the items manifesting Man tagmeme.

Similarly, even though the two items, /ſa:tiniya-ni/ "box-on", and /?ake:ka-ni/ "carefully", take the same morphological post-

positional marker /-ni/, because it is ungrammatical to conjoin them, as in clause (34), they are not considered to be manifesting items of the same tagmeme.

- (34)* ta:ni ma:pa: ?ake:ka:-ni-nne he satiniya:-ni-nne wotta:si.
 I book under- "by"-and that box- on-and I placed
 standing

I placed the book on the box and carefully.

However, they can occur as different items in the same clause (35) when they are not conjoined; hence /satiniyəni/ "on the box", is considered to manifest a Location (Loc) tagmeme, and /?ake:kəni/ to manifest a Manner (Man) tagmeme:

- (35) S O Man Loc P
 ta:ni ma:pa: ?ake:ka-ni he satiniya-ni wotta:si.
 I book under- "by" that box - "on" I placed.
 standing

I carefully placed the book on that box.

The postposition /-ni/ is considered to be a locative and manner postpositional suffix in the items manifesting both the Locative and Manner tagmemes.

On the basis of conjunction potential, eleven non-clause initial peripheral tagmemes have been identified: Benefactive, Simulative, Accompaniment, Manner, Direction, Place, Location, Path, Extent, Source, Instrument.

3.1.2.2.1. Benefactive (Ben) The Ben tagmeme is manifested by a postpositional phrase whose Relator function is manifested by any of three postpositional suffixes, /-ssi/, /-yyo:/, /-u/, "for". As far as has been determined, all three suffixes carry the same meaning, and seem to be quite interchangeable. Further research might turn up environments where one form is preferred to another. Individual usage and dialectual usage may govern some preferences, e.g., speakers of the Gofe dialect seem to use the postposition /-ssi/ more regularly than do Wolsitta speakers. Examples:

- (36) S Ca Ben P
 mani ma:yuwa: mu:ture:-ssi gi:g-iss-ide:
 Mana clothes bride- "for" be ready-cause-3m,past,interr
 Did Mana prepare the clothes for the bride?

- (37) [Ben O subCl S P] [S Ben indCl P]
 ta-u ?o:suwa: ne ?o:tt-ikko ta:kka ne:-yyo ?o:ttana.
 me- "for" work you work - if I also you- "for" will work

If you do work for me, I will also do work for you.

- | (38) | S | O | P | Co |
|----------------|--------|--------------|----|----------|
| Ben | | | | |
| ta para:-sei | ma:ta: | bu:qqiya:ge: | ta | na?-a:: |
| my horse—"for" | grass | he who cuts | my | boy-(is) |

The one who cuts grass for my horse is my boy.

3.1.2.2.2. Simulative (Sim) The Sim tagmeme is manifested by a postpositional phrase whose Relator function is manifested by the relator postposition /-dəni/, "like", e.g.,

- | (39) S | Sim | | Man | P |
|--------|-----------------|-------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| ne:ni | mi:zza-dani-nne | here - dani | qo: | de?u:te:? |
| you | cattle-like-and | donkey-like | thought-
lessly | are you living? |

Are you living thoughtlessly like cattle and donkeys?

- | subCl | | | | indCl |
|------------|-------|-------------|----------|------------------|
| Sim | Loo | P | P | |
| ?oide-dani | ?issi | sohuwa-ni | de?-anau | koyai? |
| stool-like | one | place- "in" | live-to | are you wanting? |

Do you want to stay in just one place like a stool?

- (41) Sim P
tukke-dani pentana hanai?
coffee-like to boil are you about to?

Are you about to boil just like coffee? (Are you getting angry?)

3.1.2.2.3. Accompaniment (Acc) The Acc tagmeme is manifested by a postpositional phrase whose Relator function is manifested by the relator postposition /-ra/ "with". e.g..

- | (42) | S | Acc | | Man | P |
|------|----|--------|------|-------------|------------------------------------|
| | ta | bo:rai | ne | bo:ra:-re | lo??o |
| | my | ox | your | ox - "with" | hemette:si.
good he is walking. |

My ox keeps good step with your ox.

- | | | | |
|------|---------|---------------|-----------|
| (43) | O | Acc | P |
| | de:šša: | mi:zza:-ra | he:mmite! |
| | goat | cattle="with" | hand! |
| | | | |

Herd the goat(s) along with the cattle!

- | | | | |
|------|--------|-------------------|-------------|
| (44) | S | Acc | P |
| | mittai | tašiya:-ra | de:si. |
| | wood | b'manah 'urithil' | it - amata- |

The wood is with its branches

3.1.2.2.4. Manner (Man) The Man tagmeme may be manifested by post-⁹⁰positional phrases whose Relator function is manifested by the post-positions /-ra/ "with", /-ni/ "by", or /-ppe/ "from", e.g.,

- (45) S Man P
bitane: lodda-ni ?o:tti:si.
man slowness—"by" he worked

The man worked slowly.

There are particles in Wolaitta that translate into English as Manner adverbs. Whether or not these can conjoin with PP's manifesting Man has not been ascertained, so that, which tagmeme these particles manifest remains for future investigation.

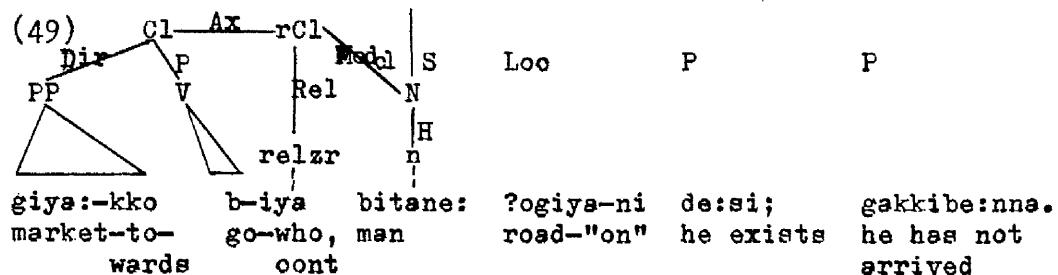
- (46) ?elle ba! "Go quickly!"
quickly go!

- (47) ta:ni qo: ?o:ttasi. "I worked for free."
I for free I worked

3.1.2.2.5. Direction (Dir) The Dir tagmeme is manifested by a postpositional phrase whose Relator function is manifested by the postposition /-kko/ "towards", e.g.,

- (48) S Dir P
mi:zzai deriya: - kko bi:si.
cattle mountain-towards he went

The cattle went towards the mountain.



The man who is going towards the market is on the road; he has not arrived.

3.1.2.2.6. Place (Pl) The Pl tagmeme is manifested by a noun phrase which occurs in the absolute case. It always cooccurs with a P whose manifesting V contains a Head manifested by a limited set of verbs indicating motion, such as, "go, come, arrive, run, walk".

- (50) Pl S P
 to:ssa: galatai gakko!
 (at) God praise let it arrive!
 May praise reach God!

- (51) S Pl P
 he yohoi Ba:ssa gakko!
 this matter (at) Basssa let it arrive!
 Let this matter reach Basssa!

If sentences (48) and (49) are compared with sentences (52) and (53), the difference between Place and Direction tagmemes can be seen. The noun phrase manifesting Pl expresses static location even when the clause verb is one of movement; in which case a completive interpretation of the activity denoted by the verb has to be made. However, the postposition /-kko/, manifesting Relator in the PP manifesting Direction, usually signals direction towards—not yet having arrived. Items manifesting Place may not be conjoined with items manifesting Direction.

- (52) S Pl P
 mi:zzai deriya: gakki:si.
 cattle mountain it arrived
 The cattle arrived at the mountain.

- (53) S Pl P
 bitane: giya: gakki:si.
 man market he arrived.
 The men arrived at the market.

The Place tagmeme is different from the Location (Loc) tagmeme in that Loc is manifested by a postpositional phrase taking the relator postposition, /-ni/ "in, on", and the two may not be conjoined, e.g.,

- (54) [subCl [S Pl P ta:ni giya: gakkada I] [indCl [O koiyido:ba: that which I arrived] [Loc giya-ni wanted] [P demma:si. I found]]]

Having arrived at the market, I found in the market what I wanted.

The set of items manifesting the Place tagmeme are:

- names of places, e.g., "Addis Ababa, Wolaitta..."
- names of persons, e.g., "Basssa, Mana, God..."
- places such as "market, home, mountain, floor, place, forest, road, city, village, top..."

It might be argued that the meaning of "to" or "at" is incorporated in certain of the verbs of motion. If this were so, one would expect that the verb "go" would cooccur only with noun phrases manifesting Pl. However, the verb "go" cannot cooccur with /badala/ "corn", which does not manifest the head of a noun phrase manifesting Pl.

- (55) *S Pl P
 mərsei badal-a: bi:si.
 calf corn-def,abs he went
 (literally) The calf went the corn.

The postpositional phrase taking the relator postposition /-kko/, must be used with "corn", e.g.,

- (56) S Pl P
 mar:ai badala:-kko bi:si.
 calf corn- "to" he went
 The calf went to the corn.

The primary meaning of this clause is that the calf went right to the corn, and did not just go towards the corn, as one would expect from the postpositional phrase, /badala:-kko/, which can also manifest a Direction tagmeme. (see 3.1.2.2.5.).

We thus conclude that the Place tagmeme may be manifested by the postpositional phrase taking the relator postposition /-kko/, as well as by a noun phrase.

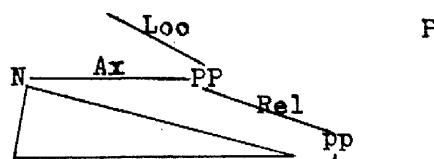
3.1.2.2.7. Location (Loc) The Loc tagmeme is manifested by a postpositional phrase whose Relator function is manifested by the postposition /-ni/ "in, on". This postposition, /-ni/, indicates a position touching the location mentioned, e.g. /sa:tiniya-ni/ "the box"-on/in", meaning that an object is actually in contact with the box, e.g.,

- (57) S Loc P
 ?i be ?a:wa: tohuwa-ni kundidi...
 he his father's foot-"on" having fallen
 own

Having fallen at his own father's foot...

Loc can also be manifested by a postpositional phrase which consists of an axis-relator construction, the Axis comprising a noun phrase, and the Relator manifested by the postposition /-ni/ or /-ra/, e.g.,

(58) S O

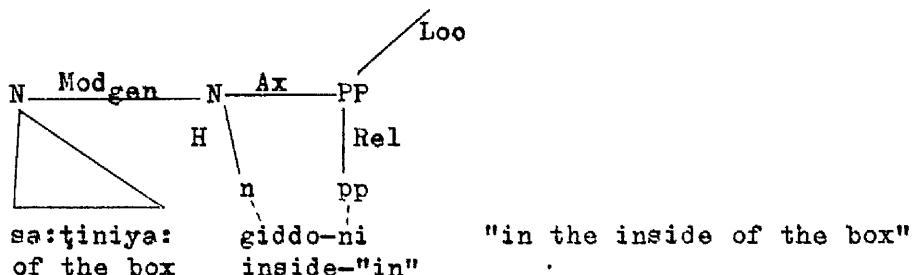


Bæ:lotæ mæ:yuwe: sa:tiniye: giddo-ni be?æ:su.
Bæsloti clothes box inside—"in" she saw

Bæsloti sew the clothes inside the box.

The postpositional phrase manifesting Loo, containing an obligatory genitive Modifier function, can be analysed as:

(59)



The above diagram shows that the postpositional phrase manifesting Loo comprises an axis-relator construction with the Relator manifested by the postposition /-ni/ "in", and the axis manifested by a noun phrase that is characterized by an obligatory genitive Modifier function.

The head of the N is manifested by a set of nouns which denote position, such as, "the outside, the nearness, side, top, front, the inside..."

The Loo tagmeme can also be manifested by the postpositional phrase that takes the relator postposition /-ra/ "with" (60). This usually means that an object is contiguous to or in the very close vicinity of a location; this is in contrast to Loo manifested by the PP that takes the relator postposition /-ni/ "on", signifying a position of physical contact, e.g.,

(60) ?otuwa: gerss:-ra
of the pot the bottom—"with" = "under the pot"

(61) ?otuwa: garsa-ni
of the pot the bottom—"on" = "on the bottom of the pot"
or "right under the pot"

The Loc tagmeme can also be manifested by a single locative, which will refer to an even more general position than even the postpositional phrase taking /-ra/ mentioned above, e.g. /duge/ "down (somewhere)", /pude/ "up generally", /bolli/ "on top (somewhere)".

The three manifestations of Loc can be illustrated as:

- (62) /bolla/
on = "somewhere on top..."

(63) /bolla:ra/
the top-with = "just over..."

(64) /bolla-ni/
the top-on = "sitting right on top of..."

3.1.2.2.8. Path (Pa) The tagmeme Pa is manifested by a postpositional phrase, e.g.

- (65) *wora: bagga:-ra*
 forest half—"with/by" "through/by way of the forest"

The PP manifesting Pa consists of an axis-relator construction, the Axis manifested by a noun phrase, and the Relator manifested by the postposition /-ra/. The head of the N is always manifested by the noun, /bagga:/ which is clearly a grammaticalized development of the noun /bagga:/ "the half". The noun phrase which manifests the Mod_{gen} of the N is an obligatory tagmeme in the N, e.g.,

- (66) S

?i ta zawa:
he my of boundary "bagga: - ra bi:si.
"half"-by" he went
by way of

He went by way of my boundary.

- | (67) S | P _a | P |
|---|----------------|---------------------|
| ?a ke:ttai [ta ke:tta: begga:-re]
his house of my house " <u>half</u> "-" <u>by</u> "
by way of | | de:si.
it exists |

His house is by way of my house.

Sometimes the PP manifesting Pa can omit the /bagga:-/ part of the construction and consist of only a regular PP whose Relator is manifested by the postposition /-ra/, and mean "by way of". When this contracted form occurs, the context is usually clear enough so that the meaning "by way of" is clear (68), and not the possible Accompaniment meaning of "with, in company of" (69), e.g.,

- | | | | |
|------|----------|--------------------|----------------|
| (68) | S | P _s | P |
| | na:ti | demba:-ra | ?a:ddidiosone. |
| | children | meadow—"by way of" | they passed. |

The children passed by way of/through the meadow.

- | (69) | subCl | indCl | Pl | P |
|---------|------------|------------|----------------|---------|
| S | | | | |
| bitane: | ?otona:-re | kantidi | soo | bi:s:i. |
| man | Otona—"by" | having out | his | he |
| | way of" | across | brother—"with" | went |

Having cut across by way of Otona, he went home with his brother.

3.1.2.2.9. Extent (Ext) The Ext tagmeme is manifested by an axis-relator construction whose Relator function is manifested by the postposition /-ssi/. However, the axis isn't manifested by a N as other peripheral tagmemes are. It is manifested by a nominalized phrase (see 6.1.3.2.2.) e.g.,

Work until three o'clock.

The PP manifesting Ext can be analyzed as manifested by an axis-relator construction whose relator is the postposition /-ssi/, and whose axis is manifested by a nominalized phrase, e.g.,

- (71)

```

graph TD
    cl[cl] --- rCl[rCl]
    cl --- ModCl[Mod cl]
    ModCl --- Nmz6[Nmz 6]
    ModCl --- Rel1[Rel]
    Nmz6 --- relzr[relzr]
    Nmz6 --- nmzr[nmzr]
    Rel1 --- H[H]
    Rel1 --- Rel2[Rel]
    H --- pp[pp]
    hezu[he:zu] --- rCl
    saate[sa:te] --- cl
    gakk[gakk] --- relzr
    ana[ana] --- nmzr
    ssi[ssi] --- pp
    will[...until the third hour...] --- Rel2
  
```

(72) *soddo gakkana:ssi* "as far as Soddo (town)"
 hombo gakkana:ssi "as far as Hombo (name of mountain)"
 haoci gakkana:ssi "until today"
 wonto gakkana:ssi "until tomorrow"
 zino gakkana:ssi "until yesterday"

The verb /gakk-/ "arrive" seems to be interchangeable with /gatt-/ "cause to arrive" and gives the same meaning. The relator

postposition /-ssi/ seems to be interchangeable with the relator postposition /-šini/, e.g.,

- (73) ta so: gatt - ans: - ſini "as far as my home"
 my home cause to-who-but/while
arrive will
 until/as far as

Usually the Ext tagmeme implies a starting point for the extent, "from such-and-such until/as far as such-and-such", and quite often is expressly stated, e.g.,

- | (74) | So | Ext | Co |
|------|---------------|--------|---------------|
| | arakka-ppe | soddo | gakkana:ssi |
| | Arakka—"from" | Soddo | until |
| | (Town) | (town) | la:tamanne |
| | | | twenty |
| | | | six |
| | | | metere. |
| | | | kilometer(is) |

It is 26 kilometers from Araka to Soddo.

3.1.2.2.10. Source (So) The So tagmeme is manifested by a post-positional phrase whose Relator function is manifested by the post-position /-ppe/ "from", e.g.,

- (75) S So P
 nu:ni so:-ppe yi:da.
 we home—"from" we came

We came from home.

- | | | | | |
|------|--------|--------------|--------|--------|
| (76) | Voo | So | O | P |
| | le:, | sa:pa:-ppe | ha:tta | ?eha. |
| | oh you | river—"from" | water | bring! |

Hey you, bring water from the river!

- (77) S So O P
 ta maooiya: ?otuwa:-ppe kuma: kessa:su.
 my wife pot - "from" dinner she took out

My wife took dinner out of the pot.

3.1.2.2.11. Instrument (Inst) The Inst tagmeme is manifested by a postpositional phrase which takes the relator postposition /-ni/ "with", e.g.,

For a strong man to split wood with an ax is easy.

(79)

subCl

S

O Inst

ta:ni

hage: ?ai ?ala:petetta-ni ?ottiya:kko

P

that I work

indCl

Sc

P

?inte-yyo ?odane.

I

this

what authority—"by"

you—"to"

I will

tell

I will tell you by what authority I do this.

3.1.2.3. Ordering of Non-Clause Initial Peripheral Tagmemes

It is difficult to precisely stipulate what is the "correct" ordering of the eleven non-clause initial peripheral tagmemes, for the style of some speakers affects their ordering of the tagmemes, as does the emphasis and focus desired by the speaker.

However, some tagmemes usually precede certain others, e.g., the Source tagmeme normally precedes the Extent, Place, or Direction tagmemes, for from the source the extent, direction, or place is calculated:

(80) So

Ext

P

ša:pa:-ppe ta ke:tta: gakkana:ssi wot̪ti:si.
river—"from" my house . until he ran

He ran from the river as far as my house.

Some tagmemes tend usually to occur closer to the Predicator than other tagmemes. This ordering may be changed, depending on the emphasis given by the speaker, for emphasized tagmemes tend to be placed closer to the Predicator than unemphasized tagmemes. The tagmemes which tend to occur nearer the P are Extent, Place, Location, Direction, Instrument.

Other tagmemes seem to have no strongly preferred ordering, such as Accompaniment, Path, Beneficiary, and Manner.

These peripheral tagmemes can be arranged in a general ordering that shows the strength of closeness to the Predicator that is frequently preferred:

PRECEDENT	FLEXIBLE	CLOSE PROXIMITY TO PREDICATOR
Source	Accompaniment Beneficiary	Extent Place
Simulative	Manner Path	Location Direction Instrument

3.2.0. Introduction

The methodological criterion on which this classification is based is known as "Longacre's Rule of Two" (Cook 1969:26): "Two clause types are syntagmatically distinct if (a) there be at least two structural differences between them, and (b) at least one of these differences involve the nuclear and/or obligatory tagmas." (Longacre 1964:47). In this thesis both the internal structure and the external distribution of clauses have been used as criteria for differentiating clause types (Elson and Pickett 1969:134) (Cook 1969:27).

Evidence is provided which demonstrates each clause type to be different from another clause type.

3.2.0.1. Main Clause Divisions

Wolaitta clauses can be viewed as comprising two main divisions, with sub-classes in each division:

- 1) independent clauses
 - a. basic clauses
 - b. mood variants
 - c. entailments
- 2) dependency variants
 - a. subordinate variants
 - b. relative clauses

The dividing of Wolaitta clauses into two main divisions is justifiable for the following reasons:

- 1) the distribution of independent clauses and dependency variants is different. The independent clauses manifest the Head tagmeme of a Wolaitta sentence while the dependency variants do not. The dependent subordinate variants manifest the Modifier tagmeme of a sentence, and the dependent relative clauses manifest the Modifier tagmeme in the noun phrase.
- 2) the verb phrases which manifest the Predictor in independent clauses are marked differently morphologically from dependency variants. Dependency variants contain either the Subordinator tagmeme, or the Relativizer tagmeme; these do not occur in independent clauses.

An independent clause is that which manifests the Head of a sentence, and can itself constitute a simple sentence.

Independent clauses can be divided into three categories:

- 1) basic clauses, 2) mood variants, and 3) entailments.

3.2.0.2.1. Basic Clauses

The basic clauses are those which differ in structure according to the number of nuclear tagmemes that may occur in them, as well as according to the types of nuclear tagmemes that may occur in them. They also differ in the range they show for the manifesting items of their tagmemes that may be functionally re-expressed as items which manifest other tagmemes in other clause types.

The basic clauses identified here are considered to be in the statement mood, active voice, and consist of:

- 1) Transitive - characterized by: (see 3.2.1.1.1.)

- nuclear Object tagmeme.
- ability to be re-expressed as a passive entailment, e.g.,

(81)	S	O	P
	na?ai	dorssa:	koy -j:si. The boy sought the sheep.

boy sheep seek-3m,past

- 2) Ditransitive - characterized by: (see 3.2.1.1.2.)

- two obligatory tagmemes, O and Co, both of which are manifested by absolute unmarked forms.
- the first-in-order absolute form manifests an Object, in that its manifesting item can be functionally re-expressed as a Subject manifesting item in a passive entailment.
- the second absolute form in a fixed ordering of the two absolute forms manifests a Complement.
- ability to be re-expressed as a passive entailment.

(82)	S	O	Co	P
	?asteda:da:re:	bakkel-e	likamabar-e	?otti:si.

administrator Bakala- chairman -indef he made
 abs abs

The administrator made Bakala chairman.

- 3) Bitransitive - characterized by: (see 3.2.1.1.3.)

- obligatory Scope (Sc) tagmeme (see 3.1.1.7.), which must occur with certain verbs in order to complete the meaning of the verb.

- obligatory Object tagmeme, e.g.,
- the re-expressing of a bitransitive as a passive entailment is possible but not common usage.

(83) S Sc O P
 dasti ba ?iša: -ppe mi:šša tal? -i:si
 Dasta his brother—"from" money loan/borrow-he,past

Dasta borrowed some money from his brother.

4) Quotation - characterized by: (see 3.2.1.1.4.)

- an obligatory Quote tagmeme.
- the obligatory /ya:g-/ "say" verb manifesting P.
- preferred ordering of tagmemes is Subject, Object, Quote, and Predicator tagmemes, e.g.,

(84) S O Quo P
 bitane: na?a: "ne so: bi:kki??" ya:g-i:si.
 man boy "your home are you not going?" say-3m,past

The man said to the boy, "Get to your home!"
 (lit. "Are you not going to your home?")

5) Intransitive - characterized by: (see 3.2.1.1.5.)

- only the Subject occurs as a nuclear tagmeme, apart from P.
- cannot be re-expressed as a passive entailment, e.g.,

(85) S P
 kəpoi pa:lli:si. The bird flew.
 bird it flew

6) Di-intransitive - characterized by: (see 3.2.1.1.6.)

- obligatory Complement tagmeme.
- cannot be re-expressed as a passive entailment, e.g.,

(86) S Co P
 ?i ta ?iša: milate:si. He resembles my brother.
 he my brother he resembles

7) Bi-intransitive - characterized by: (see 3.2.1.1.7.)

- obligatory Scope tagmeme.
- cannot be re-expressed as a passive entailment, e.g.,

(84) S Sc P
 ne g -iyo: -ge: ta-u gel -i:si.
 you say-which-that me-for enter-it,past

(lit.) What you say enters me.
 I understand what you are saying.

8) Stative - characterized by: (see 3.2.1.1.8.)

- obligatory Complement tagmeme.
- Predicator can be manifested by a V whose Head is manifested by a copula verb.
- does not occur as an aspectual variant.
- cannot be re-expressed as a causative entailment, e.g.,

(88)	S	Co-P		
	ha:tta:i	tillo.	The water	is pure.

water pure-(is)

9) Bistative - characterized by: (see 3.2.1.1.9.)

- obligatory Scope tagmeme.
- obligatory Complement tagmeme which cannot be re-expressed as S of a passive entailment clause.
- because it can be re-expressed as a causative entailment, it is different from a stative clause, e.g.,

(89)	S	Sc	Co	P
	?aggiyo:ge:	ta:-ssi	?e:yyatetta	misat-i:si.

that which someone me -"for" foolishness seem -3m, past ceases

To forbear seemed to me to be foolishness.

3.2.0.2.2. Mood Variants

Mood variants differ from basic clause types in the intonation pattern that characterizes each mood. Even though this is a phonological criteria, it is an essential difference in identifying types of mood variants and coincides with syntactical criterion. See 2.6. for a treatment of intonation.

Mood variants are different from basic clauses in that one element in the Predicator of the mood variant undergoes replacement; all the other tagmemes in the basic clause remain unchanged in the mood variant, and the ordering of tagmemes is the same in both clauses.

The operation of replacing an element in the P of a mood variant is effected by an operator, such as an interrogative operator, which is extra-sentential. The operator carries out an operation whereby the whole proposition in a basic clause is re-expressed as another mood. Thus, in the operation performed by the interrogative operator, an element in the P of a basic (declarative) clause is replaced by another element, resulting in the proposition of the basic clause being re-expressed as a question.

Similarly, when an element in the P of a basic clause is replaced by another element in the operation effected by the imperative operator, the proposition in the basic clause is then re-expressed as a command.

Basic Clause (90):

- (90) S O P
 ta hare: nu katta: m -i:si.
 my donkey our grain eat-3m,past
 My donkey ate our grain.

Question Mood Variant (91):

- (91) S O P + Interrogative Operator
 ta hare: nu katta: m -i:de:? Operator
 my donkey our grain eat-3m,past?
 Did my donkey eat our grain?

Command Mood Variant (92):

- (92) S O P + Imperative Operator
 ta hare: nu katta: m -o!
 my donkey our grain eat-let him!
 Let my donkey eat our grain!

3.2.0.2.3. Entailments

In this thesis the term entailment is used partly in the sense that W. H. Whately (1975:10) uses it: "An entailed sentence is one which a native speaker can infer from, or holds to be implicit in, the starting sentence." He describes the operation of "entailment" as the transposing of "item(s) in the object-relationship with those in the subject-relationship while retaining the same lexical items... sentences involved in such an operation I regard as constituting an 'affiliation-set.' Members of the set, therefore, are linked by the operation of entailment, share a common stock of lexical items, and in a much more intangible sense—have a large common area of meaning." (op cit.:10).

Whately refers to the starting sentence as the entailing sentence, from which the entailed sentence—the entailment—follows (op cit. 10). Items manifesting tagmemes in the basic clause are re-expressed as different tagmemes in the entailment; these tagmemes become characteristic of that type of entailment, e.g., the Subject manifesting item in the basic transitive clause (93) can be re-expressed as the item that manifests the Agent tagmeme in the passive

entailment (94), the Agent tagmeme being characteristic of the passive entailment. Also, the item manifesting Object in the basic transitive clause (93) will be re-expressed as the item that manifests the Subject tagmeme in the passive entailment (94):

- (93) Entailing, transitive, basic clause ("entailing clause")

S	O	P
mani	ba:ssa	sug -i:si.
Mana	Baassa	push-3m,past

Mana pushed Baassa.

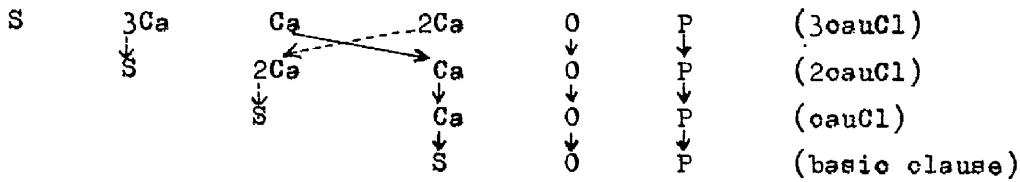
- (94) Passive entailment

S	Ag	P
be:ssi	mana-ni	sug - ett-i:si.
Baassa	Mana-''by''	push-pass-3m,past

Baassa was pushed by Mana.

When using the term "starting clause" or "entailing clause", it is possible to refer to the basic transitive clause (93) as the entailing or starting clause from which the entailment (94) is derived. Similarly, it is possible to refer to the basic clause as the starting clause from which a causative clause, a double causative clause, or a triple causative clause may be derived. However, in Wolaitta it is not possible to say that for every basic clause there is a corresponding entailment, for there are morphological constraints that preclude deriving a triple causative clause from a basic clause in whose P certain Wolaitta verbs occur (see 3.2.1.3.1.3.).

On the other hand, it would be possible to consider that the triple causative clause is the entailing clause and for it there will always be an entailment, for as the following illustration shows, for every entailing triple causative clause (3cauCl) there will be a double causative (2cauCl) entailment, a causative clause (cauCl) entailment or a basic clause entailment. Similarly, for every entailing 2cauCl there will be a cauCl entailment, and a basic clause entailment. Likewise, for every entailing cauCl there will be a basic clause entailment. (In the illustration of Wolaitta clauses below, Ca=causee, 2Ca=second causee, 3Ca=third causee.)



In the above illustration, notice how the item manifesting 3Ca in a 3cauCl is re-expressed as the item manifesting S in the 2cauCl entailment. Similarly, a 2Ca manifesting item is re-expressed as a S manifesting item in a cauCl entailment, and a Ca manifesting item is re-expressed as a S manifesting item in a basic clause entailment.

While from an entailing basic clause a reciprocal clause entailment may be derived, not all basic clauses can have a corresponding reciprocal clause entailment due to certain constraints. However, it is true to conclude that for every entailing reciprocal clause, there exists a corresponding basic clause entailment that can be inferred from, or holds to be implicit in, the entailing clause.

In the case of passive clauses, it is no doubt true to say that for every passive clause there is a corresponding transitive basic clause entailment. On the other hand, it may not be true that for every transitive basic clause there is a corresponding passive entailment.

On the basis of cases of non-predictability like these, the relation of entailment would be taken as being more meaningful if we operated from the "entailed" clauses (of Whately's approach); however, at the risk of generating rather more entailed clauses than the corpus would strictly permit, we have adhered to Whately's view of the directionality of the relationship.

Entailments differ structurally from all variants in that in addition to replacements being made in the item manifesting Predictor, some nuclear tagmeme, characteristic of the entailment, is incorporated in the entailment. This is not so with other variants, for the only structural difference is the replacement or operation that takes place in the item manifesting Predictor.

Causative entailments can be derived from any type of entailing basic clause except the stative clause.

There are three main types of entailments: causative, passive, and reciprocal.

1) Causative Entailments

An entailing transitive clause (starting clause) can undergo various operations of entailment and be re-expressed as causative, double causative, or triple causative entailments, e.g.,

Entailing Clause - transitive

- (95) S O P
 ta hare: he katta: m -i:si.
 my donkey that grain eat-3m,past
 My donkey ate that grain.

Causative - characterized by: (see 3.2.1.3.1.1.)

- obligatory Causee(Ca) tagmeme. (see 3.1.1.8.)
- obligatory causative marker (cau) suffix in verb phrase manifesting P, e.g.,

- (96) S Ca O P
 mani ta hariya: he katta: m -iz -i:si.
 Mana my donkey that grain eat-cau-3m,past
 Mana caused my donkey to eat that grain.

For a treatment of double causatives and triple causatives see 3.2.1.3.1.2. and 3.2.1.3.1.3.

2) Passive Entailments

An entailing transitive clause can undergo the operation of entailment and occur as passive, causative-passive, and double causative-passive entailments.

Characterized by: (see 3.2.1.3.2.)

- obligatory Agent tagmeme (see 3.1.1.5.)
- obligatory passive marker (pass) suffix /-ett-/ , in verb phrase manifesting P, e.g.,

Entailing Clause - transitive

- (97) S O P
 mani ba:ssa sug -i:si. Mana pushed Baissa.
 Mana Baissa push-3m,past

Passive entailment:

- (98) S Ag P
 ba:ssi mana-ni sug - ett-i:si.
 Baissa Mana-"by" push-pass-3m,past
 Baissa was pushed by Mana.

For a treatment of other types of passives see 3.2.1.3.2.2. and 3.2.1.3.2.3.

3) Reciprocal Entailments

Some basic transitive clauses can undergo the operation of entailment and occur as reciprocal, causative-reciprocal, double causative-reciprocal, and passive-causative-reciprocal entailments (the exact details of the forms recorded suggests that the semantic factors of the verb occurring in P are relevant).

Characterized by: (see 3.2.1.3.3.)

- two obligatory Subject tagmemes.
- can be derived from only basic clauses which are transitive.
- obligatory reciprocal marker (recip) suffix /-etett-/ in the verb phrase manifesting P, e.g.,

Basic Clause - transitive

(99)	S	O	P	
	mani	ba:ssa	sug -i:si.	Mana pushed Baassa.
	Mana	Baassa	push-3m,past	

Reciprocal entailment

(100)	S	S	P	
	mani-nne	ba:ssi-nne	sug -etett-idosona.	
	Mana-and	Baassa-and	push-recip-3pl,past	
Mana and Baassa pushed each other.				

For treatment of other types of reciprocals see 3.2.1.3.3.

3.2.0.3. Dependency Variants

Dependency variants consist of two types: subordinate variants and relative clauses.

3.2.0.3.1. Subordinate Variants

Subordinate variants manifest the Modifier tagmeme at the sentence level. They are subordinate in that they cannot stand alone as an utterance, for they are only the modifying marginal part of a sentence and must cooccur with an independent clause manifesting the Head of a sentence.

While subordinate variants retain the same tagmemes, and ordering of tagmemes, as the basic clause, the main difference, syntactically, is that the subordinate variant has the form of an axis-relator construction, except for two subordinate variants which have the form of clausal subordinating noun phrases (See 3.2.1.4.2.)

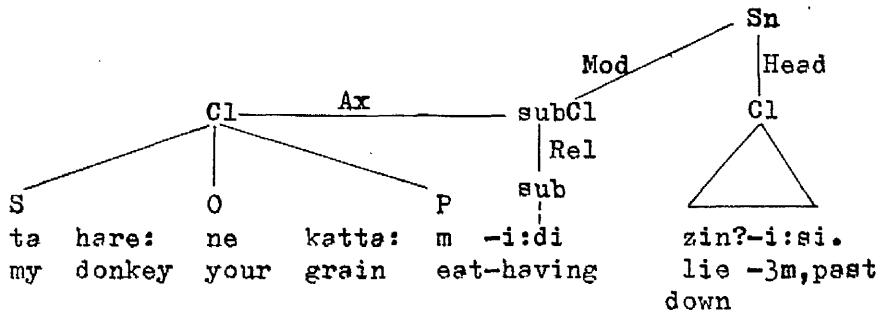
Subordinate variants may take the form of a subordinate clause whose relator is manifested by the subordinator(sub). This sub is manifested by a SUFFIX which is affixed to the verb manifesting the Predicator, as in (102), e.g.,

Basic Clause

- (101) S O P
 ta hare: ne katta: m -i:si.
 my. donkey your grain eat-3m,past
 My donkey ate your grain.

Subordinate Variant

- (102)

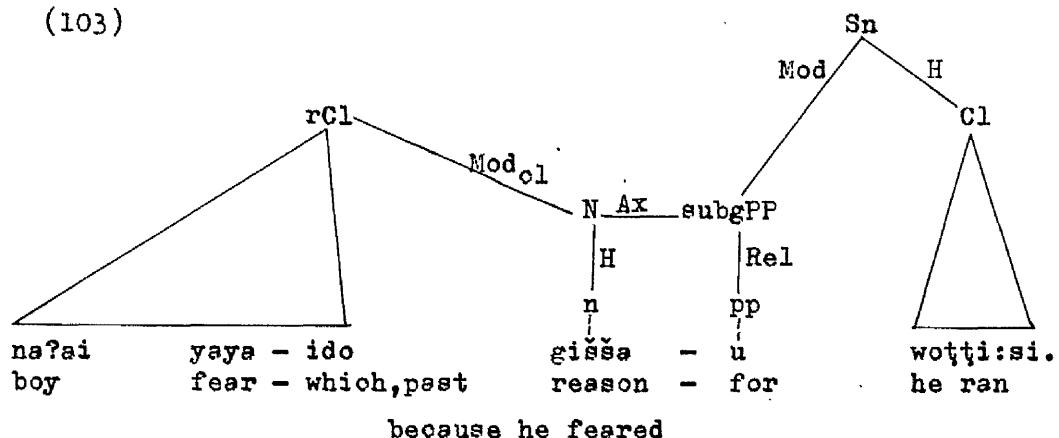


My donkey, having eaten your grain, lay down.

The items manifesting Subordinator are listed in Chart 11.

Subordinate variants may take the form of a clausal subordinating postpositional phrase (subgPP), which may manifest only the Modifier function in a sentence. Types of subgPP are distinguished by the type of N_m manifesting the axis function of the subgPP.

- (103)



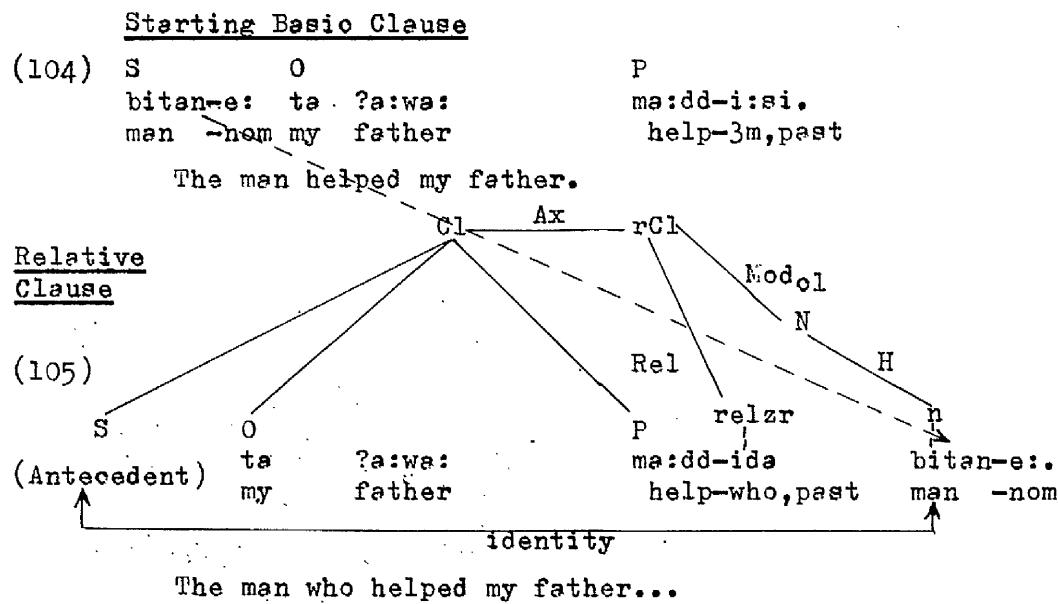
Because the boy was afraid, he ran.

Other types of subordinating items that manifest the Modifier function of a sentence are described in 3.2.1.4.

3.2.0.3.2. Relative Clauses

Relative clauses, which are axis-relator constructions like most subordinate variants, differ distributionally from subordinate variants in that they do not manifest functions at the sentence level, but rather manifest the clausal Modifier tagmeme in a N_m.

The relative clause differs syntactically from the subordinate variant in general in that it does not contain that overt tagmeme representing the antecedent of the Head of the N containing the relative clause. There is a systematic gap in all relative clauses corresponding to the antecedent of the Head of the N containing them (see 3.2.1.5.1.), e.g., in considering relativization of an N manifesting S in a relative clause (i.e. subject relativization) the following diagram would be appropriate.



The relative clause differs morphologically from the subordinate variant in that the item manifesting the Relator tagmeme in a subordinate variant axis-relator construction is a subordinator(sub), whereas the Relator tagmeme in a relative clause axis-relator construction is manifested by a relativizer(relzr), as exemplified in (102) and (105).

The Wolaitta clause types are summarized in the following chart, Chart 10a. Their division into two main types, independent and dependency variants, together with the basic types and their variants are displayed therein.

CHART 10a WOLAITTA CLAUSE TYPES

In this section, structural formulas for the different clause types are given, along with observations about each type and examples to illustrate them.

Only nuclear tagmemes are identified in the description, for each clause type is characterized by the nuclear tagmemes that may occur in the clause.

In this thesis, contextual absence of tagmemes is indicated in the notation used by Hayward (1976:27); "Where a nuclear tagmeme may be contextually omitted (deleted) the fact is indicated by enclosing the entire tagmeme in parenthesis." The + sign along with the parenthesis indicates that the tagmeme not only has nuclear status, but that it is essential to the identification of the type of clause in which it occurs, even though it may be contextually omitted. The Subject tagmeme is considered here to be a nuclear tagmeme in all clauses, and yet may be contextually omitted. This is because the person marker in the verb manifesting the Head of a V in a P is controlled by the Subject of the clause; and this Subject can always be identified, whether expressly stated, or determined from context when contextually omitted.

The basic ordering of Subject, Object, and Predicate tagmemes in a clause is SOP. However, for purposes of contrastive emphasis the ordering may be OSP, as is seen in (106) and (107).

3.2.1.1. Basic Clauses

3.2.1.1.1. Transitive Clause

Structure tCl = +(S:Nm) +(O:Nm) +P:tV

Read - A transitive clause is comprised of a Subject function which may be contextually deleted and is manifested by a nominal phrase, followed by an Object function that may be contextually deleted but is a nuclear tagmeme in that it characterizes the transitive type of clause; the Object is manifested by a nominal phrase; this is followed by an obligatory Predicator function that is manifested by a verb phrase, the head of which must be manifested by a transitive verb, e.g.,

(106)	S	O	Man	P
	ma:he:	he	na?e: dingatiya -ni	?oik?ki be?i:si

leopard that boy suddenness—"by" he tried to seize

The leopard suddenly tried to seize the boy.

- (107) S O P
 tane me:he: m - irg -e:si.
 me leopard eat-hastily-3m,cont
 The leopard is gobbling me up.

- (108) S O P
 wobbe: haik̄k-ida menta: demmi:si.
 lame man die -which,past buffalo he found
 The lame man found the buffalo that died.

A transitive clause (such as (108)) may be re-expressed as a passive entailment (see 3.2.1.3.2.), e.g.,

- (109) S Ag P
 haik̄k-ida mentai wobbiya-ni dem -ett -i:si.
 die -which, buffalo lame -"by" find-pass-3m,past
 past man
 The dead buffalo was found by the lame man.

3.2.1.1.2. Ditransitive Clause

Structure: ditCl = +(S:Nm) +O:Nm +Co:Nm +P:ditV

Read: A ditransitive clause is composed of a Subject function which may be contextually deleted and is manifested by a nominal phrase, followed by an obligatory Object function manifested by a nominal phrase, followed by an obligatory Complement function manifested by a nominal phrase, followed by an obligatory Predicator manifested by a verb phrase whose head must be manifested by a ditransitive verb,

e.g.,

- (110) S O Co P
 nu kabaliya: ?asai ta ?iša: likamambare do:ri:si.
 our of assoc- people my brother chairman he chose
 iation

The people in our association chose my brother to be chairman.

- (111) S O Co P
 godai ba ?askara: ?ala:pe ?o:tti:si.
 master his own servant supervisor he worked.
 The master made his servant supervisor.

A ditransitive clause such as (110) may be re-expressed as a passive entailment (112), e.g.,

- (112) S Ag Co P
 ta ?išai nu kabaliya: ?asa -ni likamambare dor-ett-i:si.
 my brother our of assoc- people-"by" chairman choose-pass-
 iation 3m,past
 My brother was chosen by the people in our association to be chairman.

The Agent and Complement are expressed by unmarked, absolute noun phrases, but their functions are not confused because of the fixed O-Co ordering. The N manifesting Object may be re-expressed as a N manifesting Subject in a passive entailment (as in (110) and (112)).

The N manifesting Complement (Co) cannot be re-expressed to manifest the Subject of a passive entailment. Because of this, the Co function in a ditransitive clause behaves like a complement.

3.2.1.1.3. Bitransitive Clause

Structure: bitCl = +(S:Nm) +(O:Nm) +So:PP +P:bitV

Read: A bitransitive clause consists of a Subject function which may be contextually deleted and is manifested by a nominal phrase, followed by an Object function manifested by a nominal phrase; Object is nuclear to this type of clause but may be contextually deleted; this is followed by an obligatory Scope function manifested by a postpositional phrase, followed by an obligatory Predicator function manifested by a bitransitive verb phrase, e.g.,

- (113) So 0 P
 te:-ssi ?issi baundiya: tal? -i:si.
 I -"for" one pound borrow/lend-3m,past
 He loaned me ten birr (one Ethiopian "pound").

The occurrence of certain verbs requires the cooccurrence of the Scope tagmeme in order to complete the meaning of the verb, e.g., verbs such as "lend/borrow" or "condemn/acquit", e.g.⁴

- (114) S Sc O P
 ?i ta:-ssi ?aille gart -isi.
 he I ="for" digger lend/borrow-3m,past
 He loaned me a digger.

- (115) S O Sc P
 ta:nî ?aɪlə ne:-ppe gart -ə:sî.
 I digger you—"from" lend/borrow-ls,pest
 I borrowed a digger from you.

- | (116) | Sc | | O | | S | P |
|-------|--------|--------|----------------------|-------|----------|-----------------|
| | ?asa | ?ubba: | bolli | tillo | pirdə: | ?i |
| | people | all | "upon"/
"against" | just | judgment | he
he judged |

He justly condemned all the people. (He judged just judgment against all the people).

- (117) Sc . P
ta:-ssi pirdi:si. He acquitted me.
I = "for" he judged

- (118) S Sc O P
 dasti te bolli mi:qq -i:si.
 Desta I "upon"/ laugh/mock-3m,past
 "against"

Desta mocked me.

There is another type of clause treated in this thesis as a bitransitive clause in which the Scope is customarily nuclear, but may be deleted without loss of meaning to the verb. This happens in contexts where the information expressed by the Scope is implicit, e.g., /ba:ssi kuntt-i:si/ "Baassa filled". This would be uttered when emphasizing the fact that it was Baassa who did the filling, and it is known what he filled. However, it would be customary to say what he filled. There are other verbs such as "put", "speak", "tell", "fear", "worship", "give", e.g.,

- (119) Sc O P
 t̄b:ssa:-ssi mino goinuwa: goinni:si.
 God -"for" strong worship he worshipped

He worshipped God fervently.

- (120) Sc O P
 ?e -yyo: wolka:ma yašša: yeyyidosona.
 him-"for" powerful fear they feared.

They greatly feared him. (terrified by him)

- (121) S Sc O P
 ?i ba na?la:-ssi gitā kareta: karetti:si.
 he his boy -"for" big sorrow he sorrowed

He sorrowed greatly for his boy. (He sorrowed a great sorrow for his boy.)

- (122) Sc O P
 ?issuwa-u ?issi ša?u bira: ?immi:si.
 one -"for" one thousand birr he gave

He gave one thousand birr to one person.

It is possible for a bitransitive clause to be re-expressed as a passive entailment, but this is not common, e.g.,

(123) Basic Clause

- S Sc O P
 desti ba ?isa: -ppe mi:šša: tal? -i:si.
 Desta his brother-"from" money loan/borrow-3m,past

Desta borrowed money from his brother.

(124) Passive Entailment

- S Sc Ag P
 mi:ššai ?a ?isa: -ppe dasta-ni tel? - ett-i:si.
 money his brother-"from" Dasta-"by" loan/-pass-3m,past
 borrow

The money was borrowed from Desta's brother by Desta.

3.2.1.1.4. Quotation Clause

114

Structure: quoCl = +(S:Nm) +(O:Nm) +Quo:Utterance +P:quoV

Read: A quotation clause consists of a Subject function which may be contextually deleted and is manifested by a nominal phrase, followed by an Object function manifested by a nominal phrase; the Object is nuclear to this type of clause, but may be contextually deleted; this is followed by an obligatory Quotation function manifested by an utterance, followed by an obligatory Predicator function manifested by a quotation verb phrase.

The term "utterance" can here mean any speech form that is verbalized, or even something non-verbalized, a potential utterance, such as a thought or feeling.

There is a predominant ordering in the quoCl: S,O,Quo, and P, although the ordering of O,S,Quo,P may be observed occasionally. The Head of the verb phrase manifesting quoV is always /ya:g-/ "say", or a shorter form /g-/ "say". The Quotation function must always be immediately followed by a P whose Head is manifested by the verb /ya:g-/ "say", e.g.,

- | (125) | S | O | Quo | P |
|-------|-----------------|-------------------|--|----------------------|
| | ga:mmon
lion | kariya:
monkey | "?eu
"where are you
bai?"
going?" | ya:gi:si.
he said |

The lion said to the monkey, "Where are you going?"

When a quotation is long, it may be preceded by an anticipatory Quotation clause in which Quote is manifested by one of the pre-utterances, such as /haga:dəni/ "like this", e.g.,

- | | | | | | |
|-------|----------------|------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| (126) | S | Quo | P | Quo | P |
| | tama:r siya:ge | hega:-dani | ya:gi:si; | "Utterance" | ya:gi:si. |
| | teacher | this -like | he said | "Utterance" | he said |

The teacher said like this, "Utterance", he said.

Non-verbalized forms may manifest the Quotation tagmeme:

1. A thought process in the mind⁵, e.g.,

- (127) S Quo(?) P
 ta:nî tâ:le: nuna ma:nau yi:sî yø:gada
 I Italiens us to eat he came I having said
 koppido gi:ssatau wa:ssa:si.
 because I thought I screamed.

Because I thought that the Italians had come to eat us, I screamed.

In the above sentence it is expressly indicated that it was a thought process. In other contexts, it is not explicitly stated that it is a thought process, and yet it is clear that no reported

speech is actually involved.

2. The verb /g-/ "say", can be combined with another word manifesting Qwo into a phrase that bears an idiomatic meaning, e.g.,

- (128) qo??u gi:si. "It became quiet."
- quiet it said

- (129) qippi. gi:si "It was brim full."
- full it said

These forms are similar to Amharic forms such as /zumm alä/ "he was quiet", /tmbi alä/ "he refused".

3.2.1.1.5. Intransitive Clause

Structure: inCl = +(S:Nm) +P:inV

Read: An intransitive clause consists of a Subject function which may be contextually deleted and is manifested by a nominal phrase, followed by an obligatory Predicator manifested by an intransitive verb phrase, e.g.,

- (130) S P
kanai dendisi. The dog got up.
dog he rose up

- (131) S Pl Loc P
?essai ba ?o:suwa: guye simmi:si.
people his work back he returned
The people returned back to their work.

- (132) S Pl P
?essai ma:he: me:nna:ga: gakki:si.
people leopard to the one whom he it arrived
was not eating

The people came up to the one whom the leopard was not eating.

The intransitive clause can be re-expressed as a causative.

In Wolaitta, inchoative verbs have been observed to act like intransitive verbs, and so a separate classification does not need to be set up for them, e.g.,

Inchoative

- (133) S So P
ne:ni ta ke:tta:-ppe ha:kk-aba:kka.
you my house -"from" are far-2s,neg,past

You are not far from my house.

Intransitive

- (134) S So P
ne:ni ta ke:tta:-ppe kiy -aba:kka.
you my house -"from" go out-2s,neg,past

You did not go out of my house.

Like intransitives, inchoatives may be re-expressed as causatives. Unlike intransitives, derivationally for all inchoatives there is a related adjective form; and often there is a noun form, e.g.,

- (135) ha:ho, "far"
 ha:h-uwa:, "the farness"
 ha:kk-i:si, "it is far away"
 ha:k-iss-i:si, "he caused it to be far away"

(136) gu:tta, "small/little"
 gu:tt-a:, "the smallness"
 gu:tt-i:si, "it became small"
 gu:t-iss-i:si, "he caused it to be small"

The Locative-existential Clause in Wolaitta is considered in this thesis to be a type of intransitive clause, in that, except for the restriction that it can not be re-expressed as a causative, it has the same structure as intransitives, and acts like them, e.g.,

- (137) S P
 haise: de:si. There is a certain fable.
 fable it exists.

(138) Loc S P
 nu so: -ppe tade -ni ?asi de:si.
 our home—"from" lower—"at" people he exists
 part

People live below (down the hill from) our home.

3.2.1.1.6. Di-intransitive Clause

Structure: di-inCl = +(S:Nm) +Co:Nm/Adj +P:di-inv

Read: A di-intransitive clause consists of a subject function which may be contextually omitted and is manifested by a nominal phrase, followed by an obligatory Complement function manifested by a nominal phrase or an adjective phrase, followed by a Predicate function manifested by a di-intransitive verb phrase.

This di-intransitive clause is a counterpart to the ditransitive, in which the Complement function is also obligatory.

The di-intransitive clause expresses the idea of process, and the verbs that have been observed to manifest the Head of the V manifesting P are /gid-/ "become", /hən-/ "happen", /milat-/ "resemble", e.g.,

- (139) S Co P
hage: ?a milate:si. This resembles him.
this him it resembles
- (140) S Co P
saluwa: kewotettai ?iršo milate:si
of heaven kingdom yeast it resembles
The kingdom of heaven resembles yeast.
- (141) S Co P
kattai ko:tta gidi:si.
grain storehouse it became
The grain became enough to fill a storehouse (became a storehouse).
- (142) S Co P
kattai ſafa gidi:si.
grain parched it became
The grain became parched.
- (143) S Ben Co P
?afalai ?a -u likke hani:si.
clothes him—"for" right it happened.
The clothes came out just right for him.
- (144) S Co P
?asata sigettana gi:do:ge: lo??o hani:si.
people (someone) will the thing which good it happened
reconcile someone said
Efforts to reconcile the people turned out well.

3.2.1.1.7. Bi-intransitive Clause

Structure: bi-inCl = +(S:Nm) +Sc:PP +P:bi-inV

Read: A bi-intransitive clause consists of a subject function which may be contextually deleted and is manifested by a nominal phrase, followed by an obligatory Scope function manifested by a postpositional phrase, followed by an obligatory Predicator function manifested by a bi-intransitive verb phrase.

There are two different, but homophonous, verbs /gel-/.

When the verb /gel-/ "understand" occurs, the Scope must cooccur.

The other verb /gel-/ "enter" may not take Scope.⁴

- (145) S Sc P
ne:ni yo:tido:ge: ta-u gelibe:nna.
you that which you spoke I -"for" it did not enter.

Literal: What you spoke did not enter for me.

Meaning: I did not understand what you said.

The Possession Clause ("I have a...") in Wolaitta is considered in this thesis to be a type of bi-intransitive rather than

a separate basic type of clause. The Possession Clause has no structural feature that syntactically marks it as a separate basic clause type, for it has the same structure as a bi-intransitive, acts the same, and yet is different in that it may not be re-expressed as a causative entailment. The verb phrase manifesting P in the Possession Clause is manifested only by the verb /de?-/ "exist" (sometimes contracted to just /d-/), e.g.,

- (146) So S P
 ta:-ssi tammu na?ati de? -o:sona/d-o:sona.
 I ~"for" ten child exist-3pl,cont

Literal: For me ten children exist.

Meaning: I have ten children.

The Possession clause cannot be re-expressed as a causative entailment like a regular bi-intransitive can, e.g., the basic clause (147) can be re-expressed as the causative entailment (148):

- (147) S So P
 he yohoi ta:ssi gel -i:si.
 that matter "for" me enter-3m,past

Literal: That matter did not enter for me.

Meaning: I did not understand that matter.

- (148) S Ca So P
 ba:ssi he yohuwa: ta:ssi gel -iss -i:si.
 Baassa that matter "for" me enter-cause-3m,past

Literal: Baassa caused that matter to enter for me.

Meaning: Baassa got me to understand that matter.

The Scope tagmeme, which is obligatory in a Possession Clause, may not cooccur with a Beneficiary type of tagmeme. The English clause, "I have money for you", cannot be translated literally into Wolaitta, e.g.,

- (149) Ben S So P
 *ne:-yyo: mi:ssai ta:-ssi de?e:si.
 you-"for" money I ~"for" it exists

A different construction is necessary to express such, e.g.,

- (150)
-
- S S P
 ta:-ni ne:-yyo ?imm-iyo: mi:ssai ta:-yyo: de?e:si.
 I you-"for" give-which money I ~"for" it exists

I have money which I am giving you.

There is another type of clause treated in this thesis as a bi-intransitive in which the Scope function is customarily nuclear, but may be deleted. This happens where the information expressed by the Scope is implicit, e.g., /ba:ssi gaitti:si/ "Baassa met". This would be uttered when emphasizing the fact that it was Baassa who did the meeting, and it is known whom he met. "Fill" (i.e. "become full") is another such verb.

3.2.1.1.8. Stative Clause

Structure: stCl = +(S:Nm)+(Co:Nm/Adj/PP) +P:stV

Read: A stative clause consists of a Subject function which may be contextually deleted and is manifested by a nominal phrase, followed by a Complement function manifested by a nominal phrase or an adjective phrase or a postpositional phrase. Complement is nuclear to this type of clause but may be contextually deleted; this is followed by an obligatory Predicate function manifested by a stative verb phrase.

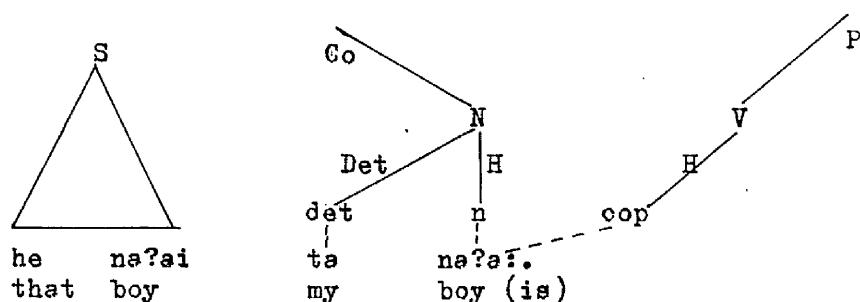
The Head of the stative verb phrase(stV), which manifests P in the stative clause, is here considered to be manifested by a copula verb(cop) that may consist of the verb /gid-/ "be", or some copular suffix, or a special suprasegmental feature of pitch (see

5.3.3.2.7.) e.g.,

- (151) S Co P
 he na?ai ta na?a: gid-en-na.
 that boy my boy be -3m, neg

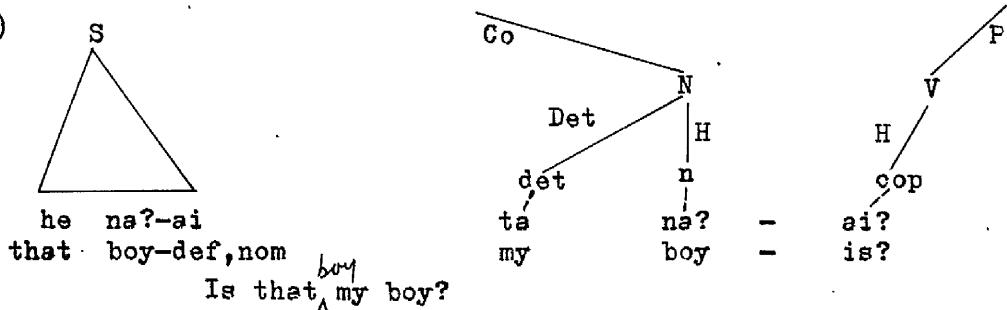
That boy is not my boy.

(152)



That boy is my boy.

(153)



The copula verb is used to express the verb "be" in all affirmative present tense and past tense forms (see 5.3.3.2.7.) All other forms of the verb "be" are expressed by the verb /gid-/ , e.g.,

- (154) S Co P
he na?ai ta ?isa: gidenna.
that boy my brother he is not

That boy is not my brother.

- (155) S Co P
nu:ni rome bi:tta: ?asa gid-išini...
we of Rome of the country people be -while
(earth)

Though we are Roman citizens...

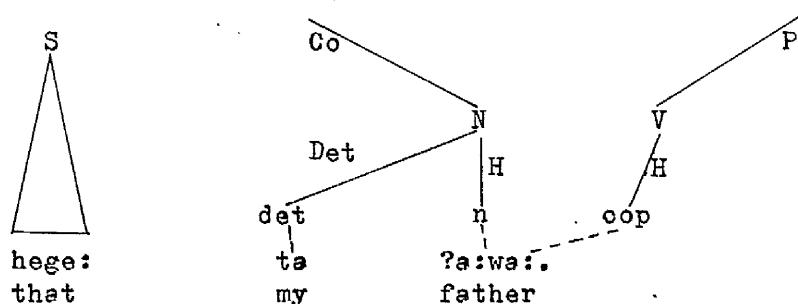
- (156) S Ben
to:ssai bana galat -enna:ge:ta-ssi -kka
God him praise-those who -"to"-both
do not

Co P
?i:tatu -ssi -kka keha gid-ido giššau...
evil ones-"to"-and kind be -because, past

Because God is kind both to evil ones and to those who do not praise Him...

In stative clauses, the Complement may be manifested by a Nm/Adj/PP. When the Co is manifested by a Nm, the Co is equative of the S, e.g.,

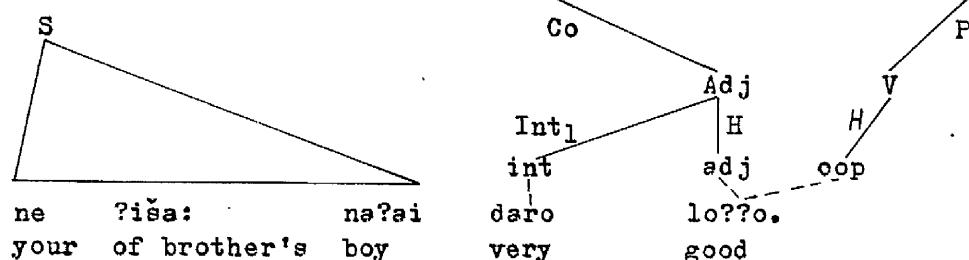
- (157)



That is my father.

When the Co is manifested by an Adj, the Co is attributive of the S, e.g.,

- (158)

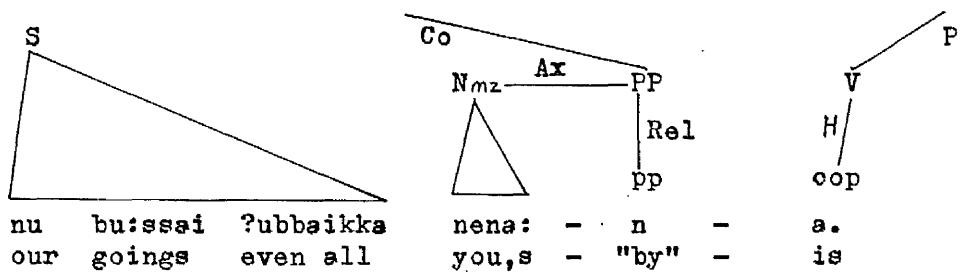


Your brother's boy is very good.

A postpositional phrase may manifest the Co in a stative clause,

e.g.,

(159)



3.2.1.1.9. Bistative Clause

Structure: bistCl = +(S:Nm) +Sc:PP +Co:Nm/Adj +P:bistV

Read: A bistative clause consists of a Subject function which may be contextually deleted and is manifested by a nominal phrase, followed by an obligatory Scope function manifested by a postpositional phrase, followed by an obligatory Complement function manifested by a nominal phrase or an adjective phrase, followed by an obligatory Predicator manifested by a bistative verb phrase, e.g.,

(160)

S	Co	Sc	P
sayiys: ?uy -iyo:ge:	?upaiss-iya:ba:	ta:ssi	milate:si.
tea drink-the thing	make -the thing	"for" me	it seems
which,cont	happy	which	

It seems to me that drinking tea is what makes one happy.

(161)

Sc	S	Co	P
ta ?a:yyessi	daro ha:say-iyo:ge:	?i:ta	milate:si.
my "for" mother	much speak -the thing	bad	it seems
	which,cont		

For my mother much speaking seems to be bad.

(162)

S	Sc	Co
ba kale: ha:say-iyoge:	wolaitta ?asa: -ssi	lo??-iya:ba:
his word speak -the thing	Wolaitta the -"for"	good-that which
own which,cont	people	is

P

milate:si.

it seems

To speak their own language seems to be a good thing to the Wolaitta people.

There are two different, but homophonous, verbs /milat-/.

When the verb /milat-/ "seem" occurs, the Scope must cooccur. When the Scope does not cooccur, the verb /milat-/ "resemble" may occur.⁴

Because the absolute nominal phrase manifesting Co may not be re-expressed as a subject manifesting item, and because the Co may be manifested by an adjective phrase, Co in the bistative clause bears the characteristics of a complement rather than an object.

Also, because the bistative clause can be re-expressed as a causative entailment, it is a different clause type from the stative clause, e.g.,

- | (163) S | Co | So | P |
|---------------------|---------------|----------|------------|
| ka:ro:tiya: mu:ssai | lo??iya:ba: | ta:-ssi | milate:si. |
| carrot the eating | that which is | I -"for" | it seems |

The eating of carrots seems to me to be a good thing.

- (164) Causative Entailment

- | Ca | Co | S | So |
|-------------|------------|------------|------------|
| ka:ro:tiya: | mu:ssa: | lo?iye:ba: | ta ?išai |
| carrot | the eating | that which | my brother |
| | | is good | I -"for" |

P
milat-iss -i:si.
seem -cause-3m.past

My brother caused the eating of carrots to seem to be a good thing to me.

3.2.1.2. Mood Variants

3.2.1.2.1. Question Variant

As was discussed in 3.2.0.2.2., the question variant clause is the result of the operation performed when the interrogative operator is applied to any basic clause. As illustrated in (165) and (166), when an element in the P of the basic clause (165) is replaced by another element in the operation effected by the interrogative operator, as resulting in (166), the indicative proposition in the basic clause is then re-expressed as a question, e.g.,

- (165) Basic Clause

- | S | P1 | P |
|-------------------------------|-----|------------------------------------|
| ?i | ba | ?a:wa: |
| he | his | of father |
| | | so: home enter-3m,past,declarative |
| He entered his father's home. | | |

(166) Replacement in the interrogative operation:

S P1 P
?i ba ?a:wa: so: gel -ide:?
he his of father home enter-3m,past,interrogative
Did he enter his father's home?

The question variant is structurally the same as the basic clause that it re-expresses, the only difference being the morphological replacement of one element in the Predicator by the operation effected when the interrogative operation is applied to the clause, as seen in (166).

3.2.1.2.2. Command Variant

As was discussed in 3.2.0.2.2., the command variant clause is the result of the operation performed when the imperative operator is applied to any basic clause. As illustrated in (167) and (168), when an element in the P of the basic clause (167) is replaced by another element in the operation effected by the imperative operator in (168), the indicative proposition in the basic clause is then re-expressed as a command, e.g.,

(167) Basic Clause

P1 P
ne so: b -a:dasa. You went to your home.
your home go-2s,past

(168) Replacement in the imperative operation:

P1 P
ne so: b -a ! Go to your home!
your home go-2s,imp

(169) Basic Clause

S So O P
?inte ta:-ssi daroba: ?imm-ideta.
you,pl I "for" many things give-2pl,past.

You (pl) gave me many things.

(170) Replacement in the imperative operation

S So O P
?inte ta:-ssi daroba: ?imm-ite!
you,pl I "for" many things give-2pl,imp
Give (you pl) me many things!

The command variant is structurally the same as the basic clause, the only difference being the morphological replacement of one element in the Predicator by the operation effected when the imperative operation is applied to the clause, as seen in (168) and

(170).

There are two kinds of command variants: 1) imperative, 2) requestive. The two may be viewed as in complementary distribution within one paradigm; the imperative occurring with 2nd and 3rd person, and the requestive occurring with 1st person. The requestive form differs from the imperative form and yet is included in one paradigm for the following reasons:

- 1) The 2nd and 3rd person imperatives are morphologically similar in that all their forms may take the negative marker /-pp/, whereas the 1st person requestive forms do not. Imperatives are characterized by a short final vowel and by high pitched sentence intonation finally. They both express the imperative mood—though with direct and oblique orientations.
- 2) The 3rd person imperative goes with the 1st person requestive in terms of morphology in that both are characterized by round vowels, e.g., 3m = /-o/, 3pl = /-o-/ , 3f = /-u/, 1s and pl = /-o:/.
- 3) This morphological affinity of 3rd person imperative with both 2nd person imperative and 1st person requestive could be considered as a cohesive element that groups them all into one paradigm.
- 4) The 1st person requestive is characterized morphologically by a long final vowel and interrogative intonation. It has a range of meanings with two extreme readings: 1) "Shall I...?", 2) "Let me...." Consequently, it differs from imperatives in having an extra possible reading, and it constitutes a category on its own within the command variant.

Imperative Form

The imperative form may be inflected for affirmative and negative polarity, both in 2nd person and in 3rd person. It is not inflected for the interrogative (for inflection of imperatives see 5.3.3.2.3.4.).

- (171) Voc O So P
 bi: ha:tta: ſa:ppe to:kk-a!
 Hey you water from the river bring-2s,imp.
 girl!

Hey you girl, bring the water from the river!

- (172) S O P
 ne miocciya: nu katta: katt-upp-u!
 your sister our food cook-neg-3f,imp
 Don't let your sister cook our food!

- (173) O S P
 ?i g -iyo:ba: harati pird -ona!
 he say-thing which others judge-3pl,imp
 Let others judge what he says!

The 3rd person imperative, by the English gloss, might appear to be permissive rather than imperative. However, it corresponds morphologically to the 2nd person imperative, and is intended to effect the same compliance that results from use of the 2nd person imperative form.

Requestive Form

The requestive form occurs only with the 1st person, both singular and plural, and has interrogative intonation. Hence, according to context it can have the two readings: 1) "Shall I...?", or 2) "Let me...."⁶

- (174) S O P
 ta:ni ne para: tog -o:.
 I your horse mount-let me
 Let me mount your horse!

- (175) S Aoo P
 nu:ni ?intena:-ra b -i:no:?
 we you,pl -"with" go-let us
 Let us go with you folks.

3.2.1.3. Entailments

As explained in 3.2.0.2.3., entailments are clauses which re-express syntactically a starting, or entailing basic clause without lexical replacement.

The three main types of entailments are causatives, passives, and reciprocals. Combinations of these types may also occur, such as a passive-causative-reciprocal entailment (see 3.2.1.3.3.4.).

3.2.1.3.1. Causative Entailments

3.2.1.3.1.1. Simple Causative Entailment

Structure: cauCl = +(S:Nm) +(Ca:Nm) +P:cauV

Read: A causative entailment clause consists of a Subject function which may be contextually deleted and is manifested by a nominal phrase, followed by a Causee function manifested by a nominal phrase; Causee is nuclear to the identification of this clause type but may be contextually absent; it is followed by a Predicator function manifested by a causative verb phrase.

Other nuclear tagmemes are obligatory, according to which type of basic clause is undergoing the operation of entailment, e.g., if a bitransitive clause is being re-expressed as a causative entailment, the Scope and Object, along with Causee, will be obligatory nuclear tagmemes that characterize the entailment, even though one or more of them may be contextually absent. This applies equally to double causatives and triple causatives.

The causative V is generally characterized by the causative marker (cau) /-iss-/ suffix that occurs in the verb manifesting its Head, e.g.,

(176) Entailing (starting) Sentence

S	O	P
ta:ni	he tayida	maṭa:pa: koy -a:si.
I	that which was lost	book search-ls,past

I searched for that book which was lost.

(177) Transitive causative entailment

S	Ca	O	P
ba:ssi	tans he tayida	maṭa:pa: koy -iss-i:si.	
Baassa	me that which was book	search-cau-3m,past	
	lost		

Baassa got me to search for that book which was lost.

(178) Ditransitive causative entailment

S	Ca	O
?astada:da:re:	nu kabaliya: ?asa -ni ta ?iša:	
administrator	our of assoc- people-"by" my brother	
	iation	

Co	P
li:kamambare	kes -iss-i:si.
chairman	brought-cau-3m,past
	out

The administrator got the people in our association to make my brother chairman.

(179) Bistative causative

S	Ca	Co	So
wazzi	maqqasatu ka:la:	lo??o ha:says	nu:ssi
Waazza	of women word	good speech	"for" us

P
 misat -iss-i:si.
 resemble-cau-3m,past

Weazza made the word of the women seem good speech to us.

In addition to the /-iss-/ causative suffix, there are other morphological markers of the causative, e.g.,

- (180) /kum-i:si/ "it was full"
 /kunt-i:si/ "he caused to fill"
- (181) /m-i:si/ "he ate"
 /m-iz-i:si/ "he caused to eat"

The formation of the causative in verb stems is complicated and a brief listing is given in 5.3.2.3..

3.2.1.3.1.2. Double Causative Entailment

Structure: 2cauCl = +(S:Nm) +(2Ca:PP) +(Ca:Nm) +P:2cauV

Read: A double causative clause consists of a Subject function which may be contextually deleted and is manifested by a nominal phrase, followed by a Second Causee function that is nuclear to this clause type but may be contextually absent; a Second Causee is manifested by a type of postpositional phrase that can manifest the Second Causee function; this is followed by a Causee function that is nuclear to the identification of this clause type and yet may be contextually absent; it is manifested by a nominal phrase, and is followed by an obligatory Predicator function manifested by a double causative verb phrase.

The relator in the postpositional phrase manifesting 2Ca is usually manifested by the postposition suffix /-ni/ "by".

The 2cauV is characterized by the obligatory presence of the causative marker /-iss-/ suffix. It has been observed that no more than two /-iss-/ suffixes may occur in a verb phrase.

- (182) S 2Ca Ca O
 bitane: ba na?e-ni ba:ssa he katta:
 man his own boy -"by" Baassa that grain
- P
 na:g -is -iss-i:si.
 guard-cau-cau-3m,past

The man got his own boy to cause Baassa to guard that grain.

(183) O

S 2Ca

dasta-yyo: de?iyo: kops: bakkali ba na?a-ni
 Dasta—"for" which exists thought, Bakkala his own boy—"by"
 Dasta's thought

Ca P
 tana ?er -is -iss-i:si.
 me know-cau-cau-3m,past

Bakkala got his own boy to make me know Dasta's thoughts.

(184)

S Sc Ca 2Ca
 ta ?a:wai ?otuwa -ni he:tta: tana-ni
 my father the pot—"in" the water me—"by"
 P
 kunt -iss-i:si.
 cause-cau-3m,past
 to fill

Literally: My father caused me to cause the water to fill in the pot.

Meaning: My father got me to fill the pot with water.

Sometimes the 2Ca can be manifested by a subordinate progression clause, which is identified as a 2Ca because of the obligatory second /-iss-/ suffix which must occur in the verb phrase, e.g.,

(185) 2Ca

S Ca P
 ta harg -ini zillaittai tana nam -is -iss-i:si.
 I become-having this year me be hungry-cau-cau-3m,past
 sick

This year made my sickness cause me to be hungry.

3.2.1.3.1.3. Triple Causative Entailment

Structure: 3cauCl = +(S:Nm) +(3Ca:subCl) +(Ca:Nm) +(2Ca:PP) +P:3cauV

Read: A triple causative clause consists of a Subject function which may be contextually deleted and is manifested by a nominal phrase, followed by a Third Causee function manifested by a subordinate clause, followed by a Causee function manifested by a nominal phrase, followed by a Second Causee manifested by a postpositional phrase, followed by an obligatory Predictor function manifested by a triple causative verb phrase. The Third Causee, Causee, and Second Causee functions are all nuclear in that they identify the clause type, but may be contextually deleted.

Since the suffix that characterizes the 3cauV is /-iss-/, and since there is a morphological constraint to the effect that no more than two /-iss-/ suffixes may cooccur in a verb stem, the suffix /-iss-/ when manifesting 3cau function in a verb phrase, may

cooccur only with a verb stem whose first causative marker is other than /-iss-/ , e.g.,

	<u>Basic</u>	<u>1st Causative</u>	<u>2 Causative</u>	<u>3 Causative</u>
	eat m-i:si	m-iz-i:si	m-iz-iss-i:si	m-iz-is-iss-i:si
	guard na:g-i:si	na:g-iss-i:si	na:g-is-iss-i:si	*na:g-is-is-iss-i:si
	break me??-i:si	ment-i:si	ment-iss-i:si	ment-is-iss-i:si
(187)	S 3Ca ne:ni Ba:ssa manakko you Ba:ssa to Mana	ki:tt-ada send-having	Ca ta hariya: my donkey	2Ca mana-ni Mana—"by"
	O P he katta: m -iz -is -iss-adase. that grain eat-cau-cau-cau-2s, past			
	You having sent Ba:ssa to Mana, got Mana to cause my donkey to eat that grain.			

3.2.1.3.2. Passive Entailments

3.2.1.3.2.1. Simple Passive Entailment

Structure: passCl = +(S:Nm) +(Ag:PP) +P:passV

Read: A passive clause consists of a Subject function which may be contextually deleted and is manifested by a nominal phrase, followed by an Agent function manifested by a postpositional phrase; Agent is nuclear to the identification of a passive clause, but may be contextually deleted; this is followed by an obligatory Predicator function manifested by a passive V.

The passive entailment exists for a transitive, ditransitive, bitransitive, or a quotation basic clause. The most common marker of the passive voice in the verb manifesting passV is the suffix /-ett-/. However, the suffix /-e:tett-/ sometimes marks the passive also, e.g.,

(188)	m-i:si eat-3m,past	"He ate."	m-e:tett-i:si eat-pass-3m,past	"It was eaten."
	g-i:si say-3m,past	"He said."	g-e:tett-i:si say-pass -3m,past	"It was said."

The passive clause is characterized by the Agent function, whose manifesting item is the re-expression of the item manifesting the Subject of the basic clause. The Agent is discussed in 3.1.1.5..

Basic transitive clause

- (189) S O P
 gamina he katta: na:ga:su.
 Gaminee that grain she guarded
 Gaminee guarded that grain.

Passive entailment

- (190) S Ag P
 he kattai gamini -ni na:g -ett -i:si.
 that grain Gaminee—"by" guard-pass-3m,past
 That grain was guarded by Gaminee.

Passive Ditransitive entailment (compare with (110))

- (191) S Ag Co
 ta ?isai nu kabaliya: ?asa -ni likamambare
 my brother our of association people—"by" chairman
 P
 dor -ett -i:si.
 choose-pass-3m,past
 My brother was chosen by the people of our association to
 be chairman.

The passive bitransitive clause is not common; however, an example can be seen in (124).

Quotation entailing clause

- (192) S O Quo P
 ?a:yyiya: ba na?a: "mi:zza: he:mm-a!" ga:su.
 mother her own boy cattle tend -2s,imp she said
 The mother said to her boy, "Tend the cattle!"

Passive Quotation entailment

- (193) S Ag Quo P
 na?ai ba ?a:yye-ni "mi:zza: he:mm-a" g -e:tett-i:si.
 boy his mother—"by" cattle tend -2s, say-pass-3m,past
 own imp

Literally: The boy was said by his mother, "Tend the cattle!"

Meaning: It was said to the boy by his mother, "Tend the cattle!"

Usually Wolaitta speakers avoid using the passive construction, although clause (193) is grammatically correct. In clause (193) the subject /na?ai/ is the functional re-expression of the object /na?a:/ in (192), and the Agent /?a:yyeni/ is the functional re-expression of the subject /?a:yy-iya:/ in (192). This passive re-expression of the quotation clause demonstrates its transitive properties, which are similar to those of transitives, ditransitives, and bitransitives.

Structure: cau-passCl = +(Ca:subCl) +(Ag:PP) +(S:Nm) +P:cau-passV

Read: A causative-passive clause consists of a Causee function manifested by a subordinate clause, followed by an Agent function manifested by a postpositional phrase; both Causee and Agent are nuclear to the clause identification but may be contextually deleted; these are followed by a Subject function which may be deleted and is manifested by a nominal phrase, followed by an obligatory Predicator function manifested by a causative-passive verb phrase.

When the two functions, Causee and Agent, cooccur in a clause, the causative-passive marking suffix /-et-ett-/ must occur
cau-pass

in the verb manifesting the Head of the cau-passV. It will be seen that the homophonous suffix /-etett-/ can represent two different morphological entities:

/-etett-/ "causative-passive", in /bu:o-etett-i:si/ "it was caused to be cut"

/-etett-/ "reciprocal", in /ma:d-etett-idosone/ "they helped each other".

The functions, and manifestations of those functions, cooccurring with the /-etett-/ suffix determine which of the two homophonous forms will occur for a given verb.

(194)	S	Ca	Ag	P
	gattai	dasti zor -ini	mana-ni	bu:q-et -ett -i:si.

tell grass Dasta coun-having Mana-"by" cut -cau-pass-3m,
sel past

When Dasta urged (Mana), he caused the tell grass to be cut by Mana.

According to Comrie (1981:173), the above causative-passive construction is extremely rare in languages, for he says, "...in French and virtually all languages that have a morphological causative, there is never any trace of passive morphology in the causative verb." The following double causative-passive construction must then be most rare, indeed.

3.2.1.3.2.3. Double Causative-Passive Entailment

Structure: 2cau-passCl = +(Ca:Nm) +(2Ca:subCl) +(S:Nm) +(Ag:PP)
+P:2cau-passV

Read: A double causative-passive clause consists of a Causee function manifested by a nominal phrase, followed by a Second Causee function manifested by a subordinate clause, followed by a Subject

function which may be contextually deleted and is manifested by a nominal phrase, followed by an Agent function manifested by a postpositional phrase, followed by a Predicator function manifested by a double causative-passive verb phrase; the Causee, Second Causee, and Agent functions are nuclear to the clause identification, but may be contextually deleted.

When the three functions, Causee, Second Causee, and Agent cooccur in a clause, the double causative-passive marking suffix /-is-et-ett-/ , must occur in the verb manifesting the Head of the 2cau-passV, e.g.,

(196) 2Ca S Ag

Ca
dasta te ?a:wai mana-kko ki:tt-ini ba:ssi mana-ni
Dasta my father Mana-"to" send -having Baassa Mana-"by"
P
sug -is -et -ett -i:si.
push-cau-cau-pass-3m,past

Literally: My father, having sent Dasta to Mana, caused Baassa to be pushed by Mana.

Meaning: My father sent Dasta to Mana, causing Baassa to be pushed by Mana.

3.2.1.3.3. Reciprocal Entailments

3.2.1.3.3.1. Simple Reciprocal Entailment

Structure: recipCl = +(S:N_mN_m) +P:recipV

Read: A reciprocal clause consists of a Subject function which may be contextually deleted and is manifested by a double-headed nominal phrase; this Subject function is nuclear to clause identification but may be contextually deleted; it is followed by an obligatory Predicator function manifested by a reciprocal verb phrase.

When a Subject is manifested by a double-headed nominal phrase in a reciprocal clause, the reciprocal marking suffix /etett-/ , must occur in the verb manifesting the head of the recipV, e.g.,

(197) S P
man -i -nne ba:ss -i ma:d-etett-idosona.
Mana-nom-and Baassa-nom help-recip-3pl,past

Mana and Baassa helped each other.

(198) S O Co P
mani-nne ba:ssi bantana haleka ?o:t-etett-idosona.
Mana-and Baassa themselves leader make-recip-3pl,past

Mana and Baassa made themselves leaders.

(199) S So O
 mani-nne ba:ssi ?issoi ?issuwa-u haisiya:
 Nana-and Baassa one one -"to" fable
 to each other

P
 ?od -etett-idosona.
 tell-recip-3pl,past

Mana and Baassa told fables to each other.

3.2.1.3.3.2. Causative-Reciprocal Entailment

Structure: cau-recipCl = +(S:Nm) +(Ca:NmNm) +P:cau-recipV

Read: A causative-reciprocal clause consists of a Subject function which may be contextually deleted and is manifested by a nominal phrase, followed by a Causee function manifested by a double-headed nominal phrase; this Causee is nuclear to clause identification but may be contextually deleted; it is followed by an obligatory Predictor function manifested by a causative-reciprocal verb phrase.

When two conjoined nominal phrases manifest the Causee function in a reciprocal clause, the cau-recip marking suffix /-et-iss-/ must occur in the verb manifesting the Head of the cau-recipV, e.g.,

(200) S Ca P
 desti mana-nne ba:ssa: sug -et -iss-i:si
 Dasta Mana-and Baassa push-reci-cau-3m,past

Dasta caused Mana and Baassa to push each other.

3.2.1.3.3.3. Double Causative-Reciprocal Entailment

Structure: 2cau-recipCl = +(S:Nm) +(2Ca:PP) +(Ca:NmNm)
 +P:2cau-recipV

Read: A double causative-reciprocal clause consists of a Subject function which may be contextually deleted and is manifested by a nominal phrase, followed by a Second Causee function manifested by a postpositional phrase, followed by a Causee function manifested by a double-headed nominal phrase; these Causee and Second Causee functions are nuclear to clause identification but may be contextually deleted; it is followed by an obligatory Predictor function manifested by a double causative-reciprocal verb phrase.

When a Second Causee function and Causee function manifested by a double-headed nominal phrase cooccur in a reciprocal clause, the 2cau-recip marking suffix /-et-is-iss-/ must occur in the verb manifesting the Head of the 2cau-recipV, e.g.,

(201) S 2Ca Ca
 ta ?issai dasta-ni mana-nne ba:ssa
 my brother Dasta—"by" Mana-and Baassa

P
 sug -et -is -iss-i:si.
 push-recip-cau-cau-3m,past

My brother got Dasta to cause Mana and Baassa to push each other.

3.2.1.3.3.4. Passive-Causative-Reciprocal Entailment

Structure: pass-cau-recipCl = +(Ag:PP) +(S:NmNm) +P:pass-cau-recipV

Read: A passive-causative-reciprocal clause consists of an Agent function manifested by a postpositional phrase, followed by a Subject function which may be contextually deleted and is manifested by a double-headed nominal phrase; these Subject and Agent functions are nuclear to clause identification but may be contextually deleted; it is followed by a Predicator function manifested by a passive-causative-reciprocal verb phrase.

When an Agent function and a Subject function manifested by a double-headed nominal phrase occur in a reciprocal clause, the pass-cau-recip marking SUFFIX /-is-et-ett-/ must occur in the verb manifesting the Head of the pass-cau-recipV. Because this Suffix /-is-et-ett-/ must cooccur with plural number and with two conjoined cau-recip-pass

nominal phrases manifesting S in a reciprocal type of clause, it is not to be confused with the SUFFIX /-is -et -ett-/, which occurs in a cau-cau-pass

double causative-passive verb phrase, which is characterized by functions different than those occurring in a pass-cau-recipCl.

(202) Ag S
 dasta-ni man -i -nne ba:ss -i -nne
 Dasta—"by" Mana-nom-and Baassa-nom-and

P
 sug -is -et -ett -idosons.
 push-cau-recip-pass-3pl,past

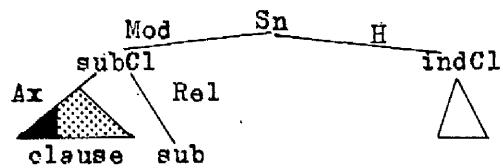
Mana and Baassa were caused to push each other by Dasta.

No doubt there may be other types of entailments that are formed from other combinations of causatives, passives, and reciprocals; however, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to exhaust all possible combinations.

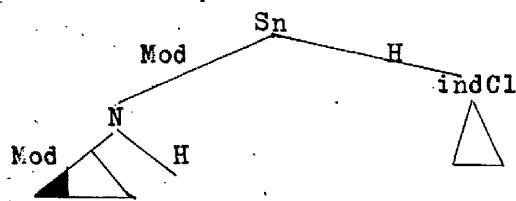
3.2.1.4.0. Introduction

Subordinate variants occur in the Modifier function in a sentence. As far as structure goes, they all have one thing in common; they consist of a clause plus one or more elements that follow it. The nature of these elements varies considerably, but it is possible initially to posit a three-way grouping of the clauses in terms of the type of element (elements) that follow; e.g., (in the following diagrams the shaded part is the clause part of the subordinate variant; in type 1 the lightly shaded element, the subordinate clause, can be a subordinate variant, and the darkly shaded element is a subordinate variant embedded within a lightly shaded subordinate clause)

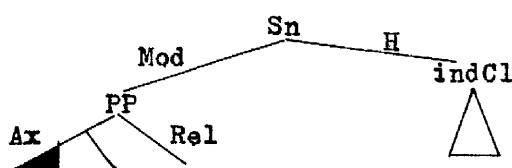
- 1) clause plus subordinator
(here termed a subordinate clause), or clause embedded within a subordinate clause



- 2) clause embedded within a noun phrase

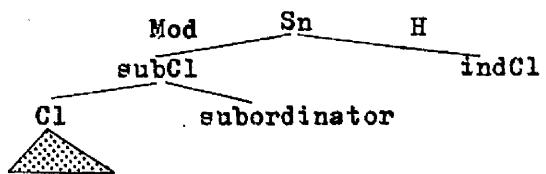


- 3) clause embedded within a postpositional phrase



3.2.1.4.0.1. GROUP 1 - subordinate clauses, or clauses embedded within a subCl, may be classified according to the type of structuring in the subCl. Four types of subCl structures have been observed:

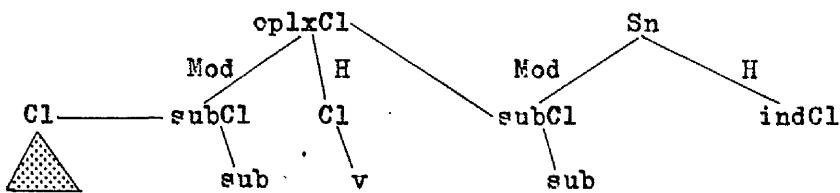
1a type - contains a clause plus a subordinator, e.g., (in general only the manifesting items are shown in the tree diagrams, and unless pertinent, the functions are omitted in order to see the structure more clearly),



1b type - contains a clause embedded within a subCl which manifests the Modifier function in what is called here a complex clause, which is embedded within a subCl. This may be represented in a shortened form in which the → means "embedded within":

C1 → subCl → oplxCl → subCl

The construction is more clearly seen in a tree diagram:

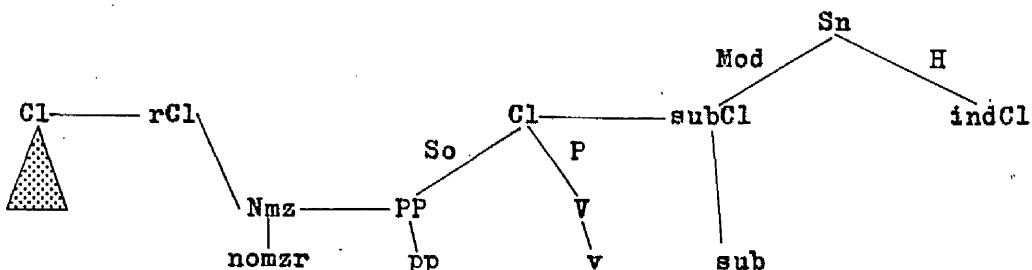


The complex clause, treated in 3.2.1.6.1. is similar to a sentence in its structure in that it has Modifier and Head functions manifested by clauses; however, it is unlike a sentence in that it cannot stand alone as an utterance but plays a subordinate role.

1c type - contains a clause embedded within a construction that is characterized by a clause which may contain a Source tagmeme or Source and Place tagmemes. Because of the Source tagmeme and Source plus Place tagmeme differentiation, two sub-types are posited.

1c₁ type - may be represented as:

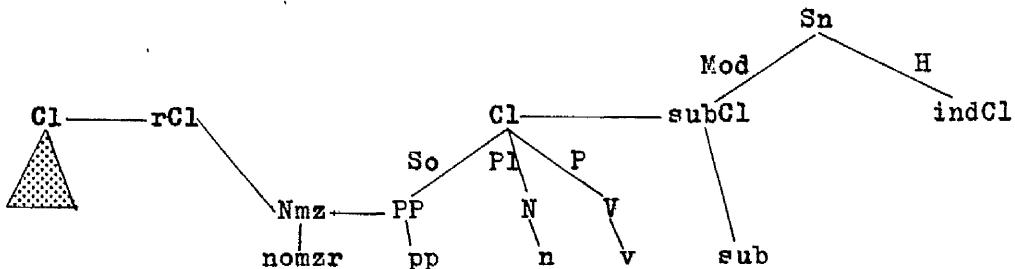
C1 → rC1 → Nmz → PP which manifests the Source function in a C1 → subCl, e.g.,



This structure is complicated and treated in 3.2.1.4.1.3.1.

loc₂ type - this type is a variant of the loc₁ type; it differs only in that an additional element, the Place tagmeme occurs along with the Source tagmeme in an embedded clause:

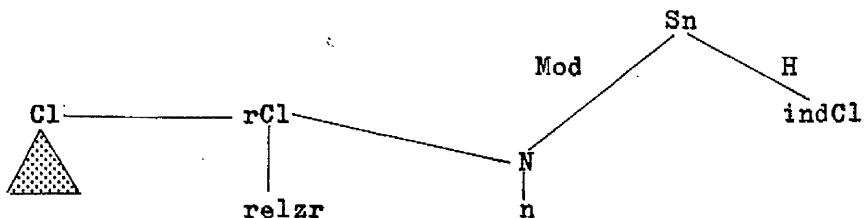
Cl → rCl → Nmz → PP manifesting Source in a Cl that also contains a Place tagmeme, all of which is embedded → subCl



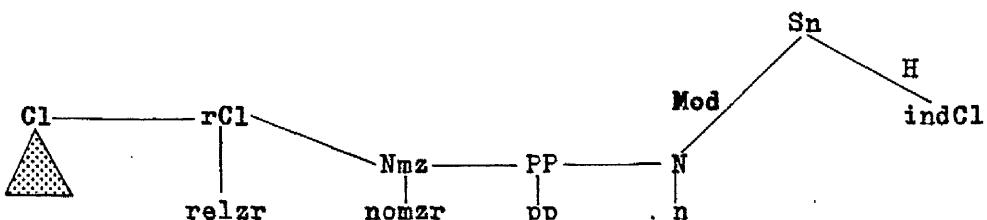
3.2.1.4.0.2.

GROUP 2 - clauses embedded within noun phrases that manifest the Modifier function in a sentence occur in two types of construction:

2a type: Cl → rCl → N, e.g.,



2b type: Cl → rCl → Nmz → PP → N, e.g.,

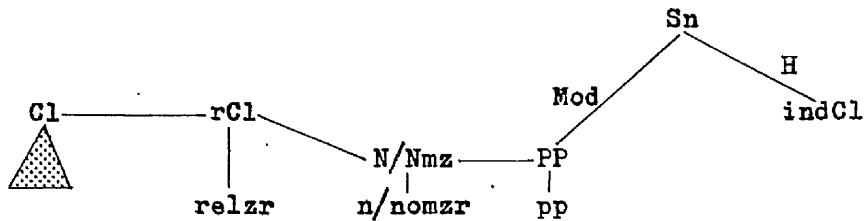


3.2.1.4.0.3.

GROUP 3 - clauses embedded within PP's that manifest the Modifier function in a sentence may be classified according to the type of structuring in the PP. Four types of PP structures have been observed, with type 3c comprising four sub-types:

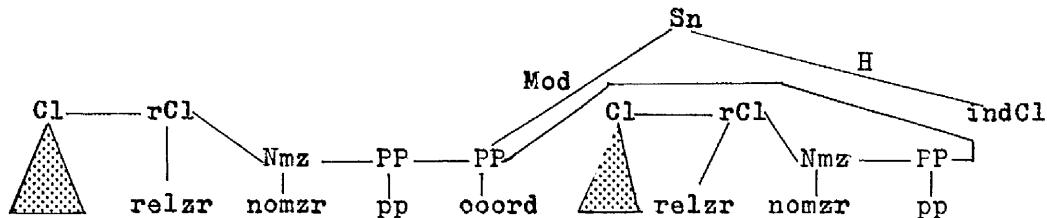
3a type - the structure may be represented as:

Cl → rCl → N/Nmz → PP, e.g.,



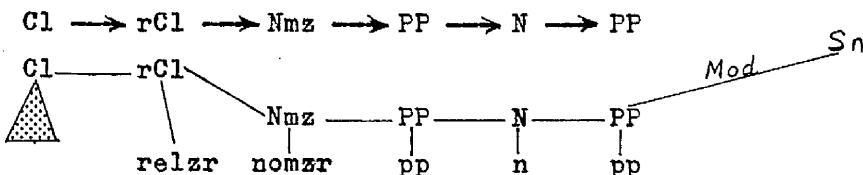
3b type - this type consists of two conjoined postpositional phrases, the structure of which may be symbolized by:

$$Cl \rightarrow rCl \rightarrow Nmz \rightarrow PP \rightarrow PP \leftarrow Cl \rightarrow rCl \rightarrow Nmz \rightarrow PP$$

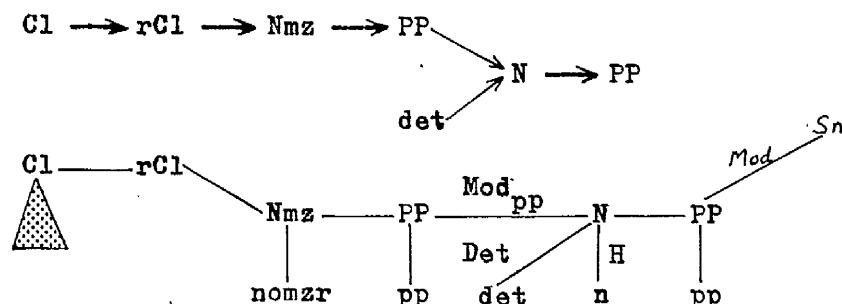


3c type - this type consists of a PP embedded within a clausal subordinating PP. The embedded PP modifies the N manifesting the axis in the subgPP. The variants of this structure contain some other modifying tagmeme in addition to the postpositional modifying tagmeme.

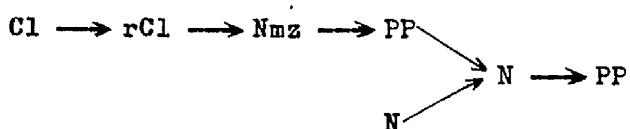
3c1 type - structure:

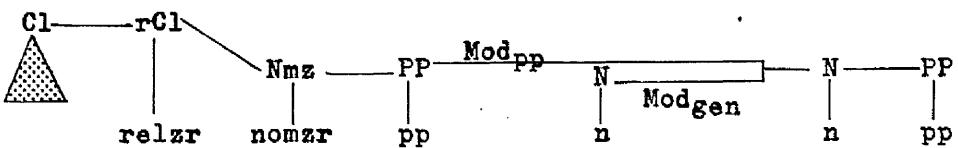
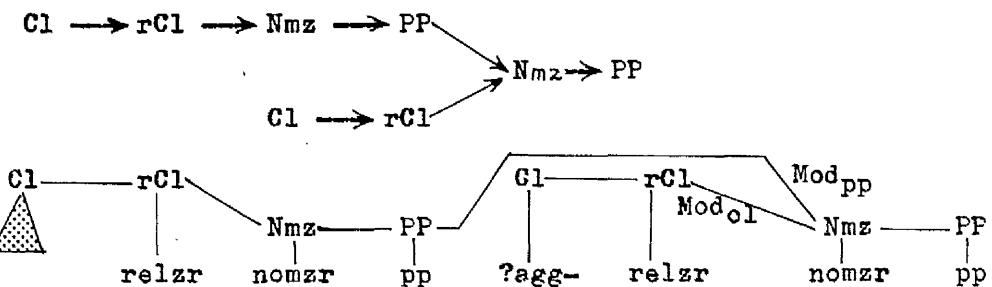


3c2 type - structure:

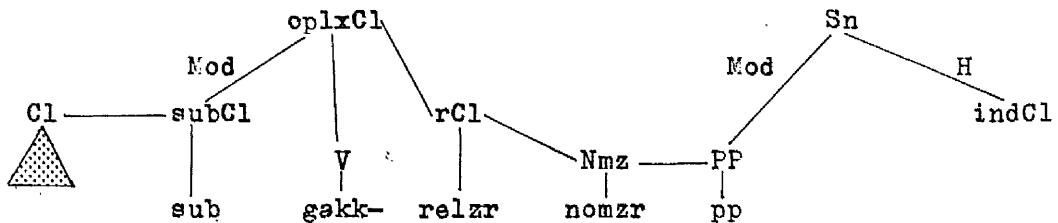


3c3 type - structure:



3c4 type - structure:3d type - this type may be represented as:

Cl → subCl → oplxCl → rCl → Nmz → PP, e.g.,



The complex clause (oplxCl) occurring in this type is the same kind of clause referred to above in the section on the 1b type.

Thus, on the basis of structural differences subordinate variants can be classified as comprising three types of subordinate clauses, a clause within two types of N, and a clause within four main types of PP.

Since "clause within a N manifesting the Modifier function in a sentence" is cumbersome for reference purposes, and since the N occurring as GROUP 2 of subordinate variants is different from other N's in the following ways:

- it may manifest only the Modifier function in a sentence,
 - its Head function may be manifested only by /mala/ or /wode/, or /kase/>,
 - it is restricted in that it may contain only the clausal or postpositional modifying functions, and none of the other N functions, such as adjective modifier or genitive modifier, numeral modifier, or determiner,
- here it is referred to as a "clausal subordinating noun phrase" (subgN), in that it acts as a subordinator to relate the clause

embedded in it to the independent clause in the sentence.

Similarly, the term "clausal subordinating postpositional phrase" (subgPP) is used here to refer to this type of subordinate variant that has a clause variant embedded within it.

3.2.1.4.1. Subordinate Clauses

Based on structural criteria there are four types of subordinate clauses, 1a type, 1b type, 1c type, and 1d type, as discussed in 3.2.1.4.0.

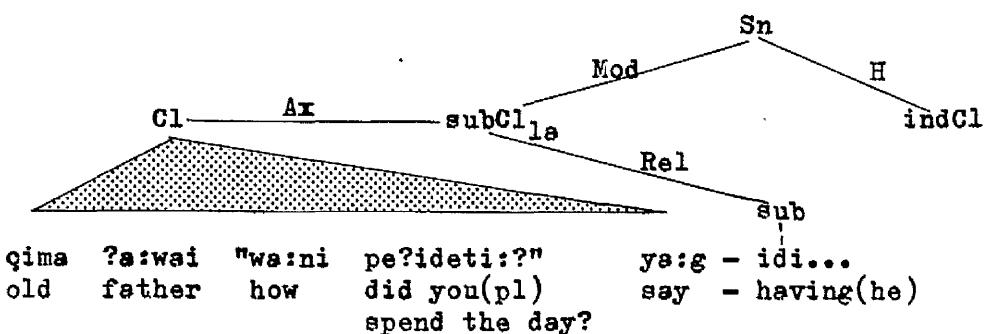
3.2.1.4.1.1. 1a Type Subordinate Clause

Structure: subCl_{1a} = +Axis:(Cl)^X +Rel:sub

Read: a subordinate clause 1a type consists of an obligatory axis function manifested by any kind of clause that can cooccur with the subordinator, followed by an obligatory Relator function manifested by a subordinator.

The subordinator that manifests the Relator appears as a verb suffix of a type which has not been observed to function in any other capacity than to relate a subordinate variant to the independent clause manifesting the Head of a sentence. This is in contrast to the items manifesting the Relator in other subordinate variant forms in that they might manifest relator functions at other levels of the hierarchy, e.g., the postposition /-u/ "for", manifesting a Relator in a clausal subordinating PP may also manifest the Relator in a PP manifesting the Benefactive tagmeme.

(203)



The old father having said, "How did you spend the day?",...

In (203) the verb together with the subordinator /-idi/ with the gloss "having..." might appear to be what in some languages is termed a participle or a gerund. While playing this role, /-idi/

along with its inflected forms is quite a general subordinator; it is difficult to assign it to a rather narrow category of subordination like those to which other subordinators can be assigned. For example, in (204) the subordinator /-ini/ can signal a wider area of meaning than the English gloss "having..." indicates.

(204)	[[[S Ca P subCl _{1a}]]]	[[[Pl P oplxCl]]]	[[[subCl _{1a}]]]
	ta micoiya: ?ogiya: wurs - ada	so: simm- ini	
	my sister road cause - hav-	home re- - having,	
		to ing,	turn (she)
		finish (she)	
	[[[indCl]]]		
	S P		
	?i ?upaitti:si.		
	he was happy		

Literal: My sister, having completed the journey and having returned home, he was happy.

Since the Amharic language has no direct equivalent for the form /-ini/ in (204), if time was being considered in the context, /-ini/ would have to be translated as "when"—"when she returned he was happy" in a Wolaitta-Amharic translation. Or if reason were being considered in the context, it would be translated "because"—"because she returned he was happy". It would not always be translated as simply representing an action^{or} event that precedes some other action or event in temporal terms.

In literature on Ethiopian languages, the term "converb" has been adopted (from common practice among Ethiopian scholars) to identify this participle-like form, which not only functions over such a broad area of subordination but seems to act in the role of conjoining—hence the term "converb". For example, in illustration (205) below, the conjoined Predicator "he ate and drank" carries much the same meaning as the two subordinate clauses "having eaten, having drunk" in (206), for both were going on simultaneously; and the two subordinate clauses can be reversed, "having drunk, having eaten", without any change in meaning.

(205)	[[[indCl]]]	[[[Sn subCl _{1a}]]]	[[[indCl]]]
	S P	P	P
	bargani mi:si - nne ?uyi:si - nne;	kall - idi	kiyi:si.
	Bargane he ate - and he drank - and	become - hav-	he went
		replete ing	out

Bargane ate and drank; having become replete, he went out.

(206)	$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{subCl} \\ \text{S} \\ \text{bargani} \\ \text{Bargane} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{subCl} \\ \text{P} \\ \text{-i:di} \\ \text{eat-having} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{subCl} \\ \text{P} \\ \text{?uy -idi} \\ \text{drink-having} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{subCl} \\ \text{P} \\ \text{kall -idi} \\ \text{become -having} \\ \text{replete} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{indCl} \\ \text{P} \\ \text{kiyi:si.} \\ \text{he went out.} \end{array} \right]$
-------	--	---	--	---	--

Literal: Bergane having eaten, having drunk, having become replete, went out.

Meaning: Bargane ate and drank; having become replete, he went out.

In example (206) there is a contrast between the participle-like use and the conjoining-like use of /-idi/. The actions of eating and drinking in /mi:di ?uyidi/ are simultaneous and not sequentially dependent the one on the other. However, the actions in /?uyidi/ "having drunk", /kallidi/ "having become replete", and /kiyi:si/ "he went out" are sequential actions. It would seem that this converb comes somewhere between conjoining and subordination.

The other subordinators that may manifest the Relator function in a subCl are now listed; one representative form is given together with its gloss, the relationship by which it relates the subCl to the indCl, and an example:

/-i:ddi/ "while..." - simultaneity relationship

(207)	$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{subCl}_{1a} \\ \text{S} \\ \text{O} \\ \text{?eti} \\ \text{they} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{P} \\ \text{ku:ma:} \\ \text{food} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{P} \\ \text{ha:sayo:sona.} \\ \text{they are conversing} \\ (\text{they}) \end{array} \right]$
-------	---	--	---

They are conversing while eating the food.

When the /-i:ddi/ "while" form occurs in a subCl, because it signals that the participant in the Subject tagmeme of the subCl is the same participant as the actor in the P of the related indCl, the Subject tagmeme will not occur in the indCl. However, the /-i:ddi/ form may be inflected and occur as /-i:šini/ "while" when the participant in the Subject tagmemes of the subCl and indCl are different, in which case the Subject tagmeme must occur in the indCl, e.g.,

(208)	$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{subCl}_{1a} \\ \text{S} \\ \text{P} \\ \text{tukke:} \\ \text{coffee} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \text{pent-i:šini} \\ \text{boil-while} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{O} \\ \text{te} \\ \text{my} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{P} \\ \text{?a:yiyi:} \\ \text{mother} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{sa:šša} \\ \text{roasted} \\ \text{grain} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{sa:yas:u.} \\ \text{she roasted} \end{array} \right]$
-------	---	---	--	--	---	--

My mother roasted the grain while the coffee was boiling.

/-ida:šini/ "during the time..." - duration relationship

- (209) [subCl_{1a}
 S P
 sa?ai kamm - ida:šini ?i yi:si
 earth darken- during the he he came
 time

He came when it was getting to be twilight.

/-anne:/ "right after..." - immediate succession relationship

- (210) S Ben O P
 ?a ba bolluwa:yyo: kuma: ?a:tt- anne:...
 she her for the food serve- right after
 father-in-law

Right after she served the food to her father-in-law...

/-obare/ "soon after..." - near succession relationship

- (211) S So O Man P
 ?a:yiyas: na?sa:yyo: kuma: ?e:suwa - ni ?imm-obare...
 mother to the boy food quickness-"by" give-soon after
 quickly
 Soon after the mother quickly gives the food to the boy...

/-ikko/ "if..." - condition relationship

- (212) [[[[S Man P subgPP] oplxCl]
 ?inte guyye ?ekk - aneu P
 you, after- receive- to kopp - idi
 pl wards (you pl) think- having
 So P subCl_{1a}
 ?ssa - ssi tal? - ikko...
 people - "for" lend - if (you pl)

If you lend to people expecting to receive it again,...

/-ikkokka/ "even though..." - concession relationship

This subordinator can be analysed as /-ikko-kka/ "-if-even". There are two other subordinators that can be glossed as "even though". They seem to all give the same meaning, at least as far as has been observed up until now. These two can be analysed as /-ikko-nne/ "-if-and" and /sidda-kka/ "-while-even", e.g.,

- (213) [[[[S So O P subgPP] subCl_{1a}]
 ne:ni ?ssa - ppe mi:ssa ?ekkansu dos - ikkokka...
 you, nom people-from" money to receive like-even though
 Even though you like to receive money from people...

- (214) S Loc P
 kutarsai ?ollani de? - ikkonne...
 porcupine in a hole exist - even though
 Even though the porcupine lives in a hole...

- (215) S O Man P
 zel?anciya: badala: hiraisuwa - ni ſamm-aiddakka...
 female trader corn good price - "by" buy -even though
 Even though the lady trader bought corn at a good price...

/-ana/ "to..." - desire relationship

- (216) [[[S O subCl_{1a}] oplxCl] subCl_{1a}] indCl
 talgo:ra pitaliya: ſamm-ada tama:r-ana koye:si.
 Talgoore primer buy -having learn - to he wants
 (she)

Having bought the primer, Talgoore wants to learn.

The /-ana/ subordinator with the English gloss "to..." might on the basis of its English translation appear to be an infinitive. However, apart from its occurrence in constructions such as the preceding, /-ana/ may not manifest any other function that the English infinitive does, such as S or O. It cannot inflect for negative polarity like an infinitive can. Nor does it have the structure of a N. The functions that an English infinitive would manifest are manifested by a nominalized phrase in Wolaitta. For these reasons, here the /-ana/ "to..." form is considered to be a subCl and not an infinitive.

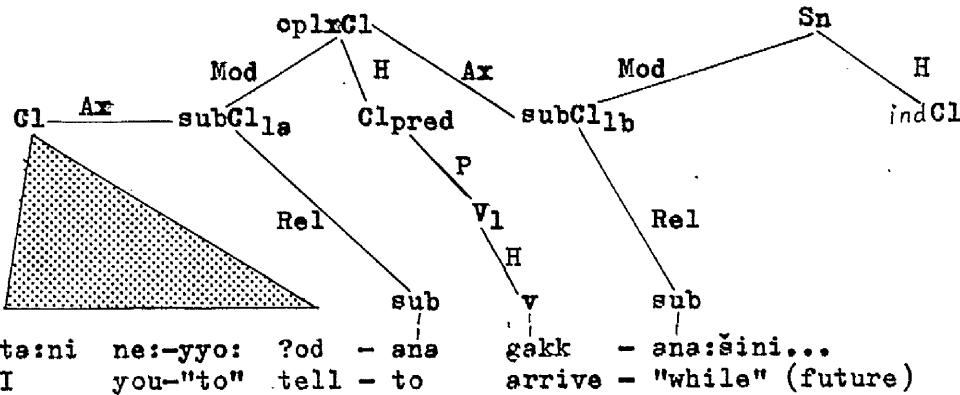
3.2.1.4.1.2. 1b Type Subordinate Clause(subCl_{1b})

Structure: subCl_{1b} = +Axis:oplxC1 +Rel:sub

Read: a 1b type subordinate clause consists of an obligatory Axis function manifested by a complex clause, followed by an obligatory Relator function manifested by a subordinator.

A complex clause(oplxC1), described in 3.2.1.6.1., contains a Modifying function and a Head function that are both manifested by clauses; this is the same construction as that of a sentence. However, because it fills a subordinate role, it is here considered to be a complex clause and not a sentence type. This complex clause characterizes the subCl_{1b}, e.g.,

(217)



Literal: While arriving to tell to you...

Meaning: Until I tell you...

The subordinating part of the subordinate variant in (217) is /-ana gakkana:šini/ "until" – a termination relationship.

The other subordinating elements in a subC1b that may follow the clauses they subordinate are as follows:

/-i simmini/ "after" – general succession relationship

(218)	$\left[\left[\left[\left[\begin{array}{lll} \text{kaisoi} & \text{hamu:sa} & \text{bo:kk} \\ \text{thief} & \text{Thursday} & \text{dug} \end{array} \right] - i \right] \text{subC1a} \right] \text{oplxCl} \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{simm} & \text{- ini} \\ \text{return} & \text{- having} \end{array} \right]$ $\left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{indC1} & \\ \begin{array}{ll} \text{kanai} & \text{?arba} \\ \text{dog} & \text{Friday} \end{array} & \begin{array}{ll} \text{boqq} & \text{- e:si.} \\ \text{bark} & \text{- 3m,cont} \end{array} \end{array} \right]$
-------	---

Literal: The thief having dug on Thursday and having returned, the dog is barking on Friday.

Meaning: After the thief digs (into the house) on Thursday, the dog barks on Friday. (Proverb)

/-ennani ?aggobare/ "soon after" – succession relationship

(219)	$\left[\left[\left[\left[\begin{array}{llll} \text{na?ai} & \text{ba} & \text{?a:wa:} & \text{zoriya:} \\ \text{boy} & \text{his} & \text{of} & \text{counsel} \end{array} \right] \text{siy} \right] - ennani \right] \text{subC1a} \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{-ennani} & \text{?agg} \\ \text{not} & \text{-obare} \end{array} \right]$ $\left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{?agg} & \text{-obare} \\ \text{cease} & \text{-soon} \\ \text{after} & \text{(he)} \end{array} \right]$
-------	--

Literal: Soon after the boy ceased, while not listening to his father's counsel...

Meaning: Soon after the boy did not listen to his father's counsel...

/-ana tayikko/ "If he does not..." – negative condition relationship

(220)	$\left[\left[\left[\left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{?i} & \text{tana} \\ \text{he} & \text{me} \end{array} \right] \text{?oicc} \right] - ana \right] \text{subC1a} \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{oplxCl} & \text{subC1b} \\ \text{refrain} & \text{- if (he)} \end{array} \right]$
-------	---

Literal: If he refrains to ask me...

Meaning: If he does not ask me...

/-ennani ?aggikko/ "if he does not..." - negative condition relationship

(221) [[[ne dabboi C1 dur - ennani subCl_{1a} oplxCl?agg subCl_{1b}]]]
 your relative dance - while not ceese if
 Literal: If your relative ceases, while not dancing..

Meaning: If your relative does not dance...

/-ennani ?ittikko/ "if he does not..." - negative condition relationship

(222) [[[?i neba: siy C1 subCl_{1a} - ennani subCl_{1b}]]]
 he your hear - while not refuse - if
 thing

Literal: If he refuses, while not hearing your matter...

Meaning: If he does not hear your matter...

3.2.1.4.1.3. lo Type Subordinate Clauses

The lo type subordinate clause comprises two similar kinds of structure that differ only in that one kind contains a Source function in an embedded clause, and the other contains a Source function and a Place function in the same embedded clause. Because they differ in only this detail, they are grouped together as lo₁ type and lo₂ type sub-types.

3.2.1.4.1.3.1. lo₁ Type Subordinate Clause

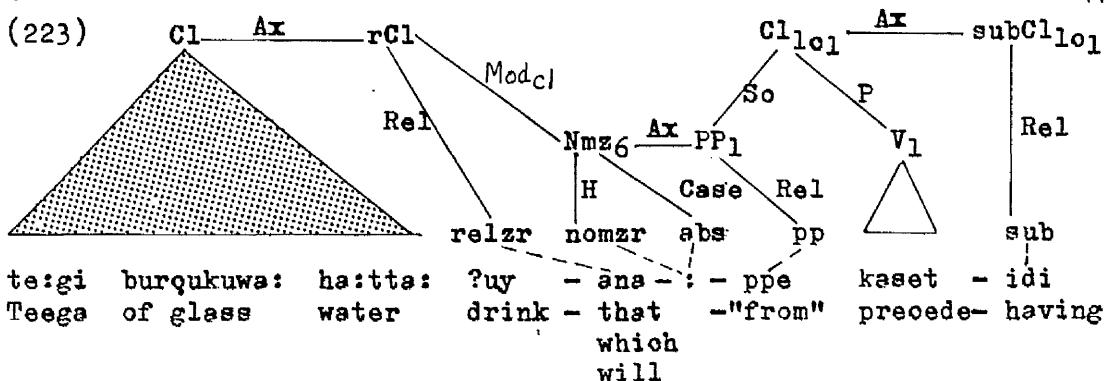
Structure: subCl_{1lo₁} = +Axis:C1_{1lo₁} +Rel:sub

Read: a lo₁ type subordinate clause consists of an obligatory Axis function manifested by a clause that is characteristic of the lo₁ type subordinate clause, followed by a Relator function manifested by a subordinator.

The C1_{1lo₁} is characterized by a Source tagmeme manifested by a PP₁ in which is embedded a Nmz₆ modified by only a relative clause, e.g.,

(3.2.1.4.1.3.1.)

147



Literal: Having preceded from that which will, (from) Teega who will drink the water of the glass...

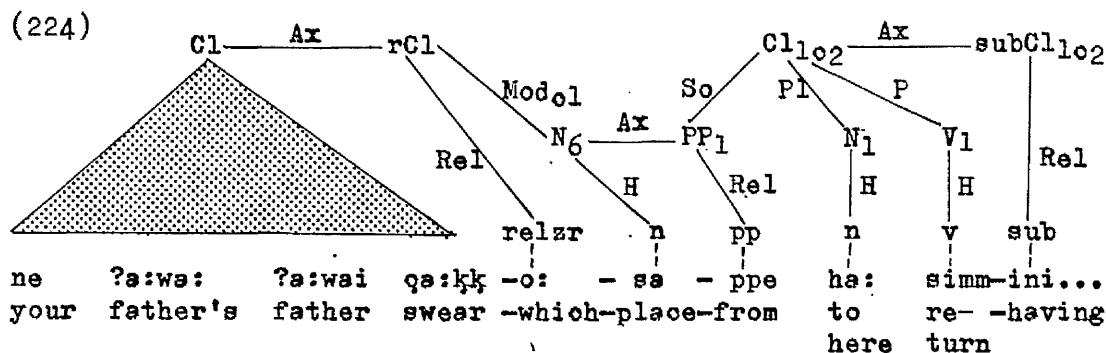
Meaning: Before Teega drinks the water in the glass...

3.2.1.4.1.3.2. lo_2 Type Subordinate Clause

Structure: $subCl_{lo_2} = +Axis:C1_{lo_2} +Rel:sub$

Read: a lo_2 type subordinate clause consists of an obligatory Axis function manifested by a clause that is characteristic of the lo_2 type subordinate clause, followed by a Relator function manifested by a subordinator.

The $C1_{lo_2}$ is characterized by its containing a Source tagmeme manifested by a PPl , and a Place tagmeme manifested by a N_1 consisting only of the noun /ha:/ "to here", e.g.,



Literal: Your grandfather having returned here from the place where he swore on oath...

Meaning: Ever since your grandfather swore on oath...

3.2.1.4.2. Clausal Subordinating Noun Phrases (subgN)

The clausal subordinating noun phrase type of subordinate variant is the GROUP 2 type of subordinate variants and consists of a clause embedded within a N that manifests the Modifier function in

a sentence. There are two types of structure for the subgN, and the items that can manifest its Head function comprise a closed class.

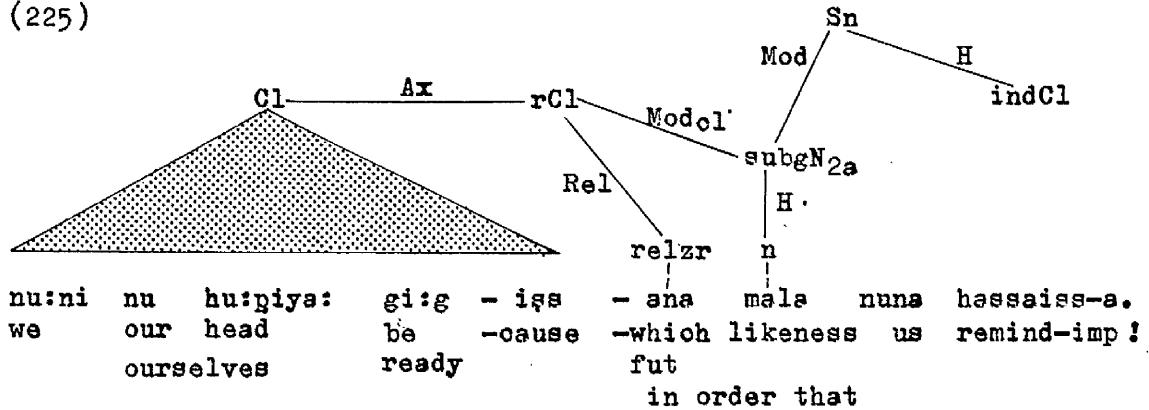
3.2.1.4.2.1. 2a Type of Clausal Subordinating N

Structure: subgN_{2a} = +Mod:rCl +Head:n_{subg}

Read: a 2a type of clausal subordinating noun phrase consists of an obligatory Modifier function manifested by a relative clause, followed by a Head function manifested by a noun that is in a set of three nouns that play a subordinating role.

/-ana mala/ "in order to..." - purpose relationship

(225)



Remind us, in order that we ourselves make preparation.

/-iyo wode/ "when" - coincident relationship

(226) [[[?eti banta na:ta be? - iyo wode ke:hi ?upaittana.]]]
 they their children see - which time very will be happy
 own cont when

When they see their own children, they will be very happy.

In this thesis the subgN_{2a} in (226) is treated as a subordinate variant manifesting the Modifier function in a sentence, rather than as an ordinary noun phrase manifesting the Temporal function in a clause, such as /he wode/ "that time"; the reason being that the subgN_{2a} has not been seen further expanded when manifesting the Modifier function in a sentence, but presumably could be expanded when it is a N manifesting a Temporal function. More study needs to be made into this matter.

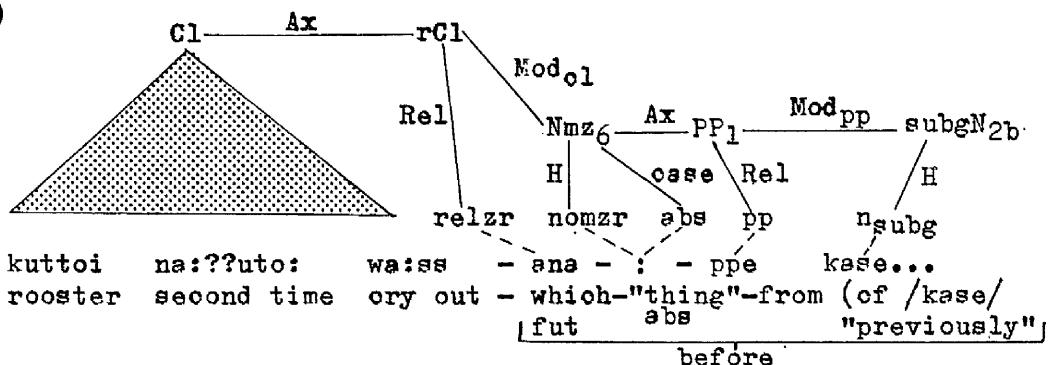
3.2.1.4.2.2. 2b Type of Clausal Subordinating N

Structure: subg N_{2b} = +Mod_{pp}:PP₁ +Head:n_{subg}

Read: a 2b type of clausal subordinating noun phrase consists of an obligatory postpositional Modifier function manifested by a type 1 postpositional phrase, followed by an obligatory Head function that is manifested by the subordinating type of noun /kase/ (of /kase/ "previously").

The PP₁ is characterized by the Nmz₆ that it contains, whose structure is restricted in that it is modified only by a relative clause.

(227)



Before the rooster crows the second time...

3.2.1.4.3. Clausal Subordinating Postpositional Phrases (subgPP)

The clausal subordinating postpositional phrase type of subordinate variant consists of a clause embedded within a PP that manifests the Modifier function in a sentence and relates the clause embedded in it to the independent clause in the sentence. On the basis of structural criteria there are four types of subgPP.

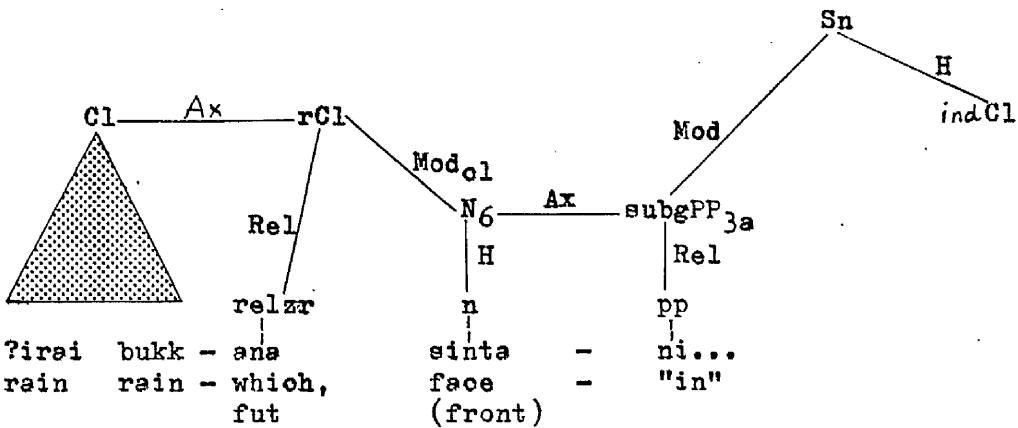
3.2.1.4.3.1. 3a Type of Clausal Subordinating PP

Structure: subgPP_{3a} = +Axis:N₆/Nmz₆ +Rel:pp

Read: a 3a Type of clausal subordinating postpositional phrase consists of an obligatory Axis function manifested by a nominalized phrase or a noun phrase that has structural restrictions typical of the type 6 noun phrases, followed by a Relator function manifested by a postposition /-ni/ "in".

The N₆ must have its Modifier function manifested only by a relative clause, and its Head function is manifested by /sinta/ or /gišša/.

(228)



Literally: In the front which the rain is raining...

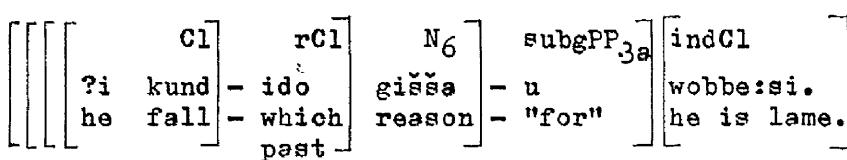
Meaning: Right before it rains...

The subordinating part of the subordinant variant in (228) is /-ana sintani/ "right before" - antecedent relationship.

The other subordinating elements in a subgPP_{3a} that may follow the clauses they subordinate are as follows:

/-ido giſſau/ "because" - reason relationship

(229)



Literal: For the reason for which he fell, he is lame.

Meaning: Because he fell, he is lame.

/-iyo:ga:dani/ "like" - likeness relationship

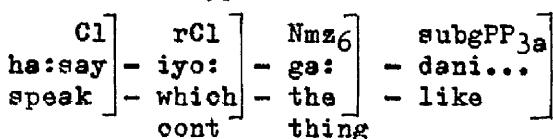
(230)



Literally: he who deceives (speaking) from above
the neck (not from the heart)

Meaning:

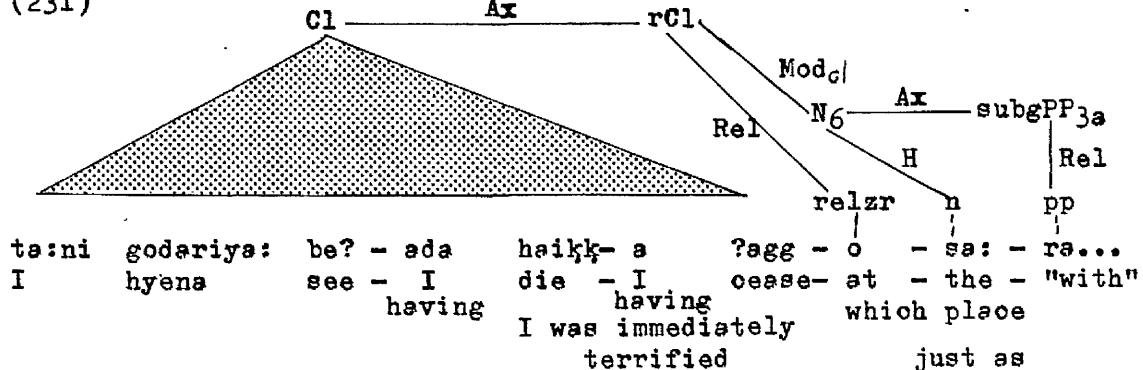
hypocrite



Like a hypocrite speaks.

/-osa:ra/ "just as" - instantaneous relationship

(231)



The /-sa:/ is considered here to be a contraction of the noun /sohuwa:/ "the place" for the following reason:

- 1) The expression ?i wott-ido | sohuwa-ni has the same
he put -in which | place -"at"
meaning as the
contraction ?i wott-ido - sa - ni
he put -in which- place -"at"
(contraction)

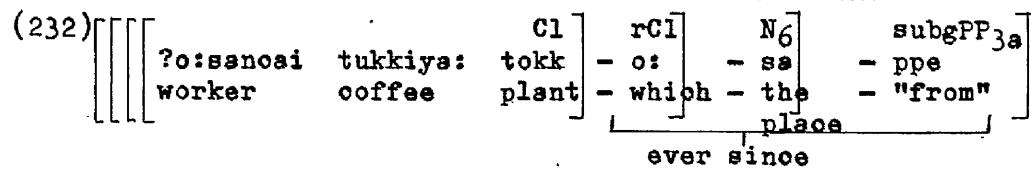
They both mean, "at the place where he put it". I conclude that the word /sohuwa:/ "place" has a contracted alternate form /-sa-/.

- 2) In the subgPP construction the suffix /-sa:/ can be interpreted as being the same contraction as /-sa-/ (the short and long vowel at the end of /-sa-/ being accounted for by a morphological rule to the effect that before the postposition /-ra/ the vowel is always long, and before the pp /-ni/ it is usually short). The full construction could appear alternatively as:

?i gakk - ido	sohuwa:	= "the place at which he arrived"
		he arrive - at place
subgPP	which	
CON-	past	
TRACTION	?i gakk - o - sa: - ra	
	he arrive - at - the - "with"	
	which place	

Literally: with the place at which he arrived

Meaning: Just as he arrived... (tense determined by main verb)

/-o:sappe/ "ever since..." - subsequence relationship

/-ana:ssi/ or /-ənau/ "in order that" - purpose relationship

- | | | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|---|
| (233) | [[[[?i hega:
he that thing | Cl
?ake:k
compre
-hend | rCl
-ans
-which
fut | Nmz6
- :
- thing | subgPP _{3a}
- ssi
- "for |
|-------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|---|

Literal: For the thing for which he will comprehend that...

Meaning: In order that he comprehend that idea...

/-ana:dani/ "in order that" - purpose relationship

Literal: Like that thing for which he will tell to the people, having entered, having entered each day early... .

Meaning: ...in order to enter again and again early each morning to tell the people...

/-iyo:rini/ "just as soon as..." - instantaneous relationship

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| (235) | [[[nu:n i ?imattai y -a:na:-ga:
we guest come-which-the
fut thing | Cl] rCl] Nmz6] subgPP3a |
| | | siy -iyo: - ri -ni
hear-which- def -"at"
cont thing
(fem) |

just as (we) heard

Just as soon as we heard that guests were coming....

/-iyo:geni/ "just as..." - instantaneous relationship

just as they sleep

Just as the people got to sleep...

/-ibe:nna:kko/ "if he would not have..." – contradictory relationship

- | | | | | | | | |
|-------|---|----|-----|-----|---|--------|----|
| (237) | [[[[[?i ta:-kko ya:nau ba kopa: kacc-ibe:nna- : - kko
he I -to to his thought tie, -which -thing "to-
come decide neg, past wards" | Cl | rCl | Nmz | 6 | subgPP | 3a |
|-------|---|----|-----|-----|---|--------|----|

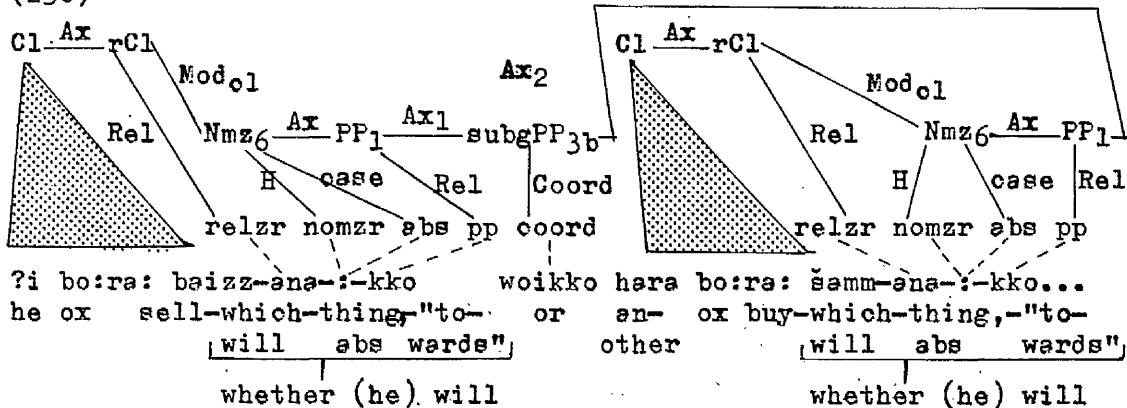
If he would not have decided to come to me...

Structure: $\text{subgPP}_{3b} = +\text{Axis}_1:\text{PP}_1 +\text{Coord:coord} +\text{Axis}_2:\text{PP}_1$

Read: a 3b type of clausal subordinating postpositional phrase consists of an obligatory initial Axis function manifested by a type 1 postpositional phrase, followed by a Coordinator function manifested by the coordinator /woikko/ "or", followed by a second obligatory Axis function manifested by a type 1 postpositional phrase.

The PP_1 is characterized by a Nmz_6 that is restricted to being modified only by a clausal Modifier function, e.g.,

(238)

3.2.1.4.3.3. 3c Type of Clausal Subordinating PP

There are four sub-types of subgPP_{3c} , that are similar in that each has the structure of a PP_1 embedded within the subgPP ; the PP_1 manifests the postpositional Modifier function in the N manifesting the Axis in the subgPP .

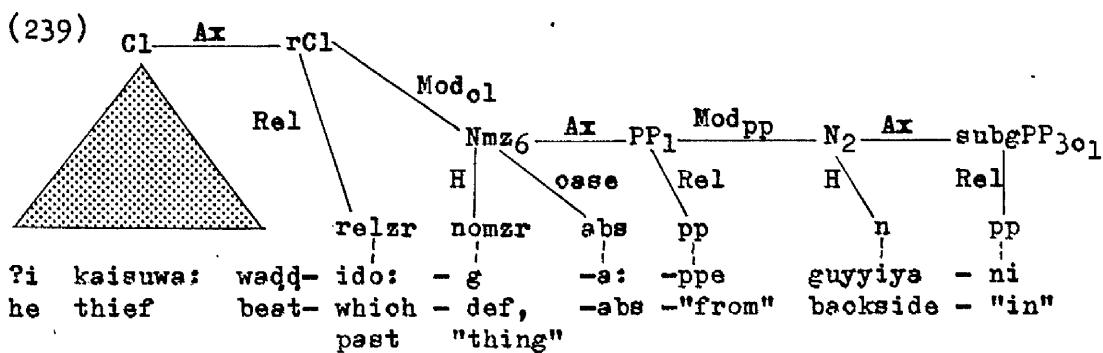
The four sub-types differ according to which type of N manifests the Axis of the subgPP

3.2.1.4.3.3.1. 3c₁ Type of Clausal Subordinating PP

Structure: $\text{subgPP}_{3c_1} = +\text{Axis}:N_2 +\text{Rel:pp}$

Read: a 3c₁ type of clausal subordinating postpositional phrase consists of an obligatory Axis function manifested by a type 2 noun phrase, followed by a Relator function manifested by a postposition.

The N_2 is characterized by its postpositional Modifier function that is manifested by a PP_1 , e.g.,



Literal: In the backside from the happening (thing) by which he beat the thief...

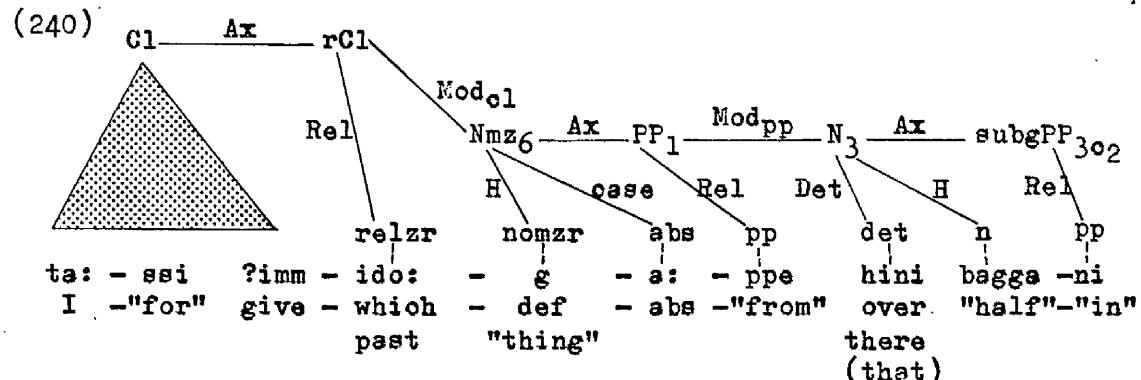
Meaning: After he beat the thief...

3.2.1.4.3.3.2. 3₀₂ Type of Clausal Subordinating PP

Structure: subgPP_{3₀₂} = +Axis:N₃ +Rel:pp

Read: a 3₀₂ type of subordinating postpositional phrase consists of an obligatory Axis function manifested by a type 3 noun phrase, followed by an obligatory Relator function manifested by a postposition.

The N₃ is characterized by containing a postpositional Modifier function and a Determiner function, e.g.,



Literal: In that half over there from the happening in which (he) gave (it) to me...

Meaning: After he gave it to me...

3.2.1.4.3.3.3. 3₀₃ Type of Clausal Subordinating PP

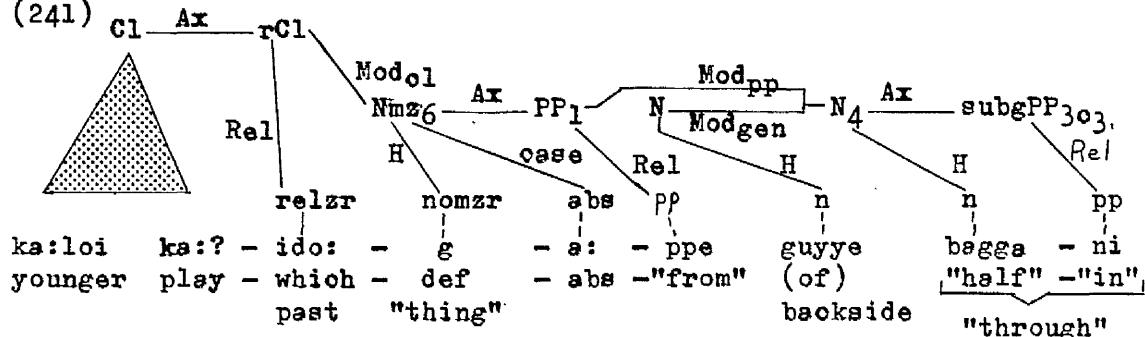
Structure: subgPP_{3₀₃} = +Axis:N₄ +Rel:pp

Read: a 3₀₃ type of clausal subordinating postpositional phrase consists of an obligatory Axis function manifested by a type 4 noun

phrase, followed by an obligatory Relator function manifested by a postposition.

The N₄ is characterized as containing a postpositional Modifier function and a genitive Modifier function, e.g.,

(241)



Literal: Through the backside from the happening in which the younger boy played...

Meaning: After the younger boy played...

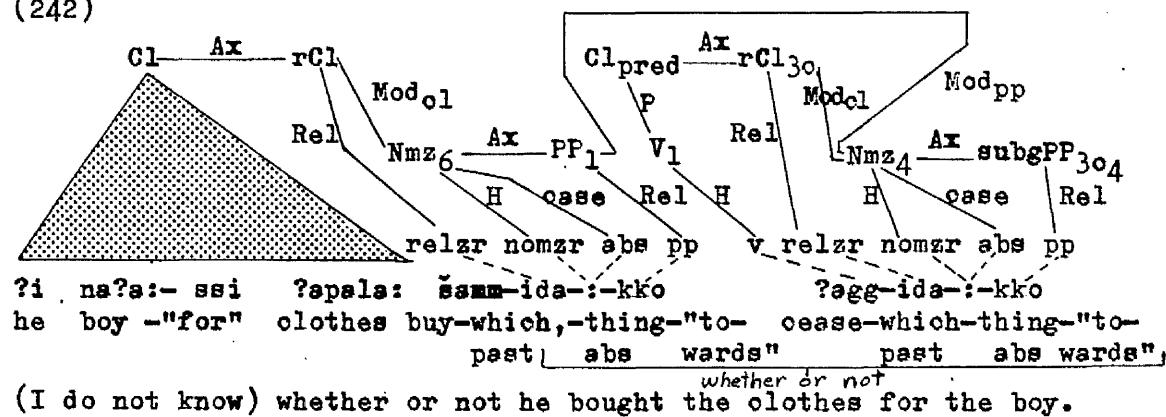
3.2.1.4.3.3.4. 3o₄ Type of Clausal Subordinating PP

Structure: subgPP_{3o₄} = +Axis:Nmz₄ +Rel:pp

Read: a 3o₄ type of clausal subordinating postpositional phrase consists of an obligatory Axis function manifested by a type 4 nominalized phrase, followed by an obligatory Relator function manifested by a postposition.

The Nmz₄ is characterized by containing a postpositional Modifier function and a clausal Modifier function, e.g.,

(242)



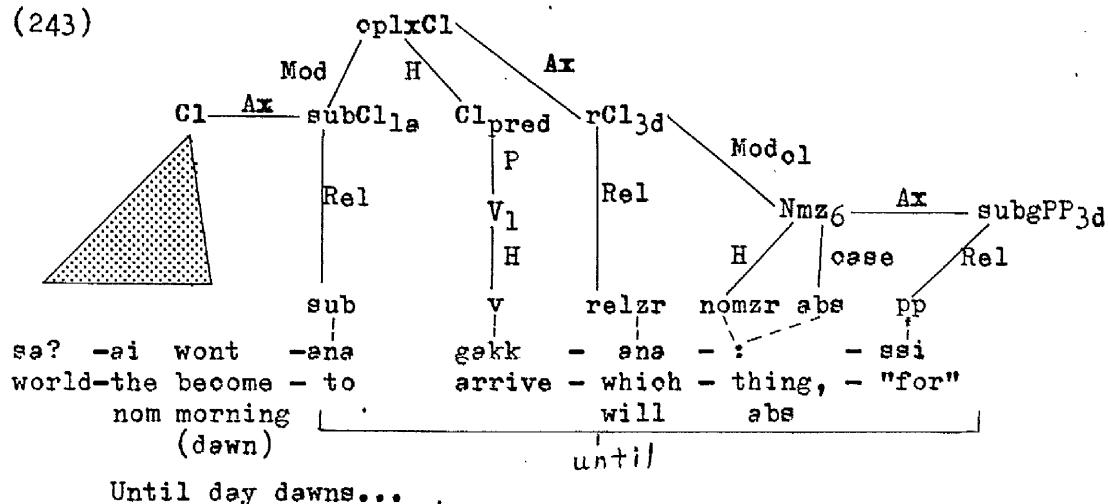
Also the verbs "ask, see, hear, remember, realize" can manifest the P in the indCl that occurs with the subgPP_{3o₄}.

3.2.1.4.3.4. 3d Type Clausal Subordinating PP

Structure: subgPP_{3d} = +Axis:Nmz₆ +Rel:pp

Read: a 3d type of clausal subordinating postpositional phrase contains an obligatory Axis function manifested by a type 6 nominalized phrase that is characterized as containing a restricted relative clause that possesses a complex clause; this is followed by an obligatory Relator function manifested by the postposition /-ssi/ "for".

(243)



Until day dawns...

3.2.1.5. Relative Clauses

3.2.1.5.1. Structure

Relative clauses are axis-relator constructions and manifest the Modifier function in a noun phrase. They may be a variant of any of the basic clause types.

Comrie (1981:136) for his purpose of comparing relative clauses across languages, defines a relative clause as that which "consists necessarily of a head and a restricting clause." However, in this thesis the term "relative clause" would correspond to Comrie's "restricting clause"; and his term "head of the relative clause" would correspond to the head of the noun phrase that is modified by the relative clause.

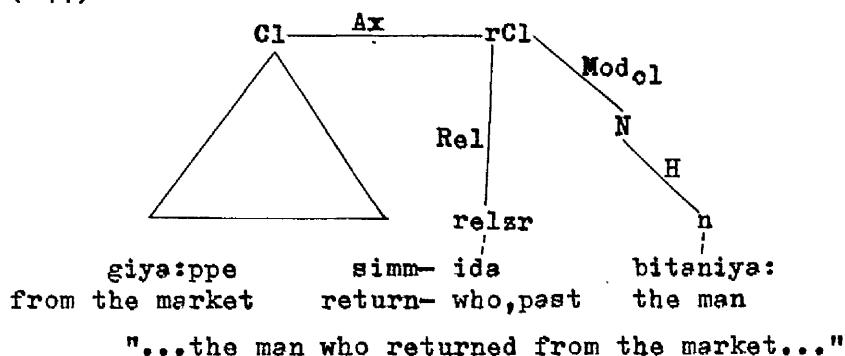
In Wolaitta the relative clause always precedes the N head that it modifies.

The following points are relevant in considering the relative clause:

- 1) There is no real relative pronoun as such.
- 2) Nor are there any "trace" pronouns.
- 3) The relative verb phrase carries a terminal suffix which here has been analysed as a relativizer (this is not obviously 1. or 2.).

e.g.,

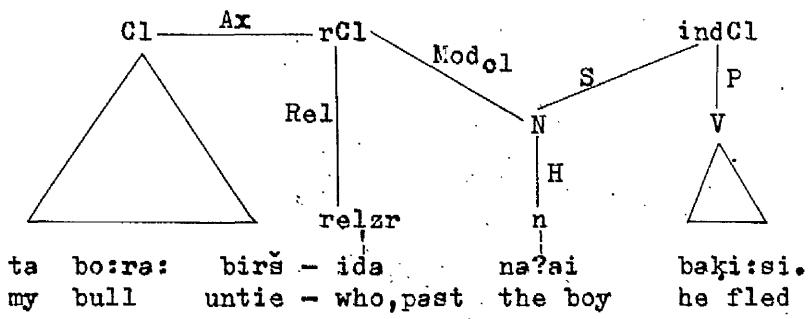
(244)



4) There are two types of relativizer and the selection of these depends on the following:

a) Where the Head of the N is the Subject of the relative clause, the relative marker (see 5.3.3.1.2.3.) in the relativizer is /-a/ /-a:/, e.g.,

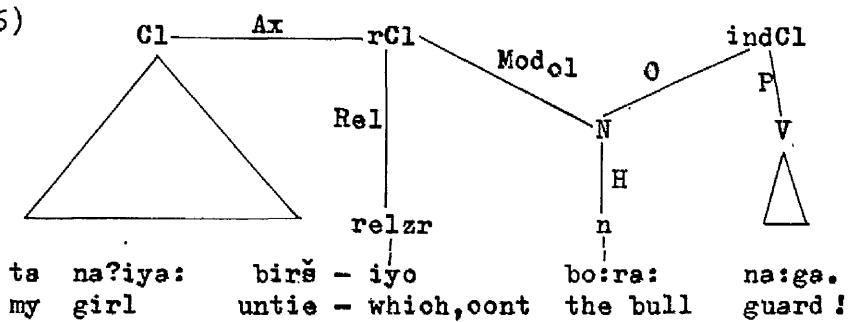
(245)



b) Where the Head of the N is a function

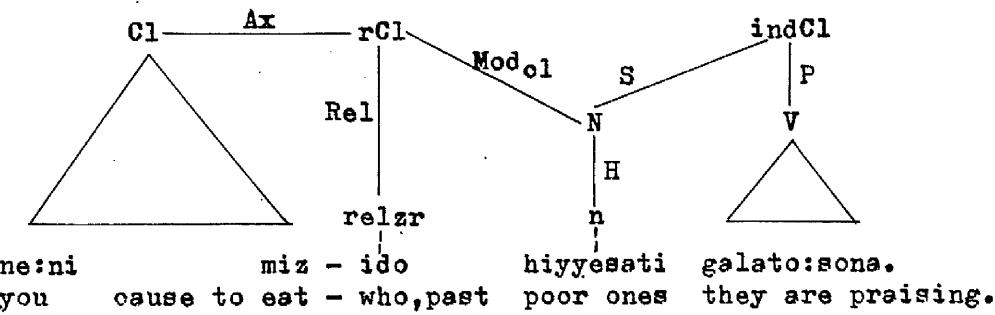
in the relative clause other than Subject, the relative marker in the relativizer is /-o/ /-o:/, e.g.,

(246)



In (246) above, /bo:ra:/ "the bull", the Head of the N, has as its antecedent the Object of the relative clause, whereas in (247) below /hiyyesati/ "poor ones" has as its antecedent the Causee of the relative clause, e.g.,

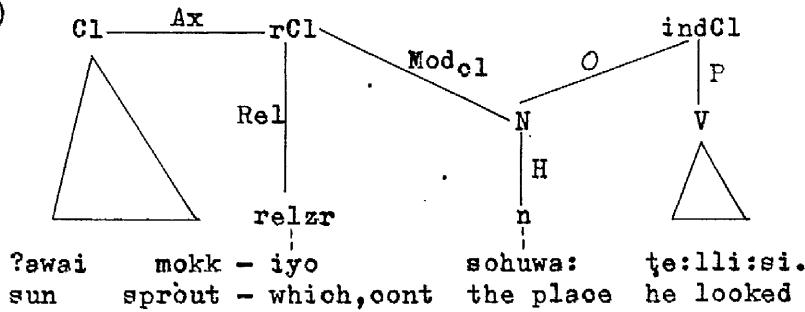
(247)



The poor ones whom you fed are giving thanks.

In (248) below, /sohuwa:/ "the place" has as its antecedent the Location function of the relative clause, which is usually manifested by a PP. However, there is no trace of the postposition in the relative marker /-o/, e.g.,

(248)



He looked to the place where the sun rises (the east).

From the foregoing it can be seen that noun phrases manifesting O and Ce, or postpositional phrases manifesting any possible function behave similarly.

3.2.1.5.2. Special Sub-types of Relative Clauses

1) rCl_{3c} = +Axis:Cl_{pred} +Rel:relzr

The rCl_{3c} is characterized by the Cl_{pred} (predicator-only clause) which contains only a P function manifested by V₁. The Head of V₁ is manifested here only by /?e:gg-/ "'cease'", which is one of six verbs observed to comprise the verbs in v₁ set of verbs manifesting the Head of V₁. Its Relator function must be manifested by a relativizer that has only three inflected forms: /-ida:/ past, /-ana:/ fut, /-iya:/ cont. The rCl_{3c} manifests the Mod_{cl} function in the Nmz₄ manifesting Axis in the subgPP_{3c4}. See (242), 3.2.1.4.3.

3.4. for an example of this complicated construction.

2) rCl_{3d} = +Axis:cplxCl +Rel:relzr

A 3d type relative clause contains an obligatory Axis function manifested by a complex clause, followed by a Relator function manifested by a relativizer. Its Relator function is manifested only by the relativizer /-əns/. The rCl_{3d} manifests the Mod₁ function in the Nmz₆ manifesting Axis in subgPP_{3d}, an example of which may be found in (243), 3.2.1.4.3.4.

3.2.1.6. Miscellaneous Clauses

Miscellaneous clauses are those clauses that are embedded within other clause types. They cannot stand on their own but are bound to other forms. They have a very restricted structure and distribution. Four such clauses have been observed.

3.2.1.6.1. Complex Clauses

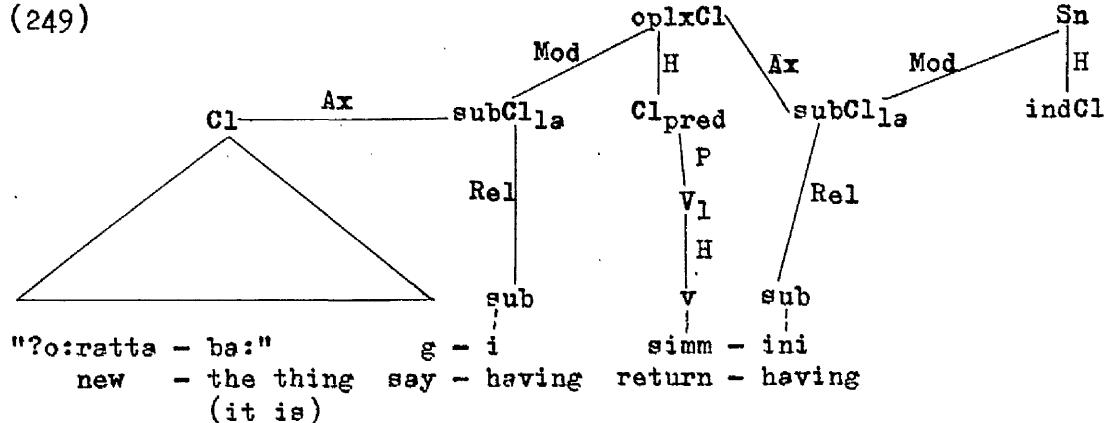
Complex clauses have the structure of sentences, but not their distribution, for they manifest the Axis function in subordinate clauses and in relative clauses. A complex clause consists of a Modifier function and a Head function--just like a sentence--the clause manifesting its Modifier function being subordinated to the clause manifesting its Head function by a subordinator.

Structure: oplxCl = +Mod:subG₁ls +Head:Cl_{pred}

Read: a complex clause consists of an obligatory Modifier function manifested by a subordinate clause of the type ls. This is followed by an obligatory Head function manifested by a clause that consists of only a Predicator.

The P occurring in a Cl_{pred} is manifested by a V₁, whose Head is manifested by one of six verbs observed to comprise the verbs in v₁ set of verbs.

(249)



Literal: Having returned from saying, "Hey, it's a new thing!"

Meaning: After he was amazed...

3.2.1.6.2. Predicator-only Clause (Cl_{pred})

A Cl_{pred} contains only a Predicator function which is manifested by a V₁, whose Head is manifested by one of six verbs observed to comprise the verbs in v₁ set of verbs. This type of clause is illustrated in example (249) above, and in section 3.2.1.4.1.2.

3.2.1.6.3. loc Type Clause

Structure: Cl_{loc} = +So:PP₁ +P:V₁

Read: a loc type of clause contains an obligatory Source function manifested by a type 1 postpositional phrase, followed by an obligatory Predicator function manifested by a type 1 verb phrase.

The Cl_{loc} manifests the Axis of a subCl_{loc}, as illustrated in (223), 3.2.1.4.1.3.1.

3.2.1.6.4. loc Type Clause

Structure: Cl_{loc} = +So:PP₁ +Pl:N₁ +P:V₁

Read: a loc type of clause contains an obligatory Source function manifested by a type 1 postpositional phrase, followed by an obligatory Place function manifested by a type 1 noun phrase, followed by an obligatory Predicator function manifested by a type 1 verb phrase.

The Cl_{loc} manifests the Axis of a subCl_{loc}, as illustrated

(3.2.1.6.4.)
in (224), 3.2.1.4.1.3.2.

161

4.0. Introduction

The verb phrase manifests the Predictor function in a clause and may contain either one or two verbs. There are various types of verb phrases which contain only one verb, their identities being defined by their distributions and the sets of verbs that may manifest their Head function. These are described later on in the chapter.

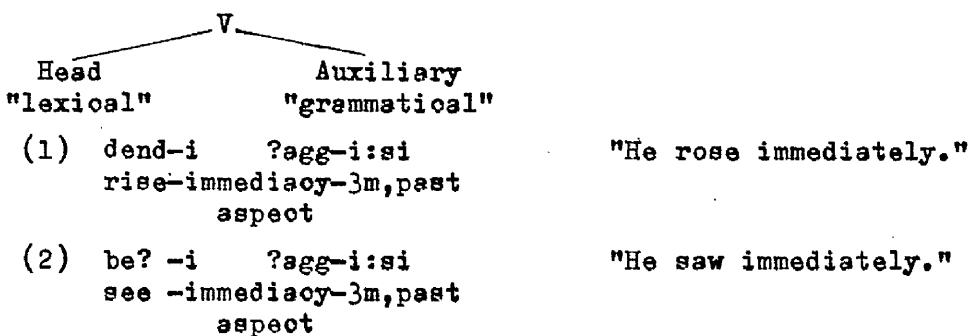
In a verb phrase containing two verbs, the total meaning of the two verbs is not the sum of the meanings of the two verbs. Following a suggestion sketched out by Pike (1970:43), the total function can be thought of as something above and beyond that of the individual elements. What is peculiar to the cooccurrence of the two verbs is the expression of one or other of a set of categories which are here termed aspect.

4.1. Verb Phrase Structure

Structure: V = +Head:main verb +Aux:aux verb

Read: a verb phrase consists of an obligatory Head function manifested by a main verb, followed by an optional Auxiliary function manifested by an auxiliary verb.

The Head function is the "lexical" part of the V and the Auxiliary function is the "grammatical" part, e.g.,



The /-i/ suffix in the verb form that manifests the Head function resembles the /-i/ suffix in a contracted converb (a converb is a term used for subordinate verb forms that correspond in part to participles and gerunds in other languages, see 3.2.1.4.1.1.). The contracted converb occurs when there is a series of converbs within a subordinate clause, e.g.,

(3)

Having drunk that beverage, been satiated, become as fat as
four men, and risen...

This then raises the question: why is the Wolaitta V analysed as a verb phrase rather than a clausal construction consisting of a Modifier function manifested by a subordinate clause followed by a Head function manifested by an independent clause?

There are a number of reasons:

1. The true converb contraction in (3) above, /?uy-i/ "having drunk", could still be expanded to /?uy-idi/ and yet retain its meaning; nor would the other elements in the series of converbs be affected. However, if the verb /dend-i/ in (1) is expanded to /dend-idi/ as in (1a), (similarly 2a), the /-idi/ suffix becomes a subordinator relating a subordinate clause to an independent clause in the relationship of progressing, and the grammatical feature of the immediacy aspect expressed by /-i ?agg-/ is eliminated; the construction becomes a clausal one, and we interpret the homophonous verb /?agg-/ "cease" as occurring, e.g.,

(1a)	[subCl P -sub dend-idi rise-having]	P ?agg-i:si. cease-3m, past
------	--	-----------------------------------

Having risen, he ceased (desist).

(2a)	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>subCl</td><td></td></tr> <tr> <td>P -sub</td><td>P</td></tr> <tr> <td>be?-idi</td><td>?agg-i:si</td></tr> <tr> <td>see-having</td><td>cease-3m,past</td></tr> </table>	subCl		P -sub	P	be?-idi	?agg-i:si	see-having	cease-3m,past
subCl									
P -sub	P								
be?-idi	?agg-i:si								
see-having	cease-3m,past								

Having seen, he ceased.

2. The main verb, which manifests the Head of the V, may inflect only for a restricted paradigm. e.g.,

whereas the true converb may also inflect for negative polarity, and could even be marked for a different subject from that of the following verb, e.g.,

- (5) ta:ni ?imm-ini ?i ?upaitti:si.
I give-having he he was happy

After I gave it, he was happy.

3. The Wolsitta V differs from West African "clause clusters", in which an Object function can cooccur with both Predicate functions in the "clause cluster" (Pike 1970:43).¹ In the Wolsitta expanded V nothing may be inserted between the two verb forms. In fact, educated Wolaittas who are learning to write their own language, consistently try to write the V as one word, not realizing that because each verb can conjugate and has its own high pitched stress there are two words involved, not just one.

4. The auxiliary verb, occurring in the Auxiliary function in the V may be one of a manifesting set restricted to just 14 verbs--at least as observed. On the other hand, its positional counterpart in the clausal construction can be manifested by any verb.

For these reasons the Wolsitta verb phrase is considered to be phrasal and not clausal.

4.2. Phrasal Secondary Aspect in the Verb Phrase

As indicated above, the Wolaitta verb phrase may be said to contain an expression of aspect because the total function of its two verbs can be thought of as something above and beyond that of the individual elements, and its total meaning is not the sum of the meanings of the two verbs.

'Aspect' is here considered not a time-oriented category, but is used as a cover term for a number of categories having in common the fact that they express the manner in which some event or action takes place. Representative terms in this system are immediacy, imminence, agreement, experiential, durative, completive, etc.

Thus far 21 distinct types have been observed in the aspect system in Wolsitta, and these can be divided into two basic types, primary aspect and secondary aspect. Primary aspect, dealt with in section 5.3.3.1.1.1., is obligatorily marked in every Wolaitta verb, except those manifesting Head in stative verb phrases, in imperatives, and in main verbs in verb phrases of the type under discussion. Otherwise either punctiliar primary aspect or continuous primary

aspect is obligatory and marked.

The aspect characterized in the V is termed here "phrasal secondary aspect" as over against "suffixal secondary aspect" indicated in verb suffixes, which are treated in sections 5.3.3.1.1.2. and 5.3.3.1.1.3. Aspect indicated by the phrase and by suffixes is exemplified in the following:

(6)

SUFFIXAL ASPECT

PHRASAL ASPECT

?i ?epi-rg + i ?agga -nd -e: -šša:.
 he take-completion+ "having""cease"+primary-question-uncertainty
 aspect immediacy aspect, mood aspect
 aspect punot 3m

I wonder if he has or has not already immediately taken it.

Secondary aspect is termed such because it is not obligatory. Any verb phrase marked for some secondary aspect category must be inflected for primary aspect (either the punctiliar primary aspect or the continuous primary aspect), e.g.,

PUNCTILLAR ASPECT

WITHOUT \rightarrow Putti- d -a:ga:
SECONDARY sit -punct him
ASPECT past who

"(I saw) him who sat"

CONTINUOUS ASPECT

?utti - y -a:ga:
sit -oont -him who

"(I saw) him who is/was/will be
sitting"

WITH ?utt-i ?aggi- d -a:ga: ?utt-i ?aggi- y -a:ga:
 SECONDARY sit -immediacy -punct-him sit- immediacy-cont-him
 ASPECT aspect past who aspect who

"(I saw) him who immediately sat"

"(I saw) him who always
sits/set/will sit imme-
diately"

The auxiliary verb manifesting the Auxiliary function in the V expresses the secondary aspect. Thus far 14 verbs have been observed to occur as auxiliary verbs. For each of these verbs there exists a homophonous verb that occurs alone, as the sole head element of a verb phrase, and has its own independent (lexical) meaning, quite distinct from the grammaticalized 'aspectual' meaning expressed by the auxiliary verb counterpart. e.g..

(7) wotti- bay -ida

run-immediacy-1. pl, past
aspect punot

bay = ida

get lost-1pl.past.punct

"we ran immediately"

"We got lost"

Each auxiliary verb has its own characteristic secondary aspectual meaning.

pect category; this is evident when two types of aspectual verb phrases occur in otherwise identical environments with regard to the expression of tense and primary aspect, e.g.,

- (8) zino m-i ?agg -ida:ge:
 yesterday eat-immediacy-he who,past,
 aspect punct

"he who yesterday ate immediately"

- zino m-i be? -ida:ge:
 yesterday eat-trial -he who,past,
 aspect punct

"he who yesterday tasted..."

The aspectual categories expressed by the expanded V are not affected by changes in tense or primary aspect, e.g.,

- (9) zino m-i ?agg -ida:ge: "He who immediately
 yesterday eat-immediacy asp-he who,past,punct ate yesterday."

- (10) wonto m-i ?agg -ana:ge "He who immediately
 tomorrow eat-immediacy esp-he who,fut,punct will eat to-
 morrow."

- (11) wonto m-i ?agg -iys:ge: "He who immediately
 tomorrow eat-immediacy esp-he who,cont will be eating to-
 morrow."

For these reasons it is clear that the expanded verb phrase containing Aux is primarily aspect-oriented and not tense-oriented. The manner of action is more important in the auxiliary verb than the time of the action.

Some of the auxiliary verbs consistently indicate just one (semantically) narrowly defined manner of action each time they occur, e.g., the auxiliary verb /?agg-/ consistently indicates "immediacy" (aspect), as seen in the illustrations above. However, other auxiliary verbs seem to cover a wide area in the manner of action and have to be glossed differently in different contexts, e.g.,

- (12) haikk-i bay -i:si "He died instantly."
 die -instantaneous-3m,past
 aspect

- (13) m-i bay -i:si "He ate carelessly."
 eat-careless esp-3m,past

- (14) be?-i bay -i:si "He saw by chance."
 see-happenstance esp-3m,past

- (15) ?ekk - i bay-i:si "He was just standing (not
 stand - ? esp -3m,past working)"

On its own, the homophonous verb /bay-/ means "be lost".

Research needs to be done in this area to see whether or not there is a semi-lexicalized association between the verbs, i.e. whether or not idiom is involved. Because some of these verb phrases consistently indicate just one distinct manner of action and can co-occur with many different lexical verbs, they are considered here to indicate phrasal secondary aspect, and are assigned a semantic category label such as 'immediacy', 'experimental', etc. Other verb phrases have not been sufficiently researched to discover an overall semantic categorization for what appears to be several distinct manners of action, and so they are simply listed as Aspect₇, Aspect₈, etc., along with the various manners of action that have been noted thus far, e.g., Aspect₁₄: Durative/Expectancy

4.3. The Verb Phrase Head Function

The Head function of the V is manifested by a main verb which is the "lexical" part of the V. Of the two verbs in the V, the main verb is formally a subordinate verb that may occur in four forms:

- 1) a form which is homophonous with a contracted affirmative converb, e.g., /dos-i/ "like-asp", (converb means "having liked").

This form may inflect only for certain suffixal secondary aspects and has a restricted paradigm, e.g.,

(16) dos - a like-asp(1,2s,3f)	dos - i like-asp(3m,1pl,2pl,3pl);
-----------------------------------	--------------------------------------

- 2) a form which is homophonous with a negative converb, and inflects only for certain suffixal secondary aspects, e.g., /simm-ennani/ "return-asp(all persons)", (neg. converb: "not having returned");

3) a form which is homophonous with a subC1_{1a} type that expresses desiderative, and inflects only for certain suffixal secondary aspects, e.g., /gakk-ana/ "arrive-asp(all persons)", (subC1_{1a}: "to arrive");

- 4) a form which is homophonous with a clausal subordinating postpositional phrase expressing purpose, and inflects only for certain suffixal secondary aspects, e.g., /baizz-anau/ "sell-asp(all persons)", (subgPP: "in order to sell").

Since the homophonous forms /gakkana/ and /gakkana/ can be

translated in English as "to arrive", they could be thought of as infinitives. However, they do not generally behave like infinitives do in other languages; they can manifest only the Modifier function in a sentence, and are accordingly just like subordinate clauses and subordinate postpositional phrases. English infinitives that manifest Subject would need to be translated in Wolaitta as nominalized phrases.

4.4. The Auxiliary Verb

The auxiliary verb inflects for person, number, primary aspect, and certain suffixal secondary aspects, e.g.,

- (17) ?ott-a ?agg-i-beikkina:? Did I not work immediately?
 (18) ?ott-a ?agg-abe:kke:? Did she not work immediately?
 (19) ?ott-a ?agg-abeikke:? Did you not work immediately?
 (20) ?ott-a ?agg-a:sa. You are always working immediately.

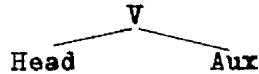
When a basic clause has an interrogative operator applied to it, the operation is carried out on the auxiliary verb, and not on the main verb. Or when the basic clause occurs as a clause variant, the operation takes place in the auxiliary verb, e.g.,

4.5. Phrasal Secondary Aspects

4.5.1. Immediacy Aspect (Aspect 1)

- characterized by the auxiliary verb /ʔagg-/ of. ʔagg- "cease".
 - form manifesting Head is a contracted converb.

(24)



bantsa ?a:wai te:gini sohuwa:ra simm -i ?agg-idosona
 their father having immediately return-immediacy-3pl,past
 called

Their father having called, they returned immediately
 without any delay.

4.5.2. Trial Aspect (Aspect 2)

- characterized by the auxiliary verb /be?-/ of. be?—"see".
- form manifesting Head is a contracted converb.

(25)

Head Aux

kumai katt-ido:ga: ?er-anau m - i be?-i:si
 food cook-(whether) know-to eat- trial -3m,past
 that which,
 past

In order to know whether or not the food was cooked, he
 tasted it.

4.5.3. Experiential Aspect (Aspect 3)

- characterized by the auxiliary verb /?er-/ of. ?er—"know".
- form manifesting Head is a contracted converb.

(26)

Head Aux

ne:ni ?o:tt-a ?er-akka.
 you work -experiential-2s,cont,neg
 aspect

You never work.

4.5.4. Certainty Aspect (Aspect 4)

- characterized by the auxiliary verb /?ekk-/ of. ?ekk—"receive".
- form manifesting Head is a contracted converb.

(27)

Head Aux

?asai b -iyo wode ta:ni nens te:s-a ?ekk-ans.
 people go- when I you call-certainty-fut
 aspect

When the people go, I will be sure to call you.

4.5.5. Agreement Aspect (Aspect 5)

- characterized by the auxiliary verb /?ak-/ of. ?ak- "spend the night".

- form manifesting Head is a contracted converb.

(28) Head Aux

siy-i ?ak -ibenna "He did not hear receptively."
hear-agreement-3m,neg aspect past

(29)

Head Aux

sainoi ſuhə gid-iyo:ge: ?er -i ?ak-i:si.
Monday slaughter be-that which, know-agreement-3m,past
cont aspeot

He is well aware that Monday is the day to slaughter.

4.5.6. Imminence Aspect (Aspect 6)

- characterized by the auxiliary verb /hane:si/ of. hane:si "it is happening".
 - form manifesting Head is a subCl_{la}, e.g.,

(30)

Head Aux

Get into the house quickly, for it is about to rain.

4.5.7. Obligation Aspect (Aspect 7)

- characterized by the auxiliary verb /besse:si/ cf. besse:si "he is showing".
 - form manifesting Head is a subCl_{1a}.

(31)

Head Aux

The child ought to listen to his father's words.

4.5.8. Suddenness Aspect (Aspect 8)

- characterized by the auxiliary verb /wodđ-/ cf. wodđ "climb down" when the subject is semantically the agent, and by /?ekk-/ cf. ?ekk—"receive" when the subject is semantically the patient.
 - form manifesting Head is a contracted converb.

Agent-oriented

(32)

Head	Aux
ta:ni ?ake:k -ennani kanai tana ss??-i	?ekk-i:si.
I be aware-not dog me bite-suddenness-3m,past	having aspect

When I was not expecting it, the dog suddenly bit me.

Patient-oriented

(33)

Head	Aux
?eti dap -išini wodoroi du:t̪-i	wod̪ -i:si.
they stretch-while rope broke-suddenness aspect-3m,past	

While they were stretching the rope, it suddenly broke.

4.5.9. Expectation Aspect (Aspect 9)

- characterized by the auxiliary verb /pe?-/ cf. pe?—"spend the day".

- form manifesting Head is a contracted converb.

(34)

Head	Aux
ta:ni ?o:t̪t-a pe? -ini bi:t̪tai mokk -ennani	
I work -expectation-having ground sprout-not having	aspect
	?itt̪-i:si.
refuse-3m,past	

I worked expecting (a crop), but the ground would not sprout anything.

(35)

Head	Aux
da:pur-a pe? -ada mala ?att-a:si.	
labor -expectation-having dry remain-1s,past	aspect

After having labored hopefully, I was left with nothing.

4.5.10. Intensification Aspect (Aspect 10)

- characterized by the fact that the verb which occurs in the Auxiliary function is a repetition of the verb manifesting the Head function.

- form manifesting Head is a contracted converb.

(36)

Head	Aux
marai ba:ssa badala: m-i m-i:di	
calf of Baassa corn eat-intensification-having	aspect
	having gorged
kall-i:si.	
satisfy-3m,past.	

The calf, having gorged himself on Baassa's corn, was satiated.

4.5.11. Probability Aspect (Aspect 11)

- characterized by the auxiliary verb /?aggenna/ cf. ?aggenna "it will not cease".
- form manifesting Head is a negative subCl_{1s}.

(37)

Head

Aux

wonto	?eti	gakk-ennani	?agg-enna	gišša-u
tomorrow	they	<u>arrive-probability aspect</u>	<u>will</u>	<u>reason-"for"</u>
		probably	will arrive	<u>not</u>
				because
		gi:g-išš-a.		
		<u>be ready-cause-imp</u>		
		prepare!		

Prepare things, because they will probably arrive tomorrow.

4.5.12. Aspect 12 (Decisive/Compulsory Aspect)

- characterized by the auxiliary verb /g-/ cf. g- "say".
- form manifesting Head is a contracted converb plus long vowel.

(38) "demba: bi:kke; timirtiya:-ssi b -a:na" ya:g-idi
 (to) meadow I will teaching -"for" go-will say -having
 not go

Head	Aux
b-i:	g -i:si.
<u>go-aspect12-3m,past</u>	

decide to go

He decided to go, having said, "I will not go to the meadow;
 I will go to class."

(39) ka:riya: ba ?uluwa: tikkiya-ni da:kk-ada
 monkey her stomach digger -"by" tear -having

Head	Aux
wull -a:	g -a:su
<u>fall over-aspect12-she,past</u>	

forced to fall over

The monkey, having torn her stomach with the digger,
 collapsed.

The verb manifesting the Head in this type of verb phrase triggers a phonological rule that lengthens the vowel in the suffix to become the long vowel /-a:/ with persons 1,2,3f, and becomes /-i:/ with persons 3m, and plurals. This aspect is not to be con-

fused with the idiomatic /qo??u gi:si/ "he was quiet" mentioned in
silent he said

3.2.1.1.4 for /qo??u/ does not inflect like the verb manifesting Head
in an expanded V.

4.5.13. Aspect 13 (Unconcern/Preparation/Precedence)

- characterized by the auxiliary verb /wott-/ cf. wott- "set down".
- form manifesting Head is a contracted converb.

(40) Head Aux

siy-i wott-i:si. "He heard unconcernedly."
hear-aspect13-3m,past

(41) tuma:-yyo: yayy-enna:dani lamba kura:ziya-ni
darkness- "for" fear-in order kerosene lamp -"in"
to not

Head Aux
kunt-i wott-i:si.
cause to fill-aspect13-3m,past
take precaution to fill

In order to not fear the dark, he took the precaution to
fill the lamp with kerosene.

This aspect is most commonly used to express the pluperfect,
for the pluperfect does not occur in Wolaitta verb inflection, e.g.,

(42) Herodisi "hage: tamakiya yoha:nnisa" ya:gi:si...kašo
Herod this who baptizes it is John he said... of ty-
ing up

Head Aux
ke:ttni yegg-i wott-i:si.
"into" house cast-aspect13-3m,past
had previously cast

Herod said, "It is John the Baptist"...Herod had previously
cast him into prison.

(43) yihuda gakki:si. "ta:ni yeriyo:ga: ?oiķite" ya:gidi
Judas arrived. I him whom I seize! having said
kiss

Head Aux
mala:ta: yo:t-i wott-i:si.
sign tell-aspect13-3m,past
he had told

Judas arrived. He had given them a sign saying, "Seize the
one that I kiss!"

4.5.14. Aspect 14 (Durative/Expectancy)

- characterized by the auxiliary verb /?utt-/ cf. ?utt- "sit".

- form manifesting Head is a contracted converb.

(44)

Head Aux

?od-oppite; ?i kasekka siy-i ?utt-i:si
 tell-imp,pl he previously hear-aspect14-3m,past
 neg

Don't tell him; he heard it a while ago.

4.6. Single Verb Phrases

Since single verb phrases contain only a Head that is manifested by a verb, i.e., only consist of one word, these are effectively dealt with in chapter 5, and it would be pedantic to require a duplicate treatment here.

The various types of V that manifest P in various types of basic clauses are characterized by the verbs that manifest the Head of the V. Since the differences are distributional (syntactic) and have no phonological correlate in the lexical verb item, only an overview is given here.

V type	Manifesting Items
1) Transitive (see 3.2.1.1.1.)	open class
2) Ditransitive (see 3.2.1.1.2.)	limited class, e.g., /?o:tt-/ "make", /sunt-/ "appoint"...
3) Bitransitive (see 3.2.1.1.3.)	limited class, e.g., /tal?-/ "loan/borrow", /pird-/ "condemn/acquit"...
4) Quotation (see 3.2.1.1.4.)	only /g-/ or /ya:g-/ "say"
5) Intransitive (see 3.2.1.1.5.)	open class
6) Di-intransitive (see 3.2.1.1.6.)	limited class, e.g., /han-/ "happen", /gid-/ "become"...
7) Bi-intransitive (see 3.2.1.1.7.)	limited class, e.g., /gel-/ "enter"...
8) Stative (see 3.2.1.1.8.)	the verb "to be", treated in chapter 5
9) Bistative (see 3.2.1.1.9.)	limited class, e.g., /misat-/ "seem".
10) The V sub-types, such as cau-passV, described in section 3.2.1.3. are not treated further in this section.	
11) The V ₁ , which manifests the Head function of a predicate-only clause (Cl _{pred}) which manifests the Head function of a complex Cl (oplxCl), and is exemplified in section 3.2.1.4.1.2., 3.2.1.4.3.3.4., and 3.2.1.4.3.4., is manifested by a set of	

verbs that has been observed to consist of only six verbs:
/əgə-/ , /kəset-/ , /iṭṭ-/ , /gakk-/ , /simm-/ , and /tay-/.

5.1. Distribution

The Wolaitta verb manifests the Head function in a verb phrase or the Auxiliary function in a verb phrase. Any verb may manifest the Head of a V, but only auxiliary verbs which express secondary aspect may manifest the Auxiliary function in a V, as was shown in the previous chapter.

5.2. The General Structure of Wolaitta Verbs

A description of the descending exponence of the verb will involve the consideration of the internal structure of the verb at hierarchically lower levels; which will in turn raise the question of what lower levels are to be recognized.

The verbs /b-a/ "Go!" and /m-a/ "Eat!" can be considered go-2s, imp eat-2s, imp to consist of two parts: a nucleus, which contains the lexical part of the verb /b-/ "go" or /m-/ "eat", and a margin, which contains the inflectional part of the verb, /-a/ 2s, imperative.

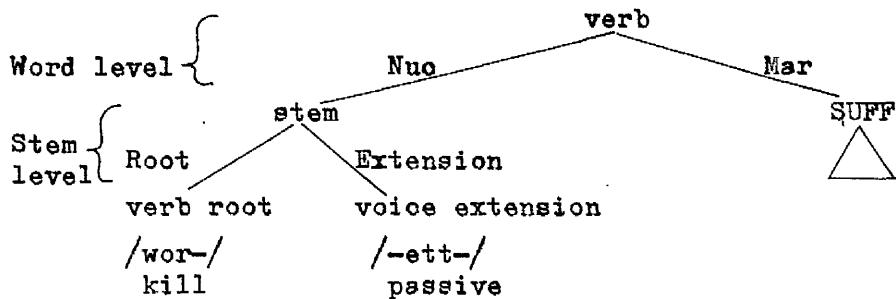
The margin may be manifested by an element that is morphologically complex, containing a number of categories, some of which may be expressed overtly and others of which covertly. Sometimes a one to one morphological analysis might be possible, e.g.,

nuc-	margin
(1) leus -	
b - i	b - e: - nn - a
go -subj	-punctiliar-neg subj -neg -statement
	agreement aspect, agreement mood
mkr	mkr
	past
	He did not go.

However, in other cases the traditional notion of "portmanteau morph" would be appropriate, for in the verb /b-i:/ "Is he going?", the categories of number, person, gender, continuous aspect, affirmative polarity, and interrogative mood all converge on the morpheme /-i:/. For these reasons, in this thesis the cover term SUFFIX (SUFF), with upper case letters, is used to indicate the entire suffixal complex of the verb.

The non-SUFFIX part of the verb, such as /wor-/ in the verb /wor-a/ "Kill!" may be expanded to become the form /wor-ett-kill-imp,2s kill-passive-a/ "Be killed!" Thus because the nucleus is manifested by more imp,2s than one item in /wor-ett/, a level such as stem is needed for

treating the elements manifesting the verb nucleus. These two elements occurring in the verb stem could be termed Root and Extension, Root being manifested by a verb root, and Extension being manifested by voice extension. And so provisionally a tree diagram could be posited for the analysis with two levels—word and stem levels:



The Root and Extension functions can be considered to occur in one unit, the stem, for the following reasons:

- 1) Neither the item manifesting Root, the verb root, nor that manifesting Extension, voice extension, may inflect. The items occurring in Extension may be replaced by each other or may cooccur, but per se they do not inflect.
- 2) Some forms of the causative verb contain a causative element /-iss-/ that can be considered to be separate from the verb root, as in /yo:t-iss-a/ "Cause to tell!" But in other cases, the entailing operation of causation produces a morphological change within the verb root, e.g., /me??-i:si/ "It broke" /ment -i:si/ "He break-3m,past cause to break-3m,past caused to break!" Because in /ment-/ the causative element involves lexically determined allomorphs in the verb root, a stem unit is best viewed as the lexical part of the verb that acts as a unit.
- 3) The phonological process of degemination affects the stem uniquely and is not confined either to verb root or voice extension. The verb root /madd-/ "help" will degeminate root-finally when cooccurring with a voice extension such as /-ett-/, e.g.,

- (2) /mad -ett -i:si/ "He was helped."
help-passive-3m,past

When the stem /mad-ett-/ cooccurs with /-iss/ causative, the gemination will again occur in the final element in the stem and be lost from the other elements, e.g.,

- (3) /mad- et - iss -i:si/ "He caused to be helped."
help-passive-causative-3m,past

Thus the occurrence of gemination on only the final element in the combination of verb root and voice extension shows yet again the stem to be a viable cohesive unit which may nevertheless be segmented.

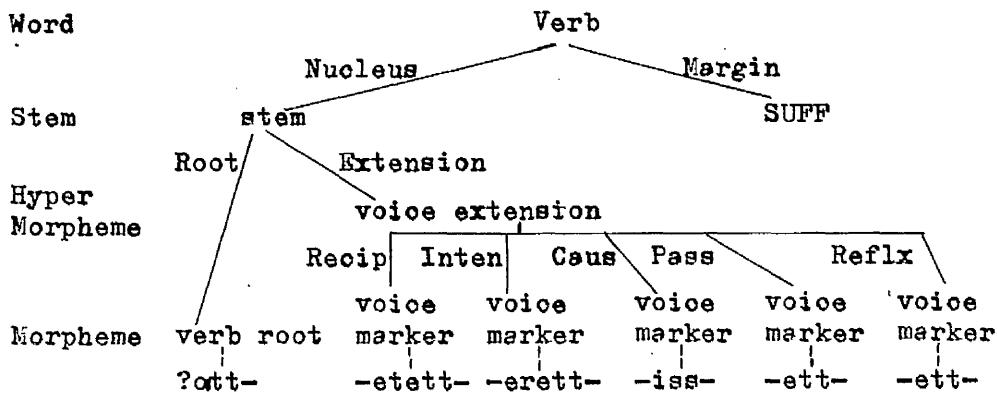
In the voice extension manifesting Extension there may occur more than one function, and these functions may cooccur in various combinations, e.g.,

- (4) sug -is -et -ett -i:si.
push-causative-causative-passive-3m,past

He got someone to cause another to be pushed.

The common factor in these functions occurring in the voice extension can be thought of as voice^{or}_A diathesis. There are five functions: 1) passive, 2) causative, 3) reciprocal, 4) intensive, 5) reflexive. Although "voice" is traditionally thought of just as active, passive and 'middle' and the other categories are usually not considered to be voice, in Wolaitta there are structural grounds for placing all these items in the same category. They all occur in the same physical slot within the verb, and they are combined like elements that are related. They also are all involved with changes in other tagmemes in the clause. F. Palmer (1971:94-95) points out that in the Ethiopian Semitic language, Tigrinya, "a more complex, but wholly neat pattern" of voice is found. He cites active, passive, causative, reciprocal, and reciprocal-causative adjutative voices that involve a change in the position and the function of other words in the sentence.

Because a voice extension can be segmented into these five functions that may cooccur in various combinations, another hierarchical level that is intermediate to the stem and morpheme levels is posited—the "hyper morpheme" level. The five functions: reciprocal, intensive, causative, passive, and reflexive can be considered to exhibit tagemic items at the hyper morpheme level. Below this is the morpheme level, with voice markers manifesting the reciprocal, intensive, causative, passive, and reflexive functions. A tree diagram showing the analysis of the nucleus part of the verb would be:

Levels

Turning to the margin part of the verb we find that SUFF manifesting the margin function is the inflectional part of the verb, whose inflections function as syntactic markers that may often relate the stem to various elements external to the verb. SUFF can be established as an entity itself apart from the stem in that the degemination phonological process occurring in the stem does not occur in SUFF. Any geminated element in SUFF never loses its gemination. Nor can affixation of a SUFF bring about degemination within the stem. Furthermore, the Set I and Set II SUFF allomorphs are peculiar to the SUFF and not to the stem, e.g., /b-i:da/ "we went", and /dosett-ids/ "we were loved".

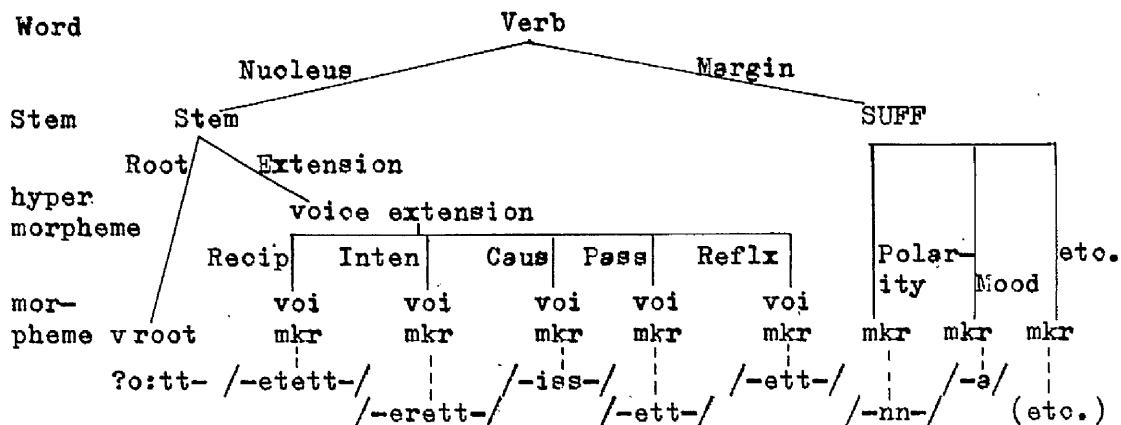
SUFF is a complex element that can be segmented into nine main functions, some of which may be manifested by items that are in complementary distribution, e.g.,

stem-	SUFF			
(5) siy -'	u	-pp	-u'	"Let her not hear!"
hear-subject	-negative	-mood		
	agreement	polarity	(command	
	marker		3f)	

A tree diagram may then be constructed to represent the hierarchical levels of the Wolaitta verb that are treated in this thesis:

Levels

Word



At these different levels formulae can be drawn up to represent the verb structure:

LEVELS

Word v = +Nucleus:stem +Margin:SUFFIX

Stem stem = +Root:root +Extension:voice extension

Hyper voice extension = +(+Recip:voice mkr +Inten:voice mkr
Morpheme +Caus:voice mkr +Pass:voice mkr +Reflex:voice mkr)

The + before the parenthesis in the voice extension formula indicates that one of the optional items must occur.

The linear ordering of these functions occurring in the voice extension seems to depend upon, a) the particular lexical item concerned, b) the precise combination of functions present. The combination thus exhibits typical features of derivational morphology.

Hyper SUFFIX = Morpheme	+ SUFF Initial Subject Agreement
	+ SUFF Initial Secondary Aspect
	+ Pre-Primary Aspect Subject Agreement
	+ Primary Aspect and Tense
	+ Negative Subject Agreement
	+ Polarity
	+ Mood/Subordination Marker/Relative Marker
	+ SUFF Final Secondary Aspect
	+ Conjoining

The above SUFFIX formula does not imply that all functions in SUFF may freely cooccur. Dealing with the rules governing their cooccurrence is beyond the scope of this thesis; however, combinations that have been observed are listed in section 5.3.3.2.

All these verb functions, at the various levels, together with their manifesting items are portrayed in Chart 11. Each item manifesting a function in the SUFF element may not cooccur with another item that may manifest the same function, i.e. they are in complementary distribution, and this constitutes the basis for their being given emic status. It is possible to break any verb inflection form down into its appropriate functions and identify its ordering on Chart 11.

CHART 11. WOLAITTA VERB FUNCTIONS AND THEIR MANIFESTING ITEMS

Word Stem	Nounous : stem	V E R B Margin : SUFFIX
Hyper-morpheme pheme mkr ¹	Root: Extension:voice extension -eret- + Inten-sive + Recip-rocal	-i- + SUFF Initial Subject Agreement + Caus-ative + Pass-ive reflexive
Mor-pheme pheme mkr ²	-eff- -efft- -iss- -et-	-a- (haste/ completion) -ai- 1, 2, 3f -i- 3m, pls -i:- 3m, pls -e- 3m, 2pl -o- 1pl, 3pl -e:- 3m
Mor-pheme pheme mkr ³	-etett- -erett- -et-	-eff- -efft- -iss- -et-
any verb root		
RELATIVE MARKER		
-a, subject oriented	punct past -si 1, 3m -a all	-ana: 1 -e: 1 -i: 2 -e: 3 cont -si 1, 3m, 1 pl
-O, non-subject oriented	-asa 2 -su 3f -a 1pl	-a 2, 3m -U 3f -U 3f -O: 1pl -O: 1pl
-a:- def subject oriented	-eta 2pl all others	-et: 2pl -eta 2pl -ona: 3pl same as punct past
-O:- def non-subject oriented	-osona 3pl	-ona: 3pl
STATEMENT		
-a, subject oriented	punct past -si 1, 3m -a all	-ana: 1 -e: all -i: 2 -e: 3 cont -a:na: 1 -(a) i 2, 3f -et: 2pl -eta 2pl -ona: 3pl -ona: 3pl -ona: 3pl SM Aspect
-O, non-subject oriented	-asa 2 -su 3f -a 1pl	-e: 3f, 3m -O: 1pl -et: 2pl -ona: 3pl -ona: 3pl -ona: 3pl
-a:- def subject oriented	-eta 2pl all others	-O: 1pl -et: 2pl -ona: 3pl
-O:- def non-subject oriented		
QUESTION		
-a, subject oriented	punct past -si 1, 3m -a all	-ina: 1 -e: all -i: 2 -e: 3 cont -a:na: 1 -(a) i 2, 3f -et: 2pl -eta 2pl -ona: 3pl -ona: 3pl -ona: 3pl -a: all
-O, non-subject oriented	-asa 2 -su 3f -a 1pl	-U 3f -O 3m -O 3m -ite 2pl -ite 2pl -ona 3pl -ona 3pl -ona 3pl -vini all (simultaneous diff. participant)
-a:- def subject oriented	-eta 2pl all others	-O 3m -ite 2pl -ona 3pl -ona 3pl -ona 3pl -vini all (simultaneous diff. participant)
-O:- def non-subject oriented		
COMMAND		
-a, subject oriented	punct past -si 1, 3m -a all	-da 1, 3f -di 3m plur -ni all (progression) -da 1, 3f -ddi 3m plur -vini all (simultaneous diff. participant)
-O, non-subject oriented	-asa 2 -su 3f -a 1pl	-da 1, 3f -ddi 3m plur -vini all (succession)
-a:- def subject oriented	-eta 2pl all others	-da 1, 3f -ddi 3m plur -vini all (succession)
-O:- def non-subject oriented		

1 Example: /menterissingibe:kretattenne:/ "and you(pl) have not already caused (someone) to scatter it (someone else did)." etc.

2 The morphemes manifesting this function can either be word final or can have further suffixes affixed to them as indicated by the symbol (-).

In this section the items that manifest the verb functions at various levels are examined in detail.

5.3.1. Root

The root function is manifested by a verb root, that irreducible, nuclear element of a verb that lexically differentiates one verb from another, e.g.,

- (6) b- "go"
- (7) se:sukk- "whisper"
- (8) guj- "add"

5.3.1.1. Classes of Verb Roots

As far as verb inflection goes, except for the verb manifesting the Predicator in a stative clause, Wolaitta verbs can be considered as constituting one class. If a person knows how to inflect one verb, he can inflect virtually every Wolaitta verb.

However, transitive and intransitive verbs can be distinguished morphologically by their cooccurrence or non-cooccurrence with a certain suffix. On another parameter, verbs which contain for the most part a single radical root differ from most verbs containing a multiple radical root by the allomorphs that occur with each kind. On yet another parameter verbs could be divided into classes on the basis of what morphological changes take place when a verb manifests the Head of a V in the P in a causative entailment clause.

5.3.1.1.1. Transitive vs. Intransitive

There is a secondary aspect in Wolaitta that has a wide area of meaning (see 5.3.3.1.1.2.1.):

a) it can indicate completeness of an action, e.g.,

- (9) b - aico -a:su "She has gone for sure."
go-completely-3f,past
- (10) wur -i:oo -i:si
finish-completely-3m,past "It is absolutely finished."

b) or it can indicate haste due to some imminent happening, e.g.,

- (11) m - irg -i:si "He gobbled it up."
eat-hastily-3m,past

- (12) ?imm- arg -a:si I hastily gave it.
give-hastily-ls,past

The suffix manifesting this secondary aspect has four allo-morphs. The allomorphs /-irg-/ and /-arg-/ occur with only transitive verb roots, as seen in (11) and (12). The allomorph /-irg-/ occurs with 3m, and plural persons, whereas /-arg-/ occurs with 1, 2, 3f persons.

The allomorphs /-i:oo-/ (3m, plurals), and /-aico-/ occur with intransitive verbs, as seen in (9) and (10). They may also occur with transitive verbs, e.g., the verbs in (11) and (12) occurring with /-irg-/ and /-arg-/ could also occur with /-i:oo-/ and /-aico-/ as in (11A) and (12A).

- (11A) m - i:oo -i:si "He gobbled it up."
eat-hastily-3m,past

- (12A) ?imm- aico -a:si "I hastily gave it."
give-hastily-ls,past

In this way Wolaitta differentiates morphologically between transitive and intransitive verbs.

5.3.1.1.2. Verbs with Single Radical Roots vs. Verbs with Multiple Radical Roots

Class I verb roots comprise mainly single radical roots and cooccur with Set I SUFFIX allomorphs. (The term "radical" used here can be equated with a lexically differential phoneme.)

Class II comprises only multiple radical roots and cooccur with Set II SUFF allomorphs.

Class I has been observed to comprise only seven verbs, as listed in (13). Five of these are single radical roots, and two verbs contain more than one radical in their roots. Class II verbs comprise all other verbs.

Set I SUFF allomorphs are characterized by an initial long vowel, which contrasts with the short vowel in the SUFF allomorphs of Set II, e.g.,

- | | |
|---|--|
| (13) CLASS I with SET I
<u>SUFF allomorphs</u> | CLASS II with SET II
<u>SUFF allomorphs</u> |
|---|--|

b- <u>i</u> :di "having gone"	?imm- <u>idi</u> "having given"
m- <u>a</u> :na "will eat"	be?- <u>ana</u> "will see"
d- <u>o</u> :kko "we will not live"	ya:g- <u>okko</u> "we will not say"

y- <u>e</u> :kke:?	"will she not come?"	?ekk- <u>e</u> kke:?	"will she not stand?"
g- <u>i</u> :dosona	"they said"	ma: <u>dd</u> - <u>i</u> dosona	"they helped"
?ep- <u>u</u> :kku	"she will not take"	simm- <u>uk</u> kku	"she will not return"
?eh- <u>a</u> :dasa	"you brought"	zor- <u>ad</u> asa	"you counselled"

However, not all SUFFIXES have two allomorphs, for some may have only one form, e.g., the negative forms of the punctiliar past tense:

- (14) b-ibe:kketa "you (pl) did not go"
?imm-ibe:kketa "you (pl) did not give"

It might be thought that it would be more economical to pose one set of SUFFIXES that are affixed to distinct verb root allo-morphs; for example in the case of 'to go' /b-/v/bi-/. This may not be so economical as would seem, for one must then set up six allo-morphs that may occur with the one set of SUFFIXES, namely, /b-/v/bi-/v/ba/v/bo/v/be/v/bu/, since SUFFIXES beginning with any one of the five vowels are found. Another reason for setting up two sets of SUFFIXES is the affinity that vowel lengthening has with the SUFFIX rather than with the root. For example, SUFFIX initially there is a complex vowel in the verbs /?imm-aidda/ "while giving (1,2s,3f)", or /b-aidda/ "while going (1,2s,3f)", and a long vowel in the verbs /?imm-i:ddi/ "while giving (3m,pls)", or /b-i:ddi/ "while going (3m,pls)". Because of the precedent of both a complex vowel and a long vowel occurring SUFFIX initially, it seems reasonable to assign the SUFF initial vowel length in a SUFFIX like /-a:da/ or /-i:di/ to the SUFFIX rather than to the root in a verb like /b-a:da/ "having gone (1,2s,3f)" or /b-i:di/ "having gone (3m, pls)".

A comprehensive listing of all verb SUFFIXES and their allo-morphs is given in 5.3.3.2. ; the SUFFIXES containing a SUFFIX initial long vowel are marked with a superscript x.

Wolaitta verb roots may undergo morphological change by de-gemination when an item manifesting a voice extension function such as a passive marker, or causative marker, is affixed, e.g.,

- (15) ma:dd-o "let him help"
ma:d-ett-o "let him be helped"
pass

(For certain other morphological changes that may take place in verb roots, such as the following, (16)-(19), see the section on causa-

tion 5.2.2.3, e.g.,

- (16) ['gakk-u] "let her arrive"
- (17) ['gakk-a:su] "she arrived"
- (18) [gat't-a:su] "she caused to arrive"
- (19) [gat't-u] "let her cause to arrive")

5.3.2. Extension

The Extension function in the verb stem is manifested by a voice extension which contains five functions (such as causative, etc.) manifested by voice markers. However, one morphological change has been observed: whenever a voice marker is affixed to another voice marker that has in it a geminated consonant, gemination is lost from that consonant so that gemination always remains a stem-final feature, e.g.,

- (20) sug - iss-i:si "He caused to push."
push-oau -3m,past
- (21) sug - is - ett - i:si "He caused to be pushed."
push-caus-passive-3m,past
- (22) ment - eret- iss- i:si "He already caused to smash."
break-inten-cau -aspect-3m,past

The functions occurring in a voice extension that have been observed to date, are as follows:

5.3.2.1. Reciprocal Voice

The Reciprocal function is manifested by the voice markers /-etett-/ or /-et-/, both of them allomorphs. The /-et-/ allomorph always occurs in a combination of voice markers, e.g.,

- (23) ma:d- et - is-iss-i:si "He got someone to cause to help each other."
help-recip-cau-cau-3m,past

The /-etett-/ allomorph is not to be confused with the passive marker /-e:tett-/, e.g.,

- (24) sug -etett-idosona "they pushed each other."
push-recip-3pl,past
- (25) m -e:tett-i:si "It was eaten."
eat-pass-3m,past

Nor is the /-etett-/ allomorph to be confused with the combination of voice markers in /-etett-/, which is analysed in (25) as a combination of causative and passive markers, e.g.,

- (26) sug - et- ett-i:si "He was caused to be pushed."
push-can-pass-3m,past

Just how the /-etett-/ , /-e:tett-/ , /-ett-/ , and /-et-/ markers do function needs more investigation.

5.3.2.2. Intensive Voice

The Intensive function is manifested by the voice marker /-erett/, e.g.,

- (27) wot-erett-ida:ge: "He who ran here and there..."
run-inten-he who, past

The term "intensive" used to categorize this voice does not refer to the repetition of, or frequency of, an action or event. Like in (27) the action of running is not back and forth between one place, nor is it numerous similar runs, but it is a frenzied running from this place to that place and everywhere. Similarly, in (29) the stealing is from many places rather than frequency or repetition of stealing.

- (28) ment -erett-i:be:nna:ga: ... "him who did not shatter..."
 cause to-inten-him who, past
 break

(29) wuk -erett-i:ddi "While stealing from here and there..."
 steal-inten-while

5.3.2.3. Causative Voice

The Causative function is manifested by the voice markers /-iss-/ and /-et-/, both of them allomorphs. The allomorph /-iss-/ is the most common, e.g.,

- (30) gupp- gup -iss- "cause to jump"
 jump- jump-cau-

(31) haik-iss-oppona "Don't let them cause (someone) to
 die -cau-don't let them! die!"

The /-et-/ allomorph always occurs in a combination of voice markers, and is not to be confused with the reciprocal voice marker /-et-/ with which it exhibits homophony, e.g.,

- (32) sug - is- et- ett-a:su. "She got someone to cause another
push-cau-cau-pass-3f.past to be pushed.

As was indicated under "verb roots", the causative voice is marked not only by the causative markers /-iss-/ or /-et-/ but by

morphological changes in the verb root. These changes involve a variety of features:

1) Loss of glottalization, e.g.,

	<u>non-causative</u>	<u>causative</u>
(33)	diqq-o grow-let it	dico-o cause to grow-let him
(34)	gu:t̪-i:si become small-3m,past	gu:tt-i:si cause to-3m,past be small

2) Loss of a syllable containing a glottal or velar, e.g.,

(35)	ka:?-idosona play-3pl,past	ka:ss-idosona cause to play-3pl,past
(36)	wu:k̪-ai? steal-ont,are you?	wu:ss - ai? cause to steal- cont, are you?
(37)	?a:kk-ida widen-lpl,past	?a:ss - ida cause to widen- lpl,past

3) Change from y/? → šš, e.g.,

(38)	yuyyy-enна turn -will not around	yu:šš - enna cause to- will not turn around
(39)	?o:y -i:si argue -3m,past	?o:šš -i:si cause to argue-3m,past
(40)	ge:y - iyo wode was clean- when	ge:šš - iyo wode cause to be clean- when
(41)	goyy-i:si plow-3m,past	gošš -i:si cause to plow-3m,past
(42)	pe? -ida:ga: spend-him who,past the day	pe:šš - ida:ga: cause to spend-him who,past the day

4) Loss of glottalization and voicing, e.g.,

(43)	?a:q̪-ibo:kkoni:?	?a:tt - ibo:kkoni:?
	pass -did we not?	cause to pass- did we not?

5) Loss of glottalization plus change from velar to coronal

(44)	?oikk-ite seize-imp,pl you!	?oit- iss -ite seize-cause-imp,pl you!
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5.3.2.4. Passive Voice

The Passive function is manifested by the voice markers /-ett-/ or /-e:tett-/, both of them allomorphs. The /-ett/ allomorph is the most common, e.g.,

- (45) ha:r- ett-ans "He will be ruled."
rule-pass-will
- (46) do:r - ett-ikko "if (someone) is chosen..."
choose-pass-if
- (47) ha:say - ett-o "Let him be talked with!"
converse-pass-let him

The verb "eat", /m-/, does not form the passive voice like most verbs, that is by affixing the passive marker /-ett-/, *_m-ett-i:si; instead we find that /-e:tett-/ occurs, e.g., /m-e:tett-i:si/ "it was eaten." The /-e:tett-/ allomorph has been observed with the single radical verbs /m-/ "eat" and /g-/ "say", e.g., /g-e:tett-i:si/ "it was said".

5.3.2.5. Reflexive Voice

The Reflexive function is manifested by the voice marker /-ett/.

When the marker /-ett-/ (which is homophonous with the passive marker /-ett-/) combines with certain verbs, it can indicate either the passive voice or the reflexive voice, depending upon the context, e.g.,

- (48) O P
ne na?a: me:qq-adasa. "You washed your boy."
your boy wash -2s,past
- (49) O P
ta tohuwa: me:qq-akka. "You will not wash my feet."
my feet wash -2s,neg,fut
- (50) Ag P
ne na?sa-ni me:qq- ett-adasa. "You were washed by
your boy -"by" wash -pass-2s,past your boy."
- (51) O P
ne hu:piya: me:qq- ett-adasa. "You washed yourself/your
your head wash -refl-2s,past head."
- (52) S O P
?i ba kusiya: me:qq- ett-i:si. "He washed his hands."
he his hand wash -refl-3m,past own
- (53) So O P
tohoppe haraba: me:qq- ett-ansau košsenna.
"except" foot another wash -refl-to it is not necessary
It is not necessary for one to wash anything but the foot.
- (54) S O P
eti banta hu:piya: med - ett-ana mala...
they their own head shave-refl-in order that
"In order that they shave their heads..."

It will be noted in example (50) that because an Agent function occurs with a P that contains the /-ett-/ suffix in the verb, it is clear that the /-ett-/ is signalling passive.

However, there is evidence that a homophonous /-ett-/ can signal a grammatical category here termed reflexive. It can be seen in (48) and (49) that when one washes something that is not a part of one's own body, the P in which the /-ett-/ is contained does not occur with the Object function. But in examples (51) - (54) whenever a P containing the /-ett-/ occurs with an Object function, the goal of the action is always the person himself or some part of him. The action he performs is always reflected back to himself. And since there is a precedent of two homophonous forms of /-et-/ manifesting causative and reciprocal, it is reasonable to consider /-ett-/ to be two homophonous forms manifesting passive and reflexive. This analysis is more satisfactory than trying to set up a syntactic structure for the cooccurrence of Object with a P containing a passive element.

5.3.2.6. Cooccurrence of Voice Markers

One voice marker may occur with other voice markers in the same verb stem, e.g.,

- (55) ma:d- et -iss-iya:ge: "He who causes (them) to help each other" help-recip-cau-he, who, cont.
- (56) wot- eret-iss-ennani "not having caused (someone) to run here and there" run-inten-cau-not having

The causative voice marker may be repeated in a verb stem, e.g.,

- (57) ſuk- is-iss-ido:ga:ppe "After he got someone to cause another to butcher..." butcher-cau-cau-after, past
- (58) sug- et - is-iss-i:si "He got someone to cause them to push each other." push-recip-cau-cau-he, past

These are only examples, but the comprehensive listing of all the possible cooccurrences of Wolaitta voice markers and statements correlating these with syntax and semantics is beyond the scope of this thesis.

5.3.3. SUFFIX

A Wolaitta verb SUFFIX consists of functions that express

mood, aspect, polarity, tense, person, number, gender, subordination, relativization.

A SUFFIX may be affixed directly to a verb stem, e.g.,

- (59) Root-SUFF "He blessed."
 ?anj-i:si
- (60) Root-voice mkr-SUFF
 ?anj- ett -i:si "He was blessed."

Items manifesting SUFF differ from voice markers. It has already been noted that voice markers occurring with other voice markers cause loss of gemination in all voice markers except the finally ordered voice marker. SUFF morphemes have not been observed to have allomorphs that are characterized by loss of gemination. Nor will a SUFF cause a voice marker to lose gemination.

For these reasons the completion/haste secondary aspect marker /-rg-/ is considered to be a part of SUFF and not a voice marker, since it does not affect gemination, e.g.,

- (61) root voice voice SUFF
 mkr mkr
 ment- eret- iss -irgi:si.
 cause to break-inten- cau -completion esp, 3m,past
 He already caused someone to shatter it.

- (62) root voice voice SUFF
 mkr mkr
 ment- eret- iss -arga:si.
 cause to break-inten- cau -completion esp,ls,past
 I already caused someone to shatter it.

The SUFF /-irg-/ in /-irgi:si/ in (61) inflects to /-arg-/ in /-arga:si/ in (62); such inflection precludes /-irg/ from being an extension.

The causative voice marker /-iss-/, which loses its gemination before another voice marker in examples (57), (58), does not lose its gemination when preceding the /-irg-/ in (61). This further demonstrates that the aspect marker /-rg-/ can be interpreted as being a suffix rather than being a voice marker.

5.3.3.1. SUFFIX Functions

As seen in 5.3., Wolaitta SUFFIXES have a fixed ordering of functions. This is seen in Chart 11. However, rather than treat each SUFF function in the order in which it is affixed, the functions are grouped together into a more generic classification, such as

aspect and tense, mood, polarity, subject agreement markers in verb inflection. This makes for a more integrated treatment of related functions.

5.3.3.1.1. Aspect and Tense

There are three aspect functions in SUFF: 1) Primary aspect, 2) SUFF initial secondary aspect, 3) SUFF final secondary aspect. There are two tenses: past and future. In Wolaitte verb inflection, aspect plays a larger role than tense. How an action or event takes place has a larger inflectional role than precisely when an action or event takes place.

5.3.3.1.1.1. Primary Aspect and Tense Function

The Primary Aspect and Tense function in a SUFF is an obligatory feature. In every SUFF, except for command mood, an action must be indicated as either punctiliar, (happening at some point in time), or continuous. This is necessary whether various combinations of secondary aspect occur in the SUFF or not.

5.3.3.1.1.1.1. Punctiliar Aspect

Punctiliar aspect can manifest the Primary Aspect and Tense function in a verb SUFF. It points to action that occurs non-continuously, and at some point in time. In Wolaitte verb inflection, punctiliar action is specified as to whether it happened in the past or will happen in the future, e.g.,

(63)	ka:ll - i - d - a:	- g - e:
	follow -subj -past -def,	-nomzr -nom case
	agree punct relative mkr	

He who followed...

(64)	ka:ll - a - n - s: - g - e:
	follow -subj- fut -def, -nomzr - nom case
	agree punct relativizer

He who will follow...

In (63) the past tense punctiliar aspect is marked by /-d/, whereas the future tense punctiliar aspect in (64) is marked by /-n/. As seen in Chart 11 the punctiliar aspect markers that overtly indicate only aspect and tense are: /-d/ past, /-b/ past neg, /-n/ fut, and /-nd/ all tenses. However, the primary aspect

function can converge on the same form with other suffix functions, e.g.,

- (65) ?sip- i: -si "It bore fruit."
 bear fruit -past punct,3m,subj-statement
 agreement mkr mood

(66) ?sip- e: -si "It is bearing fruit"
 bear fruit-cont,3m,subj-statement
 agreement mkr mood

In (65) and (66) the subject agreement marker function and the primary aspect function converge and are manifested by the one morpheme /-i:-/ or /-e:-/.

It might be argued that what is termed "punctiliar" in this thesis could better be termed "perfect" or "complete", as over against its counterpart, "imperfect" or "incomplete", in a two-aspect system. However, in Wolaitta there is a secondary aspect that signals complete action, marked by the suffix /-rg-/, as discussed in 5.3.3.1.1.2.1. Thus the idea of "completeness" is cared for in Wolaitta by a category of secondary aspect, but this is not the focus of the punctiliar category.

The term punctiliar can best be justified when compared with its counterpart, continuous aspect, in the same way that perfect and imperfect, or complete and incomplete are counterparts. When we were constructing a beginner's reading book for the purpose of teaching the Wolaitta alphabet, we wanted in one part to teach the continuous aspect, and so were searching for a context and a frame that would cause the reader to predict the occurrence of the continuous aspect in a verb form. This prediction plus the letters on the page would make reading the form easier. After considering various ideas—all of which seemed to be able to be used with other categories as well as continuous aspect—we found there was only one context that required the continuous aspect, and only that. This was the two words /?ubba wode/ "all the time", which always forced the usage of the continuous aspect, and it only. And so if the meaning of the mutually exclusive terms manifesting Wolaitta primary aspect is not "incomplete" or "imperfective" but "all the time", "habitual" or continuous, it is then reasonable to suppose that its opposite term in a two-aspect system would be non-continuous, or punctiliar, happening at some point in time.

And so, while at times the punctillier category of aspect may in Wolaitta overlap with the concept of a "perfect", the idea of

something happening at one point in time is never absent when punctiliar markers occur.

5.3.3.1.1.1.2. Continuous Aspect

Continuous aspect manifests the Primary Aspect and Tense function in a verb suffix. However, it is tenseless in that there is no differentiation by verb inflection for past, present, or future associated with continuous aspect. The context must provide the clues necessary for determining at what precise time the action or event in the continuous aspect took place, e.g., one can say:

- (67) beni ?ott-iya:ge: "He who was working in
 in ancient times work-he who,cont ancient times..."
- (68) ha??i ?o:tt-iya:ge: "He who is now working..."
 now work -he who,cont
- (69) wonto ?o:tt-iya:ge: "He who will be working to-
 tomorrow work -he who,cont morrow..."

It is usually assumed in Wolaitta that when the continuous aspect occurs without some externally expressed specific reference to past or future time, the action or event is taking place in the present. Some writers, as was discussed in chapter one, refer to this continuous aspect as the "present tense". Such an analysis would have to ignore the data in (67) and (69) and would appear to be trying to fit Wolaitta categories into the mould of other languages.

In Wolaitta there is no inflected form that is distinctly present tense, whereas there are inflections for past and future. However, any action happening in the present must intrinsically be continuous in nature, for when the action ceases, it becomes a past event, referred to in some non-present tense. Because of this inflection pattern in Wolaitta for tense and aspect, the continuous aspect form is considered in this thesis to be tenseless.

As displayed in Chart 14, the most obvious marker for continuous aspect is the morpheme /-y-/ . It is the exclusive marker for continuous aspect in relative verb forms occurring in the affirmative polarity.

Other morphemes that mark the continuous aspect are listed under the Primary Aspect and Tense function in Chart 11.

The inflection of verbs for tense occurs in only the punctiliar aspect. Simple past and simple future are distinct divisions in the punctiliar aspect, e.g.,

- (70) bono- ett- i - b - e: - nn - a.
 honor-pass-subj past,neg -subj - neg -statement
 mkr punot mkr polarity mood,3m

He was not honored.

- (71) bono- ett- i - d - eta.
 honor-pass-subj past -statement
 mkr punot mood,2pl

You (pl) were honored.

- (72) bono- ett- a - n - a.
 honor-pass-subj (all fut,punot - statement
 mkr persons) mood,all persons

(You) will be honored.

Since the continuous aspect does not inflect for tense, occurrence with temporals specifies when the continuous action or event takes place.

Relative degrees of past or future time are indicated by temporals. Temporals may stand alone by themselves as a complete utterance. They do not affix to verbs and may occur in various positions in the clause, although more generally they appear at the beginning of the clause and are distant from the verb.

In the Chart below a sampling of temporals is given together with an indication of which primary aspect and which tenses may co-occur with the temporal. The list is not exhaustive of temporals:

CHART 12. COOCCURRENCE OF TEMPORALS WITH PRIMARY ASPECTS AND TENSES

TENSE WORD	ENGLISH	PUNCTILLIAR		CONTINUOUS (TENSELESS)
		PAST	FUTURE	
beni	long ago, ancient times	X		X
koyiro	at the beginning	X	X	
zi:no	a way back	X		X
kase	a long while ago/be- fore this	X		X
zillaitti	last year	X		X
zino	yesterday	X		X
wonta	just a bit ago (2-5 hours ago	X		X
woni	just a bit ago (2-5 hours ago	X		X

Chart 12. (continued)

TENSE WORD	ENGLISH	PAST	FUTURE	PUNCTILLIAR (TENSELESS)
ha??i	now	X	X	X
wonto	tomorrow		X	X
hacci	today		X	X
digini	after a bit		X	X
laitti	next year		X	X
sintappe	in the future		X	X
wodeppe	in the future		X	X
guyyeppe	afterwards		X	

5.3.3.1.1.2. SUFFIX Initial Secondary Aspect

"Secondary aspect" is so named in this thesis because it is an optional feature, whereas primary aspect is an obligatory feature of a Wolaitta SUFFIX. Any form containing secondary aspect must undergo inflection for primary aspect, and so the non-obligatory type of aspect is considered secondary rather than basic.

"SUFFIX initial" secondary aspect is so named because when it occurs in a SUFF, it precedes all other aspect functions, as is seen in Chart 11.

5.3.3.1.1.2.1. Completion or Haste Aspect

The aspect of completion or haste due to some impending happening is regarded as an aspect that is unitary on formal grounds (an interpretation that is supported by identical allomorphy) but has to be allowed to indicate two distinct semantic areas. The allomorphs /-rg-/ and /-cc-/ signal this unitary aspect that indicates two semantic areas, which are determined by the context and lexical items, e.g.,

It is not necessary to call him; he has already gone.

My money is completely finished.

- (75) ?a:-ra b-iya:ge:ti dend-ana han-ijo gissau
 him-with go-those who arise-^{imminence}_{aspect}-because,
 cont about to cont
 m- irg -i:si.
 eat-haste-3m, past
 aspect

Because the ones who were going with him were about to depart, he ate up quickly.

As was explained in 5.3.1.1.1., the suffix /-rg-/ occurs with transitive verb roots only, but /-oo-/ occurs with either intransitive or transitive verb roots. Thus far, all informants claim that the two forms of the transitive verb "he ate with haste", /m-irg-i:si/ and /m-i:oo-i:si/, express the same meaning and can be used interchangeably.

5.3.3.1.1.2.2. Komentary Aspect

The SUFF initial secondary aspect function is further manifested by the morpheme /-šš-/, which expresses the momentary aspect, indicating that an action takes place for only a little time, e.g.,

- (76) ta:ni so: b-a:ds y-a:na:šini ?i putt- i-šš -i:si.
 I home go-having come-until he set -moment-3m,
 ary past
 aspect

Until I went home and came back, he set for just a bit.

- (77) ta:ni giya:ppe y-a:na:šini ke:tta: na:g- a-šš -a.
 I from the come-until house guard-momentary-imp
 market aspect you!

Until I come from market, guard the house for a bit!

5.3.3.1.1.3. SUFFIX Final Secondary Aspect

"SUFFIX final" secondary aspect is so named because when it occurs as a function in a SUFF, it occurs in a position that precedes only the conjoining function.

5.3.3.1.1.3.1. Exclusion Aspect

The morpheme /-ttenne:/ which manifests the SUFFIX final secondary aspect function, expresses the aspect of exclusion, whereby an action is performed by a certain one, to the exclusion of all others. /-ttenne:/ may not cooccur with the marker /-nne/ "and" that manifests the Conjoining function.

(78) ne ṭala:lai ta so: gel-sa ta maṭs:pa:
 you the only my home enter-having my book
 one

?epa:dasa - ttenne:
 you took - exolusion aspect

Only you entered my house and took my book--no one else did.

(79) ?epa:dasa - ttenne: kassi nabbabadasa-ttenne:
 you took -exolusion also you read -exclusion
 aspect aspect

Only you took it and read it--no one else did.

5.3.3.1.1.3.2. Uncertainty/Abundance Aspect

The aspect of uncertainty or abundance is regarded as an aspect that is unitary on formal grounds but has to be allowed to indicate two distinct semantic areas. The morpheme /-šša/ signals this unitary aspect, and its two semantic areas are determined by the context and lexical items. The morpheme /-šša/ may be followed by the marker /-nne/ which manifests the Conjoining function. It is interesting to note that the negative question mood form is incorporated in the SUFF that signals uncertainty. This is also seen in the hypothetical desiderative aspect (5.3.3.1.1.3.3.).

(80) ta:n i ?a bira: ?oicciya:kko ta na?a:ssi
 I him money maybe if I ask for my boy
 ?imm- a - nd - e: - šša?
 give- subj - primary - mood - uncertainty
 mkr aspect neg aspect
 fut question

Maybe if I ask him for money, will he or will he not give it to my boy?

(81) koy - a - nd - ons: - šša - nne
 seek - subj - punct - mood,neg- uncertainty - conjoiner
 mkr fut question aspect end
 they

will they or won't they?

demm - andona:šša - nne?
 find - will they or - and
 won't they?

Will they or won't they seek and find?

- (82) nu:ni bullacos: bi:di wa:ti
 we to the having how
 wedding gone much
 m - a - nd - oni: - šša!
 eat - subj - punot - mood - abundance
 mkr fut neg,lpl aspect
 question

Having gone to the wedding, how much food we will eat!

- (83) ge:šša ?ayya:na: wa:ti dars-idi
 Holy the Spirit how much multiply-having
 ?imm - a - nd - e: - šša!
 give - subj - punot - mood - abundance
 mkr fut neg,3m aspect
 question

How much more will he generously give the Holy Spirit!

As will be seen in the inflection chart of this aspect, section 5.3.3.2.6.1., person suffix is partly irregular in the /-u:teti:šša/ suffix.

5.3.3.1.1.3.3. Hypothetical-Desiderative Aspect

The allomorphs /-rk-/ or /-r-/ in free variation manifest the SUFF initial secondary aspect function, but have to combine with the morpheme /-šša/, that manifests the SUFF final secondary aspect function, in order to indicate the hypothetical-desiderative aspect. This aspect expresses an intense longing for something, e.g.,

- (84) ?imm- a: - r - i - kk- ina: - šša.
 give-subj-Suffix initial-subj-neg-mood,neg -Suffix final
 mkr seo. aspect mkr question,ls sec. aspect
 hypothetical- hypothetical-
 desiderative desiderative

Oh, if only I had given...

- (85) ?asa ?ubbai deretanne Šuccanne, "nu bolli kundidi
 of people all to the and to the "us on having
 mountains rocks fallen
- dorsa: hankuwa:ppe nuna
 of the from the us
 Lamb wrath
- gent - e - rk - eti: - šša" ya:gidosona.
 cause -subj - hyp- -question-hyp- they said
 to hide mkr desid- mood,2pl desiderative
 erative neg aspect
 aspect

All the people said to the mountains and the rocks, "Oh, if only you would fall on us and cause us to hide from the wrath of the Lamb."

The inflection of this aspect through the various persons

and an explanation of the two forms /-rikk-/ and /-rk-/ is given in section 5.3.3.2.6.2.

The negative polarity is expressed in a verb phrase,

Oh, if only I had not told!

5.3.3.1.1.4. Combinations of Aspect Functions

Any aspect item that manifests an aspect function may not co-occur with any other item manifesting the same function, as was explained concerning Chart 11. However, aspect functions may co-occur. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to point out all the possible combinations of secondary aspect and their rules of constraint, but a couple of examples are given that show how aspect occurring in verb phrases combines with aspect occurring in verb suffixes:

Has he or has he not already immediately given?

- | | |
|--|--|
| (88) | |
| ?eti ?utt- i - šš - i
they sit -subj-moment-subord- | ?agg - o - rk - ona: - šša.
"cease"-subj- hyp- question- hyp-
mkr ary inator, mkr desid- neg,3pl desid-
aspect having erative erative
Aspect Immediacy aspect aspect |

Oh, if only they had immediately sat for a little while!

5.3.3.1.2. Mood/Subordination Marker/Relative Marker Function

The Mood/Subordination Marker/Relative Marker function is an obligatory function in which one of the three elements in complementary distribution, mood, subordination marker, or relative marker must occur. Although this set of items may seem somewhat heterogeneous, it may be remarked that these are all the type of elements

that in other models of syntactic description would be subsumed under the label "COMP". At least as far as the morphology of Wolaitta is concerned, it does not seem unreasonable to present them as a single sub-system.

5.3.3.1.2.1. Mood

By means of inflection of the verb, there are three moods that manifest the Mood/Subordination Marker/Relative Marker function in verb suffixes: statement, question, and command moods.

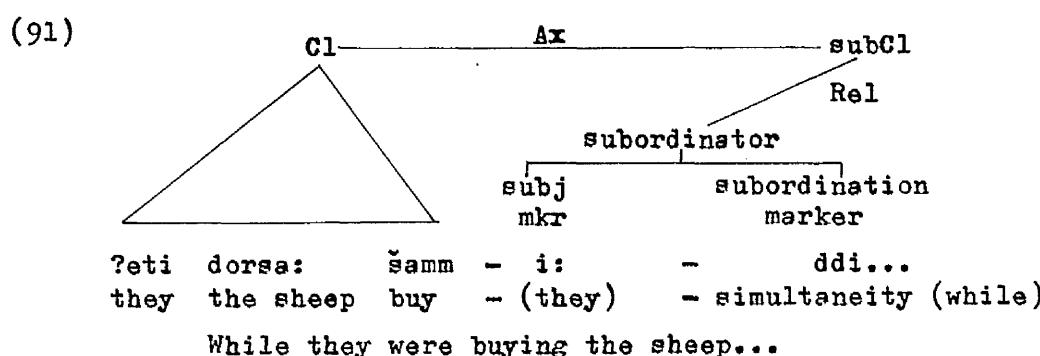
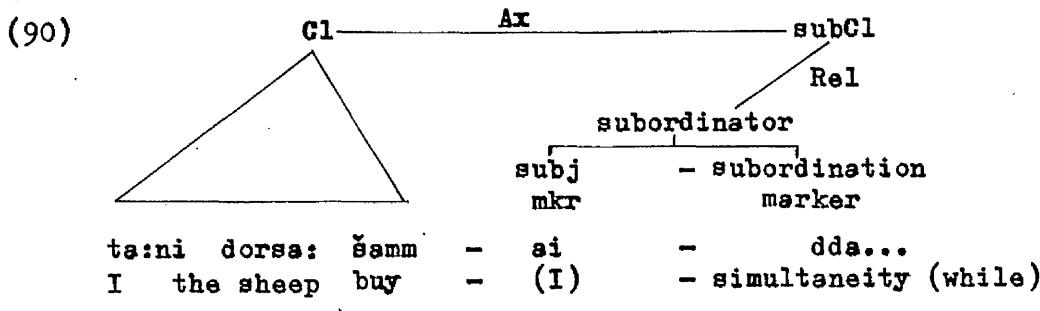
As seen in Chart 11 the elements that manifest the mood function in a SUFFIX inflect for aspect, tense, polarity, and person-number-gender. A complete listing of these elements that manifest the mood function is given in Chart 11, and how they have been observed to combine with other functions is displayed in the verb inflection tables in 5.3.3.2.7.

Some examples are given to illustrate the items that can manifest the mood function:

Mood	Primary					English
	Root	Subj Mkr	Aspect Mkr	Subj Mkr	Neg Mkr	
Statement	?utt - a - d	-	-	-	esa	You sat.
Statement	?utt - i - b	- e:	-	kk - eta	-	You(pl) did not sit.
Question	?utt - a - d	-	-	i:?	-	Did you sit?
Question	?utt - i - d	-	-	ona:?	-	Did they sit?
Question	?utt - a - n	-	-	e:?	-	Will you sit?
Command	?utt -	-	-	a	-	Sit!
Command	?utt - u	-	-	pp - u	-	Don't let her sit!
Command	?utt -	-	-	u	-	Let her sit!

5.3.3.1.2.2. Subordination Markers

Subordination markers manifest the function in a verb SUFF called "Mood/Subordination Marker/Relative Marker." "Subordination markers" are differentiated from "subordinators" in this thesis, in that on the clause level subordinators are identified, and they comprise a whole verb SUFFIX; whereas on the level of verb SUFFIXES just the part of the SUFF that signals the subordination is said to be a subordination marker. Within a subordinator, which itself is a SUFF, will be the item, subordination marker, e.g.,



A partial list of subordination markers is given in Chart 11. However, all the subordinators observed to date are given with their inflections in 5.3.3.2.4..

5.3.3.1.2.3. Relative Markers

At the clause level, the term "relativizer" was used to describe the whole suffix that manifests the Relator function in the relative clause axis-relator construction. However, the "Relative Marker" function is that part of the "relativizer" that signals the relative construction in a verb, e.g.,

(92)	Relativizer						
	SUBJECT AGREEMENT MARKER	PRIMARY ASPECT & TENSE	RELATIVE MARKER				
"who howled"	zu:ll - i	- d	-	a			
"who is howling"	zu:ll - i	- y	-	a			
"who will howl"	zu:ll - a	- n	-	a			

The Relative Marker function is manifested by six items, /-a/, /-o/, /-a:-/, /-o:-/, /-a-/ and /-o-/. Two of these items differentiate between relatives that are subject-oriented and non-subject-oriented as was demonstrated in 3.2.1.5. The subject-oriented relative is indicated by the /-a/ manifesting the Relative

Marker function, e.g.,

- (93) yedd - i - d - a na?a:
 stomp - any - punct - who the boy
 person past rel mkr

The boy who stomped on...

The non-subject-oriented relative is indicated by the /-o/ manifesting the Relative Marker function, e.g.,

- (94) yedd - i - d - o na?a:
 stomp - any - punct - whom the boy
 person past rel mkr

The boy on whom someone stomped...

The other four items manifesting the Relative Marker function indicate definiteness as well as subject or non-subject-orientation when the rCl manifests the Mod₁ function in a nominalized phrase.

The marker /-a:-/ indicates definite and subject-orientation, e.g.,

- (95) tiy - i - be: - nn - a: - g - a:
 paint - all - punct - neg -relative- nomzr - case,abs
 persons past,neg marker def
 def,subj

...him (def) who did not paint...

The marker /-o:-/ indicates definite and non-subject-orientation, e.g.,

- (96) ?uy - i - y - o: - g - e:
 drink - all - cont - relative - nomzr - case,nom
 persons marker def
 def,non-subj

...that (def) which someone drinks.

The marker /-a-/ indicates indefinite and subject-orientation, e.g.,

- (97) kiy - i - d - a - b - a:
 go out - all - punct - relative - nomzr - case,abs
 persons past marker indef
 indef,subj

...anyone who went out...

The marker /-o-/ indicates indefinite and non-subject-orientation, e.g.,

(98) wor - i - d	- o -	b - ai
kill - all - punct	relative	- nomzr - case, nom
persons past marker		indef
	indef, non-subj	

...anyone whom someone killed...

In the future tense there is no difference made between subject orientation and non-subject-orientation in the inflection of the relative verb. The meaning is determined from the presence/absence of other constituent functions in the relative clause or from the context generally, e.g.,

- (99) dos - ibe:nna dabbuwa:
 like - which/who the relative
 past, neg
- ...the relative who does not like.../...the relative whom
 someone does not like...

5.3.3.1.3. Polarity

Affirmative polarity may be considered as unmarked and occurring when negative polarity is not marked; it is combined with other features. Negative polarity is signalled by a set of overt markers.

Negative polarity is signalled by three kinds of markers:

- 1) /-nn-/, which signals only 3m. person throughout all aspects and tenses in the statement and question moods, e.g.,

- (100) gekk - i - b - e: - nn - a
 arrive - subj - neg - neg,subj - neg polarity - statement
 3m punct 3m 3m mood

He did not arrive.

- (101) yo:t - e - nn - a
 tell - subj,3m - neg polarity - statement
 3m mood

He will not tell.

- 2) /-kk-/, which signals all other persons (that is, all except 3m) through all aspects and tenses, in the statement and question moods, e.g.,

- (102) kund - o - kk - o
 fall - subj,lpl - neg polarity - statement mood

We will not fall.

- 3) /-pp-/, which signals all persons in the command mood, e.g.,

- (103) wo:ss - o - pp - ite
 beg - subj - neg polarity - command mood
 2pl 2pl

Don't beg (you pl)!

- (104) wo:ss - u - pp - u
 beg - subj - neg polarity - command mood
 3f 3f

Don't let her beg!

The ordering of the Polarity function, along with these three items manifesting it, is shown in Chart 11. All the observed inflected forms of negative polarity are displayed in the various inflection charts in 5.3.3.2.7.

Only the morpheme /-nn-/ signals negative polarity through all persons and aspects and tenses in relative verb forms, e.g.,

- (105) ?ekk - e - nn - a
 stand - subj mkr - neg polarity - relative marker

...who does not stand...

- (106) ?ol - i - be: - nn - a: - e - a:
 throw - subj - punct - neg -relative- nomzr -case,abs
 mkr neg past polarity marker

...him who did not throw...

5.3.3.1.4. Subject Agreement Marker Functions

In Wolaitta verb SUFFIXES there are three functions whose manifesting items must be in agreement with the subject of the verb, e.g.,

(107)	SUFFIX INITIAL SUBJECT AGREEMENT MARKER	PRE-PRIMARY ASPECT SUBJECT AGREEMENT MARKER	NEGATIVE SUBJECT AGREEMENT MARKER
?ekk - si - cc - s - b - ei - kk - e receive-1,2,3,f -completion-1,2,3,f - neg -1,2,3f- neg -mood aspect punct polarity-statement 1 person			
I have absolutely not received it.			
?ekk - #: - oo - i - b - e: - kk - eta receive-3m,pls -completion-3m,pls - neg - 2pl - neg -mood, aspect punct polarity-statement 2pl person			

You (pl) have absolutely not received it.

As is seen in Chart 11 the SUFF Initial Subject Agreement

Marker function is manifested by six optional items: /-ə-/ occurs with 1,2,3f persons, /-ai-/ 1,2,3f, /-i-/ 3m,pls, /-i:-/ 3m,pls, /-e-/ 3m,2pl, /-o-/ 1pl,3pl. All these items cooccur with only the items which manifest the SUFF Initial Secondary Aspect function, that is, with those items that indicate the haste/completion, momentary, and hypothetical-desiderative aspects.

The Pre-primary Aspect Subject Agreement Marker function is manifested by the various items listed under that function in Chart 11. These items manifest a function that is obligatory in the statement and question moods, but is not obligatory in the command mood.

The Negative Subject Agreement Marker function is manifested by items which occur only when negative polarity is signalled in a verb suffix. The items which manifest this function are listed in Chart 11 and illustrated in (107) above. These items are characterized by vowel length or by a complex vowel.

5.3.3.1.5. Conjoining Function

Whenever the Conjoining function occurs, it assumes the word final position. This function usually occurs in all items that are conjoined, and not just between items, as in some languages; it is manifested by /-nne/ "and".

- (108) m -abeikku - nne ?uy - abeikku - nne.
eat-she did not - and drink - she did not - and

She did not eat and drink.

When two items are conjoined by /-kka/, the meaning of "both" is signalled, e.g.,

- (109) ?immi:si - kka ?ekki:si - kka.
he gave -both and he received - both and
He both gave and received.

Although the operation of conjoining is performed as suffixation to a verb, since a verb can occur as a clause, it is more correct to think of this conjoining as taking place at the clause level; however, insufficient data has precluded its treatment at clause level.

5.3.3.1.6. Person, Number, and Gender

Wolaitta verbs inflect for first, second, and third persons, as well as for singular and plural of each of these persons. The third person singular number can be inflected for masculine and feminine gender.

Some verb forms inflect for all three items: person, number,

and gender, e.g.,

- (110) ka:ll - a:si I followed.
 ka:ll - adase You followed.
 ka:ll - a:su She followed.
 ka:ll - i:si He followed.
 ka:ll - ida We followed.
 ka:ll - idets You (pl) followed.
 ka:ll - idosona They followed.

On the other hand, a verb form can be the same for all persons, number, and gender, e.g.,

- (111) tuegunt-ans "I/you/she/he/we/you(pl)/they will turn it upside down."

The polite forms of address and reference are expressed by 2 pl and 3rd pl forms respectively, rather than by a separate, different form for the polite form of "you" and "he/she". From the context one can tell whether a polite form or a plural form is meant.

Person, number, and gender are not indicated by a single function that is assigned exclusively to this. On many occasions the person, number, and gender-indicating functions converge with the Mood/Subordinator Marker/Relative Marker function, as is seen in the various forms listed on Chart 11.

The various sub-paradigms of the verb have differing numbers of distinct forms. A maximally distinguished sub-paradigm would contain seven distinct forms (which is characteristic of the independent verb SUFFIX), and a minimally distinguished (maximally neutralized) one would have only one form for all persons. Between these extremes we find partially distinguished sub-paradigms with 2, 3, and 4 forms.

The three kinds of verbs, independent, subordinate, and relative, are characterized by different sub-paradigms within a particular type of inflection, as seen in Chart 13 and examples below:

CHART 13. SUB-PARADIGMS

	INDEPENDENT VERB SUFFIXES	SUBORDINATE VERB SUFFIXES	RELATIVE VERB SUFFIXES					
Number of sub-par- digms forms	7	1	1	2	1	2	3	4
P	1					1,2s,3m	1,2s	
E	2s	all	all	1,2s,3f	all	1,2s,3f		
R	3f					3f	3f	
S	3m	per-	per-	3m,	per-	3m,		3m
O	1pl				sons			
N	2pl	sons	sons	plurals	plurals	plurals	plurals	plurals
S	3pl							

a) Independent Verb Forms: these are illustrated in (110) and (111), in maximally and minimally distinguished sub-paradigms.

b) Subordinate Verb Forms:

Minimally Distinguished Sub-paradigm

(112) matatt - osa:ra "Just as I/you/she/he/we/you(pl)/they came near - just as came near..."

Sub-paradigm with Two Forms

(113) matatt - anne: "Just after I/you/she came near..."
came near - just after

matatt - inne: "Just after he/we/you(pl)/they came near..."

c) Relative Verb Forms

Minimally Distinguished Sub-paradigm

(114) zigir - iyo:ga:
slander - that which I/you/she/he/we/you(pl)/they, cont

Sub-paradigm with Two Forms

(115) zigir - abe:nna:ge: y-a:na
slander - the one whom I/you/she did not will come

zigir - ibe:nna:ge:¹ y-a:na
slander - the one whom he/we/you(pl)/they did not will come

Sub-paradigm with Three Forms

(116) zigir - ida:ga:
slander - me/you/him who,past
zigir - ida:ro
slander - her who,past
zigir - ida:ge:ta
slander - us,you(pl),them who,past

Sub-paradigm with Four Forms

- (117) zigir - abe:nna:ge:
 slender - I,you who did not
 zigir - abe:nn:a:ra
 slender - she who did not
 zigir - ibe:nna:ge:¹
 slender - he who did not
 zigir - ibe:nna:ge:ts
 slender - we,you(pl),they who did not

A complete listing of all observed inflections of Wolaitta verbs for person, number, and gender is given in the following section on verb inflection.

5.3.3.2. Verb Inflection5.3.3.2.1. Introduction

In the preceding sections the various functions that are found in verb SUFFIXES have been identified along with their manifesting items. However, which manifesting item in a function may cooccur with a manifesting item in another function or functions has not been treated. The following is not a set of rules to predict which functions may cooccur; rather, it is a listing of the functions and their manifesting items that have been observed to occur together within Wolaitta verb SUFFIXES.

5.3.3.2.2. General Features of Wolaitta Verb Inflection

As has been indicated, it is difficult to isolate the functions that converge on a SUFF such as /-i:/, for on it converge question mood, continuous primary aspect, 3rd person, masculine gender, single number, and pre-primary aspect subject agreement marker categories. For this reason it is helpful to arrange verb forms in a matrix that portrays the general inflection of Wolaitta verbs along parameters of some of the SUFF functions. In Chart 14 is found an overview of Wolaitta verb inflection; the 3m person is mainly cited, as well as other persons pertinent to the presentation. Inflection through all the persons is given in ensuing sections.

CHART 14. GENERAL INFLECTION OF WOLAITTA VERBS

PRIMARY ASPECT	TENSE	MOOD	P _O L A R I T _Y	I N D E P E N D E N T V E R B S			SUBORDINATE VERBS	RELATIVE VERBS
				ENGLISH	WITH PRIMARY ASPECT ONLY	WITH SECONDARY AND PRIMARY ASP ₂		
PUNC-	STATE-MENT	AFF	we gave					
		NEG	he did not give	-ibe:nna	-irgeibe:nna	-i ?agge:nn <i>a</i>	-ibe:nna	"...who gave"
	QUESTION	AFF	did he give?	-ide:	-irgide:	-i ?agge:de:	-ibe:nna	
		NEG	did he not give?	-ibe:ne:	-irgibe:ne:	-i ?agge:ne:	-ibe:nna	
TILLIAR	STATE-MENT	AFF	he will give	-ana	-irgans	-i ?aggana	-ana:sini	
		NEG	he will not give	-enna	-irgenna	-i ?aggenna	-enna:sini	
	QUESTION	AFF	will he give?	-ane:	-irgene:	-i ?aggene:	-enna:sini	
		NEG	will he not give?	-enne:	-irgenne:	-i ?aggenne:	-enna:sini	
CON-	STATE-NENT	AFF	he is/was/will be giving	-e:si	-irges:si	-i ?agges:si	-iye:sini	-iye
		NEG	he is/was/will not be giving	-enna	-irgenna	-i ?aggenna	-enna:sini	-enna
	TIN-E	AFF	is/was/will be giving?	-iyol	-irgiyol	-i ?aggiyol		
		NEG	is/was/will he not be giving?	-enne:	-irgenne:	-i ?aggenne:		
VOUS	S	S	let him give!	-o	-irgo	-i ?aggo		
	MAND	NEG	let him not give!	-oppo	-irgoppo	-i ?aggoppo		

NOTES:

- The 1st person is used in these examples.
- These aspects can also occur in subordinate verb and relative verb forms.
- The 2nd person used here to illustrate inflection of verb /?imme/ to /?immi/.

5.3.3.2.3.1. Punctiliar Primary Aspect—Past Tense

STATEMENT			QUESTION	
PERSON	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
	I gave	I didn't give	Did I give?	Did I not give?
1	?imm-a:si	?imm-abeikke	?imm-idana: ^x	?imm-abeikkina:
2	-adasa ^x	-abe:kka	-adi: ^x	-abeikki:
3f	-a:su	-abeikku	-ade: ^x	-abe:kke:
3m	-i:si	-ibe:nna	-ide: ^x	-ibe:nne:
1pl	-ida ^x	-ibo:kkoo	-ido: ^x	-ibo:kkoni:
2pl	-ideta ^x	-ibe:kketa	-ideti: ^x	-ibe:kketi:
3pl	-idosona ^x	-ibo:kkona	-idona: ^x	-ibo:kkona:

^xA SUFFIX marked "x" has an allomorph of the Set I SUFF allomorphs which lengthens the vowel of the item manifesting the Pre-primary Aspect Subject Agreement function when it occurs with one of the seven verb roots in Class I, described in section 5.3.1.1.2. The superscript, "x", is used through the ensuing verb inflection charts to indicate the existence of these allomorphs.

5.3.3.2.3.2. Punctiliar Primary Aspect — Future Tense

STATEMENT			QUESTION	
PER- SON	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
	I will give	I will not give	Will I give?	Will I not give?
1	ta ?imm-ana ^x	?imm-ikke ^x	ta ?imm-ané:	?imm-ikkina: ^x
2	ne -ana ^x	-akka ^x	ne -ane:/?immu:te:	-ikki: ^x
3f	a -ana ^x	-ukku ^x	a -ane:	-ekke: ^x
3m	i -ana ^x	-enna ^x	i -ane:	-enne: ^x
1pl	nu -ana ^x	-okko ^x	nu -ane:	-okkoni: ^x
2pl	?inte -ana ^x	-ekketa ^x	?inte -ane:/?immu:teti:	-ekketi: ^x
3pl	?eti -ana ^x	-okkona ^x	?eti -ane:	-okkona: ^x

5.3.3.2.3.3. Continuous Primary Aspect

As noted before, the continuous primary aspect can occur with temporals or contexts indicating past, present, or future time.

PERSON	STATEMENT		QUESTION	
	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
	I { was am giving will be }	I { was am not giving will be }	Was I giving? Am I giving? Will I be giving?	Was I not giving? Am I not giving? Will I not be giving?
1	?imm-a:si	Same as	?imm-iya:na:	Same as
2	-a:sa	Punctiliar	ne ?imm-ai	Punctiliar
3f	-ausu	Future	a ?imm-ai	Future
3m	-e:si	Above	-i:	Above
1pl	-o:si		-iyo:	
2pl	-e:ta		-e:ti:	
3pl	-o:sona		-iyona:	

5.3.3.2.3.4. Command Mood

PERSONS	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
	Give !	Don't give !
1		
2	?imm-a	?imm-oppa ^x
3f	-u	-uppu ^x
3m	-o	-oppo ^x
1pl		
2pl	-ite ^x	-oppite ^x
3pl	-ona	-oppona ^x

5.3.3.2.4. Inflection of Subordinate Verbs

Since subordinate variants may consist of clausal subordinating postpositional phrases and clausal subordinating noun phrases, in this section only the verb forms manifesting the Head of the V in the P in subordinate clauses are treated.

At the clause level the term "subordinator" is used to designate the whole SUFF that manifests the Relator function in a subordinate clause axis-relator construction. The inflection of these various subordinators is given in the following chart:

ENG-- LISH	P	O	P	L	E	PUNCTILLIAR			CONTINUOUS (TENSELESS)	
	R	I	S	A	R	PAST		FUTURE	SAME	DIFFERENT
	T	N	T	Y	S	SAME	DIFFERENT		PARTICI-	PARTICI-
having	Aff	1,2 3f	?imm-ada ^x	?imm-ini		same				
	3m pls		-idi ^x	-ini		as				
	Neg	all		-ennani ^x		past				
while	Aff	1,2 3f							-aidda	-išini ^x
	3m pls								-i:ddi	-išini ^x
	Neg	all							-ennani ^x	-enna:šini ^x
during the time	Aff	all			-ida:šini ^x	-ana:šini ^x				-išini
	Neg	all			-enna:šini ^x	-enna:šini				-enna:šini
if	Aff	all				-ikko ^x				
	Neg	all				-ana tayikko ^x				
even though	Aff	1,2 3f					-aiddakka			
	3m pls						-iddakka			
	Neg	all					-ennanka ^x			
	Aff	all					-ikkokka ^x			
	Aff	all					-ikkonne ^x			
to	Aff	all				-ana ^x				
just after	Aff	1,2 3f		-anne: ^x						
	3m pls			-inne: ^x						
soon after	Aff	all	-obare							

5.3.3.2.5. Inflection of Relative Verbs

The relative verb inflects for aspect, tense, and slightly for person, number, and gender.

ASPECT	TENSE	POLAR-ITY	PER-SONS	SUBJECT-ORIENTED "who..."	NON-SUBJECT-ORIENTED "which..."
PUNCT-ILLIAR	P A S T	Aff	all	?imm-ida "who gave"	?imm-ido "which (I) gave"
			1,2, 3f	-abe:nna "who didn't give"	same as subject-oriented
		Neg	3m, pls	-ibe:nna "who didn't give"	same as subject-oriented
	FUT-URE	Aff	all	-ans "who will give"	"
		Neg	all	-enne "who won't give"	"
CONTINUOUS	Tense-less	Aff	all	-iya "who is giving"	?imm-ijo "which (he) is giving"
		Neg	all	same as future	same as subject-oriented

5.3.3.2.6. Inflection of Verbs Containing SUFFIX Initial and SUFFIX Final Secondary Aspect

When the items /-rg-/ and /-oo-/ (haste/completion aspect markers) which manifest the SUFF Initial Secondary Aspect function are affixed to a verb root or verb stem, the items manifesting the other verb functions remain the same as when these aspect markers are not cooccurring.

However, when the SUFF final secondary aspect function manifested by /-šša/ (uncertainty aspect), or the SUFF Initial and SUFF Final Secondary Aspect functions are manifested by /-rk-...-šša/ (hypothetical-desiderative aspect), the items manifesting the other functions in the verb SUFF are different than when these aspect markers are not cooccurring. The items that have been observed to cooccur are as follows.

ASPECT	TENSE	PERSONS	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
P U N C T I L L I A R	P A S	1	"did he find or not?" demm-adina:šša	"did he not find or did he?" demm-abeikka:šša
		2	-adi:šša	-abeikkij:šša
		3f	-ade:šša	-abe:kke:šša
		3m	-ide:šša	-ibe:nne:šša
		1pl	-idoni:šša	-ibo:kkoni:šša
		2pl	-ideti:šša	-ibe:kketi:šša
		3pl	-idona:šša	-ibo:kkona:šša
	F U T U R E	1	-andina:šša	-ikkina:šša
		2	-andi:šša	-ikki:šša
		3f	-ande:šša	-ekke:šša
		3m	-ande:šša	-enne:šša
		1pl	-andoni:šša	-okkoni:šša
		2pl	-u:teti:šša	-ekketi:šša
		3pl	-andona:šša	-okkona:šša
CONTINUOUS	TENSE-LESS	All PERSONS	-ane:šša	-enne:šša

5.3.3.2.6.2. Hypothetical-desiderative Aspect

PERSONS	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
1	"oh if only he would...!" ?imm-arkina:šša	"oh if only he would not have...!" ?immenani ?egg-arkina:šša
2	-arki:šša	" " -arki:šša
3f	-arke:šša	" " -arke:šša
3m	-e:renne:šša	" " -e:renne:šša
1pl	-orkoni:šša	" " -orkoni:šša
2pl	-erketi:šša	" " -erketi:šša
3pl	-orkona:šša	" " -orkona:šša
		("without having - oh that he given would cease!)

5.3.3.2.7. Inflection of the Verb "to be"

The verb "to be" in Wolaitta is here considered to be a copula (cop) with a heterogeneity of realization. Thus it may be

realized by a form of the verb /gid-/ "be" or by some copular suffix, (plus special high pitch features in the case of questions), and by zero in the case of statements with a Nm predicate.

The verb /gid-/ "be" manifests the Head of a V when the verb is in the negative polarity, or future tense, or manifests the Head of a V in the P of a subordinant variant (see 3.2.1.1.8.).

In the present and past tenses, when the predicate is questioned or is manifested by certain types of PP, the copula consists of the copular suffixes, /e:/, /-a/, /-o:/, /i:/, and in the case of (see opposite)

5.3.3.2.7.1. The Verb "to be" When N Manifests Co

NOUN TYPE	$P_{RS_{ONS}}$	STATEMENT		QUESTION		
		DEFINITE	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE	INDEFINITE	
child	a	+ Zero Realization	+ Zero Realization	+ High Pitch	+ High-High Pitch	
		"I am the child"	"I am a child"	"Am I the child?"	"Am I a child?"	
		1 ta:ni na?-a:	ta:ni na?-a	ta:ni na?-ai?	ta:ni na?-e:?	
		2 ne:ni na?-a:	ne:ni na?-a	ne:ni na?-si?	ne:ni "	
		3f (becomes e ₂ type)	?a na?-a	(becomes e ₂ type)	?a "	
	e ₁	3m ?i na?-a:	?i na?-a	?i na?-si?	?i "	
		1pl nu:ni na?-ata	nu:ni na?-a/ na?-ata	nu:ni na?-ate:?	nu:ni "	
		2pl ?inte na?-ata	?inte "	?inte "	?inte "	
		3pl ?eti na?-ata	?eti "	?eti "	?eti "	
		1 ta:ni dur-iya:	ta:ni dur-e	ta:ni dur-e:?	same as definite plus higher pitch	
rich person		2 ne:ni dur-iya:	ne:ni "	ne:ni "		
		3f (becomes e ₂ type)	?a "	(becomes e ₂ type)		
		3m ?i dur-iya:	?i "	?i dur-e:?		
		1pl nu:ni dur-eta	nu:ni "	nu:ni dur-ete:?		
		2pl ?inte dur-eta	?inte "	?inte "		
		3pl ?eti dur-eta	?eti "	?eti "		
		1 ta:ni ?ar-uwa:	ta:ni ?ar-o	ta:ni ?ar-o:?		
steward	o	2 ne:ni "	ne:ni "	ne:ni "	same as definite plus higher pitch	
		3f (becomes e ₂ type)	?a "	(becomes e ₂ type)		
		3m ?i ?ar-uwa:	?i "	?i ?ar-o:?		
		1pl nu:ni ?ar-ota	nu:ni "	nu:ni ?ar-ote:?		
		2pl ?inte "	?inte "	?inte "		
		3pl ?eti "	?eti "	?eti "		
		1 ta:ni mico-iyot	ta:ni mico-o	ta:ni mico-i:?		
sis- ter (fem- inine only)	e ₂	2 ne:ni "	ne:ni "	ne:ni "	same as definite plus higher pitch	
		3f ?a "	?a "	?a "		
		1pl nu:ni mico-eta	nu:ni "	nu:ni mico-ete:?		
	e ₁	2pl ?inte "	?inte "	?inte "		
		3pl ?eti "	?eti "	?eti "		
		1 ta:ni mico-iyot	ta:ni mico-o	ta:ni mico-i:?		

questioned predicates there is an additional feature of high pitch. Statements in which the predicator is manifested by a Nm, Adj, or certain types of PP have a zero realization of the copula and are accompanied by normal intonational features appropriate to a statement. (see 2.5). Moreover, in such cases present and past tense are undistinguished and the sense can only be construed in terms of context.

PERSONS	STATEMENT	QUESTION
	"It is she."	"Is it she?"
3f	?o + (zero)	?i:? + high pitch
3m	?a + "	?e:? + "
3pl	?et-a + "	?et-e:?: + "

5.3.3.2.7.3. The Verb "to be" When a Nmz Manifests Co

- 1) When a possessive determiner manifests the Det function in a Nmz:

PERSONS	STATEMENT	QUESTION
	"It is I."	"Is it I?"
1	tan-a + (zero)	tan-e:?: + high pitch
2	nen-a + "	nen-e:?: + "
1pl	nun-a + "	nun-e:?: + "
2pl	?inten-a + "	?inten-e:?: + "

- 2) When demonstrative determiner manifests the Det function in a Nmz:

	STATEMENT	QUESTION
"It is this."	hag-a: + (zero)	hag-e:?: + high pitch
"It is that."	heg-a: "	heg-e:?: "
"They are those."	hag-e:ta "	hag-e:te:?: "
"They are those."	heg-e:ta "	heg-e:te:?: "
"It is this(fem)."	hann-o "	hann-i:?: "
"It is that(fem)."	hinn-o "	hinn-i:?: "

- 3) When a rCl manifests the Mod₀₁ function in a Nmz:

Punctiliar Aspect

T _E N S E	POLAR	PER- SON	SUBJECT ORIENTED		NON-SUBJECT ORIENTED	
			Statement	Question	Statement	Question
			"It is him who...?" + (zero)	"Is it him who...?" + high pitch	"It is that which...?" + (zero)	"Is it that which...?" + high pitch
P Aff	1,2 3m	?imm-ida:ga: ^x	?imm-ida:ge: ^x	?imm-ido:ga:/ ^x -ido:ro	?imm-ido:ge:/ ^x -ido:ri:?	
		-ida:ro ^x	-ida:ri: ^x	"	"	
	pls	-ida:ge:ta ^x	-ida:ge:te: ^x	"	"	
S T. Neg	1,2	-abe:nna:ga:	-abe:nna:ge:?	-abe:nna:ga:/ ^x -abe:nna:ro	-abe:nna:ge:/ ^x -abe:nna:ri:?	
		-abe:nna:ro	-abe:nna:ri:?	"	"	
	3f	-ibe:nna:ga:	-ibe:nna:ge:?	-ibe:nna:ga:/ ^x -ibe:nna:ro	-ibe:nna:ge:/ ^x -ibe:nna:ri:?	
	3m	-ibe:nna:ro	"	"	"	
	pls	-ibe:nna:ge:ta	-ibe:nna:ge:te:?	"	"	

(continued on following page)

Punctilliar Aspect

T E N S E	P O L A R I C Y	P E R S O N	SUBJECT ORIENTED		NON-SUBJECT ORIENTED	
			Statement	Question	Statement	Question
			"It is him who..." + (zero)	"Is it him who..."? + high pitch	"It is that which..." + (zero)	"Is it that which..."? + high pitch
F U T U	Aff	1,2	-ana:ga: ^x	-ana:ge:? ^x	-ana:ga:/ ^x	-ana:ge:? ^x
		3m			-ana:ro	-ana:ri:?
		3f	-ana:ro ^x	-ana:ri:? ^x	"	"
		pls	-ana:ge:ta ^x	-ana:ge:te:? ^x	"	"
R E	Neg	1,2	-enna:ga: ^x	-enne:ge:? ^x	-enna:ga:/ ^x	-enna:ge:? ^x
		3m			-enna:ro	-enna:ri:?
		3f	-enna:ro ^x	-enna:ri:? ^x	"	"
		pls	-enna:ge:ta ^x	-enna:ge:te:? ^x	"	"

Continuous Aspect

Aff	1,2 3m	-iya:ga:	-iya:ge:?	-iyo:ga:/ -iyo:ro	-iyo:ge:?:/ -iyo:ri:?
	3f	-iya:ro	-iya:ri:?	"	"
	pls	-iya:ge:ts	-iya:ge:te:?	"	"
Neg	1,2 3m	same as	same as	same as	same as
	3f	future	future	future	future
	pls	above	above	above	above

5.3.3.2.7.4. The Verb "to be" When a PP manifests Co

When a PP manifests Co, the verb "to be" manifesting the Head of the V that is bound to the PP occurs as /-ə/, /-e:?:/, zero realization, or high pitch, e.g.,

- (118) S Co P
hege: na?e: -ss -a. "This is for the child."
this the child—"for" -is

For comparative purposes a regular PP is given on the left of the paradigm:

PP	STATEMENT	QUESTION
na?a:-ss-i for the child	na?a:-ss-a It is for the child.	na?a:-ss-e:? Is it for the child?
na?a:-n-i by the child	na?a:-n-a It is by the child	na?a:-n-e:? Is it by the child?
na?a:-dan-i like the child	na?a:-dan-a He is like the child.	na?a:-dan-e:? Is he like the child?
na?a:-ppe from the child	na?a:-ppe (+ zero) It is from the child	na?a:-ppe? (+ high pitch) Is it from the child?
na?a:-ra with the child	na?a:-r-a (+ zero) It is with the child.	na?a:-r-e:? Is it with the child?
na?a:-kko towards the child	na?a:-kko (+ zero) It is towards the child.	na?a:-kko? (+ high pitch) Is it towards the child?
na?a:-u for the child	na?a:-u (+ zero) It is for the child	na?a:-u (+ high pitch) Is it for the child?
na?a:-yyo: for the child	na?a:-yyo: (+ zero) It is for the child	na?a:-yyo: (+ high pitch) Is it for the child?

6.0. Introduction

Other than the verb phrases, there are four other types of phrase that may be identified on the basis of their internal structure and/or their external distribution:

1) Nominal Phrases

Structure: optional Modifier(s) plus a Head construction.

They manifest S, O, Ca, Co, Axis of PP.

2) Numeral Phrases

Structure: Head plus Coordinator plus Head plus Coordinator plus Head plus Coordinator plus Head construction.

They manifest only the numeral Modifier function in a N.

3) Postpositional Phrases

Structure: Axis plus Relator construction.

They manifest functions other than those manifested by nominal phrases or numeral phrases, such as, Accompaniment, Benefactive, Agent, etc. functions.

4) Adjective Phrases

Structure: Intensifier(s) plus Head construction.

They manifest only the adjective Modifier function in a N.

Since the item manifesting the Head of an adjective phrase has been observed to resemble the indefinite, absolute, singular form of a noun, at first glance one might be inclined to consider such a noun to be manifesting the Head of a N manifesting the genitive Modifier function, and that the word class of adjective does not occur in Wolaitta, e.g.,

- (1) gu:tta na?a: Lit. "The boy of smallness."
 smallness(indef) the boy
- (2) lo??o na?a: Lit. "The boy of goodness"
 goodness(indef) the boy

However, there are some factors which make this type of modifying phrase different from the N manifesting the genitive Modifier function in a N:

- a) the word /gu:tta/ in (1) above may occur in a phrase that when expanded to its fullest may contain, besides /gu:tta/, only two intensifiers, which never figure as functions in a N, e.g.,
- (3) kehi daro gu:tta.
 very very small

Not only does it contain different functions than those occurring in a N manifesting the Modgen function, but none of the functions which do occur in a N may occur in this type of phrase.

b) the word /gu:tta/ may not occur in a definite form in this type of phrase, whereas nouns manifesting Head in the N manifesting the Modgen function may be in the definite or indefinite form.

c) by the test of like items being able to be conjoined, this type of phrase is different from the N manifesting Modgen function in that they cannot be conjoined.

For these reasons the adjective phrase is posited as the phrase manifesting the Modadj function in a N, rather than a special restricted kind of N manifesting the Modgen function.

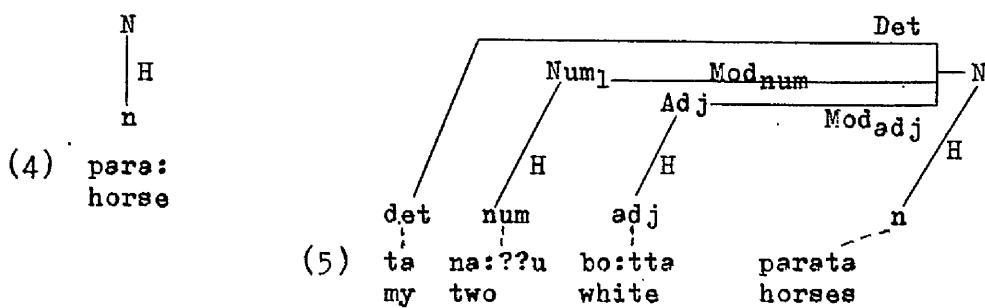
6.1. Nominal Phrases

6.1.0. Introduction

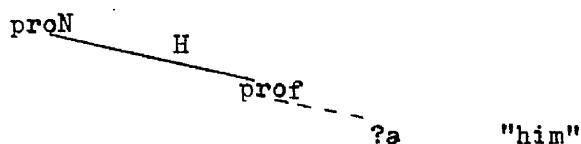
Nominal phrases manifest functions on the clause level, such as Subject, Object, etc., or functions on the phrase level, such as genitive Modifier. They may also manifest the Modifier function in a Sentence.

On the basis of structural differences, three basic types of nominal phrases are posited:

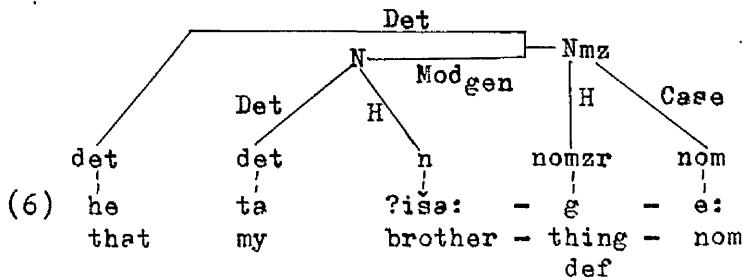
- 1) noun phrases (N) - which may consist of only a Head tagmeme, or may be expanded, e.g.,



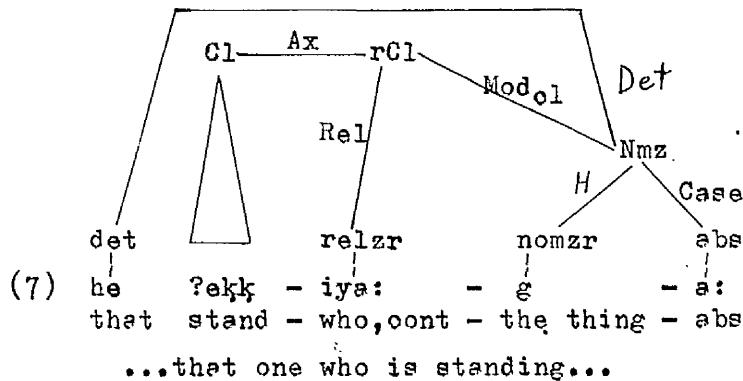
- 2) pronoun phrases (proN) - which may contain only a Head tagmeme and cannot be expanded, e.g.,



- 3) nominalized phrases (Nmz) - which must contain at least one function that modifies the Head function manifested by a nominalizer such as /-g-/; ie, it must be expanded beyond just a Head function, e.g.,



"that my brother's thing(nom)..."



6.1.1. Noun Phrases

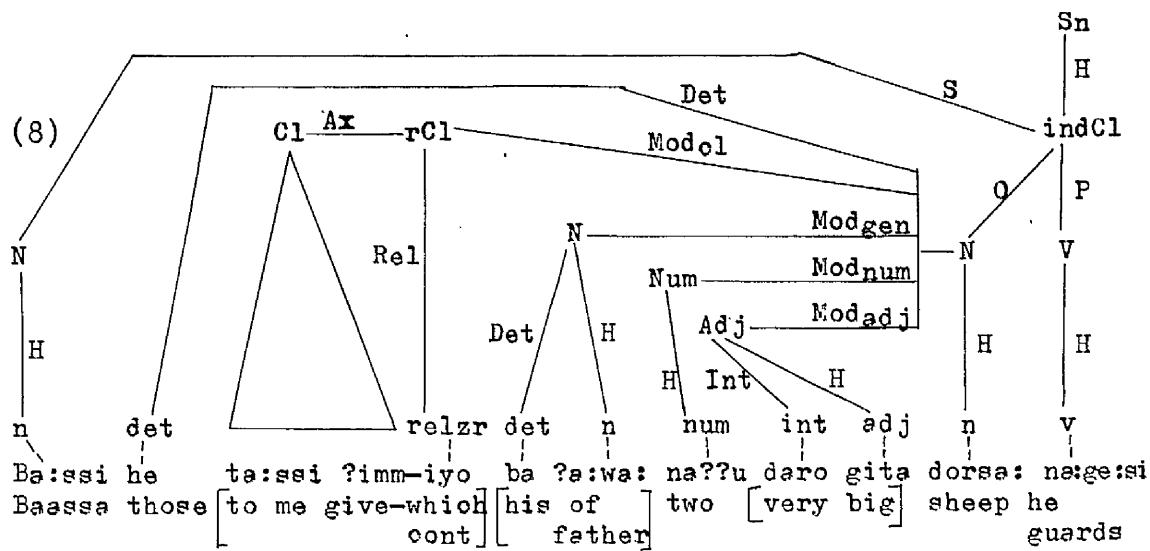
6.1.1.1. Noun Phrase Structure

Structure: $N = \pm \text{Det:det} \quad \pm \text{Mod}_{\text{ol}}:(\text{rCl})_0^n \quad \pm \text{Mod}_{\text{gen}}:(N)_0^n \quad \pm \text{Mod}_{\text{num:Num}}$
 $\quad \pm \text{Mod}_{\text{adj}}:(\text{Adj})_0^n \quad \pm \text{Mod}_{\text{pp:PP}} \quad + \text{Head:n}$

Read: a noun phrase consists of an optional Determiner function manifested by a determiner, followed by an optional clause Modifier function manifested by a relative clause that may be repeated zero-n times, followed by an optional genitive Modifier function manifested by a noun phrase repeatable 0-n times, followed by an optional numeral Modifier function manifested by a numeral phrase, followed by an optional adjective Modifier function manifested by an adjective phrase repeatable 0-n times, followed by an optional postposition Modifier function manifested by a postpositional phrase, followed by an obligatory Head function manifested by a noun or a nominalized phrase.

An example of a fully expanded N is given below; while such

a N is not normally spoken, it is grammatically correct and comprehendable:



6.1.1.2. The Functions in a Noun Phrase

6.1.1.2.1. Head Function (H)

The Head function in a N can be manifested by any noun.
 Nouns are discussed in detail in chapter seven.

6.1.1.2.2. Determiner Function (Det)

The Determiner function is manifested by determiners, which are treated in chapter nine.

6.1.1.2.3. Clause Modifier Function (Mod_{cl})

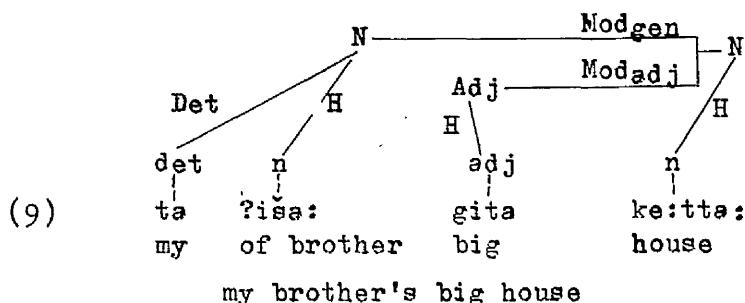
The clause Modifier function is manifested by a relative clause, which is treated in section 3.2.1.5. under clauses, and at the word level the verb manifesting the Head of the V manifesting P in the rCl is treated in section 5.3.3.2.5.

6.1.1.2.4. Genitive Modifier Function (Mod_{gen})

The genitive Modifier function is manifested by a N that may be expanded like any N, but the noun manifesting its Head function

may never appear in the nominative.

A N expressing possession may modify an expanded N that has a Modifier function between the Modgen function and the Head, e.g.,



However, when a N expresses association, structurally, the N it is modifying will not be expanded, e.g.,



The preceding have to be distinguished from noun plus noun associations in which the first item has to be analysed as a word rather than a phrase on account of its unexpandability. The defining criteria for compounds such as /wo:sa ke:tta:/ "of prayer the house", /giya ?asa:/ "of market the people", etc., have not yet been clearly established.

6.1.1.2.5. Numerical Modifier Function (Mod_{num})

The numerical Modifier function is manifested by a numeral phrase, which is treated in 6.2.

6.1.1.2.6. Adjective Modifier Function (Mod_{adj})

As was argued in 6.0., the Mod_{adj} function is manifested by an adjective phrase.

6.1.1.2.6.1. Adjective Phrase (Adj)

Structure: Adj = ±Int₂:int₂ ±Int₁:int₁ +Head:adj

Read: an adjective phrase consists of an optional initial Intensi-

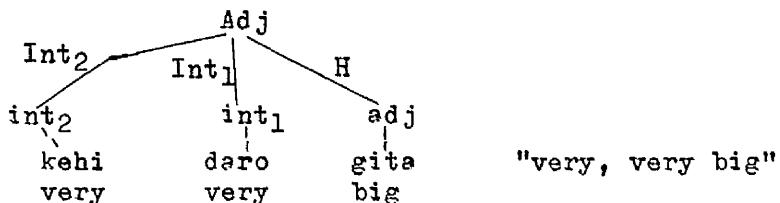
fier function number two which is the second one in position away from the Head and is manifested by an intensifier that occupies that position, followed by an optional Intensifier function number which is positioned next to the Head and is manifested by an intensifier that occupies that first position next to the Head, followed by an obligatory Head function manifested by an adjective.

Morphology

int₁ = /kehi/ "very"

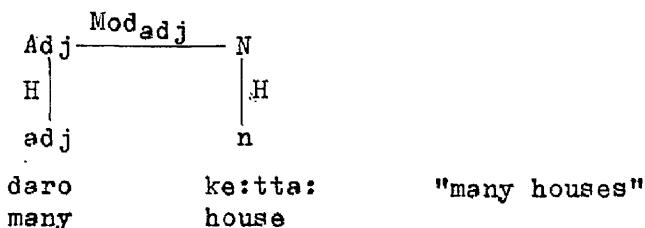
int₂ = /daro/ "very (cf. many)"

(12)



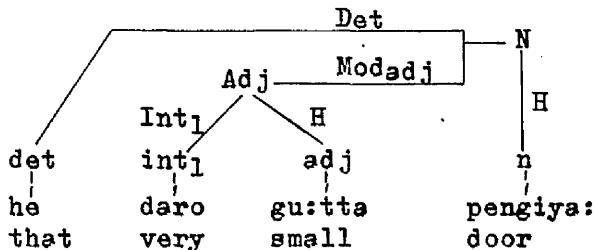
The homophonous form /daro/ "many" may manifest the Head function in an Adj that manifests the Modadj function in a N, e.g.,

(13)



However, the homophonous form /daro/ "very" manifesting the Int₁ function intensifies the adjective manifesting the Head in the Adj, e.g.,

(14)



The smallness of the door is intensified, not the number of doors.

In Wolaitta, an ambiguity can arise from the following:

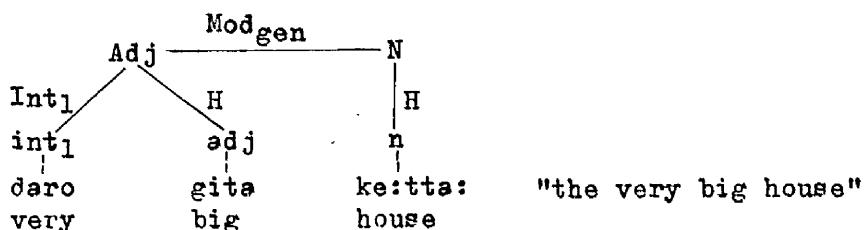
(15)

daro gita ke:tta
very/many big house

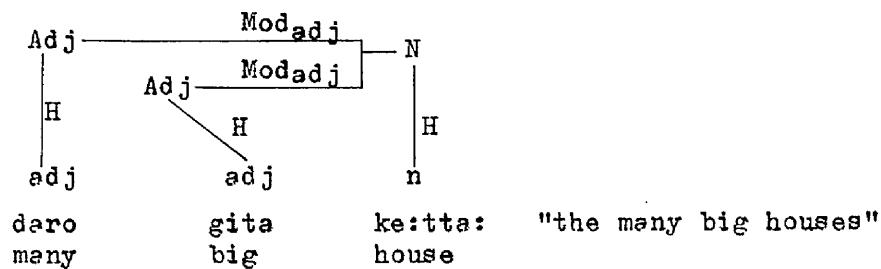
for since Wolaitta does not frequently utilize the morphological distinction in number, the word /ke:tta/ can be glossed as "house" or "houses", according to context. Thus the phrase (15) can be interpreted in two ways: 1) with the homophonous form /daro/ "very"

manifesting the Int₁ function (as in 16) or, 2) with the homophonous form /daro/ "many" manifesting the Head function in an Adj (as in 17), e.g.,

(16)

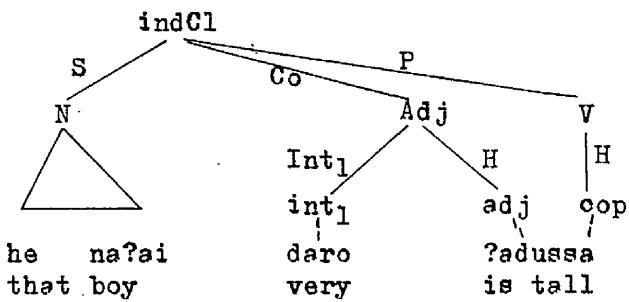


(17)



The Adj may also manifest the Complement function in a stative clause, e.g.,

(18)

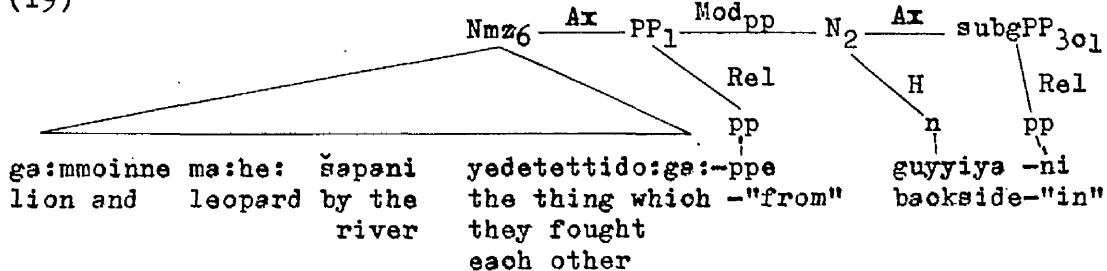


The adjectives that manifest the Head of the Adj are discussed at the word level in section 8.4.

6.1.1.2.7. Postposition Modifier Function (Mod_{pp})

The postposition Modifier function occurs only in the N₂, N₃, N₄, and N₅ types of noun phrases, and is manifested only by a PP₁. The Mod_{pp} function is characteristic of the noun phrases manifesting the Axis function in the 3c type of clausal subordinating postpositional phrases discussed in section 3.2.1.4.3.3., e.g.,

(19)



Literal: In the backside from the happening (thing) by which the lion and leopard fought each other by the river...

Meaning: After the lion and leopard fought each other by the river...

The Modpp function seems to be a grammaticalized form, for it has not been observed in constructions other than those found in 3o type of clausal subordinating postpositional phrases.

6.1.1.3. Special Types of Noun Phrases

Some N constructions are restricted as to structure and distribution; they may consist only of certain tagmemes and may manifest only certain functions.

6.1.1.3.1. Clausal Subordinating Noun Phrases (subgN)

A subgN manifests the Modifier function in a sentence. These are listed and described in 3.2.1.4.2.

6.1.1.3.2. N₁

Restriction: it may consist only of a Head manifested by /ha:/ "here".

Distribution: it may manifest only the Place function in a Cllo₂ which manifests the Axis in a subCllo₂ (see 3.2.1.4.1.3.2.) e.g.,

(20)

gu:tta	na:ti	geles̄suwa:ra	gaitto:sappe	[ha:]	N ₁
little	children	with the	from the	to	having
		baboon	place where	[here]	returned
			they met		

Ever since the little children met the baboon...

6.1.1.3.3. N₂

Restriction: it may consist only of a Head function and a Modpp

function manifested by a PP₁.

Distribution: it may manifest only the Axis in a subgPP₃₀₁ (see 3.2.1.4.3.3.1.), e.g.,

(21)	$\left[\left[\begin{array}{ccccccccc} \text{ta}:ni & ?a & \text{tok} \kappa u & \text{tok} \kappa u & ?o:ttido:ga:ppe & \text{guyiya} & -ni \\ \text{I} & \text{him} & \text{high} & \text{high} & \text{"from" the thing} & \text{backside} & \text{"in"} \\ & & & & \text{which he made} & & \\ & & & & & & \end{array} \right] \right]$	PP ₁	N ₂	subgPP ₃₀₁	
		exalt		after	

After I exalted him...

6.1.1.3.4. N₃

Restriction: it consists only of a Head function, a Mod_{pp} function, and a Determiner function.

Distribution: it may manifest only the Axis in a subgPP₃₀₂. An illustration of it is given in (240) section 3.2.1.4.3.3.2.

6.1.1.3.5. N₄

Restriction: it contains only a Head function, a Modpp function, and a Modgen function.

Distribution: it may manifest only the Axis in a subgPP₃₀₃. An illustration of it is given in (241) section 3.2.1.4.3.3.3.

6.1.1.3.6. N₆

Restriction: it contains only a Head function and a Modol function.

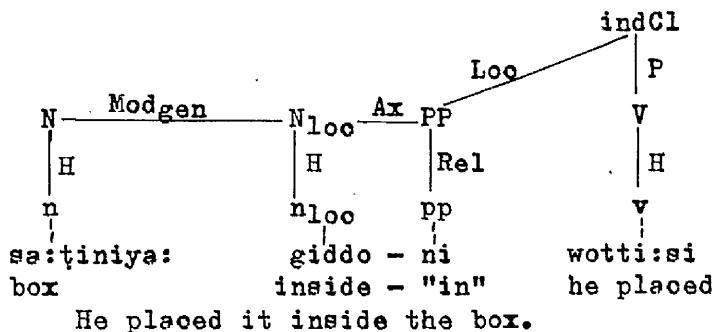
Distribution: it may manifest the Axis function in subgPP_{3a}, and illustrations of it may be seen in section 3.2.1.4.3.1.

6.1.1.3.7. Location Noun Phrase (N_{loc})

Restriction: it contains only a Head function and a Modgen function. Also, the Head function may be manifested only by a certain set of location nouns.

Distribution: it manifests only the Location function in a clause,
e.g.,

(22)



6.1.2. Pronoun Phrases (proN)

Structure: proN = +Head:prof

Read: a pronoun phrase consists of an obligatory Head function manifested by a proform.

Proforms include personal pronouns, such as /ta/ "I", /ne/ "you(s)", /?a/ "she", /?o/ "her", etc., and interrogative proforms, such as /?ai/ "what?", and vocative proforms such as /la:/ "Oh you, little boy!".

A proN may manifest S, O, Ca, Voc, Co, Place, Location, and Axis of PP functions, e.g.,

(23) S P
?eti kundidosona.
They fell down

(24) O P
?ai koyai?
What do you want?

(25) Ca P
?a bessa.
him cause to see

(26) Pl P
?au be:ti:?
Where are you(pl) going?

Show him!

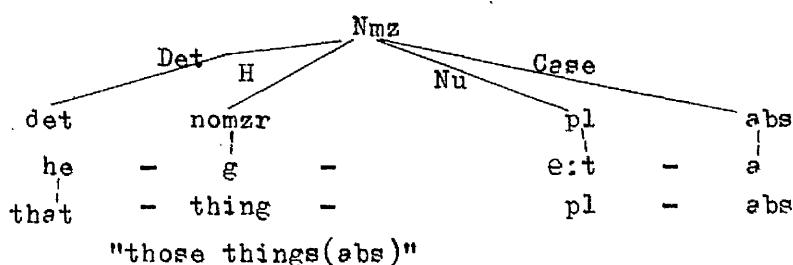
As will be seen in the section on proforms treated at word level, in section 8.3., the paradigm for personal pronouns marked for nominative is complete for all seven persons, but in the absolute case paradigm in 3rd person only are there proforms that may not be segmented. While some linguists might analyse the /tana/ "me", or /nena/ "you(abs)" as proforms, in section 6.1.3.2.2. these are analysed as nominalized phrases; the reasons justifying such an analysis are given there. For this reason, forms such as /?intena/ "you,pl,abs" are not considered here to be proforms manifesting the Head of a proN.

6.1.3.1. Structure of Nominalized Phrases

Structure: Nmz = +(+Det:det +Modcl:(rCl)ⁿ +Modgen:(N)ⁿ)
+Modnum:Num +Modadj:(Adj)ⁿ +Modpp:PP)
+Head:nomzr +Nu:pl/sg +Case:abs/nom/voc/obl

Read: a nominalized phrase consists of an initial six optional tagmemes, one or more of which must occur; these are a Determiner function manifested by a determiner, followed by a clause Modifier function manifested by a relative clause that may be repeated zero-n times, followed by a genitive Modifier function manifested by a noun phrase repeatable 0-n times, followed by a numeral Modifier function manifested by a numeral phrase, followed by an adjective Modifier function manifested by an adjective phrase repeatable 0-n times, followed by a postposition Modifier function manifested by a postpositional phrase; these optional tagmemes are followed by an obligatory Head function manifested by a nominalizer, followed by an optional Number function manifested by a plural marker, followed by an obligatory Case function, manifested by absolute, nominative, vocative, or oblique, e.g.,²

(27)



Nominalized phrases may manifest the following functions:
S, O, Ca, Co, Axis of a PP, and Head of N manifesting Modgen function.

6.1.3.2. Functions in Nominalized Phrases6.1.3.2.1. Modifier Functions

The Modifier functions in a Nmz are manifested by a rCl/Num/N/Adj/det/PP. All of these manifesting items have been treated, or will be treated, in detail in other sections. Hence, only examples of each are given here:

- (28) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Nmz} \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{nu} \quad \text{dabbuwa:} \end{array} \right] - \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{N} \\ \text{"friend's"} \end{array} \right] - \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{nomzr} \\ \text{"thing",def} \end{array} \right] - \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{nom} \\ \text{e:} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \quad \text{"our friend's matter"}$

- (29) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Nmz} \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{bena} \quad \text{to:ssa:ssi} \quad \text{?immiya:} \end{array} \right] - \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{rCl} \\ \text{herself to God who gives} \end{array} \right] - \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{nomzr} \\ \text{"thing",def} \end{array} \right] - \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{abs} \\ \text{a} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \quad \text{"...her who gives herself to God..."}$

- (30) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Nmz} \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Num} \\ \text{?issi} \end{array} \right] - \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{nomzr} \\ \text{b} \end{array} \right] - \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{nom} \\ \text{ei} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \quad \text{"one thing"}$

- (31) $\begin{array}{ccccc} & \text{Nmz} & \text{Ax} & \text{PP} & \\ \text{Det} & / \quad \backslash & & & \\ \text{det} & \text{H} & \text{Case} & & \\ \text{ha} & - & \text{nomzr} & \text{obl} & \\ \text{this} & - & \text{"thing", - obl} & - & \text{dani} \\ & & \text{fem} & & \text{like} \\ & & & & \text{"like this little(fem) thing"} \end{array}$

- (32) $\begin{array}{ccccc} & \text{Det} & & \text{Nmz} & \\ & / \quad \backslash & & & \\ \text{det} & \text{Modadj} & & \text{H} & \text{Case} \\ \text{he} & \text{daro} & \text{gu:tta} & \text{nomzr} & \text{abs} \\ \text{that} & \text{very} & \text{little} & \text{b} & \text{- a} \\ & & \text{- thing,indef- abs} & & \end{array}$
"that very little thing"

- (33) $\begin{array}{ccccc} & \text{C1} & \text{Ax} & \text{rCl} & \text{Modpp} \\ & \downarrow & \text{Modol} & \downarrow & \text{Modol} \\ & \text{Rel} & & \text{Rel} & \\ \text{relzr} & \text{Nmz}_6 & \text{Ax} & \text{P} & \text{Modol} \\ \text{b - ida} & \text{nomzr} & \text{Case} & \text{V} & \text{Rel} \\ \text{go - who,past- "thing",abs- "to} & \text{abs} & \text{pp} & \text{H} & \text{relzr} \\ \text{wards"} & & \text{Pp}_1 & \text{V} & \text{Nmz}_4 \\ & & \text{Rel} & \text{H} & \text{Ax} \\ & & \text{relzr} & \text{?agg} & \text{subgPP}_3c_4 \\ & & \text{nomzr} & \text{- ida} & \text{Case} \\ & & \text{abs} & \text{- kko} & \text{Rel} \\ & & & \text{cease-who,past- "thing",abs- "to} & \text{pp} \\ & & & \text{wards"} & \text{kko} \end{array}$
(I do not know) whether or not he went.

6.1.3.2.2. Head Function

The Head of a Nmz is manifested by a nominalizer that consists only of a suffix which is lexically empty. According to the context this can mean "thing", "matter", "person", "happening", etc.

Eight nominalizers have been observed:

1) /-g-/: this signals the definite form, e.g.,

(33) /zin?ido: - g - a:/
on which he had lain - "thing", def - abs This occurs in a ^{discourse} context
where the bed mat had previously been referred to. And so in the above example the nominalizer
/-g-/ is used because it is known from the statement in the preceding sentence that it was the specific mat on which he had been lying that was referred to.

2) /-b-/: this signals the indefinite form, e.g.,

(34) ne:yyo: de?iya: - b - a: beizza
for you which exists - "thing", indef - abs sell!
which you have

Sell the things that you have!

This occurs in a context where Jesus had told a man to sell his "possessions", but did not specify definite items; hence the nominalizer /-b-/ signalling indefinite is used.

3) /-r-/: this signals feminine, e.g.,

(35) ta ?ule: - r - o ?ai - b - i - ni ?eradi:?
my stomach - thing, - abs what "thing" - obl - "by" did you know?
[(fem) fem] | [indef]
inner thought how?
How did you know my inner thought?

4) /-nn-/: this signals the feminine form when the determiner /ha/ "this" or /hi-/ "that" manifests the Modifier function in a Nmz, e.g.,

(36) hi - nn - a ta ?a:yiyio: "That one is my mother."
that-person, fem-nom my is mother

(37) ta miociya: ha - nn - o "My sister is this one."
my sister this-person, fem-is

The nominalizer /-nn-/ has been observed to cooccur only with determiners that indicate "this" or "that" in the feminine form.

5) /-n-/: this signals "person", e.g.,

(38)

Nmz		
Det	H	Case
det	nomzr	abs
ta -	n	- a
my -	person	- abs

"me"

Even though other linguists might interpret the /-n-/ diff-

erently, here it is interpreted as manifesting the Head function in the nominalized phrase /tana/ "me". There are reasons for analysing /tana/ as a Nmz rather than as the Head of a proN:

a) The /tana/ construction resembles other Nmz's, e.g.,

1] the determiner /ta/ "my" can manifest the Mod function in other Nmz's, just as here in /tana/ "me", e.g.,

(39) ta - b - a: "my possessions"
my - thing,indef - abs

(40) ta: - g - e: "mine(nom)"
my - thing,def - nom

2] the nominalizer /-n-/ in /tana/ signals "person" in a way parallel to other nominalizers, e.g.,

(41) ha - nn - a "...this one..." (see examples
this - "person",fem - nom (34) (35))

(42) ?imma - b - a
who will give- "someone",indef - abs
"...someone who will give..."

(43) be:nna: - r - o "...her who is not going..."
who is not going -"person",fem-abs

(44) mi:da: - g - a: "...him who ate..."
who ate -"person"def-abs

With such a precedent, i.e. of nominalizers with a meaning "person" in a Nmz, it is reasonable to analyse /-n-/ manifesting the nominalizer as signalling "person" also.

3] the form /tana/ "me" can inflect for nominative case, and for the interrogative form, just like other types of Nmz do, e.g.,

(45) Absolutive

(46) Nominative

Det	Head	Case	Det	Head	Nu	Case
ta	-n-	a me	ta:	-n-	i I	
ta:	-g-	a mine	ta:	-g-	e:t-i mine	
ha	-g-	a: this	ha	-g-	e:t-i these	
gu:tta	-b-	a: a small thing	gu:tta	-b-	ai a small thing	
koyiya:	-r-	o her who wants	koyiya:	-g-	e:t-i those who want	

(47) Interrogative

Det	Head	Case
ta	-n-	e:? Is it I?
ta:	-g-	e:? Is it mine?
he	-g-	e:? Is it that?
koyiysa:	-g-	e:? Is it the one who wants?

b) Not only may the Modifier function in a Nmz be manifested by determiners usually thought of as personal possessive pronouns, such

as /ta/ "my", /ne/ "your,sg", /nu/ "our", or /?inte/ "your,pl", but it may also be manifested by the interrogative pronoun /?o/ "whose?", which also occurs with the nominalizer, /-n-/, e.g.,

(48) Det Head Case/Interr pp

?o:	-n-	a	whom?
?o:	-n-	i	who?
?o:	-n-	e:?	who is it?
?o:	-n-	a:	-ra with whom?
ta	-n-	a:	-ra with me

Thus the /-n-/ nominalizer in /tana/ "me" is like the /-n-/ nominalizer in /?o:na?/ "whom?", which is certainly signalling "person" in /?o:na?/ "whom?".

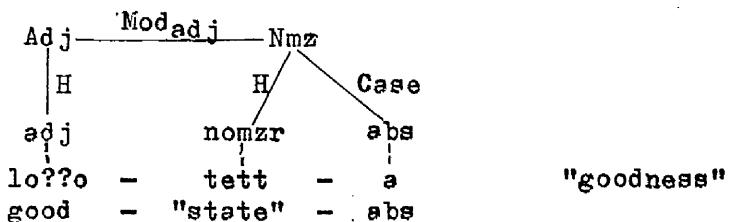
For these reasons forms like /tana/ "me" are here analysed as nominalized phrases that can be segmented, and are different from the pronouns manifesting Head in a proN that cannot be segmented.

The Nmzs that occur in the same paradigm with /tana/ "me" are:

(49)	<u>Absolutive</u>	<u>Nominative</u>	<u>Interrogative</u>
	ta-n-a me	ta:-n-i	ta:-n-e:? Is it I?
	ne-n-a you,sg	ne:-n-i you,sg	ne:-n-e:? Is it you,
	ba-n-a her("exclusive")		sg?
	ba-n-a him("exclusive")		
	nu-n-a us	nu:-n-i we	nu:-n-e:? Is it us?
	?inte-n-a you,pl		
	banta-n-a them("exclusive")		

6) /-tett-/: this signals "state", e.g.,

(50)

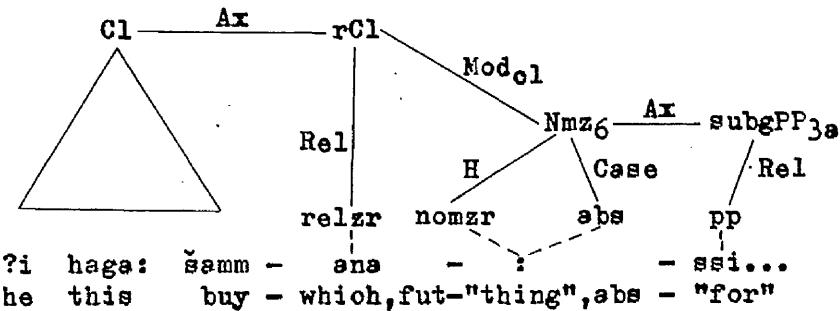


Only adjectives have been observed to precede the nominalizer /-tett-/ "state"; and so the construction /lo??otetta/ "goodness" is here analysed as a Nmz containing a Head function manifested by the nominalizer /-tett-/ , which is preceded by a Modadj function manifested by a restricted Adj consisting of only a Head.

(51)	adj	nomzr	abs	
	keha	- tett	- a	"kindness"
	kind	- "state"	- abs	

7) /-:/: vowel length can be the joint realization of both the nominalizer manifesting Head of Nmz and the absolute manifestation of the Case function in Nmz6, e.g.,

(52)



Literal: For the thing for which he will buy this thing...

Meaning: In order that he buy this...

There is a precedent for interpreting vowel length as a nominalizer in the above construction: the determiner /ha/ "this" can occur in /ha:/ "this place", which manifests the Place tagmeme. The Place tagmeme has been observed to be manifested only by noun phrases; thus the long vowel in /ha:/ "this place" makes it a nominal form.

There is also a parallel in the following PP's:

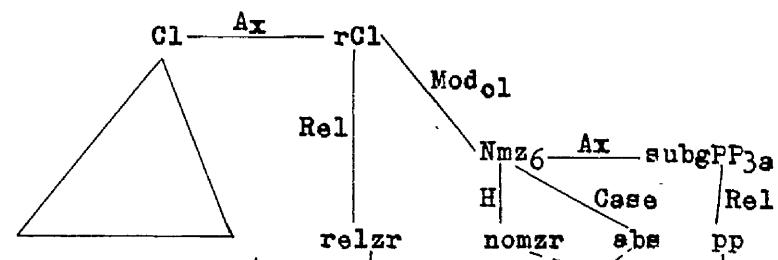
	Nmz	Rel
Det - Head - Case		
ha - g - a: - ppe		"from this thing"
ha - : - ppe		"from this place"

The realization of manifestations of the Head and Case functions converge on the vowel length /-:-/. In (53) /ha:/ is manifesting the Axis in a PP, which is manifested by nominal forms.

	Nmz	Rel
Det - Head - Case		
ta - n - a - dani		"like me"
ta - : - ppe		"from me"
ne - : - ssi		"for you"

8) /Ø/: a zero morpheme can be the joint realization of both the nominalizer manifesting Head of Nmz and the absolute manifestation of the Case function in Nmz6, e.g.,

(54)



Literal: For the thing for which he will buy this thing...

Meaning: In order that he buy this...

It will be noted that (52) and (54) are identical in meaning and in form except for the postpositions, which are interchangeable without any observed loss in meaning. And there is a phonological reason why the long vowel /-ə:-/ manifesting the Head of the Nmz₆ in (52) does not occur in (54): the postposition /-u/ "for", if suffixed to the Nmz₆ /šammana:/ like /-ssi/ "for" is suffixed to /šammana:/ in (52), would produce a combination of vowels /-a:u/ that is longer than is permitted in Wolaitta, for the longest vowel or cluster of vowels observed so far in Wolaitta is a long vowel like /a:/ or a complex vowel /ai/. Hence, the /-ə:-/ in /šammana:/ is dropped when /-u/ is suffixed and only the complex vowel /-au/ remains.

A comparison of /šammana:ssi/ and /šammanau/ reveals this:

	<u>Mod</u>	-	<u>Head</u>	-	<u>Case</u>	<u>Rel</u>
šammana	-	:		-	ssi	
šammana	-	Ø		-	u	

6.1.3.2.3. Number Function

The Number and Case functions are treated here at phrase level within the nominalized phrase because, structurally, when the Nmz is segmented, the Number and Case functions are distinct elements just as the Head and Modifier elements are, e.g., the Nmz /hege:ti/ "those,nom" can be segmented into four elements when compared with the Nmz /haga:/ "this,abs".

(56)	<u>Det</u>	<u>Head</u>	<u>Nu</u>	<u>Case</u>	
	he -	g	- e:t - i		"those(nom)"
	ha -	g	-	a:	"this(abs)"

The four elements comprise a Nmz all within one word; and so a Nmz, and its elements, must be treated at phrase level even though it is a word. The same reasoning holds for the Case function treated in the following section.

This is different from the N, which does not require a Modifier function to occur bound to the Head, Nu, and Case functions. In the N, structurally, the Nu and Case functions are elements within the noun which manifests the Head, and so are treated at the word level. Also in the N no other element than the noun manifesting the Head needs to be marked for case.

The Number function is manifested by the plural marker /-e:t-/.

As was argued in the preceding section, 6.1.3.2.3., Case is here treated at phrase level because the nominalized phrase (Nmz) in which it occurs is in itself a word, and so any segmentation of the word into functions necessitates segmentation of the phrase at the same time. Also, the system of case marking in the Nmz does not follow any one type of case marking that occurs in nouns, but coincides with case markers from various noun case marking systems, e.g., /-ai/ marks definite nominative in nouns, but indefinite nominative in Nmz. This is another structural reason for treating case at the phrase level in the Nmz and at word level in the noun.

The absolute, nominative, vocative, and oblique manifest the Case function, e.g.,

Absolute

- (57) do:riya:g - a:
him who is - abs
choosing

Nominative

- (58) ?o:ttida:g - e:
he who worked - nom

Vocative

- (59) to:kkiya:ge:t - o: "Oh you who are carrying!"
you(pl) who are carrying - voc

Oblique

- (60) ?immenna:ge:t - u - ppe
those who will not give - obl - "from"
"...from those who will not give..."

The items manifesting abs, nom, voc, and oblique can be arranged in a chart that shows which forms occur with the various relative clauses that manifest the Modifier function in a Nmz:

(60a)	SUBJECT ORIENTED RELATIVE			NON-SUBJECT ORIENTED RELATIVE	
	Person	Nom	Abs	Nom	Abs
Definite	1,2,3m	-e:	-a:		
	3f	-a	-o	-e:/-a	-a:/-o
	plurals	-i	-a		
Indefinite	all	-ai	-a:	-ai	-a:
"Reason"	all	-ai		-oi/-ai	
Oblique	1,2,3m		-a:-		
	3f		-i-		
	plurals		-u-		
Vocative	all		-o:		

In a nominalized phrase the genitive Modifier function is manifested by a N, an Adj, or a Num, which are not closed classes; and so their cooccurrence with items manifesting other functions cannot be dealt with here because of this.

Nmz's with possessive determiners manifesting the Modifier function that cooccurs with the Head function manifested by the nominalizer /-n-/ are listed in (49) in section 6.1.3.2.2.

The most frequently occurring Nmz is that whose Mod function is manifested by a relative clause and a listing of the co-occurrences of functions that have been observed in these Nmz's would be useful. (They are termed "relative" nominalized phrases, in the following, not because of structural differences, but to differentiate them from Nmz's whose Mod function is manifested by other items.)

6.1.3.3.1. Definite "Relative" Nominalized Phrase

Punctiliar Aspect

T P N S E	PER- SON	SUBJECT ORIENTED		NON-SUBJECT ORIENTED	
		NOMINATIVE	ABSOLUTIVE	NOMINATIVE	ABSOLUTIVE
A Aff	1,2	"he who..." ?imm-ida:ge: ^x	"him who..." ?imm-ida:ga: ^x	"which..." ?imm-ido:ge: ^x /	"whom..." ?imm-ido:ga: ^x /
	3m	-ida:ra ^x	-ida:ro ^x	-ido:ra ^x	-ido:ro ^x
	3f	-ida:ge: ^x	-ida:ge:ta ^x	"	"
	pls	-ida:ge:ti ^x	-ida:ge:ta ^x	"	"
T Neg	1,2	-abe:nna:ge:	-abe:nna:ga:	-abe:nna:ge:/ -abe:nna:ra	-abe:nna:ga:/ -abe:nna:ro
	3f	-abe:nna:ra	-abe:nna:ro	"	"
	3m	-ibe:nna:ge:	-ibe:nna:ga:	-ibe:nna:ge:/ -ibe:nna:ra	-ibe:nna:ga:/ -ibe:nna:ro
	pls	-ibe:nna:ge:ti	-ibe:nna:ge:ta	"	"
F U Aff	1,2	-ana:ge: ^x	-ana:ga: ^x	-ana:ge: ^x / -ana:ra ^x	-ana:ga: ^x / -ana:ro ^x
	3m	-ana:ra ^x	-ana:ro ^x	"	"
	3f	-ana:ge: ^x	-ana:ge:ta ^x	"	"
	pls	-ana:ge:ti ^x	-ana:ge:ta ^x	"	"
U R Neg	1,2	-enna:ge: ^x	-enna:ga: ^x	-enna:ge: ^x / -enna:ra ^x	-enna:ga: ^x / -enna:ro ^x
	3m	-enna:ra ^x	-enna:ro ^x	"	"
	3f	-enna:ge: ^x	-enna:ge:ta ^x	"	"
	pls	-enna:ge:ti ^x	-enna:ge:ta ^x	"	"

Continuous Aspect

Polarity	Person	SUBJECT ORIENTED		NON-SUBJECT ORIENTED	
		NOMINATIVE	ABSOLUTIVE	NOMINATIVE	ABSOLUTIVE
		"he who..."	"him who..."	"which..."	"whom..."
TENSE Aff	1,2 3m	?imm-iya:ge:	?imm-iya:ge:	?imm-iyo:ge:/ -iyo:ra	?imm-iyo:ga:/ -iyo:ro
	3f	-iya:ra	-iya:ro	"	"
	pls	-iya:ge:ti	-iya:ge:ta	"	"
SS Neg	1,2 3m	-enna:ge: ^x	-enna:ga: ^x	-enna:ge:/ -enna:ra	-enna:ga:/ -enna:ro
	3f	-enna:ra ^x	-enna:ro ^x	"	"
	pls	-enna:ge:ti ^x	-enna:ge:ta ^x	"	"

6.1.3.3.2. Indefinite "Relative" Nominalized Phrase

Aspect	Tense	Polarity	SUBJECT ORIENTED		NON-SUBJECT ORIENTED	
			NOMINATIVE	ABSOLUTIVE	NOMINATIVE	ABSOLUTIVE
PUNCTUAL	PAST	Aff	"he who..."	"him who..."	"which..."	"whom..."
		Neg	?imm-idabai ^x	?imm-idaba: ^x	?imm-idobai ^x 1,2,3f-abe:nnabai	?imm-idoba: ^x -abe:nnaba: 3m,pls-ibe:nnabai
	FUTURE	Aff	-anabai ^x	-anaba: ^x	same as subject oriented	same as subject oriented
	Neg	-ennabai ^x	-ennaba: ^x			
CONTINUOUS	TENSE-LESS	Aff	-iya:bai ^x	-iya:ba: ^x	-iyobai ^x	-iyoba: ^x
	Neg	-ennabai ^x	-ennaba: ^x	-ennabai ^x	-ennaba: ^x	

6.1.3.3.3. "Reason" "Relative" Nominalized Phrase

PRIMARY ASPECT	SUBJECT ORIENTED			NON-SUBJECT ORIENTED
	TENSE	POLARITY	NOMINATIVE	NOMINATIVE
PUNCTUAL-TILLIAR	PAST	Aff		"the reason he gave..."
			?imm-idsai ^x	?imm-idoi
		Neg	-ibe:nnai	1,2,-abe:nnai 3f 3m -ibe:nnai pls
	FUTURE	Aff	-nsai ^x	same as subject oriented
	Neg	-ennsai ^x	"	
CONTINUOUS	TENSE-LESS	Aff	-iyai	-iyoi
	Neg	same as future	same as subject oriented	

6.1.3.3.4. "Relative" Nominalized Phrase Manifesting Axis in PP

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ASPECT	TENSE	POLARITY	PERSONS	SUBJECT-ORIENTED	NON-SUBJECT ORIENTED
				"from him who gave"	"from that which he gave"
P	P	Aff	1,2,3m 3f pls	?imm-ida:ga:-ppe ^x -ida:ri-ppe ^x -ida:ge:tu-ppe ^x	?imm-ido:ga:-ppe ^x " "
U	A				
N	S				
C	T	Neg	1,2, 3f 3m pls	-abe:nna:ga:-ppe -abe:nna:ri-ppe -ibe:nna:ga:-ppe -ibe:nna:ge:tu-ppe	1,2,-abe:nna:ga:-ppe 3f 3m -ibe:nna:ga:-ppe pls
T					
I					
L	F	Aff	1,2,3m 3f pls	-ana:ga:-ppe ^x -ana:ri-ppe ^x -ana:ge:tu-ppe ^x	-ana:ga:-ppe ^x " "
L	U				
I	T				
A	U				
R	R	Neg	1,2,3m 3f pls	-enna:ga:-ppe ^x -enna:ri-ppe ^x -enna:ge:tu-ppe ^x	-enna:ga:ppe ^x " "
CON-					
TIN-					
UOUS	TENSE-LESS	Aff	1,2,3m 3f pls	-iya:ga:-ppe -iya:ri-ppe -iya:ge:tu-ppe	-iyo:ga:-ppe " "
		Neg	1,2,3m 3f pls	same as future neg " "	same as future neg " "

6.1.3.3.5. Cooccurrences of Functions in Nmz with Modifier-manifesting Demonstrative Determiners

	Sg				Pl	
	Abs	Nom	Abs	Nom	Abs	Nom
this	hag-a:	hag-e:	these	hage:t-a	hage:t-i	
that	heg-a:	heg-e:	those	hege:t-a	hege:t-i	
fem	this	hann-o	hann-a			
	that	hinn-o	hinn-a			

6.1.3.4. Special Nominalized Phrases

6.1.3.4.1. Nmz6

Restriction: it contains only the Modol function.

Distribution: it manifests the Axis function in a PP₁ and in a subgPP_{3a}, e.g.,

(6.1.3.4.1.)

(61)	[[[?eti de:ssa: baizzana:	Nmz ₆	PP ₁	subgN _{2b}	241
		they goat that which		- ppe -"from"	kase... (of/kase)	
		(they) will sell				"previous time"

before

Before they sell the goat...

6.1.3.4.2. Nmz₄

Restriction: it contains two modifying functions, Mod_{pp} and Mod_{ol}.

Distribution: it manifests only the Axis function in a subgPP_{3o4}.

Examples can be found in the complicated constructions in

3.2.1.4.3.3.4. (242) and 6.1.3.2.1. (33).

6.2. Numerical Phrases

The numerical phrase is structurally quite different from any other Wolaitta construction in that it can contain from one to four Head functions which are conjoined by Coordinate functions. Apart from the fact that number systems in some languages are very exotic (as compared with English), there is the additional fact that number systems constitute in all languages a discrete sub-grammar which follows rules closer to logic than to language as such. And so it is not strange to find that it is difficult to express the complicated Wolaitta number system in one regular tagmemic formula.

Consequently, in order to describe in a formula the elements of the Wolaitta number system, together with its coocurrence restrictions, it is necessary to use symbols not used in other parts of this analysis:

+{ } = at least one of the optional tagmemes must occur.

[] = within the tagmeme only the item to the left of [may occur, and all items to the right must not occur.

() = the first item in parenthesis must cooccur with one or more

{ } = the two's on the right.

{ } = the two tagmemes within { } constitute one unit.

/ = either or.

Structure:

Num = +{Head₁₀₀₀:Num₁₀₀₀ / [(N₁₀₀₀ +Coord:coord)
+{Head₁₀₀:Num₁₀₀ / [(N₁₀₀ +Coord:coord)}

$\pm \{ \text{Head}_{10} : \text{Num}_{10} / [(\text{N}_{10} + \text{Coord} : \text{coord})$
 $\pm \text{Head}_1 : \text{Num}_1)] \}$

$\text{Num}_{1000} = \pm \text{Mod} : \text{Num} + \text{Head} : \text{num}_{1000}$

$\text{N}_{1000} = \pm \text{Mod} : \text{Num} + \text{Head} : \text{n}_{1000}$

$\text{Num}_{100} = \pm \text{Mod} : \text{num}_1 + \text{Head} : \text{num}_{100}$

$\text{N}_{100} = \pm \text{Mod} : \text{num}_1 + \text{Head} : \text{n}_{100}$

$\text{Num}_{10} = \pm \text{Mod} : \text{num}_1 + \text{Head} : \text{num}_{10}$

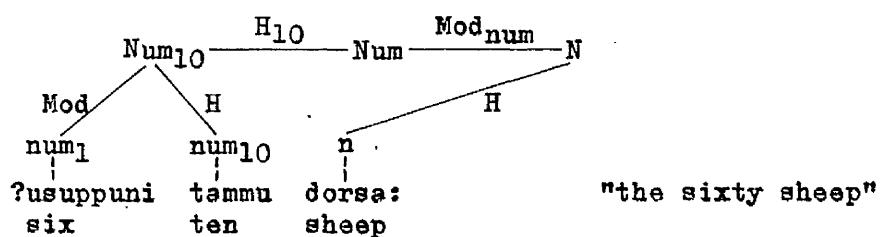
$\text{N}_{10} = \pm \text{Mod} : \text{num}_1 + \text{Head} : \text{n}_{10}$

$\text{Num}_1 = + \text{Head} : \text{num}_1$

Rather than write out such a long and involved set of formulas verbally, representative illustrations of these formulas will be given and explained.

The term "numeral(num)" is used here to indicate a number that is in a modifying role or is manifesting some Modifier function, whereas the term "noun(n)" refers to the noun form of a number that is not in a modifying role, e.g.,

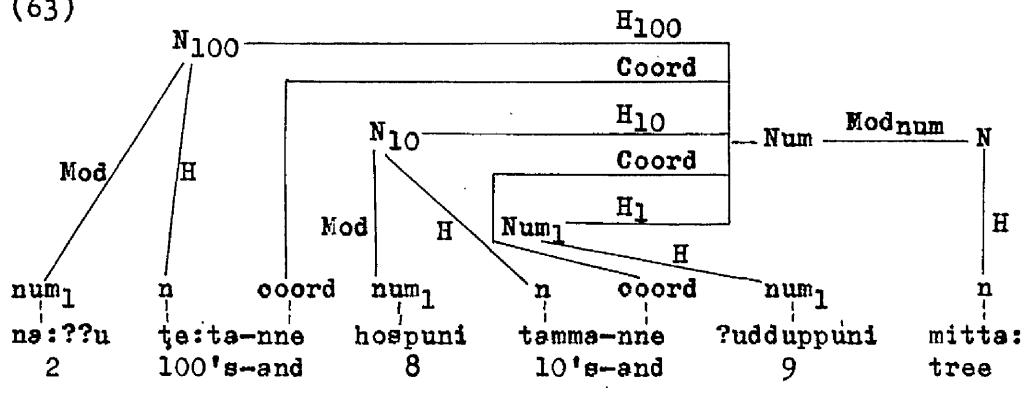
(62)



The phrase manifesting the Modnum function in a N will always be some kind of numeral phrase whose Head is manifested by a numeral. (A numeral ends in the vowel /-u/ or /-i/.)

Numbers in the form of nouns manifest the Head of a N that will always be conjoined within a Num or a N (Number nouns always end in the vowel /-a/), e.g.,

(63)



Going back to the structure formula, we can generate numbers from it by examining the options in the formula. The option

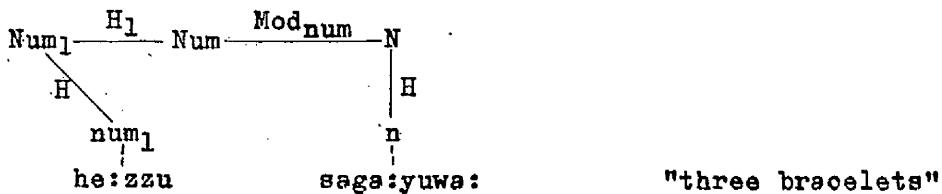
$\text{Num} = +\text{Head}_1:\text{Num}_1$

means that a numeral phrase can consist of a Head_1 function manifested by a numeral phrase that is characterized by numbers from 1-9;

$\text{Num}_1 = +\text{Head}:\text{num}_1$

means that a units numeral phrase consists of an obligatory Head function manifested by a numeral from 1-9, e.g.,

(64)

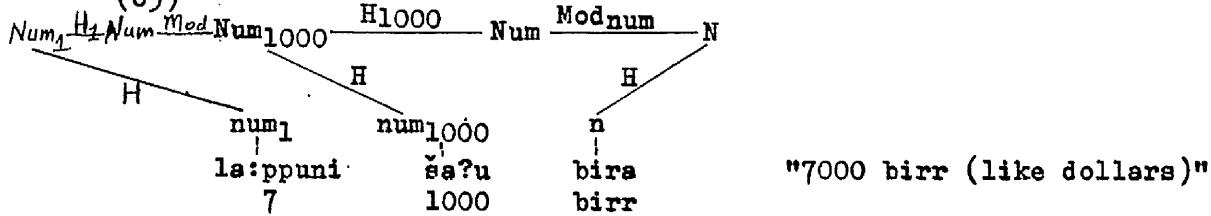


The option in the formula:

$\text{Num} = +\{ \text{Head}_{1000}:\text{Num}_{1000} / [(\text{N}_{1000} + \text{Coord}:\text{coord})]$

means that the two tagmemes within the $\{ \}$ operate as a unit. The symbol / means that either the item on the left of it or the one on the right may be used, but not both simultaneously; however, if the item on the left of the / is used, then the symbol [following it means that all items to the right of [may not occur and only the item that is to the left of [within the tagmeme may occur, e.g.,

(65)

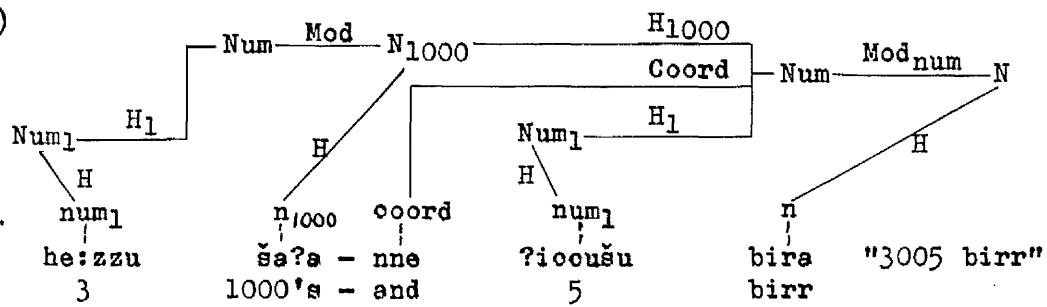


However, if the option to the right of the / is used in the same formula:

Num = +{ Head₁₀₀₀:Num₁₀₀₀ /[(N₁₀₀₀ +Coord:coord} ,
 the symbol (means that the first item after the (must occur
 with one or more options on the right which are further on in the
 full formula (the tagmeme +Coord:coord that occurs with the other
 tagmeme as a unit within the set of { } must occur and is not one of
 the "options on the right"), e.g., from the full formula this option
 could be used:

Num = +{ Head₁₀₀₀:Num₁₀₀₀ /[(N₁₀₀₀ +Coord:coord} +Head₁:Num₁)]
 and the items within the parenthesis () would be used, e.g.,

(66)



The symbols [and (work the same way for the N₁₀₀ and N₁₀ options as they did above for the N₁₀₀₀. The following example illustrates some of the options and restraints outlined in the structural formulae:

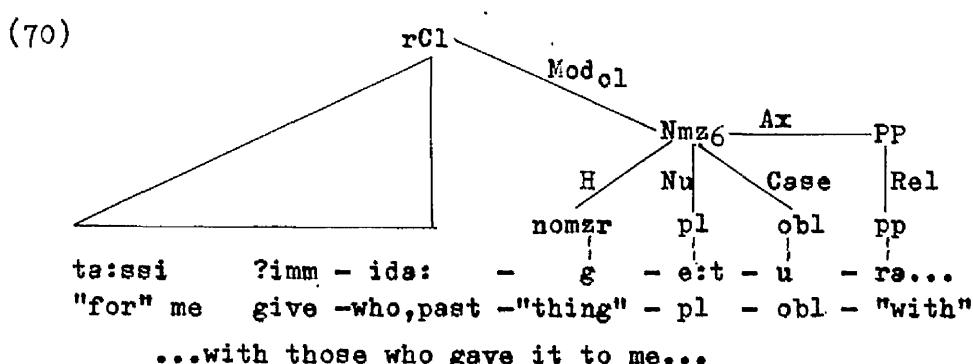
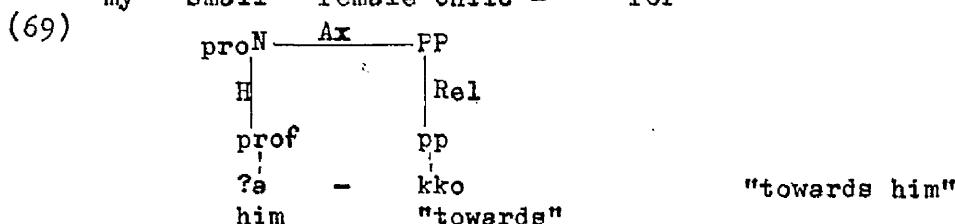
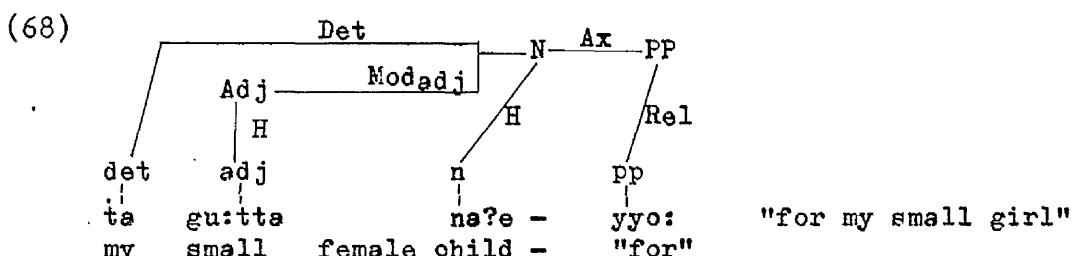
Postpositional phrases manifest tagmemes on the clause level such as Location, Accompaniment, Source; or on the sentence level they may manifest the Modifier function; or manifest Modpp in N.

Postpositional phrases are an axis-relator construction.

6.3.1. Structure of PP

Structure: PP = +Axis:N/proN/Nmz +Rel:pp

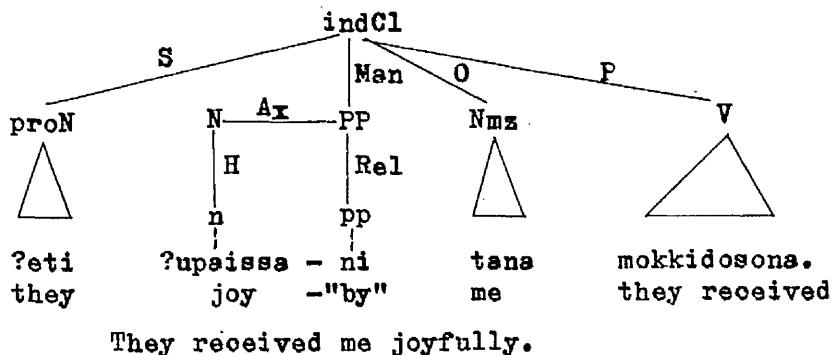
Read: a postpositional phrase consists of an obligatory Axis function manifested by a noun phrase, or a pronoun phrase, or a nominalized phrase, followed by an obligatory Relator function manifested by a postposition, e.g.,



6.3.2. Distribution of PP

At the clause level PP's manifest functions such as Benefactive or Manner, e.g.,

(71)



At the sentence level PP's play a subordinating role in that a subordinant clause is embedded within a PP. These clausal subordinating postpositional phrases (subgPP) manifest the Modifier function in a sentence, and structurally constitute various types according to the type of item that manifests their Axis functions. These are treated in detail in section 3.2.1.4.3., and below is just a listing of them:

- 1) subgPP_{3a} (3.2.1.4.3.1.)
- 2) subgPP_{3b} (3.2.1.4.3.2.)
- 3) subgPP_{3c1} (3.2.1.4.3.3.1.)
- 4) subgPP_{3c2} (3.2.1.4.3.3.2.)
- 5) subgPP_{3c3} (3.2.1.4.3.3.3.)
- 6) subgPP_{3c4} (3.2.1.4.3.3.4.)
- 7) subgPP_{3d} (3.2.1.4.3.4.)

6.3.3.) Special Type of PP - PP₁

Restriction: the Axis function of a PP₁ may be manifested only by a Nmz₆, or a N₆.

Distribution: the PP₁ manifests the Mod_{pp} function in N₂ (239) (3.2.1.4.3.3.1.), N₃ (240) (3.2.1.4.3.3.2.), N₄ (241) (3.2.1.4.3.3.3.), Nmz₄ (242) (3.2.1.4.3.3.4.) and the Axis function in subgPP_{3b} (238) (3.2.1.4.3.2.). Examples of these complicated constructions are to be found in the sections and clause numbers cited above.

6.4. Multiple Headed Phrases

Multiple headed phrases result from conjunction. Conjoining, according to Becker's (1976:224) definition, "is an operation repeating constituents of a construction (syntagmeme) at a particular

level (e.g., sentence, clause, phrase, word)." However, in this thesis, conjoining is not considered to be synonymous with coordination in the sense that Becker (op cit.:225) uses both terms "for at least three different linearly recursive operations: conjoining proper, disjoining, and alternating." Here conjoining is used to refer only to the operation whereby two items (the conjuncts) are conjoined by the suffix /-nne/ "and".

Only like forms with the same function are conjoined. For example, two N manifesting the Subject function are conjoined in (72) and two N manifesting the Object function are conjoined in (73).

- (72) S Co P
 ne wombarai-nne tarappe:zzai-nne lo??o.
 your chair -and table -and are good

Your chair and table are nice.

- (73) O P
 banga: -nne gistiya: -nne zerana hane:si.
 barley -and wheat -and to sow he is about to
 He is about to sow barley and wheat.

Although it is customary to suffix the conjoiner /-nne/ "and", to both conjuncts, some speakers prefer to suffix /-nne/ only to the first element.

Theoretically, any number of N's within the same function could be conjoined.

Because a noun manifests the Head of a N that manifests some function, and that N can be expanded, conjoining is considered here to be a property of the noun phrase at phrase level, rather than of the noun at word level.

Other types of phrases may also be conjoined, e.g., two proN's may be conjoined within the same function,

- (74) S P
 ?i - nne ?a - nne ya:na.
 he - and she - and will come

Or more than one type of nominal phrase may be conjoined within a function, such as, Nmz + proN, + N, e.g.,

- (75) S Man P
 Nmz proN N Man P
 ne:ni - nne ?i- nne ta ?issai - nne ?issippe ba:na.
 you,sg- and he- and my brother- and together they will go

You, he, and my brother will go together.

PP's may be conjoined by suffixing /-nne/ "and" to them as other phrases above, e.g.,

- (76) he setiniya:ni - nne he setiniya:ni - nne
this in the box - and that in the box - and
...in this box and in that box...

Due to lack of data, it can only be presumed that Adj's and Num's may be conjoined by suffixing /-nne/ "and" to them.

7.1. Introduction

Nouns manifest the Head of the noun phrase. There are four classes of nouns, one of which is lexically determined as feminine. In this section, the structure of the noun is examined, the functions in a noun are discussed, and the different types of nouns are shown to differ in distribution or in declension. Wolaitta place and person names have their own system of classes and declension.

7.1. Noun Structure

A noun consists generally of a Nucleus plus a SUFFIX, as seen when three noun forms are compared, e.g.,

Nuc - SUFF	Nuc - SUFF	Nuc - SUFF
par - a	garaw - a	garaw - ata
horse	cat	cats

Structure: n = +Nuoleus:root¹ +Margin:SUFF

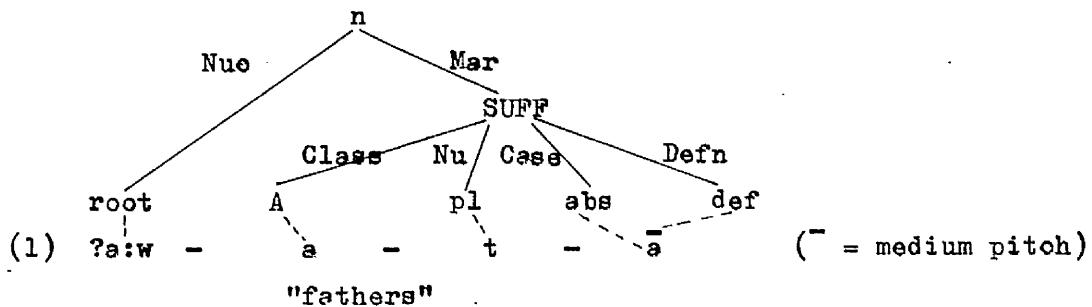
SUFF = +Class:A/E₁/E₂/0 +Nu:sg/pl +Case:abs/nom/voc/obl
+Defn:indef/def

Read: a noun consists of an obligatory Nucleus function manifested by a root, followed by an obligatory Margin function manifested by a SUFFIX, which is written in caps because the item manifesting Margin consists of more than one suffix, is a complex element, and yet is affixed to the root as a suffix would be.

Read: a SUFFIX consists of an obligatory Class function manifested by the class markers A/E₁/E₂/0, followed by an obligatory Number function manifested by singular and plural, followed by an obligatory Case function manifested by absolute, nominative, vocative, and oblique; this is followed by an obligatory Definiteness function manifested by indefinite and definite.

Morphology

Certain morphemes may be analysed out without much difficulty, and a one to one morphological analysis is possible, e.g.,



Those morphemes which may be analysed are:

root = /kan-/ "dog", /?ars-/ "bed", ...

A = /-a-/

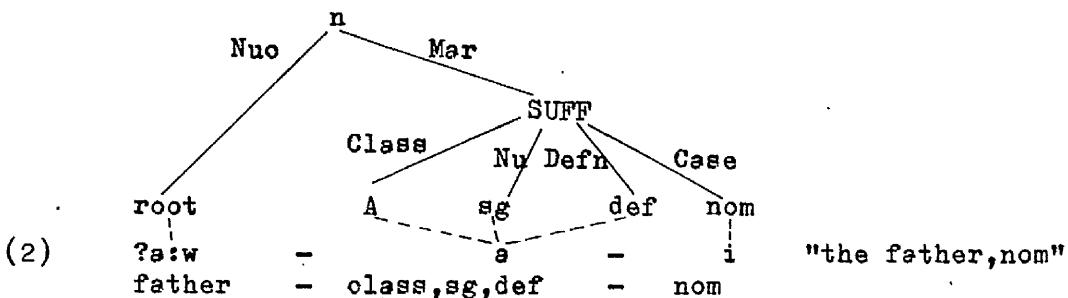
E₁ = /-e-/

E₂ = /-e-/

O = /-o-/

pl = /-t-/

Other morphemes have to be treated as complexes. Certain inflectional categories are, however, unmarked; these are singular, absolute, and indefinite. The marked items in the Case and Definiteness categories comprise both segmental (addition and replacement) elements and suprasegmental ones, both of which converge in their realization, i.e. a considerable degree of "portmanteau" morphology is involved. The locus of the convergence is the final syllable of the word; thus in the case of the singular noun, it is the class vowel, but in the case of the plural form it is the vowel of the final suffix, e.g., in the noun /?a:w-ai/ "the father", the categories of class, number, and definiteness all converge on the morpheme /-a/, e.g.,



It is clear that Wolaitta is an inflectional rather than an agglutinative language, and the most revealing way of setting out the morphology of the interaction of the final syllable with Case and Defn is by means of a paradigmatic display, as is seen in the following:

CHART 15. THE NOUN SUFFIX

NOUN CLASS	SINGULAR				PLURAL				*	
	DEFINITE		INDEFINITE		DEFINITE AND INDEFINITE *		*		*	
ENG. CASE LIST	NOMINA- TIVE	ABSO- LUTIVE	VOCATIVE	NOMIN- ATIVE	ABSO- LUTIVE	VOC- CATIVE	NOMINA- TIVE	ABSO- LUTIVE	VOC- ATIVE	OBLIQUE
FUNCTION AT PHRASE OR CLAUSE LEVEL	S	0, Ca, Co, [Axis in N mani- PP, Head festing in N Modgen manifest-ing Modgen non-fem)]	(fem only)	S	0, Ca, Head Co, [Ax-in N is in mani- PP, Head fest- ing Head in ing N mani-Modgen festing Axis Modgen in (non- fem)]	Voo S	0, Ca, Co	Voo	0, Ca, Co	Head in N manifest- ing Modgen Axis in PP
horse <i>e</i>	par- <i>ei</i>	par- <i>s</i> :	par- <i>au</i>	par-i	par-a	par-o:	par-ati	par-sa	par-eto:	par-etu
don- key <i>e1</i>	har- <i>e</i> :	har- <i>jye</i> :	har- <i>iyəu</i>	har- <i>e</i> :	har- <i>e</i>	har-o:	har- <i>eti</i>	har- <i>eta</i>	har- <i>eto</i> :	har- <i>etu</i>
bird <i>o</i>	kap- <i>oi</i>	kap- <i>uwa</i> :	kap- <i>uwa</i>	kap- <i>oi</i>	kap-o	kap-o:	kap- <i>oti</i>	kap- <i>ota</i>	kap- <i>oto</i> :	kap- <i>otu</i>
sib- ter <i>e2</i>	mico- <i>iya</i> :	mico- <i>iyɔ:mico-e</i>	mico- <i>e</i> :	mico- <i>a</i>	mico- <i>o</i>	mico- <i>i</i> ?	mico- <i>eti</i>	mico- <i>etamico-eto</i> :	mico- <i>eto</i> :	mico- <i>etu</i>

* The final syllable of definite forms
is uttered on medium pitch, of in-
definite forms on high pitch

In this section, the functions shown in the formulas in 7.1. for the noun are discussed together with their manifesting items.

7.2.1. Root Function

The root is that irreducible, nuclear element of a noun that lexically differentiates one noun from another, e.g.,

- | Root | Suffix |
|-----------|-------------------------|
| (3) lakk | - uwa: "the large pot" |
| (4) muk | - uwa: "the butterfly" |
| (5) qiraš | - uwa: "the ox pecker". |

The noun /lakk-uwa:/ "the large pot" in (3) differs lexically from /qiraš-uwa:/ "the ox pecker" in (5) by the element occurring in its root function.

Noun roots have not been observed to undergo any morphological changes, but remain intact through all noun inflection.

7.2.2. Class Function

The Class function is manifested by four class markers, /a/, /e₁/, /o/, and /e₂/. These class markers indicate only noun class when preceding the plural marker /-t-/, e.g.,

(6)	Root	Class	Nu	Case & Defn
/a/ class	ga:me:l	- a	- t -	a camels
/e ₁ / class	mork	- e	- t -	enemies
/o/ class	migid	- o	- t -	rings
/e ₂ / class	mico	- e	- t -	sisters

However, in the singular form, other categories converge on the class vowel, as was explained above, e.g.,

(7)	Root	Class	Nu	Case	Defn
/a/ class	kan	-	a		"a dog"
/e ₁ / class	peng	-	e		"a door"
/o/ class	liiss	-	o		"a whip"
/e ₂ / class	macc	-	o		"a wife"

The /e₂/ class of nouns are lexically determined as feminine, in that all words appearing in this class denote animates which are female, i.e. there is natural gender, e.g.,

?a:yy - iyo: "the mother" mico - iyo: "the sister"

The number of nouns belonging to this inherently feminine noun class is rather limited; however, nouns denoting animates which may be sexually differentiated have masculine and feminine counterparts, e.g., such nouns as "lion" and "lioness"; the feminine form will conjugate like nouns that are inherently feminine, e.g.,

- (8) *ga:mm-uwa:* "the lion" *ga:mm-iyo:* "the lioness"
- (9) *na?-a:* "the boy" *na?-iyo:* "the girl"
- (10) *har-iya:* "the male donkey" *har-iyo:* "the female donkey"

It will be noted that in (8) - (10), even though the masculine nouns are from three different non-feminine noun classes, their feminine forms have the same ending, /-iyo:/.

7.2.3. Number Function

Singular number is not overtly marked in nouns.

The marker of plurality in nouns is the morpheme /-t-/ . It is suffixed to the noun class marker and in turn has other function markers suffixed to it, e.g.,

- (11) *ze:r - o - t - i* "dams (nom)"
dam - class - pl - nom
- (12) *to:lint - e - t - o:* "Oh stars!"
star - class - pl - voc
- (13) *muka:dd - a - t - u - ppe* "(from) the candles"
candle - class - pl - obl - from

Common Wolaitta usage does not require plural number in nouns that are modified by modifiers indicating multiplicity semantically, e.g.,

- (14) *tammu ma:h - e: yi:si.* (Literally) Ten leopard came.
ten leopard - nom he came

However, it is permissible to say:

- (15) *tammu ma:h - e - t - i yi:dosona.*
ten leopard - class - pl - nom they came
Ten leopards came.

7.2.4. Case Function

As was argued in section 6.1.3.2.3. because case is marked only in the noun, and no other items within a clause or phrase need to agree in case, structurally, case is a property of the noun at word level.

There are four cases: absolute, nominative, vocative, and oblique. Absolute is considered here to be unmarked. It occurs in the nouns manifesting Head in the functions O, Ca, Co, Axis in a PP, and the Head of a N manifesting the Modgen in a N. However, in the /e₂/ class of nouns the absolute case occurs only in O, Ca, and Co.

The nominative is characterized by the suffix /-i/, and even though in this thesis the nominative form of an /e₁/ class noun is written as /hare:/ "donkey" (in accordance with the interpretation given by most Wolaittas), some Wolaitta speakers have written it as /harei/. The nominative marker in the /e₂/ (feminine) class of nouns is /-a/, as in /mico-a/ "a sister", and /mico-iya:/ "the sister". The nominative occurs only in the Subject function.

The oblique is found only in the /e₂/ (feminine) class of nouns, in all plurals, and in person-name nouns. The markers are 1) /-i/ fem, indef, 2) /-e/ fem, indef, and class /e/ person-name nouns, 3) /-u/ plurals, and class /u/ person-name nouns; 4) /ə/ and /e/ for the /a/ and /e/ class of person-name nouns, e.g.,

- (16) ?a:yy - i ?o:suwa: "the work of a mother"
 mother - obl, the work

(17) ?a:yy - e ?o:suwa: "the work of the mother"
 mother-obl,def the work

(18) ?a:yy - e - t - u ?o:suwa: "the work of mothers"
 mother - class-pl - obl the work

 man- e ?o:suwa: "the work of Mana"
 Mana- obl the work

The oblique case occurs only in the Head of a N manifesting the Mod_{gen} function in a N (as in (16) - (18)), and in the Axis of a PP, e.g.,

- | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| (19) PP | (20) PP |
| Axis | Rel |
| marat - u - ppe | ta macc - e - ssi |
| calves - obl - "from" | my wife - obl - "for" |
| "from the calves" | "for my wife" |

The convergence of items marking Case and Definiteness in each of the four noun classes is displayed in Chart 15 section 7.1...

7.2.5. Definiteness Function

In this thesis, because the definite form frequently comprises more elements than the indefinite form, it is considered to

be based on the indefinite form.

To change from the indefinite to the definite form, Wolsitta utilizes many processes such as vowel insertion, vowel addition, lowering or raising of a vowel, lowering of pitch, shortening or lengthening of a vowel in accompaniment with another feature or two, e.g.,

(21) mico-o "a sister" mico-iyo: "the sister"

The process is complicated, varies according to noun class, and a description of the rules governing definiteness is beyond the scope of this thesis, since it would require abstract underlying representations and morphologically determined rules. However, below is laid out in a chart the terminations of indefinite and definite forms that have been observed, as well as one possible componential analysis of the processes or features used in the marking of definiteness, taking the indefinite form as the base from which the definite is formed. In the chart, phonetic differences are shown; the phonemic interpretation of a suffix such as /-iyo:/ is written phonetically as [ia:], or /-uau/ as [-uau].

CHART 16. FORMATION OF DEFINITE FORMS FROM INDEFINITE FORMS

<u>OBSERVED FORMS</u>				<u>PROCESSES OR FEATURES</u>									
Noun Class	Case	Def	Indef	insert /-a-/	raise indef vowel	lower indef vowel	add /-ə:/	insert /-i-/	lengthen indef vowel	shorten indef vowel	insert /-iyə-/	insert /-uə-/	lower pitch
a	abs	-a:	-a	x									
	nom	-ai	-i	x									
	voc	-au	-o:	x	x					x			
e ₁	abs	-ia: [*]	-e		x		x						
	nom	-e: ^{**}	-e:										
	voc	-iau	-o:		x					x x		x	
o	abs	-ua: [*]	-o		x		x						
	nom	-oi	-öi									x	
	voc	-uau [*]	-o:		x					x x			
e ₂	obl	-e	-i			x							
	abs	-io: [*]	-o					x x					
	nom	-ia: [*]	-a					x x					
	voc	-e:	(?)	(?)									

* phonetic renderings, not phonemic interpretations of vowel sequences

**the symbol ' indicates high pitch and - indicates medium

pitch.

In plural nouns, definite forms and indefinite forms differ only in pitch. The final syllable of definite plural nouns is uttered on medium pitch, and of indefinite plural nouns on high pitch.

7.3. Special Types of Nouns

Most nouns have a wide distribution; however, others are restricted in their distribution. Other types of nouns, such as place-name nouns and person-name nouns have their own inflectional patterns that are different from nouns of the type we have been considering.

7.3.1. Place Nouns

Place nouns manifest the Head of the N that manifests the Place tagmeme (3.1.2.2.6.). These nouns indicate places to which motion can be directed, such as, "mountain, valley, city, market, forest, home," etc. The set of nouns that comprises the place nouns is beyond the scope of this thesis to enumerate, but are obviously limited in number in virtue of their being places.

7.3.2. Place-name Nouns

Wolaitta place-name nouns by inflection, are divided into four classes. Three of the place-name noun classes have the same markers as the non-feminine classes of nouns in the absolute and nominative cases, e.g.,

(22) Absolute

<u>Place-name noun</u>	<u>Non-feminine noun</u>
?oton-a "Otona"	qi:šš-a "a flower"
woid-e "Woide"	harg-e "a disease"
humb-o "Humbo"	?aq-o "a debt"

(23) Nominative

<u>Place-name noun</u>	<u>Non-feminine noun</u>
?oton-i "Otona(nom)"	qi:šš-i "a flower(nom)"
woid-e: "Woide(nom)"	harg-e: "a disease(nom)"
humb-oi "Humbo(nom)"	?aq-oi "a debt(nom)"

However, they differ in the vocative case and in the inter-

rogative form, e.g.,

(24) Vocative

?oton-a:	"Oh Otona"	qis̥sa- ^a u	"Oh flower"
woid-e:	"Oh Woide"	har-iya <u>u</u>	"Oh donkey"
humb-o:	"Oh Humbo"	?aq-uwa <u>u</u>	"Oh debt"

(25) Interrogative

?oton-e:?	"Is it Otona?"	qi̥s̥-ai?	"Is it the flower?"
woid-e:? ^{high} pitch	"Is it Woide?"	har-e:? ^{med} pitch	"Is it the donkey?"
humb-oi? ^{high} pitch	"Is it Humbo?"	?aq-o:?	"Is it the debt?"

Moreover, the fourth class of place-name nouns do not parallel the feminine class of nouns, e.g.,

(26) Absolutive

Nominative

Place-name noun	?ar-a:	"Araa"	?ar-ai	"Araa(nom)"
Feminine	ge:la?-o	"teenage girl"	ge:la?-a	"teenage girl(nom)"

Place-name nouns inflect for one case more than other noun types, namely, the "goal" case, e.g., ?oton- i b -i:si.
Otona="to" go-3m,past
"goal"

"He went to Otona."

However, it is only the /-a/ type of place-name noun that inflects for movement towards some place. All other place-name nouns utilize the absolute case to manifest the Head of the N manifesting the Place tagmeme.

Because of these differences, place-name nouns are considered to be a separate type of noun. Furthermore, they do not inflect for definiteness or plurality. If a place-name noun occurs in a plural form such as /?oton-ata/, it does not refer to the fact that there are a number of places called Otona, but refers to the "people of Otona", and is an inhabitant name type of noun rather than a place-name type of noun, e.g.,

(27) ?oton-ati yidosona.
Otona-pl,nom they came

The people of Otona came.

Below is a chart showing the inflection of place-name nouns. Included also is the interrogative marker for comparative purposes.

CHART 17. PLACE-NAME NOUNS

Noun Class	Absolutive	Nominative	Vocative	Goal	Interr
(Functions Manifested)	O,Ca,Co, Head of N manifesting Modgen, Axis of PP, Head of N manifesting Place *	S	Voo	Pl	P
-a	hobbico-a	-i	-a:	-i	-e:? ^{+high pitch}
-e	so:r-e	-e:	-e:		-e:? ^{+high pitch}
-o	kind-o	-oi	-o:		-oi? ^{+high pitch}
-a:	?ank-a:	-ai	-au		-ai? ^{+high pitch}

*except for class /-a/ which has its own "goal" case.

7.3.3. Person-name Nouns

Person-name nouns, in terms of inflection, comprise two main classes, male-name nouns and female-name nouns. Female-name nouns all inflect in one way only and so comprise only one subclass. On the other hand, male-name nouns comprise four subclasses in terms of inflection. Since the inflectional markers of person-name nouns differ greatly from the classes in other noun types, person-name nouns are considered to comprise a further noun type of their own.

Person-name nouns differ from place-name nouns, not only in the markers used to express the cases, but person-name nouns have a different system of case, and are similar to feminine nouns in that they utilize the oblique case, e.g., the absolute case occurs in the O, Ca, and Co functions, and the oblique occurs in the Head of the N manifesting Modgen, and in the Axis of a PP, e.g.,

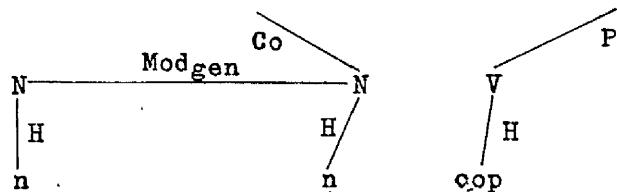
Absolute Case

- (28) O P
?aga:g-a koy -a ! "Find Agaaga!"
Agaaga-abs find-imp
- (29) Ca P
?aga:g-a bess -ibe:kketa. "You (pl) did not show
Agaaga-abs cause -you(pl) did not Agaaga."
to see
- (30) S Co P
hege: ?aga:g-a gidenna. "That is not Agaaga."
that,nom Agaaga-abs is not

Oblique Case

- (31)

S



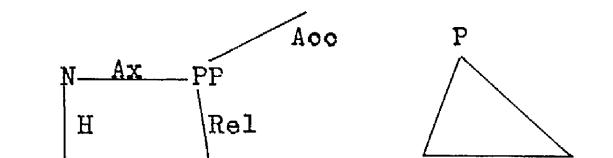
hage:
this

?aga:g-o
of Agaaga-obl

ke:tta:.
house-it is

This is the house of Agaaga.

- (32)



?aga:g-o: - ra ka:?idosona.
Agaaga-obl - "with" they played

They played with Agaaga.

It is interesting to note that the typical noun class markers /a,e,o/ occur in the oblique case with person-name nouns, but occur in the absolute case with place-name nouns and all other nouns.

Below is a chart showing the inflection of person-name nouns, both male and female; also is included the interrogative marker for comparative purposes.

CHART 18. PERSON-NAME NOUNS

Noun Class	Nominative	Absolute	Oblique	Vocative	Interr
(Functions Manifested)	S	O,Ca,Co	Head in N manifesting Modgen, Axis in PP	Voc	P
M o	ma:dde:b-oi	-a	-o(-)	-o:	-e:?
A u	ko:s-u	-a	-u(-)	-o:	-e:?
L a	man-i	-a	-ə(-)	-ə:	-e:?
E e	ada:r-ē:	-a	-e(-)	-é:	-e:? high pitch
FE- MALE	All names	gumba:r-a	-o	-i(-)	-i:?

Wolaitta speakers categorize all non-Wolaitta names according to the classes of Wolaitta place-name nouns and person-name nouns. As with Wolaitta place-name nouns, indigenized place-name nouns have a different system from person-name nouns, and female-

name nouns take the same standard suffixes as the one form of Wolaitta female-name nouns.

7.3.4. Locative Nouns

A locative noun manifests the Head of a N that manifests the Axis of a PP manifesting the Location function in a clause.

Locative nouns are a small set of nouns, for they delineate specific locations in, on, or about something, e.g.,

(33)

N	Mod	Gen	N	Ax	PP
nu	tugge:	garsa	n	-	ni
our	of pot	underside	H	Ax	pp
		-	n		pp
		"at"			Rel
					"...under our pot..."

The following are examples of locative nouns manifesting Head in the N manifesting the Axis of a PP:

N	Ax	PP	N	Ax	PP
locative		Rel	locative		Rel
noun		pp	noun		pp
kare	-	ni	outside	pude	- ni
lankiya	-	ni	beside	duge	- ni
mata	-	ni	near	giddo	- ni
guye:	-	ra	behind	garsa:	- ra
guyya:	-	ni	behind	ṭjade:	- ra
ṭe:ra	-	ni	at the top	ha:huwa	- ni
bolla	-	ni	on top	garsa	- ni
bolla:	-	ra	above	?acca	- ni
			sinta:	- ra	at foot of
					in front of

Investigation yet needs to be made as to which locative nouns may not be common nouns morphologically, e.g., /kare/ "door-step" (the outside), can occur as an independent Head of a N, as can /mata:/ "the nearness".

7.3.5. Manner Nouns

A manner noun manifests the Head of a N manifesting the Axis of a manner PP, which manifests the Manner function in a clause.

Manner nouns are a small set of nouns with the common seman-

tic property of denoting how something is done, e.g.,

- (34) Man P
 le:la-ni hemetti:si. "He walked quietly."
 quiet—"by" he walked

Some of the manner nouns, to which the postpositions are suffixed, have become lexically fused with the postposition and have no meaning apart from the postposition, e.g., (lodda-ni/ "slowly" can be analysed as a manner noun /lodda/ plus the postposition /-ni/. However, /lodda/ has no meaning by itself, nor can it manifest other functions like the noun /dirba/ "haste", which in addition to manifesting the Axis of the PP /dirba-ni/ "hastily", can manifest other functions, such as the Head of the N that manifests S of the clause in (35):

- (35) Loo S P
 ha ?osuwa-ni dirbai dare:si.
 this work -"in" haste is many

Haste abounds in this work.

The following are examples of manner nouns found in the Axis of a PP:

N	Ax	PP	N	Ax	PP	
H		Rel	H		Rel	
locative noun		pp	locative noun		pp	
lodda	-	ni	slowly	hankuwa	- ni	angrily
le:la	-	ni	quietly	?azzanuwa	- ni	sorrowfully
hada	-	ni	in vain	?e:suwa	- ni	quickly
ke:hatetta	-	ni	kindly	dirba	- ni	hastily
?otoruwa	-	ni	proudly	wolka	- ni	powerfully
			sohuwa:	- ra		immediately

7.3.6. Subordinating Nouns (nsubg)

Subordinating nouns constitute a closed set of nouns that has been observed to consist of the three nouns: /mala/ "likeness", /wode/ "time", /kase/ "previous time". They manifest the Head of a 2a type and a 2b type of clausal subordinating noun phrase, illustrated in section 3.2.1.4.2.

8.0. Introduction

A Wolaitta word usually manifests a function at the phrase level, e.g., a noun manifests the Head function in a N, or a demonstrative determiner manifests the Determiner function in a N, or a verb manifests the Head of a V, etc.

However, a single verb, which manifests the Head of a V, which in turn manifests the P of a clause, may constitute a clause, for the P can on its own constitute a clause.

Verbs have been treated in detail at the word level in Chapter 5, and nouns in Chapter 7, and so in this chapter they will merely be contrasted with other word classes in order to establish their identity. Proforms, determiners, adjectives, numerals, and particles are the other word classes found in Wolaitta.

These seven main classes of words are classified according to criteria that is internal to Wolaitta, and is arrived at by examining the behaviour patterns of Wolaitta words, syntactically.

Subclasses of these main seven classes do indeed exist, but their classification is attributable to a few idiosyncratic features in each case.¹ The distinctions shown by these subclasses do not seem to be extensive enough to warrant setting up extra word classes.

The following chart gives an overview of the Wolaitta word classes and characteristics that distinguish each class:

CHART 19. WORD CLASSES

		WORD CLASS						
Deter- miners				Participle	Possessive	Demonstrative	Numerical	Adjective
		Verb	Noun	Proform	-	-	-	
	Can inflect	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	May be negated	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Ability to carry a subordinator	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Prefers clause final position	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Can inflect for person	+	-	+	-	-	-	+
	Can inflect for number	+	+	+	-	-	+	-
	Can inflect for gender	+	+	+	-	-	+	-
	Can inflect for aspect and tense	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Can inflect for mood	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Can inflect for voice	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Can inflect for case	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
	Can inflect for definiteness	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
	May manifest Head of a N	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
May	function as possessor	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
May	function as possessed	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
	May be pre-modified	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
	May be intensified	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
	Can inflect for deixis	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
	Closed class	-	-	+	-	+	+	+

8.1. Verbs

Verbs manifest the Head of a V, and no other word class does this. The distinguishing characteristics of verbs are: 1) Can be negated, 2) Ability to carry a subordinator and relativizer, 3) Can inflect for aspect, e.g., /dosausu/ "she loves", /dosibenna/ "who did not love", /dosikko/ "if someone loves". 4) Can inflect for gender, tense, mood, and voice, e.g., /dosa/ "love!", /dosi:si/ "he loved", /?agissana/ "will cause to quit". 5) Can inflect for number, and person, e.g., /dosideta/ "you(pl) loved". 6) Prefers clause and

sentence final location.

8.2. Nouns

A noun manifests the Head of a N, and its distinguishing characteristics are:

- 1) Can inflect for number, e.g., /ga:ra/ "gazelle", /ga:rata/ "gazelles".
- 2) Can inflect for case and gender /ga:iya:/ "female gazelle, nom".
- 3) Can inflect for definiteness, may function as possessor, and can function as possessed, e.g., /?a:wa/ "father",
 /ta ?a:wa: ?isa:/ "my father's brother".
 my the father the brother
- 4) May be pre-modified, e.g., /he na:??u gitा mitta:/
 those two large tree
- 5) May be conjoined with another noun or proform, e.g.,
 /ne ?ayyiyo:-nne ?eta/
 your mother -and them

8.3. Proforms

Proforms manifest the Head of a proN, and its distinguishing characteristics are:

- 1) Can inflect² for person, number, and gender, e.g., /?i/ "he", /?a/ "she", /?eti/ "they", /ne/ "you, sg".
- 2) Can inflect for case, e.g., /?a/ "she", /?o/ "her", /la:/ "Oh you, maso".
- 3) They may not function as possessor or possessed, nor be modified.
- 4) They are a closed class comprising the following items:

PERSON	NOMINATIVE "he"	ABSO- LUTIVE "him"	OBLIQUE "him-(from)"	VOCATIVE "Oh you!"	Plus verb "to be" "Is it he?"
1	ta		ta:-		
2sg	ne		ne:-	{ bi: (fem) la: (masc)	
3f	?a	?o	?i-/?i:-		?i:?
3m	?i	?a	?a:-		?e:?
1pl	nu				
2pl	?inte				
3pl	?eti	?eta	?eta:-		
what?			?ai?		
where?			?au?		
whom?			?o:-		

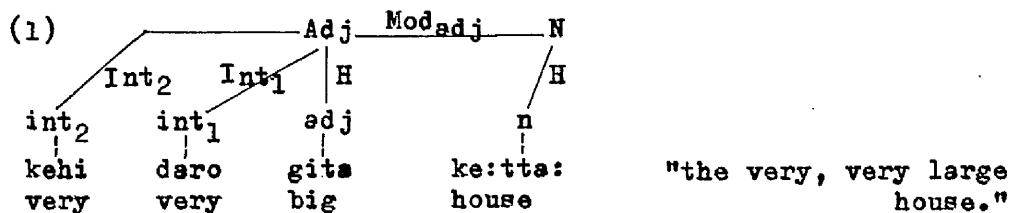
There are gaps in the above chart; and the categories in these gaps are expressed by items whose construction is analysed here as that of a nominalized phrase. They are treated in section 6.1.3.2.2.(49), in which section is found a chart that together with the above chart cover items that express anaphoric reference.

Proforms have related possessive determiner forms.

8.4. Adjectives

Although words classified here as adjectives do resemble nouns that are unmarked for indefinite, absolute, and singular categories, adjectives in Wolaitta differ from nouns in the following respects:

- 1) Adjectives have not been observed to inflect for case, definiteness, number, or gender like nouns do.
- 2) Adjectives may be modified by an intensifier, but the intensifier /kehi/ "very" has not been observed modifying a noun directly.
- 3) If Adjectives were thought to be nouns that manifest the Head of a N manifesting the genitive Modifier in a N, then because of all the restrictions placed upon them (see 6.0.) a special type of N would need to be posited, which is no more economical than classifying the word as an adjective that manifests the Head of an adjective Phrase, e.g.,



4) While adjectives might be considered to be a closed class of words in that there must be fewer items in it than nouns, it is presumed that new adjectives could be included, which would make it an open class of words.

- (2) /gu:tta/ "small" /lo??o/ "good"
 /gita/ "big" /gobe/ "important"
 /mino/ "strong" /dure/ "rich"
 /le?:?e/ "thin" /?adusse/ "long"

Since words describing colours behave like adjectives, they are treated here as adjectives, e.g.,

- (3) /bo:tta/ "white" /mu?ale/ "dazzling white"
 /karetta/ "black" /zo??o/ "red"
 /bulle/ "grey" /?alla:tte/ "spotted"

(Colours such as green and yellow are not rendered by one word, but by means of a phrase, e.g., /ma:ta mala/ "green", grass like

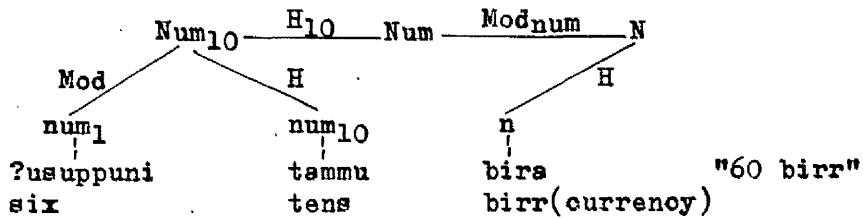
- (4)
 /?adil?iya: mala/ "yellow").
 yellow daisy like

8.5. Numerals

While numerals resemble adjectives in certain respects, they differ in others:

- 1) Numerals manifest the Head of a numeral phrase or the Modifier function in a noun phrase such as N_{10} or in a Num_{10} ; whereas adjectives manifest the Head of an Adj, which is of very different syntactic structure than a Num_{10} or N_{10} (see 6.2.).
- 2) Numerals may not be modified by an intensifier like adjectives.
- 3) Numerals may be pre-modified, whereas adjectives may not, e.g.,

(5)



4) Numerals have vowel endings which are different from those of adjectives; viz. /-i/ and /-u/, whereas those of adjectives are /-a/, /-e/, /-o/.

5) Numerals are a closed class comprised of the following items:
(The noun form of each numeral contains the final vowel /-a/).

(6)	1 ?issi	9 ?udduppuṇi
	2 na??u	10 tammu
	3 he:zzu	20 la:tamu
	4 ?oiddu	30 hastamu
	5 ?iocašu	40 ?oitamu
	6 ?usuppuṇi	50 ?išatamu
	7 la:ppuni	100 te:tu
	8 hospuni	1000 Še?u

How numeral forms of numbers combine with noun forms of numbers to form complex numbers is treated under Numeral Phrase, section 6.2.

8.6. Determiners

Determiners have been divided here into two classes, those that are possessive, and those that are deictic.

Possessive determiners may inflect for person, but demonstrative determiners do not. Both inflect for number and gender. Both are closed classes. They occur before a noun or a nominalizer and may not be pre-modified.

8.6.1. Possessive Determiners

The possessive determiners are:

(7)	ta "my"	nu	"our"
	ne "your sg"	?inte	"your,pl"
	?i/ba "her (non-exclusive)/ her (exclusive)"	?eta/bants	"their (non-exclusive)/their (exclusive)"

?a/ba "his (non-exclusive/
his (exclusive))"

Phonologically, /ta, ne, a, nu, ?inte/ resemble the proforms that occur in the nominative case, and /?eta/ resembles the absolute case proform. One might want then to interpret these possessive determiners as proforms manifesting the Head of a proN manifesting the Modgen function. However, within the possessive determiner paradigm, the "exclusive" possessive determiners /ba/ "his/her" and /banta/ "their" may not manifest S, Ca, O, Co, like proforms, but are restricted to only a genitive function. And, as explained below, since /ba/ and /banta/ are in complementary distribution with their counterparts /a/ "his (non-exclusive)" and /?eta/ "their (non-exclusive)" in that one or other of them must occur as 3m genitive, /a/ and /?eta/ can be interpreted as possessive determiners along with /ba/ and /banta/. This is especially so, when it is noted that no proform manifesting S, O, Ca, Co has a counterpart with the "exclusive" feature. Furthermore, /?i/ "her" (genitive) is in contrast to /?a/ "she(nom)" and /?o/ "her(əbs)", which supports the analysis that there are some distinct forms for possessive determiners. And so because these exist, the other members of the paradigm are assumed to be possessive determiners (with homophonous proforms) until further investigation reveals them to be otherwise.

The possessive determiners /ba/ "his/her", and /banta/ "their", are "exclusive" in the sense that the form /ba/ "his" refers to the subject of the main verb of the clause in which /ba/ occurs, and excludes any other 3m referent (as in (8)). The possessive determiner /?a/ "his" refers to someone other than the subject of the main verb of the clause in which /?a/ occurs (as in (9)), e.g.,

- (8) Ba:ssi ba ke:tta: bi:si.
Baassa his own the house he went.
(no one else's)

Baassa went to his own house.

- (9) Ba:ssi ?a ke:tta: bi:si.
Baassa someone other the house he went
than Baassa's

Baassa went to his (other than Baassa's) house.

The gloss "his own" for /ba/ might make it appear to be a reflexive form, but the reflexive form is a N, /ba hu:piya:/ "his head, (literally)" or "himself".

There are three demonstrative determiners. Two of them /ha/ "this", /he/ "that", can manifest the Determiner function in a N or a Nz. The third demonstrative determiner is the bound form /?hi-/ "that (fem only)", which has been observed to manifest the Determiner function in only a Nz, e.g., /hanno/ "It is this(fem)."

8.7. Particles

A particle is a word that is invariable. It does not inflect for number, case, aspect, gender, nor does it function as possessor or possessed. It may not be pre-modified. It maintains only one form.

Particles may be grouped according to the functions that they manifest:

8.7.1. Temporals

Temporals manifest the Temporal function at the clause level, and consist of words such as /beni/ "in ancient times", /ha??i/ "now", /zino/ "yesterday", /hacci/ "today".

8.7.2. Manner Words

Manner words manifest the Manner function in a clause and describe how an action took place, e.g.,

- (10) /qo:/ "freely" /mele/ "in vain"
/dumma/ "separately"

Only a few such manner words have been observed.

8.7.3. Locatives

Locatives manifest the Location function in a clause and comprise a limited number of items, e.g.,

- (11) /bolli/ "on top" /duge/ "below"
/pude/ "up above" /sinti/ "opposite"

8.7.4. Intensifiers

The intensifier /daro/ "very", manifests the Intensifier

function in an adjective phrase. The intensifier /kehi/ "very", manifests the Intensifier₂ function in an adjective phrase, as illustrated in (2), 8.4., and in section 6.1.1.2.6.1. under Adj.

9.0. Introduction

The sentence manifests functions at the paragraph level (a level which is not dealt with here). The sentence also manifests functions at the sentence level, as seen below, and at clause level, in that a sentence may manifest the Quote function in a clause.

In this brief overview of Wolsitta sentences, three types of sentences are established: 1) the minor sentence, 2) the main sentence, 3) the coordinated sentence. Coordinated sentences are treated under four types of coordination: 1) conjunctive, 2) disjunctive, 3) antithetical, and 4) alternative coordination.

9.1. Minor Sentence

Structure: mSn = +Head:non-clause

Read: a minor sentence consists of an obligatory Head manifested by a non-clause.

A non-clause structure that manifests the Head in a minor sentence, as defined by Cook (1969:58), may "include single words or short phrases that do not have the underlying structure of a clause. These structures are characterized, in general, by the absence of a predicate or predicate-like tagmeme in the string, which defines a clause. Yet such forms do occur with final intonation and fall within the general class of minor sentences."

Non-clauses consist of such things as:

a) Exclamations, e.g.,

- 1) po:re! "What a calamity!"
- 2) ho:ge! "Oh my, oh my!"
- 3) oi: "No, no!"
- 4) ?e: "Yes!"

b) Greetings, e.g.,

- 5) saro "Peace (Hello)"
- 6) lo??o "Fine"

9.2. Sentence

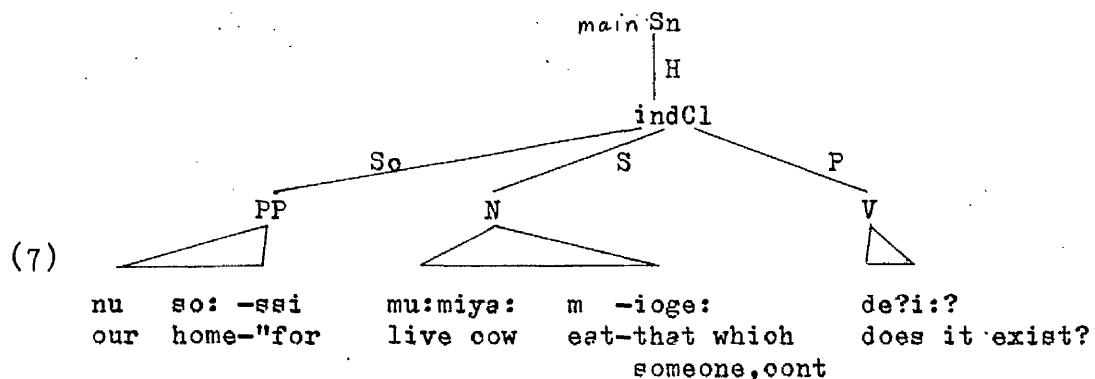
Structure: Sn = +(Mod:subCl/subgPP/subgN)ⁿ +Head:indCl

Read: a sentence contains an optional Modifier function

that may be manifested by a subordinate clause, or a clausal subordinating postpositional phrase, or a clausal subordinating noun phrase, which may be repeated 0-n times; this is followed by an obligatory Head function manifested by an independent clause.

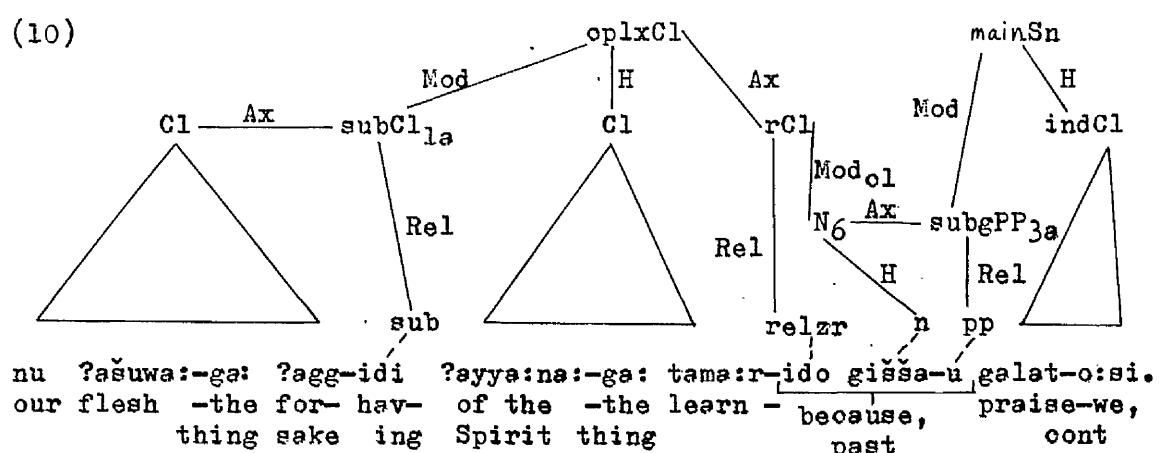
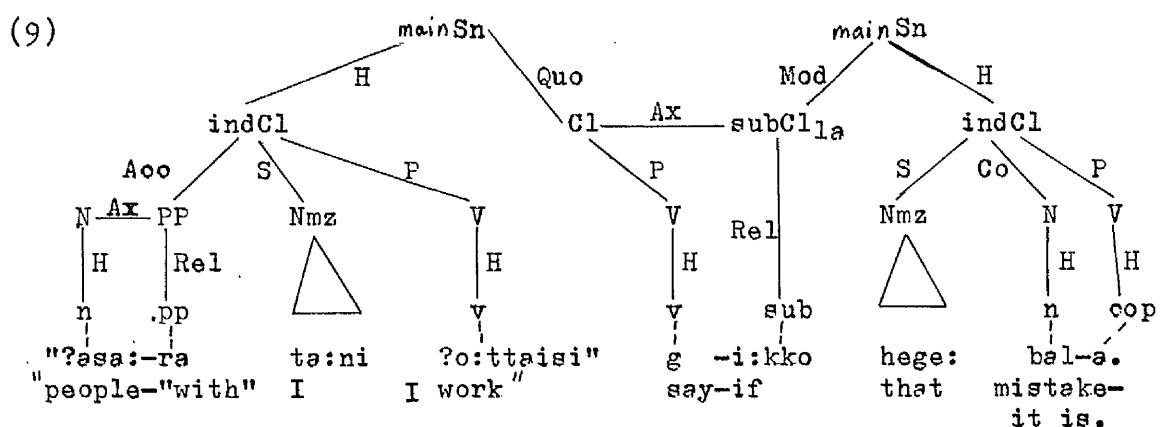
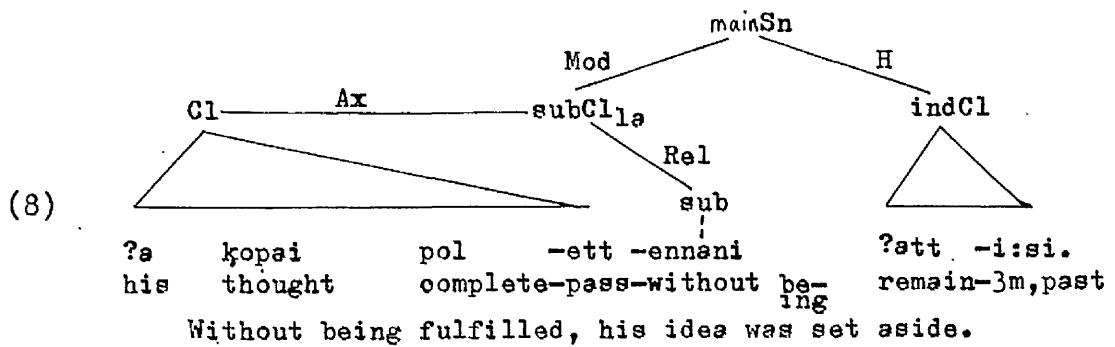
This type of structure proposed here for the main sentence, an optional marginal element with a Modifier and a nucleus with a Head, has been used for other structures in this thesis, such as the noun phrase which has a margin consisting of modifying elements, and a nucleus consisting of a Head (see 6.1.1.1.). The verb construction contains a Nucleus manifested by a stem and a Margin manifested by a SUFFIX (see 5.2.) as does the noun construction (see 7.1.). A nominalized phrase (see 6.1.3.1.) and a numeral phrase (see 6.2.) also consist of Modifier functions and a Head function. In the usual taxonomy of sentences, "complex" sentences have an obligatory subordinate clause. This scheme is not being followed here, because it obscures the very obvious parallels between sentence structure and phrase structure (see Hutter 1973:82) in which modifiers are only ever optional expansions.

A main Sn may consist only of an indCl manifesting the Head, e.g.,



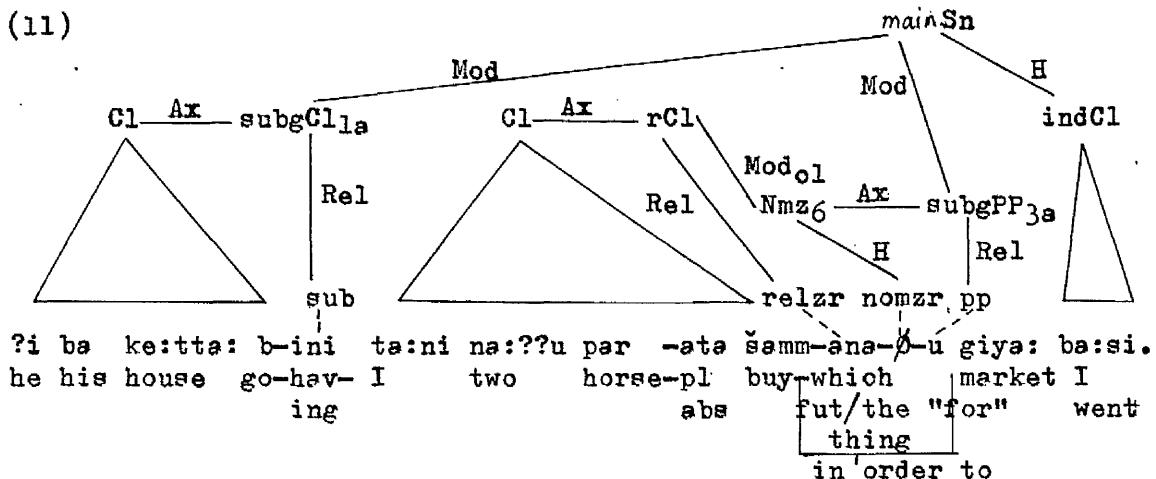
Does our family have the custom of eating a live cow?
(asked the hyena).

Each one of the subordinate variants manifesting the Modifier function may occur more than once in a sentence, and may co-occur in various combinations with each other. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to detail the possible cooccurrences of items manifesting Mod with items manifesting Head, but the following are some examples:



We offer praise, because having forsaken the things of our lower nature, we have learned the things of the Spirit.

(11)



When he went to his house, I went to the market to buy two horses.

9.3. Coordinated Sentences

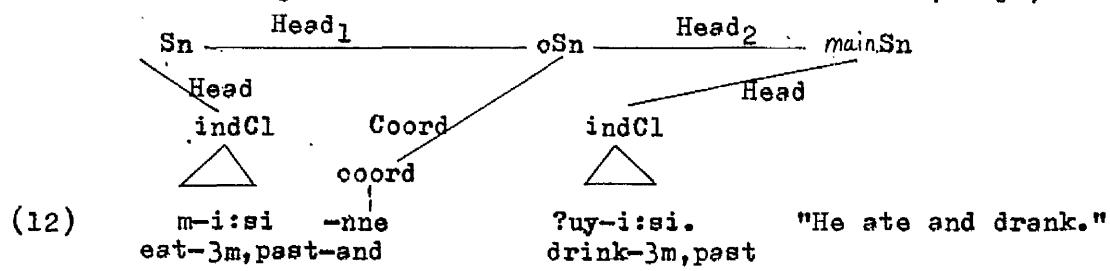
Structure: oSn = +Head₁:mSn/mainSn/cS +Coord:coord
+Head₂:mSn/mainSn/cS

Read: a coordinated sentence consists of an initial obligatory Head function manifested by a minor sentence, or a main sentence, or a coordinated sentence; this is followed by an obligatory Coordinator function manifested by a coordinator, followed by a second obligatory Head function manifested by a minor sentence, or a main sentence, or a coordinated sentence.

There are four items that comprise the coordinator set:
/-nne/ "and", /šini/ "but", /-ppe Šattini/ "but rather", /woi/ "or". A coordinated sentence has four variants, based upon the item manifesting the Coordinator function: conjunctive, disjunctive, antithesis, and alternation coordination.

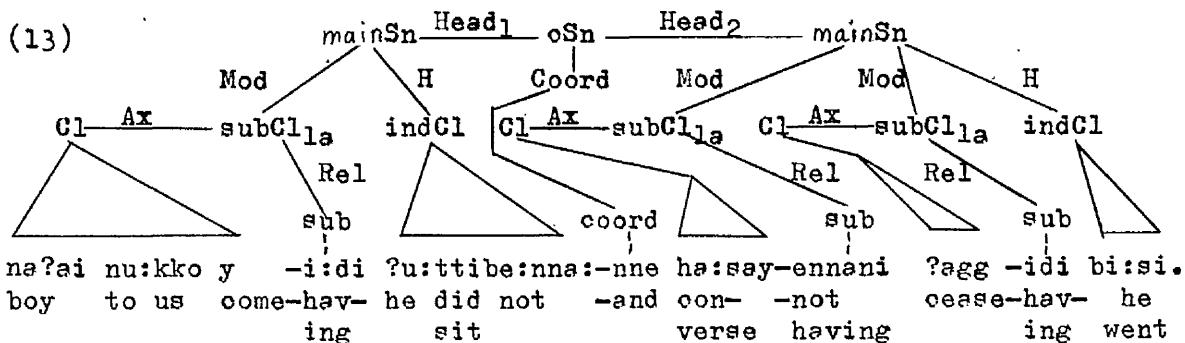
9.3.1. Conjunctive Coordination

Conjunctive coordination is characterized by the suffix /-nne/ "and" manifesting the Coordinator function in a sentence, e.g.,



In such a short sentence as (12), many Wolaitta speakers

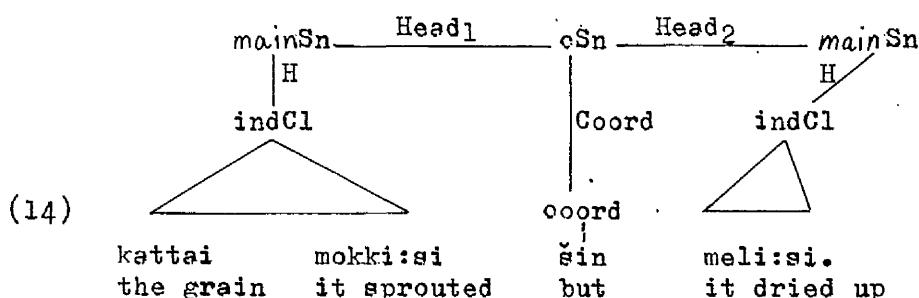
would probably prefer to suffix /-nne/ to the second verb as well as to the first and say, /m-i:si-nne ?uy-i:si-nne/ "He ate and drank." As far as can be determined, the occurrence of one or two conjoiner manifesting items is a matter of style and not of meaning.



The child, having come to us, did not sit down, and not having conversed, leaving us, he went away.

9.3.2. Disjunctive Coordination

Disjunctive coordination is characterized by the word /šini/ "but" manifesting the Coordinator function in a sentence, e.g.,



The grain sprouted but dried up.

By its very nature disjunctive coordination can not be recursive without intervening layers of other coordination types or further embedded clausal structures, the details of which remain to be investigated.

9.3.3. Antithesis Coordination

Antithesis coordination is characterized by the SUFFIX /-ppe ?attini/ manifesting the Coordinator function in a sentence. The SUFFIX /-ppe ?attini/ "but rather" can be compared with the form that means /-ppe ?att -ini/. This SUFFIX is affixed only from remain behind-having

to the item manifesting Head of a V manifesting P in an independent

clause.

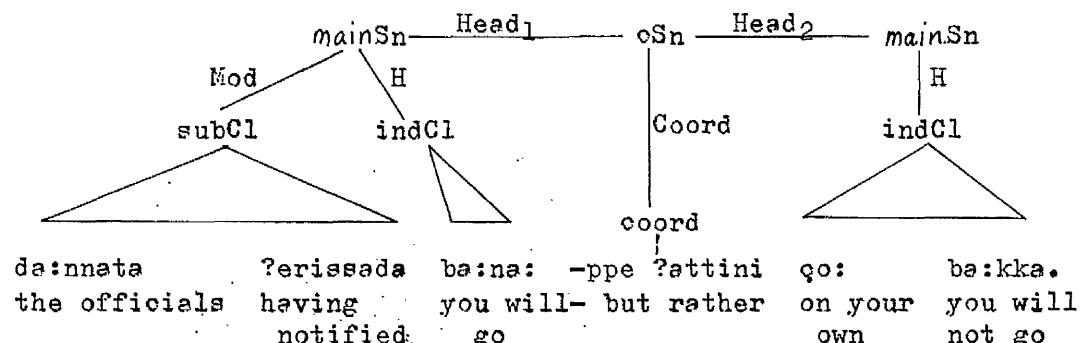
As in the Amharic language, the ordering of the antithesis (15) is different from that found in English (16), for the "but rather" construction cooccurring with the positive proposition precedes the negative proposition, e.g.,

- (15) bi:si -ppe ?att -ini ?u:ttibenna.
 he went⁺"from" cease-having] he did not sit
 ← but rather →

- (16) He did not sit down, but rather he went.

Example

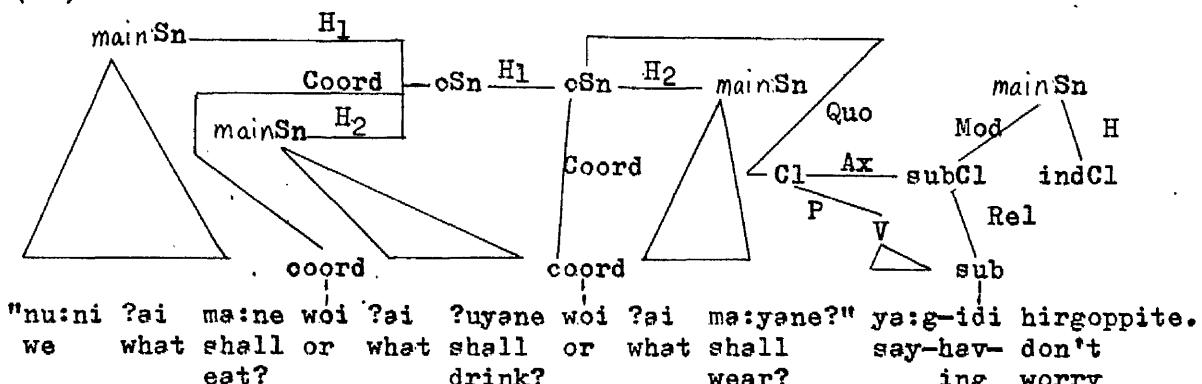
- (17)



9.3.4. Alternation Coordination

Alternation Coordination is characterized by the word /woi/ "or" manifesting the Coordinator function. The structure in alternation coordination is like conjunctive coordination in that more than two independent clauses can be conjoined by more than one Coordinator functor, e.g.,

- (18)



Don't worry, having said, "What shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or what shall we wear?"

Chapter 1

1. Lake Abbay is listed on some maps as Lake Marguerite.
2. This estimate is based on Report on a Survey of Gemu Gofa Province, 1967, and Report on a Survey of Sidamo Province, 1968, both published by the Ethiopian Government Central Statistical Office. It is also based on information obtained from the Administrative Office of districts within Gemu Gofa that contain Wolaitta speakers.
3. At this point Fleming preferred the name Hamito-Semitic to Afroasiatic.
4. Cerulli's "Lowland Cushitic" classification did not include as many language groups as does Bender's "Cushitic", and the two do not match one for one. However, the point that Omotic shares a special affinity with Cushitic is nevertheless true.
5. In 1934 the Gospel of Mark was produced in the Gofa dialect, and in 1943 the Gospel of John was produced in Wolaitta. However, these had only limited circulation and limited use for a short period of time because of government restrictions.
6. No doubt, for Bender's purpose of general language classification a precise phonetic transcription is not essential in his listing of words used in his lexical comparisons—unless some phonetic feature in one word is in contrast to that in another word and, therefore, must be recorded precisely. And so it is reasonable to see why he would not spend the time necessary to precisely transcribe each feature in a word, when the word could be recognized and compared on less precise data.
7. Allan's analysis is done on the Kullo dialect, and it might be argued that to compare Kullo words with Wolaitta words could be a doubtful comparison. However, even though certain lexical and syntactic features may differ, the phonology of Wolaitta and the phonology of the dialects of Gofa and Kullo are extremely close. The geminated /tt/ of Wolaitta can often be predicted to occur as /ts/ in the dialects, and /t/ to occur as /ts/ or /d/. But vowels in root forms of words are generally the same in the dialects adjacent to Wolaitta, such as Kullo, Gofa, and Kucha. Therefore, the comparison of Wolaitta vowel features and gemination features with those in the dialects of Wolaitta is very valid. Fleming (1976a:51) concurs that the "dialects of Welamo

8. No doubt these might also be errors in printing or proof reading.

Chapter 2

1. For phoneme inventory of long consonants see Chart 2, of diphthongs see Chart 3, of long vowels see Chart 4.
2. In the phonetic transcription only three levels of pitch have been distinguished, high pitch is indicated with —, low pitch with _, medium and higher or lower pitch levels will be unmarked.
3. In Wolaitta, the vocoid sequence, [uwa:], usually occurs phonological-word final as a noun suffix. Consequently, when the Amharic word, [kwas] "ball" is indigenized in Wolaitta to become [kowa:sija:] "the ball", the labialized consonant /k/, plus the vowel /a/, is changed from a segment containing one pitch level in Amharic to a segment containing two pitch levels in Wolaitta, becoming [owa:], with medium pitch on [o] and high pitch on [wa:]. This further illustrates the point that the vocoid sequence [uwa:] in Wolaitta is intrinsically felt by Wolaittas to be two separate syllables, and not one complex vowel containing only one pitch level or a glide.
4. For the interpretation of stress see 2.3.1., and for syllable division see 2.2.
5. A possible counter-analysis could be that the up gliding or down gliding pitches on durationaly long vowels and diphthongs suggests that the accent can be syllable initial or syllable final--establishing vowel sequences. But there are words where long vowels and diphthongs are pronounced on a level pitch. Since accent occurs only once in a word, an analysis of a long vowel or a diphthong with a high level pitch would be difficult. Perhaps further consideration of this matter is necessary.
6. The — sign is used by Cook (1969:46) to indicate "an obligatory tagmeme, but shows that the tagmeme is a suprasegmental, and not in linear sequence."
7. Stress is a suprasegmental that syntagmatically binds together syllables in a Wolaitta word. And so when the symbol of stress is used on a unit smaller than a word, such as the root, the symbol is marking stress potential, rather than actual physical stress.
8. This term "root-initial" is used when referring only to roots

containing more than one syllable. It does not refer to roots such as /b-/ "go", or /m-/ "est".

9. In translating one verse of the Wolaitta New Testament, one usage of the word "wall" had to remain ambiguous in the Ethiopic script (which does not differentiate stressed and unstressed units), for efforts to describe the "wall" in terms of a house, could also be read as "master of the house".

Chapter 3

1. The term "scope" is used by Pike (1977:42-46) to cover not only what is referred to in this thesis as scope, but is used as "a catch-all type of category." Pike uses "scope" as a role; however, this thesis uses the term "scope" as a function.
2. The terms "causee" and "causer" are used by Bernard Comrie (1981:55), and are adapted from him for usage in this thesis. He refers to the causee as "the entity caused to do something". (op cit.:162).
3. However certain 'peripheral' tagmemes could well be obligatory in certain discourse situations, such as when they are focused by an antecedent Wh. Q.
4. (See opposite)
5. In the case of a quotation clause being the Complement of the verb "to think" (or some other verb involving a mental process), syntactic and semantic issues are raised which would require a thesis in themselves to investigate properly. The thinking process may be expressed in a form such as:

nena m - e:si ya:g - ada wott-ai?
 you,abs eat-3m,cont say -having,2s are you running?
 Literal: you(abs) they (Italians) you having said are you running?
 will be eating

If the above were true direct quote, and the boy said that they were about to eat him, he would have to refer to himself as "me" in the quote "they will be eating me". However, "me" is not used, but rather /nena/ "you(abs)"—which cannot be the subject, syntactically, even though it is the same participant as that in the P.

The sentence could be interpreted as:

nena me:si ya:gada wottai?
 concerning your- they will having are you running?
 self be eating thought

Meaning: Are you running, having thought they would eat you?

4. It could be objected that bitransitive, bi-intransitive, and bistrative clauses are required by only a small set of verbs in each case, and in every case the distinction has been required on account of the Scope tagmeme. Certainly it would have been possible to treat the bitransitive verbs (taking this as representative of the three types) as a sub-set of transitive verbs which obligatorily require the presence of one or other of various types of postpositional phrases. But it is precisely this obligatory occurrence which makes for the emic difference between this clause type and other clause types. The same argument could have been extended to abolish ditransitive and di-intransitive clause types as well, since in both these cases, too, only a limited number of verbs manifesting V in Predicate is required to be handled. To ignore the obligatory nature of the Scope tagmeme would be to deny the fundamental basis of distinguishing clause types in a tagmemic grammar, which operates with the criterion that every obligatory element of a construction can argue for a distinct syntagmeme. The heterogeneous set of manifesting items for Scope might indeed have led some analysts to posit a number of distinct clause types. The inclusion in this analysis of all of these as one type represents an economy.

O	S	Quo(?)	P
ba:ssi	de?ida:ba:	?o:ninne	baba:
"for" himself	that which	nobody	it's his
existed			
that which he had			

Nobody considered that what he had was his own thing.

If a person were actually making the statement that something belonged to him, when speaking about himself, he would not say, "It is his.", using the third person, but say, "It is mine."

There are two other interesting forms that express this type of "thinking" process, e.g.,

tana	bana	šoq-e:si	ya:g-ada	wot̪ta:su
Literal: me,abs	herself,abs	hit-3m,cont	say-3f having	she ran
Inter- pretation: con- cerning cerning me	concerning herself	he will be hitting	she having thought	she ran
Meaning: Thinking that I would hit her, she ran.				

Note that in the above clause, while /tana/ "me" in the absolute case is actually the actor in the verb /šoq-e:si/ "he will be hitting", in the clause below the actual actor of the verb /šoq-e:si/ is in the nominative case, /?i/ "he". It is interesting to observe that an actor in the same paradigm is expressed as an absolute form in 1st person and as a nominative form in 3m,person.

?i	bana	šoq-e:si	ya:g-ada	wot̪ta:su.
Literal: he,nom	herself,abs	hit-3m,cont	say-she having	she ran
Inter- pretation: he	concerning herself	he will be hitting	she having thought	she ran
Meaning: Thinking that he would hit her, she ran.				

Ullendorff (1965:8) notes this same feature in Amharic and cites a short but very complicated sentence. Foreigners found it most difficult to grasp the sense of it.

6. Although /-o:?: and /-ino:?:/ are the only morphologically distinct 1st imp forms in Wolaitta, there are other ways of expressing the 1st imp:
- 1) Using the continuous aspect, e.g.,

?ane b -o:si Literal: "Well then, we are going."
 Meaning: "Let us go!"

2) Using the compulsive form ("we ought to/not to..."), e.g.,

subCl			indCl		
S	Men	P	P		
nu:ní	hareti tisk-iyo:ga: -dani	tisk-anau	bessenna.		
we	others sleep-the thing-like	sleep -to	it is not		
	who,cont		right		

Literal: It is not right for us to sleep like others sleep.
 We ought not

Meaning: Let us not sleep like others do.

For the 2nd imp there is a periphrastic command form
 which uses a negative rhetorical question, e.g.,

Pl	P	
ne	so:	bi:kki?
your	home	are you not going?

Literal: Are you not going to your home?

Meaning: Get home, right now!

There is also a polite form for the 2nd imp,

?issi birá: ?immarkki?:
 one birr please, will you not give?

Please give me one birr.

Chapter 4

1. The Wolaitta V differs from serial verbs in West Africa in that one verb in the Wolaitta V is subordinate and the other is an independent verb form, whereas in the surface structure of the West Africa serial verbs, both verbs are independent verb forms. Some "clause clusters" in West African languages contain two verbs, in which the total meaning of the two verbs is the sum of the meanings of the two verbs (Pike 1970:43); this is not the case in the Wolaitta V.

Chapter 5

1. The difference in meaning between these two forms (115) and (117) that is indicated in their glosses is signalled by a difference in pitch pattern.

Chapter 6

1. A nominalized phrase that contains a clause Modifier function

corresponds to the "headless" relative construction referred to in the abstract as a feature typical of the languages of that area. See paradigms in sections 6.1.3.3.1. - 6.1.3.3.4.

2. (see opposite)

Chapter 7

1. The category "root" is posited in this thesis as the item manifesting the Nucleus function in a noun. However, derivational studies of Wolaitta might reveal that a stem level within the noun would be necessary to adequately describe the noun.

Chapter 8

1. Certain ideas and wording for this word type analysis have been adapted from the treatment of word types by E.M. Parker (1980: 140ff), whose work in turn was stimulated by R. Hayward (1976: 495ff).
2. The term "inflect" used here, in addition to substitution of affixes, is extended to include total substitution of the form in the case of monosyllable proforms.

2. It may be noted that case and number are treated as phrasal constituents in the case of Nmz, while they are treated as constituents of the Head noun word in the case of the N. This assymmetry of treatment should perhaps be resolved, but it is not clear how it should be accomplished in a tagmemic grammar with its insistence on maintaining levels; while in the case of the Nmz the Head is a bound element and itself looks like an instance of level skipping.

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