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Word Formation In Ari

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Abstract: *This paper deals with the word formation systems of Ari. The objective is to provide a thorough account of Ari nominalization, verbalization and adjectivization and their morphophonemic processes. Two major findings are (i) the establishment of the presence of personal and impersonal passives and single-double causatives, (ii) high-lighting the presence of bidirectional palatalizations (an autosegment [high], usually parameterized as only of right or left direction in a language).*

INTRODUCTION

Ari is one of the three South Omotic languages spoken in the previous Bako-Gazer now South Omo region (i.e. Jinka and the surrounding areas). It has over a hundred thousand speakers and ten dialects. Concerning the dialects and the surrounding languages Daniel (1993:1) writes that "after making a dialect comparison, Ford (1985) remarks that excluding the three dialects Bargedda, Gayli and Seyki, because they are spoken at the northern border area of the region, all the others have 85% shared vocabulary." Ford found that "Biyo, Shangama, Sida and Ubaamer are central dialects"., and she expressed her preference to term the group "Sida". According to Ford, "Ari is also surrounded by six different languages: Basketo, Gofa, Oyda, Banna (Hamer), Kara and Dime. It is only in the south part that the lingua-franca composed of Ari and Hamer i.e. Kara is found."

The present work on Ari is structured as follows: In the first part of the description and rewriting rule for the word formation of nominals, verbals and adjectivals are described. The second part is about compounding, and the third discusses major morphophonemic processes.

NOMINALS

In Ari nouns are marked for inflection number, gender, case and article. They are also in the majority of cases indentified by the final vowels /i/ or /a/.

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How it Came that Judas Castrated his Father — Remarks on the *andemta* Corpus. The Legend of Judas Iscariot in Ethiopia

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Abstract: *This paper deals with the legend of Judas Iscariot. In the* andemta *(commentary) on the* Anaphora of Our Lady Mary Ascribed to Cyriacus of Behensa, *one passage contains this legend of Judas Iscariot. A comparison between this version and the Ltin version, taken from the* Legenda aurea, *will show the similarity and the difference. A survey of the Ethiopian literature provides evidence for this legend in the Ethiopian literature.*

INTRODUCTION

One method of the *andemtas*, the Amharic commentaries, is to narrate the story or biography of a person mentioned in the main text, e. g., when Adam occurs in the original text, his biography is told in the commentary. The sources of these stories are, besides the Bible, the apocrypha, the hagiographical and monastic legends and the patristic writings.

The *andemta* on the Ethiopian *anaphora of Our Lady Mary ascribed to Cyriacus of Behensa, the Qeddase Maryam*, contains many such biographical stories. Most of them are well-known and can be found in the other *andemtas*, too.[1]

This paper deals with one passage from the *andemta* on the *Qeddase Maryam*, which describes the life of Judas Iscariot before he became an apostle. After the translation of this passage, a comparison with the western legend of Judas Iscariot follows. Subsequently, a survey on the Ethiopian literature shall provide evidence for this legend in other sources.

THE *ANDEMTA* ON THE ANAPHORA OF OUR LADY MARY ASCRIBED TO CYRIACUS OF BEHENSA

The *Anaphora of Our Lady Mary Ascribed to Cyriacus of Behensa* was edited and translated into German by S. Euringer in 1937.[2]

The Institutio (paragraph 81) reads: "und zu ihnen (den Aposteln) wurde jener gerechnet, dessen Natur unter den Weizen gemischtes Unkraut war,

kuri	'honey'	aqa	'tree'
ant[s]	'bee'	bona	'flower'
daši	'milk'	apa	'language'
waki	'cow'	anza	'girl'

NOUN INFLECTIONS

The two morphological case-marking suffixes are accusative /-m/, and genitive /-t(a)/.

ki-t	epi-n-ta		
3s.m.-gen	'his'	cry-def-gen	'of crying'
ki-m	noo-m		
3s.m-acc	'him'	fire-acc	'fire'

The morphemes[1] of masculine and feminine gender affixed on nouns, specifiers, and adjectives are:

m.	-si	-i	aŋg-
p-	-t	-ə	ma-
ed-si	yints-i		
adult-m	'man'	child-m	'boy'
et-t	'woman'	yints-ə	'girl'

The plural morpheme is /-a/. Nouns are unmarked for being singular.

ed-in-a	ma-yints-an-a	
adult-def-pl	'the people'	f-child-def-pl 'the girls'
dib-ən-a	et-t-ən-a	
thief-def-pl	'the thieves'	adult-f-def-pl 'the women'
yints-in-a		
child-def-pl	'the children'	

Nouns and adjectives can be either definite or indefinite. Indefiniteness is unmarked, and the definite marker is /-n (a)/.

buna	tokmi	
coffee 'coffee'	small 'small'	
buna-n	tokmi-n	
coffee-def	'the coffee'	small-def	'the small'

The rewriting rule for Ari infections based on the model of Selkirk (1982) is:

N --> N	(Af)	(Af)	(Af)	(Af)
	[m gen]	[m def]	[m plur]	[m case]

DERIVATION OF NOUNS

Nouns are formed in different ways from the stem. (a) Gerundive nominals are formed by suffixing /-inti/:

dib	'steal'	dib-inti	'stealing'
uz-	'beautiful'	uz-inti	'becoming beautiful'
won-	'work'	won-inti	'working'
mat-	'become'	mat-inti	'becoming'
leq-	'play'	leq-inti	'singing'

Stem+/-inti/ can also mean 'way of Vstem'. The WFR for gerundive nominals is:

$[[x-]_V\text{-inti}] \rightarrow [X]_N$

(b) Some instrumental nouns are formed by suffixing /-i/,/-a/, /-int/, by compounding with /-bot/ 'place' or syntactically by suffixing /ir-d-nda/ 'pass.(imper)-imperf-that:

zit^{s}'-	'close'	zit^{s}i	'door'
dog-	'sit'	daqint	'chair'
daʔi-	'hit'	daʔi	'stick'
leq-	'play'	leqabot	'singing place'
rat-	'sleep'	ratbota	'bed'
ɗay-	'keep'	ɗaybot	'watch-tower'
dəys-	'kill'	dəysirdənda	'killing-instrument'
kuž-	'brew'	kužirdənda	'barrel'
ays-	'break'	aysirdənda	'breaker'
its-	'eat'	itsirdənda	'plate'
woë'-	'drink'	wuë'irdənda	'cup'

(c) The process- or abstract nominal-forming suffixes are /-mi/ and /-ta/. Syntactically they are also formed by adding /mat-inti/ 'becoming.[1]

naš-	'like'	naš-mi	'love' (n)
yiž-	'hate'	yiž-mi	'hatred'
goëë-	'kidnap'	goëë-mi	'kidnapping'
has'-	'clean'	has'-ma	'cleaning'
leq-	'play'	lig-a	'singing'
days-	'hill'	deys-i	'killing'
zaami	'strong'	zaa-ta	'strength'
ëalmi	'black'	ëal-ta	'blackness'
		ë'ali matinti	'being black'
s'aami	'white'	s'aam-ta	'whiteness'
		s'aami matinti	'being white'

(d) The form of agentive nominals is the same as that of the relativized form of the verb. Syntactically, agentives can be derived from verbs of action and have a meaning like one who does the action stated by the verb (Comrie and Thompson 1985: 351).

dəy-	'kill'	dəy-d-ab-in	'killer/one who kills'
won-	'work'	won-d-ab	'worker/one who works'
ay-	'break'	aʔays-d-ab	'breaker one who breaks'

Like the process nominals, some agentives are also formed by suffixing /-ta/ and /-mi/:

gal-	'old'	gal-ta	'knowledgeable person'
təë-	'cut'	təë-mi	'a person who cuts'

In the majority of cases agentivity is expressed at the level of syntax. The word formation rules for process and agentive nominals are:

$$[[x-]_V -mi] \rightarrow [X]_N$$
$$[[x-]_A -ta] \rightarrow [X]_N$$

(e) Result nominals are formed from the base by suffixing either /-a/, /-i/, the definite article /-an/ or, like process and agentive nonimals, by suffixing /-mi/.

leq-	'play'	leq-a	'play' (n.)
has'-	'clean'	has'-ma	'dirt'
ay-	'break'	ayi-m	'piece'
itˢ-	'eat'	itˢ-mi	'food'
woë'-	'drink'	woë'-mi	'drink' (n)
alq-	'tell'	alq-an	'the speech'

Nouns can be derived from other nouns, adjectives and verbs by the addition of some of the suffixes of (a)-(e), or without any addition or change of form.

bon	'summer'	bona	'flower'
aŋg	'male'	aŋg-inti	'masculinity'
dabi	'animal'	dabinti	'animity'
itˢ-	'eat'	itˢ-an	'to eat'
itˢ-	'eat'	itˢ-mi	'food'
mat-	'be'	mat-an	'to become'
wa-	'meat'	wakki	'cattle'
antˢ'-	'bee'	antˢ-i	'tej'
bud-	'heart'	bu(u)d	'soul'
		bud-	'back (of human)'

VERBALS

Ari verbs can be distinguished from nouns or adjectives by their endings. Verbs in the majority of cases end with consonants, and are also different in their inflection.

VERB INFLECTIONS

Verbs can be inflected for person, number, gender, tense, aspect or mood.

Number, gender, and person

Verbs do not have distinct number markers. Person and gender are indicated by their pronoun prefixes in subordinate clauses and by suffixes in main clauses (cf Daniel 1993).

pers.	singular subordinate	main	plural subordinate	main
1	ii-	-it	wo-	-ot
2	ana-/aa-	-ay	ye-	-et
3m	ki-/yi-	-e/-a[2]	ke-	ek-
3f	ko-	-e/-a	ke-	-ek

Tense: Ari.distinguishes present and past. Present tense is marked by /-a/.
its-d-a-a
eat-impf-3-pres   'he eats/will/eat'

Past tense is marked by by /-e/. To indicate remote past the copulative /aq(q)/ 'exist' is used after the main verb.

waëë-t-e-e
descend-pf-3s-past 'he decended'
ši?i-t-aq-y
Wash-pf-exist-2pl 'you (pl) had washed'
aq-e
exist-3s   'he lived'

It appears from the data and also from the available literature that tense markers are on the verge of diappearing. Sometimes the verbs are marked and in other times they are unmarked. In some situations they mean the opposite of what they do elsewhere.

ard-aq-s
enter-exist-pf   'He entered'
day-e
exist-3s   'He lived"

Regarding this, Alemayehu[3] (1981: 56-58) states that:

> there are what may be interpreted as strong traces of past -e/
> i, present -a ... in both Southern and Northern Omotic... Ari
> has -a, -e, and -o in the past, present and converb marking
> suffixes respectively. In many cases. they have reversed the
> function, some of them have been lost. In other cases conso-
> nants rather than vowels occur as tense-marking elements.

To summarize: tense is overlooked on aspect markers.

ASPECT

Aspect like tense has two divisions: the perfective, marked by /-s/ or /-t/, and the imperfective, marked by /-d/.

ᵕ   ᵕ
ep-s-e-e
cry-pf-3s-past   "he cried'

rat-t-a-a
sleep-pf-35-pres   'he sleeps'

dox-d-a
live-impf-pres   'it exists'

/-t/ and /-s/ occur freely without allomorphic conditions. Concerning the perfective aspect, See also Bender (1989:10).

The word formation rule for Ari verb inflections is:

V --> V	Af	Af	Af
	[m aspect]	[m person]	[m tense]

DERIVATION OF VERBS

There are causative and passive derived verbs.

Causative

The causative is marked as part of the verb by geminating the last consonant of the stem and suffixing /-si/ when there is a direct relation between the cause, involved in the activity as agent, and the effect. If the cause is not the agent or not directly involved in the activity, the morpheme /-sis/, the double causative marker, is suffixed.

ᵕ ᵕ			
it^s-	'eat'	it^{s}t^{s}is	'he caused it to be eaten'
bul-	'release'	bullis	'he caused it to be released'
dəy-	'kill'	dəysis	'he caused the killing'
won-	'work'	wonsise	'he caused it to work'

Passive

There are two passive forms in Ari., with /-er/ and /-im/. Bender (1989:11) states that the suffix of the Ari passive-intransitive is /-er/ and that "to form reciprocal/reflexives, Ari uses -im with plural object pronouns. This -im may be simply the accusative marker." Though this needs further investigation, we can safely say that /-er/ is the impersonal and /-im/ the personal passive marker.

marat-ər-d-e
product-pass-impf-past   'it was produced'

es-im-d-e
know-pass-impf-3s   'he is known'

dəys-im-s-ək
kill-pass-pf-3pl   'they are being killed by each other'

kez-ər-d-e
tell-pass-impf-3s   'it will be told'

Causative and personal passive can occur together having the meaning of causative reflexive.

doys-im-s

die-pass-caus.   'he caused the killing of each other'

The rule for these derivational affixes is:

V --> V   Af   Af
            [m caus]   [m passive]

Verbs can also be derived from adjectives or nouns by using apersonal suffix and different forms of the verb 'to be':

aŋg-ay-e

masc-2s-be   'you are a man'

may-ay-e

fem-2s-be   'you are a woman'

zam-it-e

brave-1s-be   'I am brave'

zəymĭ	red	zəm?i	bleed
pug	bladder	pug	blow
uži	beautiful	uzuzde	it is beautiful
ga?išaa	big	gas'iyee	is big
laxami	good	laxamiyee	is fine
nis'u	clean	nis'ukee	are clean
dopan	certain	dopanee	is certain
liki	right	likiyee	is right
debi	thief	debiyee	is the thief
bilt'	clever	bilt'iyee	is clever
asgərami	miracle	asgəramiyee	is a miracle

The word formation rules for deriving verbs from adjectives and nouns are:

[[X]A-XAf]V --> [X]V

[[X]N (-XAf)   X   ]V --> [X]V
[m pers]   [m cop]

ADJECTIVALS

Most inherent adjectives in Ari end with /-mi/ and they may have the same article, case and number markers as the noun which governs them. Some adjectives are also identical in form with the noun or the verb of the same class.

uzimĭ	'beautiful'	uzimi-an	'beautiful ones'
rottimi	'long'	tokmisi-n-am	'the little (m)'
ě'almi	'black'	galt-an-am	'the old'
zammi	'brave'	gals-ən-o	'the old (man)'
geša	'old'	kila	'new'
gešna	'old lady'	geš-ni	'the old'

Some *colour* adjectives can also be derived from nouns.

| dira | 'grass' | diraa | 'green' |
| rika-biš | 'sky-like' | rika-biš | 'blue' |

The word formation rule of nominal inflections also works for adjectivals.

A --> A (Af) (Af) (Af) (Af)
[M gerund] [m def] [m pl] [m case]

COMPOUNDING

Compounds are formed from different word classes. Adjectives are formed from syntactic categories like complementizers, and relativizers, and the lexical categories-pronouns and verbs.

rika-biš	N-comp = Adj
sky-like	'blue'
ki-biš-aab	N-comp-rel = Spec
3s-like-one	'some one'

Noun compounds are formed from two nouns, a verb and a noun, and an adverb and a noun.

[[X]ₙ [Y]ₙ] --> [X]ₙ

waniwaki
work cattle 'farm ox'
aŋgyintˢ
masc-child 'boy'
mayintˢ
fem-child 'girl'

[[X]ᵥ [X]ₙ] --> [X]ₙ

rat-abl
sleep-cloth 'blanket'
rat-bot
sleep-place 'bed'
leqabot
play-place 'bar'
day-bot
keep-place 'watchtower'

Some compounds describing features of the sun are formed by using /ay/ 'sun' with different verbs.

ay woëëee
sun disappeared   'sun set'
ay-t benza
sun-gen ray   'sun rays'
ay-da utinta
sun-pp put   'east'
ay-da waë'inta
sun pp enter   'west'
ay tar
sun-?   'visible, clear'

There are also some compounds formed from adverbs of time and a noun.

ror-itˢmii
noon-food   'lunch'
žama-itˢmi
morning-food 'breakfast'

Some adverbs can be formed by reduplication of the whole morpheme.
žama-žama
morning-morning   'every morning'
sana sana
fast fast   'quick'

Compound verbs are formed from a verb and an adjective, an adverb, a noun, and a verb. The verbs used as members of the compound are different forms of 'say', 'do' and 'be'.

V compound = adv-Vₛₐy
doë'ë'e-gays   he (was being) lowered
kappe-gays   he (was being) raised

V compound = adv-V_do
doë'ë'is-yis   (lit) 'he lowered it down'
kappis-yis   (lit.) 'he picked it up'

V compound = V-V_be
axta-ax   'he had come'
wonta-ax   'he had worked'
bab-alq
?-tell   'conspired'

V compound = {N/A}-V be
aŋg-ay-e   'you are a man'
zami-it-e   'I am brave'
zami-e   'he is brave'
laxami-yee   'is/are fine'

Concerning the base forms for work formations, Bender (ibid) writes that '...identical noun and verb occur (i.e. one may consider those as roots used for both functions), suppletive forms occur, or compounds may be simple juxtapositions or a kind of "construct" form'.

MORPHOPHONEMIC PROCESSES IN ARI

The most frequent morphophonemic process taking placing is assimilation. All four types of assimilation are observed: progressive, regressive, adjacent, and distant.

VOICING ASSIMILATION

The perfect aspect suffix /s/ becomes voiced due to the influnce of a previous voiced obstruent, whereas the perfect or feminine suffix /t/ triggers devoicing of a preceding obstruent.

gob-s --> gobs	'jumped'	
dob-s --> dobz	'threw'	
kez-s --> kezz	'told'	
az-s --> azz	'run'	
šad-t --> šatt	'saw'	
ed-t --> ett	'woman'	
žag-t --> žakt	'sow'	
zig-t --> zikt	'wanted'	

The structural conditions for the spreading to take place in the above two cases are in the first that the triggering segment has to have a feature [-sonorant] and in the second that the changed segment has to have a feature [-continuant].

PALATAL ASSIMILATION

There are two progressive palatalization processes, adjacent and distant The adjacent assimilation of -the perfect suffix /s/ is total, while the distant assimilation of /s/ is partial.

Adjacent total assimilation

woë'-se	woë'ë'e	'he drank'
poë-se	poëëe	'he opened'
uš-se	ušš-e	'he cooked'
guǰ-se	guǰ-iše	'he added'

The structural condition that has to be fulfilled is the presence of [+strident] in both the trigger and the triggerred.

Distant partial assimilation

ši?i-s-e	ši?iše	'he washed'
čaa-s-e	čaaše	'he slapped'
šad-s-e	sadze	'he saw'
žaq-s-e	žaqše	'he threw'
šan-s-e	šanše	'he sold'
žaq-sis-e	žaqšiše	'he made (someone) throw'

As in adjacent palatalization, in distant assimilation also the change is from [-high] to [+high]. In addition, the structural condition [+strident] has to be present in both segments.

NOTES

1. The allomorphic conditions of these gender markers are not found. Getahun (1991: 16, 25) in his thesis on Hamer (a language related to Ari) says that _ma_ means 'woman'. From this and the Ari data it may be suggested that _ma_ and _ang_ are compound-forming prefixes.

Hamer	ma	Koro	'this woman'
	mana	bunduki	
	woman	many	'many women'

   In Ari _ang_ also means 'male' as the base for _anginti_ 'masculinity' (cf. verb derivations).

2. The 3rd singular, suffix and the tense suffixes are identical. Their representations are complicated by two factors. (1) As Alemayehu (1981) says, they are on the verge of being lost, and (2), when the data are elicited, sometimes long and most of the time short vowels are found. So the data looks at some places a bit artificial. For emphasis, at some places two vowels are used to represent 3rd singular and tense.

3. In fact the whole idea of Alemayehu's (1981) thesis is the presence/absence of a system of tense/aspect-marking suffix vowels in Cushitic and Omotic languages.

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