

NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE SCHOOL  
OF THEOLOGY

NOMINALIZATION IN HADIYYA

BY

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1998

DECEMBER, 1998



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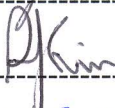

By  
Daniel Hankore

A Linguistic practicum submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the degree of Master of Arts  
in Translation Studies

This paper and the research on which it is based is my own work, and has  
not previously been submitted as an assignment.

  
*Daniel Hankore*

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December, 1998

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all I thank the Lord for helping me in many ways to complete this work.

My wife, Bizunesh Horamo, has been a great resource for my data gathering. In addition she has been an encouragement in various ways to finish this work. I would like to express my sincere thanks to her.

My understanding of syntactic features of Hadiyya was inspired by Dr. Ronnie Sim's work. Also he has been very happy to assist me any time I have needed his help. Beyond that he was open, and welcomed any new idea to his previous work in Hadiyya. Moreover I am in debt to him in several ways since our relationship, in 1983, in the Hadiyya Translation Project. I am very grateful to him.

If it were not because of the full sponsorship of SIL Ethiopia I wouldn't be able to undertake this study. So I would also like to express my sincere thanks to SIL Ethiopia.

Lastly I would like to thank my advisor Dr. Huttar and his wife Mrs. Mary Huttar for all their help and encouragement throughout my study time at NEGST, and particularly in this work.

## KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

Adj	Adjective
Adv	Adverb
Asp	Aspect
Caust	Causative
Chm	Chained clause marker
F	Feminine
HEC	Highland East Cushitic
Imp	Imperfect
Imprf	Imperfect
IndfSb	Indefinite subject
Inf	Infinitive
M	Masculine
N	Noun
Neg	Negative
NchCM	Nonchained clause marker
NHEC	North Highland East Cushitic
Nomn	Nominalization/-zor
Pl	Plural
Postp	Postposition
Prd	Predicator
Prsprf	Present perfect
Rsn	Reason
Sb	Subject
Sg	Singular
Simpprf	Simple perfect
SOV	Subject-object-verb
V	Verb
Vl	Vowel



## INTRODUCTION

As far as I know the syntactic and semantic features of nominalization in Hadiyya have not been dealt with so far. So there is no doubt that this work will be an important complement to other previous linguistic works on the language.

In such work it is necessary to identify and to decide what morphosyntactic characteristics determine whether a word is a noun or not. So the morphosyntactic characteristics of prototypical nouns are described in Chapter One. Then I deal with nominalization phenomena in Chapter Two. Action nominalization, locative nominalization, gerunds/infinitives, and adjective nominalization are discussed.

In Chapter Three I attempt to describe semantic and syntactic properties of the verbal nouns. In addition I posit a hypothesis about the functional and pragmatic properties of the nominalized nouns.

In this work I decided to make a distinction between major and minor glottal stops. For major glottal stop I use /ʔ/ and for minor glottal stop I use the apostrophe. I also use apostrophe to signal the ejective sounds. In such cases the geminate ejective consonants, which are written with digraphs in this work, are marked by only one apostrophe. Example: *bitt'ira* 'clay basin'.

In Hadiyya, in most cases, the final vowels are voiceless because of phonological variation. But no voiceless vowel is contrastive with its voiced counterpart. So I use the same symbols for both voiced and voiceless vowels throughout this work. For the palatal plosive sound Sim (1989) used /c/. But I have preferred to use /ch/ because currently it has been used in the Hadiyya texts. Thus it will be easier for Hadiyya readers.

The data on which this work is based was gathered from my own intuition, as a native speaker, from my wife Bizunesh Horama (also a native speaker) and from some Hadiyya texts. Judgment of acceptability of the data was mainly taken by myself. But in many cases Bizunesh has contributed a lot.



## THE HADIYYA PEOPLE

### 1 Location and Population

The major Hadiyya group lives in southwestern Ethiopia around their town Hossana about 230 kilometers from Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia. Since 1992 the area is known as the “Hadiyya Zone” for the administration purposes of the government.

The majority of the Hadiyya people are farmers. They grow different kinds of crops including the inset plant. They also keep cattle, sheep, goats, horses, donkeys and mules. In addition several businessmen are coming up with different kinds of investments from miniature to bigger businesses.

Education is widespread in the area and as a result the majority of the population are educated. So unemployment has become one of the social problems even though a large number of the young people have become the employees of governmental and nongovernmental organizations. Modernization is highly prevalent in the society. People are abandoning most traditional values and mores and adapting new life-styles.

The Hadiyya land extends as far as the Omo River on the west. Some Hadiyya people even live across the Omo River in the area called Bosha mixed with the Oromo people. On the east they are bordered by the Silt'i people, on the south by the Wolaitta people and on the north by the Gurage people (see Map 2, p. 56). There is another Hadiyya group in another district known as Woliso to the north of the Hadiyya. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century this group used to speak the Hadiyya language; but

now they have completely switched to the Oromo language. Also Sim (1989) noted that another Hadiyya group live in Bale Province and they also have completely switched to the Oromo language. For the purpose of this work I will focus only on the major Hadiyya group which lives around the Hossana (Waachamo) town.

According to the 1987 census (Grimes 1996) the number of the Hadiyya language speakers is 2,000,000 and the area is highly populated. There are four dialects of Hadiyya with relatively insignificant differences: Sooro Hadiyya, Leemo Hadiyya, Shaashoogo Hadiyya, and Badawaacho Hadiyya. The Badawaacho dialect group is geographically separated from the other groups by the Kambaata people intruded between them and it has a physical contact with the Wolaitta language speakers in the south. So they experience linguistic influence from the Wolaitta people though their language status is not threatened so far. (More detailed information about the Hadiyya is covered by Sim's work (1989:1-9)).

Historical records concerning the origin of the Hadiyya people is limited. Ernesta Ceruli in his survey noted that "the name Hadiyya is derived from that of the Muslim trading state and spelt similarly in later Ethiopic chronicles" (Ceruli 1956:118). But there is no sufficient evidence that this name was borrowed from Muslim traders. On the other hand some historical records indicate that Hadiyya was mentioned by some Arabic historiographers (Braukampex 1973:38)

## **2 Religion**

Before Christianity was introduced paganism prevailed among the Hadiyya people. Trees, rivers, and mountains were the objects of worship. They also believed in the existence of a supreme god known as *waa'a* who is the sky god. Thus he was



named after the sky which is also called *waa'a*. In other words the sky and the sky god have the same name. Sometimes the people invoked the blue sky as “Black god”.

The people used to offer drink offerings, food offerings and animal sacrifices to the spirits as well as the sky god. They also used to sprinkle melted butter with a bunch of grass into the sky as a thanksgiving to the sky god. Individuals and families may sacrifice a goat or a sheep or a chicken on their behalf which is known as *hagara*. Such sacrifices are considered as substitutions for those who offer them, because they believe that those sacrifices will take on themselves any kind of possible danger or misfortune which may harm them.

There was a particular family group called Anjamma who were believed to be rainmakers besides having other religious duties. They were consecrated as a special religious group and they received gifts for rain making. Other individuals like diviners (*boroodaano/kiiraano*), and people with especial knowledge (*hiraagaano*), were very important figures in religious and social affairs. Almost every family used to have a family god known as *Jaara* which actually possessed his subject (man or woman) and made him or her prophesy, promise or give warning to the family.

Furthermore the people of Hadiyya have been so apprehensive about their future that they believed in different kinds of omens: songs of particular birds, coming across a monkey or antelope or a woman carrying a jar full of water or empty, and interpreting animals' entrails, as a means to get guidance for their future. Wednesday and Friday were dedicated to divination.

Christianity was introduced to the area in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and since then these practices have been diminished very much. Today the majority of the Hadiyya

people are Protestants. At the moment the Protestant faith has adherents of more than 85% of the population. There are also members of the Ethiopian Orthodox church, Catholics, and Muslims.

### 3 Language

As Gleason noted “the Cushitic languages occupy most of the eastern horn of Africa” (Gleason 1961:465). Thus a wide area of the northeastern horn of Africa is inhabited by Cushitic language family speakers (see Map 1, p. 55), and the Hadiyya language belongs to this group within the Afroasiatic superfamily. It exhibits **SOV** constituent order typology in the clause, with postpositions, dependent clause preceding the main clause, modifiers and relative clauses nearly always preceding the head, question words occurring anywhere, and suffixing morphological structure. This set of features complies to other linguists’ description of **SOV** languages’ universal behavior (for example, see Payne 1997:72). Clause chaining is extensively used within the sentence (Perrett 1993, Sim 1989).

The languages closely related to Hadiyya are Libido, Sidaamo, Kambaata, Alaaba, Timbaaro, Daraasa, Gedeo, and Burji (Sim 1994:1520). Linguists refer to these languages as Highland East Cushitic (HEC) languages. The most closely related subgroups of these are Libido (closely related to Hadiyya), Kambaata, Timbaaro, and Alaaba. R. J. Sim refers to this group as North Highland East Cushitic (NHEC) (Sim 1989).

#### 3.1 Phonology

Hadiyya has a system of five vowels, long and short. Word final long vowels have a syntactic function in clause chaining. Hadiyya also has voiceless word-final



vowels (which do not contrast with voiced word-final vowels); voiced, voiceless and ejective obstruents, nasals, fricatives, and approximants /l/, /r/, and semivowels /w/, /y/. Consonant clusters occur word medially with a limited combination of consonant sounds (Sim 1989); /n/, /m/, /r/, and /i/ only precede obstruents (plosives and fricatives). The only sequence of obstruents is /d/ and /b/.

### 3.2 Morphology

Hadiyya exhibits a suffixing system in the verbs for case, aspect, and other pragmatic and syntactic functions. Gender-marking suffixation occurs only for human 3<sup>rd</sup> singular feminine, marked by subject-verb agreement in the verb.

### 3.3 Syntax

Sim's summary note in his article for the Linguistic and Language Encyclopedia is sufficient here: "Noun phrases are case-marked with absolute (base form) being used for citation, direct object, and predicate nouns. Word order is syntactically free. Subordinating markers occur clause finally. Clause chaining, switch reference, and extensive pro-drop occur" (Sim 1994:1520).

## 4. Previous works

Sim listed the following previous works on HEC languages in his 1989 work: descriptive and classificatory work in the HEC group in which the morphology of five HEC languages was summarized by Hudson in 1976, a short word list by J. Borelli in 1890, word lists and some comparative discussions by Enrico Ceruli in 1925, the Gospel of St. Matthew in Hadiyya, published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1937, moderately reliable work of Plazikowsky-Brawner in 1960, 1961, 1964 on Hadiyya, a short collection of fables and proverbs by Stinson in 1965, a short but

reliable grammatical sketch by Stinson in 1976, the verbal morphophonemic description of the HEC languages apart from Alaba and Libido, and reports on a dialect study which covered the NHEC languages, by Abebe et al. in 1985.

In addition the Hadiyya New Testament was dedicated in 1993. A syntactic analysis titled *Predicate Conjoining in Hadiyya: a Head-driven PS Grammar* by Sim (1989) and *The Switch-reference Phenomena in Hadiyya* by Perrett (1993) are the latest reliable works. Also a Hadiyya readers' guide for educated people was prepared by Perrett et al (1994). There are two other works by a Danish and a German scholar, about how Christianity was introduced to the Hadiyya and Kamabaata people and about the people of Hadiyya, respectively.

Since 1993 elementary education has been given in Hadiyya. Thus all the elementary school materials have been prepared in Hadiyya, in the Latin script.

## *Chapter One*

# MORPHOSYNTACTIC FEATURES OF PROTOTYPICAL NOUNS

Before I embark on describing nominalization in Hadiyya it is important to identify the properties of the prototypical nouns of the language. This will help to verify my hypotheses about nominalization. Thus in this section I will attempt to describe some lexical and grammatical properties of nouns in Hadiyya. In other words it is important to identify what morphosyntactic characteristics determine whether a word is a noun or not, before I actually describe nominalization itself. Croft says:

“Since prototypes are a characteristic of human categorization, and human language involves categorization, prototypes have a potential explanatory value in linguistics. ...a particular word (or construction) expresses many grammatical categories at once. Some particular combination of those category values represents the “core” members of the category. If a word or construction lacks some of the category values of central members, then it is a **peripheral member** of the category” (Croft 1990:125, emphasis mine).

But Schachter notes that there is no clear-cut basis to identify some words as different parts of speech:

“there is not always a clear basis for deciding whether two distinguishable open classes of words that occur in a language should be identified as different parts of speech or as subclasses of single parts of speech. The reason for this is that the open parts of speech class must be distinguished from one another on the basis of a cluster of properties, none of which by itself can be claimed to be a necessary and sufficient condition for assignment to a particular class” (Schachter 1985:6).  
“The term open class includes nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs.” (Ibid:5).

This remark implies that there is some overlap of shared properties of categories beside differences. For instance nouns and verbs may share certain properties. Then the question is what is the most convenient basis for determining the membership of the lexemes/words in this class. Basically the label “noun” is assigned to the class of lexemes in which the names of most persons, places, and things occur.



But it is obvious that it also includes words that are not actually the names of places, persons and things. The criteria for defining them can be formal criteria. Thomas Payne describes two formal properties of nouns: distributional and structural properties:

“Morphosyntactic properties of nouns fall into two groups: distributional (configurational) and structural properties. Distributional properties have to do with how words are distributed in phrases, clauses, and texts. For example, nouns can serve as heads of noun phrases..., subjects and objects of clauses..., and topics of texts” (Payne, 1997:33).

Some of the properties of the noun can be demonstrated by the following examples from Hadiyya. Nouns can function as subject and object of the clause:

(1)	<i>manchi</i>	<i>hurbaata</i>	itukko	‘the man ate food’
	man	food	ate	

The italicized words are subject and object of the clause, respectively, and are nouns.

Schachter lists some other typical criteria for categorizing nouns:

“Typical categories for which nouns may be specified, either morphologically or syntactically, are case, number, class or gender, and definiteness. Case marking indicates grammatical functions (such as subject, direct object and indirect object). (Schachter 1985:7).

Croft adds:

“The unmarked noun is nominative (or absolutive), singular, masculine (or animate) gender, normal size (i.e. not diminutive or augmentative)...[Thus] this unmarked word form in an utterance represents a cluster of grammatical values on different parameters. Such a cluster immediately evokes the image of a prototype category,...a category with ...fuzzy or variable boundaries. The core members have a cluster of properties, but the peripheral members of the category lack some of the core properties.... Typological evidence [is] used to determine that a particular member of a category is central or peripheral” (Corft 1990:124-5).

Based on these criteria I will try to describe basic structural and distributional properties of prototype nouns of Hadiyya. This is because it is impossible to describe

the features of nominalization without the description of inflectional morphology of the prototype nouns. Lightner makes this fact clear as it was quoted by Sim (1989): “Significant progress in the study of semantics, ...phonology... and syntax cannot be made without concomitant study of derivational morphology” (Lightner 1975:617).

## 1.1 Structural properties

Structural properties of the noun concern the features of the nominal words like number, gender and grammatical class. The noun and noun phrase of Hadiyya have been well analysed by Sim (1989). So I will adopt most of his work here.

### 1.1.1 Common nouns and proper nouns

In Hadiyya a slight grammatical distinction is made between common and proper nouns. In proper nouns female and male nouns have different structure. In all the feminine forms the final V of the citation noun forms are replaced by /e/ while all the masculine forms retain the final V of the citation forms. In other words there are two categories of proper nouns depending on gender. So if a female or a male proper name does not comply to this rule it implies that it is a unique proper noun for either category or it is a borrowed noun form. Example:

(2) The proper noun *laap'o* is a proper noun unique to female humans, because it can be affixed by *-o*, but not by *-e*.

On the contrary there is no such categorizing property in common nouns. For example, the following common nouns have the final VI of the citation form for both female and male humans.

(3)	manna	‘people’
	meento	‘women’
	goono	‘men’
	landa	‘girls’
	ooso	‘boys’

But when the common nouns are used in vocative form for a specific singular referent, a distinction is made. In such a case *-e* is affixed to the stem following the singular marker *-cho*. In the process *o* will be deleted. Example: *mancho!* ‘man!’: *meentiche!* ‘woman!’

### 1.1.2 Number

Word formation by an inflectional marking system is realized in Hadiyya. This feature is well demonstrated by noun phrase and verb agreement. There is a morphological criterion for this feature as Croft says:

“Inflectional languages used affixes which often fused together several grammatical categories (number, gender and case) into a single morpheme, and which often underwent major phonological alterations when combined with roots” (Croft 1993:39).

This criterion is clearly realized in Hadiyya as we can see from different examples provided in this work.

#### 1.1.2.1 Mass

Mass nouns are not marked for number. They simply occur in citation form.



(4)	shashara	‘sand’	* shashaluwwa	‘sands’
	wo’o	‘water’	* wo’uwwa	‘waters’
	bucha	‘soil’	* buchuwwa	‘soils’

### 1.1.2.2 Suppletive forms of number

There are few symbolic or suppletive forms of number.

(5)

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
beeto ‘a boy’	ooso ‘boys’
saayya ‘a cow’	laro ‘cows’

### 1.1.2.3 Inflectional formation of number

The structure of number in Hadiyya is complex indeed as Sim (1989) noted. Since this feature has been discussed by him adequately I will make only a few comments here. He stated that nouns in Hadiyya have three forms which he labeled as singulative, indefinite and plural. The diminutive marker has been considered as the secondary function of the singular ending (Sim 1989:106). Sim described only one form of singulars and plurals. But my data indicate that Hadiyya actually has five categories of marking in the number system: explicit (marked) singular, implicit (unmarked) singular, explicit (marked) plural, implicit (unmarked) plural, and diminutive (marked for singular and plural). Implicit plurals and implicit singulars have no overt markers.

Singular and diminutive marking morphemes are distinct. In fact all nouns, singular or plural, can be declined in diminutive forms, although morphemes may undergo some phonological processes due to combination.

Thus the three explicit number markers are *-cho* ‘singular marker’, *-icho* ‘diminutive marker’, and *-Vwwa* ‘plural marker’. When the implicit singulars are suffixed by *-icho* they denote a diminutive or affectionate semantic sense of a noun. For example *mine* ‘a house’ is the implicit singular form. When it is suffixed by *-icho* as in *mincho* ‘a small house’ it becomes a diminutive form rather than a singular form. See the following examples:

(6)

<u>Unmarked singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>		<u>Diminutive</u>	
mine	‘a house’	minne-ewwa	‘houses’	min-cho	‘a small house’
beeto	‘a boy’	ooso	‘boys’	beet-icho	‘a small boy’
bitt’ira	‘a clay basin’	bit’il-uwwa	‘clay basins’	bit’-icho	‘a small basin’
heeda	‘an ax’	heedduwwa	‘axes’	heesho	‘a small ax’

Note that the initial vowel /i/ of the diminutive morpheme is sometimes deleted for phonological reasons in the process of combination. The plural diminutive marker is *-icha’a*. Thus the plural diminutive forms of the above examples will be *mincha’a*, *ooshicha’a*, *bit’icha’a* and *heeshicha’a* respectively.

The phonological alteration of the diminutive morpheme *-icho* in this process is clearly realized. For instance for stems with final plosives the diminutive marker *-icho* is altered to *-sho*, and the plosive is deleted. Example:

(7)	bagado	‘a spear’	baga-sho	‘small spear’
	agada	‘stem of the maize’	aga-sho	‘small stem’
	gubeedo	‘a thigh’	gubee-sho	‘a small thigh’
	moorada	‘a file’	moora-sho	‘small piece of a file’
	marabo	‘honey’	mara-sho	‘small amount of honey’
	ado	‘milk’	asho	‘small amount of milk’

Note that all the above examples of diminutive forms also carry a semantic sense of affection.

The following nouns have unmarked plural forms with marked singular forms.

Note that *-a* is the citation form marker for both singular and plural forms, but not a plural marker.

(8)

**Unmarked Plural**

**Marked Singular**

manna	‘group of people’	mancho	‘a man’
gota	‘hyenas’	goticho	‘a hyena’
wisha	‘dogs’	wishicho	‘a dog’
fella’a	‘goats’	fellakicho	‘a goat’
k’amara	‘monkeys’	k’amacho	‘a monkey’
daageera	‘baboons’	dageecho	‘a baboon’

The following nouns are explicitly marked by the plural marker *-uwwa* and by the singular marker *-cho*.



(9)

**Marked plural****Marked singular**

gannuwwa	‘horses’	gannicho	‘a horse’
bok’oluwwa	‘maize’	bok’olicho	‘a maize’
balluwwa	‘in-laws’	balliche	‘in-law’

Note that the initial vowel of the pluralizing morpheme *-uwwa* can be /e/ or /u/ as *minewwa* ‘houses’ and *ganuwwa* ‘horses’.

Interestingly enough linguistic data for the paradigm of pluralizing morpheme *-waa* with the corresponding singularizing morpheme *-cho* is limited. But the balance is controlled in a way that for any unmarked singular there is a marked plural and also for any unmarked plural there is a marked singular. Grammatically most nouns can be suffixed by the plural formative *-waa*; but the problem is they may not be natural for the language user pragmatically.

**1.1.3 Case**

In this section I will attempt to describe the semantic role of nouns in Hadiyya. Since all the major properties of case in Hadiyya were well discussed by Sim (1989), I do not want to repeat them here. But I include main features of case which I feel are relevant to describe the characteristics of nominalized nouns.

**1.1.3.1 Citation form/Absolutive case**

Basically the citation form of lexemes is morphologically simple. A dictionary of grammatical terms describes this term as follows: “That particular form of a lexical item which is used to name it when talking about it as a linguistic object or when

entering it in a dictionary” (Trask 1993:43). Sim labeled this category in Hadiyya, as Absolutive (Sim 1989). But there is no ergativity in Hadiyya as has already been noted by Sim (1989:111). In an ergative language the term Absolutive denotes the use of the same case form for both subject of intransitive verbs and direct object of transitive verbs. But in Hadiyya this feature is not realized. Rather the absolutive/citation form is used simply as citation, direct object without stress, and vocative. Example: Citation with stress on first syllable: *mancho* ‘a man’; direct object without stress: *mancho* ‘man’; vocative with stress and high tone: *mancho* ‘man’ (identical with citation form except high tone). Thus in Hadiyya object is zero marked. Example:

(10)

ergoog-i	mancho	ap’is- u-	kko	‘Ergoogo beat the man.’
ergoogo-sb	man	beat--Imprf-	NchCm	
<sup>h</sup> manch-i	waar- u-	kko	‘The man came.’	
man-Sb	come- Simprf-	NchCM		
manch-i	beeto weesh- u-	kko	‘The man called the boy.’	
man-Sb	boy call- Simprf-	NchCm		
<sup>h</sup> mancho!	‘vocative’			
<sup>h</sup> mancho	‘citation/absolute’			

These examples demonstrate that absolutive case is functional in the language in a limited way only as citation, direct object and vocative (although, in fact , these

three are not identical, differing in stress and tone). An absolutive construction is explained as a constituent linked semantically and intonationally to the rest of the sentence, but lacking any overt expression of a syntactic linkage (Trask 1993:3). Thus the term Absolutive is applicable to Hadiyya only by extension. In this work I will be using both terms (absolutive and citation) interchangeably.

The Absolutive/Citation form occurs with final *-a*, *-o* or *-e* vowels. Example:

(11)

manna	‘group of people’	lokko	‘leg’
anga	‘hand’	mine	‘house’
bare	‘pit’	horoore	‘head’
meento	‘women’	suume	‘mouth’
daageera	‘baboon’	ink`e	‘tooth’
barchuma	‘stool’	hakk`a	‘tree’
wengereelicho	‘fox’	googo	‘road/way’
usa	‘rope’	mik`e	‘bone’
bich`o	‘stick’	k`amara	‘monkey’



### 1.1.3.2 Nominative case

Nominative case is suffixed by *-i*. But feminine singular nouns retain the absolutive/citation form.

(12)

<u>Absolutive</u>		<u>Nominative</u>
mancho	‘man’	manchi
meento	‘women’	meenti
meenticho	‘woman’	meenticho

In Hadiyya word-final vowels mostly exhibit voicelessness because of the phonological variation. Thus the nominative marker *-i* also follows this pattern.

### 1.1.3.3 Dative case

Dative case is marked by a suffix *-Vna*.

(13)

adilina	‘to/for the king’	beetina	‘to/for the boy’
isena	‘to/for her’	niina	‘to/for us’

### 1.1.3.4 Ablative case

This feature denotes the source of movement. The ablative form of a noun is marked by lengthening the final vowel of the stem and then suffixing *-nse*. In the process of lengthening the final vowel before the *-nse* will be altered to nominative case marker *-i* except for feminine singular nouns. In this case the nouns retain the citation form. Example:

(14)

**Absolutive****Ablative**

meera	‘market’	meer-iinse	‘from market’
adila	‘king’	adil-iinse	‘from the king’
beeto	‘boy’	beet-iinse	‘from the boy’
meenticho	‘woman’	meentich-oonse	‘from the woman’

**1.1.3.5 Instrumental and Locative forms**

There are two morphemes which mark instrumental and locative features: *-inne* instrumental ‘with’ and *-onne* locative ‘on’. I do consider them as two different morphemes for two different cases. Nevertheless I treat them together in one section because of their close phonological identity. If the penultimate vowel of a morpheme is the same for both locative and instrumental like *meentich-onne* ‘with/on woman’ they are distinguished by stress. In such a case there is no stress on the instrumental morpheme while the locative morpheme exhibits stress on *o*. This feature is particularly observed in feminine singular nouns. In the case of masculine plural nouns the initial vowel of the locative morpheme will be altered to the open back vowel *-a*. Example:

(15)	<b><u>Citation/Absolutive</u></b>	<b><u>Instrumental/Locative</u></b>
	manna ‘people’	man-inne ‘with the people’
	manna ‘people’	man-anne ‘on the men’
	beeto ‘boy’	beet-inne ‘with the boy’
	beeto ‘boy’	beet-onne ‘on the boy’
	meenticho ‘woman’	meentich-onne ‘with the woman’
	meenicho ‘woman’	meentich-onne ‘on the woman’

Note: Hadiyya is a postpositional language. So the following data exhibits this feature.

(16)

kiin- iins	hanaani	‘above you’
you- from	above	
duun- iinse	worooni	‘beside the mountain’
mountain- from	under	
min- eeni	ekeene	‘beyond the house’
house- ?	beyond	

### 1.1.3.6 Genitive case

Some cases of possession are marked by the morpheme *-aam* suffixed to the possessed noun. Morphologically unmarked possession is denoted by juxtaposing two nouns, the preceding noun or pronoun possessing the following noun.

(17)

<u>Juxtaposition</u>	<u>Marked</u>
ki mine ‘your house’ your house	ill- aam manch ‘a man who has an eye’ eye- Poss man
beeti lokko ‘boy’s leg’ boy leg	lok-aam beeto ‘a boy who has leg’ leg-Poss boy
koyi mine ‘guest’s house’ guest house	koy- aam mine ‘house which has guest’ guest- Poss house



**Juxtaposition****Marked**

i	beeto	‘my son’	ang- aam	manch	‘a man who has a hand’
my	son		hand- Poss	man	

ni	saayya	‘our cow’	min- aam	manch	‘a man who has a house’
our	cow		house- Poss	man	

it’	loko	‘his leg’	tiir- aam	manch	‘a man who has a mind’
his	leg		mind- Poss	man	

**1.1.4. Gender**

So far my data shows minor gender polarity in Hadiyya. The major exceptional polarity is that some proper names are assigned only to the female gender animate entities while others are assigned to the male gender animate entities.

Example: names like *daansho*, *addo*, *woraache*, *booyyo*, *mukulle* are specific to female cows while names like *book’e*, *shaank’e*, *guraache*, *kaare*, are specific to bulls only. As I mentioned above under section 1 (common nouns and proper nouns), human animates also exhibit this kind of polarity. For instance if a proper name is variable to both male and female humans it is marked by a suffix *-o* for male and by a suffix *-e* for female as follows:

(18)

<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
ergoog-o	ergoog-e
ermooll-o	ermooll-e
kee?mis-o	kee?mis-e
ludag-o	ludag-e

On the other hand nouns which are restricted to male or female entities are not bound to this rule. For example the following proper nouns are specific to female; no human male is assigned to these proper nouns: *doo?llo*, *laap'o*, *laambo*, *leega*. In addition human singular pronouns (*it'i*, 'he', *ise* 'she') and demonstratives (*kuki* 'this male' *tute* 'this female'; *oki* 'that male'; *ote* 'that female') exhibit polarity. Otherwise verb agreement is used without marking either gender except in the case of 3<sup>rd</sup> Sg feminine. This fact is compatible with Sim's remark:

“Gender has been almost completely lost from Hadiyya; only singular nouns with human female referents retain any grammatical gender, which is seen largely in their case-marking and subject-verb agreement” (Sim 1989:108).

Thus morphological declension of nouns for verb agreement of gender is realized only for 3<sup>rd</sup> Sg feminine forms. The most striking feature besides this is that 3<sup>rd</sup> Sg feminine or masculine forms are used for indefinite plural nouns. Example:

- (19) manchiwaar- u- kko                    'A man came.'  
 man    come- Simprf- NchCm
- mani    waar- u-        kko                    'People came.'  
 people come- Simprf- NchCm
- meenti waar-    u-    kko                    'Women came.'  
 womencome--Simprf- NchCm

mani waa- t o- 'o 'People come.'

people come- F- Simprf--NchCm

meent- icho waa- t- o- 'o 'A woman came.'

woma--Sg come- F- Simprf- NchCm

### Summary of the structural suffixes of the noun:

-a, -o, -e absolutive/citation

-i, -o nominative for male and female.

-na dative

-iinse ablative

-inne instrumental

-onne locative

-aamo genitive

(see Sim 1989:115)

## 1.2 Distributional Properties of Nouns

Distributional properties of the nouns have to do with how the nouns function in phrases, clauses, and even in larger grammatical units.

### 1.2.1 Nouns as predicates

In Hadiyya “basic noun concepts, words denoting persons and physical objects, are structurally marked as predicate nominals” (Croft 1993:141) without any copula. In such a construction the nouns occur in absolutive case.

(20) neese *lommanna* 'we are elders'

we elders

it'i *losisaancho* 'he is a teacher'

he teacher

ise *meentichotte* 'she is a woman'

she woman



The italicized words are nouns functioning as predicates.

### 1.2.2 Marked and unmarked numbers

Marked singulars (*-cho*) and marked plurals (*-uwwa*) have no problem of reference ambiguity. But unmarked numbers must have anaphoric reference. Usually this problem is solved by noun-verb agreement. But this structure does not solve all the problems because of the complexity of the Hadiyya number system.

#### 1.2.2.1 Plural feminine nouns with 3rd Sg M form

Plural feminine nouns take 3<sup>rd</sup> Sg M form freely. Example:

(21)

meenti waar- ø- u- kko 'the women have come'

women come- 3rd Sg M - Imprf- NchCm

#### 1.2.2.2 3rd Pl M with 3rd Sg M form

3rd pl M can take the 3rd sg M form freely. Example:

(22) beeti- ø waar- u- kko 'the boy has come'

boy come- Simprf- NchCm

meenti- ø waar- u- kko 'the women have come'

women come--Simprf- NchCm

mann- ø waar- u- kko 'the people have come'

men come- Simprf- NchCm

### 1.2.2.3 3<sup>rd</sup> Pl M with 3<sup>rd</sup> Sg F form

3rd Pl M can take the 3rd sg F form freely. Example:

(23)

meent- icho waa(r)- t- o- 'o 'the woman has come'

woman- sg come- F- Simprf- NchCm

manni waa(r)- t- o- 'o 'the men have come'

men come- F- Simprf- NchCm

According to this data all nouns except 3<sup>rd</sup> Sg F can take the masculine formatives and masculine plural form may take the feminine formative.

### 1.2.3 Order of modifiers in the noun phrase

The modifiers of the noun phrase occur in free order except that the head noun is final. Example: (the heads are italicized).

(24) lami danaam k'oori *mani* 'two handsome wise men'

two handsome wise men

danaami lami k'oori *mani*

handsome two wise men

k'oori danaami lami *mani*

wise handsome two men

danaami k'eeraa?l geeji *manchi* 'handsome tall big man'

handsome tall big man

The head of the noun phrase could occur at the initial position for some pragmatic purpose. When the head precedes its modifiers as an extrapositive it will be suffixed by a morpheme *-iki*. In such a construction the head may be repeated phrase finally. Example:

(25)

man-iki      lami    danaami      k'oori    mani

men-poss    two    handsome    wise    men

'two men who are very good and wise' (there is emphasis on their quality)

The only modifier which may follow the head is *hund* 'all' as in *mani hundim* 'all men' (head, modifier, respectively).

#### 1.2.4 Order of head and modifiers in the noun phrase

The head of the noun phrase can be preceded by various modifying categories. But the head and modifiers are never discontinuous. There is no marker of agreement between the head and modifiers. As just mentioned modifiers of the noun occur in free order, while the head is final:

- |      |                         |                     |
|------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| (26) | Geeji    manchi         | 'big man'           |
|      | big    man              |                     |
|      | heemach    saay         | 'black cow'         |
|      | black    cow            |                     |
|      | ku    danaami    beeti  | 'this handsome boy' |
|      | this    handsome    boy |                     |
|      | ee    geeji    mine     | 'that big house'    |
|      | that    big    hous     |                     |



### 1.2.5 Nouns and demonstratives

There are four demonstratives which function with nouns.

(27)

Nominative

ku 'this'

oo 'that'

Oblique

ka 'this'

ee 'that'

Demonstratives function with singular, plural, masculine, and feminine heads, yet there is no explicit agreement marker between them.

(28)

ku manchi k'oorá 'this man is wise'

this man wise

ku landicho k'ooratte 'this girl is wise'

this girl wise

ku mani k'oorá 'these men are wise'

this men wise

ku landi k'oorá 'these girls are wise'

this girls wise

Even though demonstratives function mostly with nominative and accusative forms they are not actually limited to these functions. For example demonstratives can function as vocative:

(29)

ka! 'You'

They can function with oblique forms of the noun phrases: Example:

Ka man--cho--nneasse--'e 'send by this man'

this man--sg---on send--Imp

ee manch beyyo mare 'go to that man's place'

that man place go

Demonstratives can function as the head of the noun phrase. In such constructions they tend to be reduplicated.

(30)

ka-ka masse 'take this'

this-this take

ku-ki danaamo 'this is good'

this-this good

Note that in Hadiyya the vowel /u/ never occurs word finally except in *ku* 'this'. Thus in this example the word final /u/ is changed to /i/ by a phonological process.

### 1.2.6 Possessives

The possessive form of a noun is discussed in section 1.1.3.6. Here I will say very little about possession in terms of pronouns. Possessive pronouns which modify the head of the noun phrase are the following:

(31)

<u>Person</u>	<u>Singular</u>		<u>plural</u>	
1 <sup>st</sup>	i	‘my’	ni	‘our’
2 <sup>nd</sup>	ki	‘your’	ki?nuwwi	‘your’
3 <sup>rd</sup> M	iti’	‘his’	it’uwwi	‘their’
F	isi	‘her’	it’uwwi	‘their’
2 <sup>nd</sup> respect	ki?ni	‘your’	ki?nuwwi	your
3 <sup>rd</sup> respect	issi	‘his’	it’uwwi	their

In possessive noun phrase construction the word-final *V* might be deleted, because it is very short:

(32)	i lokko	‘my leg’
	k <sup>i</sup> saayya	‘your (Sg) cow’
	ki?nuww saayya	your (Pl) cow
	is mine	‘her house’

When the possessive pronouns function as head of the noun phrase -*Vki* is suffixed. Example:

(33)	i-iki danaamo	‘mine is good’
	ni-iki danaamo	‘ours is good’
	ki-iki danaamo	‘yours is good’
	it’-eki danaamo	‘his is good’
	is-eki danaamo	‘hers is good’
	it’-uwiki danaamo	‘theirs is good’

ki?n-uwiki danaamo ‘yours is good’

iss-eki danaamo ‘his (respect) is good’

Possessive modifiers of the noun phrase function as the head with a slight modification or they can even function as a sentence:

(34)

iika uwwe ‘give mine’

it’uwwiki waaraakko ‘theirs has come’

iihane ‘it is mine’

### 1.2.7 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are used with nouns to specify the number of the referents which a speaker intends to refer to. They always precede the head noun except for *hund* ‘all’.

Example:

(35)

lobakati landi ‘many girls’

tomi landi ‘ten girls’



## *Chapter Two*

### **NOMINALIZATION**

To my knowledge the phenomenon of nominalization in Hadiyya has been not dealt with so far except for a few passing comments made by Sim saying “deverbals require separate treatment not included here” (Sim 1989:106). In essence nominalization means transforming something into a noun. For instance a verb loses its verbal category and acquires the nominal category.

Since the nominalizing process requires class and semantic change it often involves much derivational morphology. The derivational devices create nouns from verbs, adjectives and other lexemes. As Comrie and Thompson noted “the resulting nouns may be the name of the activity or state designated by the verbs or adjectives, or may represent one of their arguments” (Comrie and Thompson 1985:349).

In this section I will investigate what forms can be turned into nouns, what devices are used and what kinds of nouns result from these operations.

Before I proceed to this section it is important to decide which verbal category I will be using as a citation form. The Hadiyya verb citation form is controversial because of a verb’s different inflected forms. But a dictionary of grammatical terms in linguistics provides a suggestion how to choose one of these forms:

“One criterion is to choose the form which occurs most frequently or in the widest variety of constructions; another is to choose the form which is most useful for predicting the remaining forms.” (Trask 1993:43)

Thus after brief investigation I thought that the simplest form is the imperative. So in this work I have posited the imperative form as a citation form because it is morphologically simple, widely used, and useful for predicting the remaining forms. (For more verbal analysis see Sim 1989.)

## 2.1. Action/state verb nominalization

In 1.1.3.1 above, under structural properties, I have discussed the fact that one of the structural features of prototype nouns in Hadiyya is that the citation/absolute nouns are suffixed by *-a*, *-e*, or *-o*. When the root of the action/state verb is suffixed by one of these vowels the new forms acquire absolute/citation nominal status. Thus these vowels function as nominalizing devices in nominal lexeme formation. In this process of derivation action verbs (such as ‘walk’, ‘speak’, ‘work’, ‘kill’, ‘beat’) and state verbs (such as ‘know’, ‘want’, ‘understand’, ‘feel’, ‘like’, ‘think’) acquire absolute nominal status. (Such nouns may retain some semantic properties of the verbs from which they are derived). Examples:

(36)	<u>Imperative</u>		<u>Citation form of noun</u>	
	bat'e	‘work’	bat'-o	‘work’
	ite	‘eat’	ich-a	‘eating’
	age	‘drink’	agg-a	‘drink’
	godde	‘be rich’	godd-a	‘riches’
	k'are	‘give birth’	k'ar-o	‘relative’
	gare	‘stay overnight’	gatt-e	‘village/staying overnight’
	it'e	‘sow’	wit'-o	‘sowing’
	kade	‘dance’	kaja	‘dance’
	wi?le	‘cry’	wi?llo	‘funeral/cry’

As these examples indicate the action/state verb nominalization process is performed by suffixing morphemes : *a, e, o*. This process is productive. But it is worth noting that the suffixing process is governed by phonological rules.

### 2.1.1 Nominalizing suffixes and phonological rules

When the root of a verb ends with the consonant /k/ the imperative form takes the suffix *-e'e*. Example *bak-e'e* 'lean on'. The nominalizing morpheme of such verbs is *-cha*. Note that *-a*, which is the citation form nominalizer, is preceded by *ch*. Similarly if the root of a verb ends with the consonant /r/ or /t/ the nominalizing morpheme is *-cha*. But if the verb root ends with the consonant /s/ the nominalizing morpheme is *-sha*, while if a verb root ends with /d/ it will be changed to /jj/ in the nominalized form.

(37)

<u>Imperative form</u>		<u>Nominalized form</u>	
bake'e	'lean'	bakecha	'leaning'
osare	laugh	osacha	'laughter'
laare	'cry'	laacha	'cry'
k'are	'give birth'	k'acho	'one's child'
ite	'eat'	icha	'thing to be eaten'
k'ase	pierce	k'asha	'act of piercing'
kade	'dance'	kajja	'dance'

I have already noted that the imperative marker of a verb is *-e*. At the same time *-e* also marks the citation form of some nouns. So when *-e* is preserved as a citation form in a nominalized noun an innovative change will take place within the

final consonant of the verb root to avoid the ambiguity between the imperative form and the nominalized citation form. Example:

(38)

<u>Imperative</u>		<u>Nominalized</u>	
gare	‘spend the night’	gatte	‘spending the night/village’
soge	‘advise/counsel’	sogite	‘advising/counseling’
t’op’ihe	‘jump’	t’op’e’e	‘jumping’

In Hadiyya different derivational processes of nominalization for different semantic purposes of action or state nouns are realized. Thus nominalizations denoting a process and those denoting a non-process use distinct devices. Action nominalizing devices such as *-a*, *-o*, and *-e* are formatives denoting a non-process while *-ato* is a formative denoting a process. (The /t/ of *-ato* represents a historical feminine marker according to R.J.Sim [personal communication 1999].) All the above examples denote non-process while the following examples denote process:

(39)

<u>Imperative form</u>		<u>Denoting process</u>	
mure	‘cut’	murato	‘cutting’
gane	‘beat’	ganato	‘beating’
k’ishit’e	‘be compassionate’	k’ishit’ato	‘compassion’
kare	‘tie’	karato	‘tying’
soge	‘advise’	*sogitano	‘advising’

\*Note: I do not have any clear idea so far why *soge* ‘advice’ takes *-itano* rather than *-ato*.



### 2.1.2 Agentive Nominalization

Action verbs can be made into nouns which denote one who habitually acts. In addition verb roots like *haw*, from *hawukko* ‘he suffered’ which do not denote actions, are also nominalized by the same devices. (Example *haw-aancho* ‘sufferer’). There are singular and plural suffixes (*-aancho* and *-aano* respectively) which function as agentive nominalizing devices. They are suffixed to the verb root.

Example:

(40)

<u>Imperative</u>		<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>
bat’e	‘work’	bat’aancho	‘worker’	bat’aano
game’e	‘steal’	gamaancho	‘stealer (thief)’	gamaano
ite	‘eat’	itaancho	‘eater’	itaano
mach’ees	‘hear’	mach’eesaancho	‘hearer’	mach’eesaano

Agentive nominalization can also be used to modify another noun. Example:

(41)

goda	‘wealth’	godaancho	‘wealthy man’
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### 2.1.3 Patient Nominalization

Patient nominalization refers to the patient of the nominalized verb denoting its state after the action. A morpheme *-amma* (possibly involving a passive stem- R.J.Sim personal communication 1999) suffixed to a verb root marks this feature. Such nouns are mainly derived from passive stem by lengthening its last consonant and omitting the NchCM like *iik’amaakko* ‘it is broken’, *iik’amma* ‘a broken thing’. They occur in subject, object, object of postposition and predicative positions.

- (42) iik'-amma 'a broken thing'  
 gudd-amma 'a tied thing'  
 mur-amma 'a cut thing'

They also function as modifiers of a noun.

- (43) Ku saayyi lokko iik'amma 'This cow has a broken leg'  
 this cow leg broke
- iik'ammi saayy-ina wo'o ag-ise. 'Water the injured cow'  
 broken cow- for water drink- cause

#### 2.1.4 Object Nominalization

The affixes which denote the citation/absolute form of a noun (-a, -o, -e) can function to form nouns which designate the result of an action (Example *agga iitoommo* 'I like drinking').

(44)	<u>Imperative</u>		<u>Citation noun</u>	
	age	'drink'	agga	'drinking'
	woche	'speak'	woch'a	'speech/quarrel'
	geere	'run'	geelicha	'running'
	k'uuk'e	'be angry'	k'uunk'a	'anger'
	sawihe	'think'	sawito	'a thought'
	wit'e	'sow'	wit'o	'sowing'
	mare	'go'	marato	'going'

### 2.1.5 Instrumental nominalization

Instrumental nominalization is achieved by deriving nouns from the action verbs by suffixing *-aancho*, the agent nominalization marker. No plural form is realised. The resulting noun refers to an instrument used to accomplish the act represented by the verb. There are extremely few cases of such nominalization:

(45)

illaanse	‘sift’	illaancho	‘sieve’
keene	‘measure’	keennancho	‘measuring device’

I mentioned above, in section 2.1.2, that the morpheme *-aancho* marks agent nominalization. So sometimes to avoid ambiguity between agent and instrument nominalization a modification takes place within the final consonant(s) of the verb root. Example:

(46)

		<u>Agent Nomn</u>		<u>Instrument Nomn</u>
illaanse	‘sift’	iillaansaancho	‘one who sifts’	illaancho ‘sieve’
keene	‘measure’	keenaancho	‘one who measures’	keennaancho ‘measuring device’

### 2.1.6 Locative Nominalization

Locative nominalization is formed by juxtaposing a deverbal noun and *beyyo* ‘place’ without any copula. In such a construction the literal meaning could be, as I described in section 1.1.3.6 above, the following noun is possessed by the preceding noun. But such a construction with verbal nouns with *beyyo* ‘place’ denotes the semantic sense of a place where the event denoted by the verb happens. Example:

- (47) bat'i 'work'  
 bat'i beyyo 'place of work'
- woch'i 'argument'  
 woch'i beyyo 'where fight or argument is'
- aggi 'drink'  
 aggi beyyo 'where drinking takes place'

## 2.2 Gerunds

In English “gerund” is a traditional name of the *-ing* form of the verb when it serves as a verbal noun. In Hadiyya the infinitive form (verb without marking for tense, aspect, mood, or person) marked by the morpheme *-imma* can function as a verbal noun. The only way of distinguishing the nominal forms from the infinitives is by their distributional properties. The verb form (infinitive) takes verbal arguments, adverbs, and complements while the *-imm* derivative form takes determiners, adjectives, and other adnominals, thus functioning as a noun. It has very few nominal characteristics, however, compared to other nominal forms. For example it does not occur as modified head of noun phrase. Rather its “modifier” occurs in predicative position.

- (48) bat'- immi danamo 'working is good.'  
 work- Inf good
- bat- imma iit- oo- mo 'I love working.'  
 work- Inf love- Imprf-NchCm



It also takes the postpositional affix *-inne*, ‘with’, with another affix *-tte* which in this environment marks predicate nominal function. In this way a left-clefted predicate nominal construction is formed. In such a construction the noun phrase occurs in the clause-final position, contrary to the SOV system in Hadiyya. This kind of construction signals emphasis on the noun phrase. Example:

- (49) manni godd- oo- ko- ki bat’- imm- inne- tte  
 people rich- Imprf- NchCm- Rsn work- Inf- with- Prd  
 ‘The way that people get rich is by work’ (emphasis on the work).  
 sab- imm- inne- tte ‘It was by refusing.’  
 refuse- Inf- with- Prd

### 2.3 Adjective nominalization

In Hadiyya there is a limited number of adjectives. The basic functional property of adjectives is to modify nouns. But adjectives can be transformed into nouns by derivational devices. Thus adjective nominalization can be achieved by the morphological process of suffixing *-ooma* to the adjective stem. Example:

(50)	<u>Adjective</u>		<u>Noun</u>	
	geeja	‘big’	geej-ooma	‘bigness’
	wich’a	‘thin’	wich’-ooma	‘thinness’
	k’awwa	‘foolish’	k’aww-ooma	‘foolishness’
	k’ooro	‘wise’	k’oor-ooma	‘wisdom’
	gunda	‘short’	gund-ooma	‘shortness’
	k’adaala	‘white’	k’adaal-ooma	‘whiteness’
	keeraa?la	‘tall/long’	keeraa?l-ooma	‘tallness’

**Note.** This derivational process might be blocked if there is a lexical item already filling the place/slot which the derived form would occupy. For example the nominal form of *danaamo* 'handsome' is hypothetically \**danaamooma* 'handsomeness'. But it is not natural because this slot is already occupied by *dano* 'beauty/handsomeness'.

## SYNTACTIC AND PRAGMATIC PROPERTIES OF ACTION NOMINALS

In this section I examine what verbal properties/categories like tense, aspect and voice are retained in action nominals; and then I discuss the possibility of combining the action nominals with other constituents of a noun phrase such as valency (the number of arguments), genitive attributes, etc. that the action nominal may take. Finally I make remarks about the pragmatic function of nominalized expressions.

In this perspective it is necessary to make a few background notes about Hadiyya verb category structure. Of course since this has been thoroughly discussed by Sim (Sim 1989:138ff), I will not deal with this issue in detail. There are three aspects in Hadiyya: Imperfect marked by *-oo* (or *-a* for 2<sup>nd</sup> Pl and 3<sup>rd</sup> Sg F), present perfect marked by *-aa* (or *-oo* 2<sup>nd</sup> Pl and 3<sup>rd</sup> Sg F) and simple perfect marked by *-u* (in the case of 2<sup>nd</sup> Sg, 2<sup>nd</sup> Pl, and 3<sup>rd</sup> Sg F it is marked by *-i*, *-o*, and *-o* respectively). I think the variability of the markers can be described by phonological processes. But it is not my concern to discuss them here. Rather my main point is simply to make a note that Hadiyya has three aspects.

Secondly, Sim described final suffixes of the verb: *-mo*, *-tto*, *-kko* and *-?o* as part of the aspect markers and he discussed their several irregularities in terms of diachronic features of the language including the degeneration of a gender polarity system, attested in a number of Cushitic languages (Sim 1986, 1989). I recognize his description as a very important resource for a different analysis. Yet I would like to

posit another descriptive hypothesis of this phenomenon in terms of synchronic features which have led me to conclude that they are Nonchained clause markers (hitherto referred to as NchCm). In other words, in Hadiyya two or more clauses can be used in one sentence chained together by lengthening the word-final vowel (see Perrett 1993). So when nonchained clauses occur in a sentence the above markers are used to indicate that they are not chained. This hypothesis will be discussed in depth in another work, to retain the focus of this work on nominalization. Here I will only give some data to demonstrate how these Nonchained clause markers are more or less regular in different Tense/Aspects. The verb *massummo* is adapted from Sim's work.

(51)

**Simple perfect -u**

massummo	'I took'
massinummo	'we took'
massitto	'you Sg took'
massitako'o	'you Pl took'
massukko	'he took'
massamukko	'they took'
massito'o	'she took'

**Present perfect -aa/oo**

massaammo	'I have taken'
massinaammo	'we have taken'
massitaatto	'you Sg have taken'
masitako'ookko	'you Pl have taken'
massaakko	'he has taken'
massamaakko	'they have taken'
massito'ookko	'she has taken'

**Imperfect -oo/aa/a**

massoommo	'I take/will take'	massookko	'he takes/will take'
massinoommo	'we take/will take'	massamookko	'they take/will take'
massitootto	'you Sg take/will take'	massitamo	'she takes/will take'
massitakamo	'you Pl take/will take'		



Thirdly, subject agreement is marked in the verbs for gender (only for 3<sup>rd</sup> Sg F), person and number. In the case of 2<sup>nd</sup> Pl the final consonant of the verb root may be geminated to avoid referential ambiguity between the 2<sup>nd</sup> respect and 2<sup>nd</sup> Pl. If the gemination slot is impossible for some other reasons *-ta* is used with *-k* for the same function. Example:

- (52) massako'o 'he took (respect)'  
 massitako'o 'you Pl took'

The subject-verb agreement markers signaled in the verb are the following:

- |      |                    |        |                      |    |
|------|--------------------|--------|----------------------|----|
| (53) | 1 <sup>st</sup> sg | -∅     | 3 <sup>rd</sup> sg M | -∅ |
|      | 1 <sup>st</sup> pl | -n     | 3 <sup>rd</sup> Sg F | -t |
|      | 2 <sup>nd</sup> sg | -t     | 3 <sup>rd</sup> Pl   | -m |
|      | 2 <sup>nd</sup> sg | -(ta)k | respect (2nd & 3rd)  | -k |

Before I discuss these features it is noteworthy to say something about the productivity and predictability of nominalization. In Hadiyya processes of forming nouns are likely to be productive but it is very difficult to generalize the productivity and predictability because of a great deal of irregularity in the process. For instance there are several declension forms like imperative, causative, passive, transitive, etc. with different verb endings. So there is no apparent way to predict from which form, what type of noun will be formed. Furthermore a nominalized lexeme may take an unpredictable semantic sense. For example the action nominal *agga*, from *age* 'drink', may refer to the activity of drinking or to the thing to be drunk. And from the imperative form *bat'e* 'work' we can form the concretized noun *bat'o* 'work' which

can mean activity or product, or a noun with causative sense *bat'isha* 'causing to work'.

### 3.1 Syntactic properties of action nominals

In Hadiyya it is possible to form noun phrases from predicates and propositions. As we have seen so far an action nominal is a noun phrase whose head is a noun derived from an action verb. Because of this property in the process the derived noun may contain one or more reflexes in addition to its noun phrase feature. For example the clause *ku oosi jorisa bat'oolla* 'these boys work badly' could be partly nominalized as:

(54)

*ka oosi bat'i jora* 'These boys' work is bad.'  
 this boys work bad

The noun *oosi* which is in genitive construction in this noun phrase is a reflex of the subject of the action verb, *bat'e* 'work'.

(55)

The clause: *hurbaata murakami amani afaakko*  
 crop to cut time reached

'the time to cut/harvest the crop has come', could be partly nominalized as:

*hurbaat'i murati afaakko* 'Crop cutting has come.'  
 crop cut/harvest has come

The whole clause would be nominalized as follows:

*hurbaat'i murati afimmi ch'eemmaalli mancho keche-'is- u- kko*  
 crop cut arrival lazy man worry-caust-Simprf- NchCM  
 'The arrival of the harvest worried the lazy man.'

This shows a reflex of the object of the clause. It is clear that most of the constituents of a clause may be assimilated to the nominalized form. For instance subject and object could be assimilated to noun phrase syntax. Example:

### Clause

(56)

At     danaam- isa   woch'- aa-     tto             'You have spoken well.'  
 you   good-    Adv   speak- Prsprf- NchCm

### Nominal

ki     woch'i         danaamo             'Your speech was good.'  
 your   speaking        good

ki     hurbaat'i     murati   danaamo            'Your harvesting the crop was good.'  
 your   crop            harvesting   good

Some of this claim will be substantiated in later sections of this chapter.

### 3.2 Modification of action nominals

Verbs are modified by adverbs while nouns are modified by adjectives. Thus action nominals can be modified by the corresponding adjectives. Example:

(57)   danaam- isa   bat'- aa-     kko             'He has worked very well.'  
        good-    adv   work- Prsprf- NchCm

it'i     danaam         bat'i             'his good work.'  
 his     good            work

jor     bat'o             'bad work.'  
 bad     work

It is also possible to leave the subject or object unexpressed, in which case the nominalization refers to an abstract type of activity or state. Example:

(58)

woch'i            erane    'Speech/quarrel is good.'

speech            good

bat'    danaamo    'Work is good.'

work    good

### 3 Verbal categories and nominalization

In Hadiyya the typical verb categories like mood, tense/aspect, voice, transitivity, person, number, gender (only for the first person singular feminine), and negation can be marked in a final verb of a clause. Most of these categories are absent in the action nominals except voice and negation.

#### 3.3.1 Voice

It seems that there is a limited overt morphological distinction between active and passive verbal forms. When a passive verb is formed from the active form of a verb the subject of a verb is omitted in most cases. For the purpose of this work we will look at an action verb which retains both subject and object.



**Active voice**

Clause:

(59)

Goti mancho it---aa-----kko 'Hyenas have eaten a man.'  
 hyenas man eat--Prsprf--NchCm

Nominal:

goti manna itimmi 'the hyenas' eating of men.'  
 hyenas man eating

**Passive voice**

Clause:

(60)

manchi got- anne it- am- aa- kko 'The man has been eaten by the hyenas.'  
 man hyenas- on eat-Pass- Prsprf- NchCm

Nominal

Manchi got- anne it- anchi 'a man's being eaten by hyenas'  
 man hyenas- on eat- being

Note that in this construction *-nchi* functions as a nominalizing device. Thus the active/passive distinction with the action nominals is retained phonologically and syntactically. It is syntactically retained in that all the valences can be retained.

**3.3.2 Negation**

Action nominals are negated in the same way as the nonverbal clause.

Example:

Verbish form:

(61)

bat'- oo- mo- yyo 'I do not work.'

work- Imprf- NchCm-Neg

This negation structure works very well for lexical nominalization.

Nominal:

(62)

kuki bat'o- yyo 'This is not work' (surprise, wonder,  
admiration).

this work- Neg

Also a special verb form can be used with nominalized constituent. Example:

(63)

Verbish form:

ki?nuwwi batt'a- k- a- mo- yyo 'You will not work.'

you work- 2<sup>nd</sup>P1- Imprf- NchCm- Neg

Nominal

Bat'o saba- k- a- mo 'You don't like work.'

work don't like- 2<sup>nd</sup>P1- Imprf- NchCm

### 3.4 Functions of Nominalization

Generally nominalized expressions can function as any noun phrase. But their most common function is as subject or object of the sentence. They also occur as indirect object.

## 3.4.1 As subject

(64)

it'i t'is- aa- kko 'He is sick.'

he sick- Prsprf- NchCm

it'i t'isi nees kiche- 'is- aa- kko 'His sickness has worried us.'

his sickness us worry- Caust- Prsprf- NchCm

ise waa(r)- t- a- mo 'She will come.'

she come- F- Imprf- NchCm

isi waari hosaakko 'She is not coming.' (emphatic)

her coming absent

dooli beed- aa- kko 'Time is finished (end of the world).'

era/time finish- Prsprf- NchCm

dooli beed- ich af- aa- kko 'The end of time has come.'

time finish- Nom reach- Prsprf- NchCm

### 3.4.2 As Object

(65)

#### Verbal

danaam- isa bat'- t- aa- tto 'You have worked well.'  
 good- Adv work-2nd M Sg- Prsprf- NchCm

#### Nominal

ki bat'o iit- u- m- oyyo 'I did not like your work.'  
 your work love- Imprf- NchCm- Neg

#### Verbal

kaka batt'- aa guull- e 'Finish doing this work.'  
 this work- Chem finish- Imp

#### Nominal

ka bat'o guull- e 'Finish this work.'  
 this work finish- Imp

In this last example the object is not explicitly marked as object. But it is understood semantically from the construction (see 1.1.3.1).

### 3.4.3 As Indirect Object

#### Verbal

(66) it'- ena ille uwi- t- aa- tto 'You have given him face.'  
 he- to face give- 2<sup>nd</sup>sg- Prsprf- NchCm

\*(To give someone face means not stopping someone from doing something, non-verbal approval.)



**Nominal**

it'- ena      ille      uw- immi      jora      'It is not good to give him face.'  
 he- to      face      give- Inf      bad

**3.4.4 Suffixation**

Nominalized verbs can be suffixed by affixes such as *-Vna*, *-Vnse* and *-onne* (i.e., marked for oblique case) for emphasis on the action. Example:

(67) Hurbaata      it'- ena      u'wi- t- isa- nne      liiram- ø- aa-      mmo  
 food      he- to      give- 2<sup>nd</sup>sg- as- on      happy- Sb- Prsprf- NchCM

'I'm happy about your giving food to him.'

woch- imm- anne gatis- t-      aa-      tto

talk- Inf- on      leave- Sb- Prsprf- NchCm

'You could have done better than this in your speech/your speech was not as good as it was supposed to be.'

\*Subject marker *t* is assimilated by a phonological process.

bat- onne      dasa- tte      'She works slowly.'

work- on      slow- Prd

but'- oomi      waar- oo- kko-      ki      bat'--ina      ch'eem- imm- inne- tte  
 poor- Nom      V- Imprf- NchCm- Resn work- for      lazy-      Inf-      with- Prd

'Poverty comes because of laziness for work.'

man--innemi      bat'-ina      mare      'go for work with the people'

men--with      work--for      go

### 3.4.5 Pragmatic function of nominalized expressions

The remarks I make in this section about pragmatic function of nominalized expressions in Hadiyya are only preliminary hypotheses, fitting my initial intuitions as a native speaker, but not yet rigorously tested.

In Chapter Two I have mentioned that the nominalizing process involves derivational devices to create nouns from verbs, adjectives, and lexemes of other linguistic categories. Thus nominalization is a device used for naming nonconcrete entities which are involved in human communication. The question is why and when does one nominalize a clause or an adjective rather than leave it in more verbish or adjectival form? Payne says:

“Pragmatic statuses have to do with choices speakers make about how to efficiently adapt their utterances to the context, including the addressee’s presumed ‘mental state’. Like semantic roles, pragmatic statuses are usually, though not always, thought of as characteristics of nominal elements (Payne 1997:261).

In our communication we always construct our expressions in a way suitable to achieve the desired contextual effect. We work hard to organize some syntactic constituents, which we want to be impressed into our listeners or readers, in a marked way. Thus nominalization could be understood as a marked use because it involves changing an item from its basic or unmarked linguistic category into noun.

In Hadiyya nominalized nouns exhibit such pragmatic functions. Generally speaking the nominal forms, especially in expository discourse, are used to express the attitudes and intentions of a speaker in a more vivid way in a given context. In addition there is an attempt to draw focus onto the nominalized constituent. In such an intention, in many cases, the action verb is nominalized and used in a predicative construction clefted to the clause-final position, and the verb is suffixed with *-ki*. For example:

(68) **Verbal form**

duuma- ko'i manhc- i but'- oo- kko 'the cursed man will become poor'

curse- 2<sup>nd</sup> pl man- Sb poor- Imprf- NchCM

**Nominalized expression**

But'- oomi waar- oo- kko- ki duun- ch- inne- tte

poor- Nom come- Imprf- NchCm curse- Nomn- with- Prd

'Poverty comes because of curse'

From these two expressions the nominalized expression seems more effective to achieve the contextual effect. Yet it is noteworthy to remember that achieving the desired contextual effect by use of nominalized expressions depends on the judgment of the speaker, because there are also other possible ways which could be used to achieve this effect depending on the context.

## CONCLUSION

Nominalization is the process of transforming something into a noun. The nominalized entity loses its membership in its original category and acquires membership in the nominal category. For example an adjective loses its membership in the adjectival category and acquires membership in the nominal category. Thus nominalization involves a derivational process to change the linguistic category, semantically and syntactically, to noun from other categories. In Hadiyya different devices are used for this processing. Citation form of action/state verb nominalization can be achieved by suffixing *-a*, *-e* or *-o* to the root of the verb. This may involve additional phonological processes. There are also other different derivational processes of action or state nouns performed for different semantic purposes (agent, patient, instrument, locative etc.).

Many of the nominalized nouns lack some of the category values of the prototypical nouns. The Hadiyya gerunds/infinitives are good examples of such characteristics. So such nouns are peripheral members of the nominal category.

In addition to the action/state verb nominalization adjective nominalization is also realized in Hadiyya. This process is achieved by suffixing *-ooma* to the root of the adjective.

Finally, in Hadiyya it is not possible to set a generalized syntactic rule in terms of productivity and predictability of nominalization because of various irregularities in the process.

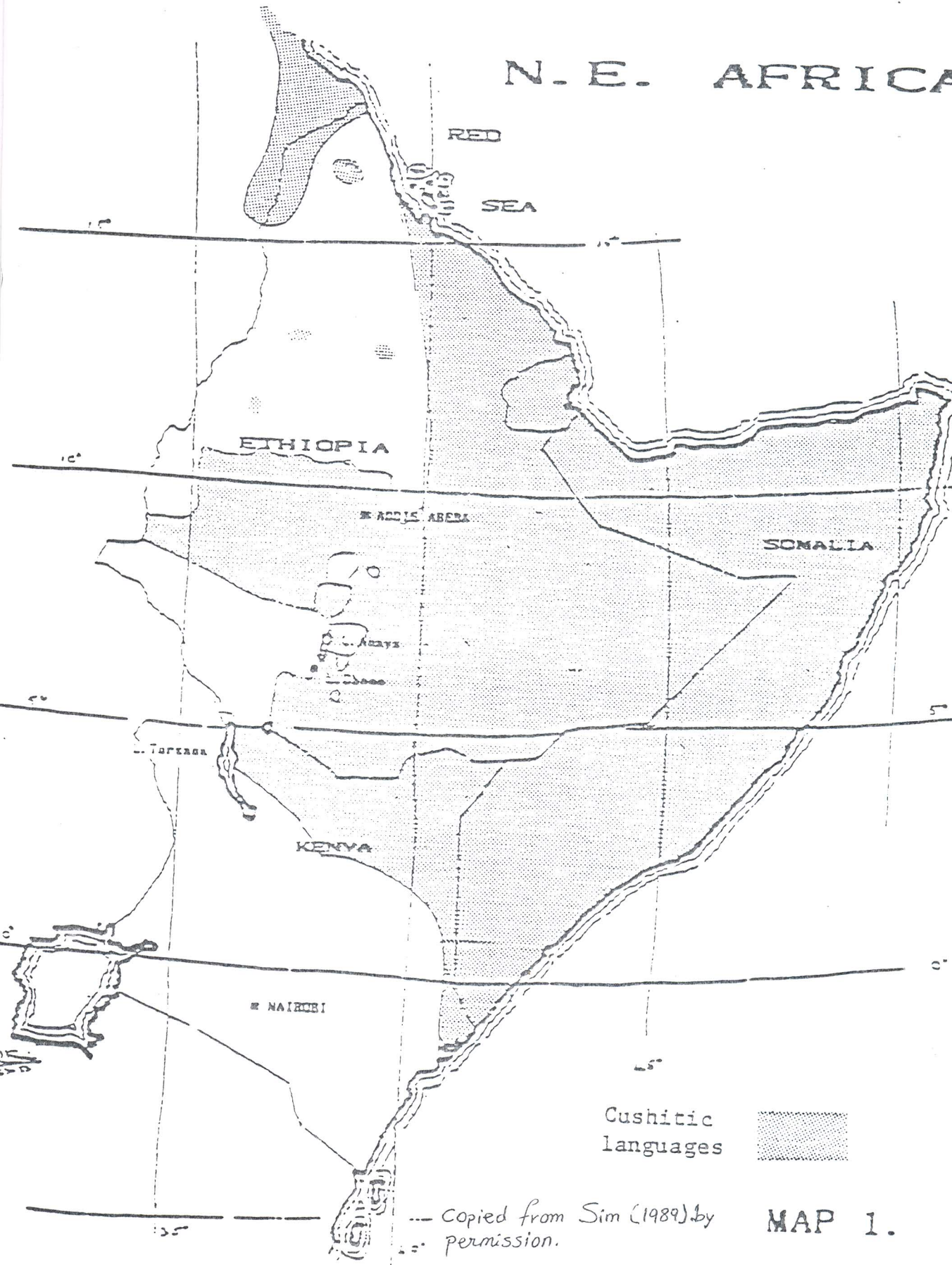


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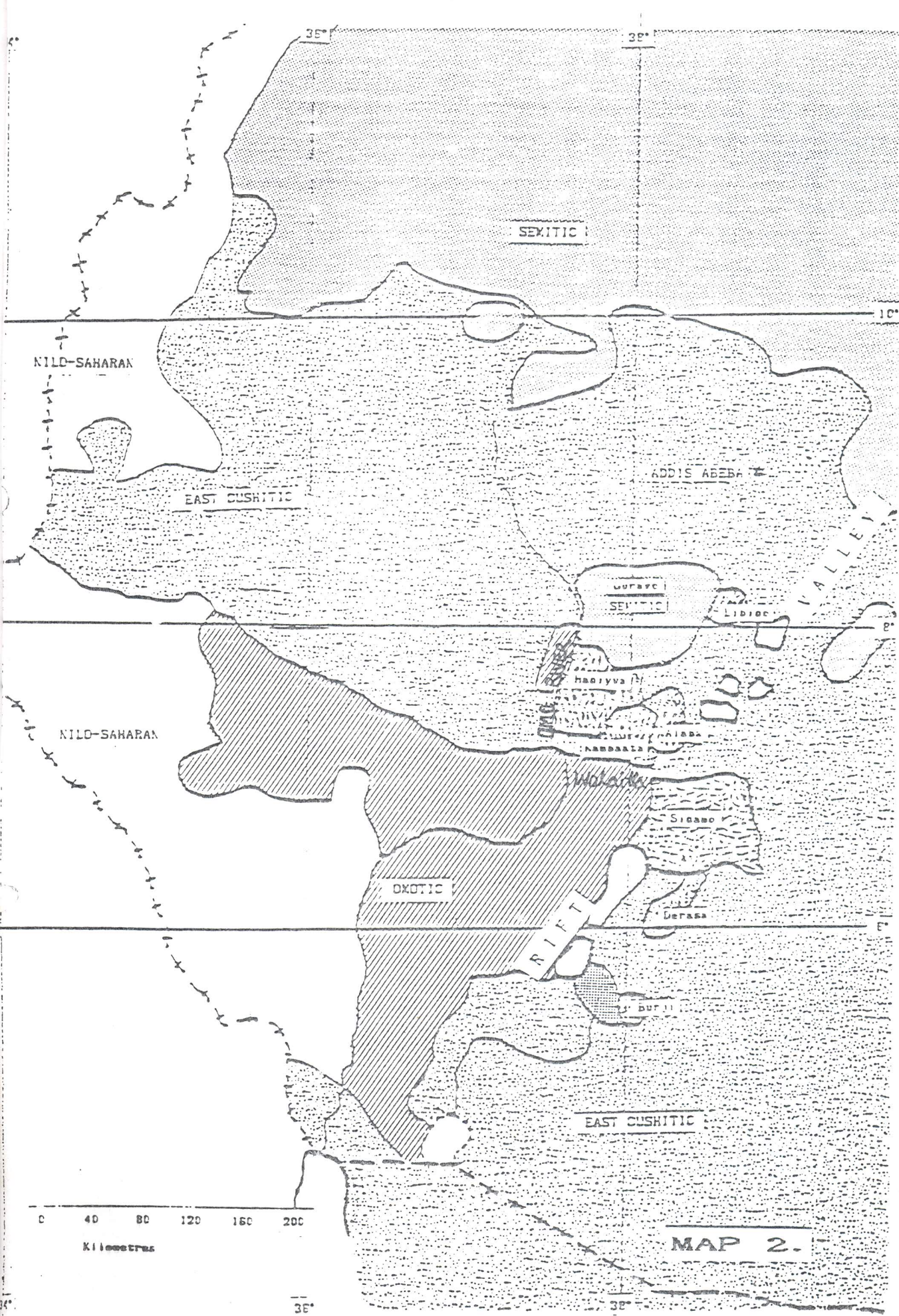
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MAP 1.





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