

Research Note

The Role of *k/t/d* Morphemes in Endegagn¹

Yohannes Adigeh
(Addis Ababa University)
yohannesad@gmail.com

Abstract

This article discusses the role of *k/t/d* morphemes in Endegagn, one of the Peripheral Western Gurage Language, Ethiopia. These morphemes are neither abbreviations nor affixes. The morphemes are remnant linguistic unit of main verb markers which is still revealed in various traces in the neighboring Cushitic languages and even in Outer South Ethiopic languages. Most of the Western Gurage languages have dropped out these markers but Endegagn maintains these functions using inconsistently revealed morphemes. Hetzron (1972) named these morphemes as the *k/t/d* morphemes. The morphemes play significant roles in various grammatical properties; such as in negative copula, remote past tenses, progressive aspects, relative clauses, possessive, locative existential and obligation clauses. These morphemes are revealed as *-də*, *-(k)kə*, and *-ttə* as per the context of linguistic units they are attached with. Endegagn suffixes are categorized into two

¹ In this article the abbreviations are listed below.

1	First	OSE	Outer South Ethiopic
2	Second	PAL	palatalization
3	Third	PFV	Perfective base
AUX	Auxiliary	PL	Plural
BEN	Benefactive	PL.M	Plural masculine
COND	Conditional marker	PL.F	Plural feminine
COP	Copula	POSS	Possessive suffix
CSA	Central Statistics Authority	PROG	Progressive
E.C	Ethiopian Calendar	PROS	prospective
F	Feminine	PRX	Proximal
IPFV	Imperfective base	PST	Past tense
LAB	Labialization	PWG	Peripheral Western Gurage
M	Masculine	SG	Singular
MAL	Malefactive	SG.F	Singular feminine
NEG	Negative	SG.M	Singular masculine
NPST	Non-past tense	SUB	Subordinate prefix
OBJ	Object agreement marker	TSE	Transversal South Ethiopic

types as light and heavy. These *k/t/d* morphemes vary according to the dichotomy of light–heavy suffixes. Thus, this paper explains the distribution of the *k/t/d* morphemes where they occur in the Endegagn language.

1 Introduction

1.1 The people of Endegagn

The Endegagn community lives in the Gurage Zone of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State (SNNPRS), Ethiopia. The Gurage Zone consists of thirteen districts (Weredas) and two administrative towns: Wolkite and Butajira. Endegagn is one of the thirteen rural districts (Weredas) which is located 224km from Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia. According to Central Statistics Authority (CSA) (2008: 57) report, the population of Endegagn district is 49,152, of which females constitute 26,307 and the males' share is 22,845, giving male to female sex ratio of 0.87. The same data source reveals about 764 Endegagn people are residing in urban area whereas 48,388 are rural dwellers (CSA 2008: 57).

Generally, the Gurage languages are spoken in a geographically compact area. Endegagn speakers, for instance, are neighbored by speakers of Hadiya in the West, Ennemor and Inor in the North and North-West, Geto in the North-East and Silti in the East and South-East. As a result, some Endegagn speakers are bilingual in one of these languages in addition to their own.

With regard to religion, the majority of Endegagn speakers are followers of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church. Few of them are Muslims and there are few Protestants (Eyassu 2003: 3). The rural people are mostly farmers, where much of the economy is based on *ensete* [false banana], maize and grain (Hetzron 1997: 535). In urban areas, Endegagn speakers are mostly masons and some are merchants. Most of the men of Endegagn move to different areas of the country and usually engage in building construction.

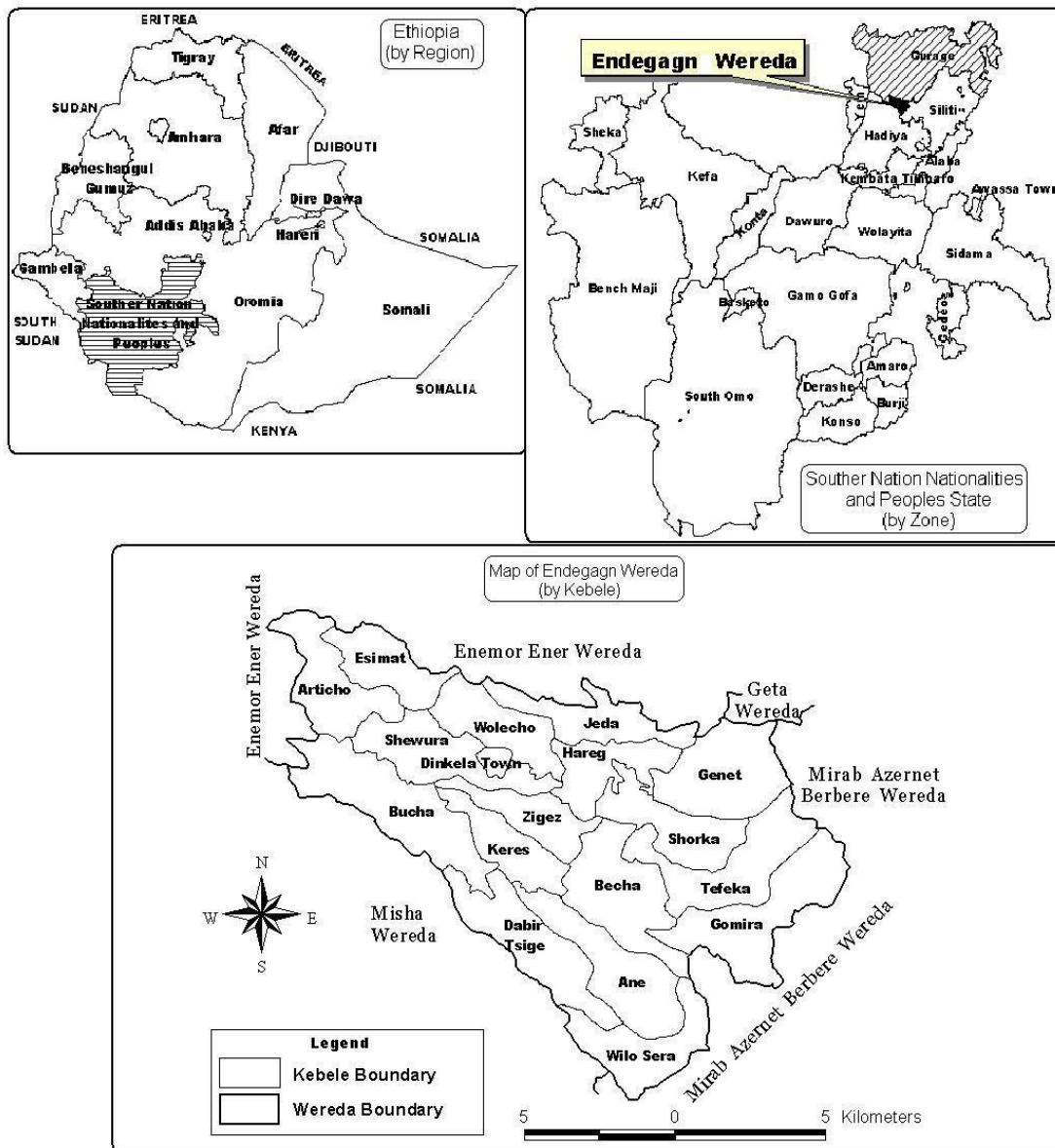


Figure 1: The map of Endegagn taken from Yohannes (2015)

1.2 The language of Endegagn

As it is stated in Hetzron (1977: 21) the term Gurage refers to the people living to the south and south west of Addis Ababa who speak genealogically related South Ethiopic Semitic languages with internal dialectal division. Most scholars agree that the term ‘Gurage’ should not be used as a meaningful linguistic term; rather it is a geographical term which refers to Semitic speaking people surrounded by Cushitic and Omotic speaking people in central Ethiopia (Goldenberg 2005: 924; Hetzron 1972: 6).

It is commonly agreed that the Gurage language group has three main branches: Northern, Eastern and Western Gurage (Hetzron 1972: 6; Rose 1997: 3). However,

as to the members constituting each branch, there exist different opinions. Leslau (1992a), for instance, classifies the languages (dialects as he calls them) as follows: Silt'e, Wolane, and Zay belong to Eastern Gurage; Chaha, Geto, Ezha, Gumer, Endegagn, Muher, Mesqan and Dobbi belong to Western Gurage and Kistane is claimed to be the sole representative of Northern Gurage. Rose (1997) also classified Muher as belonging to Western Gurage. However, Hetzron (1972, 1977) classifies Kistane, Dobbi and Muher as members of Northern Gurage.

Hetzron (1977) investigates the shared morphological innovations among the Gurage languages. Thus, though the issue of classification is still unsettled, there seems to be a tendency towards accepting Hetzron's (1972, 1977) classification (Hudson 2000; Rose 1994).

Indeed, the place of Endegagn is constant in both ways. This study is based on Hetzron's (1972, 1977 and 1997) classification as Endegagn belonging to Peripheral Western Gurage by sub-cluster, Western Gurage by cluster, Outer South Ethiopic by sub-group, South Ethio-Semitic by group, Ethio-Semitic by sub-family, Semitic by family and Afro-Asiatic by phylum.

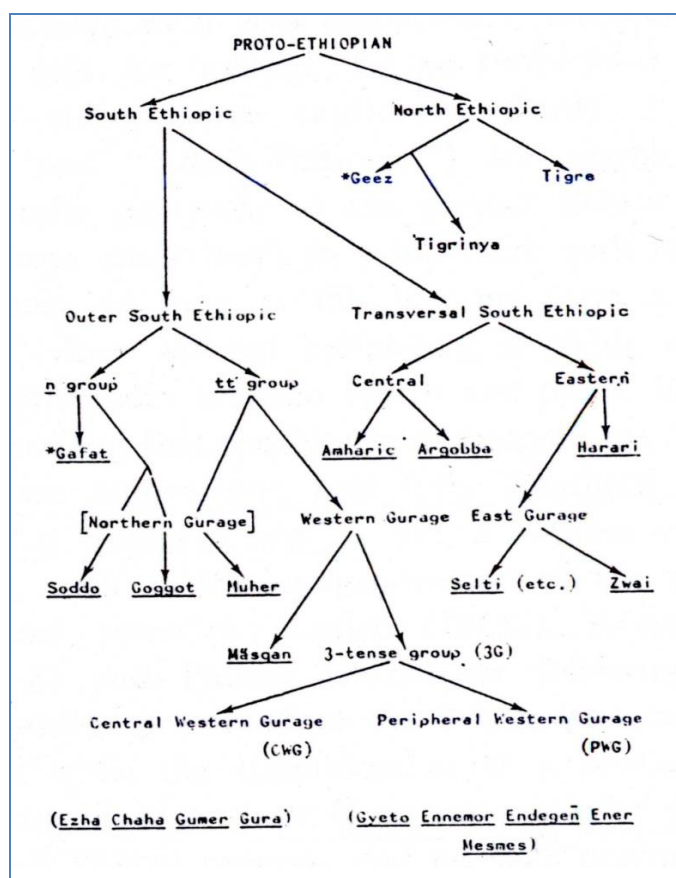


Figure 2: Family tree on the Ethio-Semitic languages based on Hetzron (1977: 17)

2 Previous works

Endegagn is one of the least studied varieties of the Gurage cluster. Some grammatical aspects of Endegagn have been described by some scholars within itself or in comparison to other Gurage languages. Among these, Leslau takes the first rank. He describes some parts of Endegagn phonetics and verbs (Leslau 1992b, 1992c). Rose (2006) discusses the relationship between gemination of penultimate consonant in the verb stem and the phonetic duration of the final root consonant. Hetzron (1972) discusses some morpho-phonological processes of Endegagn including the *k/t/d* morphemes in comparison with other PWG varieties. Among Ethiopian scholars, Aklilu (1983) and Eyassu (2003) describe the basic features of phonology and morphology of Endegagn just for their partial fulfillment of Bachelor and Masters Degrees, respectively.

Except these scholars who tried to touch some parts of the language, Endegagn is really a marginalized language pushed by researchers aside. For instance, Meyer (2011: 1222-1225) mentions the pioneers of researchers in Gurage languages/dialects in general since Praetorius (1879) to Rose (2007). However, no one has done adequate grammatical description on Endegagn among those distinguished scholars in Gurage varieties in particular and Semitic languages at large. The Peripheral Western Gurage language variety which attracts researchers to some extent is Enor [Ennemor]. I think researchers may consider Endegagn as a dialect of Enor for their insufficient consideration (Hetzron 1977: 21). Nevertheless, Endegagn has its own grammatical features to be studied independently. One of the peculiar linguistic features found in Endegagn is the *k/t/d* morphemes.

3 The *k/t/d* morphemes

At the first place the *k/t/d* morphemes are discussed by Hetzron (1972). The *k/t/d* morphemes are typical features of PWG languages (Hetzron 1972: 67) with determined distributions based on the dichotomy of Heavy-Light suffixes². Cushitic languages make a very definite distinction between the main indicative imperfect forms of clauses and subordinate ones. This distinction, as a morphological category, was

² The feature of light and heavy suffixes is primarily discussed by Polotsky (1938) and has since been the object of many descriptions and hypotheses concerning the origin of the variation (Hetzron (1968, 1972a, 1977), Goldenberg (1968), Leslau (1981) among others). Polotsky noted that object markers are divided into two classes: Heavy and Light Heavy suffixes occur with the 2SGF, Impersonal and plural subjects, whereas Light occur with the other non-2SGF singular subjects (Rose 1996a: 206). However, Hetzron (1972: 9) stated as “Heavy” position after ancient long vowels and “Light” positions elsewhere.

borrowed by South Ethiopic from Cushitic, but each cluster or language variety developed its own means to realize it (Hetzron 1972: 37).

As to Hetzron (1972: 37) the OSE (Outer South Ethiopic) languages used Proto-Semitic morphemic elements for main verb marking. Semitic languages had also used a morpheme in two types of realizations (allomorphs) *-u* after a consonant and *-n(a/i)* after a long vowel to mark the indicative mood. The OSE languages used nearly the same morpheme realized as final *-t*: **-ut* and **-nt*, for main verb marking. The allomorph **-nt* is gradually changed into the geminate *-tt* through assimilation of *n*, in Muher while Soddo and Gogot dropped *-t* and remained with *-n* (Hetzron 1972: 38).

Western Gurage in general and PWG in particular dropped these markers altogether. The only trace of these morphemes survived on the past form of the existential verb *ban(ə)də* ‘there was’ in PWG in general and in Endegagn in particular (Hetzron 1972: 38). The last syllable *-də* is the reminiscent of the main verb markers in the other Gurage languages, which can be also realized as *-tə* or *-ttə*. In TSE languages, for instance in Amharic, the *k/t/d* morphemes have been replaced by the locative or existential verb *allə* ‘there is’ to distinguish the main imperfective from subordinate ones (Hetzron 1972: 38). The *k/t/d* morphemes mark various grammatical properties and represented by KTD in the gloss. The various roles played by *k/t/d* morphemes are presented below.

3.1 The *k/t/d* morphemes in copulas

The best grammatical property where the *k/t/d* morphemes occur is the negative form of copula having no specific linguistic function. The *k/t/d* morphemes are revealed as *-də* in light suffixes whereas they are revealed as *-ttə* in heavy suffixes. Let us see how these morphemes show different realizations in the full paradigm.

(1) Negative copula

1	Singular <i>ahanəhudə</i> aha-n-əhu-də NEG-COP.NPST-1SG-KTD ‘I am not’	Plural <i>ahanənədə</i> aha-n-ənə-də NEG-COP.NPST-1PL-KTD ‘we are not’
2M	<i>ahanəhədə</i> aha-n-əhə-də NEG-COP.NPST-2SG.M-KTD ‘you are not’	<i>ahanəhuttə</i> aha-n-əhum-də NEG-COP.NPST-2PL.M-KTD ‘you are not’

2F	<i>ahanəfiḍə</i> aha-n-əfi-də NEG-COP.NPST-2SG.F-KTD 'you are not'	<i>ahanəhattə</i> aha-n-əham-də NEG-COP.NPST-2PL.F-KTD 'you are not'
3M	<i>ahanə:də</i> aha-n-ə-də NEG-COP.NPST-3SG.M-KTD 'he is not'	<i>ahanəwattə</i> aha-n-um-də NEG-COP.NPST-3PL.M-KTD 'they are not'
3F	<i>ahanətffidə</i> aha-n-ətffī-də NEG-COP.NPST-3SG.F-KTD 'she is not'	<i>ahanəʔattə</i> aha-n-am-də NEG-COP.NPST-3PL.F-KTD 'they are not'

Endegagn uses the prefix *aha-* to negate the copular clause with the *k/t/d* morphemes as a suffix which is realized as *-ttə* in heavy positions (Hetzron 1972: 67). Therefore, in plural subjects, except 1PL, the *k/t/d* morphemes appear as *-ttə* which in turn brings forth the assimilation of the final consonant of the subject suffix to the KTD suffix (*-mtə > -ttə*).

If we see the positive counterpart of copula expressions, we cannot clearly find the *k/t/d/* morphemes. The base of the copula in Endegagn is *-n-* which cannot occur independently. The copula with its own form appears either in conjunction with adjectives or in its past form *banə-* as Hetzron explained. However, the base *n* does not appear in its affirmative non-past form but with the inflected *n-* with the personal pronouns as shown in (209) below:

(2) Copula in positive

<i>ʔijattə</i>	< ʔijə-ttə	1SG-COP.NPST	'I am'
<i>ahattə</i>	< ahə-ttə	2SG.M-COP.NPST	'you are' (M)
<i>aḥittə</i>	< aḥə-ttə	2SG.F-COP.NPST	'you are' (F)
<i>hudittə</i>	< hudə-ttə	3SG.M-COP.NPST	'he is'
<i>ḥidittə</i>	< ḥidə-ttə	3SG.F-COP.NPST	'she is'
<i>ʔinattə</i>	< ʔinə-ttə	1PL-COP.NPST	'we are'
<i>ahuttə</i>	< ahuwə-ttə	2PL.M-COP.NPST	'you are' (M)
<i>ahattə</i>	< ahaʔə-ttə	2PL.F-COP.NPST	'you are' (M)
<i>hunottə</i>	< honowə-ttə	3PL.M-COP.NPST	'they are' (M)
<i>hinattə</i>	< hinaʔə-attə	3PL.F-COP.NPST	'they are' (M)

The data in (2) show, the copula *n* does not appear as such in non-past affirmative conjugation it is rather realized as geminate *-ttə* following the personal pronouns. Furthermore, one of my language consultants told me that these auxiliary forms have alternative expressions including the basic form *n* as part of

the inflected pronoun. According to my language consultant, the expressions given below are mostly used by the new generation.

(3) Positive copula

<i>ʔijattanh^w</i>	< ʔija-ttən-h	1SG-COP.NPST-1SG	‘I am’
<i>ʔahattəniha</i>	< ʔahə-ttən-hə	2SG.M-COP.NPST-2SG.M	‘you are’
<i>ʔafittəniʃ</i>	< ʔafə-ttən-ʃ	2SG.F-COP.NPST-2SG.F	‘you are’
<i>hudittən</i>	< hudə-ttən	3SG.M-COP.NPST-3SG.M	‘he is’
<i>ʃidittəniʒə</i>	< ʃidə-ttən-ijə	3SG.F-COP.NPST-3SG.F	‘she is’
<i>ʔinattənnirə</i>	< ʔinə-ttən-nirə	1PL-COP.NPST-1PL	‘we are’
<i>ʔahuttənuh^wiwə</i>	< ʔahuwə-ttən- ^{LAB} huwə	2PL.M-COP.NPST-2PL.M	‘you are’
<i>ʔahattənihaʔə</i>	< ʔahaʔə-ttən-haʔə	2PL.F-COP.NPST-2PL.F	‘you are’
<i>hunottənowə</i>	< honowə-ttən-owə	3PL.M-COP.NPST-3PL.M	‘they are’
<i>hinattənaʔə</i>	< hinaʔə-ttən-aʔə	3PL.F-COP.NPST-3PL.F	‘they are’

The suppletive *-ttə* comes with the basic copula *n* as an alternative for the expressions mentioned above in (2).

The past form of the copula is originally *ban-* ‘was/were’ which is followed by subject agreements. However, the negative counterpart of the past copula is expressed by the suppletive *nəppər-* ~ *annəppər*³ - which might be literally translated as ‘reside/live’. The following data illustrate how past form of copula is expressed. The *k/t/d* morphemes appear with both negative and positive copula constructions. Let us see the full paradigms below:

(4) Positive	Negative
<i>ʔijə banəhudə</i>	<i>annəppərəhudə</i>
ʔijə ban-əhu-də	an-nəppər-əhu-də
1SG COP.PST-1SG-KTD	NEG-live.PFV-1SG-KTD
‘I was’	‘I was not’
<i>ʔinə banənədə</i>	<i>annəppərənədə</i>
ʔinə ban-ənə-də	an-nəppər-ənə-də
1PL COP.PST-1PL-KTD	NEG-live.PFV-1PL-KTD
‘we were’	‘we were not’
<i>ahə banəhədə</i>	<i>annəppərəhədə</i>
ahə ban-əhə-də	an-nəppər-əhə-də
2SG.M COP.PST-2SG.M-KTD	NEG-live.PFV-2SG.M-KTD
‘you were’	‘you were not’

³ If *nəppər-* is accepted as a stem of the past copula, why does it not appear in the same realization as the other active verbs? As one can say *annəppərətʃidə* ‘she was not’ for the negative counterpart of *banətʃidə* ‘she was’, Endegagn does not allow **nəppərətʃidə* to mean ‘she was’ which is ungrammatical in the language. Therefore, we can understand that there is no semantic relationship rather a functional correspondence between the past copula *ban-* and the main verb *nəppər-*. Therefore, the verb *nəppər-* is a main verb that has a meaning of ‘dwell/live’ and its negative form is *an-n^wəpp^wər-* used for copula negative expressions. Therefore, the main verb *nəppər-* expresses one’s existence than identity in positive expressions.

<i>afə banəfiḏə</i> afə ban-əfi-də 2SG.M COP.PST-2SG.F-KTD 'you were'	<i>annəppərəfiḏə</i> an-nəppər-əfi-də NEG-live.PFV-2SG.F-KTD 'you were not'
<i>ahuwə banəhuttə</i> ahuwə ban-əhum-də 2SG.M COP.PST-2PL.M-KTD 'you were'	<i>annopporuhuttə</i> an-nəppər-əhum-də NEG-live.PFV-2PL.M-KTD 'you were not'
<i>ahaʔə banəhattə</i> ahaʔə ban-əham-də 2SG.F COP.PST-2PL.F-KTD 'you were'	<i>annəppərəhattə</i> an-nəppər-əham-də NEG-live.PFV-2PL.F-KTD 'you were not'
<i>hudə banədə</i> hudə ban-ə-də 3SG.M COP.PST-3SG.M-KTD 'he was'	<i>annəppərədə</i> an-nəppər-ə-də NEG-live.PFV-3SG.M-KTD 'he was not'
<i>fiḏə banətʃfiḏə</i> fiḏə ban-ətʃfi-də 3SG.F COP.PST-3SG.F-KTD 'she was'	<i>annəppərətʃfiḏə</i> an-nəppər-ətʃfi-də NEG-live.PFV-3SG.F-KTD 'she was not'
<i>honowə banowwattə</i> honowə ban- ^{LAB} um-də 3PL.M COP.PST-3PL.M-KTD 'they were'	<i>annopporttə</i> an-nəppər- ^{LAB} um-də NEG-live.PFV-3PL.M-KTD 'they were not'
<i>hinaʔə banattə</i> hinaʔə ban-am-də 3PL.F COP.PST-3PL.F-KTD 'they were'	<i>annəppərattə</i> an-nəppər-am-də NEG-live.PFV-3PL.F-KTD 'they were not'

As the data indicate, the positive past form of copula, the subject of the verb is mentioned both independently and dependently within the verb itself. One can omit or use the independent personal pronouns in a real communicative context. As the data show, the *k/t/d* morphemes are suffixed without clear linguistic function; or in other expression, these morphemes do not have specified role in a real sense.

3.2. The *k/t/d* morphemes in remote past constructions

A remote past tense can be expressed by the composition of main perfective verb in a converb form and the past auxiliary *bandə*. The final syllable of *bandə*, *-də*, is changed into various *k/t/d* forms according to the context where it appears.

- (5) *ʔijə gijə ʔəttərəhubandə*
ʔijə gijə ʔəttər-əhu-ban-də
I dog kill:PFV-1SG-AUX.PST-KTD
'I had killed a dog.'

The remote past in the above sentence is marked by the past auxiliary verb *ban* and the *k/t/d* morpheme *-də*. This auxiliary verb does not necessarily indicate a remote past. Assume that Bekele was around the speaker just a minute ago and incidentally disappeared from there; the person who is looking for Bekele asks the listener who replies as follows:

(6) P1 *bəkk'ələ etti wərə*
 bəkk'ələ etti wər-ə
 Bekele where go.PFV-3SG.M
 'Where did Bekele go?'

P2 *wəʔakkə waj bandə*
 wəʔakkə wa-j ban-də
 now PRX-DET AUX.PST-KTD
 'He was here now.'

The answer given by the Person 2 in (6) shows that the auxiliary verb *bandə* serves to mark recent time as one can understand from the context. The auxiliary verb *bandə* can be used to refer to an action that was planned to be done in the past time or an action that was being under progress at the moment of speech, but was not realized:

(7) *bəkk'ələ gah jizəgribandə*
 bəkk'ələ gah ji-zəgr-ban-də
 Bekele cliff 3SG.M-jump.IPFV-AUX.PST-KTD
 'Bekele was to jump over a cliff (but did not).'

The clause in (7) denotes a state of affairs that was planned to be performed by Bekele. Though the time for the action to be executed has passed, the morphology does not indicate whether the event was actually performed. The *k/t/d* morphemes appear with the auxiliary verb *ban(ə)* to show remote past constructions. The following data show how these *k/t/d* morphemes occur with the auxiliary verb to indicate a remote past:

(8) a. *təgabbom dengə ʔeɲɲum bandə*
 tə-gabb-um dengə ʔeɲɲ-um ban-də
 REF-get_marry.PFV-3PL.M children bear.PFV-3PL.M AUX.PST-KTD
 'They had got married and born children.'

b. *bijahett^wirkottə*
 b-j-ahettir-^{LAB}ko-də
 PROG-3SG.M-follow.IPFV-OBJ.3PL.M-KTD
 'He was following them.'

The data in (8a) is remote past marked by the past auxiliary *ban* plus the *k/t/d*/morpheme realized as *-də* whereas in (6b) the clause is past progressive which is marked by the imperfective base and the *k/t/d* morpheme is revealed as *-ttə*.

Similarly, the *k/t/d* morpheme consistently occurs as *-kkə* in the negative form of remote past as indicated below.

- (9) a. *fəkədə jəʔə bajəsəwīrkə*
 fəkədə jəʔə b-a-j-səwīr-də
 Fekede wood SUB-NEG-3SG.M-break.IPFV-KTD
 ‘Fekede had not used to break wood.’
- b. *degə baŋkəmsikkə*
 degə b-a-n-kəms-də
 mead SUB-NEG-1SG-taste.PFV-KTD
 ‘I had not used to taste mead.’

It seems that there is no apparent linguistic reason to be either loose *-kə* or geminated *-kkə* as the aforementioned data show. In example (9a), the *k/t/d* morpheme is revealed as ingeminated but it occurs as geminated one as in example (8b). When we see the phonological environment where the *k/t/d* morphemes occur, the former example ends with single alveolar glide phoneme whereas, the latter ends with consonant clusters with compulsory vowel insertion. In example (9b), the four consecutive consonants are separated by the epenthetic vowel *i* in order to maintain the phonological rule of the language. The gemination of the *k/t/d* morphemes as *-kkə* might be triggered by such linguistic fact.

3.3 The *k/t/d* morphemes in unreal apodoses

The *k/t/d* morpheme appear in the apodosis constructions that show unreal conditional in the past time as shown below:

- (10) a. *ətʃf bajnəwre bansaredə*
 ətʃf b-a-j-nəwr-e
 son COND-NEG-3SG.M-live.IPFV-OBJ.1SG
 b-an-sar-e-də
 COND-NEG-please.PFV-OBJ.1SG-KTD
 ‘If I had no son, I would not have been happy.’
- b. *bəsər bajwərʔə baŋgənəzədə*
 bəsər b-a-j-wərʔə
 COND-NEG-3SG.M-eat.IPFV
 b-an-gənəz-ə-də
 COND-NEG-be_old.IPFV-3SG.M-KTD
 ‘If he had not eaten meat, he would not have got old.’

The past tenses are marked by the *k/t/d* morpheme which is realized as its underlying form *-də*. The form occurs only in main verbs following the subject marker. According to Hetzron (1972: 67) these morphemes are borrowings from Cushitic. Yet their distribution seems to be typically Semitic in PWG. As Hetzron, in Cushitic, *k* may be a masculine marker in determinative elements and *t* a feminine marker. By virtue of the polarity, *k* is often a singular marker too, whereas *t* marks the plural (Hetzron 1967). However, in PWG *d* is not explainable by Cushitic so that *-də* is taken to be the underlying form that yielded the other two allomorphs.

3.4 The *k/t/d/* morphemes in prospective aspect

In Peripheral Western Gurage languages, specifically in Endegagn a definite future is marked by a composite of the imperfect and *-de* in light positions and *-te* in heavy positions. These *-de* and *-te* morphemes are different realizations of the *k/t/d* morphemes. The morpheme *-de* is the underlying form with a variant allomorph of *-tte* in heavy positions:

- (11) a. *jidərgede*
 j-dərg-e-də
 3SG.M-kick.IPFV-OBJ.1SG-KTD
 ‘He is to kick me.’
- b. *jid^wərg^wijotte*
 j-dərg-^{LAB}uwə-jo-də
 3PL.M-kick.IPFV-3PL.M-OBJ.3PL.M-KTD
 ‘They are to kick them.’

The prospective form in (11a&b) is indicated by the *k/t/d* morpheme which is realized as *-de* following a short vowel and as *-tte* following long consonant as in (10b). The prospective is one of the aspectual categories expressing an action planned to be performed in the near future. It is formed by attaching the *k/t/d* morpheme *-de* to the imperfective verb.

The two clauses in (11a) and (11b) denote actions to be certainly implemented in the near future from the moment of speech. The basic question arises here is ‘does the suffix *-de* marks specific aspect or any other grammatical property?’ The impetus of this question is the different findings of scholars mentioned above. Baye (2007: 139) discusses the morpheme plays similar role in Amharic as marker of a planned action whereas Girma and Meyer (2001: 152) subsume it under modal category. As to Girma and Meyer (2001), the morpheme indicates that the speaker intends to accomplish the event expressed by the verb. Thus, an intention of a

speaker towards an action is a question of mood not tense or aspect. However, Baye (2006: 197) states that the morpheme marks a planned action by the speaker. If aspect consists of different stages of an event expressed by the verb and so if planning is the first stage of that action to be accomplished, it shall be subsumed under aspect. Aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation. Comrie (1976: 3)

In this article, therefore, the morpheme *-de* is suffixed to the imperfective base to mark that the event described by the verb is planned to be fulfilled. In heavy suffixes, however, this prospective marker *-de* is realized as *-tte*. This happens when the subjects are plural pronouns or 2SG.F as shown in (9) below:

(12)	Singular	Plural
1	<i>i</i> setʃʃide i-setʃʃ-de 1SG-drink.IPFV-KTD 'I am to drink'	<i>ni</i> setʃʃinade n-setʃʃ-nə-de 1PL-drink.IPFV-1PL-KTD 'we are to drink'
2M	<i>ti</i> setʃʃide t-setʃʃ-de 2.SG.M-drink.IPFV-KTD 'you are to drink'	<i>ti</i> setʃʃutte t-setʃʃ-uwə-de 2PL.M-drink.IPFV-2PL.M-KTD 'you are to drink'
2F	<i>ti</i> setʃʃite t-setʃʃ-i-de 2SG.F-drink.IPFV-2SG.F-KTD 'you are to drink'	<i>ti</i> setʃʃatte t-setʃʃ-aʔə-de 2PL.F-drink.IPFV-2PL.M-KTD 'you are to drink'
3M	<i>ji</i> setʃʃide j-setʃʃ-de 3SG.M-drink.IPFV-KTD 'he is to drink'	<i>ji</i> setʃʃutte j-setʃʃ-uwə-de 3PL.M-drink.IPFV-3PL.M-KTD 'they are to drink'
3F	<i>ti</i> setʃʃide t-setʃʃ-de 3SG.F-drink.IPFV-KTD 'she is to drink'	<i>ji</i> setʃʃatte j-setʃʃ-aʔə-de 3PL.F-drink.IPFV-3PL.F-KTD 'they are to drink'

3.5 The *k/t/d* morphemes in past progressive aspect

Past progressive tense is an expression that describes an action that was under progress before the time of the speech. However, it does not indicate whether the action is completed. As the data reveal, the progressive marker *-andə* is suffixed to the imperfective base following the non-past copula. Look at the following examples:

- (13) a. *bəkkələ gah jizəgrinandə*
 bəkkələ gah ji-zəgɨr-n-andə
 Bekele cliff 3SG.M-jump.IPFV-AUX.NPST-PROG
 ‘Bekele is jumping over a cliff’
- b. *bəkkələ əzafuhə jiwərʔanandə*
 bəkkələ ə-zaf-uhə ji-wərʔə-n-andə
 Bekele ACC-lunch-POSS.3SGM 3SG.M-eat.IPFV-AUX.NPST-PROG
 ‘Bekele is eating his lunch’

However, Endegagn uses other forms alternatively to express the same progressive action in the past tense. The language sometimes disregards the auxiliary *-andə* to express events under progress or habitual action in the past time replacing the *k/t/d* morphemes. The prefix *bi-* is prefixed to the imperfective base of the verb and the final syllable of the morpheme is realized as various *k/t/d* morphemes.

- (14) a. *film bijazkə*
 film bi-ji-jaʒ-uwə-də
 film PROG-3PL.M-see.IPFV-3.PL.M-KTD
 ‘They were watching movie’
- b. *əgɨr kəwas bitʃʃʷawədʒtə*
 əgɨr kəwas bi-j-tʃʃʷawəd-um-də
 football PROG-3PL.M-play.IPFV-3PL.M-KTD
 ‘They were playing football’
- c. *zəbərga biməʔakkə*
 zəbərga bi-məʔa-ə-də
 Zeberga PROG-come.IPFV-3SG.M-KTD
 ‘Zeberga was coming’

The tenses of (14) clauses are indicated by the suffix attached to the imperfective bases of verbs. These suffixes are the combinations of the respective subject markers and the *k/t/d* morpheme *-də* which is revealed as *-kə*, *-tə* and *-kkə* in different contexts. The *k/t/d* morphemes are also used to describe past habitual actions as seen below:

- (15) a. *jəʔə bisəwɨrkə*
 jəʔə bi-j-səwɨr-də
 wood PROG-3PL.M-break.IPFV-KTD
 ‘He used to break a wood (habitually)’
- b. *bisəhɨrkə*
 bi-i-səhɨr-də
 PROG-1SG-be_drink.IPFV-KTD
 ‘I used to drink’

The clauses in (15) possess habitual events in the past. The prefix *bi-* marks that the action was on progress whereas the *k/t/d* morpheme marks the remote past.

3.6 The *k/t/d/* morphemes in negative constructions

The negation of the perfective is expressed by the circumfix *an-...-də*:

- (16) a *ijə bidɨɨaj antəzappərəhudə*
ijə bid-ɨɨ-aj an-təzappər-əhu-də
 I home-POSS.1SG-LOC NEG-return.PFV-1SG-KTD
 ‘I did not come back to my home’
- b *kəbədə isəd anɨəppərədə*
kəbədə isəd an-ɨəppər-ə-də
 Kebede *ensete* NEG-plant.PFV-3SG.M-KTD
 ‘Kebede did not plant *ensete*’

As data (16 a&b) show, the negation marker in the perfective form is basically marked by the prefix *an-*. The last suffix *-də* is a *k/t/d* morpheme which occurs in its underlying form just to accompany the tense marker of the clause. Negation of perfective constructions followed by the past tense auxiliary *bandə* is marked by the prefix *an-* prefixed to the perfective verb.

- (17) a. *əzafuhə* *anbəɨnnabandə*
ə-zaf-uhə an-bəɨnna-ø-banə-də
 ACC-lunch-POSS.3SG.M NEG-eat.PFV-3SG.M-AUX.PST-KTD
 ‘He had not eaten his lunch’
- b. *bidonno* *anəppobandə*
bid-hinowə an-əppə-um-ban-də
 home-POSS.3PL.M NEG-make.PFV-3PL.M-AUX.PST-KTD
 ‘They had not built their home’

An imperfective verb is negated by the prefix *a-* and the suffix *k/t/d* morphemes. As stated above, the underlining form *-də* is realized as *-kkə*, *-kə*, *-ttə*, based on the Light-Heavy suffixes to which they are attached. Accordingly, the morpheme *-də* is revealed following the light suffixes whereas, the other allomorphs, *-kkə* and *-ttə* are after heavy suffixes. The negation prefix is constantly *-a* followed by subject agreement prefixes where the subject marker prefixes are assimilated to the initial consonant of the base except 1PL and 3SG.M

Let us see some examples in (18) below:

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------------|
| (18) Singular | Plural |
| a <i>ansəwrikkə</i> | <i>ansəwriɨnədə</i> |
| a-n-səwir-də | a-n-səwir-nə-də |
| NEG-1SG-break.IPFV-KTD | NEG-1PL-break.IPFV-1PL-KTD |
| ‘I do(will) not break’ | ‘we do(will) not break’ |

<p>b <i>assəwīrkkə</i> a-t-səwīr-ahə-də NEG-2SG.M-break.IPFV-KTD 'you do(will) not break'</p>	<p><i>ass^wur^wuttə</i> a-t-səwīr-^{LAB}-də NEG-2PL.M-break.IPFV-KTD 'you do (will) not break'</p>
<p>c <i>assewīrkə</i> a-t-səwīr-də NEG-2SG.F-break.IPFV-KTD 'you do (will) not break'</p>	<p><i>assəratə</i> a-t-səwīr-a-də NEG-2PL.F-break.IPFV-2PL.F-KTD 'you do (will) not break'</p>

Negation in jussive/imperative conjugations is marked by the prefix *a-*. The negation prefix triggers total assimilation of the subject marker *t-* to the initial consonant of the verb base. And the *k/t/d* morphemes occur in different surface structures as *-kkə* and *-ttə*.

3.7 The *k/t/d* morphemes in relative clauses

The *k/t/d* morpheme occurs at the final position of a relative clause following object markers. Below is the distribution of */k/t/d* morphemes in examples (19) (a) and (b).

- 19 a *jītənhuttə*
j-təniʔ-^{LAB}hiwə-də
3SG.M-beat.IPFV-OBJ.2PL.M-KTD
'the one who beats you'
- b *jītənukkudə*
j-təniw-^{LAB}kku-də
3SG.M-beat.IPFV-OBJ.3SG.M-KTD
'the one who beats him'

The *k/t/d* morphemes occur following object markers and realized as *-də* in light suffixes and *-ttə* in heavy suffixes. As the data show, the *k/t/d* morpheme is seen as *-də* when the object is singular in number and first person; whereas occur as *-ttə* when the object is plural number. The morpheme *-də* is suffixed to the affirmative relative imperfective but not to the negative.

3.8. The *k/t/d* morphemes in experiencer constructions

An experiencer is an entity, usually an animate being that reacts to a certain stimulus in the subject position. Experiencer constructions involve 3SG.M subject in the surface form but semantically empty (Meyer 2006: 123). The experiencer does not take subject markers as other regular verbs but it is the one expressed by the object suffix. In other expression, even though there are subject and verb agreements, there is no transitivity of state from a subject to an object as other active verbs. According to Payne (1997: 50) "an experiencer is an entity that receives a sensory impression, or in some other way is the locus of some event or

activity that involves neither volition nor a change of state.” Perfective and imperfective experiencer constructions are presented below.

(20) Positive	Negative
a. <i>gadəjə</i> gad-ə-jə ⁴ be_hungry.PFV-3SG.M- OBJ.1SG ‘I am hungry’	<i>angade:də</i> an-gad-ə-e-də NEG-be_hungry-3SG.M-OBJ.1SG-KTD ‘I am not hungry’
b. <i>gadənaham</i> gad-ə-naham be_hungry.PFV-3SG.M- OBJ.3PL.F ‘They are hungry’	<i>angadənahattə</i> an-gad-ə-nahm-də NEG-be_hungry-3SG.M-OBJ.3PL.F- KTD ‘They are not hungry’

The *k/t/d* morphemes are realized as *-də* in light suffix but *-ttə* in heavy object suffixes. The experiencer constructions can also be used to express simple present actions in the imperfective.

(21) Positive	Negative
a. <i>jimoʔe</i> j-moʔ-e 3SG.M-be_hot.IPFV-OBJ.1SG ‘I feel hot’(lit. it makes me feel hot’)	<i>ajmoʔedə</i> a-j-moʔ-e-də NEG-3SG.M-be_hot.IPFV-OBJ.1SG-KTD ‘I don’t feel hot’
b. <i>jimoʔikkə</i> j-moʔ-kkə 3SG.M-be_hot.IPFV-OBJ.3SG.M ‘He feels hot’	<i>ajmoʔukkudə</i> a-j-moʔ-kku-də NEG-3SGM-be_hot.IPFV-OBJ.3SGM-KTD ‘He does not feel hot’

3.9 The *k/t/d* morphemes in existential and possessive constructions

Existential constructions express where or when an entity exists or does not exist. Existential verbs usually require a locational or temporal adjunct (Payne 1997: 123). In Endegagn the intransitive verb *annə* ‘exist’ is used to express the existence of an entity. The *k/t/d* morphemes are attached when the existential and possessive verbs are negated.

(22) a.	<i>ihə annə</i> ihə ann-ə water exist.PFV-3SG.M ‘There is water’
---------	--

⁴ Formally, the 1st person object marker is usually *-jni* with a variant of *-ji* but in experiencer constructions it appears as *-jə*. Secondly, the literal meaning of *gad-ə-jə* is *made_hunger-it-me* ‘it made me hungry’.

- b *ihə enədə*
ihə en-ə-də
 water exist.IPFV-3SG.M-KTD
 ‘There is no water’

The stative verb *ann-* ‘exist’ is also used to express possession in Endegagn. Affirmative possessive construction in the non-past tense is expressed by *ann-* plus the benefactive suffix. The possessed item is expressed by subject agreement on the existential verb, while the possessor is referred to by the benefactive suffix. The *k/t/d* morphemes occur in the negative counterpart of possessive constructions as presented below:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (23) Singular | Plural |
| a. <i>ennəhadə</i>
<i>enə-n-ha-də</i>
exist.IPFV-BEN-OBJ.2SG.M-KTD
‘you do not have’ | <i>enənahuttə</i>
<i>enə-n-ahu-ttə</i>
exist.IPFV-BEN-OBJ.2PL.M-KTD
‘you do not have’ |
| b. <i>enənadə</i>
<i>enə-n-a-də</i>
exist.IPFV-BEN-OBJ.3SG.F-KTD
‘she does not have’ | <i>enənəʔattə</i>
<i>enə-n-əʔa-ttə</i>
exist.IPFV-BEN-OBJ.3PL.F-KTD
‘they do not have’ |

The static verb *ann-* ‘exist’ can also be used for affirmative obligation construction in the non-past tense. The pattern consists of the stem *annə* plus the malefactive *-b-* which is realized as *-w-* with object suffixes. The occurrence of the malefactive *-b-* may indicate similar semantics with that of obligation since both of them posit liability or undesirable happening towards the noun phrase expressed by the object. The negative counterpart of obligation construction is also just similar with that of negative possession except the substitution of the morpheme *-b-* instead of *-n-* following the stem.

- | | |
|--|---|
| (24) Singular | Plural |
| a. <i>enəwafidə</i>
<i>enə-b-afī-də</i>
exist.IPFV-MAL-OBJ.2SG.F-KTD
‘you must not’ | <i>enəwahattə</i>
<i>enə-b-aha-ttə</i>
exist.IPFV-MAL-OBJ.2PL.F-KTD
‘you must not’ |
| b. <i>enədə</i>
<i>enə-b-ə-də</i>
exist.IPFV-MAL-OBJ.3SG.M-KTD
‘he must not’ | <i>enəwottə</i>
<i>enə-b-^{LAB}wə-ttə</i>
exist.IPFV-MAL-OBJ.3PL.M-KTD
‘they must not’ |

<p>c. <i>enəwada</i> enə-b-a-də exist.IPFV-MAL-OBJ.3SG.F-KTD ‘she must not’</p>	<p><i>enəwatta</i> enə-b-a-ttə exist.IPFV-MAL-OBJ.3PL.F-KTD ‘they must not’</p>
--	--

Possession and obligation are indicated by the benefactive and malefactive markers, respectively. Actually, there are some morphophonemic changes in the realization of subject and object suffixes attached to the benefactive and malefactive morphemes. The change of the suffix *-də* into *-ttə* in heavy positions does also occur in possessive and obligation clauses.

The past copula is used as a stem to express past form of possession and obligation. Past possession is a combination of *ban-* ‘was/were’ followed by the benefactive with object suffixes and finally the *k/t/d* morphemes are attached as *banə + n + OBJ suffix + də*. As usual, the *k/t/d* suffix *-də* might be realized as *-ttə* in heavy positions.

<p>(25) Singular</p> <p>a. <i>banonədə ~ banondə</i> ban-ə-^{LAB}n-ə-də COP.PST-3SGM-BEN-OBJ.3SGM-KTD ‘he had’</p> <p>b. <i>banənədə</i> ban-ə-n-a-də COP.PST-3SGM-BEN-OBJ.3SG.F-KTD ‘she had’</p>	<p>Plural</p> <p><i>ban^wənottə</i> ban-ə-^{LAB}n-um-də COP.PST-3SGM-BEN-OBJ.3PL.M-KTD ‘they had’</p> <p><i>banənattə</i> ban-ə-n-am-də COP.PST-3SGM-BEN-OBJ.3PL.F-KTD ‘they had’</p>
--	---

As the data show above, the *k/t/d* morphemes are realized as *-də* for singular persons whereas *-ttə* for plural persons.

The negative counterpart of the past possession is expressed by its suppletive perfective form *nəppər-* ‘exist’ preceded by negation marker *an-* and followed by object suffixes with *k/t/d* morphemes.

<p>(26) Singular</p> <p>a. <i>annəppərənədə</i> an-nəppər-ə-n-ahə-də NEG-exist.PFV-3SGM-BEN-OBJ.2SGM-KTD ‘you did not have’</p> <p>b. <i>annəppərənəfidə</i> an-nəppər-ə-n-afī-də NEG-exist.PFV-3SG.M-BEN- OBJ.2SG.F-KTD ‘you did not have’</p>	<p>Plural</p> <p><i>annəppərənəhattə</i> an-n^wəpp^wər-ə-n-əhum-də NEG-exist.PFV-3SGM-BEN-OBJ.2PLM-KTD ‘you did not have’</p> <p><i>annəppərənəhattə</i> an-nəppər-ə-n-əham-də NEG-exist.PFV-3SG.M-BEN- OBJ.2PL.F-KTD ‘you did not have’</p>
--	---

Endegagn's past obligation is expressed by using the past copula *banə* as a stem and followed by malefactive morpheme and object suffixes with *k/t/d* morpheme. It is similar with past possession except the substitution of malefactive morpheme *w* (which is the realization of *b*) instead of benefactive *n*. The affirmative past obligation is therefore *banə + w + OBJ.suffix + də*.

(27) Singular	Plural
a. <i>banəwahədə</i> ban-ə-b-ahə-də COP.PST-3SG.M-MAL-OBJ.2SG.M-KTD 'you had to'	<i>banəwahuttə</i> ban-ə-b-ahum-də COP.PST-3SG.M-MAL-OBJ.2PL.M-KTD 'you had to'
b. <i>banəwafidə</i> ban-ə-b-afī-də COP.PST-3SG.M-MAL-OBJ.2SG.F-KTD 'you had to'	<i>banəwahattə</i> ban-ə-b-əham-də COP.PST-3SG.M-MAL-OBJ.2PL.F-KTD 'you had to'

The source of the vowel *a* following the malefactive marker at 1PL in (27) is unknown. The plural suffixes occurring following benefactive/malefactive morphemes are mostly realized as *-ttə* which is the variant allomorph of the suffix *-də*.

The negative counterpart of past obligation is illustrated in (28) below:

(28) Singular	Plural
a. <i>annəppərəwahədə</i> an-nəppər-ə-b-ahə-də NEG-exist.PFV-3SG.M-MAL- OBJ.2SG.M-KTD 'you did not have to'	<i>annəppərəwahuttə</i> an-n ^w əpp ^w ər-ə-b-əhum-də NEG-exist.PFV-3SG.M-MAL- OBJ.2PL.M-KTD 'you did not have to'
b. <i>annəppərəwafidə</i> an-nəppər-ə-b-afī-də NEG-exist.PFV-3SG.M-MAL- OBJ.2SG.F-KTD 'you did not have to'	<i>annəppərəwahattə</i> an-nəppər-ə-b-əham-də NEG-exist.PFV-3SG.M-MAL- OBJ.2PL.F-KTD 'you did not have to'

4 Conclusion

The *k/t/d* morphemes are neither abbreviations nor affixes. Historically, it is believed that the Gurage languages have diachronically developed the *k/t/d* system from the Cushitic languages as a result of contact. The functions of the morphemes are complementing different grammatical categories or agreements in a verbal clause. They inconsistently occur with object, negation, main verb and even sometimes past tense markers in various forms of realizations based on the suffixes

they are attached with. If the *k/t/d* morphemes occur with light suffixes, they are realized as *-də* but as *-k(k)ə*, and *-ttə* with heavy suffixes.

Generally, the *k/t/d* morphemes appear with negative copulas, remote past tenses, progressive aspect, past progressive tense, relative clauses, experiencer constructions, possessive, existential and obligation constructions.

References

- Aklilu, Y. 1983. Endegagn Phonology. Unpublished BA Thesis: Addis Ababa University.
- Baye, Y. 2007. The Interaction of Tense, Aspect and Agreement in Amharic Syntax. In: John Mugane et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the 35th Annual Conference on African Linguistics*. Somerville, MA: Cascadia Proceedings Project. 193-202.
- Baye, Y. 2006 E.C. *yeʔamarijña səwasiw*. (Amharic Grammar in Amharic). Addis Ababa: Culture and Art Society of Ethiopia.
- Central Statistics Authority (CSA). 2008. *Summary and Statistical Report of 2007 Population and Housing Census: Population Size by Age and Sex*. Addis Ababa: UNFPA.
- Comrie, B. 1976. *Aspect An introduction to The study of verbal aspect And related problems*. Cambridge University Press.
- Girma, A. and Meyer, R. 2001. A reexamination of Tense in Amharic. *AAP* 65. 143-155.
- Eyassu, N. 2003. The Morphology of Endegagn. Unpublished MA Thesis: Addis Ababa University.
- Goldenberg, G. 1968. *Kəstanəñña*. Studies in a Northern Gurage language of Christians. *Orientalia Suecana* 17: 61-102.
- Goldenberg, G. 2005. Gurage. In: S. Uhlig (ed.) *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica. Volume 2 (D-Ha)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 924-928.
- Hetzron, R. 1968. Main verb markers in Northern Gurage. *Africa* 38.2. 156-172.
- Hetzron, R. 1972. *Ethiopian Semitic: Studies in Classification*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Hetzron, R. 1977. *The Gunnän-Gurage Languages*. Napoli: Don Bosco.
- Hetzron, R. 1997. Outer South Ethiopic. In: Hetzron, R. (ed.) *The Semitic Languages*. New York Routledge. 535-549.
- Hudson, G. 2000. Ethiopian Semitic Overview. *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*. Vol. xxxiii. No. 2. 75-86.
- Leslau, W. 1981. *Ethiopians Speak, Studies in Cultural Background IV*, Muher. (Athiopicistische Forschungen 11). Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

- Leslau, W. 1992a. Traces of laryngeals in the Gurage Dialect of Endegan. In: *Gurage Studies: Collected Articles*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Leslau, W. 1992b. The verb forms of the Gurage Dialect of Endegan. In: *Gurage Studies: Collected Articles*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Leslau, W. 1992c. A Supplementary Note to the Verb in the Gurage Dialect of Endegagn. In: *Gurage Studies: Collected Articles*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Mayer, R. 2011. Gurage. In: S. Weninger (ed.) *The Semitic Languages. An International Handbook*. Berlin, New York: De Gruyter Mouton. 1220-1257.
- Praetorius, F. 1879. *Amharische Grammatik*. Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses.
- Payne, T. 1997. *Describing Morphosyntax: A Guide for Field Linguists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Polotsky, H. 1938. Etudes de grammaire gourague. *Bulletin de la Societe de linguistique de Paris* 39. 137-175.
- Rose, S. 1994. The Historical Development of Secondary Articulation in Gurage. In: K. Moore, D. Peterson, and C. Wentum (eds.) *Proceedings of the 20th Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society, Special Session on Historical Issues in African Linguistics*. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Linguistic Society. 112-24.
- Rose, S. 1997. *Theoretical Issues in Comparative Ethio-Semitic Phonology and Morphology*. Montreal: McGill University.
- Rose, S. 2006. Durational conditions on Endegen gemination. In: *Proceedings of the 15th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies. Hamburg July 20-25, 2003*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 843-850.
- Rose, S. 2007. Cheha (Gurage) Morphology. In: A.S. Kaye (ed.) *Morphologies of Asia and Africa*. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns. 403-427.
- Yohannes Adigeh. 2016. Descriptive Grammar of Endegagn. Addis Ababa University; Unpublished PhD Dissertation.