

Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

A typology of verbal derivation in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages

Fufa Teso, T.

Citation
Fufa Teso, T. (2009, November 24). *A typology of verbal derivation in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages*. *LOT dissertation series*. LOT, Utrecht. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/14432

Version:	Not Applicable (or Unknown)
License:	Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden
Downloaded from:	https://hdl.handle.net/1887/14432

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

A Typology of Verbal Derivation in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic Languages

Published by
LOT
Janskerkhof 13
3512 BL Utrecht
The Netherlands

phone: +31 30 253 6006
fax: +31 30 253 6406
e-mail: lot@let.uu.nl
http://www.lotschool.nl

ISBN: 978-94-6093-013-3
NUR 616

Copyright © 2009: Tolemariam Fufa. All rights reserved.

A Typology of Verbal Derivation in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic Languages

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden
op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof. mr. P.F. van der Heijden,
volgens besluit van het College van Promoties
te verdedigen op dinsdag 24 november 2009
klokke 16:15 uur

door

Tolemariam Fufa Teso

geboren te Wollega, Ethiopië

in 1964

Promotiecommissie

Promotores:	Prof. dr. M. Mous
	Prof. dr. Baye Yimam (Addis Ababa University)
Overige leden:	Dr. Azeb Amha
	Prof. dr. O.D. Gensler (Addis Ababa University)
	Prof. dr. F.H.H Kortlandt
	Dr. L.I. Kulikov
	Dr. C.H. Reintges (CNRS-Université Paris 7)
	Prof. dr. H.J. Stroomer

The research on which this thesis is based was funded by WOTRO, under the project "A typology of verbal derivation in Ethiopian languages", WB 39-306.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS IX

ABBREVIATIONS AND PHONETIC SYMBOLS XI

1. INTRODUCTION 1

1.1. OBJECTIVE OF THE PROJECT 1
1.2. TYPOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK 2
1.3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURE 3
1.4. CORE LANGUAGES 6
1.4.1. Oromo 6
1.4.2. Amharic 7
1.4.3. Shakkinoono 8
1.5. STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS 10

2. THE CAUSATIVE IN OROMO 11

2.1. INTRODUCTION 11
2.2. FORMS OF THE CAUSATIVE 12
2.2.1. The Morphemes -is/-s/-ss (CAUS[1]) and –sis (CAUS[2]) 12
2.2.2. The Morpheme –eess (CAUS[3]) 14
2.3. STRUCTURE OF THE CAUSATIVE 14
2.3.1. Double Causatives 14
2.3.2. Causerless/Subjectless (Impersonal) Causatives 17
2.3.3. De-ideophonic Verbalizers 19
2.4. THE SEMANTICS OF OROMO CAUSATIVES 20
2.5. AMOUNT OF AGENTS OR OF CAUSERS 22
2.5.1. Does the Number of Agents Match with the Number of –s 's? 22
2.5.2. Causer Counting 24

3. THE CAUSATIVE IN AMHARIC 26

3.1. CAUSATIVE MORPHEMES 27
3.1.1. The Morpheme a- (CAUS[1]) 27
3.1.2. The Morpheme an- (CAUS[2]) 31
3.1.3. The Morpheme as- (CAUS[3]) 31
3.1.4. The Morpheme aš- (CAUS[4]) 32
3.1.5. The Morpheme astä- (CAUS[5]) 32
3.2. THE SYNTAX OF MORPHOLOGICAL CAUSATIVES 33
3.2.1. The Syntax of Transitive Causatives 33
3.2.2. Causerless (Impersonal) Causatives 38
3.2.3. Intransitive Causatives/Verbalizers 39
3.3. THE SEMANTICS OF AMHARIC CAUSATIVES 40

4. THE CAUSATIVE IN SHAKKINOONO AND KAFINOONOO 44

4.1. INTRODUCTION 44
4.2. THE CAUSATIVE MORPHEMES 45
4.2.1. The Causative morpheme –i- *45*
4.2.2. Morphophonological Aspect of –i- *47*
4.2.3. The Morpheme –(i)ssi- and –(i)ččі- *49*
4.3. FORMS OF –A- 51
4.4. ARE I AND A THEMATIC ROOT VOWELS OR DERIVATIONAL MORPHEMES? 53
4.5. STRUCTURES OF THE CAUSATIVE 53
4.5.1. Single Causatives *54*
4.5.2. Indirect Causatives *56*
4.5.3. Frozen Causatives? *59*
4.6. THE SEMANTICS OF SHAKKINOONO CAUSATIVES 59

5. THE CAUSATIVE IN ETHIOPIAN AFRO-ASIATIC 62

5.1. THE SEMANTIC TYPOLOGY OF THE CAUSER/CAUSEE 63
5.2. CAUSATIVE / NON-CAUSATIVE OPPOSITIONS 69
5.2.1. Non-Directed Oppositions *69*
5.2.2. Suppletive Oppositions *71*
5.3. AGENT COUNTING, CAUSER COUNTING, ASPECTS OF INDIRECTNESS 72
5.4. IMPERSONAL/SUBJECTLESS CAUSATIVES 74
5.5. DE-IDEOPHONIC AND DE-NOMINAL CAUSATIVES 75

6. THE MIDDLE IN OROMO 77

6.1. INTRODUCTION 77
6.2. FORMS OF THE MIDDLE IN OROMO 78
6.2.1. The Middle Marker –at- *78*
6.2.2. The Morphemes –(a)ah- and –(o)om- *80*
6.2.3. Argument Structures of the Middle *81*
6.3. THE SEMANTICS OF THE MIDDLE 82
6.3.1. Body Centered Middles *82*
6.3.2. Mental Event Middles *87*
6.3.3. Spontaneous Middles *93*
6.3.4. Autobenefactive Middles *97*

7. THE PASSIVE IN OROMO 99

7.1. DERIVATION PATTERNS INCLUDING PASSIVES 99
7.2. ARGUMENT STRUCTURE OF THE PASSIVE 104
7.2.1. The Personal Passive *104*
7.2.2. The Impersonal Passive *109*
7.3. THE SEMANTICS OF THE PASSIVE 112

8. THE MIDDLE/PASSIVE IN AMHARIC 114

8.1. FORM OF THE MIDDLE/PASSIVE 114
8.2. STRUCTURAL PROPERTIES OF CLAUSES WITH VERBS WITH TÄ- 116

8.2.1. Typical Middle Structure *117*
8.2.2. Intransitive Middle *117*
8.2.3. The Middle/Passive *118*
8.2.4. The Personal Passive *118*
8.2.5. The Impersonal Passive *120*
8.3. MEANINGS OF THE MIDDLE/PASSIVE 122
8.3.1. "Middle" Senses of Middle/Passive *122*
8.3.2. "Passive" Senses of Middle/Passive *130*
8.4. THE AFFECTED AGENT IN SPECIAL NEGATION OF THE PASSIVE 131

9. THE MIDDLE/PASSIVE IN SHAKKINOONO AND KAFINOONOO 135

9.1. THE FORM OF THE MIDDLE/PASSIVE 135
9.1.1. Passive Derivation *135*
9.1.2. Frozen middles in –a *137*
9.2. THE SEMANTICS OF THE MIDDLE 139
9.2.1. Body Centred Middles *139*
9.2.2. Mental Event Middles *140*
9.2.3. Spontaneous Middles *142*
9.3. ARGUMENT STRUCTURE OF THE MIDDLE/PASSIVE 143
9.3.1. The Personal Passive *143*
9.3.2. The Impersonal Passive *144*
9.3.3. Special Negation of Passive Structures *146*
9.3.4. The Reciprocal Middle/Passive *146*

10. THE MIDDLE IN ETHIOPIAN AFRO-ASIATIC 148

10.1. MEANING CATEGORIES OF THE MIDDLE 148
10.2. VARIATIONS AND SIMILARITIES IN MIDDLE DERIVATION 150
10.2.1. Middle Proper *150*
10.2.2. Middle Marked Verb vs. Unmarked Verb *152*
10.2.3. Middle vs. Passive *154*
10.2.4. Middle vs. Causative *155*
10.3. ARGUMENT STRUCTURE OF THE MIDDLE 156
10.3.1. Argument Decreasing Middles *156*
10.3.2. Valency Neutral Middles *157*
10.4. PARALLEL STRUCTURES OF MIDDLE-CAUSATIVE 160
10.5. SEMANTIC FRAMES OF THE MIDDLE 161
10.6. CONCLUSION ON THE MEANINGS OF THE MIDDLE 162

11. THE PASSIVE IN ETHIOPIAN AFRO-ASIATIC 165

11.1. FUNCTIONAL RANGE OF THE PASSIVE 165
11.1.1. Distinct Passive Marking *165*
11.1.2. Non-Distinct Passive Marking *166*
11.2. THE FORM OF THE IMPERSONAL PASSIVE 168
11.3. IMPERSONAL SUBJECT MARKING 169

Table of Contents

11.4. COMPLEX PASSIVES 170
11.4.1. Passives of Causatives *170*
11.4.2. Middle-Passives and Double Passives *171*
11.5. THE STRUCTURE OF THE PASSIVE 173
11.5.1. The Structure of the Personal Passive *173*
11.5.2. The Structure of the Impersonal Passive *182*
11.6. THE SEMANTICS OF THE PASSIVE 184

12. CONCLUSION 189

LANGUAGE INDEX 193

BIBLIOGRAPHY 195

SUMMARY 203

SAMENVATTING 205

CURRICULUM VITAE 208

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge and extend my heartfelt gratitude to institutions, persons, colleagues, students and friends who, at various levels, made the completion of this thesis possible. But at the end of everything, the responsibility for what is in this thesis is, of course, mine.

My apologies if I have accidentally omitted anyone to whom acknowledgement is due.

First of all, I am grateful to the Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Research (WOTRO) for funding the project. I am also indebted to Leids Universteits Fonds (LUF) and The Leiden University Center for Linguistics (LUCL) for covering travel costs. I also thank Addis Ababa University for providing research permit and financing.

My heartfelt thanks go to my linguistic informants who helped me in data elicitation: Asmamaw Hailu, Demeke Ambo and Terefe Kasahun helped me in Shakkinoono, Abiye Kersa and Sirki Mores in Sheko, Aysa Kero in Benchnoon, Mesfin Wodajo in Kafinoonoo, Meseret Belayneh in Kafinoonoo and Konta, Tesfaye Dasho Bacha in Wolayta, Habtamu Kure in Dawuro, Mircha Melaku in Koorete, Osman Idris in Afar, Hussein Mohammed and Yordanos Gu'ish in Somali, Temesgen Bekele in Kambaata, Desta Dera in Sidama, Tewodros Teferi in Dorze and Teketel Agafar in Hadiya, Betseha Fekadu in Awingi, Haftay G/Egziabher in Tigrinya.

I offer special thanks to my colleagues: Taddese Sibamo assisted me in finding informant for Hadiya and in checking Hadiya data; Wondimu Gaga helped me in checking data on Wolayta, Konta and Dawuro; Alemayehu Dugamo also helped me in checking data on Wolayta. Girma Gebre assisted me in finding informants for Awingi; Kefyalew G/Silase also assisted me in finding an informant for Tigrinya; Dr. Birhanu Matewos checked my data on Kambaata; Shimelis Gizaw assisted me in checking data on Sidama.

I would like to thank my friends and colleagues of the Department of Ethiopian Languages and Literature, Addis Ababa University: Wondosen Adane, Agaredech Jemaneh, Dr. Fekade Azeze, Zerihun Asfaw, Dr. Arega H/Michael, Alem Eshetu, Dr. Yonas Admasu, Zelalem Meseret, Mohammed Ali, Getachew, Selamawit Meca, Gezahegn Getachew, Dinkesa Dheresa, Birhanu G/Mariam, Getachew Adugna, Kuri Bayisa, Yenealem Aredo, Birhanu Gebeyehu, Abrham Alemu, Asefa Tefera and Getahun Amare. My thanks also go to my friends and colleagues at the Department of African Languages and Cultures, Leiden University: Thilo Schadeberg, Christian Rapold, Maud Devos, Felix Ameka, Kofi Dorvlo, Anne-Christie Hellenthal, Maggie

Acknowledgements

Konter-Katani, Maarten Kossmann, Oumou Diaby, Connie Kutsch Lojenga, Daniela Merolla, Mulugeta Seyoum, Sander Steeman, Ongaye Oda, Heleen Smits, Rebecca Voll, Mercy Lamptey, Victoria Nyst and Stanly Oomen. I have special thanks to Izabela Orłowska and Graziano Savá who helped me in getting PhD grant. I extend my heartfelt gratitude to colleagues of the Department of Linguistics and Ethiopian Languages Center, Addis Ababa University.

I owe a great deal to family members Kaba Amante, Tesfaye Amante, Katama Amante, Tirunesh Amante, Like Leta, and Tarike Amante. I further extend my heartfelt gratitude to my friends and neighbours: Terefe Muluneh, Tsige, Amina, Sintayehu, Innu, Shewaferash, Asede, Miki, Milion, Akililu, and Seyfu.

To all the above individuals and to several friends and colleagues whose names I cannot continue listing and who have assisted me directly or indirectly I feel very much indebted.

Abbreviations and Phonetic Symbols

ABS-absolutive
ACC-accusative
AGR-agreement
AUX-auxiliary
BEN-benefactive
CAUS-causative
$CAUS^1$- causative one
$CAUS^2$- causative two
$CAUS^3$- causative three
$CAUS^4$-causative four
$CAUS^5$- causative five
COM-complementizer
CON-converb
DAT-dative
DEF-definite
EPN-epenthetic
FOC-focus
GEN-genitive
IMP-imperative
IMPF-imperfective
INF-infinitive
INST-instrument
INT-intensive
LOC-locative
MAL-malefactive
MID-middle
NEG-negative
NOM-nominative
OBL-oblique
PASS-passive
$PASS^1$-passive one
$PASS^2$-passive two
PAST-past tense
PL-plural
POP-postposition
PRE-preposition
PRES.PF-present perfect
REF-reflexive
1S:PF-first person singular, perfective
1SO-first person singular object

Abbreviations

2S:PF-second person singular subject, perfective
3S-third person subject
3FSO-third person feminine singular object
3MSO-third masculine singular object
3M:PF-third person masculine singular, perfective
3M:IMPF-third person masculine singular, imperfective
3F:PF-third person feminine singular, perfective
3F:IMPF third person feminine singular, imperfective
3PLO-third person plural object
3P:PF-third person plural subject, perfective
3P:IMPF-third person plural, imperfective
ħ- voiceless pharyngeal fricative
p'- bilabial ejective stop
t'- dental ejective stop
ɗ- voiced alveolar implosive
s'- ejective dental fricative
ts-voiceless dental affricate
k'- velar ejective stop
x- voiceless velar fricative
ɣ-voiced velar fricative
q- voiceless uvular stop
ň- voiced palatal nasal
č-voiceless palatal affricate
č'- palatal ejective affricate

1. Introduction

1.1. Objective of the Project

The general objective of the project is to determine the typology of verbal derivations of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. This general objective has four goals. The first goal is to give a detailed description of verbal derivations of the three representative languages: Oromo, Amharic and Shakkinoono. The investigation of types of verbal derivations of these languages focuses on causatives, middles and passives. Morphemes which derive the causative, the middle and the passive shall be identified. Argument structures associated to these verbal derivations shall be determined. Basic and peripheral types of causative, middle and passive verb derivations of the three languages shall be described. And types of meanings associated to each verbal derivation shall be considered.

The second goal is to undertake a comparative work of verbal derivations of Afro-Asiatic languages. In this, detailed descriptive work of the verbal derivations of the three representative languages are used as a models of types of verbal derivations for the corresponding language families. As much as possible data on the causative, the middle and the passive were collected from Ethiopian Cushitic, Semitic and Omotic languages. Such data are used for linguistic comparison within and across Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic language families. In this case range of similarities and differences of types of causative, middle and passive verbal derivations of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages shall be determined.

The third goal is to account for the range of similarities and variations of forms and meanings of verbal derivations of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages in terms of language universals, genetic features and language contact. For this purpose, variations of forms and meanings of the causative, the middle and the passive in each language family shall be noted. Two or more languages, belonging to the same family, may not be adjacent to each other, could show pattern similarities. For instance, the morpheme –**t**- as a middle or passive marking is shared by most Afro-Asiatic languages a case which is accounted for in terms of genetic affiliation. There is also a feature restricted to some languages spoken in similar geographical areas irrespective of their genetic relation such as two types of passive markings attested in Gurage languages and in Hadiya. Such form similarity is accounted for in terms of geographical adjacency. If a similar concept is encoded in a similar way across languages, such similarity may be accounted for in terms of universal features. For instance, agent-patient relationships in transitive structures correspond to subject-oblique object relationship in passive structures across languages of the world, a case which shows one of the universal characteristics of verbal derivations.

The fourth goal concerns the nature of verbal derivations. In fact, this project does not determine whether verbal derivations such as the causative, the middle and the passive are derived in the lexicon or in the syntax since such issue is beyond the scope of the project. Yet, since the work investigates similarities and variations of forms and meanings of the respective verbal derivations, it gives substantial evidence for any linguistic theory that seeks to account for the level of verbal derivations of causatives, middles and passives. Variations of verbal derivations such as intransitive passives; intransitive causatives and double causatives; argument decreasing and neutral middles give insights for theoretical considerations. A linguistic theory which accounts for the level of verbal derivations has to take into consideration all such cases.

These goals are closely related to one another. For instance, the second goal is based on the first goal since basic types of forms and meanings of causatives, middles and passives of the representative languages need to be identified to serve as a model work around which other non-representative languages are compared so that the range of variations of the corresponding verbal derivations of Afro-Asiatic languages are determined. And in order to account for ranges of similarities and differences, comparative work of verbal derivations on Afro-Asiatic languages need to be done. And finally any general rule regarding these derivations need to encompass all genetic, geographical and universal factors for similarities and variations.

1.2. Typological Framework

This work discusses a typology of the causative, the middle and the passive in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages in terms of their morphological, syntactic and semantic characteristics. For the discussion of the middle, typological works by Kemmer (1993) and Mous (2004b), and descriptive works on particular languages by Manney (1995), Saeed (1995) and Hardy (1994) are adopted. On the basis of these works we shall discuss the semantics of the middle in terms of body centered, mental event and spontaneous middles. Body centered middles include body grooming, change in body posture, non-translational body motion and translational body motions. Mental event middles include emotion, cognition and perception middles. Spontaneous middles are of many types including biological changes, time changes, spatial changes, etc. Ritual middles which are common in Oromo are also included.

For the discussion of the causative, typological works by Kulikov (1993, 2001) and Nedyalkov & Silnitsky (1973) are the basis. Thus, causative-middle oppositions, types of causatives, structures of causatives such as single and double causatives are discussed. Semantically, direct, indirect, accidental, deliberate, comitative, assistive and permissive causatives are treated. For the discussion of the passive typological

works by Kazenin (1989), Siewierska, (1984) and Shibatani (1985) are adopted; works on particular languages such as Reintges (1997) are also used. Different types of passives such as personal and impersonal are discussed in both form and meaning. The discussion of overlapping cases such as passive/middle and reciprocal/middle are also considered.

1.3. Research Methodology and Procedure

Three types of verbal derivations are selected: the causative, the middle and the passive. These are basic and common types of verbal derivations observed in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. The next point is to determine what aspects of the corresponding verbal derivations to be studied. We consider the meanings of the corresponding verbal derivations from the perspective of typology. And since we are dealing with grammatical function changing derivations in most cases, the area is morpho-syntax. The discussion of morphophonological properties of these derivations is reduced to what is needed for a functional typological analysis.

We believed that the appropriate way of starting the project is to set core languages which could serve as model for an approach to Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. And also we decided that these core languages have to be languages which are most familiar to us. Besides these core languages have to represent different language families of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic. In this case Oromo, Amharic and Shakkinoono are selected to represent Cushitic, Semitic and Omotic respectively. Oromo is selected as a core language mainly because the researcher speaks Oromo as his mother tongue. Besides, the researcher taught Oromo grammar in Addis Ababa University. Amharic is selected as a representative of Semitic languages because the researcher speaks Amharic as his second language. The researcher also taught Amharic grammar at Addis Ababa University and in high schools. The reason for the selection of Shakkinoono as a core language is purely practical in the sense that the researcher did his M.A. thesis on the causatives of this language.

For the discussion of forms and meanings, the researcher decided to discuss forms first and meanings second in order to determine the range of terms whose function should be studied. Hence, throughout the work the discussion of form is followed by the discussion of meanings which means that the discussion goes from simple to complex.

Formwise, in order to identify the causative, the middle and the passive we used paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations of these morphemes. In most cases middle and passive morphemes contrast with the causative morpheme. In Cushitic languages, all the three morphemes form oppositions; but in Omotic and Semitic languages the causative morpheme form contrasts with the middle or the passive since

the middle is marked by the same morpheme as the passive. In practical terms, first, we use the middle morpheme and observe the corresponding argument structure associated to the verb; and second we replace the middle morpheme by the causative morpheme and observe if there is change of grammatical functions. Similarly, we replace the causative morpheme by the passive morpheme and observe the result on the grammatical function changing. Syntagmatically, we order one morpheme before and after the other morpheme and determine the meaning.

Beside such paradigmatic and syntagmatic tests, to seek diachronic and synchronic explanation, Shakkinoono data is compared to Kafinoonoo, the nearest relative to Shakkinoono[1]. In order to investigate whether it plays a key role in the verbal derivation system, the tone of Shakkinoono is investigated in particular. The researcher used the phonetic analysis program **Praat** to represent pitch of Shakkinoono. Yet, this pitch representation is not an attempt to give a detailed tone analysis of the language but to give phonetic information about the two contrastive tones of Shakkinoono. Thus, labels such as 'high' and 'low' are used in their relative senses. A phonological tone analysis of this language is needed to give a clearer picture of patterns of tone in Shakkinoono.

Having decided on the type verbal derivations, aspects of verbal derivations, core sample languages and method and order of discussion, the researcher started reading on the middle. Then, firstly, he wrote a paper on the middle in Oromo which is followed by the middle in Amharic. Having finished the middle in Oromo and the middle in Amharic, secondly, he read literature on the causative which is followed by writing on the causative in Oromo and the causative in Amharic. The same order is followed for the passive. To work on Shakkinoono, the researcher had to go to fieldwork. The fieldwork was necessary not only to work on Shakkinoono, but also to check data on Oromo and Amharic and to elicit data from non-core Ethiopian languages such as Hadiya. For this reason the researcher prepared questionnaires for the causative, the middle and the passive verbal derivations. Before he went to the countryside to elicit data from native speakers, he had gone to Addis Ababa University in search of resource persons. The aim was to elicit data from different languages with insufficient literature on verbal derivations. Fortunately the researcher met informants and elicited data on Omotic languages such as Shakkinoono, Dorze and Koorete; Cushitic languages such as Sidama, Kambaata, Hadiya, Somali, Afar and Awingi; he also elicited data on Tigrinya. Besides, he consulted B.A. and M.A. thesis on these and other languages of Ethiopia.

Next, the researcher went to a place where Shakkinoono is spoken as a mother tongue. He did not want to stay in **Masha**, the capital city of Shekka zone. The re-

[1] Leslau (1959) and Taddese (1999) note that Shakkinoono is a dialect of Kafinoonoo.

searcher already knew the town for he stayed in the city when he worked on his M.A. thesis. Only Shakkinoono is spoken in that town although the people understand Oromo, the neighbouring language. Instead, the researcher decided to stay in Yekki **woreda** 'district'[2] the capital city of which is Teppi. The researcher preferred Yekki district because it is a strategic place for a comparative researcher since many languages are spoken in that town. Among the three districts of Shekka zone, Yekki is famous for its coffee production. For this reason Yekki is known as a cash crop center in Shekka. The indigenous inhabitants of Yekki are Shekkachos and Shekos. Teppi, the capital city of Yekki, is inhabited by many nationalities. There are many Kafas who come to work on coffee production in this district. Not only Kafas but also Oromos, Wolaytas, Amharas, Kontas, Sidamas, Hadiyas, etc., live and work in this town. The Majangirs and the Bench people always visit the city because they come from nearby villages for market.

Being in Teppi town, the researcher checked his Shakkinoono data; he also elicited data from Kafa. He got his Kafinoonoo data checked by educated people in Teppi. Then he compared his Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo data. He also elicited data from Wolayta, Konta, Dawuro, Sheko and Benchnoon speakers. He got his Sheko and Benchnoon data checked by different informants. Data on Wolayta, Dawuro and Konta were checked at Addis Ababa University with his colleagues after his return from the fieldwork.

After the researcher returned from fieldwork, he started to write on the causative, middle and passive of Shakkinoono. As his writing progressed, he faced many challenges and he felt that he needed a help of informants from native speakers of these languages. Fortunately, he met a well experienced Shakkinoono speaker who is a student at Addis Ababa University. Through this Shakkinoono speaker, the researcher also met an informant, a student at Addis Ababa University, who speaks Kafinoonoo as his first language. The researcher worked with these two informants in Addis Ababa.

In general data are taken from the following Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages: Afar, Amharic, Awingi, Basketo,Beja, Benchnoon, Burgi, Chara, Chaha, Dasenech, Dawuro, Diraytataa (Gidole), Dime, Dizi, Dorze, Endegañ, Enemor, Eža, Gafat, Gamo, Gawwada, Gofa, Gedeo, Geez, Girira, Goggot, Hadiya, Harari, Kafinoonoo, Kambaata, Khamta, Kistane, Konso, Konta, Koorete, Maale, Malo, Mesqan, Oromo, Oyda, Shakkinoono, Sheko, Shinasha, Sidama, Silt'i, Somali, Tigrinya, Ts'amako, Wolayta, Yem (= Yam) , Zay and Zayse

[2] Whenever I refer to 'district', I mean **woreda**.

1.4. Core Languages

1.4.1. Oromo[3]

Oromo is spoken in most parts of Ethiopia and in Northern Kenya. Oromo is a working language in the National Regional State of Oromiya. Oromiya is located in the Eastern central and Western parts of Ethiopia. Its capital city is the same as Ethiopia's capital city, Addis Ababa. Oromiya is the largest state in Ethiopia both in terms of population and land size. Oromiya's population size is 18,732,525 according to the 1994 population and housing census; and it covers an area of 367,000 square kilometers. Topographically, Oromiya is located at 500-2500 meters above sea level. It has a warm and mild climate.

Oromos are indigenous to Ethiopia. Most Oromos live in rural areas and they are major coffee producers of Ethiopia. They are engaged in mixed farming. They breed cattle and cultivate crops such as teff, maize, sorghum, barley, wheat, etc. The largest number of cattle is found in Oromiya. Besides, the region is rich in mineral deposits including gold.

Many Oromos are followers of Christianity or Islam; and some are followers of their indigenous religion which is associated with the **Gada** (Asmerom 1973). Gada is a system of classes which moves from one generation to the next cyclically at a time interval of eight years. The system is responsible for military, economical, political and religious affairs. One Gada class rules only for a period of eight years; at the end of the eighth year, the ruling class resigns and the next ruling class takes power by a well known ritual ceremony known as **Butta**.

Oromos speak the Oromo language. They call their language **Afaan Oromoo**[4] which literally means 'mouth of Oromo'. Oromo had been a vernacular language for a long period of time. But since 1991 the language has become an official language, language of education, language of court and language of business in the state of Oromiya. Since 1991, Oromo script has shifted from the Ge'ez script to Latin. The language is taught as a subject in the first cycle (0-4), second cycle (5-8) and third cycle (9-10) of education. Oromo also serves as a medium of instruction in the first and second cycles. Besides, it is taught as a subject and functions as a medium of instruction in different universities such as Addis Ababa University, Jimma Univer-

[3] My primary data focuses on the Meč'a dialect which is spoken in East Wollega and West Shoa in particular. The same dialect has spread across Wollega, North Shoa, Illuabbabora and Jimma areas.

[4] The term 'Oromo' refers to Afaan Oromo; in this project 'Oromo' is used because it is common in the literature.

sity, Haromaya University and Dilla University where Oromo departments are established to train Oromo teachers, Oromo journalists and Oromos who work in the fields of public relations and culture. At present B.A. and M.A. degrees are offered in Oromo at Addis Ababa University. There are also many private colleges and institutions such as the Rift Valley College which train Oromo teachers and journalists in Oromo.

1.4.2. Amharic

Amharic is spoken as a mother tongue in the Amhara National Regional State. The state of Amhara is located in the Northern and North-Western part of Ethiopia. The capital city of the state of Amhara Region is Bahir Dar. One needs to travel 565 kilometers from Addis Ababa to arrive at Bahir Dar. The Amhara state is the second largest region. It covers an area of 161,828 square km. The population size of the state of Amhara, according to 1994 population and housing census, is 13,834,297. Topographically, the Amhara National Regional State is located between 700-4620 meters above sea level. The working language of the state is Amharic.

Politically, Amharas have been the dominant group who enjoyed high political positions and hierarchically high social status in Ethiopia. Most Amharas are followers of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church although there are some Amharas who belong to Evangelical sects and those who follow Islam. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church, which was founded in the 4th century AD, is indigenous to Ethiopia. The believers are highly devoted to their faith and traditions. They carved churches and monasteries out of solid rocks in different parts of Ethiopia. The Lalibela rock churches are particularly well-known.

Most Amharas are farmers. The men work in the field, the women are engaged in housework and the children look after the herds. They plough the field with oxen and they sow and harvest seeds by hand. The harvest is threshed by the hooves of animals. They cook their food using dried dung of farm animals as fuel. Crops such as teff, wheat, barely, maize, sorghum are cultivated by Amharas. Their staple food is **injera**.

Amharas speak the Amharic language as their mother tongue. Amharic is one of the South Semitic languages. It is a disputed issue whether Amharic is a direct descendant of Ge'ez or another language which might be a sister language of Ge'ez. The Amharic writing system is the fidel (alphabet) of Ge'ez which is based on ancient Phoenician script adopted in the form of Sabean alphabet. The system is nearly syllabic because in the fidel one symbol represents one CV. In this writing system vowels are indicated by special symbols extended from the casement symbols. Amharic has been the language of a dominant population group and it had been used as

a national language and a language of court in Ethiopia until 1991. At present Amharic is the working language of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. Many National Regional States, with the exceptions of Tigray, Harari, Somali and Oromiya, use Amharic as a working language in their respective regions. In some zones such as South Omo and Shekka, Amharic is taught as a subject and is also used as a medium of instruction.

In Ethiopia, educated people and people who live in towns speak Amharic as their second language. Throughout the country Amharic is taught as a subject in schools. In many universities of Ethiopia Amharic is taught as a subject and serves as a medium of instruction. For such purpose many universities have departments of Amharic to train Amharic teachers, journalists, and people who work in public relations.

1.4.3. Shakkinoono

The names **Shekkacho** and **Shekki** refer to the people, while **Shekka** refers to the region and Shakkinoonoo, which means literally 'mouth of Shekki', refers to the language. Shakkinoono is spoken by the Shekkacho people who live in the Shekka administrative zone. According to the 1994 population and housing census of Ethiopia, the population size of Shekkacho is 248, 985. Shekka is located in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional (SNNPR) state which is located in the South-West part of Ethiopia. The capital city of the Shekka zone is **Masha**. The Shekka zone comprises three districts: **Masha**, **Geč'a** and **Yekki**. The zone is bounded by the state of Oromiya in the North, North-East and North West, by Bench in South, by Majang in South and North West, by the Kafa zone in the South-East. The Shekka zone is characterized by undulating plateau and is covered by dense forest. The zone has three climates: warm temperate, moderate temperate and cool temperate which characterize the zone as lowland, midland and high land respectively.

The main staple crop cultivated by each homestead is **enset** which is commonly known as 'false banana'. Enset has multiple purposes for the Shekkachos. It is mainly used as food. Its leaf is used for bed-matting and for the hut of a woman. It has an inedible nut which is used as a child's toy. The dried stem leaves of enset are used as fans. The fluid that comes out of its stem is used for bathing. Shekkachos also cultivate different types of potato and onion. They also cultivate crops such as barley, teff, sorghum, wheat, coffee, maize, beans, peas, cabbage, etc. (Warner 1982, 6; Mengistu 1995).

On the basis of their oral tradition, the Shekkachos claim that they migrated from Israel and settled in the Northern part of Ethiopia; and finally they moved from the

north to the south of Ethiopia. They had their kingdom for a long period of time before their kingdom lost its independence by the military force of Menlik II in 1883.

According to Shekkacho culture, there are six clan groups: **Donjo**, **Čabaro**, **Manno**, **Gučči**, **K'ejo** and **Manjo**. Traditionally, these clan groups show the status and occupation of a member. The Donjo are known as the clan of the great people and hence they occupy the highest position in social and political structure. The Donjo do not undertake craft work and hunting as a means of subsistence because they despise such activities. They mostly engage in crop and livestock production. The Donjo clan marries members of Donjo, Gučči and K'ejo clan groups.

The Čabaro clan occupies the second position in social hierarchy of the Shekkacho people. The role of the Čabaro is to give blessings in ritual ceremonies. For this reason the Donjo need the Čabaro. Hence, there is one Čabaro clan for every Donjo clan. The Čabaro can marry the Čabaro clan only. But in some cases a Čabaro woman may marry Donjo man. The Čabaro are engaged in honey production.

The Gučči clan is considered low in social status because they are believed to be slaves. The Gučči clan is engaged in crop and livestock production like the Donjo. But the Gučči do not have their own territory because the Gučči are believed to be outsiders/newcomers. The Manno clan also does not have its own territory and clan leader. The Manno can live in the territory of the Donjo as long as they (Manno) adopt the names of the Donjo. The Manno undertake tanning and pottery as their occupation. The Manno can only marry Manno. The Manno are considered a clan of bad people. The K'ejo clan group has all kinds of relationships with the Donjo, Čabaro and Manno except for marriage. This clan doesn't have its own territory and clan leader. The K'ejo are engaged in forging. The K'ejo are grouped as a clan of bad people along with the Manno and the Manjo.

The Manjo clan occupies the lowest position in the social hierarchy of status. The Manjo is a segregated clan among the Shekkacho people. The main reason for the segregation is that the Manjo are believed to feed on dead bodies and worms. The Manjo also hunt colobus monkey, which is respected by other clans, and porcupine, which is despised by the other clans. The segregation is intense and deeply rooted. This clan is not allowed to enter houses of other clan groups and never to touch utensils that are used by other clans. Thus, the Manjo is served food and drink with **enset** leaf outside their host's house. The Manjo clan group is not considered fully human. The Manjo clan group is engaged in hunting. The clan does not have its own territory and clan leader. The Manjo live in remote uninhabited forest to avoid contact with other clans.

1.5. Structure of the Thesis

The rest of the thesis is divided into eleven chapters. Chapter two, three and four present the causative in core languages: Oromo, Amharic and Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo respectively. Chapter five gives conclusions on Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic causatives. Chapter six and seven treat the middle and the passive in Oromo. Chapter eight and nine describe the middle/passive in Amharic and in Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo. The middle and the passive in Amharic and in Shakkinoono are not given separate chapters because both languages do not differentiate the middle from the passive formwise. Chapter ten and eleven give conclusions on the middle and the passive in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages respectively. Chapter twelve concludes the thesis.

2. The Causative in Oromo

2.1. Introduction

A causative situation minimally consists of two events: the causing event and the caused event. Such events can be expressed either syntactically or morphologically. In syntactic causatives, causative events are expressed by two clauses: the matrix clause which contains the causer event and the embedded clause which contains the causing event. In the case of morphological causatives the causative situation contains the causer, the causee and the morphological causative marking on the verb. Kulikov (2001:886) defines causatives "as verbs which refer to a causative situation, that is, to a causal relation between two events, one of which (P_2) is believed by the speaker to be caused by another (P_1)". As Kulikov notes, such a definition is general because it includes all types of causative verbs and structures regardless of their paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations in a given language. In other words, such a definition is not important for the description of particular languages. For the description of individual languages a narrower definition of the causative is required. Thus, in the narrower sense (Kulikov 2001: 888), causatives which fulfil the following characteristics are treated as causative proper: causatives which " (i) stand in regular opposition both formally and semantically to the corresponding non-causatives within the verbal system of a given language, (ii) are formally more complex than their non-causative counterparts, and (iii) represent a more or less productive formation." I use the narrower sense of the causative event as a tool to identify types of causative-non-causative oppositions in particular languages.

In this chapter I focus on interesting aspects of Oromo causatives. Four issues are areas of interest in Oromo causatives: the forms of causative morphemes, double causatives, impersonal causatives and intransitive causatives. I differentiate the following causative morphemes which I call $CAUS^1$ (**-is-**/**-s-**/**- ss–**), $CAUS^2$ (**-sis-**), and $CAUS^3$ (**-eess-**). The morpheme **–ss-** had not been recognized before; this morpheme is a free variant of **–s-**. Synchronically $CAUS^2$ has to be distinguished from the sequence of $CAUS^1$-$CAUS^1$. I shall show that there is productive formation of double causatives in Oromo. I also show that the number of **–s-**'s does not always match with the number of agents as has been claimed by Lloret (1987) and others. Moreover, I discuss impersonal/causerless causatives. These are causative structures that have no causer or subject. I also show the function of a causative as a verbalizer. In Oromo causative morphemes are used as verbalizers, among others, of ideophones. Such verbalized ideophones are often intransitive causatives. The semantic typology of causatives in Kulikov (2001) is used to study the semantic range of Oromo causatives. In this language only indirect, assistive and similative causatives show grammatical differences correlating with semantic differences. The other types

of causatives in Kulikov's typology are within the range of the functions of the common causative suffix.

The remainder of the chapter is organized into five sections. 2.2. discusses forms of causative morphemes. 2.3. considers causative structures such as double, subjectless and intransitive causatives. 2.4. discusses the semantics of Oromo causatives while 2.5. discusses argument structures with respect to numbers of agents and causers.

2.2. Forms of the Causative

In Oromo the morpheme **–is–** or **–s–** derives single causatives while the morpheme **-sis–** can be used in single and double causatives. The form **–ss–** marks a single causative and is a variant of **–s–**. The morpheme **–(e)ess–** is de-adjectival/de-nominal causative morpheme.

Table of Oromo Causative morphemes

Label	*Form*	*meaning*
$CAUS^1$	**-is**-/-**s**-/- **ss**	causative
$CAUS^2$	**-sis**	causative
$CAUS^3$	**-eess**	de–adjectival verbalizer, similative
$CAUS^1$-$CAUS^1$	**–is–is, –s–iis**	double causative
$CAUS^1$-$CAUS^1$-$CAUS^1$	**–s–is–iis**	triple causative

2.2.1. The Morphemes –is/–s/–ss ($CAUS^1$) and –sis ($CAUS^2$)

In this section I show that the morphemes –**is**- and –**s**- are suffixed to verb stems to derive causative verbs. In my analysis these morphemes are considered to be allomorphs. The morpheme –**is**- is a common causative marker in Oromo (see also Hayward 1976). The causative morpheme –**is**- is suffixed to some intransitive verbs such as **raff–is**- 'make sleep' and **damk'–is**- 'wake up (tr.)'. It is also suffixed to causative bases as in **dubb–is–iis–** 'make greet' and **gog–s–iis–** 'make dry', etc. The morpheme –**is**- is highly productive in the derivation of de-adjectival bases. These de-adjectival bases are transitives. For instance, verbs such as **gudd–is–** 'grow (tr.)' and **furd–is–** 'make fat' are derived from adjectival roots **guddaa** 'big', **furdaa** 'fat'. Similarly, this morpheme could be suffixed to nominal bases to derive causative verbs as in **dubb–is–** 'greet' which is derived from **dubbii** 'talk'.

Similarly the morpheme –**s**- is a causative morpheme (see also Lloret 1987). In most cases it is suffixed to non-agentive intransitive verbs such as **dab**- 'bend', **gog**- 'to dry' to derive causative verbs such as **dab–s**- 'bend' and **gog–s**- 'to dry'. It is also suffixed to agentive intransitive verbs such as **fiig**- 'run' and **mak'**- 'drop in' to derive causative verbs **fiig–s**- 'make run' and **mak'–s**- 'make drop in'.

The causative form –**ss**- is abundant; it is a free variant of the morpheme –**s**- as shown in the following structures:

1a. **uffat-ni** **diriir-e**
clothes-NOM spread-3M:PF
'Clothes spread.'

1b. **gurbaa-n** **uffata** **diriir-s-e**
boy-NOM clothes spread- CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'A boy spread clothes.'

1c. **gurbaa-n** **uffata** **diriir-ss-e**
boy-NOM clothes spread- CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'A boy spread clothes.'

In (1a) the verb **diriir-** 'spread' is a non-agentive intransitive because the subject **uffat-ni** 'clothes' is not capable of performing the action of spreading. As it is shown in (1b) the stem **diriir**- 'spread' takes the causative morpheme –**s**-; meanwhile the agentive subject, **gurbaa-n** 'a boy' is introduced. In (1c) the causative morpheme is geminated; yet the meaning of the structure is the same as (1b). Non-agentive intransitive verbs such as **gog-** 'to dry (int.)' show similar characteristics as in **gog-s-** 'to dry (tr.)' and **gog-ss**- 'to dry (tr.). Similarly agentive intransitive verbs such as **mak'**- 'drop in' take either –**s**- or –**ss**-. But, in verbs such as **deebis**- 'return something', **fač'aas**- 'to sow', the causative morpheme cannot be geminated. If the causative morpheme is doubled as in **č'absis-** 'make break', the first –**s**- can be geminated; but in the morpheme –**sis**- that is added to bases of some agentive intransitive verbs no –**s**- is geminated. For instance, in the causative verb **kolf-isiis-** 'make laugh' no –**s**- is geminated. The **-s-** of causative can always be geminated unless it is preceded by a vowel.

In some cases the suffixation of the morpheme **-s**- triggers assimilation. Particularly when the causative morpheme –**s**- is added to verb stems with final /**l**/ a morpho-phonological process takes place in the sense that the causative –**s**- is realized as **-čč-** or **-šš-** after stem final /**l**/ and this final stem /**l**/ is sometimes dropped (Hayward 1976; Lloret 1987). For example, **bul**- 'to spend the night' + **-s**- derives the causative verb **bulčč**- /**bu(l)šš**- 'make to spend the night'[5]. Kebede (1994: 34-35) also notes that in Baate (Wollo) Oromo the causative verb of **bul**- becomes **bušš**-.

As compared to the –**is**- and –**s**- forms the morpheme –**sis**- contains two **-s-**'s. Because of this, –**sis**- appears to be a double causative. But, this morpheme could be a single or a double causative form. I consider a form a double causative if it contains

[5] The form **bulčči** 'spend the night' is in the dialect of **Shoa** Oromo. The form **bu(l)šši** 'spend the night' is in the dialect of **Wollega** Oromo.

a double causative derivation. Some instances of –**sis**- represent a double causative derivation **–s–is**; others are to be considered as a single morpheme. Some agentive intransitive verbs and many transitive verbs permit only the suffixation of –**sis**-. For instance, causatives **deem–sis–** 'make go' and **kolf–isiis–** 'make laugh' are single causatives because forms such as ***deem–is–** and ***kolf–is–** are not acceptable. Similarly single causatives of transitive verbs such as **bar**- 'learn', **arg**- 'to see', **hoɗ**- 'embroider' are **bar–sis**- 'teach', **arg–sis**- 'show' and **hoɗ–siis–** 'make embroider' respectively. The same morpheme could be productively used as a double causative. For instance, a double causatives of single causatives **fiig–s**- 'make run', **gog–s**- 'make dry', **dab–s**- 'make bend' are **fiig–s–is–** 'make somebody to make run someone', **gog–s–iis**- 'make somebody to dry something', **dab–s–iis** 'make somebody to bend something'. The /**i**/ between the two **-s**-'s varies between short and long. Such variation is accounted for in terms of vowel length dissimilation rule (see also Lloret 1987:146).

The consequence of using –**sis**- as a single causative morpheme is that the number of underlying agents are not always directly linked to the number of –**s**-'s because **-sis**- has two –**s**-'s; yet, it functions as a single causative morpheme as has been shown above in causatives such as **deem–sis–** 'make go' and **kolf–isiis–** make laugh'. Moreover, there is a geminated form, namely –**ss**- which is used as a single causative marker (see also 2.8. in this chapter).

2.2.2. The Morpheme –eess (CAUS^3)

The morpheme –**eess**- is one of the of causative morphemes which is suffixed to adjectival stems such as **add**- 'white' and **jab**- 'strong' to derive **add–eess**- 'whiten' and **jab–eess**- 'strengthen' respectively (see section 2.8.5 in this chapter). The form –**ess** and –**eess** are are accounted for in terms of vowel dissimilation rule (see Kebede 1994). The morpheme **-eess**- is distinct from **-s**-, **-is**- and –**sis**- and cannot be suffixed to bases of intransitives and transitive verbs. The causative morpheme –**eess**- is a verbalizing morpheme which is suffixed to adjectival bases such as **guraačča** 'black', **fagoo** 'far', **ɗiyoo** 'near', etc. This analysis is confirmed when we observe related Cushitic languages such as Kambaata, Hadiya, Sidama and Afar.

2.3. Structure of the Causative

2.3.1. Double Causatives

In Oromo all causative bases can be doubled. Double causatives refer to indirect causative events. When one more causative morpheme is suffixed to the causative base always another external causer is introduced. This is true for causatives of non-agentive intransitives, agentive intransitives and transitive verbs as shown below:

2a. **sibiill-i** **dab-e**
iron-NOM bend-3M:PF
'Iron is bent.'

2b. **gurbaa-n** **sibiila**[6] **dab-s-e**
boy-NOM iron bend- CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'A boy bent iron.'

(2a) is non-agentive intransitive; the noun **sibiill-i** 'iron' is not the agent of the event. (2b) is a causative structure in which the causative morpheme –**s**- is suffixed to the verb root **dab**- 'bend'. The suffixation of the causative morpheme is accompanied by the addition of the agentive subject **gurbaa-n** 'a boy'. The causative verb **dabs**- 'bend' can be further doubled and tripled to add more agentive subjects as in (3):

3a. **nam-ičč-i** **gurbaa** **sibiila** **dab-s-iis-e**
man-DET-NOM boy iron bend- CAUS[1]- CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'The man made a boy bend iron.'

3b. **Tarfaa-n** **nam-ičča-an** **gurbaa** **sibiila**
Tarfaa-NOM man-DET-INST boy iron

dab-s-is-iis-e
bend- CAUS[1]- CAUS[1]- CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'Tarfa made the man make a boy bend iron.'

In (3a) the causative morpheme –**is**- is suffixed to the verb **dabs**- 'bend' to derive the complex causative verb **dabsiis**- 'make bend'; meanwhile an agentive subject **nam-ičč-i** 'the man' is added. In (3b) the verb **dabsiis**- is further causativized as **dabsisiis**- 'made make bend' by adding the causative morpheme –**is**- which is accompanied by the agentive subject **Tarfaa-n**; the main causee is now expressed as an object of instrument.

Agentive intransitives also add two causative morphemes to derive double causatives as shown in (4):

4a. **gurbaa-n** **fiig-e**
boy-NOM run-3M:PF
'A boy ran.'

[6] The nominal **sibila** 'iron' has a non-geminated /**l**/ in the absolutive form but the geminated /**ll**/ in the nominative form, as a reflex of nominative **-ni**.

4b. **nam-ičč-i** **gurbaa** **fiig-s-e**
man-DET-NOM boy run- CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'The man made a boy run.'

4c. **Tarfaa-n** **nam-ičča-an** **gurbaa** **fiig-s-is-e**
Terfaa-NOM man-DET-INST boy run- CAUS[1]- CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'Tarfa made the man make a boy run.'

(4a) is a structure of agentive intransitive event. In this structure **gurbaa-n** is the agent while **fiig-** 'run' is the verb. (4b) is a causative structure in which the causative morpheme –**s-** and the agent **nam-ičč-i** 'the man' are added to the structure of (4a). In (4c) the causative verb **fiigs-** 'make run' is further causativized by adding additional causative morpheme –**is-**. This time the agent **Tarfaa-n** is added as a causer of the event.

Transitive verbs are also causativized and further re-causativized by adding causative morphemes and agentive subjects (see Owens 1985a):
Owens 1985a: 6.

5a. **an** **Muusaa-n** **isa** **eeruu** **k'očč-isiis-is-e**
I Muusaa-INST him:ABS field till- CAUS[2]- CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'Through Musa I made him till a field.'

5b. **an** **Muusaa-n** **eeruu** **isa** **k'očč-isiis-is-e**
I Muusaa-INST field him:ABS till- CAUS[2]- CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'I made Musa make him till a field.'

The verb **k'očč-isiis-** 'make till' is a causative verb of a transitive verb **k'ot-** 'to till' while the double causative verb **k'očč-isiis-is-** 'made make till' is derived from the causative verb **k'očč-isiis-** 'make till'. In both structures **an** 'I' and **Musaa** are causer and causee respectively. In (5a) the causee **isa** 'him' precedes the patient **ee-ruu** 'field'; while in (5b) the patient **eeruu** 'field' precedes the causee **isa** 'him'. According to Owens, the difference between the two structures is semantic in the sense that in (5a) the intention of the causer is to get **isa** 'him' till the ground through **Muusaa**. In this case **Muusaa** is the intermediary participant for the action to take place. But in (5b) the intention of the causer is to get **Muusaa** (not another person) make the causee **isa** 'him' to till a field. In my dialect (**Meč'a**) there is no difference, in meaning between (5a) and (5b). It is possibly true for Harar, the dialect that Owens (1985a) studied.

Generally, in Oromo the causative suffix is sequentially added to causative verbs to derive double and triple causatives. Of course, one question is posed at this juncture: what is the limit of extending the causativaization process? My observation is that double causative is common in Oromo; and triple causative is rare although the pos-

sibility of extending the process is there. If the process goes further than triple causativization, it indicates causation in which **X** causes **Y** causes **Z** causes **N** (variables such as **X, Y, Z, N** indicate participants). In such cases only two or three participants are expressed while the rest are omitted. Pragmatically, it is strange if more than two agent arguments precede the complex causative verb. That is why one of the three agents is dropped in most cases.

2.3.2. Causerless/Subjectless (Impersonal) Causatives

Oromo causerless causatives have not been treated in the linguistic literature. Yet, there are cases in which causative structures appear without subjects. Subject marking on the verb is sufficient in the sense that no explicit subject or pronoun is required. Impersonal causative constructions have 3M default subject which is unspecified. Most of these verbs are verbs of desire as we observe from the following instances:

6.a **ibsaa** **isa** **barbaačč-is-a**
light:ABS him:ABS look for -CAUS[1]-3M:IMPF
'He needs light.'/lit., 'It makes him look for light.'

6b. **inni** **isaan** **ibsaa** **barbaačč-is-e**
he:NOM him:INST light:ABS look for-CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'He made him look for light.'

7a. **farsoo** **isa** **haww-isiis-a**
local beer:ABS him:ABS wish for- CAUS[2]-3M:IMPF
'He needs local beer.' Lit., 'It makes him wish for local beer.'

7b. **inni** **farsoo** **haww-e**
he:NOM local beer:ABS wish for for-3M:PF
'He wished for local beer.'

The verb **barbaad**- 'look for' from which **barbaačč-is-** 'make look for' is derived is a transitive verb. This means that when a causative morpheme is added to such a verb, normally, another external argument or causer is added. But in (6) the causative verb **barbaačč-is-** 'make look for' does not show such characteristics. The construction is without an explicit causer. Neither **ibsaa** 'light' nor **isa** 'him' is agent of this structure as both are not marked for nominative case, both are in absolutive forms; **ibsaa** 'light' is a patient and **isa** 'him' is the causee. In causatives with an explicit causer the causee usually precedes the patient as in (6b) where the causee is marked with an intrumnetal suffix and the subject has nominative case. Both (6a) and (7a) are causerless structures. In these structures the subject agreement on the verb shows the subject is a default third person singular masculine.

But if the causee ('woman' in 8a) is a nominal element and not a pronominal element, then the patient ('light' in 8a) which is sentence initial can be marked for a nominative case as shown below:

8a. **ibsaa-n** **dubartii** **barbaačč-is-a**
light-NOM woman look for- CAUS[1]-3M:IMPF
'A woman needs light.' / lit., 'It makes woman look for light.'

8b. **dubartii-n** **bišaan** **barbaad-de**
woman-NOM water look for-3F:PF
'A woman looked for water.'

9a. **biiftuu-n** **baa-te**
sun-NOM rise-3F:PF
'The sun rose.

9b. **biiftuu-n** **nama barbaačč-is-a**
sun-NOM man look for- CAUS[1]-3M:IMPF
'Human being needs sun.'/lit., 'It makes human being need sun.'

Although they are marked for nominative case, initial constituents **ibsaa-n** 'light' and **biiftuu-n** 'the sun' are not the subjects of (8a) and (9b) as it is clear from the third person masculine agreement on the verb; 'light' is masculine while 'sun' is feminine but has no subject agreement on the verb which has a 3M ending, despite the fact that the nominal 'sun' has nominative case in (9b). In constructions with impersonal passives we will encounter similar cases of sentence initial consituents being marked by the nominative but not being subject.

In subjectless causative structure the causer is not present in the event. In this type of structure, word order is strict and not free: the patient precedes the causee which is followed by the causative verb. In most cases such event is expressed by imperfective aspect. Similar to impersonal passives, the subject agreement element on the verb is the third person masculine singular (see Chapter 7). Subjectless causative verbs are single causatives; they have only one single causative morpheme attached to their bases. These causative verbs typically occur with verbs of desire and we will see that in Anharic they are restricted to verbs of desire. Subjectless causative verbs such as **ɗaraa-sis-** 'long for', **haww-isiis-** from **haww-** 'to wish for', **ɗara-sis-** from **ɗaraʔ-** 'long for' and **kajel-sis-** from **kajel-** 'want' do not allow expression of a causer in other constructions while the verb **barbaačč-is-** 'make look for' does. Verbs such as **ɗaraa-sis-** 'make long for' differ from **barbaačč-is-** 'make look for' because of their lexical properties in the sense that the former is purely a verb of desire while the latter can be a verb of desire and causative verb as shown in (10).

10. **isaa-n Tolassa-tiin kitaaba barbaačč-is-ani**
they-NOM Tolasa-INST book look for-CAUS[1]-3P:PF
'They made Tolasa look for a book.'

11. ***isaa-n Tolassa-tiin kitaaba ɗaraa-sis- ani**
they-NOM Tolasaa-INST book long for- CAUS[2]-3P:PF
'They made Tolasa long for a book.'

In Oromo the causative verbs that can appear in subjectless causative structure are not only 'desire'-verbs. For instance, causatives of ingestive verbs such as **ňaačč-is-** 'make eat', **beel-eess-** 'make hungry'; emotion verbs such as **arab-sis-** 'make insult', **aar-s-** 'make angry'; cognitive verbs such as **irranfačč-iis-** 'make forget', **yaadačč-iis-** 'make remind/think'; motion verbs such as **fiig-s-** 'make run' and **deem-sis-** 'make go'; causative verbs such as **gurgur-siis-** 'make sell' could be used in subjectless causative structures but they oscillate between a causative with omitted causer and a causerless causative whereas verbs such as **bar-sis-** 'make know/teach' are less acceptable in causerless causative structure because the cognitive verb 'to make know' expresses activities where a causee is actively and consciously involved in the activity expressed by the verb as opposed to impersonal causatives where the causee has low level of involvement with respect to the event (see Chapter 5). Cognitive verbs such as **irranfačč-iis-** 'make forget' and **yaadačč-iis-** 'make remind/think' differ from the verb **bar-sis-** 'make know/teach' in the sense that in the former two the conscious involvement of the causee is low as compared to the latter.

2.3.3. De-ideophonic Verbalizers

Suffixation of the causative morpheme –**is-** results in the addition of an element to the argument structure. Yet, this is not always the case because the causative in its function as a verbalizer derives intransitive verbs from ideophones. This means that Oromo has some intransitive causatives, that is intransitive verbs with causative morphemes. Semantically such intransitive causatives are of two types: motion verbs and sound emission verbs. Intransitive causatives which indicate motion are as follows:

12. **k'orp'p'is-n** **k'orop'p'-is-e**
grasshopper-NOM jump- CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'A grasshopper jumped.'

13. **k'orp'p'is-n** **barr-is-e**
grasshopper-NOM fly- CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'A grasshopper flew.'

(12) and (13) are intransitive causative of motion verbs. All structures have only one agentive subject. Despite the presence of the causative marking –**is**- no additional subject is introduced. There are also similar verbs such as **daadd-is**- 'to start walking (for a child)'. This intransitive causative is derived from a nominal form **daad-dee** 'walking of a child'. Verbs such as **t'all-is-** 'to struggle to survive' and **k'at't'-is-** 'to walk cautiously and slowly' are intransitive causatives which are derived from ideophones. The fact that –**is**- could be dropped when the corresponding stems are used with the verb **jeɗ** 'to say' to express the same concept shows that –**is**- is not part of the verb root. For instance verbs such as **k'orop'p' jeɗ**- 'to jump/ lit., to say jump', **barr jeɗ-** 'to fly/lit., to say fly', **t'alt'al jeɗ**- 'to struggle for survival', **k'at' jeɗ**- 'to stop/lit., to say stop' are ideophonic verbs. In these forms the causative –**is**- alternates with the verb to say **jeɗ**- 'say'. Sound emission intransitive causatives include verbs such as **korr-is**- /**korr jeɗ**- 'to moan', **č'all-is-** / **č'all jeɗ**- 'to be quiet', **girr-is** / **girr jeɗ**- 'to blaze', etc. Ideophones can be used as verbs either by compounding them into the verb 'to say' or by verbalizing them through a causative suffix –**is**, CAUS[1]. Note that this de-ideophonic verbalizing causative is different in form from the de-adjectival verbalizer **-(e)ess**- CAUS[3].

2.4. The Semantics of Oromo Causatives

I discuss the meanings of Oromo causatives on the basis of Kulikov (2001). According to Kulikov (2001: 891-893), causative meanings are characterized as direct vs. indirect, permissive, assistive, declarative and deliberate vs. accidental causation. He also notes that causative verbs may have reciprocal, intensive, iterative and distributive meanings although such meanings are less motivated since they are not associated with the core function of the causative (Kulikov 2001: 894); I do not discuss such cases since they are not observed in Oromo (Meč'a dialect).

In Oromo only direct, indirect, assistive and similative[7] causations are relevant for the grammatical system of the language. Direct and indirect causations are known by different terms such as contact vs. distant; immediate vs. mediated (Kulikov 2001: 892). Shibatani and Pardeshi (2001: 88) propose the terms 'manipulative' and 'directive'. Direct causatives are causatives in which the causer manipulates the

[7] Similative causatives resemble what is called "declarative" in Kulikov (2001). I use the term 'similative' because such causatives express meanings such as 'look like'.

causee in bringing about the causative event. In Oromo, single causatives are direct causatives while double causatives are indirect causatives. This means that there is direct relationship between the type of causative and the number of the causative morphemes; single causative morphemes correspond to direct causatives while double causative morphemes correspond to indirect causatives as shown below:

14. **išee-n** **muč'aa** **raf-is-te**
she-NOM baby sleep- CAUS[1]-3F:PF
'She made a baby sleep.'

15. **gurbaa-n** **nam-ičča** **kuff-is-e**
boy-NOM man-DET fall- CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'A boy made the man fall.'

16. **inni** **išee-tiin** **muč'aa** **raf-is-iis-e**
he:NOM she-INST baby sleep- CAUS[1]- CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'He made her put a baby to sleep.'

17. **inni** **gurbaa-tiin** **nam-ičča** **kuff-is-iis-e**
he:NOM boy-INST man-DET fall- CAUS[1]- CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'He made a boy let the man fall.'

Instances shown in (14-15) are causative structures which are formed from agentive intransitives. In (14) there is physical contact between the causer **išee** 'she' and the causee **muč'aa** 'a baby'. In (15) the causer made fall the causee, maybe by pushing against the causee. (16) and (17) are indirect causative counterparts of (14) and (15) respectively. Both (16) and (17) are double causatives. As compared to (14) and (15), in (16) and (17) causers are added while the causers of (14) and (15) became causees.

In the **Horo** dialect of Oromo (my dialect) assistive causatives are formed when middle marking is followed by causative marking as shown below:

18. **Gaarii-n** **uffannaa** **na** **bit-ačč-iis-e**
Gaarii-NOM clothes me buy-MID- CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'Gari assisted me in buying clothes for myself.'/ lit., 'Gari made me buy clothes for myself.'

In (18) the causative verb is **bit-ačč-iis-**. In this example the middle marking is followed by the causative marking –**iis**- to give assistive causative meaning. Yet, it is often the case in other dialects that the suffixation of the causative morpheme –**sis**- but not preceded by the middle marking creates an assistive causative as in **yaab-sis-** 'to assist to mount on something'. In fact, most Oromo dialects do not have a separate marking for the assistive causative.

In Oromo, similative causatives are used when someone speaks about somebody as if she/he were bringing about the causative event in the mind. They are marked by CAUS[3] causative marking –**eess**- as shown in (19-20):

19. **inni** **kan-** **ɗiyoo** **fag-eess-e-e** **ilaal-a**
he:NOM COMP-near far- CAUS[3]-3M:PF-CON see-3M:IMPF
'He is far sighted.'/ lit., 'He sees something that is near as if it were far.'

20. **inni** **soba** **ɗugaa** **fakk-eess-e-e** **dubbat-a**
he:NOM false true appear- CAUS[3]-3M:PF-CON speak-3M:IMPF
'He speaks false to appear true.'

In (19) the causer perceives something which is near as if it were far. This means that the causer makes something which is near to appear as if it were far. In (20), the causer makes something which is false as if it were true to the mind of the hearer/listener. The causer makes things appear near or far, false or true to himself or to the mind of the addressee.

In general in Oromo, indirect, similative and assistive causatives are differentiated grammatically; indirect causatives are double causatives, similative causatives are formed by CAUS[3] and assistive causatives are formed by MID + CAUS[1] in at least one dialect of Oromo.

2.5. Amount of Agents or of Causers

2.5.1. Does the Number of Agents Match with the Number of –s 's?

In this section, I argue that the number of causative morpheme –**s–**'s does not always match the number of agents. In the earlier analysis, Lloret (1987) and Dubinsky, Lloret and Newman (1988) correlate the number of -**s–**'s with the number of agents. Lloret (1987:143) supports Hayward's observation that non-agentive intransitives add the morpheme –**s**- while agentive intransitives add the causative morpheme –**sis**- to argue that the number of –**s**-'s in the causative verb matches with the number of agentive arguments. The same concept is further developed by Dubinsky et al. (1988). Dubinsky et al. (1988) correlate the number of –**s**-'s with the number of subjects within the framework of grammatical relations.

But close investigation shows that such an analysis runs into problems. I point out some of these problems. First, causatives of non-agentive intransitive verbs such as **diriir-s**- 'spread', **dab-s–** 'bend (tr.)', **gog-s**- 'dry (tr.)', etc. optionally geminate their causative morphemes to increase the number of –**s**-'s to two with no change of meaning as in **diriir-ss**- 'spread', **dab-ss–** 'bend (tr.)', **gog-ss**- 'dry (tr.)'. Obviously, in this case the number of –**s**-'s does not match with the number of subjects

whatsoever because we cannot assume one –**s**- is associated with the underlying agent and the other –**s**- with the causative agent since there is no underlying agent for non-agentive verbs. This phonological variant of the geminated causative **s** counts as one.

Secondly and more importantly, it is also the case that one –**s**- could be suffixed to some agentive intransitive bases to derive single causatives as in **mak'-s-** 'drop in' and **fiig-s**- 'make run'. In this case also the –**s**- is optionally geminated as in **mak'-ss**- 'drop in' and **fiig-ss**- 'make run' without inducing change of meaning. In this case either –**s**- or -**ss**- is linked to two subjects.

Third, Lloret (1987: 146) observes counter examples which are explained by **-s-** reduction rules. In my analysis no such reduction rule is needed. In fact, such **-s-** reduction rule does not (always) work.
Lloret (1987:146)

21. S-reduction rule
$[\ldots s]_{stem} + [s\ldots]_{affix} \rightarrow [\ldots s\ldots]$

Verbs such as **ajjees**- 'kill' and **leejjis**- 'break in a horse' are cited to justify the S-reduction rule. As Lloret notes, when the causative morpheme –**s**- is added at the first cycle to the word **ajjees**-, the /**s**/ phoneme of the stem is reduced; and at the second cycle the causative morpheme –**i(i)s**- is added to derive the causative **ajjees-is**- 'make kill'. Lloret argues that the verb **leejjisis**- 'make break in horse' is derived in the same way. I consider such an explanation doubtful mainly for three reasons: first, I assume that verbs such as **ajjees-** 'kill' to be frozen causatives. The main reason for this assumption is that we abundantly find de-adjectival or de-nominal causative forms such as –**ess**- (-**ees**-) and –**eess**- in Oromo. In this case it is possible to assume that the causative morpheme –**ees**- is suffixed to the non-existing form ***ajj**- to give the causative verb **ajjees-** 'make die'. If this is the case, the derived causative adds a single causative suffix to be further causativized; this means that it needs only **-i(i)s**- and not **-is-is-** and contrary to Lloret's explanation there is no –**s**- deletion. Second, the verb **leejjis-** 'to break in a horse' cannot be evidence here. This verb is derived from a noun **leejjii** 'training'. This means that the final consonant of the root is not /**s**/, but /**jj**/. The causative morpheme –**s**- is added to the stem to give a de-nominal verb **leejjis-**. Such derived verbs need only the form –**i(i)s-** to get further causativized. S-deletion rule does not operate for causatives like **leejjis**- and **ajjees**-. Third, borrowed verbs such as **k'ammas-** 'taste' and **č'arris-** 'finished', with /**s**/ final stems, do not lose their final /**s**/ when the causative morpheme –**s**- is suffixed to their stems, on the contrary the –**s**- is geminated as shown below:

22a. **gurbaa-n** **biiraa** **k'ammas-e**
boy-NOM beer taste-3M:PF
'A boy tasted beer.'

22b. **nam-ičč-i** **gurbaa** **biiraa** **k'ammas-siis-e**
man-DEF-NOM boy beer taste- CAUS[2]-3M:PF
'The man made the boy taste beer.'

The word **k'ammas-e** 'taste' is an Amharic three radical word with a geminated medial consonant. This word is commonly used by Oromo speakers (Shoa and East Wollega). The causative morpheme –**si(i)s-** is added to this loan word. Yet, the final /**s**/ of the stem is not deleted as predicted by S-deletion rule. In general in Oromo the number of agents or subjects does not always correlate with the number of –**s**-'s.

2.5.2. Causer Counting

In this section I argue that there is no causative intensive in Oromo contrary to the previous analysis. Dubinsky et al. recognize Lloret as the first linguist to pay attention to causative-intensive in Oromo (see also Kulikov 1993: 128). They need to differentiate the intensive from the causative morpheme in order to deal with what seems to be counter-examples to the general rule of Oromo that each causative morpheme corresponds to an agent. Lloret (1987:144) notes, "…I use the term 'intensive' because these forms semantically imply 'force s.o. to do sth.' where the causer is not necessarily physically involved in the action…" Let us observe this case from the following example[8]:

Dubinsky et al. (1988:487)

23a. **Terfaa-n** **gurbaa** **raff-is-e**
Terfa-NOM boy-ACC sleep- CAUS-AGR
'Terfa made the boy sleep' (by rocking him); T[9]: 'Terfa made the boy sleep.'

23b. **Terfaa-n** **gurbaa** **raff-is-iis-e**
Terfa-NOM boy-ACC sleep-CAUS-INT-AGR
'Terfa made the boy sleep' (by giving him a sleeping pill); T: Terfa made someone to cause the boy to sleep.'

The sense in which causative-intensive is used is the same both in Dubinsky et al. (1988) and Lloret (1987). Dubinsky et al. (1988) and Lloret (1987) assume that (23b) is an example of causative-intensive, because the number of causative mor-

[8] To Lloret and Dubinsky et.al. (23b) is an example of an "intensitive" causative expressed by reduplication. I do not recognize reduplication of the causative morpheme as different from a double causative and I do not recognize "Intensive" causative.
[9] My own translation.

phemes does not correlate with the number of overt agents in the corresponding structures because there is no overt causee. My argument is that in (23b), the number of causative morphemes does correlate semantically with the number of agents because there is an unexpressed causee. The apparent counter example is not a counter example because the causee that is omitted is semantically present.

Example (23b), which is cited from Dubinsky et al., shows that there can be a causee implied. When such a causee is expressed we would expect it to be expressed either in the form of an oblique noun phrase or in the form unmarked object without meaning difference as shown in (24):

24a. Terfaa-n haaɗa manaa saa-tiin jaartii raff-is-iis-e[10]
Terfa-NOM mother house-his–INST old woman sleep-CAUS[1]-CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'Te[a]rfa made his wife offer a place for the night for an old woman.'

24b. Terfaa-n haaɗa manaa saa jaartii raff-is-iis-e
Terfa-NOM mother house-his old woman sleep-CAUS[1]-CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'Terfa made his wife offer a place for the night for an old woman.'

In (24a) the causee, **haaɗ manaa saa** 'his wife', is expressed as oblique noun phrase while in (24b) the causee is expressed as object in the absolute form. In general in Oromo there is no intensive causative and every causative morpheme adds one (human) controlling causer.

Oromo has five types of causative morphemes: **–is–**, **–s–**, **–ss–**, **–sis–** and **–(e)ess–**. The allomorph **–ss** (which had been missed before) is a free variant of **–s**. The morpheme **–sis–** can be used as single or double causative form. The morpheme **–(e)ess–** is etymologically complex; it is used as de-adjectival / de-nominal form. In Oromo double causatives are productive. Impersonal causatives and intransitive causatives are interesting issues in Oromo causative structures. Impersonal causatives have third person masculine singular as a default agreement element. In this causative structure word order is important, patient precedes causee. Semantically, impersonal causatives are frequent with verbs of desire but not restricted to them, Intransitive causatives are de-ideophonic verbalizers. In Oromo, there is no intensitive-causative. In this language the number of –**s**'s does not always match with the number of agentive subjects. But the number of causative derivations reflects the number of semantically present causers.

[10]**Haɗa manaa** literally translated as 'house mother' is an idiomatic expression which means 'wife.'

3. The Causative in Amharic

This chapter deals with the causative in Amharic[11]. Four issues deserve attention in Amharic causatives: the forms of the causatives morpheme **a–** and **as–**, argument structures of single causatives, impersonal causatives and intransitive causatives. Causative verb derivation in Amharic mainly involves the prefixation the morpheme **a- (**CAUS^{1}**),** and **as- (**CAUS^{3}**)**. The morpheme **a-** is predominantly prefixed to non-agentive intransitive although it is prefixed to some agentive intransitive verbs too. This morpheme is also prefixed to ingestive transitive verbs. In all cases the morpheme **a-** derives single causatives; double causative forms are derived by the prefixation of the morpheme **as-** which replaces the morpheme **a-**. The morpheme **as-** is also prefixed to transitive verbs to derive single causative. The prefixation of the morpheme **a-** is accompanied by the addition of one agent. The morpheme **as-** also increases the argument structure by one. But, if **as-** is added as a second causative derivation, it increases argument structure by two to derive double causatives. Yet, the prefixation of **a-** or **as-** does not always increase the number of arguments because there are intransitive and impersonal (subjectless) causative structures in this language.

In Amharic, structures of single causatives are interesting because of the following reasons: one, different from Oromo, there is an object agreement element on the (causative) verb which agrees either with the causee or the patient; two, only the accusative marked constituent agrees with the object agreement element; three, the causee can be expressed either as an accusative marked constituent or as an optional oblique phrase; four, the causee or the patient can be overt or dropped.

Impersonal passives and intransitive causatives are also issues of interest. Impersonal (subjectless/causerless) causatives are similar to impersonal passives in the sense that in both cases the verb form is the third person masculine singular. In impersonal causatives, word order is important; patient precedes causee. Semantically, they are restricted to verbs of desire. Intransitive causatives are verbalized denominals.

In Amharic causatives can be derived not only morphologically but also syntactically. Analytic causatives are formed by the verb **adärräg–** 'to make'. The verb **adärräg–** 'to make' is formed from a non-existing base **därräg** to which the causative marking **a-** is prefixed. The verb **adärräg–ä** 'make' takes a complement clause introduced by the complementizer **ïnd** as shown below:

[11] Amharic is a Semitic language spoken in Ethiopia. It has different dialects such as Gonder Amharic, Gojjam Amharic, Wello Amharic and Menz Amharic. But my focus of investigation is the standard Amharic.

1a. **lïj-u** **mät't'-a**
boy-DEF come-3M:PF
'The boy came.'

1b. **ïssu** **[lïj-u** **ïnd-(y)ï-mät'a]** **adärräg-ä**
he boy-DEF COMP-come:3M:IMPF CAUS:do-3M:PF
'He made the boy come.'

(1a) is an agentive intransitive and in (1b) the complement clause of the causative verb is (1a). The complementizer that introduces the embedded clause precedes the verb of the embedded clause; and the verb of the embedded clause has an imperfective form.

This chapter is divided into three sections. 3.1. discusses causative markings such as **a-** (CAUS[1]), **an-**(CAUS[2]), **as-** (CAUS[3]), **aš-** (CAUS[4]) and **astä-** (CAUS[5]). I argue that causative morphemes such as **a-** (CAUS[1]) and **as-**(CAUS[3]) are basic while **an-**(CAUS[2]) and **astä-** (CAUS[5]) are not because they each consist of sequences of two morphemes, the causative and the middle (**a–n–** and **as–tä-**). In 3.2. the morphology and syntax of causatives shall be discussed. In 3.3. the semantics of the causative shall be considered.

3.1. Causative Morphemes

This section discusses forms of morphological causatives. Five causative morphemes are observed in Amharic: **a-** (CAUS[1]), **an-**(CAUS[2]), **as-**(CAUS[3]), **aš-(CAUS[4])** and **astä-** (CAUS[5]). Each of these causative morphemes is investigated in the following subsections.

3.1.1. The Morpheme a- (CAUS[1])

The morpheme **a-** is one of Amharic causative markers that is prefixed to the stem of a verb. All linguists who worked on Amharic causatives recognize **a-** as a causative morpheme or as a transitivizer morpheme (see Baye 1986 [1994]; Leslau, 1995; Girmay 1992; Bezza 1997; Yabe 2003). The causative marking **a-** is prefixed to stems of intransitives and only some transitives. It is also prefixed to reciprocal stems, middle derived verbs and exists in frozen causatives. Most transitives require the **as–** causative for direct causative and do not allow the **a–** derivation. Each of these cases shall be discussed.

The following instance shows that the morpheme **a-** derives a causative verb from an intransitive verb:

2a. **säw-ïyye-u** **käbbär-ä**
man-singulative-DEF honour-3M:PF
'The man has honour.'

2b. **lïj-u** **abbat-u-n** **a-käbbär-ä-u**
boy-DEF father-his-ACC CAUS-honour-3M:PF-3MSO
'The boy honoured his father.'

In (2a) **säw-ïyye-u** 'the man' is the subject and **käbbär-ä** 'honour' is the verb. In (2b) the causative marking **a-** is prefixed to the stem of the verb; meanwhile, the causative subject **lïj-u** 'the boy' is added to the clause. Now, the question is whether the morpheme **a-** is uniformly prefixed to the verb stems of non-agentive, agentive intransitive and transitive verbs. Let us investigate this by citing examples for each type. The following instances show that the causative marking **a-** is prefixed to non-agentive intransitive verbs to derive the causative verb:

3. **särratäññ a-u** **at'ïr-u-n** **a-färräs-ä-u**
worker-DEF fence-DEF-ACC CAUS-collapse-3M:PF-3MSO
'The worker collapsed the fence.'

4. **särratäññ a-u** **täkïl-u-n** **a-s'äddäk'-ä-u**
worker-DEF plant-DEF-ACC CAUS-take root-3M:PF-3MSO
'The worker helped the plant to take root.'

In (3) the causative verb **a-färräs-** 'to collapse' is derived from non-agentive intransitive verb **färräs-** 'collapse (int.)'. In (4) the causative verb **a-s'äddäk'-**'make take root' is derived from non-agentive intransitive verb **s'äddäk'-** 'take root'. In both (3) and (4) the prefixation of the morpheme **a-** increases the argument structure by one. Causative verbs such as **a-därräk'-** 'dry (tr.), **a-mok'-** 'warm (tr.)', **a-bärr-** 'turn on', **a-wäffär-** 'make fat', etc., are derived from non-agentive intransitive verbs.

There are only a few cases in which the morpheme **a-** is affixed to agentive intransitives to derive a causative verb as shown in (5):

5a. **lïj-u** **wädä** **bet** **mät't'-a**
boy-DEF LOC house come-3M:PF
'The boy came to house.'

5b. **ine** **lïj-u-n** **wädä** **bet** **a-mät't'-ahu-t**
I boy-DEF-ACC LOC house CAUS-come-1S:PF-3MSO
'I brought the boy home.'

(5a) is agentive intransitive structure in which **lïj-u** 'the boy' is agentive subject and **mät't'-** 'come' is an agentive intransitive verb. (5b) is a causative structure in which

the causative morpheme **a-** is prefixed to the base of an intransitive verb **mät't'-** 'come' to derive **a-mät't'** 'bring', a transitive verb in which the causer **ine** 'I' is introduced to act on the causee **lïj-u-n** 'the boy'. Leslau (1968: 379) cites instances of causatives of agentive intransitive verbs such as **k'ärräb-** 'he came close, he came near' **a- k'ärräb-ä** 'he presented, he brought close'; **gäbb-a** 'he entered', **a-gäbb-a** 'he brought in'; **wärräd-ä** 'he went down', **a-wärräd-ä** 'he brought down, he unloaded'; **k'om-ä** 'he stood up', **a-k'om-ä** 'he set up'; **k'oyy-ä** 'he stayed long', **a-k'oyy-ä** 'he delayed'. Agentive intransitive verbs which take the morpheme **a-** such as **a-mät't'-** 'make come', **a-k'ärräb-** 'make come close', **a-gäbb-** 'make enter' and **a-warräd-** 'make go down' show motion across space and time; but verbs such as ***a-hed-** 'make go' with the same semantics are not acceptable. Causation of body posture agentive intransitive verbs such as **a-k'om-** 'make stand', **aggaddäm-** 'make lie down', **ant'ärarr-** 'make stretch' take the morpheme **a-**. The verb **a-k'oyy-** 'make wait' is also possible.

The morpheme **a-** is also affixed to transitive verbs of ingestive meanings. These verbs are often grouped together with intransitives and behave syntactically in many respects as intransitives (see also Chapter 8).

6a. **tämari-u** **aräk'e** **t'ät't'-a**
student-DEF alcohol drink-3M:PF
'A student drank alcohol.'

6b. **säw-ïyye-u** **tämari-u-n** **aräk'e** **a-t'ät't'-a-u**
man-singulative-DEF student-DEF-ACC alcohol CAUS-drink-3M:PF-3MSO
'The man invited the student to drink alcohol.'/ lit., 'The man made the student drink alcohol.'

7a. **lïj-u** **mïsa** **bäll-a**
boy-DEF lunch eat-3M:PF
'The boy ate lunch.'

7b. **säw-ïyye-u** **lïj-u-n** **mïsa** **a-bäll-a-u**
man-singulative-DEF boy-DEF-ACC lunch CAUS-3M:PF-3MSO
'The man invited the boy to lunch.'/ lit., 'The man made the boy eat lunch.'

(6a) and (7a) show transitive structures in which **tämari-u** 'the student' in (16a) and **lïj-u** 'the boy' in (7a) are agentive subjects. (6b) and (7b) are causative structures in which the causative morpheme **a-** is affixed to the corresponding transitive bases and the causer, **säw-ïyye-u** 'the man' is introduced in both cases.

The causative morpheme **a-** is presumably also present on verbs such as **agäññ-** 'get', and **aläk'k'äs-** 'cry' and **awärr-a** 'tell news (gossip)' which have no base without the causative.

8. **ïngda-u** **yä-mänorya** **fäk'ad** **agäññ-ä**
guest-DEF of-living permission (CAUS)get-3M:PF
'The guest got residence permit.'

9. **lïj-u** **wäre** **awärr-a**
boy-DEF news (CAUS)tell-3M:PF
'The boy told news.'

10. **säw-ïyye-u** **aläk'k'äs-ä**
man-singulative-DEF (CAUS)cry-3M:PF
'The man cried.'

The morpheme **a-** is also prefixed to the stems of reciprocals to derive causative verbs as shown in (11):

Leslau (1995: 486)

11. **a-ggadäl-ä-ačč̈äw**
CAUS-REC:kill-3M:PF-3PLO
'He made them kill each other.'

12. **a-ffälalläg-ä-ačč̈äw**
CAUS-REC:search-3M:PF-3PLO
'He made them go after each other.'

The stems of (11) and (12) have reduplicated stems resulting from the affixation of the reciprocal middle morpheme **tä-**. The morpheme **tä-** is assimilated to the initial consonant of the base and consequently the initial consonant of the base is geminated. The causative marking **a-** is affixed to the reciprocal middle stem.

There are also cases where the causative marking **a-** is prefixed to the middle derived verbs to derive a transitive verb. Leslau (1995: 487) cites the following verbs: **tä-lawwäs-ä** 'to move about', **a-llawwäs-ä** 'help move'; **tä-lak'k'äk'-ä** 'separate', **a-llak'k'äk'-ä** 'put apart/separate'. In these examples, the middle marking **tä-** is prefixed to the stems of the verbs to express middle meaning. But when the causative marking **a-** is prefixed to the middle stems, the corresponding events become causatives. In both cases, the middle marking **tä-** is assimilated to the initial consonant of the stem as is observed from the gemination of the initial consonants of the stems.

The causative prefix **a–** is used with patient oriented intransitives, with agent oriented intransitives and with some ingestive transitive verbs. The competing causative prefix **as–** is more common with agent oriented intransitives and with transitives as we shall see in 3.1.3. The causative prefix **a–** can be combined with reciprocal and other middle derived stems and occurs frozen in a number of stems.

3.1.2. The Morpheme an- (CAUS^2)

The causative morpheme **a-** is also observed as attached to the unproductive middle **–n-** forming a sequence of **an-** (causative **-a** + middle **-n**). In fact the form **an-** was treated as a single causative morpheme. Bezza (1997:1) considers the morpheme **an-** as one of Amharic non-productive causative morphemes. Appleyard (1995: 292) also notes that the morpheme **an-** contrasts with the morpheme **tän-** the latter being a middle marking morpheme. He also suggests that these morphemes show motion of a participant. Appleyard (1995: 292) cites the following verbs: **a–nk'äsak'k'äs–** 'to move something', **tä–nk'äsak'k'äs-** 'to move'; **a–nt'älät't'äl-** 'to hang something', **tä–nt'älät't'äl–** 'to be hang up'. In these instances we observe that the middle marking morpheme **tän-** is part of bases with middle meaning; the morpheme **an-** is also present on the same bases with causative meaning.

3.1.3. The Morpheme as- (CAUS^3)

The morpheme **as-** is analyzed earlier as comprising two causative markings **a-** and **–s-** (see Girmay 1992; Bezza 1997; Yabe 2003). But there is plenty of evidence which shows **as-** is a single causative morpheme (see Baye 1986 [1994]; Appleyard 1972; Leslau 1967, 1995; Tolemariam forthcoming).

The morpheme **as-** is prefixed parallel to **a-** derivatives to derive indirect causatives as shown below:

13a. **särratäññä–u** **at'ïr–u–n** **a–färräs–ä–u**
worker-DEF fence-DEF-ACC CAUS-collapse-3M:PF-3MSO
'The worker collapsed the fence.'

13b. **lïj–u** **bä–särratäññä–u** **at'ïr–u–n**
boy-DEF INST-worker-DEF fence-DEF-ACC
as–färräs–ä–u
CAUS-collapse-3M:PF-3MSO
'The boy made the worker to collapse the fence.'

14a. **ine** **lïj–u–n** **wädä** **bet** **a–mät't'–ahu–t**
I boy-DEF-ACC LOC house CAUS-come-1S:PF-3MSO
'I brought the boy home.'

14b. **ine bä-säw** **lïj-u-n** **wädä bet** **as-mät't'-ahu-t**
I INST-man boy-DEF-ACC LOC house CAUS-come-1S:PF-3MSO
'I made someone bring the boy home.'

In (13a) the verb **a-färräs** 'collapse (tr.)' and in (14a) **a-mät't'-** 'bring' are simple causatives of non-agentive and agentive intransitive verbs respectively. Indirect causative counterparts of such single causatives are formed by the prefixation of the morpheme **as-** as shown in (13b) and (14b) where the number of arguments is increased by one as compared to the direct derived causative and by two as compared to the underived stem.

The morpheme **as-** is productively prefixed to bases of transitive verbs to derive direct causatives and not indirect causative since these transitive verbs cannot take the derivation with **a-** as in **mätt-** 'beat', **as-mätt-** 'make beat'; **k'orrät'-** 'cut', **as-k'orret'-** 'make cut'; **lämmän-** 'beg', **as-lämmän-** 'make beg', etc.

3.1.4. The Morpheme aš- (CAUS[4])

The morpheme **aš-** is considered as one of the non-productive causative morphemes of Amharic (Bezza 1997). Leslau (1995: 486) cites the following causative verbs: **aš-kä'daddäm-ä** 'make someone ahead', **aš-k'uwat'ät'-ä** 'make restless', **aš-käfäkkäf-ä** 'make dress fancy clothes', **aš-k'änäddär-ä** 'make decked out in ornaments'. Leslau observes that velar sounds such as /**k**/, /**g**/, /**k'**/, and the bilabial sound /**m**/ follow the prefix **aš-**. He also doubts that the /**s**/ sound of the causative morpheme is changed into /**š**/ due to these velar sounds.

3.1.5. The Morpheme astä- (CAUS[5])

The morpheme **astä-** is considered as non-productive causative morpheme (Bezza, 1997). Appleyard (1995:292) notes in general that the affixation of the **astä-** is not common; he does not state clearly whether this affix is causative marking or not; and he cites the following examples: **astämarä** 'teach', **astawwäk'ä** 'inform', **astam-mämä** 'nurse', **astäwalä** 'observe, pay attention' and **astawwäsä** 'recall, remember'.

Appleyard observes without indicating the type of the base, that the **astä-** morpheme forms transitive verbs. He also says that the morpheme **tästä-** is prefixed to reduplicated stems and forms the intransitive [middle] equivalent of transitive verbs as in (Appleyard 1995:292) **tästäkakkälä** 'be even, adjusted to', **astäkakkälä** 'make even, adjust, arrange'.

In order to investigate whether **astä-** is a causative morpheme or not we need to consider the bases to which such morpheme is attached; we cite examples from Kane (1990). The verb **astämar-** 'to teach' is derived from the non-existing base

marä. The middle marking **tä-** expresses a cognitive middle in **tämar–** 'to learn'; and the causative morpheme **as-** is prefixed to such middle base to derive the transitive verb **astämar–** 'to teach'. The verb **astawwäk'–** 'to inform' is derived from stative verb **awwäk'–** 'to know'. The morpheme **tä-** is prefixed to this verb to derive the verb **t(ä)–awwäk'–** 'to be known, to be famous, to become obvious'. The causative morpheme **as-** is prefixed to this base to derive the verb **astawwäk'–** 'to inform, to make known'. In every step of the derivation there is some semantic specialisation. The base of the transitive verb **astammäm–** 'to nurse' is **ammäm–** 'to hurt, to ache'. The morpheme **tä-** is affixed to the base of this stem to derive the middle verb **t(ä)–ammäm–** 'to fall ill, be ill'; and the causative marking **as-** is prefixed to the base of the middle verb to derive **as–t(ä)–ammämä** 'to nurse, to take care of a sick person'. Note that the semantics of this verb is not causative; instead of 'cause to be ill', it means the opposite, 'nurse', see 5.1. for an explanation. The middle verb **tästäkakkäl–** 'to be adjusted to; cut one's hair,' is a complex verb. The base of this verb is **akkäl–** 'to be equal, to equal, to add, to extend'. This verb is a non-agentive intransitive verb. The impersonal passive/middle **t(ä)–akkäl–** 'to be equal, to extend' is formed by affixation of the **tä-** morpheme to the base of this verb. In fact the affixation can be accompanied by stem reduplication to derive the middle **tä–kakkäl–** 'to be equal with someone'. The causative marking **as-** is prefixed to this middle base to derive the causative verb while further affixation of **tä-** to the base of the causative derives the middle verb.

The conclusion that we derive from these facts is that the morpheme **astä-** is not one indivisible morpheme at all. It contains two different morphemes: the causative **as-** and the middle **tä-** (see also Leslau 1995: 490). By the same token, the morpheme **tästä-** marks a complex verb derivation in which the middle morpheme **tä-** is followed by the causative morpheme **as-** which in turn is followed by the middle marking **tä-**. The **-tä-** that follows the causative morpheme **–as-** is lexicalized. Amharic productive causative morphemes are **a-** and **as-**.

3.2. The Syntax of Morphological Causatives

3.2.1. The Syntax of Transitive Causatives

In Amharic, causatives of transitive events are common. In such cases the causee is expressed either as a direct object if it is a causative of active event or as an optional oblique noun phrase if it is a causative of passive event. Both the causee and the patient can receive accusative case. Accusative is only possible on definite constituents. There is object agreement on the verb. A verb can have only one object agreement marker.

If one accusative marked constituent is explicit and there is object agreement, the structure can be interpreted either as the non-causee constituent in the role of patient (b) or of causee (a):

Bezza 1997: 6

15. **Aster Kasa-n as-gäddäl-äčč-ïu**
Aster Kasa-ACC CAUS-kill-3M:PF-3MSO
a. 'Aster forced Kasa to kill (someone).'
b. 'Aster got Kasa (be) killed (by someone).'

Leslau 1995: 481-482

16. **bet-u-n as-t'äbbäk'-ä-u**
house-DEF-ACC CAUS-guard-3M:PF-3MSO
a. 'He had someone guard the house.'
b. 'He had the house guarded by someone.'

The difference between 16(a) and (b) is a difference in the interpretation of the role of the explicit constituent; it is not about the presence or absence of a causee (because in all **as-** causatives of transitives, there is causee semantically), but about whether the causee is known to the speaker/hearer and referred to by the object element (a) or whether the causee is not known and not present in the clause and the object element refers to the (explicit) patient (b).

If one accusative marked constituent is explicit and the causative verb lacks object agreement element, then, the causative structure has only passive interpretation (see Leslau, 1995: 482); or, in other words, there is no mention of a causee:

Leslau (1995: 482)

17. **(Kasa) bet-u-n as-t'äbbäk'-ä**
Kasa house-DEF-ACC CAUS-guard-3M:PF
'Kasa had the house guarded.'

18. **(Kasa) lïbs-u-n as-wässäd-ä**
Kasa clothes-DEF-ACC CAUS-take away-3M:PF
'Kasa had the clothes taken away.'

In (17) and (18) the causee is dropped. Accusative marked constituents are patients. The causative verbs lack object agreement. These structures are interpreted as situations without a causee (causatives of passives). The presence or absence of an explicit causer does not play a role in this. Also, if the accusative marked object is replaced by an unmarked object, the interpretation would be the same as shown in (19).

19. **(Kasa) bet as-t'äbbäk'-ä**
Kasa house CAUS-guard-3M:PF
'Kasa had a house guarded.'

If the causative structure has only one explicit accusative marked constituent and the verb has an object pronoun element that does not refer to that constituent, it has active interpretation as shown below (see Leslau 1995: 482):

20. **bet-u-n as-t'äbbäk'-ä-ññ**
house-DEF-ACC CAUS-guard-3M:PF-1SO
'He had me guard the house.'

If there are two constituents marked for accusative case and there is object agreement on the verb, it has active interpretation and the agreement element on the verb is controlled by the causee as shown below:

Leslau (1995: 482-483)

21. **lïj-u-n dïmät-u-n as-yaz-ä-u**
boy-DEF-ACC cat-DEF-ACC CAUS-hold-3M:PF-3MSO
'He had the child hold the cat.'

22. **Aster-ïn bet-u-n as-t'äbbäk'-(ä)-at**
Aster-ACC house-DEF-ACC CAUS-guard-3M:PF-3FSO
'He had Aster guard the house.'

23. **Aster-ïn ïnjära as-bäll-ahu-at**
Aster-ACC bread CAUS-eat-1S:PF-3FSO
'I made Aster eat bread.'

In (21) the causees **lïj-u-n** 'the boy' and in (22) and (23) **Aster-ïn** are expressed as object of the corresponding morphological causatives similar to the patients **dïmät-u-n** 'the cat' in (21) and **bet-u-n** 'the house' in (22); 3FSO refers to the causee the patient constituents are all masculine. In these examples, both the causees and patients are marked for accusative case. Object agreement on the verbs is controlled only by causees. In these examples, the causer subject is omitted from subject position and the subject is only marked on the verb; nevertheless, it is recoverable from the agreement element; the same is true with (23). But, if the subject is expressed explicitly, the structure becomes a bit awkward as shown in (24-25):

24. **ʔsäw-ïyye-u** **lïj-u-n** **dïmmät-u-n** **as-yaz-ä-u**
man-singulative-DEF boy-DEF-ACC cat-DEF-ACC CAUS-hold-3M:PF-3MSO
'The man had the child hold the cat.'

25. **ʔsäw-ïyye-u** **Käbbädä-n** **bet-u-n**
man-singulative-DEF Kebede-ACC house-DEF-ACC

as-t'äbbäk'-ä-u
CAUS-guard-3M:PF-3MSO
'The man had Kebede guard the house.'

26. **säw-ïyye-u** **Käbbädä-n** **ïnjära** **as-bäll-a-u**
man-singulative-DEF Kebede-ACC bread CAUS-eat-3M:PF-3MSO
'The man made Kebede eat bread.'

In (24) and (25) the causees and the patients are marked for accusative case and the causers appear in the subject positions; and the structures became awkward. But in (26), where the patient has no accusative case, the structure is acceptable. If the causer, the causee and the patient appear together and the causee and the patient are marked for accusative case, the structure becomes awkward suggesting that the causee has to be expressed as an oblique instrumental noun phrase in such cases as shown in (27) and (28). In sentences without explicit causer both causee and patient are marked for accusative case. A definite causee retains accusative case when the patient has no accusative case as in (26) above. If the patient and the causee are indefinite, the patient is not marked for accusative case while the causee is expressed as oblique noun phrase; in this case there is no object agreement on the verb. If the patient is definite, it is marked for accusative case and the causee is expressed as oblique noun phrase and object agreement on the verb is controlled by the patient (27), (28) and (29c). Expressing the causee as oblique with an instrument is awkward if the causee is definite, as in (29a) and (29b).

27. **säw-ïyye-u** **dïmmät-u-n** **bä-lïj-u** **as-yaz-ä-u**
man-singulative-DEF cat-DEF-ACC INST-boy-DEF CAUS-hold-3M:PF-3MSO
'The man had the child hold the cat.'

28. **säw-ïyye-u** **bet-u-n** **bä-Käbbädä**
man-singulative-DEF house-DEF-ACC INST-Kebede

as-t'äbbäk'-ä-u
CAUS-guard-3M:PF-3MSO
'The man had Kebede guard the house.'

29a. **? säw-ïyye-u** **ïnjära** **bä-Käbbädä** **as-bäll-a-u**
man-singulative-DEF bread INST-Kebede CAUS-eat-3M:PF-3MSO
'The man made Kebede eat bread.'

29b. **? ïnjära** **bä-Käbbädä** **as-bäll-a-u**
bread INST-Kebede CAUS-eat-3M:PF-3MSO
'He made Kebede eat bread.'

29c. **säw-ïyye-u** **ïnjära-u-n** **bä-Käbbädä**
man-singulative-DEF bread-DEF-ACC INST-Kebede

as-bäll-a-u
CAUS-eat-3M:PF-3MSO
'The man made Kebede eat bread.'

In (27) and (28) the causee is expressed as an oblique noun phrase; and it is preceded by the patient. Subject agreements are controlled by causers while object agreements are controlled by patients. However in (29a) and (29b), the causee is expressed as an oblique noun phrase but the patient that precedes the causee is not marked for definiteness and accusative case; consequently, the structure is ungrammatical. In such structures, if the patient is marked for definiteness and case, the causee could be expressed as an oblique object as shown in (29c).

In general, if causee and patient are explicit and marked for accusative and there is object agreement on the causative verb, the object agreement refers to the causee. Only definite constituents are marked for accusative case and the object agreement element on the verb agrees with a constituent that is marked for accusative case. In these constructions the causee strictly precedes the patient. If only one of the explicit objects is accusative marked, then the causee retains the accusative case and the patient strictly follows the causee. But, if the causee is expressed as an oblique object and patient is marked for accusative case, then object agreement element on the verb agrees with patient and the word order is free.

As we have already observed causatives of transitive verbs add one argument. But there are some cases where causatives of transitive verbs do not seem to add an argument.

30a. **ïssu** **mäs'haf-u-n** **kä-lïj-u** **täk'äbbäl-ä-u**
he book-ACC-DEF from-boy-DEF MID:hand over-3M:PF-3MSO
'He took the book from the boy.'

30b. **ïssu** **mäs'haf-u-n** **lä-lïj-u** **ak'äbbäl-ä-u**
he book-ACC-DEF DAT-boy-DEF CAUS: hand over-3M:PF-3MSO
'He handed over the book to the boy.'

31a. **ïssu** **gänzäb** **kä-bank** **täbäddär-ä**
he money from-bank MID:borrow-3M:PF
'He borrowed money from bank.'

31b. **ïssu** **gänzäb** **lä-lïj-u** **abäddär-ä**
he money DAT-boy-DEF CAUS:borrow-3M:PF
'He lent money to the boy.'

Both (30) and (31) are transitive structures in both the middle and the causative derived verbs. Neither does the presence of the morpheme **tä**- result in argument decreasing nor the presence of the morpheme **a**- result in argument increasing. The number of argument in (30a) and (31a) are equal to the number of arguments in (30b) and (31b).There is no verb **k'äbbäl**- or **bäddär**- but if **tä**- were argument decreasing and **a**- were argument increasing, **tä**- and **a**- verbs never could have the same number of arguments. The nominal form of the base **k'äbbäl**- is **k'ïbbäla**[12] which refers to the name of a holiday which means 'receiving a holiday'. The nominal form of **bäddär**- is **bïddïr** 'loan'.

3.2.2. Causerless (Impersonal) Causatives

Some causative structures involving verbs of desire are impersonal causatives as shown in (32):

32a. **set** **(ïssu-n)** **as-fälläg-ä-u**
woman he-ACC CAUS-need-3M:PF-3MSO
'He needed a woman.'/lit., 'It made him need a woman.'

[12] It is controversial if the verb is derived from the nominal base or vice versa. For ease of discussion I assume the verb is derived form the corresponding nominal base. The main focus is, here, not the direction of derivation but the number of arguments associated to the derived verb.

32b. **set** **mät't'-ačč**
woman come-3F:PF
'A woman came.'

32c ***issu** **wïha** **(ïssu-n)** **as-fälläg-ä-u**
he water he-ACC CAUS-need-3M:PF-3MSO
'He needed water.'/ lit., 'It made him need water.'

In (32) **set** 'woman' is not the causer of the causative structures. Although the subject agreement element shows that the subject is third person singular masculine, there is no such subject in the structure because if such subject is found at subject position, the structure becomes ungrammatical as it is shown in (32c). Causative verbs such as **asäññ-** 'to make wish for' and **as-t'äll-** 'to make hate something' have similar characteristics.

Like in Oromo, these causerless constructions are subjectless in the sense that the ending on the verb is in fact the default form and does not refer to a logical subject. Parallel to impersonal passives (subjectless passives of intransitives) we call such causative constructions impersonal causatives.

A causee must be present in the construction, either as an explicit constituent or indicated by an object marker on the verb. In these constructions, the patient must be explicitly present and must precede any other argument. In most cases subjectless causatives have imperfective form although they can be expressed in perfective forms. Verbs of desire such as **as-fälläg-** 'need' could be used in other constructions with agentive subjects. Ingestive verbs can be used in subjectless causative forms but semantically they assume an omitted causer. But, verbs such as **as-mätt-** 'beat' must occur with a causer.

3.2.3. Intransitive Causatives/Verbalizers

There are intransitive verbs in Amharic which are derived with verbalizing morphemes that are identical with causative morphemes from nominal bases as in **aläk'k'äs-** 'to cry' and **agäss-** 'to bellow'. The verb **aläk'k'äs-** 'to cry' contrasts with the nominal form **läk'ïso** 'weep' and **agäss-** 'to bellow' with **gïsat** 'bellowing'. When causative **a-** is used as verbalizer, such **a-** derived verbs can be intransitives; they take one agentive argument as shown below:

33. **säw-ïyye-u** **aläk'k'äs-ä**
man-singulative-DEF CAUS: cry-3M:PF
'The man cried.'

34. **säw-ïyye-u** **aš-guwabbät'-ä**
man-singulative-DEF CAUS- bend-3M:PF
'The man is bent.'

The verb **aläkkäs**- 'to cry' is not expressed ideophonically but the intransitive causative **aš-guwabbat'**- in (34) is derived from an intransitive base **gobbät'**- 'to be bent'. Ideophonically it could be expressed as **gubbït' al**- 'to be bent, lit., to say 'bent'. The affixation of the causative morpheme does not result in transitivization of the corresponding base verbs. These verbs could alternatively be used as ideophonic expressions. Verbs of sound emission such as **aläk'k'äs**- 'to cry', **agäss**- 'to bellow' and **anbarräk'k'**- 'to release a loud sound' are de-nominal intransitive causatives. These causative verbs do not have a parallel way of expression with the verb **all**- 'say'.

In general, a verbalizing morpheme derives (intransitive) verbs from nominal bases. The verbalizer is causative because instigation is added to the semantics of the nominal base.

Third, there are very few **a**-derived intransitive verbs that are not verbalized, but they change non-agentive subject into agentive subject as shown below:

35a. **gize-u** **räffäd-ä**
time-DEF be late-3M:PF
'The time is late.'

35b. **lïj-u** **a-räffäd-ä**
boy-DEF CAUS-be late-3M:PF
'The boy is late.'

(35a) intransitive structure where **gize-u** 'the time' is non-agentive subject and **räf-fäd**- 'be late' is the intransitive verb. In (35b) **a**- is prefixed to the verb meanwhile the subject becomes agentive one. Such example is a true example of intransitive causatives. The causative derivation does add an external causer but the result is still intransitive. In conclusion, a causative structure does not necessarily need to be a transitive structure.

3.3. The Semantics of Amharic Causatives

The semantics of Amharic causative contains deliberate, accidental, comitative and permissive senses. Assistive and similative senses are preferably expressed by specific causative constructions.

In this language, **a-** is a direct causative while **as-** derives indirect causatives if it is parallel to **a-** derivation where extra human controlling causer is added. But, if **as-**

is attached to transitive verbs for which there is no **a-** derivation, it derives direct causatives. In direct causation the causer directly controls the causee in bringing the causative event. In Amharic direct causatives are also expressed by the causative morpheme **a–** as shown in (36):

36. **ïssu** **mäs'haf-u-n** **lä-lïj-u** **ak'bbäl-ä-u**
he book-ACC-DEF DAT-boy-DEF hand over-3M:PF-3MSO
'He handed over the book to the boy.'

The example in (36) is a direct causative. In this case the causer **ïssu** 'he' has physical contact with the direct object **mäs'haf-u-n** 'the book'. In other words the causers directly manipulate the corresponding object to bring about the corresponding causative event.

In contrast, in indirect causatives the causer does not directly control the causee, which means that the causee is relatively independent in bringing the caused event. In Amharic indirect causatives are expressed by the morpheme **as-** as shown in (37):

37. **ïssu** **wänbär-u-n** **bä säw** **as-särr-a-u**
he chair-DEF-ACC INST man CAUS-3M:PF-3MSO
'He had the chair made by someone.'

In (37) the causer is a third person singular. In this causative structure the causer has no direct contact with the caused event. This means that the causee is relatively free in bringing the corresponding causative events. The causer indirectly controls the caused events through the causee, **bä säw** 'by a man/someone'.

Assistive causation in which the causer assists the causee in bringing the caused event is common in Amharic and it is expressed by CAUS[1] + MID as shown in the following examples.

Leslau (1995: 488)

38. **ïssu** **ïne-n** **mäśaf** **a-[tä]-ffalläg-ä-ññ**
he I-ACC book CAUS-MID-look for-3M:PF-1SO
'He looked for a (lost) book with me.' or, 'He helped me look for a (lost) book'

39. **ïssu** **ïne-n** **bira** **a-[tä]-t't'at't'-a-ññ**
he I-ACC beer CAUS-MID-drink-3M:PF-1SO
'He drank beer with me.' or 'He helped me drinking beer.'

As shown in (38-39), in Amharic, assistive causation has its own form. The causation is expressed by the prefixation of the causative marking **a-**. In addition, the initial consonant of the base is geminated as an indication of the assimilation of the

middle marking **tä-**. In assistive causatives the initial consonant of the root obligatorily followed by **-a-**. Semantically the caused events are fully instigated by the corresponding causees **ïne-n** 'me'. The causers are only facilitators of the caused events. In examples such as (38) the causer may provide the causee with relevant information and material. But in example (39) the causer simply accompanies the causee. In assistive causatives the causer and the causee bring the event together.

Similative causative refers to a situation where someone speaks about another person's mind as if he/ she were brought a caused event by his/ her thought or speech. In Amharic similative causatives are expressed in two ways. The first one is expressed by the morpheme **as-** shown in (40-41):

40.	**ïssu**	**tïllïk'-u-n**	**(säw)**	**tïnnïš**	**as-akkäl-ä**
	he	big-DEF-ACC	man	small	CAUS-be equal-3M:PF
	'He made the big (man) as if he were small.'				

41.	**ïssu**	**wïšät-u-n**	**(nägär)**	**ïwnät**	**as-mässäl-ä**
	he	false-DEF-ACC	thing	true	CAUS-look like-3M:PF
	'He made a false (thing) to look like true.'				

In (40), two adjectives (noun phrases) are compared, **tïllïk'-u-n** 'the big (man)' and **tïnnïš** 'small (man)'. In this instance it is imagined that someone with a big size is made to look small in the mind. Such a comparison is possible with the verb **akkäl** – 'be equal to' which is similar to the verb 'to be'. The causative counterpart of this verb indicates the presence of third person singular causer. In (41) two adjectives, **wïšät-u-n** 'the false' and **ïwnät** 'true', are compared against one another; the verb stem **mässäl** – 'look like' being a verb of comparison.

The second one is expressed by **a-** + **tä-**. These similative causatives are referred as estimative causations by Leslau (1995: 488) as in **a-[tä]-k'k'alläl-ä** 'consider low value' and **a-[tä]-rrakkäs-ä** 'hold of little value'. In these cases the forms of the verbs are similar to the forms of assistive causation. They are considered to be caused by the thought or speech of the corresponding causers.

In Amharic permissive causatives are expressed by the morpheme **as-** as in **as-fäk'k'äd-** 'let permit, i.e. have/get permission' and **as-gäbb-** 'let enter'. Similarly, subjectless causations are expressed by the morpheme **as-** as in **as-fälläg-** 'make need' and **asäññ-** 'make wish'.

In Amharic, **a-** and **as-** are productive causative morphemes. Predominantly, the morpheme **a-** is a transitivizer while **as-** derives single and double causatives. What makes Amharic causative structures interesting is that causees and patients interact with object agreement; and this interaction determines ranges of possible interpretations. In a single causative structure, if one accusative constituent is overt and there

is object agreement on the verb, then, the pronominal object on the verb agrees either with the causee or with the patient. If the object pronominal agrees with the causee, it is a causative of an active event; but, if the object on the verb agrees with the patient, it is a causative of a passive event. If there is no object agreement, then, the interpretation is passive. In such structures, if the object agreement element is not a third person, then, it has active interpretation. If two constituents are overt and marked for accusative and there is object agreement, then the causee agrees with object agreement; meanwhile, the interpretation is active. Impersonal (subjectless/causerless) and intransitive causatives are also issues of interest. Impersonal causatives are restricted to verbs of desire.

4. The Causative in Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo

4.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the causative of Shakkinoono; Kafinoonoo is added for comparative purpose. Causative verbs are derived in various ways in Shakkinoono as Leslau (1958: 146) observed: "The causative is formed in the following ways: by the suffixed morpheme –**hä**[13] replacing the final –**yè** of the basic verb with a simultaneous change of the syllabic structure of the basic stem; by the suffixed morpheme –**ss**-; by the suffixed morpheme –**ǧǧ**-; by the change of the final consonant quality; by the change of the final –**a** into –**i**; and by the change of a stressed syllable into a tone syllable." In most cases, I agree with what Leslau observes. Yet, my analysis of Shakkinoono causative verb derivations slightly differs from his. First, I observed that the suffix –**ss**- is realized into two forms: –**issi**- and –**ssi**-. Second, there is no suffix–**ǧǧ-[jj**] as such; rather –**ǧǧ-[jj**] is the result of quality change of verb root final consonants. Finally, the change of a stressed syllable into a tone syllable is not attested.

The morpheme –**i**- is the main causative marker in Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo because in almost all cases of causative verb derivations this morpheme appears. This means that the form **-i-** is a separate causative morpheme and it is accompanied by addition of an argument. Yet, the complicating factor is that some verb stems end in **i** where it is considered as part of the lexical stem. I gloss the causative –**i**- as 'CAUS[1]' when it contrasts with the theme vowel **a** and when it is suffixed to the theme vowel. The causative morpheme **-issi-**/**-ičči-** is glossed as CAUS.

The most interesting issue of this chapter is an interaction between thematic vowels and derivational morphemes. Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo have two thematic final vowels on verbs, **i** and **a**[14]. These languages also have two derivational affixes causative and middle/passive for which the main morphemes are **-i-** and **-a-**. It is often complex and problematic to determine when and where these two vowels are used as thematic vowels or as derivational morphemes. This chapter attempts to address this problem. Thus, we distinguish thematic vowel **i** from causative **-i-** in cases of addition of **-i-** to verbs ending in **i** and by taking changes from **a** to **-i-** accompanied by the addition of a causer as manifestation of a causative event. I also discuss forms of **-a-** as thematic and derivational morpheme.

---

[13] According to my observation there is no phoneme /**ä**/ in Shakkinoonoo; this morpheme is **-hè**. I also observed that – **hè** and –**yè** are free variants.

[14] Whenever we mention the grammatical morpheme **-a-**, keep in mind that it is **-a-** in Shakkinoono and **-a-** in the Geesha dialect of Kafinoonoo but **-e-** in Bonga dialect of Kafinoonoo.

The rest of this chapter has five sections. 4.2. treats the causative morphemes. 4.3. and 4.4. differentiate the causative morphemes from the thematic vowels and draws conclusions. 4.5. considers causative structures while 4.6. discusses the semantics of the causatives.

4.2. The Causative Morphemes

This section deals with the causative morpheme **-i-** and alternating **-issi-/-ičči-** morphemes.

4.2.1. The Causative morpheme –i-

The morpheme **-i-** is used as a causative marking under two basic conditions: one, when it replaces the theme vowel **a**; and two, when it is suffixed to the theme vowel **i**. In the following examples the morpheme **-i-** replaces the theme vowel **a**:

1a. **máhóó békkà-yè (S)**[15]
leopard appear- 3M:PF
'Leopard appeared/is seen.'

1b. **áró máhóó-n tá-s békk-ì-hè (S)**
he leopard-ACC I-DAT appear- CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'He showed me a leopard.'

1c. **áró máhóó-n tá-s békk-ìssì-yè (S)**
he leopard-ACC I-DAT appear-CAUS-3M:PF
'He showed me a leopard.'

(1a) is an intransitive structure where **békkà-** 'appear' is a verb stem which ends in **a** thematic vowel. This structure has one subject. (1b) is a causative counterpart of (1a) in which the thematic vowel **a** is replaced by the causative marking **-i-**. Because of the presence of **-i-**, a causer is added in (1b). (1c) is an alternative causative structure of (1b) in which the causative morpheme **-issi-** replaces the thematic vowel **a**.

In the following cases too **a** contrasts with **-i-**; only the causative structures do not have alternative formatives:

2a. **áró tókkárà-yè (S)**
he sleep-3M:PF
'A boy slept.'

[15] (S) shows Shakkinoono data and (K) Kafinoono data.

2b. **áró** **náámí-n** **tókkár-ì-yè (S)**
he boy-ACC sleep- CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'He made a boy sleep.'

3a. **aro** **tokkare[16]-te (K)**
he sleep-3M:PF
'A boy slept.'

3b. **aro** **bušoo-n** **tokkar-i-te (K)**
he boy-ACC sleep- CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'He made a boy sleep.'

In (2a) the verb **tókkárà-** 'sleep' is intransitive while the verb **tókkár-ì-** in (2b) is causative. Similarly in (3a) the verb **tokkare-** 'sleep' is intransitive while the verb **tokkar-i-** 'make sleep' in (3b) is causative. (2b) and (3b) are causative structures, because they have one extra subject as compared to (2a) and (3a). In these examples, the causative morpheme –**i**- contrasts with the theme vowel **a**. In general, if a non-causative verb has a theme vowel **a**, then the causative verb is derived by the morpheme –**i**-.

If a verb root has already the theme vowel **i**, as in the case of the transitive verb stems shown below, the causative morpheme –**i**- is attached to the stem and consequently the morpheme –**i**- appears to be long.

4a. **áró** **dáháró-n** **wìt'ì-yè (S)**
he lion-ACC kill- 3M:PF
'He killed a lion.'

4b. **ɓoónóší** **áró-n** **dáháró-n** **wìt'ì-ì-hèètè (S)**
they he-ACC lion-ACC kill- CAUS[1]-3P:PF
'They made him kill a lion.'

5a. **aro** **daharo-n** **wit'i-te (K)**
they lion-ACC kill-3M:PF
'He killed a lion.'

5b. **bonoši** **aro-n** **daharo-n** **wit'i-i-teete (K)**
they he-ACC lion-ACC kill- CAUS[1]- 3P:PF
'They made him kill a lion.'

[16] In Kafinoonoo–**a**- is used in Geesha dialect while –**e**- is used in Bonga dialect (see also Taddese 1999). In this work –**e**- is used because the Bonga dialect is more standard.

In (4a) and (5a) the form of transitive stems have the thematic vowel **i** as **wìt'ì-** 'kill'. The structures are transitive ones, they have one agent and one patient each. In (4b) and (5b) the causative morpheme –**i-** is suffixed to these transitive stems to derive causative verbs; the structures add one causer and the subjects of the transitive structures became causees. Thus, these causative structures have two objects each, causee and patient. Because the theme vowel **i** and the causative morpheme **–i–** come together, the vowel /**i**/ is long.

4.2.2. Morphophonological Aspect of –i-

The causative morpheme –**i-** is for a number of lexemes accompanied by change of quality of root final consonant. The most common change of quality of the root final consonant is palatalization. The following consonants are changed into /**č**/ when the morpheme –**i-** is suffixed to the verb root to derive the causative verb: /**m**/, /**n**/, /**t'**/, /**č'**/, /**š**/; and /**y**/ and /**ʔ**/ are changed into /**jj**/. In all instances /**n**/, /**š**/, /**y**/ and /**ʔ**/ are consistently changed to /**jj**/; /**m**/, /**t'**/ and /**č'**/ are not always changed[17]. The palatal affricate **/čč, jj**/ is always geminate.

In the following examples /**n**/ is changed into /**č**/ when the causative morpheme –**i-** is suffixed to a verb stem as shown below:

6a. **óppó** **gàbìnnì-yè (S)**
hole wide-3M:PF
'A hole became wide.'

6b. **oppo** **gaminni-te (K)**
hole wide-3M:PF
'A hole became wide.'

7a. **áró** **óppó-n** **gàbìčč-ì-yè (S)**
he hole-ACC wide- CAUS[1] -3M:PF
'He made a hole wide.'

[17] There are also unnatural sound changes that are caused by the suffixation of the causative morpheme **–i–**. For example, /**p**/ becomes a labiodental fricative as in **òòppì–** 'rot'/ **óóff–ì–** 'make rot' in Shakkinoono. The change of the sound /**p**/ into /**f**/ is not uniform in Shakkinoono. Kafinoonoo shows an opposite case as **gufi–** 'boil (int.)/ **gupp–i–** 'boil (tr.)'. There is also a case in which the glottal fricative /**h**/ is changed into the velar stop /**k**/ in Shakkinoono as in **táhì–** 'extinguish (int.)'/ **tákk–ì–** 'extinguish (tr.)'. The /**g**/ is also changed into /**k**/ in Shakkinoono as in **dóóggì–** 'disappear'/ **dóókk–ì–** 'make disappear'. But the opposite is true in Kafinoonoo as **č'akke–** 'shave'/ **č'agg–i–** 'make shave'. But, these unnatural sound changes do not form consistent patterns in both languages.

7b. **aro** **oppo-n** **gamičč-i-te (K)**
he hole-ACC wide- CAUS[1] -3M:PF
'He made a hole wide.'

In (6), the verb **gàbìnnì-/ gamini-** 'become wide' is marked by the morpheme –**i**-. The verb roots in (6) has the dental /**nn**/ at its root final positions. But in the corresponding causative verbs shown in (7) the /**nn**/ root final consonant is changed into /**čč**/ as **gàbìčč-ì-/ gamičč-i-** 'made wide'. Not all verbs in **/n/** behave this way.

The glide /**y**/ is also changed into /**jj**/ when the causative morpheme –**i**- is suffixed to an intransitive stems as shown in (8-9):

8a. **áró** **bììró** **gíyì-yè (S)**
he office enter-3M:PF
'He entered office.'

8b. **aro** **biiročč** **giyi-te (K)**
he office enter-3M:PF
'He entered office.'

9a. **áró** **tá-n** **bììró** **gííjj-ì-ỳe (S)**
he I-ACC office enter- CAUS[1] -3M:PF
'He permitted me to enter into office.'

9b. **aro** **ta-n** **biiročč** **gijj-i-te (K)**
he I-ACC office enter- CAUS[1] -3M:PF
'He permitted me to enter into office.'

The verbs **gíyì-** 'enter' and **giyi-** 'enter' shown in (8a) and (8b) respectively are intransitive counterparts of the causatives **gííjj-ì-** 'made enter' and **gijj-i-** 'made enter' shown in (9a) and (9b) respectively. In these examples, the root final glide /**y**/ is changed into the geminated palatal consonant /**jj**/. Consonant palatalization under the influence of **-i-** are shown in the following table:

Table 1: Changes of quality of root final consonants caused by causative morpheme **–i–**

Language	Non-Causative	Causative	Root Meaning
Shakkinoono	kímmì-yè	kííčč-ì-yè	cross
(Kafinoonoo	kimmi-te	kimmi-i-te	cross)
Shakkinoono	gàbìnnì-yè	gàbìčč-ì-yè	be wide
Kafinoonoo	gaminni-te	gamičč-i-te	be wide
Shakkinoono	néèt'à-yè	nééčč-ì-yè	stop
Kafinoonoo	neet'e-te	neečč-i-te	stop
Shakkinoono	éènnì-yè	dìčč-ì-yè	grow
Kafinoonoo	dič'č'i-te	dičč-i-te	grow
Shakkinoono	tííšà-yè	tííčč-ì-yè	break
Kafinoonoo	tiiša-te	tiičč-i-te	break
Shakkinoono	gíyì-yè	gíjj-ì-ỳe	enter
Kafinoonoo	giyi-te	gijj-i-te	enter
Shakkinoono	dòʔì-yè	dòjj-ì-yè	learn
Kafinoonoo	doyi-te	dojj-i-te	learn

To sum up, the causative in Shakkinoono is the morpheme –**i**-. The suffixation of the morpheme –**i**- simply derives the causative verb if it replaces the thematic vowel **a**. If a verb root already ends in **i**, as in the case of transitive verb stems, the causative morpheme –**i**- is added to the stem and consequently the vowel **i** appears to be long. In some cases the suffixation of the causative morpheme –**i**- is accompanied by a change of quality of root final consonants. The most common change of quality of root-final consonant is palatalization as shown in the above table.

4.2.3. The Morpheme –(i)ssi- and –(i)čči-

The morpheme –**issi**- in Shakkinoono and the morpheme **-ičči-** in Kafinoonoo are causative morphemes. The morpheme –**issi**- is productive in Shakkinoono while the morpheme –**–ičči-** is not in Kafinoonoo. The morpheme –**issi**- is optionally suffixed to many verbs as an alternative to **–i–** in Shakkinoono but in Kafinoonoo the morpheme –**ičči-** is rare in its distribution. The morpheme –**issi**- is borrowed from one of the neighbouring languages, most likely from Oromo. The morpheme –**ičči-** results from the influence of Oromo. Basically the morpheme –**ičči-** is equivalent to -**issi**- on the basis of the observation that the sound /**s**/ in Shakkinoono is replaced by the sound /**č**/ in Kafinoonoo in all distributions of these sounds because the sound [**s**] does not exist in Kafinoonoo (see Taddese 1999:19; Tolemariam forthcoming).

10a. **máʔó** **šááwwì-yè (S)**
food taste good-3M:PF
'Food tasted good.'

10b. maayo šaawwi-te (K)
food taste good-3M:PF
'Food tasted good.'

11a. áró máá?ó-n šáww-ìssì-yè (S)
he food-ACC taste good-CAUS-3M:PF
'He made food delicious.'

11b. aro maayo-n šaww-ičči-te (K)
he food-ACC taste good-CAUS-3M:PF
'He made food delicious.'

Verbs such as **šaáwwì-** 'taste' and **šaawwi-te** 'taste' in (10a and b) are intransitives. These verbs are **i** final verbs. The causative counterparts of these intransitive verbs are derived by the suffixation of the morpheme –**issi**- in Shakkinoono as shown in (11a) and the morpheme **-ičči**- in Kafinoonoo as shown in (11b).

The occurrence of the morpheme –**issi**- is more widespread in Shakkinoono than in Kafinoonoo because there are many causative verbs which have two alternative causative verbs in Shakkinoono. In other words, in Shakkinoono many verbs form their causative verbs either by the suffixation of the morpheme –**issi**- or the morpheme –**i**- as shown in (12):

12a. mááhóó békkà-yè (S)
leopard appear (seen)-3M:PF
'A leopard appeared.'

12b. áró mááhóó-n békk-ìssì-yè (S)
he leopard-ACC appear-CAUS-3M:PF
'He saw a leopard.'./lit., 'He made a leopard to appear.'

12c. áró mááhóó-n békk-ì-yè (S)
he leopard-ACC appear- CAUS[1] -3M:PF
'He saw a leopard.'./lit., 'He made a leopard to appear.'

Finally, the causative morpheme –**issi**- and **-ičči**- are found in frozen forms as the following instances show:

13a. áró hét't'ìssì-yè (S)
he sneez:CAUS-3M:PF
'He sneezed.'

13b. aro het't'ijji-te or hek'k'-ičči—te (K)
he sneez:CAUS-3M:PF
'He sneezed.'

14a. áró ótìssì-yè (S)
he cough:CAUS-3M:PF
'He coughed.'

14b. aro ošijji-te (K)
he cough:CAUS-3M:PF
'He coughed.'

As shown in (13a) and (14a) the morpheme –**issi**- is found as frozen morphemes on roots ***het't'**- 'to sneeze' and ***ot**- 'to cough'. In Kafinoonoo, as shown in (13b), the form –**ijji**- or **–ičči–** could be found as frozen morphemes on the non-existing base ***het't'**- 'to sneeze'. But in (14b) it is –**ijji**- that is found on ***oš**- 'cough'.

4.3. Forms of –a-

The form **a** can appear on intransitive and transitive verb stems as thematic vowel. In some transitive verbs, this thematic vowel also contrasts with the thematic vowel **i**. Moreover, **–a–** is used as a derivational morpheme.

First of all, as we have seen earlier, **a** (**e** in K.) is used as a thematic vowel as shown in (15-16):

15. áró tókkárà-yè (S)
he sleep-3M:PF
'A boy slept.'

16. aro tokkare-te (K)
he sleep-3M:PF
'A boy slept.'

Second, **–i–** is in opposition with **–a–** in some transitive verbs where the verb in **i** is causative and the in **a** is not. Such oppositions involve 'lend'-'borrow' or 'sell'-'buy' (see Chapter 5). In (17a) the verb **kémà–** 'buy' is non-derived while in (17b) **kém–ì–** 'sell' is a derived causative verb.

17a. áró bágó-n kémà-yè (S)
he sheep-ACC buy-3M:PF
'He bought a sheep.'

17b. áró bágó-n kém-ì-yè (S)
he sheep-ACC sell-3M:PF
'He sold a sheep.'

Third, **-a-** also derives passive verbs. In Kafinoonoo, if a verb stem has the **i** thematic vowel, then, the passive is formed by replacing the **i** with the **e** as shown below:

18a. **aro** **gindo-n** **kut'i-te (K)**
he tree-ACC cut-3M:PF
'He cut a tree.'

18b. **gindo kut'-e-te (K)**
tree cut-MID/PASS-3M:PF
'A tree was cut.'

(18a) is a transitive structure where the verb stem ends with **i** while (18b) is passive structure where the passive morpheme **-e-** replaces the **i**; and in the mean time the argument structure is decreased.

If the verb stem is **e** final, then the passive is derived by adding one more **-e-** as shown below:

19a. **aro** **bag-n** **keme-te (K)**
he sheep-ACC buy-3M:PF
'He bought a sheep.'

19b. **bago** **keme-e-te (K)**
sheep buy-MID/PASS-3M:PF
'A sheep was bought.'

In Shakkinoono, whether or not a verb is **i** or **a** final, the passive is derived from **-i-** final (see Chapter 8). In such cases the **-a-** follows the **-i-**; and in the mean time, the epenthetic semivowel **-y-** is inserted between **-i-** and **-a-**.

20a. **náámí** **gíndó-n** **k'úddì-yè (S)**
boy tree-ACC cut-3M:PF
'A boy cut a tree.'

20b. **gíndó** **náámí-nàà** **k'úddì<y>à-ỳe (S)**
tree boy-INST cut<EPN>MID/PASS-3M:PF
'A tree was cut by a boy.'

20c. **áró** **tókkárà-yè (S)**
he sleep-3M:PF
'A boy slept.'

20d. tókkárì<y>à-ỳe (S)
sleep<EPN>MID/PASS-3M:PF
'Sleeping was had.'

(20a) is a transitive structure where the verb is **i** final. (20b) is passive structure where the passive marking is suffixed to the **i** final stem. The agentive subject in (20a) is expressed as optional oblique phrase in (20b). (20c) is an intransitive structure and the verb is **a** final while (20d) is a passive structure of (20c) where the verb is **i** final.

4.4. Are i and a Thematic Root Vowels or Derivational Morphemes?

Problems related to these vowels were first identified by Leslau (1958: 144) as he says, "A feature for which I found no satisfactory explanation concerns the final vowel –**i**- or –**a**. One would be inclined to look for the transitive or intransitive meaning connected with the form of the final vowel, but in each of the classes with final –**a** or –**i** there are transitive and intransitive verbs." Taddese (1999) also observes the same problem. He says that in all persons except the first person singular, the stem of the present and the past tense has two basic stem-final vowels **a**- and **i**. Taddese (1997: 37) says that these stem final vowels do not relate to any semantic function, "Theme vowels do not seem to serve any semantic function; it appears that they are just inflectional class markers..."

In our analysis we observed that **i** and **a** are thematic vowels as well as derivational morphemes. They are both thematic vowels because we find them as parts of intransitive and transitive verb stems as shown in the above examples. The morpheme **–i** is used as a causative morpheme under two situations: one, when it contrasts with the thematic vowel **a**; and two, when it is suffixed to **i** final stems. In both cases it derives causative verbs. The form **–a** is also a derivational morpheme because of three reasons. One, particularly in Kafinoonoo, it contrasts with the **i** thematic vowel; and two, it is suffixed to the **e** final stem. In both cases it derives the passive verb. Three, in Shakkinoono, the **–a** is suffixed to the **i** stem to derive the passive. Thus, we conclude that **i** and **a** are both thematic vowels in some cases and derivational morphemes in others.

4.5. Structures of the Causative

This section deals with structures of single, double, intransitive causatives.

4.5.1. Single Causatives

In this part we treat morphological causatives in which the causative morpheme is attached to the verb root of intransitive and transitive verbs. In Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo causative morphemes are suffixed to verb roots of intransitive verbs to derive a transitive one as shown below:

21a. **náʔé** **wóčˈčˈà-hànè (S)**
girl run-3F:PF
'A girl ran.'

21b. **bušee** **wočˈčˈe-tane (K)**
girl run-3F:PF
'A girl ran.'

22a. **áró** **náʔé-n** **wóčˈčˈ-ì-yè (S)**
he girl-ACC run- CAUS[1] -3M:PF
'He made a girl run.'

22b. **aro** **bušee -n** **wočˈčˈ-i-te (K)**
he girl-ACC run- CAUS[1] -3M:PF
'He made a girl run.'

The verb **wóčˈčˈà-hànè** 'she ran' and **wočˈčˈe-tane** 'she ran' shown in (21a) and (21b) are intransitives; thus the corresponding structures are also intransitive. In (21a) **náʔé** 'a girl' and in (21b) **bušee** 'a girl' are agentive subjects. In (21a) and (21b) the intransitive verbs are **a** and **e** finals respectively. (22a) and (22b) are the corresponding causative structures of (21a) and (21b) respectively. In (22a) **áró** 'he' is the causer while **náʔé-n** 'a girl' is the causee. The nominal **náʔé** 'a girl' is marked for accusative case in the causative structure to show that it is a causee. The causative verb is also marked by the causative morpheme –**ì** that replaces **a**. The same causativization process holds for (22b): **aro** 'he' is a causer and **bušee-n** 'a girl' is a causee that is marked for accusative case. The causative marking morpheme –-**i**- is also attached to the verb root **wočˈčˈ**- 'to run'.

Non-control subjects also behave likewise as shown in (23-24):

23a. **mákíinó** **wókkì-ỳe (S)**
car move-3M:PF
'A car moved away.'

23b. **kameloo** **wokki-te (K)**
car move-3M:PF
'A car moved away.'

24a. **áró** **mákíínó-n** **wókkì-ì-hè (S)**
he car-ACC move- CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'He made a car move away.'

24b. **aro** **kameloo-n** **wokki-i-te (K)**
he car- ACC move- CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'He made a car move away.'

(23a) and (23b) are intransitive structures. In (23a) **mákíinó** 'a car' and in (23b) **kamelo** 'a car' are non-control subjects. (24a) and (24b) are the corresponding causative structures of (23a) and (23b) respectively. The non-control subjects **mákíinó** 'a car' and **kamelo** 'a car' in (23a) and (23b) became objects in (24a) and (24b) and are marked for accusative case as **mákíinó-n** 'a car' and **kameloo-n** 'a car' to show that they are causees. In both cases the morpheme –**i**- became long to show that the causative morpheme –**i**- is added to the theme vowel **i**.

It is also the case that causative morphemes are attached to transitive verb stems to derive causative structures. The causee can be expressed either as a direct object or as an oblique object of the causative structure as shown in the following instances:

25a. **áró** **m̀it'ò-n** **kùt't'í-yè (S)**
he tree-ACC cut-3M:PF
'He cut a tree.'

25b. **aro** **mit'o-n** **kut't'i-te (K)**
he tree-ACC cut-3M:PF
'He cut a tree.'

26a. **áré** **áró-n** **m̀it'ò-n** **kút't'í-ì-(h)ànè (S)**
she he-ACC tree-ACC cut- CAUS[1]-3F:PF
'She made him cut a tree.'

26b. **are** **aro-n** **mit'o-n** **kut't'i-i-tane (K)**
she he-ACC tree-ACC cut- CAUS[1]-3F:PF
'She made him cut a tree.'

27a. **áré** **(áró -nàà)** **m̀it'ò-n** **kút't'í-ì-(h)ànè (S)**
she he-INST tree-ACC cut- CAUS[1]-3F:PF
'She had a tree cut by him.'

27b. **are** **(aro-naa)** **mit'o-n** **kut't'i-i-tane (K)**
she he-INST tree-ACC cut- CAUS[1]-3F:PF
'She had a tree cut by him.'

(25) shows a transitive structure in which **áró** 'he' is an agentive subject; **m̀it'ò-n** 'a tree' is a patient and **kùt't'-í- / kut't'-i-** 'cut' is a transitive verb. (26) and (27) show the causative counterpart of (25). But (26) and (27) differ from one another with regard to the expression of the causee. In (26) the causee and the patient are expressed in the same way since both are marked for accusative case, but in (27) the same causee is expressed as an oblique object.

4.5.2. Indirect Causatives

There is only one way indirect causatives are formed in Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo. No matter what first causative is used, the second causative is always **-i**, never **-issi**, nor any other causative morpheme.

As far as the causative marking –**issi**- is concerned, it is productive in Shakkinoono while less so in Kafinoonoo but the second indirect causative is always –**i**- as shown in the following instances:

28a. **áró** **mááhóó-n** **békk-ìssì-yè (S)**
he leopard-ACC appear-CAUS-3M:PF
'He saw a leopard.'

28b **áró** **mááhóó-n** **tá-s** **békk-ìssì-ì-hè (S)**
he leopard-ACC I-DAT appear-CAUS- CAUS[1] -3M:PF
'He showed me a leopard.'

29a. **aro** **maahoo-n** **ta-čč** **bekk-i-i-te (K)**
he leopard-ACC I-DAT appear- CAUS[1] - CAUS[1] -3M:PF
'He showed me a leopard.'

29b. ***bekk-ičči-te (K)**
appear-CAUS-3M:PF
'made show'

In (28a) **áró** 'he' is the expriencer while **mááhóó-n** 'a leopard' is the direct object. The verb **békk**- 'appear' is marked by the causative morpheme –**issi**-. In (28b) **áró** 'he' is the causer while **tá-s** 'to me' is the causee of the double causative structure. The verb **békk-ìssì-ì**- 'make to show' is double causative. In this verb the first causative morpheme is –**issi**- while the second causative morpheme is –**i**-.

Different from Shakkinoono, Kafinoonoo does not permit the suffixation of the causative morpheme –**ičči**- in this particular example and consequently Kafinoonoo forms double causative by adding one more –**i**- as in **bekk-i-i-** 'make show'; in Shakkinoonoo, the suffixation of –**issi**- to verb roots is optionally permitted.

The second type of indirect causative concerns verbs which have altered root final consonants under the influence of the addition of the causative morpheme –**i**-. For example, the indirect causative form **tiičč-i-i-** 'make break' is derived from **tiičč-i-** 'make break' the base form of which is **tííšà-** 'break (int.)' in Shakkinoono, the same case is true for Kafinoonoo.

The third type of indirect causative form concerns the verb **ùssì-** 'drink' in Shakkinoono. The form **ùssì-** is the transitive form. The simple causative form of this verb is derived by the suffixation of the morpheme –**yi**- to the stem verb **ùssì**, hence **ùss-ì-yì-** 'make drink'. The double causative form of the verb is derived by simply suffixing one morpheme –**i**- to the stem of the verb with –**yi**; hence the verb **ùssì-yì-ì-** 'get someone to make drink'.

Fourth, an interesting complex lexeme is **tahi** 'extinguish (int.)'. The single causative of **tahi-i** has indirect meaning, as if it were a double causative. This is presumably related to the fact that there is a competing causative verb **takki** for which the subject/causer is 'water' as shown below:

30a. **k'áák'k'ò** **táhì-yè (S)**
fire extinguish-3M:PF
'Fire extinguished.'

30b. **k'aak'k'o** **tahi-te (K)**
fire extinguish-3M:PF
'Fire extinguished.'

31a. **áác'c'ó** **k'áák'k'ò-n** **tákk-ì-yè (S)**
water fire-ACC extinguish- CAUS[1] -3M:PF
'Water extinguished fire.'

31b. **aač'č'o** **k'aak'k'o-n** **takk-i-te (K)**
water fire-ACC extinguish- CAUS[1] -3M:PF
'Water extinguished fire.'

32. **ášó** **áró-nàà** **k'áák'k'ò-n** **táhì-ì-yè (S)**
man he-INST fire-ACC extinguish-CAUS[1] -3M:PF
'A man made him to extinguish fire.'

As shown in (30a) **táhì-** 'be extinguished' is an intransitive verb. The transitive form of this verb is **tákk-ì-** 'extinguished' which is formed by changing the root final consonant /**h**/ into /**k**/. The double causative form of the verb **tákk-ì-** 'extinguished' is **táhì-ì-** 'made someone extinguish fire'. The form of the double causative is the same as the intransitive form except that in the double causative form we observe long /**i**/.

The fifth type of indirect causative verb form is the case where the root vowels show change in the course of causative derivation as shown below:

33a. **mááyó** **šààk'k'í-yè (S)**
food smell-3M:PF
'Food smelled.'

33b. **maayo** **šaak'k'i-te (K)**
food smell-3M:PF
'Food smelled.'

34a. **áró** **mááyó-n** **šîik'k'-à-yè (S)**
he food-ACC smell-MID/PASS-3M:PF
'He smelled food.'

34b. **aro** **maayo-n** **šiik'k'-a-te (K)**
he food-ACC smell-MID/PASS-3M:PF
'He smelled food.'

35a. **áró** **áró-nàà** **mááyó-n** **šààk'k'ì-ì-hè (S)**
he he-INST food-ACC smell- CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'He got food smelled by him.'

35b. **aro** **aro-naa** **maayo-n** **šaak'k'i-i-te (K)**
he he-INST food-ACC smell- CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'He got food smelled by him.'

(33a) is an intransitive structure; and in this structure **mááyó** 'food' is the subject while **šààk'k'-í** 'smelled' is a verb. The vowel /**a**:/ is preceded by the sound /**š**/ and is preceding the geminated sound /**k'**/ in the root; the verb stem is –**i**- final. (34a) is the causative counterpart of (33a). In this structure **áró** 'he' is the subject, **mááyó-n** 'food' is an object and **šîik'k'-à-** 'made smell' is the causative verb. The verb root of **šîik'k'-à-** 'smell (transitive)', as compared to the verb **šaak'k'i-** 'smell (intransitive)', has a long high vowel, /**i**:/ in the root. Meanwhile, the theme vowel –**i**- is replaced by **-a-**. The double causative verb of **šîik'k'-à-** 'made smell' is formed not on the stem **šîik'k'-à-** but on the stem **šààk'k'í-**; hence, **šààk'k'ì-ì-** 'got something smelled by someone' as shown in (35a). There is a similarity of the least examples in that we have single causatives for indirect causative meaning but parallel to another related causative.

4.5.3. Frozen Causatives?

In (36-37) we observe remarkable type of causative verbs. These instances are remarkable in the sense that the causativaization processes failed to change the grammatical functions of the corresponding subjects. In fact the causative morpheme –**issi**- is not productively added to a non-causative base but appears frozen. Similarly the causative morpheme **-ijji**- in (36b) and (37b) and –-**ičči**- in (36b) are observed in frozen forms. Although these causative morphemes are present, the structures of the corresponding sentences are intransitives.

36a. áró hét't'ìssì-yè (S)
he sneeze:CAUS-3M:PF
'He sneezed.'

36b. aro het't'ijji-te /hek'k'-ičči-te (K)
he sneeze:CAUS-3M:PF
'He sneezed.'

37a. áró ótìssì-yè (S)
he cough:CAUS-3M:PF
'He coughed.'

37b. aro ošijji-te (K)
he cough:CAUS-3M:PF
'He coughed.'

4.6. The Semantics of Shakkinoono Causatives

In Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo, only direct and indirect causations are identified morphologically. Possible senses of these morphological causatives include deliberate, accidental, permissive and declarative. Direct causations are expressed by single causative morpheme as shown below:

38a. áró náámí-n tókkár-ì-yè (S)
he boy-ACC sleep- CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'He made a boy sleep.'

38b. aro bušoo -n tokkar-i-te (K)
he boy-ACC sleep- CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'He made a boy sleep.'

39a. áró áré-n tèèk'k'-ì- yè (S)
he she-ACC lay down- CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'He made her lay down.'

39b. **aro** **are-n** **teek'k'-i-te (K)**
he she-ACC lay down- CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'He made her lay down.'

In (38a) and (38b) **áró** 'he' is the causer. In (38a) and (38b) **nàámí-n** 'a boy' and **bušoo -n** 'a boy' are causees. Similarly, in (39a) **áró** 'he' is the causer while **áré-n** 'she' is the causee; the same case is true for (39b). As we have seen earlier (see 4.2) verb stems such as **tókkárà-** 'laugh' and **tèèk'k'à-** 'lay down' are intransitives. In the causative verb the thematic vowel **a** is replaced by the causative marking –**i-**. As shown above, in (38) and (39), the causer has physical contact with causees and consequently the corresponding causative events are directly controlled by the causer. In other words, in (38) and (39), there are physical interactions, which are controlled by the causer, between the causer and the causees. Such physical interaction brought about corresponding causative events.

As compared to direct causatives, indirect causatives are expressed by double causatives in various ways. The most common combinations are **-ìssì-ì-** CAUS + CAUS[1] and **-i-i-** -CAUS[1]-CAUS[1] (40) or by thematic vowel followed by causative morpheme (41)

40a. **áró** **mááhóó-n** **tá-s** **békk-ìssì-ì-yè (S)**
he leopard-ACC I-DAT appear-CAUS- CAUS[1] -3M:PF
'He showed me a leopard.'

40b. **aro** **maahoo-n** **ta-čč** **bekk-i-i-te (K)**
he leopard-ACC I-DAT appear-CAUS[1]-CAUS[1]-3M:PF
'He showed me a leopard.'

41a. **áré** **áró-n** **m̀it'ò-n** **kút'í-ì-(h)ànè (S)**
she he-ACC tree-ACC cut-CAUS[1]- 3F:PF
'She made him cut a tree.'

41b. **are** **aro-n** **mit'o-n** **kut't'i-i-tane (K)**
she he-ACC tree-ACC cut- CAUS[1]-3F:PF
'She made him cut a tree.'

In (40) the causer is **áró** 'he' and the causee is **tá-s**[18] 'to me'; both the causer and the causee are expriencers. In such event it is the causee that controls the causative event. It is up to the causee to see **mahoo-n** 'a leopard' which is the object of the caused event in the sense that the causer cannot control the cognitive ability of the causee. The causer cannot directly control the caused event. It is only indirectly that

[18] It has to be noted that in this instance the causee is not marked for accusative case but for dative case.

the causer controls the caused event, i.e. by showing the object, **mahoo** 'a leopard', to the causee. In (41) **áré** 'she' is the causer and **áró-n** 'he' is the causee. In this instance, the caused event is directly controlled by the causee because it is the causee that directly involves in the act of cutting a tree. The causer controls this event indirectly by ordering or giving direction to the cause; hence, an indirect causative event.

Causations such as deliberate, accidental, comitative, permissive, coercive and declarative are not distinguished structurally but possible senses of the causative. For instance, deliberate causation such as **šúùn-ì-** 'make work', **kém-ì-** 'make buy' are expressed by **-i-**. Accidental causatives are often expressed by **-i-** stem + CAUS[1] as in **šùùk'k'ì-ì-** 'make dry' and **šíní-ì-** 'make melt'. In order to express coercive causation an adverb **gìddó-nàà** 'by force' is added to a deliberate causation. Comitative causation has a different structure; yet, the causative verb is expressed by CAUS[1] as in **káássì-ì-** 'make speak' and **mííč'č'ì-ì-** 'make laugh'. Permissive causation is also expressed by CAUS[1] as in **bèšì-ì-** 'make pass'.

Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo have **i** and **a** as thematic root final vowels which form stems of roughly but not exclusively intransitive and transitive verbs respectively. These languages also have two derivational morphemes for the causative and the middle/passive. The causative is marked by **-i-** accompanied by addition of argument structure as a manifestation of causative structure. The passive is derived by the morpheme **-a-** accompanied by argument reduction as a demonstration of passive structure. In our discussion we have concluded that **i** and **a** are both thematic vowels and derivational morphemes. In Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo, the suffixation of the causative morpheme **i** may be accompanied by change of quality of root final consonants the most common of which is palatalization. Causativization is formed not only by the morpheme **-i-** but also by the loan morpheme **-issi- (S) / -ičči- (K)**. In Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo single and double causatives are productive.

5. The Causative in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic

The first issue of this chapter is the semantics of the causative. Causative verbs are verbs that are derived with the effect that an event is seen as brought about by a causer and this causer is expressed as subject (see Chapter 2). But, such a definition does not account for the semantics of some causative derived verbs. In Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages impersonal causatives are common. These are structures without a causer. There are also causative derived verbs which are not easily understood in terms of causer-caused relation. For example, in Shakkinoono 'to sell' is causative while 'to buy' is non-causative. In order to explain such combinations, we need to search for underlying meaning of the causative. Thus, the semantic section attempts to address such problems in terms of mental separation of the cause and the caused event.

Secondly, we focus on the non-causative/causative parallel derivations (see table 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 below). Non-causative/causative oppositions are also basis for subsequent discussions of types of morphological causatives in the sense they are used as tools of identifying single and double causatives.

Thirdly, we argue that causative affixes are characterized by a strong tendency of argument addition. We also discuss impersonal causatives and de-ideophonic causatives.

The following table shows that the morphological causative is widely distributed among the Afro-Asiatic languages of Ethiopia.

Table 1: Instances of derivational oppositions (see also 5.2) in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic[19]

Language	Non-Causative	Causative	Root meaning
Afar	gar-	gar-is-	go
Amharic	mät't'-	a-mät't'-	come
Awingi	xur-	xur-ts -	sleep
Benchnoon[20]	wòt'-	wòt'-s	fall
Endegañ[21]	k'ännär-	a-k'ännär-	be light
Gamo[22]	yep-	yep-us-	cry
Hadiya	diriir-	diriir-ss-	sleep
Kambaata	dagud-	dagud-sišš-	run

[19] The source of the data is my own field work unless it is indicated.
[20] Rapold 2006: 286
[21] Eyasu 2003: 92
[22] Selamawit 2004: 86

Language	Non-Causative	Causative	Root meaning
Maale[23]	burk'-	burk'-is-	boil
Masqan[24]	k'ämmäs-	a-k'ämmäs-	taste
Oromo	č'ab-	č'ab-s-	break
Oyda[25]	šamp-	šamp-iz-	rest
Sakkinoono	šáwwì-	šáww-ìssì-	taste
Sidama	dod-	dod-is-	run
Silt'i[26]	räkäsä-	a-räkäsä-	be cheap
Tigrinya	harris-	a-harris-	sleep
Yem[27]	teg-	teg-s-	call

The chapter is divided into five sections. 5.1. discusses the semantics of the causative which is followed by the discussion of causative-non-causative oppositions in 5.2. 5.3. investigates argument structures of the causatives. 5.4. and 5.5. investigate issues of impersonal and de-ideophonic causatives respectively.

5.1. The Semantic Typology of the Causer/Causee

In this section, first, I discuss types of causations which are morphologically relevant; second, I investigate the underlying semantics of causatives with respect to the relation between the causer and the causee.

In Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages only four types of causations, namely assistive, similative, direct and indirect, are grammatically distinctly marked. Other types of causation such as accidental, coercive, comitative, control, deliberate, permissive, etc., are all expressed by the common causative derivation.

Morphologically relevant or not, the question is if all types of causations are linked to one underlying meaning. Kulikov (2001: 886) notes general definition of causatives "as verbs which refer to a causative situation, that is, to a causal relation between two events, one of which (P_2) is believed by the speaker to be caused by another P_1)". This definition focuses on the general meaning of the causative situations. In my analysis, there is one additional aspect of the underlying semantics of the causative and that aspect is that there is separation between the causing event and the caused event and hence between the causer and the other participant. This separation is basically a mental separation, not separation in space. The essence of the causative is to make a distinction between a causer and a caused event and that is

[23] Azeb 2001: 95-99
[24] Getu 1989: 36
[25] Abraham 2003: 42
[26] Gutt and Husein 1997
[27] Hirut 1993: 26

why the causer needs to be expressed as a separate argument (subject) and in that sense the causative is the opposite of the middle. The causative operation is the opposite of the middle operation which focuses on the lack of separation between the participants and views the event as one whole.

In many cases the causative verb contrasts with the middle verb in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. In examples (1) and (2) the non-causative verb contrasts with the causative verb not only formally but also semantically.

Kafinoonoo

1a. **aro** **bago-n** **kem-i-te (K)**
he sheep-ACC buy-CAUS-3M:PF
'He sold a sheep.'

1b. **aro** **bago-n** **kem-e-te (K)**
he sheep-ACC buy-MID-3M:PF
'He bought a sheep.'

Amharic

2a. **ïssu** **birr** **a-bäddär-ä**
he money CAUS- borrow-3M:PF
'He lent money (to someone).'

2b. **ïssu** **birr** **tä-bäddär-ä**
he money MID- borrow-3M:PF
'He borrowed money (from someone).'

Both (1) and (2) are transitive events. In (1) **aro** 'he' is the agentive subject while **bago-n** 'a sheep' is a patient. Similarly, in (2) **ïssu** 'he' is the agentive subject while **birr** 'money' is the patient. (1a) and (1b) are different from each other because the verb in (1a) is marked by the causative morpheme while the verb in (1b) is marked by the middle morpheme. Similarly, (2a) is the causative verb while (2b) is the middle verb. Semantically, there is basic difference between (1a) and (1b). In (1b) the agentive subject is linked with the patient because the agent possesses the patient. But, in (1a) the agentive subject separates himself from the patient. Similarly in (2a) the agentive subject separates himself from the patient while in (2b) the agentive subject links himself/herself to the patient.

The separation meaning could be extended to permissive causatives. In permissive causatives the causer is separate from the causee; and the causer negates her/his power of obstruction of the caused event. For instance, in Oromo a transitive verb **ɗoww-** 'obstruct' forms an opposition with a permissive causative **gaɗiis-** 'let go'.

The core meaning of this causative verb, at least in the following context, is indifference:

3.	**inni**	**hintala-isaa**	**gara**	**mana**	**barumsaa-tti**	**gaḍiis-e**
	he:NOM	daughter-his	LOC	house	school-LOC	free:CAUS-3M:PF

'He let his daughter to go to school.' or 'He left his daughter to go to school.'

In (3) **inni** 'he' is the causer while **hintala isaa** 'his daughter' is a causee. The verb **gaḍiise** 'he let go' is a typical permissive causative. Yet, in this permissive causative structure one may not easily understand whether the causer or the causee is the primary source of the causative events because the same structure could be used if the daughter is the primary source of the causative event. The main point is that this causative event can be viewed from different outlooks. In Oromo tradition women are not in charge of outdoor duties as men do. Until recently, for this reason, girls were not permitted to go to school with boys. Nowadays because of government and international pressures girls are permitted to go to school although there are resistances from the family. (3) shows that a father overcomes his power of denying a girl's education; hence, assistive causative.

The following permissive causatives from Amharic show the same case from a different angle as in (4) and (5):

4.	**ïssu**	**mämhïr-u-n**	**as-fäk'k'äd-ä**
	he	teacher-DEF-ACC	CAUS-permit-3M:PF

'He got the teacher give him permission.'

5.	**ïssu**	**wädä**	**biro-w**	**(ine-n)**	**as-gäbb-añ**
	he	LOC	office-DEF	me-ACC	CAUS-enter-1S:PF

'He let me enter the office.'

In (4) **issu** 'he' is the source for the causative event while **mämhïr-u-n** 'the teacher' is the participant whose role is only restricted to permitting or obstructing the causative event. In this case the source of change for the event, the subject, is the causee while the participant who permits is the object. But in (5) the source of change for the causative event could be either the causee or the participant who permits the change of the causative event. In both cases the syntactic roles of the external causers are questionable. The external causers are subjects; and the semantic role of the subjects oscillates between causer and causee. Yet, the basic issue is not whether or not a participant is a causer or a causee. The basic issue of these causative events is similar; there is mental separation. In these examples the causers and the causees are relational opposites. In (4) the causer is a student while the causee is a teacher. In (5) the causer is an officer and a causee is an employee or a customer. The relation between a student and a teacher or an officer and an employee or a customer is considered to be high and low; there is mental separation

because of their respective positions. In events such as (4) and (5) recognizing such mental separation brings about the causative event.

Similative causatives also justify the separation of the causative event as shown below:

6a. **inni** **soba** **ɗugaa** **fakk-eess-e**
he:NOM false true appear-CAUS-3M:PF
'He spoke false to appear true.'

6b. **sob-ni** **ɗugaa** **fakk-at-e**
false-NOM true appear-MID-3M:PF
'False appeared to be true.'

(6a) is a causative event while (6b) is a middle event. In (6a) **inni** 'he' is the causer while **soba** 'false' is a patient; the verb **fakk**-'to appear' is marked for the causative. By contrast, in (6b) **sob-ni** 'false' is a non-agentive subject and the verb **fakk**- 'to appear' is marked for the middle. Semantically, in (6b) something false is identified with something true so that the listener is confused. But, in (6a) the agentive subject has a separate or different level of understanding from the listener; and this causative event is about connection of such separate participants. (6a) shows that the agent separates himself from the listener to show that the agent is at a higher level of understanding than the listener. Because of such separation, the agentive subject confuses the listener intentionally.

Direct causatives and indirect causatives show meanings of separation of causer and caused event. In most cases causative events which are derived from intransitive verbs are direct causatives as shown below from Oromo:

7. **išee-n** **muč'aa** **raff-is-te**
she-NOM baby. ABS sleep-CAUS-3F:PF
'She made a baby sleep.'

In (7) **išee-n** 'she' is the causer while **muč'aa** 'baby' is a causee. If (7) is changed into double causative we observe a different instance of separation of causer and second causer and caused event as in (8):

8. **gurbaa-n** **išee-tiin** **muč'aa** **raff-is-iis-e**
boy-NOM she-INST baby.ABS sleep-CAUS-CAUS-3F:PF
'The boy had a baby slept by her.'

In (8) we observe a double causative structure which is derived from (7). In this causative structure the causer **gurbaa-n** 'the boy' has direct contact neither with the causee **išee-tiin** 'by her' nor with the object **muč'aa** 'a baby' in bringing the causative event. The causation is an indirect one. In this indirect causative we observe two

levels of separations of events: one, the object of the causative event is still at lower level to be affected by the causee. Two, the causer is separate from the causee because the causer gives an order while the causee receives. In other words, the causer is at a more powerful level than the causee; and the causee is at higher level than the object of the causative event.

In assistive causatives the causer and the causee are separate in the sense that one participant is strong and power provider while the other is weak and power receiver as shown below:

Amharic:

9. **issu (inee-n) dabbo- u-n a-tä-bal-a-ññ (a-bbal-a-ññ)**
he I-ACC bread-DEF-ACC CAUS-MID-eat-3M:PF-1SO
'He helped me eat the bread or He accompanied me eat the bread'

Tigrinya:

10. **nissuu kïdaan a-tä-gaz-uu-nni (a-ggaz-uu-nni)**
he-NOM clothes CAUS-MID-buy-3M:PF-1SO
'He helped me buy clothes.'

Oromo:

11. **Gaarii-n uffannaa na bit-ačč-iis-e**
Gaarii -NOM clothes me buy-MID-CAUS-3M:PF
'Gari assisted me in buying clothes for myself.'/ lit., 'Gari made me buy clothes for myself.'

In (9) **a-tä-falläg-ä-ññ** 'he helped me find' is an assistive causative verb **mäs'af** 'book' being an object of the transitive event. The causer is **issu** 'he' and the causee is **inee-n** 'me'. In this example, the causee knows that the causer is different from the causee mainly because the causer is not in need of eating bread in which the causee is interested. The acceptance of such difference from both sides creates an assistive causative such as shown in (9). Similarly, in (10) and (11) the causer and the causee participants differ from each other simply because the causer has more experience than the causee; and the recognition of such difference creates an assistive causative. In assistive causatives the causee is always powerless and the causer is always power provider; the causative event builds upon such differences.

As shown in the above examples assistive causatives are marked by CAUS + MID in the case of Amharic and Tigrinya and by MID + CAUS in the case of Oromo. Why is the assistive marked by these two semantically different morphemes, and what is the semantic effect on the causer? Here, there are two forces on action: the force that unites and the force that separates participants; the causative separates the

causer form the causee while the middle unites the causer and the causee. When these two forces work together an assistive causative is created. This means that the separation factor is balanced with the unity factor; thus, the semantic effect is that, in assistive causatives of such kind, the gap of separation between the causer and the causee is narrowed down. In Amharic and Oromo when a causative verb is derived from 'to be ill', the meaning of the causative verb is not 'to cause to be ill'; rather it means 'to nurse. In Amharic the verb **t-ammäm-** 'to be ill' is non-causative counterpart of the causative verb **as-t-ammäm-** 'to nurse'. Similarly, in Oromo the verb **ɗukkubs-at-** 'to be ill' is non-causative member; and **ɗukkubs-ačč-iis-** 'to nurse' is a causative member. Because of semantic balance of MID + CAUS or CAUS + MID, the meanings of causative members are assistive which means that both participants work together about (hence against) illiness.

Intransitive causatives are seemingly problematic since they do not increase the number of syntactic arguments. Yet they do involve two events, the causer event and the caused event and semantically a causer is added. In intransitive causatives such as **aläk'k'äs-** 'cry' in Amharic an instigation is added to a nominal base (see Chapter 3) while in intransitives such as **aräffäd-** 'be late (for human being)' agentivity is added to a non-agentive intransitive verb **räffäd-** 'be late (for time)'.

There are also intransitive verbs with frozen causative morphology for which the semantics is not clear (see Chapter 2 and 3). Such problematic cases could be approached in terms of the separation or difference in meaning of the causative event in the sense that intransitive causatives show unnatural or unusual events from the observer point of view. Let us take the verb **hok'k'is-** 'to vomit (for adult)' in Oromo. From the observer point of view such action is unusual and different from normal behaviour of a human being. Because such action is different and abnormal the observer does not accept it; this means that the observer separate unusal activities from common activities mentally. Similarly, the intransitive causative **k'at'is-** 'to go slowly and cautiously' in Oromo is unusual for the observer. Such action is different from normal walking; it shows strange motion. In Oromo, intransitive causatives such as **barris-e** 'it flew suddenly' and **k'orop'p'is-e** 'it jumped' have similar interpretation. Similarly, weather verbs such as **jandis-** 'to rain heavily' in Oromo and **asgämggäm-** 'to come in heavy rain' in Amharic show strange or unusual events from the observer point of view.

The semantics of separation of causative events is elaborated in terms of causative-middle oppositions. The relation of the causer and the causee are contrasted to the participants of middle events. While in middle evens the participants form unity, in causative events the causer and the causee form separation. There is mental separation of the causer and the causee.

5.2. Causative / Non-Causative Oppositions

The discussion of causative-middle oppositions is important for three reasons: first, the causative-middle opposition provides the simplest method of formal differentiation between causative verbs and non-causative verbs. Second, on the basis of such contrast, it is possible to differentiate between types of morphological causatives and periphrastic causatives. Third, such causative-non-causative oppositions serve as a basis for a semantic typology of causative events as shown above. Nedyalkov and Silnitsky (1973: 2) identify three types of causative-non-causative oppositions: the first one is directed or derivational opposition. In this type of derivation there is a derivational morpheme which is attached to the derived member of the opposition as in **a-mät't'-** 'bring' which is derived from **mät't'-** 'come' in Amharic (see also table 1 above). The second one is non-directed opposition. In this type of opposition there are derivational morphemes which are affixed to causative and non-causative members. The third one is suppletive opposition. In suppletive opposition there are no derivational morphemes for both the causative and the non-causative member are underived verbs (see 5.2.2.). I focus here only on non-directed oppositions.

5.2.1. Non-Directed Oppositions

Non-directed oppositions are of two types (Nedyalkov and Silnitsky 1973: 2): conversive and correlative. Conversive correlation is subdivided into paradigmatic and syntagmatic opposition which are not relevant for our discussion. Correlative opposition is further subdivided into two types: correlative affixal opposition and correlative root oppositions. In correlative affixal opposition the causative and the middle members are differentiated not by their partial difference of their root but by their derivational morphemes as shown in the following table:

Table 2: Instances of Correlative affixal opposition in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic

Language	Middle	Causative	Root meaning
Amharic	täns'äbarräk'-	ans'äbarräk'-	glitter
Awingi	sanx-ut-	sanx-uts-	white
Benchnoon[28]	gám-t'	gám-s	tire
Dorze	ufay-ett-	ufay-s-	enjoy
Hadiya	t'op'-ak'k'-	t'op'-is-	jump
Kambaata	šam-ak'k'-	šam-š-	decay
Oromo	gudd-at-	gudd-is-	big
Sakkinoono	wóč'č'-à	wóč'č'-ì-	run
Sidama	hut'-ir-	hut'-siis-	shiver
Silt'i[29]	tä-mraakäk-	at-mraakäk-	distress
Tigrinya	tä-ħägguys-	a-ħägguys-	happy

In many Cushitic languages we observe many instances of correlative affixal oppositions. With regard to correlative affixal opposition Oromo has typical examples. In Oromo de-adjectival causatives/middles are productive correlative affixal oppositions as shown in the following table:

Table 3: De-adjectival middle-causative oppositions in Oromo

Middle	Causative	Root meaning
diim-at	diim-ess-	red
add-aat	add-eess	white
t'inn-aat	t'inn-eess	small
fag-aat	fag-eess	far
ɗiy-aat	ɗiy-eess	near
gudd-at	gudd-is	big
balʔ-at	balʔ-is	wide
ɗip'p'-at	ɗip'p'-is	narrow

But, in some other Cushitic languages such as Hadiya de-adjectival causatives/middles are not productive. Kambaata shows a different kind of opposition. In this language marked causative verbs could form an opposition either with underived verbs or with marked middle verb. In Kambaata some verbs are optionally marked for the middle while the causative is obligatorily marked in such verbs. For instance, verbs such as **buuzal-teʔ** 'it is cooked' and **šam-eʔ** 'it is decayed' could be marked for the middle as **buuzal-ak'k'-eʔ** 'it is cooked' and **šam-ak'k'-eʔi** 'it is decayed' to express satire. These verbs have causative counterparts as **buuzal-s-iteʔ** 'she cooked' and **šam-š-eʔi** 'made decay'. In such case these causative verbs could form their oppositions either with unmarked or marked middle verbs. In other

[28] Rapold 2006: 286
[29] Gutt and Husein 1997

words, these causative verbs have two oppositions: directed and non-directed (correlative affixal opposition).

In correlative root oppositions the causative and the non-causative [middle] members are differentiated not by their derivational morphemes but by their partial difference of the root. In Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages correlative affixal opposition is common; and correlative root opposition is rare (e.g. **lossir–** 'grow'; **lop'p'–** 'become grown up' in Sidama). It is also the case that correlative root opposition is found as mixed with directed opposition (e.g. **moll–** 'be dry'; **moo–šš-** 'make dry' in Kambaata). It is also the case that correlative root opposition is found as mixed with correlative affixal opposition. In this type of opposition the causative root partially differs from the root of the middle; yet both the causative and the middle verbs have their own separate and contrastive morphemes as shown in the following table:

Table 4: Correlative root opposition as mixed with correlative affixal opposition

Language	Middle	Causative	Root meaning
Afar	sool-it-	soos-is	stand
Chaha[30]	tä-pa-	at-äpa-	strong
Kambaata	aful?-ak'k'-	afuu-šš-	sit
Mesqan[31]	tä-bba	at-äbba	strong

In some cases the causative-middle marked oppositions indicate relational opposites as shown in the following table:

Table 5: Causative and non-causative members which show relational opposites in some Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages

Language	Middle	Meaning	Causative	Meaning
Amharic	tä-bäddär-	borrow	a-bäddär-	lend
Amharic	tä-k'äbbäl-	receive	a-k'äbbäl-	give
Oromo	lik'-eess-at-	borrow	lik'-eess-[32]	lend
Oromo	erg-is-at-	borrow	erg-is-at-[33]	lend
Shakkinoono	kém-à-	buy	kémm-ì	sell
Shakkinoono	áràtt-à	borrow	áràtt-ì-[34]	lend

5.2.2. Suppletive Oppositions

Suppletive opposition is not central to my discussion since I am dealing with gram-

[30] Leslau (1979).
[31] Leslau (1979).
[32] This verb is often used for money.
[33] This verb is used for material object such as chair.
[34] See also Leslau (1959).

matical marking; thus, this section is added only for completeness. In suppletive opposition both the causative and the middle verbs have different roots. Suppletive oppositions are more common in Omotic languages than in Cushitic and Semitic languages of Ethiopia. For instance, in Shakkinoono verbs such as **t'òp'-à-yè** 'he felled (someone)', **dáámm-ì-hè** 'he took (something somewhere)', **wút'-ì-yè** 'he killed' are causatives which have lexical middle verb counterparts as **díh-ì-yè** 'he fell', **tér-í-ỳe** 'he went' and **k'ít-ì-yè** 'he died'. In fact, the verb 'to kill' and the verb 'to die' form suppletive opposition in many Omotic languages and in some Highland East Cushitic languages. For instance, in Dorze verbs such as **worr-ires** 'he killed' and **hai?-ires** 'he died', in Wolayta **wor-iisi** 'he killed' and **hayk'-iisi** 'he died', in Dawuro **wo?-eedda** 'to kill' and **hayk'-eedda** 'he died', in Hadiya **š-ukko** 'he killed' and **leh-ukko** 'he died' form suppletive oppositions. In Oromo pairs of verbs such as **geess-e** 'he took someone somewhere' and **dak'-e** 'he went himself somewhere' are suppletive oppositions; yet these verbs could not be good candidates for suppletive opposition since the verb **ɗak'-e** 'he went himself somewhere' could form a directed opposition with the verb **ɗak'-at-e** 'he took someone somewhere'. In Amharic verbs such as **wäddäk'-ä** 'he fell' and **t'al-ä** 'he made fall' are suppletive oppositions. In general suppletive oppositions are rare in Amharic and Oromo.

We have discussed three types of causative-middle contrasts, namely directed, non-directed and suppletive oppositions in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. In directed opposition either the middle member is derived from the causative member or the causative member is derived from the middle member. In non-directed opposition both the causative and the middle members are derived from a common root or base; whereas in suppletive opposition the causative and the middle have different forms. Formwise directed causatives which are derived from intransitive verbs are the prototypical causatives since such causatives have predictable regular opposition to their non-causative counterparts, formally more complex than their non-causative counterparts and allow further cauativization processes.

5.3. Agent Counting, Causer Counting, Aspects of Indirectness

This section discusses productive formation of morphological causatives such as single and double causatives. In Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages causative morphemes are characterized by a strong tendency of increasing the argument structure by one. This means that the affixation of a causative morpheme is accompanied by addition of one subject. The added subject can be agentive or non-agentive; even the causative structure can be subjectless (causerless) as we shall see in the following section.

A causative morpheme can be suffixed to intransitive and transitive verbs productively in all Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. In many languages the causative morpheme is suffixed to intransitive verbs to derive transitive verbs. For instance in Mesqan (Getu and Husein 1977) the causative morpheme **a-** is prefixed mainly to the base of intransitive verbs to derive transitive verbs as in **a-fännäd-** 'cause to burst', **a-k'ärräb-** 'cause to be near', **a-bärräd-** 'cause to be cold' and **a-sälläm-** 'cause to be Islam'; the morpheme **at-** is suffixed to transitive verbs.

Two causative morphemes are not prefixed in succession to the bases of intransitive verbs to derive double causatives in all Ethio-Semitic languages. This does not mean, however, that there are no double causatives in Ethio-Semitic languages. Single causatives are often derived by the prefixation of the morpheme **a-** whereas double causatives are derived by the combination of the morpheme **a-** with –**s-** or –**t-**. For instance in Silit'i (Gutt and Husein 1977) the causative marking **a-** is prefixed to the verb stem of an intransitive verb as in **a-mät'-a** 'bring'. This causative verb allows further causativization as in **at-meet'-a** 'have someone or something brought'.

Single and double causatives are common in Omotic languages. For instance, in Koorete (Beletu 2003:62-63; Biniyam 2008: 75-82) causatives such as **baar-us** 'cause to lie down', **sus'-us-** 'cause to hang' **bak'-us-** 'cause to slap', **hat-us-** 'cause to be short', **gel-s-** 'cause to enter', **kes-s-** 'cause to get out', etc., are derived from intransitive verbs. Double causatives such as **uš-š-uš-** 'to have someone made drink' and **zeer-us-us-** 'to have someone made speak' are productive in this language.

In Cushitic languages single and double causatives are common. In this language family triple causatives are also permitted although they are not as common as single and double causatives. An exception is Awingi, a central Cushitic language that has only double causatives. Triple causatives are common in Lowland and Highland East Cushitic languages. For instance in Afar the causative verb **sol-iis-** 'make stop' could be doubled as **sol-is-iis-** 'to make someone stop something'; and tripled as **sol-is-is-iis-** 'to make someone make stop something'. In this language family the suffixation of a causative morpheme adds an agent. But some earlier works on some Cushitic languages (see Mous 2004a) suggest differently. Mous (2004a) gives –**sis-** and –**aciis-** in Konso as causative morphemes which are more indirect than simple causative but not necessarily involving more agents as in **muk-sis-** 'make sleep' in the Konso equivalent of Oromo **raf-isiis-**, Mous (2004a: 223). If **muk-sis-** is Oromo equivalent of **raf-isiis-**, then it is a double causative with omitted causee. Mous (2004a) also treats causative verbs such as **dam-aciis-** 'make eat' as indirect causatives. The morpheme –**aciis-** is a composite of two morphemes; the middle marking **-at-** and the causative marking –**iis-**. As it has been already discussed above MID + CAUS is an assistive causative, not indirect causative. However, the number of *s*'s does not need to represent the number of agents. For example, in Oromo the –**sis-**

could be used as single and double causative (see Chapter 2). There is a strong tendency for causative morphemes to add agents in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages.

With respect to the derivation of causative verbs there are similarities and differences among Cushitic, Omotic and Semitic languages of Ethiopia. In Cushitic languages single, double and triple causatives are common. In Omotic languages single and double causatives are permitted for both transitive and intransitive verbs. Semitic languages have different characteristics. In these languages the derivation of single causative is permitted for both transitive and intransitive verbs. Double causatives are restricted to intransitive verbs and triple causatives are completely ruled out.

5.4. Impersonal/Subjectless Causatives

Subjectless causative structures are also common in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. Causative morphemes are affixed to verbs of desire to derive causative verbs which do not select for an external causer. For instance in Oromo verbs such as **barbaačč-is-** 'to make look for', **haww-isiis-** 'to make wish' and **(arraa-sis-** 'to make long for' select for null external arguments. Similarly in Amharic verbs such as **as-fälläg-** 'cause to need something', **asäññ-** 'cause to wish', **as-t'äll-** 'cause to hate' and **amar-** 'cause to like' appear in subjectless causative clauses. In Afar **far-sis-**, in Awingi **fay-s'-,** in Hadiya **has-is-**, in Dorze **kuš-is-,** in Tigrinya **a-dïlïy-** are impersonal causatives with the meaning 'needed' .

Let us observe closely a structure of impersonal causative as follows:

12. **set (ïsu-n) as-fälläg-ä-u**
woman (he-ACC) CAUS-need-3M:PF-3MSO
'He needs a woman.'/lit., 'It made him need a woman.'

In (12) the causee is **ïsu-n** 'he' **set** 'woman' is patient. Object agreement on the causative verb is controlled by the causee since the causee is a pronoun which is marked for accusative case. Similar to impersonal passives (see Chapter 8) impersonal/subjectless causatives have a default third person masculine singular subject agreement on the verb.

In most cases impersonal causatives are expressed in imperfective aspect to show that the activity is continuing.

13. **wïha lä-ïsua y(ï)-as-fällïg-all**
water DAT-she IMPF:3S-CAUS-need-3M:IMPF
'Water is needed for her.'

Impersonal causatives are particularly used for verbs of desire such as 'to wish' and 'to need'. Ingestive verbs and emotion verbs could also be used in impersonal causative structure; they imply an unexpressed and unspecifiec causer. For example, in Oromo **na ɗeeb-ess-a** 'it makes me thirsty' looks like impersonal causative; it can imply the type of food that one eats as a cause. Verbs with a controlling agent such as 'to kill' cannot be used in impersonal causative structure.

We have seen impersonal causatives in Amharic and Oromo. Some indications are also valid for other languages such as Afar. In both Oromo and Amharic in impersonal causatives the patient strictly precedes the causee and the default subject agreement on the verb is third person masculine singular. The impersonal causative is subjectless and no causer is expressed. In impersonal causatives the unknown unexpressed external causer controls the caused event.

5.5. De-ideophonic and de-nominal causatives

Formwise there are two types of intransitive causatives: verbalizers and derived verbs from other verbs. In Amharic the morpheme **a-** is used as a verbalizer. For example, **anäs-** 'to be small' is derived from the adjective **tïnnïš-** 'small' while intransitive causatives such as **a-lk'äs-ä** 'he cried' and **a-gäss-a** 'it bellowed' are derived from nominals **läk'ïso** 'cry' and **gïsat** 'bellowing' respectively. In Oromo, the morpheme **–is-** used as verbalizer of ideophones. For example, in verbs such as **k'orop'-is-** 'to jump', **t'al-is-** 'to labour much', **jand-is-** 'rain heavily' the morpheme **–is-** functions as de-ideophonic morpheme.

Now the question is whether we treat such verbalizers as causative morpheme or as a separate form. I consider such forms as causative morphemes mainly because of two reasons. One, morphemes such as **a-** and **–is-** are identical with causative morphemes. Second, morphemes such as **a-** and **–is-** are verbalizers; they derive verbs from nominal basis. A noun is a linguistic category that simply denotes concrete or abstract entity whereas a verb is a linguistic category that denotes an action. Causative morphemes such as **a-** and **–is-** add an attribute of action or inititation to a nominal base. Thus, causative structure does not necessarily need to be transitive.

In only few cases intransitive causatives are derived from other intransitive verbs. For instance, in Amharic the causative verb **a-räffäd-** 'to be late (for human being)' is derived from an intransitive verb **räffäd-** 'to be late (for time)'. Similarly, the causative verb **a-nägg-** 'to stay until dawn (for human being)' is derived from non-causative counterpart **nägg-** 'to be dawn (for time)'. In these intransitive causatives an external argument is added semantically but the derived verb is still intransitive. Such intransitive causatives have one argument.

In Amharic, verbs such as **a-nägg-** ‘stay until dawn’ change non-agentive subject into agentive subject as shown in the following structures:

14a. **gïze-u** **nägg-ä**
time-DEF be dawn-3M:PF
‘It is dawn.’

14b. **lïj-u** **a-nägg-a**
boy-DEF CAUS-be dawn-3M:PF
‘The boy stayed until dawn.’

In (14a) the verb is non-agentive intransitive. Thus, the subject is non-agentive one. In (14b) the morpheme **a-** is prefixed to the non-agentive verb **nägg-** ‘be dawn’ and the subject becomes agentive.

In Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages, the underlying meaning of causative events is separation in the sense that there is differentiation or mental separation of the causer and the caused event or the causee. Different causative events have different degrees of such separation. In some extreme causative events the gap of separation is so wide that the causee does not recognize the causer as in the case of impersonal causatives. In some other causatives the gap of separation is so narrow that the causee is accompanied by the causer as in the case of assistive causatives. In many cases the semantics of separation contrasts with the semantics of unity of the middle; the causative is the separating force while the middle is the uniting force. When these two forces are both in force an assistive causative is created. This semantic balance also explains the mystery of verbs such as **as-t-ammäm-** ‘to nurse’ (Amharic) in which the causative of ‘to be ill’ is not equal to ‘to make ill’, but ‘to nurse’.

In Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages, there is a strong tendency for causative morpheme to increase the number of arguments. To the best of my knowledge, there is no intensive-causative which would be neutral to any change in argument structure. Double causatives are productive. Semantically, double causatives are indirect causatives. In Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages, impersonal and intransitive causatives, which are not dealt with in the literature as far as I know, are issues of interest. Impersonal causatives have third person masculine singular agreement element on the verb similar to impersonal passives.

6. The Middle in Oromo

This chapter has three sections. 6.1. gives general introduction. 6.2. discusses forms of the middle. In this section the middle morphemes, types of derived middle verbs and argument structures of middle verbs are discussed. 6.3. deals with the semantics of the middle.

6.1. Introduction

There is no unified definition of the middle. Many researchers characterize the middle verb in different ways. For instance, Kemmer (1993: 238) notes that the middle verb has two characteristics: "1) Initiator as affected entity (Endpoint) and 2) low degree of elaboration of events." According to this characterization, the middle verb is determined by the degree of unity or oneness between the participants involved. In other words, high degree of oneness gives a middle event while low degree of unity gives a reflexive event. By contrast Iwata (1999) considers the presence of an implicit agent as a defining characteristic of the middle. In a different direction, Manney (1995:163) argues that in prototype middle voice "the expriencer subject is highly responsive to psychoemotive stimulus…undergoes experience rather than initiates a mental act… not in control of the psychoemotive forces which act upon him/her." Iwata's characterization is restricted to some verbs, namely spontaneous middles, and is far from being a comprehensive property of the middle while Manney's characterization of the prototype middle concerns only emotion middles. Kemmer's characterization of the middle verb is universal and it can be linked to different meaning domains of the middle verb (see Chapter 10).

Some Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages have a separate marking for the middle while others do not since they mark the middle and the passive by the same morpheme. It is also the case that the middle marking could be used as verbalizers of adjectives and nouns. In valency the middle could be argument decreasing, neutral or, in two lexicalised cases, even increasing (1,2).

Semantically, the middle is complex since it involves different types of events. The main types of meaning categories are body centered, mental events, spontaneous and autobenefactive middles. Body centered middles have subcategories such as body grooming (verbs such as **ɗik'-at** 'to wash oneself', **uff-at-** 'to dress oneself'), (change in) body posture middles (verbs such as **hiit'-at-** to stretch oneself', **hirk-at-** 'to lean', **ɗaab-at-** 'to stand up', **k'ut'uut'-at-** 'to crouch'), non-translational motion (movement of body part) middles (verbs such as **hollat-** 'to shiver', **lip'sat-** 'to flicker one's eye', **kottonfat-** 'to shrink') and translational body centered motion middles (verbs such as **gangalat-** 'to roll (for stone)'). Mental event middles comprise emotion middles (verbs such as **jaal-at-** 'to love', **rakk-at-** 'to be in problem',

sod–aat- 'to fear', **abd–at**- 'to trust, hope for') , cognition middles (verbs such as **bar–at**- 'to learn', **hub–at**- 'to understand', **yaad–at**- 'to remember', **irranf–at**- 'to forget') and perception middles (verbs such as **fuunf–at**- 'to smell', **ilaall–at**- 'to see clearly'). Spontaneous middles include verbs which show changes in physiology, colour, size, time, space, etc. (verbs such as **gudd–at**- to grow', **diim–at**- 'to become red', **t'inn–aat**- 'to become small', **barf–at**- 'to become late', **faag–at**- 'to become far'). Autobenefactive middles (verbs such as **bit–at**- 'to buy for oneself', **gurgur–at**- 'to sell for oneself') are derived from transitive verbs and they show the action undergone for the benefit of the subject. This semantic sense is the most productive in Oromo but restricted to transitive verbs. There are also many cases where one middle category overlaps with the other category depending on the subjective interpretation of the researcher. For instance the middle verb **hollat**- 'to shiver' could be classified as emotion, spontaneous or non-translational middle verb. Since, the subcategories only function to describe the total range of the functions of middle marking, this is not considered to be a problem.

In my discussion I differentiate between prototypical and peripheral middle. I consider body grooming middles as middle prototype because they are common in many Ethiopian languages (see Chapter 9). In this type of middle the agent is affected by her/his own action as compared to spontaneous middles where the initiator and the endpoint of the middle event are not identified clearly; and autobenefactive middles where agents are only indirectly affected. In order to clarify whether the agent is affected or not, the chapter closely investigates the semantics of the middle event. For this purpose, terms such as conscious self and subconscious self are employed. Conscious self is used in cases where a participant consciously affects her/his physical body; whereas subconscious self is employed in cases where the conscious self fails to affect his/her body part; in such cases body parts are affected by the autonomous nervous system. The nervous system subconsciously regulates involuntary body activities; hence subconscious self.

6.2. Forms of the Middle in Oromo

Unlike Amharic and other Semitic and Omotic languages Oromo has separate markings for the middle and the passive. This section discusses forms of morphemes and structures of the middle

6.2.1. The Middle Marker –at-

In Oromo **–at–** is the most common middle marker. This middle morpheme is different from reciprocals and reflexives. Reciprocals are syntactically marked by an independent word **wal** 'each other' while reflexives are marked by an independent word **of** 'oneself' or **mataa** 'head'. The morpheme **–at–** is also different from **–ah–** and **–om–** which are used as middle markings. The morpheme **–at–** is associated

with the semantics of affecting the subject in the sense of the core meaning of the middle event. The morphemes –**ah**- and –**om**- are semantically not different but only function as verbalizers.

Although in most cases the morpheme appears to be light, i.e. -**at**-, it becomes heavy under some conditions, i.e. –**aat**-. For instance, middle verbs such as **fag-aat-e** 'he became far' contain –**aat**-; while middle verbs such as **diim-at-e** 'it became red', **jaalat-e** 'he loved' contain the middle marking –**at**-. The quantity of the vowel /**a**/ is long or short depending on the weight of the preceding syllable. If a heavy syllable precedes the morpheme, then the middle morpheme is light, and vice versa which is accounted for in terms of vowel length dissimilation rule (see also Kebede 1994: 39). In the case of verbs such as **jab-aat-e** 'he became strong' a light syllable precedes the heavy middle morpheme. But, there are exceptions; for instance, in the verb **add-aat-e** 'it became white', the heavy morpheme –**aat**- follows a syllable with geminated root final consonant, while in verbs such as **gudd-at-e** 'he grew, it became big' the light middle follows a syllable with a geminated root final consonant; syllables with final geminate consonants are ambivalent in weight.

In rare cases the middle marking –**at**- could be doubled. In (1a) **abbee-n** 'my father' is agentive subject while **ɗak'-** 'go' is intransitive verb. This intransitive verb is marked for the middle and consequently a causer is added in (1b). Thus, **ɗak'ate** is an unusual case of argument increasing middle. In this case the agent took the patient to a market place. In other words, -**at**- has causative function in this particular example. In (1c) **ɗak'-at-at-** has double middle. In this case the last middle marking is an autobenefactive middle in which the agent took the patient to a market place for his own benefit. I have found one other example of an argument increasing middle. In (2a) the verb **iyy-** 'howl' is an intransitive emotion verb. The verb selects for one external argument which is the subject; and this subject is an expriencer. But in (2b), the middle marking –**at**- is suffixed to the verb stem **iyy-** as **iyy-at-** 'to appeal'. The verb **iyy**- 'to howl' shows that the agentive subject howls because of anger or fear. But, the verb **iyy-at**- 'to appeal' shows that the agentive subject directs her/his anger or fear to another participant: a government body in charge of such a case. This means that the suffixation of the middle marking –**at**- happens to be an argument increasing morpheme although the verb **iyy-at-** 'to appeal' is used in its connotative meaning in (2b).

1a.	**abbee-n**	**bakka**	**gabaa**	**ɗak'-e**	
	my father-NOM	place	market	go-3M:PF	
	'My father went to a market place.'				

1b.	**inni**	**abbee**	**bakka**	**gabaa**	**ɗak'-at-e**
	he:NOM	my father	place	market	go-MID-3M:PF
	'He took my father to a market place.'				

1c. **inni** **abbee** **bakka gabaa** **ɗak'-at-at-e**
he:NOM my father place market go-MID-MID-3M:PF
'He$_i$ took my father to a market place for his own$_i$ advantage.'

2a. **gurbaa-n** **iyy-e**
boy-NOM howl-3M:PF
'A boy howled.'

2b. **gurbaa-n** **miiɗaa-saa** **motummaa-tti** **iyy-at-e**
boy-NOM complaint-POS government-LOC howl-MID-3M:PF
'A boy appealed his complaint to the government.'

The middle marking –**at**- has a different form for first person subject, which is -**aɗɗ**- as in **bit-aɗɗ-e** 'I bought for myself', **gurgur-aɗɗ-e** 'I sold for myself', **ilaall-aɗɗ-e** 'I saw for myself', etc. In such cases the change of /**t**/ to /**ɗɗ** / is not accounted for in terms of phonological assimilation, but as a morphophonological alternant (see also Hayward 1975: 2).

6.2.2. The Morphemes –(a)ah- and –(o)om-

-**ah**- and –**om**- are used as middle morphemes. In fact these forms are not central to the middle verb derivation because they are verbalizers of adjectival/nominal bases and verbalized forms have inchoative meaning of attribute expression. They are considered as middle marking morphemes only because **-ah-** and **-om-** derived verbs show change of state and verbs with change of state meaning are categorized as middles.

The middle marking –**ah**[35]- is one of the less frequent middle morphemes in Oromo. In middle verbs such as **aj-aah-** 'to give bad smell', **mačč-aah-** 'to be drunk' and **urg-aah-** 'to give good smell' it is used as verbalizer of nominals such as **ajaa** 'bad smell', **maččii** 'drunk' and **urgaa** 'good smell' respectively. The morpheme becomes light if preceded by heavy syllable in the base as in **beel-ah-**'to be hungry'. The morpheme –**ah**- does not derive autobenefactive middle verbs.

Finally, the middle marking –**om**- is a verbalizer of nominals and adjectivals and it shares similar function with –**ah**-. Middle verbs such as **soor-om-** 'to become rich' and **gooft-om-e** 'to become lord' are derived from nominals **sooressa** 'rich' and **goofta** 'lord' respectively while verbs such as **haar-om-** 'to become new' and **gaar-om-** 'to be revived' are derived from adjectives **haara** 'new' and **gaarii** 'good' respectively. Similar to the middle marking –**ah**-, the morpheme –**om**- does not derive autobenefactive middle verbs. And unlike the morpheme –**ah**-, the middle

[35] The morpheme **-(a)ah-** varies with forms such as **-aʔ-, -aw-, -ay-** depending on the language variety used (see also Kebede 1994:19). In this work only the form **-ah-** is used.

marking –**om**- is not found in frozen form. This middle marking has only one allomorph, -**oom**- which is accounted for in terms of the weight dissimilation rule as in **soor-om**- 'to become rich' and **arj-oom**- 'to become generous'.

Similar to **-ah-** and **-om-**, the middle marking –**at**- can be used as a verbalizer of adjectival/nominal bases. For instance, the middle verb **diimat**- 'to become red' is derived form **diimaa** 'red'. In Oromo **diimaa** 'red' can be used as an adjective or a noun.

6.2.3. Argument Structures of the Middle

Oromo has argument reducing and valency neutral middles. The following example shows argument reducing middle. I came across two exceptional instances where middle verbs increase argument structure (see (1) and (2) above).

3a. **nam-ni** **mana** **gub-e**
man-NOM house burn-3M:PF
'A man burned a house.'

3b. **man-ni** **gub-at-e**
house-NOM burn-MID-3M:PF
'A house burned.'

(3a) shows a transitive event in which **nam-ni** is a subject and **mana** an object. In (3b) the object of (3a) became the subject and the verb is marked for the middle; meanwhile the subject in (3a) is reduced. The middle verb **ɗaab-at-** 'to stand' is also argument decreasing middle since it is derived from a transitive verb **ɗaab**- 'to plant'.

In autobenefactive middles the middle morpheme neither decreases nor increases argument structure as shown below:

4a. **inni** **mana** **ijaar-e**
he:NOM house build-3M:PF
'He built a house.'

4b. **inni** **mana** **ijaar-at-e**
he:NOM house build-MID-3M:PF
'He built a house for himself.

(4a) is a transitive event. (4b) is similar to (4a) because both sentences have similar argument structures. The difference is that the verb in (4b) is marked for the middle. In such cases neither argument increasing nor decreasing is observed.

Oromo has basically three different types of middle markings: –**at**-, -**ah**- and –**om**-. The form –**at**- is found on, verb roots and adjectival bases to derive middle verbs. The form –**ah**- is restricted to adjectival bases. The middle marking –**om**- is found only as attached to nominal and adjectival bases. We can find argument increasing and valency neutral middle structures.

6.3. The Semantics of the Middle

In this section the meaning of the middle verbs is discussed. In a prototypical meaning of the middle the subject and the affected participant are the same. Yet I would like to clarify the framework in which the subject and the patient of the middle verbs are expressed throughout my discussion. Semantically three types of subjects of the middle will be discussed: affected agentive subjects, non-agentive subjects and expriencer subjects (for more discussion see section 10.5). The affected agentive subjects are common in body grooming middles where the agent and the patient are the same. The affected agentive subject can also be non-animate as in **mukni baala buuf-at-e** 'a tree dropped its own leaf.' Non-agentive subjects are common in non-translational and spontaneous middles. Expriencer subjects are common in emotion, cognition and perception middles. I use conscious self and subconscious self[36] to explain agentive and non-agentive subjects of the middle respectively. Subjects of emotion middles are also considered in terms of the subconscious self.

The discussion of this chapter moves from the discussion of core meaning of the middle to the discussion of marginal meaning. The core meaning of the middle is well represented by body grooming middles where the agent affects its own entity. Hence, the discussion starts with body centered middles which will be followed by the treatment of mental event middles. Finally the semantics of spontaneous middles and autobenefactive middles will be discussed.

6.3.1. Body Centered Middles

In the following section, I investigate body centered middles. Body centered middle includes grooming or body care, (change in) body posture, non-translational (body initiated action) motion and translational motion (body involved) (see also Mous 2004b).

6.3.1.1. Body Care/ Grooming Middles

Body care middle includes actions such as shaving, combing, brushing, bathing, cleaning. In the body care middles, the conscious self dominates the material body. These types of middle verbs are common in Oromo. Mous (2004b: 31-37) notes that

[36] The subconscious self is known by the name **lubbu** 'soul/spirit' in Oromo.

"Oromo has two deponents for 'to dress oneself' **uyifad'd'a** 'dress oneself' and **keeyad'd'a** 'put on clothes, dress'…". In fact, Oromo has not only frozen middle verbs but also derived grooming middles such as **haadd-at-** 'to shave oneself', **fil-at-** 'to comb oneself', **ɗik'-at-** 'to wash oneself', **hat'-at-** 'to clean oneself', **kaah-at-** 'to put on a hat', etc.

5. **ani** **areeda** **haad-aɗɗ-e**
   I beard shave-MID-1S:PF
   'I shaved my bread.'

6. **inni** **mtaa** **fil-at-e**
   he:NOM head comb-MID-3M:PF
   'He combed his hair.'

Many grooming verbs show middle events where the corresponding agents affect themselves. Middle verbs such as **haad-at-** 'to shave oneself', **fil-at-** 'to comb oneself', **rig-at-** 'to brush one's own teeth', **ɗik'-at-** 'to wash one's own hand', **hat'aaw-at-** 'to clean one's own hand with handkerchief', **kaah-at-** 'to put on a hat' and **uffat-** 'to dress oneself' express middle events where an agent affects her/himself. In all these instances one body part acts upon another body part with the control of the conscious self of the agent. Since the instigator of the actions are the agents, we understand that the agent consciously controls the corresponding events; this means that the conscious self affects its own entity.

6.3.1.2. (Change in) Body Posture

Similar to body grooming middles, verbs which show change in body posture are middle marked. The domain of change in body posture middles include, as Kemmer (1993: 55) notes, "… the apparently universally lexicalized actions of change in overall body posture, namely 'stand (up)', 'sit (down)', and 'lie (down)'". In Oromo some verbs of change in body posture are marked for the middle. For example, **ɗaab-at-** 'to stop/stand up' and **k'ut'uut't'at-** 'to sqat' are middles; the former is derived from a transitive root **ɗaab-** 'to plant'. The verb **k'ut'uut't'at-** has no underived counterpart. Similar to body care middles the conscious self of the corresponding agents are in control and guidance of the corresponding events. But there is no way where the agent affects another body part of the same agent. The whole body is affected by the conscious self of the agent.

6.3.1.3. Non-translational Body Motion

Non-translational body motion middles are middles which show events of motor manipulation of the body[37] (Kemmer 1993). In these types of middles change of

[37] I would like to use the phrase 'subconscious control' instead of 'motor manipulation'.

location of a body or part of a body is not observed. Non-translational body motion middles are common in Oromo.

7. lip's-at-e
flicker-MID-3M:PF
'He flickered with his eyes (closed and opened).'

8. kottonf-at-e
shrink -MID-3M:PF
'He became stiff due to cold (or disease).'

Non-translational body motion middles are different from body grooming and change in body posture middles in the sense that in non-translational body motion middles the conscious self is not in control of the middle event; the middle event is initiated and controlled by the subconscious self of the agent. These instances show involuntary actions which are controlled by the subconscious self. This means that the body part of the agent is affected not by the conscious self but by the subconscious self of the agent. Yet, middle events such as **ñaara guurr-at-** 'to collect one's eye brows', **of mil?at-** 'to look around as if one is frightened by something' and **kottonf-at-** 'to shrink as if one feels cold' could be change in body posture middles if the agent intended to do so. The middle **lip's-at-** 'to flicker one's eyes' takes place without conscious knowledge of the agent involved under natural circumstances. The middle **guurr-at-** is derived from the root verb **guur-** 'to collect'[38]; **lip'sat-** is derived from the causative verb stem **lip's-** 'to make flicker'; and the rest are instances of frozen middles. Verbs such as **dunuunfat-** 'to close eyes as if one fears something' which is not productively derived, **hiɗii walitti k'ab-at-** 'to close one's own lips' which is derived form the verb root **k'ab-**'catch', **hiit'at-** 'to stretch oneself' which is not productively derived, **hollat-e** 'tremble' which is not productively derived, are included in this category. The subjects of some of these non-translational middles could either be the agent or the body part (see also Mous 2004b) as follows:

9a. **inni** **ija** **lip's-at-e**
he:NOM eye flicker-MID-3M:PF
'He flickered with his eyes.'

9b. **iji** **isa** **lip's-at-e**
eye him:ABS flicker-MID-3M:PF
'His eyes flickered.'

[38] The middle derived form **guurr-at-** 'collect' has a geminated root final consonant while the underived verb **guur-** 'collect' has non-geminated root final consonant. This happens sometimes and it is beyond the scope of my analysis, to account for it.

In (9a) the agent can or cannot be in control of the corresponding events. This means that the events took place either by the will of the conscious self or unconsciously. But in (9b) where the subject is the body part, the events took place not by the will of the conscious self, but by the subconscious self. In the sense of (9b) the conscious self is not in a position to control the corresponding middle events. In some cases of the middle used in expression of body qualities, as in (10) and (11), body parts must necessarily become the subjects of the middle event expressed by a combination of the body part and the verb 'to burn'.

10. **garaa-n-išee** **gub-at-e**
stomach-NOM-her burn-MID-3M:PF
' She has stomach ach.'/ lit., 'Her stomach burned.'

11. **mataa-n** **nu** **bobaaf-at-e**
head-NOM our strip-MID-3M:PF
'We have a headache.'/ lit., 'Our head stripped.'

Cases shown in (10) and (11) are similar to (9b) in the sense that body parts become subjects of the corresponding middle structures. They are also similar with respect to their semantics. In both cases the subconscious self is in control of the middle events while the conscious self failed to do so. The difference between structures shown in (9b) on the one hand and structures shown in (10) and (11) on the other hand is that in the latter case body parts obligatorily become the subjects of such events. In other words, the conscious self can not control such middle events as shown from the ungrammatical structures of (12) and (13):

12. ***išee-n** **garaa** **gub-at-te**
she-NOM belly burn-MID-3F:PF
'She burned her belly (for herself).'

13. ***nu-ti** **mataa** **bobaaf-at-ne**
we-NOM head strip-MID-1PS:PF
'We striped head (for ourselves).'

(12) and (13) are meaningless structures because the conscious self cannot be in control of such events. Expressions such as **garaa gub-at-** 'to have a stomach ache' and **mataa bobaaf-at-** 'to have a headache' are idiomatic expressions and if agentive subjects occupy subject positions of such structures, it gives meaningless expressions as shown in (12) and (13). The middle verb **gubat-** is derived from a transitive verb root **gub-** 'burn', while the verb **bobaafat-** is derived from a transitive stem **bobaas-** 'to strip'.

6.3.1.4. Translational Motion

Translational motion middle, which has the sense of 'move oneself', is also marked for the middle. This type of middle "[Translational middle]… includes actions involving motion of an animate [or in animate] entity under its own power through space." (Kemmer, 1993: 56). But, Mous (2004b: 81) notes that translational movement verbs "… emphasize the nature of the motion and the way the body moves in motion rather than emphasizing the displacement per se." In Oromo translational motion verbs such as **hokkol-e** 'walk lamely' is not middle marked although the nature of the motion is unique. But, some other verbs show both displacement and the nature of the motion as shown in (14-16):

14. **haduree-n** **muka** **yaabb-at-te**
cat-NOM tree climb on-MID-3F:PF
'A cat climbed on a tree.'

15. **ɗagaa-n** **gangalat-e**
stone- NOM roll:MID-3M:PF
'A stone rolled (slowly over the ground).'

16. **ɗagaa-n** **konkolaat-e**
stone-NOM roll:MID-3M:PF
'The stone rolled.'

The semantic difference between **yab-** 'climb' and **yaabb-at-** 'climb' is difficult to establish. It is not clear to me whether (14) a transitive middle verb. This structure has the agent and the affected participant like any other transitive event but it has no sense of autobenefactive. The agent is **haduree** 'cat' while the patient is **muka** 'tree'. The idea is that the cat climbed upon a tree to get a wider scope of sight; it sees the far and the near. In this particular example there is a difference between the middle **yaabb-at-** and the non-middle verb **yaab**. In the former case the tree is a well recognized strategic position for that particular cat but in the latter case it is not so. Yet, both verbs can be used alternatively and they show upward motion. Both verbs can be used in a motion that covers a distance as in mounting on a mountain. (15) and (16) show motion of rolling. The difference between the two is that (15) shows slow motion while (16) shows fast motion of an object. In both cases the non-agentive subject assumes autonomous existences to move across time and space.

In general, in body centered middles we have observed four different types of meanings which are closely related to each other. In body grooming and change in body posture middles we have seen that the conscious self controls the middle event and makes one body part to affect the other as in the case of, for instance shaving one's own beard with one's own hand. But many middle events of non-translational motion are controlled by the subconscious self where the conscious self fails to control

the body parts. In translational motion middles we have observed cases where some middle events are controlled by the conscious self while in others a body part or a physical object assumes autonomous self conscious existence to affect its own entity.

6.3.2. Mental Event Middles

Under this section I focus on three types of verbs of simple mental events: emotion, cognition and perception. Kemmer (1993: 129) identifies these verbs as mental situation types: "In mental situation types, there is minimal conceptual separation between Initiator and Endpoint. The Initiator/ Endpoint entity is essentially a human mind; it is an Expriencer." This section focuses on something which takes place in the minds of participants. The participants are discussed in terms of their conscious and subconscious selves. Mental event middles are all about the interactions of conscious and subconscious self of the participants. In non-translational body motion middles we observed that the subconscious self (soul in Oromo point of view) resides in the body part of a participant, the body part being the domain of the subconscious self. In this section, we shall also observe an abstract whole self, independent of the body which is referred by the name **ayyaana** 'spirit' in Oromo

6.3.2.1. Emotion Middles

As Kemmer (1993: 130) says, emotion verbs are "low in volitionality- high degree of affectedness of the Experiencer … accompanied by changes in facial expression and in physical processes such as heart rate…" I think such kind of emotion middles are well represented by Oromo ritual verbs because ritual middles show a case where a participant interacts with the subconscious self. In other words the conscious self and the subconscious self interact and affect an expriencer in such middle events.

Particularly, by citing examples of ritual middles I shall show that a participant interacts with the subconscious self. Ritual middles are included here because they show the belief system and the belief system is part of emotional state of mind. I shall also give examples of negative emotion middles to show that lack of coordination of the conscious self and the subconscious self affects a participant in a negative way; and such instances will be compared with positive emotion middles.

In Oromo semantically there are ritual middles. Since ritual middles involve the belief system and the belief system is a mental event, I discuss them here under the emotion middles. In Oromo culture almost everything has a subconscious self or **ayyaanaa** 'spirit'. Gemmechu (1988: 41) says, "Ayyaana refers to that by which and through which, **Waaq[k']a, God**, creates everything." Every thing is linked to the subconscious self. There is a subconscious self of a father, a mother, a family, a river, a tree, a mountain, wild life, a domestic animal, etc. Thus, I use the concept

ayyaana as indicating a subconscious self of a particular person, object or as indicating a common self or the universal self depending on the context in which it is used. The concept of the subconscious self becomes clear when we observe Oromo ritual middles that show mental state in Oromo society as follows:

17. **ayyaana-iše-tu** **(iše) iitti** **hamm-aat-e**
spirit-her-FOC (she) INST be evil-MID-3M:PF
'Her spirit became evil to her.'

18. **ayyaana** **mataa-iše** **kaɗ-at-te**
spirit head-her beg-MID-3F:PF
'She asked for the help of her spirit.'/ lit., 'She begged her own spirit.'

19. **ayyaana** **abbaa-saa** **kaɗ-at-e**
spirit father-his beg-MID-3M:PF
'He asked the help of his father's spirit.'/lit., 'He begged to his father's spirit.'

In (17) the subject of the middle event is the subconscious self of an object participant. This instance clearly shows a mind set of a participant with respect to emotion. From (17) we understand that this participant is not in a good condition. The cause of the problem is believed to be disagreement between the conscious self and the subconscious self. In (18) we observe an instance where the subject expriencer tries to get agreement with her subconscious self. (19) shows a conscious self of a participant interacting with the family's subconscious self represented by **ayyaana abbaa** 'father's spirit'.

There is also a case where a participant interacts with subconscious self of physical objects to establish a stable state of mind. Middle verbs such as **daddarb-at-**, **irreeff-at-** and **soor-at-** are synonymous in the sense that they all express 'sacrifice'. The verb **daddarb-at-** indicates that what is sacrificed is solid food. The verb is derived from a transitive verb **darb-** 'throw'. The middle verb **irreeff-at-** indicates what is sacrificed is grass in most cases. The verb has frozen middle morphology. The verb **soor-at-** indicates sacrifice of fluid food such as coffee or local beer. All instances show negotiation between the conscious self and the subconscious self of material object to acquire stable state of mind.

20. **inni** **marga** **irreefat-e**
he grass scarify-3M:PF
'He sacrified grass (to a river or mountain).'

In (20) the subject consciously sacrified a grass to a river or a mountain as a sign of worshiping the creator of the natural environment. The man who worships throws grass on the bank of a river and he expects good reward from God.

There are cases where lack of co-ordination of the conscious self and the subconscious self is observed as in (21):

21a. **nam-ičč-i** **rifat-e**
man-DEF-NOM shock:MID-3M:PF
'The man is shocked.'

21b. **k'albii-n-isaa** **rifat-e**
attention-NOM-his shock:MID-3M:PF
'His attention is shocked, he lost attention or focus.'

In (21a) **namičči** 'the man' is the Expriencer and **rifat-** 'to be shocked' is the verb which shows the state of mind of the man. The verb is marked for middle by the morpheme **at**. In (21b) **k'albii** 'attention' refers to the relationship of subconscious self to the conscious self; the invisible self is identified with the subject **namičči** 'the man'. We know the subject, **namičči** 'the man' represents a physical body of male human that has a conscious mind. What we understand from (20a) is that such male human is affected by his mental state. We also know that this participant is not the initiator of the event of the middle event. It is also clear that the participant is a victim of his mental event.

When we observe (21b) we understand that what was shocked was the entity **k'albii** that relates the conscious self and the subconscious self. The shocking indicates that the conscious self not linked to the subconscious self. The force that gives balance for the mental state of a participant is under threat. This means that a participant lost its mental stability. On the basis of (21a) and (21b) it is clear that the participant lost his **k'albii** 'attention'.

Other emotion verbs with negative senses include the following: **ham-at-** 'to gossip', **him-at-** 'to complain', the frozen middle **ɗaadat-** 'to threaten', the derived **kak-at-** 'to swear', the derived **lag-at-** 'to abstain oneself from speech, activity, and so on.', the derived **goom-at-** ' to act with evil intent', the derived **kom-at-** 'to criticize', the frozen middle **mufat-** 'to be disappointed' , etc. Mous (2004b: 79) also mentioned such type of Oromo middles as saying, "Oromo has frozen middles **maraaɗɗa** 'be (come) mad, confused', **dagaɗɗa** 'be careless, unwatchful', **harifaɗɗa** 'be frightened', **burungefaɗɗa** 'grimace in scorn, despise', **ofaɗɗa** 'be hypocrite, dishonest'". As far as Meč'a dialect is concerned, **dagaɗɗa** is derived from a transitive root verb **dage** 'to make unwatchful'; and the meaning of **harifaɗɗa** is 'to get hurried'. I do not recognize verbs such as **burungefaɗɗa** and **ofaɗɗa**.

If the conscious self and the subconscious self keep in touch with each other, then the mental setting of a participant will be positive. Such emotional state is expressed by middle verbs with positive meanings. For example, the verb **jaall-at-** 'to love'

shows positive emotion. Middle verbs such as **abd-at-** 'to trust, hope for' which is derived from nominal **abdii** 'hope', **sossobat-** 'to tranquil' with a frozen middle have positive senses similar to the verb **jaal-at-**. Denominals such as **waamm-at-** 'to call some body for help', **haw-at-** 'to long for some body or some thing important' and **tap'-at-** 'to feel at home' could be included in this category.

In summary, emotion middles express the general mental setting of a participant. Emotional mental setting of a participant is established by the conscious self and the subconscious self . The idea is that the conscious self of a participant is responsible to understand the subconscious self. Negative emotion middles express the failure of the conscious self to recognize or understand the subconscious self while positive emotion middles express the unity of the conscious mind and the subconscious self.

6.3.2.2. Cognition Middles

Cognition middles designate the process of thinking. Cognition middles could be better understood from two perspectives: **k'albii** 'attention' and **yaada** 'idea/thought'. **K'albii** 'attention' makes it possible for a participant to gain new knowledge while **yaada** 'idea/thought' makes possible the accumulation and retrieval of experience from the mind.

22. **gurbaa-n** **yaada** **k'albif-at-e**
boy-NOM idea/thought pay attention-MID-3M:PF
'A boy payed attention to an idea.'

23. **gurbaa-n** **nama** **k'albif-at-e**
boy-NOM man pay attention-MID-3M:PF
'A boy payed attention to a man.'

(22) shows that the agent payed attention to an idea. (23) also shows that a participant payed attention not to forget a man. The middle **k'albif-at-** 'to pay attention to something' shows a careful way of associating and saving information in relation to the purpose in mind.

There are also other middle verbs which show knowledge gaining as shown in (24-25):

24. **gurbaa-n** **herreega** **bar-at-e**
boy-NOM maths learn-MID-3M:PF
'A boy learned maths.'

25. **dubartii-n** **yaada-koo** **hubat-te**
woman-NOM idea/thought-my understand:MID-3F:PF
'A woman understood my idea.'

In (24) the middle verb **bar-at-e** 'learned' shows a participant gained knowledge or experience formally at a school. In (25) the middle verb **hub-at-** 'to understand' shows clear understanding of an idea. It does not show that a participant simply learned or came across new knowledge. The verb **hub-at-** 'to understand' shows that a participant associated the idea with real life.

The following instances also show cognition middle:

26. **nam-ičč-i** **mak'aa-koo** **yaad-at-e**
man-DEF-NOM name-my think-MID-3M:PF
'The man remembered my name.'

27. **dubartii-n** **mak'aa-koo** **yaada-tti** **k'ab-at-te**
woman-NOM name-my idea/thought-INST catch-MID-3F:PF
'A woman repeated my name (to remember it).'/lit., 'A woman caught my name with her idea.'

In (26) the middle verb **yaad-at-e** 'remembered' shows that the participant retrieved the name of a person from his mental lexicon. To remember is the function of **yaada** 'idea, thought'. In (27) the phrase **yaadatti k'abatte** 'she is focused/lit., she caught by idea/thought' is an idiomatic expression that shows that **yaada** 'idea/thought' is used for recording a concept or image in the mental lexicon. The participant repeats the name so that the participant will definitely remember the name. It is also possible to say **k'albiitti k'abatte** 'she is focused/lit., she caught by attention'.

28. **gurbaa-n** **k'albii-malee** **herreega** **bar-at-e**
boy-NOM attention-without maths learn-MID-3M:PF
'A boy learned maths without attention.'

29. **gurbaa-n** **yaada-malee** **herreega** **bar-at-e**
boy-NOM idea/thought-without maths learn-MID-3M:PF
'A boy learned maths without idea (heart).'

In (28), a participant lost **k'albii** 'attention' that makes him understand the knowledge. In (29) a participant learned the subject without **yaada** 'idea/thought'. This means that the boy is thinking about a different matter in the classroom; he lacks focus of intention to achieve something; thus, he could not remember what he has learned. In this case **yaada** indicates goal of learning something for practical purpose. Similar to **k'albii** 'attention', **yaada** 'idea/thought' is not innate. It is something one works on and develops it. This could be understood from structures such as **yaada ɗab-e** 'he lost idea/thought', **yaada goɗ-at-e** 'he got idea/thought', **yaada galč-at-e** 'he brought in idea/thought', etc. A person who has **yaada** 'idea/thought' may or may not lose it depending on the type of care he gives for **yaada** 'idea/thought'.

6.3.2.3. Perception Middles

Kemmer (1993: 136) defines perception verbs as "… verbs designating experience via the perceptual modalities…" while Payne (1997: 60) labels these verbs as sensation verbs, "sensation (or "sensory impression") verbs express concepts involving the senses: see, hear, feel, taste, sense, observe, smell, and perceive. Again, these are verbs whose subjects are likely to be experiencers." On the bases of these definitions I illustrate Oromo perception middles.

Kemmer (1993: 136) says that perception verbs are of two types: "those in which the Experiencer is conceived and marked as the Initiator (e.g. 'I smell garlic') and those in which the Stimulus is the initiator (e.g. 'Garlic smells good'). We can term this Experiencer –based and Stimulus-based perception verbs." I start the discussion of perception middles with Expriencer-based ones. In experiencer based perception middles the conscious self takes the lead in controlling and guiding sense organs as in (30-33):

30. **abbee-n** **damma** **ɗanɗamat-e**
father-NOM honey taste:MID-3M:PF
'My father tasted honey.'

31. **muč'aa-n-koo** **baala** **fuunffat-e**
son-NOM-my leaf smell:MID-3M:PF
'My son smelled a leaf.'

32. **barataa-n** **na** **ɗaggeeffat-e**
student-NOM me hear:MID-3M:PF
'A student listened to me.'

33. **hintall- i** **harka** **arraabb-at-te**
girl-NOM hand lick-MID-3M:PF
'A girl licked her hand for herself.'

In instances shown in (30-33) the initiators of the middle events are the corresponding expriencers. In (30) the denominal middle verb **ɗanɗamat-** 'to taste' shows that the participant tasted honey as if he is evaluating its standard as his first experience. In (31) the expriencer smelled a leaf to know if that particular leaf has a smell or not. In (32) a participant listened to another participant. If the middle verb **ɗaggah-** 'to hear' is used, then, it means a participant heard another participant; the verb does not indicate understanding. In (33) denominal middle verb **arraabb-at-** 'to lick ' shows that the participant licked food that is left over her hand; it also shows that the participant is not satisfied. The verb **arraabb-at-** 'to lick for one's own benefit' is derived from a transitive verb **arraab-** 'lick' while the rest have frozen middles.

As compared to Expriencer-based perception middles, in Stimulus-based perception middles the conscious self does not take the lead in guiding sense organs since the initiator of the event is the stimulus as shown in (34-36). In these examples the middle verbalizer *-a(a)h* is used::

34. **daraaraa-n** **urg-aah-e**
flower-NOM smell-MID-3M:PF
'A flower smelled.'

35. **faltii-n** **aj-aah-e**
cow dug-NOM give bad smell-MID-3M:PF
'Cow dung gave bad smell.'

36. **biiraa-n** **haɗ-aah-e**
beer-NOM bitter-MID-3M:PF
'Beer became bitter.'

In summary, with respect to the process of thinking four types of verbs could be identified. The first types of middle verbs are those verbs which show instant understanding and gaining knowledge. The prototype of such verbs is the middle **k'albif-at-** 'to pay attention' which is derived from the nominal **k'albii** 'attention'. Middle verbs of the first type relate the conscious self to the subconscious self. The second type relates the conscious self to the subconscious self. These verbs involve in recording and remembering concepts and images. The prototype of these verbs is the middle verb **yaad-at-** 'to remember' which is derived from the nominal **yaadaa** 'idea/thought'. **Yaada** 'idea/thought' is part of self that plays key role in information storing and retrieving functions. Expriencer-based and Stimulus-based perception middles show gaining new knowledge and focus on body-mind presence: there is much attachment with the outside world and less thinking in such events.

6.3.3. Spontaneous Middles

Kemmer (1993: 144) characterizes spontaneous events as, "A common use of M[iddle] M[arking] S[ystem] across languages is in situations which designate changes of state of an entity, but in which no Agent entity receives coding." In spontaneous middles the subject participant undergoes change. Yet, the initiator and the endpoint of the middle event are not clearly identified. In Oromo, middle markings of spontaneous middles are verbalizers of adjectivals and nominal bases. I consider such verbalizers as middle verbs simply because they show change of state of an entity. On the basis of the conscious or subconscious self involvement in the middle event, spontaneous middles could be grouped into two main types: those middles in which the conscious self controls the material bodies of objects and those events where the subconscious self takes control over the material bodies of objects. Spontaneous middles where the conscious self controls the material body of a participant

include middles which show behavioural and status change; whereas middles which show physical, physiochemical and time change of a participant are controlled by the subconscious self of a participant. Both types are discussed in the following paragraphs.

As long as they show change of state of a participant, verbs which show behavioural change could be typed as a spontaneous middle. Verbs which show change of behaviour of the corresponding participants are marked for the middle by the morpheme –**oom**. For instance, the verb **nam-oom-** 'to have become intelligent' shows an achievement that requires hard work and discipline to show that the conscious self of a participant is in control of such activity. The verb **ogoom**- 'to be skilled' also shows that a participant became a skilled person in some kind of professional activity. The training for such skill could be accessed through formal or non formal education. Similarly verbs such as **gamn-oom**- 'to be wise', **arj-oom**- 'to be generous', **dok'n-oom**- 'to be tight-fisted', etc., show behavioural changes that a participant learns from experience. In all these behavioural changes the conscious self of a participant plays a leading role.

Verbs which show status change of a participant are also marked by the morpheme -**oom**-. Semantically, such middles indicate that the conscious self of a participant is in control of such middle events. For instance, the verb **fir-oom-** 'to be considered as family' shows that to become a relative to a group of people is considered to be high in social class as compared to the verb **alag-oom**- 'to be foreigner' where one shuns away from a group of people. To become a relative is honourable and to become a foreigner is not, in social status. These behaviours are controlled by the conscious self of a participant. The verb **garb-oom**- 'to be slave' shows an opposite instance where one looks down upon a group of people. The verb **soor-om-** 'to become rich' shows becoming high from low social class. Social status is something that a participant consciously accepts according to the culture of a given society.

Many spontaneous middles which show physiological changes that are considered to be controlled by the subconscious self. These are of many types; they show general physical property of a participant or specific physical property of a participant such as height, width, volume, colour, etc. Middle events such as **gudd-at**- 'to grow', **dull-oom**- 'to become old', **dargagg-oom**- 'to become youngster', etc., are in control by the subconscious self, not the conscious self. The verb **gudd-at-** 'to grow' shows general growth of a boy; it could be height or breadth. Similarly, **dull-oom**- 'to become old', **dargagg-oom**- 'to become youngster' show general condition of physical body of the corresponding participants. Both verbs show physical body of participants in time. Similarly middle verbs such as **ɗeer-at-** 'to be tall', **gabaabb-at-** 'to be short', **bal?-at-** 'to be broad', **ɗip'-at-** 'to be narrow', **k'al?-at-** 'to be thin', **hir?-at-** 'to decrease', **t'inn-aat-** 'to be small', etc., show physiological changes.

Spontaneous middle verbs also show change in shape as shown below:

37. **marg-i** **geeng-at-e**
grass-NOM coil-MID-3M:PF
'Grass is rounded.'

38. **muk-ni** **jall-at-e**
tree-NOM bend-MID-3M:PF
'Tree is bent.'

39. **baall-i** **kottonfat-e**
leaf-NOM shrink:MID-3M:PF
'Leaf is shrunk.'

In (37-39) the participants are inanimate beings; yet they assume a subconscious self that controls the corresponding middle events. There are also colour middles which assume a subconscious self as shown below:

40. **full-i-koo** **gurraač-ah-e**
face-NOM-my black-MID-3M:PF
'My face became black.'

41. **bun-ni** **diim-at-e**
coffee-NOM red-MID-3M:PF
'Coffee became red/ is red.'

42. **samii-n** **add-aat-e**
sky-NOM white-MID-3M:PF
'A sky became white.'

In (40) we observe a middle event where a participant is a body part which became black. Such change of state of a body part is not controlled by the conscious self, but by the subconscious self. In (41) and (42) the participants are inanimate beings. Yet, they assume a subconscious self that controls the corresponding middle events.

Similarly, there are some spontaneous middles which show physiochemical changes as shown below:

43. **hank'aak'uu-n** **aj-aah-e**
egg-NOM rot-MID-3M:PF
'Egg rotted.'

44. **bišaa-n** **hadɗ-aah-e**
water-NOM sour-MID-3M:PF
'Water became sour.'

45. **haaduu-n** **dammeessah-e**
knife-NOM rust:MID-3M:PF
'A knife rusted.'

The participants of middle events shown in (43-45) are inanimate beings. These inanimate beings assume a subconscious self that controls the corresponding physio-chemical changes.

In this language time also assumes a subconscious self that controls motion as shown below:

46. **yeroo-n** **barfat-e**
time-NOM late in the morning-3M:PF
'It is late (in the morning).'/ lit., 'Time became late in the morning.'

47. **yeroo-n** **guyy-aat-e**
time-NOM before noon-MID-3M:PF
'It is late (before noon).'/ lit., 'Time is late in before noon.'

In (46-47) time is the initiator and endpoint of the corresponding actions. But the part of the time that functions as an initiator is beyond understanding, it is the subconscious self of time. But the end part is the one we use to measure or feel. It is also the case that a human subject could occupy the subject positions of (46-47) as in (48-49):

48. **barataa-n** **barfat-e**
student-NOM late in the morning:MID-3M:PF
'A student is late (in the morning).'

49. **barataa-n** **guyy-eess-at-e**
student-NOM beforenoon-CAUS[3]-MID-3M:PF
'A student is late (in the before noon).'

As compared to (46-47), in (48-49) middle events are controlled by the conscious self of the participant. This means that the participant could possibly be well programmed not to be late.

Change in distance is also controlled by the conscious self as shown in (50-51):

50. **bineens-i** **nu-irra-a** **fag-aat-e**
animal-NOM we-LOC-LOC be far-MID-3M:PF
'A beast moved away from us.'

51. **bineens-i** **nu-tti** **ɗiy-aat-e**
beast-NOM us-LOC be near-MID-3M:PF
'A beast approached us.'

In (50) and (51), the participant is animate being. In (50) a beast is threatened by the presence of human being; thus it moved away from the threat. Such motion of a beast is controlled by its conscious self. In (51) the beast threaten the existence of human being in which case a beast moved towards human being. Such motion of a beast is also controlled by its conscious self. It is also the case that inanimate beings could occupy subject positions of (50) and (51) in which the subconscious self controls the corresponding middle events.

In summary, spontaneous middles which show change of behaviour of a human being are marked by the morpheme **-(o)om**-; and these middle events are controlled by the conscious self. Many spontaneous middles which are marked by the morpheme **-(a)at-** show change of physical properties such as height, width, volume, colour, etc. Most of these middles are controlled by the subconscious self of the corresponding participants. There are also some middle events which show spontaneous change of time and space. These types of middles have two characteristics: if animate being becomes the subject participant, then the middle event is controlled by the conscious self; but, if inanimate becomes the subject, then, the middle event is controlled by the subconscious self.

6.3.4. Autobenefactive Middles

Autobenefactive middles are the most productive types in Oromo in the sense that the morpheme **-(a)at-** can be suffixed to transitive verb roots to derive transitive middles. The morpheme **-(a)ah**- and **-(o)om-** are not suffixed to transitive verb roots to derive the autobenefactive middle. The derivation of the autobenefactive middle neither decreases nor increases arguments as it has been shown earlier. The middle event is controlled by the conscious self in autobenefactive middles as shown below:

52. **gurbaa-n** **hoolaa** **bit-at-e**
boy-NOM sheep buy-MID-3M:PF
'The boy bought a sheep for his own benefit.'

53. **isaan** **hoolaa** **gurgur-at-an**
they:NOM sheep sell-MID-3P:PF
'They sold a sheep for their own benefit.'

In (52) and (53) **gurbaa-n** ‘the boy’ and **isaan** ‘they’ are agents of the corresponding structures. The middle events are controlled by the conscious selves of the corresponding agents. Such cases characterize the semantics of autobenefactive middles.

To sum up, Oromo has three forms of middle markings **-at-**, **-om-** and **-ah-**. There are basically two types of middle structues: valency neutral argument reducing middles. Semantically, body centered, emotion, ritual, cognition, perception, spontaneous and autobenefactive middles are attested in this language.

7. The Passive in Oromo

This chapter has three sections. 7.1. deals with derivation patterns involving passives. 7.2. discusses argument structures of passives. 7.3. investigates the semantics of Oromo passives.

In Oromo passives of intransitive verbs are possible (so called impersonal passives). The subject agreement on the verb of such impersonal passive is third person masculine singular. It is not clear whether there is no subject or a dummy subject (see section 7.2.2).

In Oromo, in the structure of the (personal) passive[39] the patient becomes the subject as shown below:

1a. **Tolasaa-n** **muka** **mur-e**
Tolasaa-NOM tree cut-3M:PF
'Tolasaa cut a tree.'

1b. **muk-ni** **Tolasaa-tiin** **mur-am-e**
tree-NOM Tolasaa-INSTcut-PASS-3M:PF
'A tree was cut by Tolasaa.'

(1a) is an active structure in which **Tolasaa** is the agent and **muka** 'tree' became the patient. The agent **Tolasaa** is marked for nominative case by –**n**; therefore the agent is a structural subject. The agent, as a subject of the sentence, agrees with the verb in person, gender and number. In (1a), the patient **muka** is not marked for case because in Oromo direct objects are not marked for accusative case. (1b) is a passive structure. The patient **muka** in (1a) became the subject, and the passive marking morpheme –**am**- is suffixed to the verb root.

7.1. Derivation Patterns Including Passives

In this section we discuss different types of passive derivations. These types include passives of the middle, passives of the causatives and double passives.

In Oromo, passive verbs can be formed from middle stems. It is common that the passive marking morpheme –**am**- is attached to the middle stem. Let us observe some examples of these cases as follows:

[39] The term 'personal' or 'impersonal' passives refer to passives of transitive and intransitive verbs respectively and not to show the involvement of a person; see Siewierska (1984) for this terminology.

2a. **gurbaa-n** **kootii** **uffat-e**
boy-NOM coat wear:MID-3M:PF
'A boy wore a coat.'

2b. **kootii-n** **uffat-am-e**
coat-NOM wear: MID-PASS-3M:PF
'A coat was worn.'

3a. **inni** **fira-isaa** **abd-at-e**
he:NOM relative-his hope-MID-3M:PF
'He trusted his relative.'

3b. **firi-isaa** **abd-at-am-e**
relative-his hope-MID-PASS-3M:PF
'His relative was trusted.'

As shown in (2) the stem **uffat-** 'to wear oneself' is a frozen middle verb. The passive morpheme is attached to **uffat-** to derive the passive stem **uffatam-** 'to be worn'. Similarly the passive morpheme is attached to the middle stem **abd-at-** 'to trust, to hope for' to derive the passive stem **abd-at-am-** 'to be trusted'. The base **abd-at-** is derived from the noun **abdii** 'hope'. Both (2b) and (3b) are similar because in both cases the passive morpheme is attached to the middle stem overtly.

Some middles show two possibilities: either the passive morpheme is added to the middle stem or the middle morpheme is dropped so that the passive morpheme is suffixed to the root.

4a. **nam-ičč-i** **muka** **yaabb-at-te**
man-DEF-NOM tree climb-MID-2FSS
'The man climbed a tree.'

4b. **muk-ni** **yaabb-at-am-e**
tree-NOM climb-MID-PASS-3M:PF
'A tree was climbed on.'

4c. **muk-ni** **yaabb-am-e**
tree-NOM climb-PASS-3M:PF
'A tree was climbed on.'

5a. **išee-n** **hoolaa** **bit-at-te**
she-NOM sheep buy-MID-3F:PF
'She bought a sheep for her benefit.'

5b. **hoolaa-n** **bit-at-am-e**
sheep-NOM buy-MID-PASS-3M:PF
'A sheep was bought for one's benefit.'

5c. **hoolaa-n** **bit-am-e**
sheep-NOM buy-PASS-3M:PF
'A sheep was bought.'

In Oromo middle is rarely derived from intransitive verbs; thus, cases such as (4) are rare. Passives can be formed from productively derived middles as in example (5a). But there is no possibility of **-am-at-**. The reason as to why such form is not allowed is not clear; either there is no possibility to derive the middle from a passive or the middle from the passive is the same as the passive of the middle where the middle morpheme would need to be inserted before the passive by order restriction. In fact it is difficult to know whether the latter option exists because in meaning the passive of the middle and the middle of the passive would be identical in cases like (5). The middle of the passive adding autobenefactive meaning would be unique because the language only allows autobenefactive meaning for middles of transitive verbs and not intransitives, and passives are intransitives. In conclusion it is not possible to derive the middle from the passive.

There are also middle-passive oppositions. Verbs such as **guurr-at-** 'to collect' (when it refers to body part) and **gub-at-** 'burn' are examples of this case as shown below:

6a. **hintall-i** **ñaara** **išee** **guurr-at-te**
girl-NOM eyebrow her collect-MID-3F:PF
'A girl frowned (collected her eyebrow).'

6b. ***ñaarr-i** **išee** **guurr-at-am-e**
eye brow-NOM her collect-MID-PASS-3M:PF
'Her eyebrow was collected.'

6c. **ñaarr-i** **išee** **guurr-am-e**
eye brow-NOM her collect-PASS-3M:PF
'Her eyebrows were collected.'

(6a) is a middle event. (6b) shows an ungrammatical passive derivations where the passive marking morpheme is attached to the middle stem since the language does not permit the passive morpheme to be attached to the middle marking morphemes in this lexeme.

There are also other instances of the middle where the suffixation of the passive is not permitted at all:

7a. **hoolaa-n** **gudd-at-e**
sheep-NOM grow-MID-3M:PF
'A sheep grew.'

7b. ***hoolaa-n** **gudd-at-am-e**
sheep-NOM grow-MID-PASS-3M:PF
'A sheep was made to grow.'

8a. **bun-ni** **diim-at-e**
coffee-NOM red-MID-3M:PF
'Coffee became red.'

8b. ***bun-ni** **diim-at-am-e**
coffee-NOM red-CAUS-PASS-3M:PF
'Coffee was made to be red.'

Instances shown in (7a) and (8a) are intransitives; they do not have passive forms. The passive forms are ungrammatical as shown in (7b) and (8b).

Oromo derives passive verbs from all types of causatives. Passives could be derived from single causatives as shown below:

9a. **inni** **muč'aa** **raff-is-e**
he:NOM baby sleep-CAUS-3M:PF
'He made a baby sleep.'

9b. **muč'aa-n** **raff-is-am-e**
baby-NOM sleep-CAUS-PASS-3M:PF
'A baby was made to sleep.'

(9a) is a causative structure where the verb **raff-is-** is marked for the causative by the morpheme –**is**-. As shown in (9b) the passive marking morpheme is attached to the base of the causative verb stem to derive the passive verb.

The same case is applicable to double causatives as shown below:

10a. **inni** **muč'a** **t'uwwee** **č'ab-s-isiis-e**
he-NOM baby pot break-CAUS-CAUS-3M:PF
'He made a baby break a pot.'

10b. **t'uwwee-n** **č'ab-s-isiis-am-e**
pot-NOM break-CAUS-CAUS-PASS-3M:PF
'The pot was made to be broken.'

In (10a) the verb **č'ab-s-isiis-** shows double causative. In (10b) the passive marking morpheme –**am**- is attached to the double causative stem to derive the passive verb.

In Oromo double passive is not common. I found only one example of a double passives in an Oromo history book (Abbaa Duulaa 1996: 34) as in (11):

11. **č'iisañaa** **tah-e** **akka-bul-uun** **dirk'-am-am-e**
tenant be-3M:PF COMP-live-INF force-PASS-PASS-3M:PF
'He was forced to live as a tenant.'

The verb **dirk'-am-am-e** 'forced' in (11) shows double passive because the passive marking morpheme –**am**- is doubled. Throughout the text of this book (Abba Duula 1996: 34) one can find many examples where the verb **dirk'**- 'to force' is used in the double passive form. At this point one may suspect that the first –**am**- is part of the stem. But this is not the case. First, there are also cases where the same verb stem is used in a single passive in the same text as shown in (12), **Abbaa Duulaa** (1996: 25):

12. **k'onnaa-n** **bulaa-n** **Arsii** **Mootii** **Minlikii-n**
farming-NOM live-NOM Arsi King Minlik-INST

moʔ-am-e **toʔannaa** **jala** **ool-u-uf**
defeat-PASS-3M:PF contol under be-INF-DAT

dirk'-am-eera
force-PASS-3M:PRES.PF
'Arsi's farmer was defeated and has been forced to be under control by King Minilik.'

In (12) the verb **dirk'ameera** 'has been forced' contains only one passive marking morpheme. Secondly, in the same text the same verb is used without any passive morpheme but with the causative suffix such as **dirk'isiise** 'made to force' to indicate that the root of this verb is **dirk'**- 'to force', not **dirk'am**-. Semantically, there is no difference between **dirk'-am**- and **dirk'-am-am**- as it is possible to use either of the two forms in the same context.

To sum up, in Oromo the passive marking is –**am**-. Unlike Highland East Cushitic languages, in Oromo the passive marking is not productively doubled. In Oromo passive verbs can be formed from middle and causative stems.

7.2. Argument Structure of the Passive

7.2.1. The Personal Passive

In Oromo many personal passives have an overt subject which is demoted from subject position and expressed in the form of an oblique noun phrase as shown in (13b)

13a. **hiriyyaa-n** **koo** **mana** **ijaar-e**
friend-NOM my house build-3M:PF
'My friend built a house.'

13b. **man-ni** **hiriyyaa-koo-tiin** **ijaar-am-e**
house-NOM friend-my-INST build-PASS-3M:PF
'A house was built by my friend.'

In (13b) **hiriyyaa-koo-tiin** 'by my friend' is the agentive oblique and **man-ni** 'house' is the patient subject. It is also the case that the agent can be omitted as shown in (14a):

14a. **meeshaa-n** **sassaab-am-e**
utensils -NOM gather-PASS-3M:PF
'utensils were gathered.'

14b. **ani** **meesha** **sassaab-e**
I utensils gather-1PSS
'I gathered tools.'

14c. **ijoolee**[40]**-n** **meesha** **sassaab-de**
children-NOM utensils gather-3F:PF
'Children gathered utensils.'

In (14a) the agent is unexpressed and consequently (14b) and (14c) are potentially possible active counterparts of (14a). In this case it is not clear if a single person or a group of persons caused the event. Sentence (14a) is underspecified for agent but the existence of an agent is implied.

In Oromo, personal passive constructions appear either with or without agents. If the agent is expressed, it appears in the form of an agentive adjunct. This means that there is a postposition affixed to the agentive subject. If the postposition is dropped, the passive structure becomes ungrammatical.

[40] In Oromo **ijoollee** 'children' is feminine in gender even though it is plural in meaning.

15a. **nam-ičč-i** **hoolaa** **k'al-e**
man-DEF-NOM sheep slaughter-3M:PF
'The man slaughtered a sheep.'

15b. **hoolaa-n** **nam-ičča-an** **k'al-am-te**
sheep-NOM man-DET-INST slaughter-PASS-3F:PF
'A sheep was slaughtered by the man.'

15c. ***hoolaa-n** **nam-ičča** **k'al-am-te**
sheep-NOM man-DET slaughter-PASS-3F:PF
'A sheep was slaughtered by the man.'

(15a) is a transitive event; and (15b) is the passive counterpart of (15a). The agent in (15a) is an agentive adjunct in (15b). This agentive adjunct is a postposition phrase. The postposition **-an** is suffixed to the agent noun. Several postpositions are possible:–**tiin**, **-an** and **ɗaan-**. These are all instrumental. If an agentive adjunct and instrumental adjunct appear together, the passive structure becomes less acceptable (16b) which means that either the agentive adjunct or the instrument adjunct has to be dropped.

16a. **gurbaa-n** **k'amalee** **eeboo-tiin** **waraan-e**
boy-NOM monkey spear-INST pierce-3M:PF
'A boy pierced a monkey with a spear.'

16b. **ʔk'amalee-n** **eeboo-tiin** **gurbaa-tiin** **waraan-am-te**
monkey-NOM spear-INST boy-INST pierce-PASS-3F:PF
'A monkey was pierced with a spear by a boy.'

16c. **ʔk'amalee-n** **eeboo-tiin** **gurbaa-n** **waraan-am-te**
monkey-NOM spear-INST boy-INST pierce-PASS-3F:PF
'A monkey was pierced with a spear by a boy.'

In (16a) **gurbaa-n** 'a boy' is an agent and **eeboo-tiin** 'by a spear' is instrument. But in (16b), **k'amlee-n** 'a monkey' is a subject, **eeboo-tiin**, 'with a spear' is an instrument noun and **gurbaa-tiin** 'by a boy' is an agentive adjunct. Because the instrument noun and the agentive adjunct are used in the same structure, the sentence became less acceptable. This also holds if different instrumental postpositions are used as shown in (16c). Thus, other instrumental noun phrases are not used in addition to agentive postpositional noun phrases.

The following structures show expressions where agentive adjunct and instrumental case are separately indicated:

17a. **k'amalee-n** **waraan-am-te**
monkey-NOM pierce-PASS-3F:PF
'A monkey was pierced.'

17b. **k'amalee-n** **eeboo-tiin** **waraan-am-te**
monkey-NOM spear-INST pierce-PASS-3F:PF
'A monkey was pierced with a spear.'

17c. **k'amalee-n** **gurbaa-tiin** **waraan-am-te**
monkey-NOM boy-INST pierce-PASS-3F:PF
'A monkey was pierced by a boy.'

In (17b), the instrumental adjunct is used in passive structure while in (17c) the agentive adjunct is used; (17b) is more readily acceptable than (17c).

If unlike postpositions are used in the same structure, the passive structure is acceptable as shown below:

18a. **Tolasaa-n** **hoolaa** **anaa-f** **bit-e**
Tolasa-NOM sheep me-DAT buy-3M:PF
'He bought a sheep for me.'

18b. **holaa-n** **Tolasaa-tiin** **ana-f** **bit-am-te**
sheep-NOM Tolasa-INST me-DAT buy-3F:PF
'A sheep was bought for me by Tolasa.'

As shown in (18b) **Tolasaa-tiin** 'by Tolasa' which is agentive adjunct and **ana-f** 'for me' which is dative object are used in the passive structure; and such structure is acceptable.

In Oromo passives of ditransitives the patient is subject, the recipient has dative case and the agent is an instrumental adjunct as shown below:

19a. **inni** **kitaaba** **barataa-f** **kenn-e**
he:NOM book student-DAT give-3M:PF
'He gave a book to a student.'

19b. **kitaab-ni** **isa-an** **barataa-f** **kenn-am-e**
book-NOM he-INST student-DAT give-PASS-3M:PF
'A book was given to a student by him.'

(19a) is a transitive dative structure in which **inni** 'he' is an agent and **kitaaba** 'a book' is a patient. (19b) is a passive structure in which **kitaab-ni** 'a book' became the subject. The agent is expressed as an agentive adjunct, **isa-an** 'by him'. In passives of ditransitives only the patient becomes the subject of the passive structure.

20a. **Uumee-n** **k'aršii** **ana-af** **kenn-ite**
Uumee-NOM money me-DAT give-3F:PF
'Uumee gave me money.'

20b. ***ani** **k'aršii** **Uumee-tiin** **kenn-am-e**
I money Uumee-INST give-PASS-3M:PF
'I was given money by Uumee.'

20c. **k'aršii-n** **Uumee-tiin** **ana-f** **kenn-am-e**
money Uumee-INST me-DAT give-PASS-3M:PF
'Money was given to me by Uumee.'

(20a) is a dative structure. In this structure **k'aršii** 'money' is the patient and **anaaf** 'to me' is the dative object. In (20b) the dative object of (20a) became the subject of the passive structure, but this passive structure is ungrammatical. In (20c) the patient of (20a) became the subject of the passive structure.

Finally, in some cases the patients of passives of transitive verbs are omitted and the complements of postpositional phrases are promoted to the subject position of the passive structures as shown in (21):

21a. **inni** **burč'uk'k'oo-tiin** **(bišaan)** **ďug-e**
he:NOM glass-INST water drink-3M:PF
'He drank (water) from a glass.'

21b. **burč'uk'k'oo-n** **ittiin-ďug-am-e**
glass-NOM INST-drink-PASS-3M:PF
'A glass had been drunk from.'

21c. **burč'uk'k'oo-wwan-n** **ittiin-ďug-am-ani**
glass-NOM-PL INST-drink-PASS-3P:PF
'Glasses had been drunk from.'

In (21a), **inni** 'he' is the subject while **burč'uk'k'oo-tiin** 'from a glass' is an adverbial phrase of instrument; and the object is omitted. In (21b) the adverbial phrase is the subject of the passive structure. Thus the complement of the postposition is marked for nominative case and the form of the postposition **–tiin** is changed into independent **ittiin**. The verb also agrees in number and gender with the subject. As shown in (21c) the instrument is plural and the agreement on the passive verb is also plural. This means that the instrument is competing with the patient for subject position and the agreement on the verb is not a default one as it agrees either with the patient or the instrument.

When the patient is not omitted, a passive structure shows double subjects as shown in (22b) and (23b) below:

22a. **inni** **ulee-tiin** **saree** **rukut-e**
he:NOM stick-INST dog hit-3M:PF
'He hit a dog with a stick.'

22b. **ulee-n** **ittiin** **saree-n** **rukut-am-e**
stick-NOM INST dog-NOM hit-PASS-3M:PF
'A stick, a dog was hit with.'

22c. ***saree-n** **ulee-n** **ittiin** **rukut-am-e**
dog-NOM stick-NOM INST hit-PASS-3M:PF
'A stick, a dog was hit with.'

23a. **nam-ni** **k'awwee-tiin** **leenč'a** **ajjees-e**
man-NOM rifle-INST lion kill-3M:PF
'A man killed a lion with a rifle.'

23b. **k'awwee-n** **ittiin** **nam-oot-ni** **ajjees-am-ani**
rifle-NOM INST man-PL-NOM kill-PASS-3P:PF
'A rifle, men were killed with.'

In (22a) **inni** 'he' is the subject, **ulee-tiin** 'with a stick' is an adverbial phrase of instrument and **saree** 'dog' is a direct object. In (22b) the object of instrument and the direct object became the subjects of the passive structure. For this reason **ulee**, the complement of the postposition, and **saree**, the direct object are marked for nominative case. The form of the postposition is also changed from dependent –**tiin** to independent **ittiin**. (22c) shows, in such construction, the adverbial phrase should precede the direct object. (23a) is the same as (22a). From (22b) and (23b) we observe that, in such double subject constructions, the agreement element is governed by the patient, not by the instrumental noun even though the latter is in an initial position and receives nominative case. In (23b) the promoted adverbial phrase is singular while the promoted patient is plural; and the verb agrees with the plural patient. Hence the patient is the true subject.

To sum up, structures of personal passives can appear either with or without agents. In Oromo dative passive structures only the direct object is permitted to be the subject of the passive. The complement of the postpositional phrase may be promoted to sentence initial (subject) position and receive nominative case. This constituent governs agreement on the verb if the patient is omitted. If the patient and the promoted instrument are expressed and receive nominative case, the patient of the passive governs agreement on the verb. The instrument postposition gets stranded as an independent word immediately following the instrument.

7.2.2. The Impersonal Passive

Impersonal passives are passives of intransitives. Concerning this point Siewierska (1984: 96) says, "Whereas personal passives are typically regarded as being restricted to transitive verbs, impersonal passives are primarily associated with intransitives." In his analysis of Older Egyptian impersonal passives, Reintges (1997: 222) shows that most of impersonal passives are derived from unergatives (agentive intransitives) which include motion verbs such as 'run', 'jump', 'arrive', and etc., sound emission verbs such as 'shout', 'cry' and etc., and bodily function verbs such as 'weep', 'laugh', etc. The same case is observed in Oromo as we see from the following instances:

24a. **ijoollee-n** **bakka** **kana-tti** **fiig-de**
childern-NOM place this-LOC run-3F:PF
'Children ran at this place.'

24b. **bakka** **kana-tti** **fiig-am-e**
place this-LOC run-PASS-3M:PF
'Running was had at this place.'

25a. **dubartii-n** **muka-(i)rra** **ni-utaal-ti**
youngster-NOM tree -LOC IMPF-jump-3F:IMPF
'A woman jumps over a tree.'

25b. **muka-(i)rra** **ni-utaal-am-a**
tree-LOC IMPF-jump-PASS-3M:IMPF
'A tree was jumped over.'

(24a) shows an intransitive verb where **ijoollee** 'childern' became the subject; the subject is also the agent of the event. The phrase **bakka kana-tti** 'at this place' is an adverb of place while **fiig-de** '(she) ran' is an intransitive verb of motion. (24b) shows the passive counterpart of (24a) where the agent is omitted. The verb shows default agreement of third singular masculine similar to the 'it' of English. Similarly (25a) shows an intransitive event where **dubartii** 'woman' is the subject of the sentence. It is marked for nominative case and it agrees in number and gender with the verb. (25b) is a passive structure in which the agent is omitted. Impersonal passive sentences often include a locative expression. This is, however, not a prerequisite (see (26b)). The following examples show sound emission impersonal passives:

26a. **gabaa**[41]**-n** **ni-wač'-ti**
market-NOM IMPF-shout-3F:IMPF
'A market shouts.'

26b. **ni-wač'-am-a**
IMPF-shout-PASS-3M:IMPF
'It was shouted.'

27a. **nam-ni** **iyy-e**
man-NOM yell-3M:PF
'Someone yelled.'/ lit., 'A man yelled.'

27b. **fagoo-tii** **iyy-am-e**
far-LOC yell-PASS-3M:PF
'Yelling was had from afar.'

(26a) and (27a) are intransitive verbs with agentive subjects. (26b) and (27b) are impersonal passive counterparts. The subjects of the impersonal passive are absent. Bodily function verbs also show the same characteristics as shown in (28) and (29):

28a. **isaan** **ijoollee-tti** **kolf-an**
they:NOM children-LOC laugh-3P:PF
'They laughed at children.'

28b. **ijoollee-tti** **kolf-am-e**
children-LOC laugh-PASS-3M:PF
'Laughing was done at children.'

29a. **nam-oot-ni** **barataa-f** **boh-an**
man-PL-NOM student-DAT weep-3P:PF
'Men wept for a student.'

29b. **barataa-f** **boh-am-e**
student-DAT weep-PASS-3M:PF
'Weeping was had for a student.'

(28a) and (29a) are intransitive structures. In both cases the agents agree with the corresponding verbs in number and gender. In (28) **ijoollee-tti** 'at childern' is an adverbial phrase as is **barataa-f** 'for a student' in (29). (28b) and (29b) are passive structures in which the corresponding agents are omitted. The subjects of both pas-

[41] The noun **gabaa** 'market' refers to the people attending the market and it is associated with feminine gender.

sive structures are null expletives: if **ijoollee** 'children' were subject it would trigger feminine agreement on the verb. All intransitives can be used with cognate objects as in (30):

30. **ijoollee-n** **bakka-kana-tti** **fiigiča** **fiig-de**
childern-NOM place-this-LOC running run-3F:PF
'Children ran running at this place.'

In (30) **fiigičča** 'running' is a cognate object derived from the verb **fiig-** 'to run'. In impersonal passive structures, cognate objects appear in subject positions as in (31):

31a. **fiigičč-i** **bakka-kana-tti** **fiig-am-e**
running-NOM place -this-LOC run-PASS-3M:PF
'Running was had at this place.'

31b. ***bakka-kana-tti** **fiigičča** **fiig-am-e**
place-this-LOC running run-PASS-3M:PF
'Running was had at this place.'

31c. **bakka-kana-tti** **fiigičč-i** **fiig-am-e**
place-this-LOC running-NOM run-PASS-3M:PF
'Running was had at this place.'

31d. ***fiigičča** **bakka-kana-tti** **fiig-am-e**
running place -this-LOC run-PASS-3M:PF
'The place was run over.'

In (31a) a cognate object became the subject of the impersonal passive structure. In this case the constituent is marked for nominative case. The verb agreement shows that the subject is third person singular. This does not necessarily mean that the verb agrees with a cognate subject because even if the cognate object had not appeared in subject position, the agreement element remains the same. The subject of impersonal passives is a dummy one without phonetic realization and the default agreement element is third person singular masculine. (31b) shows an ungrammatical structure. The reason for the ungrammaticality of this sentence is that the cognate object has no nominative case since variants of (31b) with the order reversed would equally be ungrammatical as shown in (31d).

In this respect cognate objects behave just like promoted instruments discussed above. Both need to appear in first position in the sentence; both are marked for nominative and both are similar in the fact that they do not trigger subject agreement on the verb. All cognate objects are masculine. So I cannot come up with examples of feminine or plural cognate objects that show that the verb ending indeed does not agree with the cognate object.

A third type with such a structure is the case of promoted locatives. Impersonal passives allow a nominative location with a locative postposition stranded and cliticized to the following verb.

32a. **gurbaa-n** **siree kee-(i)rra** **taaʔ-e**
boy-NOM bed-your-LOC sit-3M:PF
'A boy sat on your bed.'

32b. **siree-n-kee** **(i)rra-taaʔ-am-e**
bed-NOM-your LOC-sit-PASS-3M:PF
'Sitting was had on your bed.'

33a. **nam-ičč-i** **mana-tti** **fiig-e**
man-DET-NOM house-LOC run-3M:PF
'The man ran to a house.'

33b. **man-ni** **itti -fiig-am-e**
house-NOM LOC-run-PASS-3M:PF
'Running was to a house.'

(32a) and (33a) are intransitive structures. In such structures, nominals such as **gurbaa-n** and **nam-ičč-i** are agentive subjects. Structures shown in (32b) and (33b) are passives. Nominals such as **siree-n** and **man-ni** are pseudo-subjects because there is no agreement; they are complements of a locative postpositional phrases; no cognate objects can be added to such structures.

To sum up, in Oromo impersonal passives appear without subjects. It is also the case that cognate objects often appear in sentence initial (subject) positions of such structures. Moreover, complements of adverbial phrases are permitted to occupy sentence initial (subject) positions. The subject agreement on the verbs of impersonal passives is third person singular. This is the default agreement on the verb and can be argued to be a default subject.

7.3. The Semantics of the Passive

Generally, the meaning of the personal passive shows that the patient is the affected participant. Different from personal passive, impersonal passive shows that there is an experience of an activity that is expressed in the verb; but, the clause is not about an individual involvement of an agent as shown below:

34. **dubbii-n** **dub-at-am-eera**
talk-NOM speak-MID-PASS-3M:PRES.PF
'A speech was made.'

35. **sirb-i** **sirb-am-eera**
dance-NOM dance-PASS-3M:PRES.PF
'A song/dance was had.'

The construction using the instrument as a pseudo-subject in passive structures is used to express that the instrument shows signs as a result of the activity expressed in the sentence, probably by somebody else as shown in (36-37):

36. **šinii-n** **kun** **ittiin-ɗug-am-eera**
cup-NOM this INST-drink-PASS-3M:PRES.PF
'Drinking was had with this cup.'

37. **falʔaan-ni** **kun** **ittiin-ñaat-am-eera**
fork-NOM this INST-eat-PASS-3M:PRES.PF
'Feeding was had with this fork.'

In Oromo, the normal way to make a negative passive is with **hin-** as any negative of a verb. But, there is a construction to use the inherently negative auxiliary 'refuse' like in (38b) to express that the source of the inability lies in the entity of the first constituent/subject (normal negative in 38b is 38c). This construction is interesting because it shows the affected agent.

38a. **gurbaa-n** **muka** **kut-e**
boy-NOM tree cut-3M:PF
'The boy cut a tree.'

38b. **muk-ni** **kut-am-uu** **did-e**
tree-NOM cut-PASS-INF refuse-3M:PF
'A tree is not destined to be cut.'/lit., 'A tree refused to be cut.'

38c. **muk-ni** **hin-kut-am-n-e**
tree-NOM NEG-cut-PASS-NEG-PF
'A tree is not cut.'

In Oromo, personal and impersonal passives are common. Passives of causatives and passives of middles are possible. In personal passives the agent is optionally expressed as an oblique noun phrase. Two identical instrument nouns are less acceptable in passive structures. Semantically, the impersonal passives do not show individual involvement of an agent in the action, but an experience of an activity expressed in the verb. Inherent negative passives show inhibition which lies in the patient entity.

8. The Middle/Passive in Amharic

This chapter is divided into three sections. 8.1. discusses the form of the middle/passive marking. 8.2. discusses the argument structure of the middle/passive. 8.3. considers meanings of the middle/passive.

8.1. Form of the Middle/Passive

The form of the middle/passive marking in Amharic is **tä-**[42]. Leslau (1995: 462-464) notes that this morpheme expresses the passive of transitive verbs. Leslau further observes that the prefix **tä–** changes a transitive verb into an intransitive one. By 'intransitive', Leslau refers to the middle verb because he says, "The concept of the intransitive comes close to that of the **reflexive** [middle] rendered by 'oneself, himself, by himself, by itself'" (Leslau 1995: 463).

The middle/passive marking morpheme **tä-** is productively prefixed to many existing verb stems. For instance, the verb **tä–lač'č'–** 'to be shaved' is a middle/passive verb in which the middle/passive marking **tä-** is prefixed to the stem **lač'č'-** 'to shave'. This morpheme undergoes phonological processes when it is in contact with the initial consonant of a stem (see also Leslau 1995: 468). If a stem of a verb starts with the vowel /**a**/, the middle/passive marking **tä-** appears as **t-** due to phonological change as shown in **t–at't'äb-** 'to wash oneself'. In this example, the middle marking **tä-** is phonetically realized as **t-** because the vowel /**ä**/ of the morpheme **tä-** is followed by /**a**/ of the stem, and consequently the former is dropped.

But in the following cases it is the vowel /**a**/ of the stem which is dropped when the morpheme **tä-** is prefixed:

1a.	**issu**	**s'ägur-u-n**	**tä-s-täkakkäl-ä**
	he	hair-his-ACC	MID-CAUS-MID/PASS:cut-3M:PF
	'He cut his own hair.'/ lit., 'He made his hair equal.'		

[42] Yet, some times it seems that the form **tän-** is considered to be middle/passive. In such cases I consider /**n**/ is not part of the middle/passive. Bezza (1997) and Appleyard (1995) treat the morpheme **an-** as a causative morpheme in verbs such as **ans'äbarräk'-** 'to reflect' suggesting that in verbs such as **tän's'äbarräk'-** 'to reflect' the morpheme **tän-** is middle/passive marking. But, if we contrast the causative form **ans'äbarräk'** and **täns'äbarräk'-** 'to reflect', we understand that the causative morpheme is **a-** and the middle/passive morpheme is **tä-**. Thus in verbs such as **ans'äbarräk'-** 'to reflect' the form ***ns'äbarräk'** does not exist independently. In this case the causative morpheme **a-** and the middle/passive marking **tä-** form predictable opposition. In this case the middle/passive marking **tä-** used as a verbalizer in **tänk'ät'äk'k'ät'** 'to shiver'.

1b. **issu** **s'ägur-u-n** **as-täkakkäl-ä-llä-t**
he hair-his-ACC CAUS-MID/PASS: cut-3M:PF-BEN-3SO
'He trimmed his (other) hair for him (for another person).'/ lit., 'He made his (other) hair equal for him (for another person).'

In (1a) **issu** 'he' is the subject while **s'ägur-u-n** 'his hair' is the object of the sentence; in this case the agent, **issu** 'he', cut his own hair. But in (1b) the agent, **issu** 'he' cut a hair of another person. In (1a), the causative morpheme, **as**- is phonetically realized as –**s**- because the initial sound of the morpheme **as**-, the vowel /**a**/, is dropped when it is preceded by the final sound of the morpheme **tä**-. In (1b) there is no middle/passive marking that precedes the causative morpheme **as**- in which case /**a**/ surfaces.

There is also a case where the middle marking morpheme is omitted when the aspect morpheme precedes it. If the aspect morpheme **yï**- precedes the passive form such as in **tä-gäddäl-ä** 'killed' the form **tä**-drops as in **yï-ggäddäll** 'is killed'; in the mean time the initial consonant is geminated; **yi**- is used for third person subjects (singular or plural) in present imperfective or future aspects.

2. **ahun** **bïzu** **hïs'an-at** **yï-wwälläd-all-u** [43]
now many baby-PL IMPF:3S-MID/PASS:born-IMPF-3P
'Many babies are born nowadays.'

3. **dïrk'** **hulgize** **yï-kkässät-all** [44]
draught always IMPF:3S-MID/PASS:appear-IMPF
'Draught occurs always.'

In (2) and (3) **yï-wwälläd-all-u** 'they are born' and **yï-kkässät-all** 'it appears' are middle verbs. In both cases the first consonants of the base verbs are geminated because of the omission of the middle/passive marking, **tä**-. The past forms of these verbs are **tä-wälläd-u** 'they were born' and **tä-kässät-ä** 'it appeared', without gemination of the initial consonants.

But, if the initial vowel of the verb root is /**a**/ the middle/passive marking is not omitted, but realized as **t**- although the aspect marking precedes it as shown in (4-5):

4. **lïj-u** **ïjj-u-n** **yï-t-at't'äb-all**
boy-DEF hand-his-ACC IMPF:3M-MID/PASS-wash-3M:IMPF
'The boy washes his hands.'

[43] **tä-wälläd-ä** 'born'
[44] **tä-kässät-ä** 'appeared'

5. k'äbetto-u-ïn ras-wa tï-t-at't'äk'-all-äčč
belt-DEF-ACC head-3FS IMPF:3F-MID/PASS-wear-IMPF-3F:PF
'She herself wears the belt.'

In a few cases, when the middle/passive marking is prefixed, the vowel immediately following the initial consonant of the root is altered from /**ä**/ to /**a**/ to give the middle verb as in **tä-saddäb-** 'to insult' and **tä-naggär-** 'to speak'. The citation forms of these verbs are **säddäb-** 'to insult' and **näggär-** 'to tell'. In order to derive the middle forms of these verbs the vowels that followed the initial consonants should be changed from /**ä**/ to /**a**/; and this phonological process is accompanied by **tä-** prefixation.

The middle/passive **tä-** can be interpreted either as middle or passive as shown in (6-7):

6. wänbär-u tä-säbbär-ä
chair-DEF MID/PASS-break-3M:PF
1. 'The chair is broken.' 2. 'The chair was broken by someone.'

7. wänbär-u bä-lïj-u tä-säbbär-ä
chair-DEF INST-boy-DEF MID/PAS-break-3M:PF
'The chair was broken by the boy.'

(6) has a double interpretation because the agent is not expressed as oblique adjunct; it could be middle or passive. In the middle sense, no agent is recognized while in the passive sense the agent is implied. (7) has only one interpretation; it is a passive structure because the agent is expressed.

In general, the form of the middle/passive in Amharic is **tä-**. This form is productively prefixed to both intransitive and transitive verb stems. This form appears as **t-** or is omitted due to morphophonological processes. The middle/passive **tä-** derives the middle and the passive verbs.

8.2. Structural Properties of Clauses with Verbs with tä-

This section, first considers middle structures which have an affected agent; agent being the same as patient, which will be followed by intransitive middles. Structures which can be interpreted as either middle or passive shall also be investigated. Moreover, personal and impersonal passive structures shall be discussed.

8.2.1. Typical Middle Structure

A typical middle structure has both an agent and a patient and the agent is the same as the patient (see 8.3.) In such middle structures the prefixation of the middle/passive marking neither increases nor decreases the number of arguments as in (8):

8a. **lïj-u** **ïjj-u-n** **t-at't'äb-ä**
boy-DEF hand-his: 3MS-ACC MID/PASS-wash-3M:PF
'The boy washed his hands.'

8b. **lïj-u** **lïbs-u-n** **at't'äb-ä**
boy-DEF clothes-his: 3MS-ACC wash-3M:PF
'The boy washed his clothes.'

In (8a) the subject is **lïj-u** 'the boy' while the object is **ïjj-u-n** 'his hand'. In this sentence the verb is marked for the middle. In (8b) the subject is **lïj-u** 'the boy' and the object is **lïbs-u-n** 'his clothes'. But in this case the verb is not marked for the middle; yet the number of arguments used in (8a) and (8b) are equal. In Amharic body grooming verbs such as **tä-lač'č'-** 'shave oneself', **t-at't'äk'-** 'put on/wear one's belt' and **tä-gumät'ämmät'**- 'rinse one's own mouth' are similar to the verb **t-at't'äb-** 'wash oneself' in the sense that they all have similar argument structure.

I came across one instance of a transitive argument structure where the agent is not the same as the patient (9):

9a. **lïj-u** **tä-naggär-ä**
boy-DEF MID/PASS-tell-3M:PF
'The boy spoke out (said something).'

9b. **lïj-u** **ïss-u-n** **tä-naggär-ä-u**
boy-DEF him-DEF-ACC MID/PASS-tell-3M:PF-3MSO
'The boy criticized him.'/lit., 'The boy spoke against him.'

The middle verb **tä-naggär**- 'to speak/to criticize' is derived from a transitive verb **näggär**- 'to tell'. If we consider only (9a), the middle verb **tä-naggär**- 'to speak out' is an argument reducing verb. But, if we consider only (9b) the verb **tä-naggär**- 'to criticize' is a neutral middle since it has the characteristics of transitive verbs similar to the verb **näggär**- 'to tell'. In (9b) the agent and the patient are different. Semantically, (9b) is evaluative and the structure expresses a negative way of saying.

8.2.2. Intransitive Middle

Intransitive middles have only one subject which can be agentive or non-agentive.

10. **ïne** **tä-dässät-ku**
I MID/PASS-enjoy-1S:PF
'I was happy.'

11. **lïj-u** **tärammäd-ä**
boy-DEF MID/PASS:walk-3M:PF
'The boy walked.'

(10) and (11) are intransitive middles. (10) has a non-agentive subject while (11) has an agentive subject. In (11) the subject is acting by his own will or power while in (10) the subject is acting by the will or power of her/his emotion.

8.2.3. The Middle/Passive

There are also middle/passive structures which can be interpreted either as middle or as passive; in one interpretation they can demote agents and promote patients like any other passive structure. In another interpretation they can be considered as middles.

12a. **ïssu** **wänbär-u-n** **säbbär-ä**
he chair-DEF-ACC break-3M:PF
'He broke the chair.'

12b. **wänbär-u** **tä-säbbär-ä**
chair-DEFMID/PASS- break-3M:PF
'The chair is broken (Middle).'

12b. **wänbär-u** **bä-ïssu** **tä-säbbär-ä**
chair-DEF INST-he MID/PASS- break-3M:PF
'The chair was broken by him (Passive).'

(12a) is a transitive structure; it has agentive subject and patient object. But (12b) is a middle structure while (12c) is a personal passive structure.

8.2.4. The Personal Passive

The following personal passives are not ambiguous as they have only passive interpretation; it is the presence of the oblique instrumental phrase with the agent which forces the passive interpretation:

13. **bäg** **bä lïj-u** **tä-gäzz-a**
sheep INST boy-DEF MID/PASS-buy-3M:PF
'A sheep was bought by the boy.'

14. **anbäsa** **bä lïj-u** **tä-gäddäl-ä**
lion INST boy-DEF MID/PASS-kill-3M:PF
'A lion was killed by the boy.'

In Amharic, in the passives of ditransitive verbs both patients and recipients can become subjects. It is also common to observe two prepositional phrases preceding the passive verbs; **kä-** 'from' shows the agentive adjunct while **lä-** 'to' shows the recipient:

15a. **Kasa** **gänzb-u-n** **lä -Aster** **sät't'-ä-at**
Kasa money-DEF-ACC DAT-Aster give-3M:PF-3FSO
'Kasa gave the money to Aster.'

15b. **gänzb-u** **kä- Kasa** **lä- Aster** **tä-sät't'-ä-at**
money-DEF LOC- Kasa DAT-Aster MID/PASS-give-3M:PF-3FSO
'The money was given to Aster from Kasa.'

(15a) is active structure of dative constructions while (15b) is its passive counterpart. In (15a) **Kasa** is the agentive subject, **gänzb-u-n** 'the money' is the patient and **lä Aster** 'to Aster' is the goal. In (15b) **gänzb-u** 'the money' is the subject and **kä Kasa** 'from Kasa' is the agentive adjunct and **lä Aster** 'to Aster' is the goal. In the passive of the dative the preposition that indicates the agentive adjunct is **kä** 'from' not **bä** 'by'. The preposition **bä** 'by' does not replace **kä** 'from' in this case. In non-dative passive structures only **bä** 'by' is used.

Amharic permits the dative object to become the subject of the passive structure. The following examples, from Beza (1997: 37), show this case:

16a. **prezidänt-u** **lä-tämari-wočč-u** **šïllïmat** **sät't'-u**
presedent-DEF DAT-student-PL-DEF award give-3P:PF
'The president gave award to the students.'

16b. **tämari-wočč-u** **(kä-prezidänt-u)** **šïllïmat** **tä-sät't'-u**
student-PL-DEF (LOC-presedent-DEF) award MID/PASS-give-3P:PF
'The students were given award (from the president).'

In (16a) the dative object is **lä-tämari-očč-u** 'to the students'. In (16b) the same object became the subject of the corresponding middle/passive structure while the preposition **lä-** is omitted. The verb agreement **-u** shows that the subject is third person plural. The problem is that this is similar to (16a). In (16a) this plural form shows polite expression (in Amharic polite form is the same as plural form). But still the agreement element in (16b) is with the receiving subject because if the dative object becomes singular, it triggers singular agreement element in the passive/middle sentence as we observe from (17):

17a. **prezidänt-u** **lä-tämari-u** **šïllïmat** **sät't'-u**
presedent-DEF DAT-student-PL-DEF award give-3P:PF
'The president gave award to the student.'

17b. **tämari-u** **(kä-prezidänt-u)** **šïllïmat** **tä-sät't'-ä**
student-DEF (LOC-president-DEF) award MID/PASS-give-3M:PF
'The student was given award (from the president).'

(17a) is an active structure while (17b) is its passive counterpart. In (17a) the dative object is **lä-tämari-u** 'to the student'; the agentive subject is **prezidänt-u** 'the president'. Although the subject is singular, the verb agreement shows polite plural form. In (17b) the dative object became the subject of the passive construction and the agent is expressed as an oblique object. This time the subject is singular and it triggers singular subject agreement. This means that the patient and the goal/recipient noun phrases are permitted to occupy subject positions in passive structures as shown in the following examples:

18a. **tämari-u** **(kä-prezidänt-u)** **šïllïmat** **tä-sät'-ä**
student-DEF (LOC-president-DEF) award MID/PASS-give-3M:PF
'The student was given award (from the president).'

18b. **šïllïmat** **(kä-prezidänt-u)** **lä-tämari-u** **tä-sät'-ä**
award (LOC-presedent-DEF) DAT-student-DEF MID/PASS-give-3M:PF
'Award was given to the student (from the president).'

8.2.5. The Impersonal Passive

In Amharic the middle/passive is derived from intransitive verbs. It is common to observe passives of agentive intransitive verbs in Amharic as in:

19. **tä-hed-ä**
MID/PASS-go-3M:PF
'Going happened.

20. **tä-rot'-ä**
MID/PASS-run-3M:PF
'Running happened.'

21. **tä-mal-ä**
MID/PASS-swear-3M:PF
'Swearing happened.'

(19b), (20b) and (21b) are impersonal passive structures which are derived from agentive intransitive verbs. In all cases the subject positions of the corresponding

structures are empty. There are also passives of patient oriented intransitive verbs as shown below:

22. **tä-śäddäk'-ä**
MID/PASS-ratify-3M:PF
'Righteousness was had.'

23. **tä-mot-ä**
MID/PASS-die-3M:PF
'Death was had.'

24. **tä-nor-ä**
MID/PASS-live-3M:PF
'Living was had.'

(22), (23) and (24) are impersonal passives which do not have subjects. These passives are derived from verbs such as **śäddäk'-** 'to be ratified', **mot-** 'to die' and **nor-** 'to live'. The impersonal passives have dummy subjects which are not phonetically realized. For such impersonal passives the default agreement element is third person masculine singular.

Cognate objects can be the subjects of impersonal passives as shown below:

25. **nuro tä-nor-ä**
living MID/PASS-live-3M:PF
'Living was had.'

26. **ruč'a tä-rot'-ä**
running MID/PASS-run-3M:PF
'Running was had.'

There are also some cases where the initial position of the impersonal passive is occupied by a nominal element as we observe from the following structures:

27a. **issu mïnt'af-u lay hed-ä**
he carpet-DEF LOC go/step-3M:PF
'He went on the carpet.'

28b. **mïnt'af-u tä-hed-ä-bbä-t**
carpet-DEF MID/PASS-go/step-3M:PF-MAL-3MSO
'Stepping was had on the carpet.'

(27a) is an intransitive event. In (27a) **issu** 'he' is the agentive subject. The phrase **mïnt'af-u lay** 'on the carpet' in (27a) is an adverbial phrase. In this case the complement of the postpositional phrase occupies the sentence initial (subject) position

of the passive structure mean while the postposition **lay** 'on' is dropped. But such a subject does not trigger subject agreement on the verb. This point becomes clear if such a subject becomes plural as shown in (29):

29. **mïnt'af-očč-u** **tä-hed-ä-bbä-ačč-äu**
carpet-PL-DEF MID/PASS-step-3M:PF-MAL-3PO
'Stepping was had on the carpets.'

As we observe from (29) the noun **mïnt'af-očč-u** 'carpets' does not trigger subject agreement on the verb. The agreement element **-a-** shows the subject is third person singular, which is the dummy one. The noun **mïnt'af-očč-u** 'carpets' triggers plural object agreement element on the verb, provided it also contains the malefactive.

8.3. Meanings of the Middle/Passive

This section has two main parts. The first part discusses the meanings of the middle such as body centered, mental event and spontaneous middles. The second section treats meanings of the impersonal passive.

8.3.1. "Middle" Senses of Middle/Passive

8.3.1.1. Body centered Middles

Body motion middles include body grooming or body care, change in body posture, non-translational motion and translational motion. Each of these cases will be considered.

One of body centered middles is body care/ grooming which involves events such as washing oneself, dressing oneself, etc. In body centered middles the initiator of the action is the same as the endpoint of the action. Such middles are common in Amharic as we can observe from the following instances:

30. **lïj-u** **ïjj-u-n** **t-at't'äb-ä**
boy-DEF hand-his-ACC MID/PASS-wash-3M:PF
'The boy washed his hands.'

31. **ïne** **s'im-e-n** **tä-lač'č'-ähu**
I beard-my-ACC MID/PASS-shave-1S:PF
'I shaved my beard.'

32. **ïswa** **af-wa-n** **tägumät'mmät'-äčč**
she mouth-her-ACC MID/PASS: rinse-3F:PF
'She rinsed her mouth with water.'

33. **ïswa** **ayïn-wa-n** **tä-kuwal-äčč**
she eye-her-ACC MID/PASS-put kohl on one's eye lids-3F:PF
'She put on kohl on her eye lids.'

In (30) the initiator of the action is **lïj-u** 'the boy' while the endpoint of the action is body part of the initiator, **ijj-u-n** 'his hand'. In (31) the initiator of the action is **ïne** 'I' while the endpoint is body part, **s'im-e-n** 'my beard'. The same is true with (32) and (33). Verbs such as **tä-näk'k'äs-** 'to colour one's own (teeth)gum' and **tä-stäkakkäl-** 'to trim one's own hair' are included here.

34. **issu** **č'amma-u-n** **tä-č'amm-a**
he shoe-his-ACC MID/PASS-put on shoe-3M:PF
'He wore his shoes.'

35. **issu** **k'äbätto-u-n** **t-at't'äk'-ä**
he belt-his-ACC MID/PASS-wear-3M:PF
'He wore his belt.'

In (34) the initiator of the action is **issu** 'he' and **č'amma-u-n** 'his shoe' is the object. In (35) the initiator of the action is **issu** 'he' and the obejct is **k'äbetto-u-n** 'his belt'. In both (34) and (35) the objects are not body parts of the initiator of the action, but they have unity with the initiator of the action, **ïssu** 'he'.

Change in body posture middles are also body centered middles which do not result in spatial displacement of the agent. Semantically the initiator of the action acts on her/ himself in the sense that it is the will of the initiator that moves the initiator's specific body part or whole body (Beck 2000: 225 and Kemmer 1993). Verbs such as **täk'ämmät'-** 'to sit down', **tänäss-** 'to stand', **tägaddäm-** 'to lie down', **täññ-** 'to sleep' , **tänbäräkkäk-**'to kneel down' and **tägonäbbäs-** 'to be bent down' are considered to be body posture middles.

Non-translational body motion is also categorized as body centered middle. This type of middle verb indicates motor control of the whole body or part of the body; but it does not indicate change of location (Mous 2004b; Kemmer 1993). For instance, the verb **täkosattär-** 'to put on serious look' denotes change of facial expression from normal to serious. Similarly, the verb **tä-gälammät'-** 'to look at someone angrily' shows that the agent saw the patient negatively. Such action offends the patient. In such (uncontrolled or impulsive) middles the body part can become the subject of the middle structure:

36. **ïjj-wa** **tänk'ät'äk'k'ät'-ä**
hand-her MID/PASS: shiver-3M:PF
'Her hand shivered.'

37. **k'oda-u** **tä-č'ämaddäd-ä**
skin-his MID/PASS-wrinkle-3M:PF
'His skin wrinkled.'

In (36) the verb **tänk'ät'äk'k'ät'-ä** 'shivered' indicates that the hand shivered which can be due to various reasons such as disease, anger, frustration, etc. The middle verb in (37) expresses about a skin of a person. A skin which is wrinkled due to aging or due to some other reason is expressed in the same way as in (37). Verbs such as **tä-rgäbäggäb-** 'to flicker' and **tä-t'ämazzäz-**'to be twisted' are similar. Verbs such as **tänk'ät'äk'k'ät'-** and **täšmädämmäd-** 'to be paralyzed' and **tärgäbäggäb-** 'to flicker' are frozen middles; but middles such as **tä-č'ämaddäd-** 'to wrinkle' and **tä-t'ämäzzäz-** 'to be twisted' are derived.

Translational motion middles are body centered middles which indicate change of location of the initiator. In translational motion an entity moves through space. For instance, the verb **tänkärattät-** 'to move endlessly' shows a situation in which the agent moves from place to place because of some kind of difficult problem. The verb **tänkäballäl-ä** shows that the agent rolled over a ground and the motion took place within a limited space; it can also show motion across time and space. The verb **tärammäd-** 'to walk' shows the agent moved or walked slowly within a limited space; and the verb **täšaggär-** 'to cross' shows that the agent moved from one border to another.

8.3.1.2. Mental Event Middles

In the mental event middles I consider emotional state, information processing mechanisms and gaining information through perceptual modalities as expressed by the middle verb in Amharic. In Amharic emotion middles show emotional state of mind of an experiencer as shown in the following examples:

38. **lïj-u** **tä-čäggär-ä**
boy-DEF MID/PASS-be in difficulty-3M:PF
'The boy ran short of money.'

39. **Aster** **tä-č'ännäk'-äčč**
Aster MID/PASS-worry-3F:PF
'Aster worried.'

40. **ïne** **tä-dässät-ku**
I MID/PASS-enjoy-1S:PF
'I was happy.'

(38-40) show emotion middles. In (38) the expriencer is **lïj-u** 'the boy'. The experiencer is not the initiator of the action. The source of the problem is unspecified. The example show that the experiencer found himself in a problematic situation. Such a problem could be financial, social or a health problem. The point is that the expriencer is in a problematic state of mind. The verb **täčäggär-** 'to be in difficulty' in (38) shows that the expriencer tried every means to get out of the trouble but could not succeed. We observe here that the expriencer affects himself in the sense that his subconscious mind generates the feeling of being in a problem and such feeling is manifested physically; the expriencer's facial expressions, ways of speech and negative attitudes towards his environment show this. Such a state of mind of the expriencer is expressed through the middle.

In (40) the middle **tä-dässät-** 'to enjoy' shows that the expriencer is in a relaxed state of mind. Even though we know from our knowledge of the world that the expriencer has overcome some kind of problem, the source of the event is unspecified.

There are also some emotion middles of utterance such as (41) and (42):

41. **lij-u** **tägutämättäm-ä**
boy-DEF MID/PASS:mutter complainingly-3M:PF
'The boy muttered complainingly.'

42. **wättaddär-očč-u** **tägurämärräm-u**
soldier-PL-DEF MID/PASS:rumble-3P:PF
'The soldiers rumbled.'

In (41) the verb **tägutämättäm-ä** 'he muttered complainingly' shows that the state of mind of the expriencer is distressed. In this case the expriencer **lïj-u** 'the boy' is the initiator of the action; and it is also true that the initiator of the action is the affected entity because the verb shows that the expriencer experienced such a situation. In (42) **wättaddär-očč-u** 'soldiers' is the initiator and the source of the event. The initiator of the action is the affected entity because the verb **tägurämrräm-u** 'mumbled' shows that the state of mind of the expriencer is already in anger and revenge. The following middles are also related to (41) and (42):

43. **lïj-u** **tä-naddäd-ä**
boy-DEF MID/PASS-angry-3M:PF
'The boy is angry.'

44. **tämari-u** **täbäsač'č'-ä**
student-DEF MID/PASS: irritate-3M:PF
'The student is irritated.'

In (43) **lïj-u** 'the boy' is the subject of the sentence; the subject is the initiator of the action and the affected participant, the expriencer. Similarly, in (44) **tämari-u** 'the student' is the initiator and the endpoint. The verb **täbäsač'č'-** 'to be irritated' in (44) shows that the participant is unhappy because he could not get what he wanted or expected.

Cognition middles, verbs which show a pure process of thinking, are observed in Amharic. Some of such middles show a process of acquiring knowledge and understanding while others relate processes of thinking with action. The following examples illustrate the process of acquiring knowledge:

45a. **lïj-u** **hisab** **tämar-ä**
boy-DEF maths MID/PASS:learn-3M:PF
'The boy learned maths.'

45b. **zämänawi** **tïmïrt** **tämamar-ä-nna** **wädä** **ïrša**
modern education MID/PASS: learn-3M:PF-and LOC farming

tämälläs-ä
MID/PASS-return-3M:PF
'Having learned a little of modern education, he returned to farming.'

In (45a) the expriencer is **lïj-u** 'the boy', the patient is **hisab** 'maths' while the verb is **tämar-ä** 'learned'. In (45a) the subject of the sentence is the initiator and the affected entity. Similarly in (45b) the subject is the initiator and the affected entity. The verb **tämamar-ä** 'learned' in (45b) shows that the experiencer received little education. The reduplicated stem shows that the agent acquired superficial knowledge.

46. **issu** **nägär-u-n** **tä-rädd-a-u**
he idea-DEF-ACC MID/PASS-help-3M:PF-3MSO
'He understood the idea.'

In (46) the expriencer is **issu** 'he', the patient is **nägär** 'idea' and the verb is **tärädd-a-u** 'understood/ lit., helped'. The agent processed and understood the idea which means that the initiator of the action is the affected entity.

47. **tämari-u** **nägär-u-n** **tägänäzzäb-ä-u**
student-DEF idea-DEF-ACC MID/PASS: remember-3M:PF-3MSO
'The student recognized/ took note of the idea.

In (47) the verb **tä-gänäzzäb-ä-w** 'took note, recognized' shows there was some kind of information processing in the mind of the expriencer. By processing information in his mind the student recalled an idea that had been stored some time ago. In this case **tämari-u** 'the student' is the initiator and the affected entity.

The following examples also show processes of knowledge acquiring and understanding:

48. **mämïhïr-očč-ačč'ïn** **sïlä-säw lïj** **tä-märammär-u**
teacher-PL-our about-human being MID/PASS-investigate-3P:PF
'Our teachers investigated about the nature of human being.'

49. **mämïhïr-očč-ačč'ïn** **sïlä-k'uwank'uwa** **tä-fälassäf-u**
teacher-PL-our about-language MID/PASS-philosophize-3P:PF
'Our teachers philosophized about language.'

In (48) the experiencer is **mämïhïr-očč-ačč'ïn** 'our teachers' and the verb is **tä-märammär-u** 'investigated'. In this case the expriencers investigated about language deeply, which means that processes of thinking involved in this example are complicated ones. Similarly in (49) the expriencers were engaged in making extensive research to come up with new ways of dealing with language.

There is also another type of cognition middle in Amharic. In such middle verbs the agent thinks carefully over the matter and performs the action. The middle marking **tä-** indicates that some kind of thinking process underwent before the action has taken place; they are called behavioural verbs.

In (50) the verb shows that the agent insults someone. The case is that the agent intentionally performed the action in response to some kind of behaviour in his environment. For example, if someone says something against the agent, the agent will intentionally insult such person because he is always ready to insult. This means that the initiator of the action is the participant that is characterized. In (51) the agent speaks well in response to some kind of occasion that he has already prepared himself for beforehand.

50. **Kasa säw yï-(tä)-ssaddäb-all**[45]
Kasa man IMPF-MID/PASS-insult-3M:IMPF
'Kasa insults anyone.'

[45] This analysis is based on Baye (1986 e.c. (1994):129-130).

51. **Kasa t'ïru yï-(tä)-nnaggär-all**
Kasa good IMPF-MID/PASS-speak-3M:IMPF
'Kasa speaks well.'

There are also perception middles in Amharic. Most of Amharic experiencer-based and stimulus-based perception middles are not middle marked. But there are some verbs which are marked for middle. Most of these verbs are non-productive or de-nominals. The following instances show experiencer-based perception middles:

52. **agär-u-n tämäläkkätï-n**
country-DEF-ACC MID/PASS:look at-1P
'We looked at/ visited the country.'

The verb **tämäläkkätïn** 'looked at' in (52) shows the case in which the experiencers visited the country. The following perception middles also show knowledge gained through perceptual modalities:

53. **wïbät-wa-n ayït-o tädämmäm-ä**
beauty-her-ACC see-CON MID/PASS- astonished-3M:PF
'Having seen her beauty, he is astonished.'

54. **bä k'äld-wa tädännäk'-ä**
by humour-her MID/PASS:admire-3M:PF
'He admired her humour.'

55. **bä (yä)**[46] **täfät'ïro sïrat tägärräm-äčč**
INST of nature system MID/PASS:be amazed-3F:PF
'She is amazed by nature's extraordinary system.'

The verbs in (53-55) are all similar in meaning. To some extent these verbs overlap with cognition middles in the sense that they involve process of thinking; particularly they compare and contrast information which is stored in the brain. In these examples such information is checked against actual observation of beauty, sound and nature. In (53) the experiencer appreciated the beauty of the patient; in (54) the experiencer is amazed by the sense of humour; and in (55) the experiencer is amazed by nature's extraordinary system. In all cases we observe that the appreciation of the experiencers evolves from within themselves and from their experiences; and it is not an external imposition. Thus the expriencers shown in (53-55) are the initiators of the corresponding actions.

[46] If the preposition **bä**- precedes the morpheme –**yä**-, which can be genitive or possessive case marking, the latter is deleted.

In summary emotion middles show emotional state of mind of a participant while cognition middles show pure process of thinking and understanding. Perception middles show knowledge gained through perceptual modalities.

8.3.1.3. Spontaneous Middles

In spontaneous middles we observe only one participant; and the participant involved is both the initiator from within itself and the affected entity. Spontaneous events which show physiological and physiochemical changes are discussed in this section. The discussion also includes change in shape, size, and colour. Besides existential changes, spontaneous non-volitional motions, some types of non-translational motions, spatial changes and some stimulus-based visual properties are taken into consideration.

Most of Amharic middles which show physiological and physiochemical changes are not marked for the middle. Yet, there are very few verbs which are marked for middle as in **tä-mällät'-** 'to be depleted', **tä-läwwät'-** 'to be changed (for character)'. Some verbs which show existential changes are marked for middle as in **tä-wälläd-** 'to be born'. Similarly, verbs which show biological need are marked for the middle as in **tä-rab-** 'to be hungry' and **tä-t'ämm-** 'to be thirsty'. Middles such as **tä-k'ät'at't'äl-** 'to blaze', **täk'at't'äl-** 'to be overcooked/ to burn', **tä-sännät't'äk'-** 'to crack', **tä-läyy-** 'to be separated' and **täwahad-** 'to be mixed' show physiochemical changes. Middles which show change of shape are marked for the middle as in **t-at't'äf-** 'to be folded', **täkomattär-** 'to be shrunk', **tä-säbässäb-** 'to be collected on one place' and **tä-näffäs-** 'to be flat'. Verbs which show manner changes are also are marked for the middle as in **täsgäbäggäb-** 'to be greedy', **tälfäsäffäs-** 'to become flabby', **tä-kurarr-** 'to become proud' and **tänk'äbarrär-** 'to behave rudely'

Some non-volitional motion verbs (Kemmer 1993: 145) which indicate events such as starting, stopping, approaching, moving away, etc., are middle marked in Amharic as in **tänäss-** 'to start (for a car)', **tä-gättär-** 'to stand fixed' and **tä-jämmär-** 'to start (for season)'. Semantically, these events are spontaneous. I also include some middle verbs which show sudden change of space of a participant as in **tä-gällät'-** 'to be revealed', **täkässät-** 'to appear' and **tä-säwwär-** 'to disappear'. In relation to these verbs there are spontaneous middle verbs which have visual properties as in **täbläč'älläč'-** 'to glitter' and **täbräk'ärräk'-** 'to glimmer'.

The middle marking morpheme is not productively added to transitive verbs to derive the autobenefactive meaning as in Oromo because there is no autobenefactive middle in Amharic. In Amharic the autobenefactive is expressed syntactically. The middle marking morpheme is not the only way in which the middle meaning is expressed. There are two other ways in which the middle meaning is expressed in Amharic. These are lexical and analytic middles. Lexical middles are verbs without

middle marking morpheme. In analytic middles some verb roots are combined to express the middle meaning.

8.3.2. "Passive" Senses of Middle/Passive

In this section I consider the meanings of the impersonal passives. In Amharic, agent and patient oriented intransitives allow passive derivation.

8.3.2.1. The Impersonal Passive

Semantically impersonal passives of agentive and patient oriented intransitives involve three conditions: first, the speaker separates her/himself from her/his feelings expressed by the verb. Second, the speaker becomes the observer of such feelings expressed by the verb. Third, such observation shows that the speaker is not affected by her/his feelings expressed by the verb. For example, **tä-mal-ä** 'swearing was had' shows the expriencer is the observer of her/his emotional state expressed by the verb and the expriencer is not affected. Similarly, the verb **tä-hed-ä** 'going was had' shows the subject is the observer of her/his physical experience. In passives of patient oriented verbs the subject observer assumes the level of ever presence because the non-agentive subject becomes the observer of the experience expressed by the verb; thus, the patient subject is not affected as in **tä-mot-ä** 'dying was had.'

8.3.2.2. Reciprocal Passives

In Amharic reciprocals events are marked by the morpheme **-tä-** similar to other middle/passive structures and consequently the subject is patient oriented:

56a. **ïssu ïssua-n sam-(ä)-at**
he she-ACC kiss-3M:PF-3FSO
'He kissed her.'

56b. **ïssua tä-sam-äčč**
She MID/PASS-kiss-3F:PF
'She was kissed.'

56c. **ïnnässu tä-sasam-u**
they MID/PASS-RED: kiss-3P:PF
'They kissed each other.'

Instances shown in (56a) is a transitive event where **ïssu** 'he' is agentive subject, **ïssua-n** 'she' is patient and **sam-** 'to kiss' is a verb. (56b) is a passive of (56a) where the patient **ïssua-n** 'she' becomes the subject of the passive structure. (56c) is a reciprocal event where the subject is plural and the verb is marked for the passive accompanied by stem reduplication of the verb. Because the verb is marked for the middle/passive the subject of the reciprocal event is patient oriented, meaning

both participants are affected participants. The reduplicated stem shows that the event involves a repeated action.

8.4. The Affected Agent in Special Negation of the Passive

In this part I discuss the concept of the affected agent. The concept of the affected agent is discussed in detail by Næss (2003: 31); she defined the affected agent as follows: "A verb has an affected agent if the action described by the verb has a conventionally intended, direct effect on its agent." Næss's affected agent definition is designed to analyze the case of the verb 'eat'. The act of eating is intended in the sense that the purpose of the act is to overcome hunger. This conventional notion has an effect on the agent. This means that the action directly affects the agent.

Næss's definition does not include unintended and indirect effects. As Næss (2003: 31-32) says, "However it is perfectly possible to imagine someone engaging in the act of chopping wood for other purposes; for example, to exercise the muscles in his arms and back, or to be exhausted so that he will be able to sleep in the evening. These effects are however not an intrinsic part of the meaning of chop (wood); they are not conventionally intended effects of the act."

When I refer to the affected agent I include the unintended and indirect effect associated with a given action of a verb. Such unintended and indirect affectedness of the agent is expressed by passive constructions; while Næss associates the intentional and direct effects directed to the agent with intransitive constructions of the ingestive verbs. In this case my analysis includes passives whereas Næss's analysis includes only ingestive verbs, particularly 'eat'.

My view is similar to Næss's (2003: 42-43) analysis in the sense that agents can be affected participants. The affectedness of the agent is marked in Amharic negative expressions that are used with the verb **alä** 'to say', to show the reaction of the event against the action of the agent. Affectedness of the agent also plays a role in the semantic overlap of the passive and the middle structures in which a single structure gives two interpretations.

Almost all passive verbs can form compound verbs with the verb 'to say' to express the reaction of the patient or the event. This is a special negation to express the "affectedness" of unexpressed agent as the following examples show:

57a. **zaf-u** **al-(tä)-**[47] **ïk'k'orrät'** **al-ä**
tree-DEF NEG-(MID/PASS)-cut say-3M:PF
'The tree is not cut.' /lit., 'The tree say not to be cut.'

[47] There are two ways in which the middle/passive can be realized: as **tä-** or as gemination, and if as gemination the epenthetic vowel is needed.

57b. ***zaf-u** **(tä)-k'k'orrät'** **al-ä**
tree-DEF (MID/PASS)-cut say-3M:PF
'The tree is cut.' /lit., 'The tree say to be cut.'

(57a) is a negative expression with the verb to say, **alä**. The subject of the structure is **zaf-u** 'the tree' while the main verb is **al-k'k'orrät'** 'not cut'. In this example the verb to say follows the main verb; it shows that the patient highly reacts against the action of the agent, which it refused to be done. There is no construction with **al-** 'to say' and a positive verb form as shown in (57b) It is also the case that in such cases the verb 'to say' adds object agreement as we see from the following examples:

58. **zaf-u** **al-(tä)- ïk'k'orrät'** **al-ä-u**
tree-DEF NEG-(MID/PASS)-cut say-3M:PF-3MSO
'The tree is not cut.' /lit., 'The tree says not to be cut.'

59. **sïra-u** **al-(tä)- ïssärr-a** **al-ä-ññ**
work-DEF NEG-(MID/PASS)-do-3M:PF say-3M:PF-1SO
'I could not manage to do the work.' (The work refused me to be done.)

60. **mäkina-u** **al-(tä)- ïnnädd-a** **al-ä-at**
car-DEF NEG-(MID/PASS)-drive-3M:PF say-3M:PF-3FO
'She did not manage to drive the car.' (The car refused her to be driven.)

In (58-60), the verb 'to say' forms a compound verb with the main verb to express strong reactions from the corresponding patients against the corresponding actions of the agents. In all cases the agents are expressed as objects, because object agreements such as **-u**, **-ññ** and **-at** indicate that the agents are expressed as objects in these structures. In all verbs the initial consonant of the verbs are geminated which means that the middle/passive marking morpheme underwent phonological processes that resulted in such gemination.

There are some similarities and differences between passive structures with the verb 'to say' and passive structures without verb 'to say' as we observe from the following examples:

61a. **zaf-u** **(lä- ïssu)** **al- (tä)- ïk'-k'orrät'** **al-ä-u**
tree-DEF (DAT- him) NEG-MID/PASS-cut say-3M:PF-3MSO
'He could not manage to cut the tree.' /lit., 'The tree refused him to be cut.'

61b. **zaf-u** **(bä- issu)** **al-tä-k'orrät'-ä-m**
tree-DEF (INST- him) NEG-MID/PASS-cut-3M:PF-NEG
'The tree was not cut (by him).'

Example (61a) is a passive structures with the verb to say which shows the reactions of the patient. But example (61b) is a passive structure without the verb 'to say'. In

(61a) the agent is expressed as object in which the object is marked for dative case by the prefix as **lä-** and triggers object agreement on the verb. The object agreement agrees with oblique prepositional phrase. But in (61b) the agent is expressed as instrument case by the preposition **bä** 'by' and there is no agreement triggered by such adjuncts as the only verb is the passive. Subject agreement on the verb agrees with the subject of the passive.

Semantically, in (61a), the agent has tried to do his best to perform the action but was unable to do so because of lack of ability or other interference such as bad weather condition, mental instability and the like. In (61b) it is impossible to know whether the agent has tried to perform the action or not. What we understand is that the agents had a plan to perform a given action but could not undertake them.

In fact transitive verbs also form compound verbs with the verb 'to say'. But such cases express the attitude of the agent, and not the way the action affects the agent. The agent is not affected here. Thus the difference between presence and absence of middle/passive morphology correlates affectedness of the agent or not.

62. **lïj-u** **zaf-u-n** **al-k'ort'** **al-ä**
boy-DEF tree-DEF-ACC NEG-cut say-3M:PF
'The boy refused to cut the tree.'

63. **ine** **sïra-u-n** **al-sär-a** **al-ku**
I work-DEF-ACC NEG-do-3M:PF say-1PS
'I refused to work.'

64. **ïssua** **mäkina-u-n** **al-näd-a** **al-äčč**
she car-DEF-ACC NEG-drive-3M:PF say-3F:PF
'She refused to drive the car.'

In (62) **lïj-u** 'the boy', in (63) **ine** 'I' and in (64) **ïssua** 'she' are agentive subjects. These subjects trigger subject agreements **-ä**, **-ku** and **-äčč** on the compound verb. Semantically, such structures show the unwillingness of the agents to perform the corresponding actions.

The semantics of the affectedness of the agent of special negation of the passive is linked to the semantics of the middle. The affectedness of the agent is one of the basic characteristics of the middle. Such characteristic of the middle is manifested in different ways. In body grooming middles the agent is the affected entity; and the event is clearly shown in the middle section. But in spontaneous middles the event is not as clearly indicated as in body grooming middles because spontaneous middles are identified by their low elaboration of events (Kemmer 1993; Hardy 1994: 40). In some cases of middles an external agent is implied. Whenever the external agent is implied, the middle overlaps with the passive. This formal and semantic overlap is observed in Amharic.

Siewierska (1984: 168-169) quotes Titov (1976: 64) who claims that the following Amharic examples "…can be interpreted as passive or anticausative [middle]":

65. **bärr** **tä-käffät-ä**
door MID-open-3M:PF
'The door was opened' / 'The door opened.'

66. **t'orïnnät** **tä-fäśśäm-ä**
war MID-end-3M:PF
'The war was ended (stopped)' / 'The war ended.'

67. **jäbäna** **tä-säbbär-ä**
coffee pot MID-break-3M:PF
'The coffee pot was broken.' / 'The coffee pot broke.'

It is true that in these examples the passives overlap with the middles. If we consider the middle side of the case, all these examples are categorized as spontaneous middles because there is no external human agent who caused the events. Such spontaneous middles are characterized by Shibatani (1985: 827) as follows: "Most of so-called middle (medio-)passives or pseudo-passives are better understood as constructions which express SPONTANEOUS occurrence - an event that automatically occurs, or a state that spontaneously obtains without the intervention of an agent." It appears that, in this case, **bärr** 'door', **t'orïnnät** 'war' and **jäbäna** 'coffee pot' are the initiator and the endpoints of the corresponding events. This means that the subject of the corresponding events are affected by their own actions. The affectedness of the agent is the underlying feature that makes the passive and the middle structures to overlap.

Amharic does not have separate markings for the middle and the passive. The form that is used as the middle/passive is **tä-**. Amharic has valency neutral transitive middle, intranstive and ambiguous middle/passive structures. Personal, impersonal and reciprocal passive structures are also common in this language. Possible middle senses of the middle passive are body centered, mental event, sppontaneous. In the reciprocal passives and special negation of passives, the agent is the affected participant. In the personal passives the patient is the affected participant while in the impersonal passives the activity expressed by the verb is the affected entity.

9. The Middle/Passive in Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo

In Shakkinoono the form **-a-** is considered to be the middle/passive because it derives a middle/passive verb. Verbs that happen to end in vowels other than **a** may have middle meaning but are not considered to be middle marked; nor are verbs that end in **a** but for which this **a** cannot be shown to be a (derivation) morpheme. Of other final vowels only **i** can also operate as a derivational suffix but it is a causative (and a theme vowel). Even though some intransitive verbs with **i** finals have middle meanings similar to unmarked verbs in many Ethiopian languages, it is not considered as middle/passive form because it cannot be shown to be a suffix (a separate morpheme) in these cases.

This chapter is divided into three main sections. 9.1. discusses the form of the middle/passive. 9.2. deals with the semantics of the middle. 9.3. deals with the argument structure of the middle/passive.

9.1. The Form of the Middle/Passive

9.1.1. Passive Derivation

In Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo the passive verb is derived by the morpheme **-a (-e** in Kafinoonoo). Particularly, in Kafinoonoo passive verb derivation is clear in the sense that the suffixation of **-e-** changes a transitive verb into a passive verb. In this language **e**-final verbs simply add one more **-e-** to derive the passive. As shown below, (1a) is transitive structure and the verb is **e**-final while (1b) is passive structure and **-e-** is a passive morpheme that that is added and decreases the number of arguments.

1a. **aro ket'o-n šune-te (K)**
he house-ACC work-3M:PF
'He built a house.'/lit., 'He worked a house.'

1b. **ket'o šune-e-te (K)**
house work-MID/PASS-3M:PF
'A house was built.'/lit., 'A house was worked.'

If the verb is **i** final, then **i** is replaced by **-e-** in the passive verb as shown below:

2a. **aro gindo-n kut'i-te (K)**
he tree-ACC cut-3M:PF
'He cut a tree.'

2b. **gindo** **kut'-e-te (K)**
tree cut-MID/PASS-3M:PF
'A tree was cut.'

The verb in (2a) has **i** in its final position while in (2b) **i** is replaced by the passive marking **-e-** meanwhile the argument structure is decreased: the patient has become subject.

The morpheme **-e-** indicating middle/passive is possibly present in body grooming verbs such as **koče** in (3a) certainly when compared to (3b) but we consider it a thematic vowel. (3a) is a middle verb which is **e** final while (3b) is a transitive verb which is **i** final.

3a. are **bi-gašoo-n** **koče-tane (K)**
she her-teeth-ACC colour-3F:PF
'She coloured her (teeth)gum.'

3b. are **are-n** **koči-tane (K)**
she she-ACC colour-3F:PF
'She coloured somebody.'

In Shakkinoono, the passive verb is derived when the morpheme –**a-** is attached to **i** stem. In verbs such as **k'úddìyà-** 'to be cut' Leslau (1958: 147) recognizes –**ya** to be the passive marking in Shakkinoono. I consider the passive marker to be **-a-** and the glide /**y**/ to be epenthetic following Taddese (1999: 38-39).[48] The same epenthetic glide precedes the agentive nominal derivation –**ačč̀o** after **i** final stems, but no **/y/** is added after **a** final stems as shown below:

4a. àrìyì-yè 'he knows'
4b. àrìyì<y> àčč̀ò 'student'
5a. šùùnà-yè 'work'
5b. šùùn-à-čč̀ò 'worker
5c. šùùn-ì-yè 'he did work'
5d. šùùn-ì <y> àčč̀ò 'chief'

The passive derivation in Shakkinoono is evident from the following example:

6a. **náámí** **gíndó-n** **k'úddì-yè (S)**
boy tree-ACC cut-3M:PF
'A boy cut a tree.'

[48] Taddese says a glide **/y/** is inserted to separate two non-identical vowels. He further notes that **/y/** cannot be inserted if **/e/** is followed by **/o/**. As he says, in Kafinoonoo, the glide is inserted in a sequence of **/i-e/**, **/i-o/** and **/e-o/**.

6b. **gíndó** **náámí-nàà** **k'úddì<y>à-ỳe (S)**
tree boy-INST cut<EPN>MID/PASS-3M:PF
'A tree was cut by a boy.'

There is also a case where the middle is marked by –**ya-** as shown in (7):

7. áré **bì-kókó-n** **gúč'ì<y>à-(h)ànè**
she her-mouth-ACC rinse<EPN>MID/PASS-3F:PF
'She risnsed her mouth.'

The derivation vowels –**i**- CAUS and –**a**- MID/PASS are also the only possible stem final vowels in Shakkinoono.

9.1.2. Frozen middles in –a

In Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo, the suffix **-a** is considered to be a form of the middle too and not only the passive because in some cases verbs with **-a** finals could be interpreted either as a middle or a passive as shown blow:

8. gábbáró tííšà-yè (S)
chair break-3M:PF
'A chair has been broken (passive sense)' or 'A chair is broken (middle sense).'

9. gabbaro tiiša-te (K)
chair break-3M:PF
'A chair has been broken' or 'A chair is broken.'

Structures like (8) and (9) can be considered as passives with omitted agents or middles. Such cases are common in Semitic and Omotic languages.

Second, the form **-a-** is used with body grooming verbs and body grooming middles are typical middle verbs (see Chapter 10) as shown in (10):

10a. **áró** **bì- kìšóó-n** **màssà-yè (S)**
he his- hand-ACC wash-3M:PF
'He washed his hand.'

10b. **áró** **áré-n** **màssì-yè (S)**
he she-ACC wash-3M:PF
'He washed her.'

These examples are clear parallel structures in which the verb ending in **a** has middle meaning whereas its counter part in **i** does not.

Third, reciprocals are marked by the middle/passive as shown in (11):

11. **bónóší yútì<y>à-yeètè (S)**
they follow<EPN>MID/PASS-3P:PF
'They followed one another.'

In many Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages, the form that derives the passive also derives the middle and middle-passive overlap is common. These are the reasons to consider **-a-** as a middle/passive and not just as a passive.

The form **-i-** never derives the passive but a causative verb, however, some intransitive verbs with **i** final have middle meanings. We do not have verbs with thematic **a** and causative meaning. Some verbs in thematic **a** are not clearly middle in meaning, like **šúùna**- 'to work'. Still we investigate all verbs with thematic **a** to the possibility of them being frozen middles. We cannot conclude that all verbs with thematic **i** contain a frozen causative.

In Shakkinoono, there are also some other unproductive middle markings. These middle markings are: **-ata-**, **-ihi-**, **-aaha-** and **-iya-**. The morpheme **–ata-** is not common in Shakkinoono; and it is not found in Kafinoonoo, at leat not in my data. I found two instances of the morpheme **–ata-** as in **bòr-à-yè** 'became impure', **bòr-àtà-yè**[49] 'it became impure' (no difference in meaning between the two) and **k'ànaata-(yé)** 'became jealous' (Leslau 1959).

The morpheme **–ata-** seems to be a borrowed form, with some innovation, from Oromo since **–at-** is a productive middle marking in Oromo, the only Cushitic language that borders Shakkinoono. In fact the middle marking in verbs such as **bòr-àtà-yè** 'it became impure' and **k'ànaata-(yé)** 'it became jealous' is not **–ata-** but **–a-**. The form **–at-**, which is borrowed from Oromo, is fossilized[50] and became part of the root. The verb **bor-a-ye** 'be impure' is similar to Oromo's **boraah-e** 'become impure'. But in Oromo the form **–aah-** is found on a root ***bor-**. It takes the middle marking **–ah-** which means that it does not permit the suffixation of the middle marking **–at-**. The root of the verb **k'ànaata-(yé)** 'be jealous' is **k'änn-a** 'became jealous' which is borrowed from Amharic. This example shows the fact that a Cushitic middle marking is suffixed to a Semitic verb root in an Omotic language.

The morphemes **-–ihi-** and **–aaha-** also mark the middle verb as in **d-ìhi(yé)** 'fall', **d-ìssi-(yé)** 'make fall'; **g-aaha-(yé)** 'burst', **g-aakki-(yé)** 'destroy' (Leslau 1959; Tolemariam forthcoming). The morpheme **–ihi-** contrasts with the morpheme**–iissi-** and the morpheme **–aaha-** contrasts with the morpheme **–aakki-** as middle marking. It has to be noted that in Oromo the form **–ah-** is used as a middle marking. For in-

[49] The form **bor-ata-ye** 'it became impure' is not accepted by one informant.
[50] I also found another similar case in which the passive marking **–am-** of Oromo is fossilized in the verb **miit'-am-i-ye** 'hurted (tr.). In Oromo the verb **miidh-am-e** 'be hurt' is the passive form the transitive verb **miidhe** 'hurt (tr.)'

stance, the verb **haɗ-aah-e** 'became bitter' has –**aah**- as a middle marking and this middle marking contrasts with the causative marking –**eess**-, **haɗ-eess-e** 'make bitter'.

9.2. The Semantics of the Middle

In this section I consider frozen middle verbs that in a or e.

9.2.1. Body Centred Middles

This subsection discusses body centered middles such as body grooming, change in body posture, non-translational body motion and translational body motions. In Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo, body grooming middles are marked for the middle as in **mássà-ỳe** 'he washed himself' (**mássì-ỳe** 'he washed something')(S), **mačče-te** 'he washed himself' (K); **č'éggìyà-yè** 'he shaved himself' (**č'éggìyì-yè** 'he shaved something'(S), **č'akke-te** 'he shaved himself' (**č'akki-te** 'he shaved something')(K); **kóssìyà-ànè** 'she coloured her gum', **kóssì-ànè** 'she coloured something'(S), **koče-tane** 'she coloured her gum'(K); **gúč'ìyà-(h)ànè** 'she rinsed her mouth' (S) and **éddà-yè** 'he wore shoe' (S) are middle verbs.

There are also (change in) posture middles in these languages as in **kótà-yè** 'he sat down' (S), **kote-te** 'he sat down' (K); **néét'à-yè** 'he stood up' (S) and **neet'e-te** 'he stood up' (K); **tèèk'k'à-(h)ànè** 'she lay down'(S), **teek'k'a-tane** 'she lay down' (K); **tókkàrà-yè** 'she slept'(S), **tokkaree-te** 'he slept'(K); **č'ítà-yé** 'he is stretched' and **čite-te** 'he is stretched' (K); **túngúráàttà-(h)ànè** 'she knelt down' (S), **tungu-ratte-tane** 'she is knelt down' (K) and **tèèk'k'à-yè** 'he leaned' (S) and **teek'k'e-te** 'he is leaned' (K). As long as they show change of posture these verbs are considered to be posture middles. In fact verbs such as **néét'à-yè** 'he stood up' (S) and **neet'e-te** 'he stood up' (K) could be used for non-agentive subjects such as car.

Non-translational motion middles are also common in Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo. Some of these middles focus on facial expressions as in **šùùtà-yè** 'he looked sulky' (S), **mandarke-te** 'he looked sulky'(K). These verbs focus on facial expression which means that from observing someone's face one may understand whether or not a person is in good mood since they show that the face looks so serious that the subject is angry or in a bad mood. Verbs which show events such as feeling very much cold and shiver are middle marked as in **k'éwwà-yè** 'he shivered' (S) and **k'ewwe-te** 'he shivered' (K). These verbs refer to an event where the whole or part of the body part feels much cold and shivered. Some non-translational body motion middles indicate health or strength of a participant as **mandaače-te** 'he is tired' (K). These verbs focus on the whole body of a participant in the sense that it is the whole body part which gets tired.

There are also some translational body motion middles in Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo. Verbs such as **wóč'č'à-(h)ànè** 'she ran' (S), **woč'č'e-tane** 'she ran'(K) show translational motion middles which indicate change of location with faster speed. There are also middle verbs which show change of location with slower speed as in **šáàmà-yè** 'he walked' (S), **ši?e-te** 'he walked' (K) and **gédrà-yè** 'he rolled (for human agent)' (S) and **gedra-te** 'he is rolled (for human agent)' (K). There are also some cases in which the speed in which the agentive subject moved is not clearly expressed as in **bèšà-(h)ànè** 'she passed' (S) and **beše-tane** 'she passed' (K). Verbs such as **yèbbà-yè** 'to climb on' (S) show an upward motion of an animate agent. Such verbs are generally used to express upward motions such as climbing on a tree or a mountain.

9.2.2. Mental Event Middles

The following emotion middles show self control of a participant:

12a. **áró** **íppà-yè (S)**
he annoy-3M:PF
'He is annoyed.'

12b. **aro** **šuute-te (K)**
he annoy-3M:PF
'He is annoyed.'

Both (12a) and (12b) show an event in which the agentive subject **aro** 'he' lost his temper due to unknown reason. Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo use different verb roots, **ípp** - 'annoy' and **šuut**- 'annoy' respectively. In fact, the verb **šùùtà-yè** is acceptable in Shakkinoono with slight change of meaning for it means 'he looked sulky or he put on serious look'. This means, in Shakkinoono, it indicates non-translation middle; whereas in Kafinoonoo it shows emotion and non-translational motion middle since the same **šuute-te** is associated to 'annoyed' and 'looked sulky'. The verb **mandarke-te** 'to look sulky', in Kafinoonoo, is stronger than the middle verb **šuute-te** both in facial expression and emotion. In **mandarke-te** the facial expression looks so serious that the participant is ready to speak or do something bad. There is also another related middle verb in Shakkinoono:

13. **úró** **hááttà-yè**
man sadden-3M:PF
'The man is saddened.'

The middle verb **hááttà-yè** 'saddened' shows that the subject is annoyed. But, the emotion is not strong enough to affect the cause of the event (in fact the cause of the event is unknown); it affects the subject internally. The subject is not ready to speak or do something bad as in the verb **mandarke-te** 'looked sulky'.

There are also emotion middles which show predicament as in (14):

14a. **ùréé** **kìč'ì<y>à-(h)ànè (S)**
woman worry<EPN>MID/PASS-3F:PF
'The woman is worried.'

14b. **uree** **kič'e-e-tane (K)**
woman worry-MID/PASS-3F:PF
'The woman is worried.'

Leslau (1959) recorded middle verbs of compassion such as **nìra-yé** 'be soft, loose, flexible, have pity' and **k'òlla-yé** 'beg'. There are also other middle verbs which show different emotional state of mind of a participant. The following verbs are also recorded by Lelau (1959): **wòga-yé** 'swear', **k'ànaata-ye** 'be jealous', **šerata-ye** 'yearn for, long for' and **yet'a-ye** 'want, wish, look for'.

In Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo many verbs which show processes of thinking are not marked for the middle. Only verbs which are linked to memory are attested as middle marked in **bàtt-à-yè** 'he forgot' (S), **batt-e-te** 'he forgot' (K).

Some perception middles in which the stimuli are the initiator of the events are not marked for the middle but expriencer based perception middles are marked as shown below:

15a. **áró** **má?ó-n** **šîk'k'à-yè (S)**
he food-ACC smell-3M:PF
'He smelled food.'

15b. **aro** **mayo-n** **šik'k'e-te (K)**
he food-ACC smell-3M:PF
'He smelled food.'

Perception middles such as 'to listen' and 'to touch' are middle marked by the morpheme –**a-** as in (16-17):

16a. áró dúúbbó èllà-yè (S)
he song listen-3M:PF
'He listened to a song.'

16b. aro duubo-n elle-te (K)
he song listen-3M:PF
'He listened to a song.'

17a. áré bì-kìšóó-n túk'à-(h)ànè (S)
she his-hand-ACC touch-3F:PF
'She touched his hand.'

17b. are bi-kišo-n tuk'e-tane (K)
she his-hand-ACC touch-3F:PF
'She touched his hand.'

Instances shown in (16-17) are transitive structures which are perception middles semantically. Subjects such as **áró** 'he' and **áré** 'she' are experiencers because they are affected by feelings such as listening and touching.

9.2.3. Spontaneous Middles

Spontaneous middle verbs which show the birth of a participant are marked for the middle as in **šííjjà-yè** 'he is born' (S), **šiijje-te** 'he is born' (K).

Spontaneous middles which show size are common in Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo as in **šùùč'č'à-(h)ànè** 'it became thin'(S), **t'ébbà-yè** 'it became narrow' (S), **t'ebbe-te** 'it became narrow' (K); **gíšà-yè** 'it became small' (S), **giiša-te** 'became small' (K); **óógà-yè** 'it became big' (S) **ooga-te** 'it became big' (K). Similarly change of shape of a participant is shown by some middle verbs as **gíččìyà-yè** 'it became round' (S), **kibbe-te** 'it became round' (K).

Some other spontaneous middles show change of colour of which some are derived from colour adjectives while others are not.

18. bune-afoo č'elle-te (K)
coffee-face red-3M:PF
'Coffee became red.' /lit., 'Coffee face became red.'

In (18) **búné-áfóó** 'coffee' is a non-agentive subject. **č'éállóó** 'red' is an adjective from which **č'elle-** 'become red' is derived. Similarly, the middle verb **néč'č'à-yè/ neč'č'a-te** 'became white' is derived from the adjective **néč'č'óó** 'white'.

Some spontaneous middle verbs show time as in **t'ume-te** 'it is late in the night'(K). There are also middle verbs which show the appearance and disappearance of a participant as in **békkà-ỳe** 'it appeared'(S), **bekke-te** 'it appeared' (K), **áàllà-ỳe** 'it disappeared' (S) and **alle-tane** 'it disappeared' (K).

9.3. Argument Structure of the Middle/Passive

9.3.1. The Personal Passive

In this section the personal passive in Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo is discussed. Additionally passives of dirtansitive structures are considered. In both Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo, the subject of the passive of a transitive verb is the affected participant as the examples in (20) show. (19a) and (19b) show active structures in which agentive subjects **náámí** 'boy' and **bušoo** 'boy' precede patient **gíndó-n** 'a tree'. In both Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo structural subjects are not case marked, but objects are marked for accusative case by the morpheme –**n**. From (19a) and (19b) it is clear that subjects precede patients. As shown in (19a) in Shakkinoono the agreement element –**yè** shows that the subject is third person masculine singular while in (19b) the morpheme –**te** in Kafinoonoo shows third person masculine singular subject similar to –**yè**.

19a.	**náámí**	**gíndó-n**	**k'úddì-yè (S)**
	boy	tree-ACC	cut-3M:PF
	'A boy cut a tree.'		

19b.	**bušoo**	**gindo-n**	**k'ut'i-te (K)**
	boy	tree-ACC	cut-3M:PF
	'A boy cut a tree.'		

The following examples are passive counterparts of (19):

20a. **gíndó** **(náámí-nàà)** **k'úddì<y>à-ỳe (S)**
tree boy-INST cut<EPN>MID/PASS-3M:PF
'A tree was cut by a boy.'

20b. **gindo** **(bušoo-naa)** **k'ut'-e-te (K)**
tree boy-INST cut-MID/PASS-3M:PF
'A tree was cut by a boy.'

In these passive structures[51] agents are demoted and expressed as optionally oblique noun phrases while patients are promoted.

In the passive of the ditransitives, only the patients are permitted to become the subject as shown below:

21a. **ástámááròó** **náám-ìs** **dóyyòò-n** **èmmì-yè (S)**
teacher boy-DAT book-ACC give-3M:PF
'A teacher gave a book to a student.'

21b. **dóóyyóó** **(ástámááròó -nàà)** **náámí-ìs**
book teacher-INST boy-DAT
èmmì<y>à-yè (S)
give<EPN>MID/PASS-3M:PF
'A book was given to student by a teacher.'

21c. ***náámí** **(ástámááròó -nàà)** **dóóyyóó-n**
boy teacher-INST book-ACC
èmmì<y>à-yè (S)
give<EPN>MID/PASS-3M:PF
'A boy was given a book by a teacher.'

9.3.2. The Impersonal Passive

In Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo agent and patient oriented subjects of intransitive verbs are omitted from subject position meanwhile the passive marking morphemes are attached to the respective verbs so that structures of the impersonal passive are formed. The impersonal passive can be expressed in two ways: the subject is omitted altogether or cognate objects occupy subject position. These options hold for both agent and patient oriented intransitives. First let us see some instances of impersonal passives of intransitives with agentive subjects.

[51] There are also cases where the presence of an agent phrase with an instrumental postposition and an undergoer subject triggers passive reading even without passive morphology present, as in **aro-na kit'i-te** /he-INST die-3M.PF/ 'was killed by him' (K).

22a. **náámí** **tókkàrà-yè (S)**
boy sleep-3M:PF
'A boy slept.'

22b. **tókkàr-ì<y>à-yè (S)**
sleep-CAUS<EPN>MID/PASS-3M:PF
'Sleeping was had.'

22c. **tókkáróó** **tókkár-ì<y>à-yè (S)**
sleeping sleep-CAUS<EPN>MID/PASS-3M:PF
'Sleeping was had.'

23a. **bušoo** **tokkare-te (K)**
boy-NOM sleep-3M:PF
'A boy slept.'

23b. **tokkare-e-te (K)**
sleep-MID/PASS-3M:PF
'Sleeping was had.'

23c. **tokkero** **tokkare-e-te (K)**
sleeping sleep-MID/PASS-3M:PF
'Sleeping was had.'

(22a) and (23a) show agentive intransitive structures. In (22a) **náámí** 'a boy' is an agentive subject and the verb is –**a**- final. Similarly, in (23a) **bušoo** 'a boy' is an agentive subject and the verb is –**e**- final. Hence, (22a) and (23a) are instances of intransitive verbs. (22b-c) and (23b-c) are instances of passives derived from such intransitive verbs. In (22b) and (23b) the agentive subjects are omitted from the corresponding passive structures; and the forms of the verbs shown in (22b) and (23b) are passives. In (22c) and (23c) cognate objects **tókkáróó** 'sleeping' in Shakkinoono and **tokkero** 'sleeping' in Kafinoonoo respectively appear in the initial positions of the impersonal passive structures. All impersonal passives have dummy subjects and the default agreement element is third person masculine singular.

There are also patient oriented impersonal passives as in **bèéʔìyà-yè** 'existence was had.'(S), **k'ítìyà-yè** 'dying was had.' (S), **k'ite-te** 'dying was had' (K), etc. These passives are derived from non-agentive intransitive verbs.

Both agent and patient oriented intransitive verbs have passive counterparts in Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo similar to Oromo and Amharic. Semantically the agentive subject or the non-agentive subject become the observer of her/his own action. The subject differentiates between her/his own essence and her/his feelings of actions/events expressed by intransitive verbs. For instance, in the patient ori-

ented intransitives as in **k'ítìyà-yè** 'dying was had' (S) the focal sense is the feeling of dying. It is the event/experience that undergoes. Similarly, in **tókkáróó tókkárìyà-ỳe** 'sleeping was had' (S) the focus is not on any participant who is laughing but on the event. It is the event that undergoes and the observer observes the event of laughing. The participant (subject) assumes a level of omnipresence with everlasting life to observe an experience or feeling expressed by the verb.

9.3.3. Special Negation of Passive Structures

In Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo there is a negative passive construction involving a verb 'to say' and negation similar to the Amharic negative plus 'say' construction:

24a. **gíndó** **kùt'ì<y>à** **tààčč** **hèttì-yè (S)**
tree cut<EPN>MID/PASS NEG say-3M:PF
'A tree is not destined to be cut.' / lit., 'A tree refused to be cut.'

24b. **gindo** **kut'-i<y>a** **ačče** **ʔiyi-te (K)**
tree cut<EPN>MID/PASS NEG say-3M:PF
'A tree is not destined to be cut.' / lit., 'A tree refused to be cut.'

Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo exhibit uniform characteristics in the sense that there is a sequence of the morpheme **–a-** in both to form the passive verb stem which is immediately followed by the negative marking element **ačče** and **tààčč** in Kafinoonoo and Shakkinoono respectively. Finally, the negative marking element is immediately followed by the verb **ɦettì-yè** 'said' in Shakkinoono and **ʔiyi-te** 'said' in Kafinoonoo.

In Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo a passive construction which employes inherently negative auxiliary with the verb 'to say' expresses inhibition of an action and this inhibition lies in the entity of the first constituent.

9.3.4. The Reciprocal Middle/Passive

One final observation that deserves mention is that the middle/passive marking morpheme is used as a reciprocal marking in Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo as shown in (29):

25a. **bónóší** **yútì<y>à-yeètè (S)**
they follow<EPN>MID/PASS-3P:PF
'They followed one another.'

25b. **bonoši** **watt** **debe-teete (K)**
they each other follow:MID/PASS-3P:PF
'They followed one another.'

(25) shows chaining reciprocal event in which the participants follow one another in a forward motion. In (25a) the agentive subject is **bónóší** 'they' and the verb is **yútìyà-yeètè** 'they followed one another'. The agreement element **yèètè** shows that the subject is third person plural. The morpheme **-à** – also marks the reciprocal event. As different from Shakkinoono, in Kafinoonoo the reciprocal event is marked by the morpheme –**e**- and the agreement element that shows third person plural subject is –**teete** as shown in (25b). In Kafinoonoo, **watt** 'each other' is used with the reciprocal verb **debe-tete** 'follow each other'. In fact **watt** 'each other' is optional. (25) show prototypical reciprocal events in which the participants react against the action of the other. As different from passive structures, in all structures of the reciprocal events there are no omitted agents.

The reciprocal passives behave like reciprocal structures and like passive structures not only formwise but also semantically as well. In reciprocals the participants react to each other to reciprocate the actions of the other participants. But like the middle/passive structures the participants of the reciprocal events are the affected ones as shown below in **šúmìyà -yèètè** 'they kissed each other' (S) and **yét'ìyà-yeètè** 'they hit one another' (S). In these instances the participants reacted against the actions of the other participants; hence, the reciprocal events. What makes these structures passives semantically is the way the events are perceived. Within the context of the reciprocal events each participant is perceived as receiver of the action of the event. In other words, the participants are perceived as the affected participants, not as agents of the action.

In Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo the middle/passive is derived by the morpheme **-a**. In these languages, impersonal passives are formed from agentive and patient oriented intransitive verbs. The subject positions of such structures are either empty or occupied by cognate objects. In both languages personal and reciprocal passives are also observed. There are also passive structures with special negation. Semantically, impersonal passives differentiate between the subject and the feeling expressed by the action; the subject becomes the observer of his/her own feelings. Reciprocal passives have patient oriented subjects semantically.

10. The Middle in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic

This chapter aims to show variations and similarities of the middle marking system in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. 10.1. considers general meaning categories of the middle. 10.2. compares middle marking or its absence on the same verbs across languages. On the basis of such a comparative study we show four middle marking variations: middle proper, middle marked verb vs. unmarked verb, middle vs. passive, middle vs. causative. 10.3. discusses a typology of argument structures of the middle. Two argument structure types of the middle are observed across Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages: argument decreasing and valency neutral middles. 10.4. considers parallel structures of the middle and the causative. 10.5. investigates the semantic frames of the middle while 10.6. gives concluding remarks on the meanings of the middle.

10.1. Meaning Categories of the Middle

As it has been shown in the preceding chapters on the middle, body motion, mental event and spontaneous middles are categorized as common types of middle verbs. These meaning categories are common not only in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages but also they are attested in many languages of the world (cf. Kemmer,(1993); Mous, (2004b), Iwata (1999), Manney (1995:163), Saeed (1995), Hardy (1994)). Body grooming middles are common in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. These are verbs such as **fil-at-** 'to comb one's own hair' and **luluk'-at-** 'to rinse oneself' in Oromo for instance. Similarly change in body posture middles are observed in many Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. For instance, in Somali verbs such as **wuu fadhis-t-ay** 'he sat down', **wuu foorarsa-d-ey** 'he is bended' and **wuu seħd-ay** 'he slept' are marked for the middle. In Afar, verbs such as **sool-it-e** 'he stood up' and **unuun-it-e** 'he is bended' are middles. Non-translational body motion middles are common. For instance, in Amharic verbs such as **tänk'ät'äk'k'ät'**- 'to shiver', **tä-č'ämaddäd-** 'to be wrinkled', **tä-rgäbäggäb**- 'to flicker', **täšmädämmäd**- 'to be paralyzed' and **tä-t'amäzzäz**- 'to be twisted' are non-translational middles. Translational middles are verbs of motion across space. In most cases these verbs are unmarked for middle. For instance, in Dorze, most translational body motion verbs are not middle marked: **wots**- 'to run', **t'ikk**- 'to jump', **bumbul**- 'to roll' and **aɗɗ**- 'to pass'. In Kambaata these verbs are expressed as middles: **orok'k'**- 'to go', **birk'k'iik'k'**- 'to roll' and **ajanjar-ak'k'**-.

Emotion verbs are middle marked in many languages. For instance, in Afar verbs such as **meeš-it**- 'to be worried', **farh-it**- 'to be happy', **bakahar-it**- 'to be angry' and **yinʔibb-it**- 'to hate' are middle marked. Similarly, cognition verbs are middle marked. For instance, **k'albif-at**- 'to identify, recognize', **bar-at**- 'to learn', **hub-at-** 'to understand', **yaad-at-** 'to remember' and **irranffat**- 'to forget' are middles

in Oromo. Similarly perception and spontaneous middles are common in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages.

Similarly autobenefactive middles are found in various languages of the world even if not in Kemmer (1993). Autobenefactive middle verbs are productive in transitive verbs in various Cushitic languages. For instance, in Oromo **gurgur-at-** 'to sell for one's own benefit', **bit-at-** 'to buy for one's own benefit', **k'ab-at-** 'to hold for one's own benefit', etc., are autobenefactive middles.

Malefactive reflexive middles are also found in some Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages, particularly in Gurage languages. These middles have the meaning of 'to affect oneself negatively'. For instance, in **Ežа** (Fekede 2002: 79-79) **tädännäg-** 'to hit oneself' and **täsäddäb-** 'to curse oneself' are reflexive middles.

Beneficiary middles are also observed only in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. I discuss beneficiary verbs as middle verbs because they form an opposition to a causative verb counterpart similar to many other types of middles. In this set of verbs the middle marking contrasts with the causative morpheme, particularly in Semitic and Omotic languages. For instance, in Tigrinya, the verb **tä-qäbäl-ä** 'he received' contrasts with the causative form as **a-qäbbäl-ä** 'he handed over'. Their semantics are different from body centred, mental event, spontaneous and autobenefactive middles. Beneficiary middles have the meaning of 'to take', 'receive', 'accept', and 'borrow'. Meaning categories of the middle are shown in the following tables:

Table 1: Meaning Categories of the Middle in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic

	LEC	HEC	AW	WO	NO	S	GL
Body grooming	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(Change in) Body posture	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Non-translational	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Translational	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
Emotion	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
Cognition	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Perception	+	-	+	+	*	+	*
Spontaneous	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Reflexive	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Ritual	+	*	*	-	-	-	*
Beneficiary	+	*	*	+	*	+	+
Autobenefactive	+	+	-	-	-	-	-

LEC, Lowland East Cushitic languages; HEC, Highland East Cushitic languages; AW, Awingi (Central Cushitic language); WO, West Omotic; NO, North Ometo; S, Semitic: Amharic and Tigrinya; GL, Gurage languages; +, if at least one language shows middle marking for

one type of meaning category of the middle; -, is used for lexical or unmarked verb; *, is used for no information

Table 2: Examples of Meaning Categories of the Middle in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic

	Af	Am	Aw	Be[52]	Do	Ha	Ka	Or	Sh	Som	Ts[53]
wash	mm	mpm	mm	mm	mpm	mm	mm	mm	mpm	mm	mm
sit	lex	mpf	lex	mf	lex	lex	mm	lex	mpf	mf	mf
shiver	mf	mpm	mf	mf	lex	mf	lex	mf	mpf	lex	lex
cross	lex	mpf	lex	lex	lex	lex	lex	lex	lex	lex	-
angry	mf	mpf	mf	mf	mpf	-	mf	lex	mpf	-	mf
learn	mm	mpf	lex	mf	lex	lex	lex	mm	lex	-	lex
grow	lex	lex	lex	-	lex	lex	-	md	lex	lex	lex
buy for oneself	mm	lex	lex	-	lex	mm	mm	mm	lex	lex	mm

Examples: 'wash', body grooming; 'sit', change in body posture; 'shiver', non-translational body motion; 'cross', translational body motion; 'angry', emotion; 'learn', cognitive; 'grow' spontaneous; 'hit oneself', reflexive middle; 'buy for oneself', autobenefactive middle.

Af, Afar; Am, Amharic; Aw, Awingi; Be, Beja; Do, Dorze; Ha, Hadiya; Ka, Kambaata; Or, Oromo; Sh, Shakkinoono; Som, Somali; Ts, Tsamakko; mm, middle marked; mf, middle frozen; mpf, middle/passive frozen; mpm, middle/passive marked; lex, underived verb; md, middle de-nominal/de-adjectival; -, no information

10.2. Variations and Similarities in Middle Derivation

10.2.1. Middle Proper

The aim of this section is to show similarities in Afro-Asiatic languages. The intention of the discussion of such similarities is to establish a common ground on the basis of which types of middle markings are shown. Particularly, this section focuses on middle verbs which are derived from transitive verb roots. In fact, with the exception of Cushitic languages, middle verbs can not be derived from all kinds of transitive verb roots. But there is a set of transitive verb roots which allow the derivation of middles in all Afro-Asiatic languages. Semantically, these verbs are labelled as body grooming verbs. Although, some verbs with frozen middle morphology are observed, many body grooming middles are derived from transitive verb roots. This work considers body grooming middles to be a prototypical middle both form and meaningwise because of four reasons: one, agentive subjects consciously control grooming middle events as opposed to other middles with non-agentive sub-

[52] [Roper 1928]
[53] Sava 2005.

jects; two, patients are the same as agents, hence the affected agent which is a typical characteristic of the middle; three, these verbs are discretely morphologically middle marked; and four, body grooming middles are common to all Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages as shown in the following table:

Table 3: Middle Marking System of Body Grooming in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic

	Af	Am	Aw	Be[54]	Do	Ha	Ka	Or	Sh	Som	Si	Ts[55]
wash	mm	mpm	mm	mm	mpm	mm	mm	mm	mpm	mm	mpm	mm
take a bath	mm	mpm	mm	lex	-	mm	mm	mm	mpm	mm	mpm	-
put kohl	-	mpm	mm	-	-	mm	lex	mm	-	mm	mpf	-
colour gum	-	mpm	-	-	-	mm	-	mm	mpm	-	-	-
rinse	-	mpf	lex	lex	-	mm	mm	mf	mpm	mm	-	-
anoint	-	mpm	-	-	-	-	-	mm	lex[56]	mm[57]	mpm	mm
shave	lex	mpm	pm	mm	mpm	-	mm	mm	mpm	lex	-	mm
wear	lex	mpf	mm	lex	mpf	mm	mf	mf	mpm	mf	mpm	mm

Af, Afar (Cushitic); Am, Amharic (Semitic); Aw, Awingi (Cushitic); Be, Beja (Cushitic); Do, Dorze (Omotic); Ha, Hadiya (Cushitic); Ka, Kambaata (Cushitic); Or, Oromo (Cushitic); Sh, Shakkinoono (Omotic); Si, Silt'i (Semitic); Som, Somali (Cushitic); Ts, Tsamakko; (Cushitic) mm, middle marked; mf, middle frozen; mpf, middle/passive frozen; mpm, middle/passive marked; lex, underived verb; md, middle de-nominal / de-adjectival; -, no information

Grooming middles, with the exception of few verbs, are uniformly marked for the middle in Afro-Asiatic languages. We can say that body grooming middles are prototypical middles since we could find instances of these cases in all Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. In this case body grooming middles are different from other body centred middles because many middles such as change in body posture and non-translational body motions have frozen middle morphology and many translational body motion verbs are rare or unmarked. Similarly, many spontaneous middles are de-nominal / adjectival. Middle / passives are restricted to Semitic and Omotic languages. Reflexive middles are found only in Gurage languages. Autobenefactive middles are found only in Cushitic languages.

[54] Hudson (1976: 119); Roper (1928).
[55] Sava (2005).
[56] Leslau (1959: 61).
[57] Saeed (1995: 65).

10.2.2. Middle Marked Verb vs. Unmarked Verb

Verbs with middle meaning are marked for the middle in some languages while they are unmarked in others. This is observed within each language family and across language families. First let us observe some cases of variations within each language family. In Oromo and Afar, for instance, the verb 'to stand' is marked for the middle as in **ɗaab-at-,** and **sool-it-** respectively. In Kambaata it could be expressed as unmarked verb as in **uur-** or as morphologically middle marked verb as in **urr-ak'k'-** 'to stand'. The same verb is not middle marked in Somali, Hadiya and Sidama as in **kaʔ-**, **uull-** and **uurr-** respectively. The verb 'to shiver' is marked for the middle in Oromo, Afar, Awingi, and Sidama as in **holl-at-**, **bakkar-it-**, **tïrax-t-** and **hut'-ir-** respectively; but unmarked in Kamabata as in **hut't'-**. We could also cite other examples. For instance, the verb 'to roll' is middle marked in Oromo, Afar and Kambaata as in **gangal-at-**, **rod-it-** and **birk'k'-iik'k'-** respectively. But this verb is not marked for the middle in Awingi and Hadiya as in **kïmbabïl-** and **on-koorooll-** respectively. The verb 'to be happy' is middle in Afar as **farh-it-** and in Sidama as **hadiɗ-** but unmarked in Oromo as **gammad-**, and in Awingi as **dess-**. The verb 'to forget' is middle in Oromo and Afar as in **irranf-at-**, and **hannew-it-** ; but unmarked in Awingi, Hadiya, Kambaata and Sidama as in **zeeneeg-**, **t'ad-**, **babb-** and **haw-** respectively.

We could also observe similar variations within the Semitic languages of Ethiopia. For instance, in Amharic the verb **täñ-** 'to sleep' is marked for the middle by the morpheme **–tä-** while in Tigrinya the same verb is not marked as in **harris-** 'to sleep'. Similarly in Gyeto (Leslau 1979), one of the Gurage languages, this verb is not marked for the middle as **gäbäzäzä** 'fall asleep'. The verb 'to sit' is middle in Harari and in Amharic as in **tä-gebäla** 'sit' (Leslau 1958: 30) and **tä-k'k'ämmät'-** 'to sit' respectively. As far as the verb 'to sit' is concerned, both Amharic and Harari, South Semitic languages, are similar. But if we take a different verb, for instance the verb 'to hurry', the two languages differ. In Amharic this verb is expressed by an unmarked word as in **čäkkol-** 'hurry' or by a middle verb **tä-čakkol-** 'be somewhat in a hurry ' whereas in Harari it is expressed morphologically by prefixing the middle morpheme **tä-** to the verb root as in **tä-baläl-** 'hurry' (Leslau 1958: 30); similarly this verb is optionally middle marked in Gyeto (Leslau 1979) as **(tä)dxaña** 'be in hurry'. We could take the verb 'to forget' to give more illustration. In Amharic this verb can be expressed either by unmarked verb as in **räss-** 'to forget' or by marked verb as in **tä-räss-** 'is forgotten' while in Tigrinya it is expressed only by unmarked verb as in **rässiiʔ-**'to forget'. But in Gafat, a Transversal South Ethio-Semitic language, it is middle marked as in **tä-däbaž** - 'to forget' (Leslau 1948: 77); in Gyeto (Leslau 1979) it is optionally middle marked as **(tä)räs-** 'to forget'. Another example is the verb **tä-t'enäb-** 'listen attentively' which is marked for the middle in Harari (Leslau 1958: 30) while it is unmarked in Amharic, Tigrinya and Gyeto as in **sämm-** 'to listen', **sämiʔ-** 'to listen' and **sämʔa** 'hear, listen' respectively (Leslau 1979).

The same case is observed in Omotic languages. For instance, **ičč-** 'to sleep' is not middle marked in Dorze, a North Ometo language, but in West Omotic languages such as Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo it is marked for the middle as in **tókkàrà-** and **tokkare-** respectively. The verb 'to shiver/tremble' is not marked in Dorze as in **hokk-**; but middle in Maale, Kafinoonoo, and Benchnoon as in **harp-ínt-** (Azeb 2001: 101), **knew-e-**, and **gur-t'-** (Rapold 2006: 319) respectively. The verb 'to run' is middle marked in Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo as in **wóč'č'-à-** and **woč'č'-e-** respectively; but unmarked in Dorze as in **wos'-**. The verb 'to be worried' is middle in Kullo, Wolayta and Dawuro as in **ʔunʔ-ett-aso**, **ʔunʔ-ett-asu** and **ʔunʔ-ett-aaddo** respectively; but unmarked in Dorze as in **k'op'awos**. Yet, Kullo, Wolayta, Dawuro and Dorze all belong to North Ometo. The same verb is marked for middle in Kafinoonoo as in **č'anakk-e-tan**.

Such variation is observed in body centered, mental event and spontaneous middles. But the variation observed in inchoative verbs are plenty. These inchoative verbs are often de-adjectival/de-nominal verbs. In Cushitic languages, de-adjectival middles are common although there are some variations between Central, Lowland East and Highland East Cushtic languages. To give some instances, in Oromo middles such as **gudd-at-** 'become big, grow', **t'inn-aat-** 'become little', **furd-at-** 'become fat', **k'alʔ-at-** 'become thin', **balʔ-at-** 'become broad', etc., are de-adjectival middles. In Awingi verbs such as **ints-t-** 'become thin' and **sink-ut-** 'become white' are middles while verbs such as **leges-** 'grow', **dang-** 'become little', **issan-** 'become wide', etc., are underived verbs. In Afar verbs such as **hennit-** 'become narrow' and **akkot-** 'become thin' are middles while verbs such as **daldal-** 'grow' and **neb-** 'become wide' are unmarked for the middle. In Gawwaada (Gebberew 2003: 56), one of Lowland East Cushitic languages, de-adjectival verbs such as **kartann-aɗ-** 'become fat', **kumm-aɗ-** 'become black', **piiɗ-aɗ-** 'become white', **haaff-aɗ-** 'become thin' and **maknaɗ-aɗ-** 'become short' are middles.

In Highland East Cushitic languages many of these verbs are unmarked. For example in Hadiya verbs such as **t'aʔ-** 'become little', **harar-** 'become wide', **t'um-** 'become narrow', **k'adaall-** 'become white' and **wič'-** 'become thin' are underived verbs but verbs such as **gejj-ak'k'-** 'grow' and **kaš-ak'k'-** 'become red' are middles. In Kambaata many inchoative verbs are underived verbs as in, for instance, **haraar-** 'become wide', **t'uk'-** 'become narrow', **wojj-** 'become white', **kač'č'-** 'become thin' and **gambal-** 'become black'. In Sidama verbs such as **lop'p'-** 'grow', **t'eʔ-** 'become little', **hallalʔ-** 'become wide', **ruukk-** 'become narrow', **leʔ-** 'become red' are unmarked while verbs such as **waajj-ir-** 'become white' and **koleš-ir-** 'become black' are middles.

In Semitic languages inchoative type verbs are unmarked. For instance, in Amharic verbs such as **t'äk'k'or-** 'become black', **wäffár-** 'become fat', **k'ät't'än-** 'become thin', **räzzäm-** 'become tall', etc., are unmarked middles. Similarly in Tigrinya,

verbs such as **s'äbib-** 'become narrow' and **säfïh-** 'become wide' are unmarked. In Gurage languages inchoative verbs are unmarked. For instance, in Eža (Leslau 1979), a West Gurage language, verbs such as **t'äk'k'ʷärä-m** 'be black' and **nät't'a-m** 'be white' are unmarked. Similarly, in Selt'i (Gutt and Husein 1977) an East Gurage languages, verbs such as **k'ät'änä** 'be thin' are not marked for the middle. In Soddo (Leslau 1979), a North Gurage language, verbs such as **t'äk'k'ärä-m** 'be black' and **nät't'a-m** 'be white' are unmarked middles. Similarly, in Goggot (Leslau 1979) verbs such as **t'äk'k'ʷrä-m** 'be black', **nät't'a-m** 'be white' and **k'ällälä-m** 'be light' are unmarked.

In Omotic languages many of inchoative property verbs are unmarked. For instance, in Dorze verbs such as **akk-** 'become wide', **zoʔ-** 'to become red' **geyy-** 'become white', etc., are unmarked. Similarly, in Konta verbs such as **dalg-** 'become wide', **ʔunʔ-** 'become narrow', **teer-** 'become red', etc., are not marked for the middle. In Wolayta verbs such as **leeʔ-** 'become thin', **haakk-** 'become far'; and in Dawuro verbs such as **boos'-** 'become white' and **akk-** 'become wide' are unmarked. In Koorete (Beletu 2003: 75) verbs such as **hat-** 'become short', **mall-** 'become fat', **tim-** 'become wet', **kaym-** 'be come young', and **ʔuk'-** 'become near' are unmarked middles. In Malo (Mahder 2003: 98-99) inchoative property verbs such as **haat-** 'become short', **s'ik'-** 'become small', **šiik'-** 'become narrow', **miš-** 'become hot', **dammo** 'become big', **leeʔʔ-** 'become thin', **min-** 'become strong', **des'-** 'become heavy' and **word-** 'become liar' are all unmarked.

But in Maale (Azeb 2001:108-109), a South Ometo language there are both unmarked and middle marked de-adjectival verbs. This case might be accounted for in terms of language contact since Maale borders Diraytata, a Cushitic language, in the south. For instance, verbs such as **dod-é-ne** 'became strong', **purt-é-ne** 'became bad', **pizz-é-ne** 'became straight', **mel-é-ne** 'became dry' and **č'olʔ** 'became green' are unmarked while verbs such as **kaat-at-** 'become king', **č'in č'-at-** 'become witty', **ɗégg-at-** 'become young', **kup-at-** 'become poor', **gárč -at-** 'become old' are morphologically middle marked.

10.2.3. Middle vs. Passive

Some verbs are middle marked in one language while passive marked in another to give the same meaning. Such a case is clearly observed in Cushitic languages where the middle and the passive morphemes are distinct. In Semitic languages such a case is impossible since the middle marking is the same as the passive marking. Similarly in North Ometo languages the middle marking is the same as the passive marking. Therefore many instances of middle versus passives are taken from Cushitic languages. The verb 'to shave oneself', for instance, is middle marked in Oromo as **haadd-at-**. In Afar the same verb is not marked, **mool-** 'to shave'; while in Awingi, and Sidama the verb 'to shave oneself' is passive in form but middle in meaning as in **lins'-ist** and**, meed-am-** respectively.

The verb ‘to shiver’ is middle in many languages; **holl-at-** in Oromo but passive marked in Hadiya as in **gaʔn-am-**. The verb ‘to flicker one’s own eye’ is middle in Oromo as **lip’s-at-**; but this verb is passive marked in Hadiya as **hut’e-am-**; whereas in Kambaata unmarked as **hut't'-**. The verb ‘to shrink’ is middle marked in Oromo but passive marked in Sidama as **eree-am-**.

In Awingi, a central Cushitic language, emotion verbs such as **čïnïk-ist-**‘to be worried’ and **leended-ist-** ‘to be angry’ are marked for the passive. Similarly in Highland East Cushtic languages emotion verbs are marked as passives. For instance, **liir-am-** ‘to be happy’ in Hadiya, **unʔ-an(m)-** ‘to be worried’ in Kambaata and **gir-am-** ‘to be angry’ in Sidama are marked by the passive morphemes. But in Afar, one of the Lowland East Cushtic languages, verbs such as **meeš-it-** ‘to be worried’, **farh-it-** ‘to be happy’ and **bakahar-it-** ‘to be angry’ are marked for the middle. In Oromo verbs such as **gammad-** ‘to be happy’, **aar-** ‘be angry’ are unmarked while the verb **rakk-at-** ‘to be worried’ is middle. The verb **yaad-at-** ‘to remember’ is also middle verb in Oromo; but passive in Awingi as **tak-ist-** 'to remember'. This verb is unmarked in Kambaata and Sidamo as **k’aagg-** in both languages. The verb **ɗal-at-** ‘to be born’ is middle in Oromo. But this verb is marked as passive in Awingi, Hadiya, Kambaata and Sidama as **kamen-ist-**, **kar-am-**, **il-amm-** and **il-am-** respectively.

10.2.4. Middle vs. Causative

It is problematic that we have variation between middle marking and causative marking for the same meaning across languages. Most cases involve frozen causatives or de-adjectivals/de-nominals. For instance, the verb **mufat-** ‘to get angry and refuse to talk’ is middle in Oromo. But the same verb with the same meaning is causative in Amharic as **akorräf-**. In order to understand if the /**a**/ is part of the root or a causative morpheme, we can compare the verb to the nominal form without /**a**/ as in **kurfïya** ‘being offended’. The verb **t’innaat-** ‘become little’ is middle in Oromo. Similarly in Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo this verb is marked for the middle as in **giša-** and **giše-** respectively. The same verb is unmarked (underived) in Awingi, Hadiya and Sidama as **dang-**, **t'aʔ-** and **t'eʔ-** respectively. But the same verb with the same meaning is causative in Amharic as **annäs-** ‘become little’. The adjective from which the middle verb **annäs-** ‘become little’ derived is **tïnnïš** ‘small’.

There are a few intransitive causatives which are derived from verbs that have middle marking equivalents in other languages. This is the case with verbs of time such as ‘to be late’. Verbs which show change of time are marked for the middle in Oromo. For example, **barfat-** ‘to be late’ is a middle verb. In this case middle expresses that the subject, if human, is affected by time. This verb is not marked in Awingi as **arefid-**. The same verb is causative in form in Amharic as **a-räffäd-**. In Amharic the causative **a-räffäd-** ‘to be late’ is derived from the verb **räffäd-** ‘be-

come late'. The verb **a-räffäd-** 'to be late' selects for a human subject. In this case the speaker observes that the agentive subject makes her/himself to be late; whereas the verb **räffäd**- selects for inanimate subject, time. Similarly in Silt'i (Gutt and Husein 1977) the verb **a-maalät-ä** 'to be late in the morning' has a causative form and selects for human subject while the verb **maalät-ä** 'become late in the morning' selects for non-human subject. The relation between '(time) to be late' and '(person) to be late' can be conceived either as an external causer bringing about the situation of 'being late' hence causative or as a situation in which the agent undergoes unwillingly the effect of being late hence middle. The verb **hok'k'-is-** 'to vomit' is causative in form in Oromo. Similarly, in Amharic the verb **as-tawwäk**- 'to vomit' is causative in form; the causative form of this verb is derived from middle base **taw-wäk**- 'troubled'; the intransitive causative of which is 'to make oneself disturbed'. But the same word with the same meaning is middle in Sheko, a West Omotic language, as **k'ooš-t'**- (Hellenthal p.c.). Again the situation can be conceived as an external causer bringing trouble hence a causative or as a body induced uncontrolled action hence a middle. In Oromo **lakk-is**- 'to leave out, to give up' is marked for causative while in Amharic **täw**- 'to leave out, to give up' is a frozen middle. Verbs such as **anät't'äs**- 'to sneeze' are causative in form in Amharic while the verb **hat't'issat**- 'to sneeze' is a denominal middle in Oromo.

To sum up, grooming middles are consistently middle marked; many grooming verbs are derived middles and rare are frozen middles. Inchoative verbs are de-adjectival/de-nominal middles. In general, variations such as middle marked vs. unmarked, passive vs. middle and causative vs. middle are observed across languages. Such variation is not surprising since it is a derivation, not an inflection. Often the original base is lost while the derived survives. Meaningwise also the middle is not uniform. Only autobenefactive is a "productive" meaning. Moreover, the middle is not a uniform straightforward operation in terms of valency (compared to the passive and the causative) except for the expression of indistinguishability of agent and patient.

10.3. Argument Structure of the Middle

Typically middle reduces the number of arguments to one. Grooming middles have two arguments but the patient is part of the agent. In Cushitic languages autobenefactive middles are neutral with respect to any change in the number of arguments because what is added is only an expression of benefit for one of the arguments, namely the subject.

10.3.1. Argument Decreasing Middles

Argument decreasing middles are observed in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. Most of these types of middles are derived from unmarked transitive counterparts.

Tigrinya

33a. **nïssuu** **nätii** **ïnč'eytii** **seeyr-ï-woo**
he-NOM ACC wood break-3M:PF-3MSO
'He broke the wood.'

33b. **ʔïnč'äytii** **tä-seyr-uu**
wood-NOM MID/PASS break-3M:PF
'The wood broke or the wood was broken.'

Oromo:

34a. **inni** **mana** **gub-e**
he-NOM house burn-3M:PF
'He burned a house.'

34b. **manni** **gub-at-e**
house-NOM burn-MID-3M:PF
'A house is burned.'

Amharic:

36a. **ïssu** **wänbär** **säbbär-ä**
he chair break-3M:PF
'He broke a chair.'

36b. **wänbär** **tä-säbbär-ä**
chair MID/PASS-break-3M:PF
'A chair is broken.'

(33a), (34a) and (36a) are transitive structures, all structures have agentive subjects and patients. But, in (33b), (34b) and (36b) the number of arguments are decreased to one and the verbs are marked for the middle.

10.3.2. Valency Neutral Middles

Valency neutral middles are those middles which neither decrease nor increase argument structure of middle events. Valency neutral middles are of three types: body care, autobenefactive and reflexive middles. Body care middles are derived from transitive verbs. In these middles the affixation of the middle morpheme to a base of a transitive verb does not decrease or increase the number of arguments. Patients are body parts which are part of the agents. These types of middles are common in Afro-Asiatic languages as it has already been discussed. We reconsider some instances of body grooming middles from Awingi and Tigrinya, as in (38-40):

Awingi:

38a. **ŋi s'im-o lins'-ist-ïxo**
I beard-ACC shave-PASS-3S:PF
'I shaved my beard.'

38b. **ŋi s'im-o lins'-ïxo**
he beard-ACC shave-3ms
'He shaved his beard.'

Tigrinya:

39a. **iti k'ola?aa id-uu tä-ħas's'ib-uu**
DEF boy hand-his.3S MID/PASS-wash-3M:PF
'The boy washed his hand.'

39b. **iti k'ola?aa mäkinaa ħas's'ib-uu**
DEF boy car wash-3M:PF
'The boy washed a car.'

In (38a) and (39a) verbs such as **lins'-ist-** 'to shave oneself' and **tä-ħas's'ib-** 'to wash oneself' are middle marked by morphemes such as **-ist-** and **tä-** respectively; whereas verbs such as **lins'-** 'to shave' and **ħas's'ib-** 'to wash' shown in (38b) and (39b) respectively are not marked for the middle. Body grooming middles which are shown in (38a) and (39a) are associated to two arguments; agents and patients. But the agents are the same as the patient, hence the affected agents. Instances shown in (38b) and (39b) have also two arguments each, agents and patients; but the verbs are not marked for the middle. Yet, the number of arguments shown in middle marked and unmarked verbs is equal. From such comparison of middle marked and unmarked verbs we can understand that middle markings do not increase or decrease arguments in instances shown in (38a) and (39a).

Autobenefactive middles are also valency neutral middles. These middle structures have agents and patients but patients are not the same as agents as shown below:

Haddiya:

41. **it't'i wo?o siggis-ak'k'-ukko**
he water cool-MID-3M:PF
'He made water cool for his own benefit.'

Sidama:

42. **ise** **geriĉĉo** **hir-id-uu**
she sheep buy-MID-3F:PF
'She bought a sheep for her own benefit.'

Afar:

43. **isug** **diniĉĉu** **aleys-it-e**
he potato cook -MID-3M:PF
'He cooked potato for himself.'

Oromo:

44. **inni** **farada** **gurgur-at-e**
he:NOM horse sell-MID-3M:PF
'He sold a horse for his own benefit.'

Verbs such as **siggis-** 'to cool', **hir-** 'to buy', **aleys-** 'to cook' and **gurgur-** 'to sell' shown in (41-44) are transitive verbs which select two arguments each. In all these verbs the suffixation of the middle markings does not add another external argument. The agents are different from the corresponding patients to indicate that in autobenefactive middles the agents indirectly affect themselves.

Reflexive middles are also valency neutral middle structures as shown below:

Eža (Fekede 2002: 79-79):

47. **wägu** **dadd-ota** **tä-dännäg-ä-m**
W chest-his MID/PASS-hit-3M-PF[58]
'Wegu hit his chest.'

48. **wägu** **tä-säddäb-ä-ni-m**
W MID/PASS-curse-3M.-1SO-PF
'Wegu cursed himself for me.'

In (47) and (48) verbs such as **tä-dännäg-** 'hit oneself' and **tä-säddäb-** 'curse oneself' are derived from transitive verbs **dännäg-** 'to hit' and **säddäb-** 'to curse'. Yet, the affixation of the middle marking to such transitive verbs does not decrease the number of arguments. Both middles have two arguments although the patient in (48) is only expressed in the verb. In both cases the agents are the same as patients. Thus, in these examples there is no argument decreasing or increasing phenomenon.

[58] Glosses are adapted by me.

10.4. Parallel Structures of Middle-Causative

In many languages a middle-causative opposition is common (see Chapter 5). For example, in Awingi, a central Cushitic language, the middle contrasts with the causative as in (22):

22a. **ŋi** **ɣer-e** **ins'-uts-ïxo**
he-NOM Geri-ACC thin -CAUS-3M:PF
'He made Geri thin.'

22b. **ɣer-i** **ins'-t-ïxo**
Geri –NOM thin-MID-3M:PF
'Geri became thin.'

In (22a) the verb **ins'-uts-ïxo** 'made thin' is marked for causative. This verb has two arguments, the subject **ŋi** 'he' and the object **ɣer-e**. The verb **ins'-t-** 'to become thin' in (22b), has only one argument, the subject **ɣer-i**; meanwhile, the causative morpheme is replaced by the middle morpheme. In (22a) the pronominal **ŋi** 'he' is an agentive subject of the causative structure while in (22b) the nominal **ɣer-i** is a non-agentive subject of the middle structure.

Similar parallel structures are observed in Afar as shown in (23-24):

23a. **isug** **woda** **karan** **kor-is-e**
he.DEF stone over turn go-CAUS-3M:PF
'He rolled the stone.'

23b. **woda** **karan** **kor-it-e**
stone.DEF over turn go-MID-3M:PF
'The stone rolled.'

In (23a) **karan kor-is-** 'to roll' is causative, **isug** 'he' is agentive subject and **woda** 'the stone' is patient. In (23b) **karan kor-it-** 'to roll' is middle and **woda** 'the stone' is non-agentive subject.

There are many such cases in Highland East Cushitic languages. The following example from Hadiya is such a case:

Hadiya:

26a. **it't'i** **it't'o** **t'op'-is-ukkoo**
he him jump-CAUS-3M:PF
'He made him jump'

26b. **it't'i** **t'op'-ak'k'-ukkoo**
he jump-MID-3M:PF
'He jumped.'

(26a) is causatives while (26b) is middle.

The same case is true for Omotic languages as shown from the following example:

Dorze

30a. **izii** **tanaa** **ufay-s-ires**
he me happy-CAUS-3M:PF
'He made me happy.'

30b. **tany** **ufay-ett-ares**
I.NOM happy-MID/PASS-1S:PF
'I am happy.'

In (29a) **ufay-s-** 'to make happy' is causative; the structure has two arguments, the agentive subject and the patient. But, (30b) is middle structure which has only one argument, an expriencer subject.

At this stage we can say that both the causative and the middle morphemes are derivational morphemes. Yet, such parallel derivation may lead towards a theme vowel kind of analysis in which the theme element indicates valency similar to Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo's **-i-** vs. **-a-** oppositions.

10.5. Semantic Frames of the Middle

Semantically, three types of subjects of the middle can be identified: the affected agentive subject, the non-agentive subject and the expriencer subject. The affected agentive subjects can be the subject of transitive or intransitive middle structures. The subjects of body grooming middles are typical examples for the affected agentive subjects. Body grooming middles have agentive subjects and patients; the patients are body parts of agents. In these cases, the affected agentive subjects are subjects of transitive middles. Intransitive middles which have the affected agentive subjects are common in (change in) body position and translational body motions.

Verbs such as **ɗaab-at-** 'to stop' in Oromo, **tä-k'ämmät'-** 'to sit down' in Amharic, **tókkàr-à-**'to sleep' in Shakkinoono, etc., select affected agentive subjects. Similarly motion verbs such as **gangal-at-** 'to roll' in Oromo, **geder-e-** 'to roll' in Kafinoonoo select affected agentive subjects. In such cases the agent consciously moves her/his own body parts; and the agent is the same as her/his own body part, hence affected agentive subjects. In autobenefactive middles, patients are affected participants while the agents are indirectly affected by their actions.

Middles with non-agentive subjects are of many types semantically. Non-translational body motion and spontaneous middles have only one external argument, the subject, and they have no patients. The subjects are the affected participants. Such subjects are not the instigators of the middle events. In Oromo, the middle verb **hollat-** 'to shiver', in Amharic **tä-näffäs-**'to breath' and in Kafinoonoo **k'ew-e-** 'to shiver' select non-agentive subjects. The subjects of such verbs could be body parts or animate beings.

Emotion, cognition and perception middles have experiencer subjects. Most of emotion middles have only one external argument, the subject. The subject is the affected participant. The instigator of the middle event of emotion verb is not clearly identified; it could be the subject or the external situation as in **tädässät-ä** 'he enjoyed' in Amharic. Cognition middles have subjects and objects. The subjects of cognition middles are expriencers similar to emotion middles. Some perception middles have subjects and objects. Like cognition middles the subjects are expriencers or undergoers. Some other perception middles have only an inanimate subject which is the initiator of the perception middle event as in **daraa-n urg-aah-e** ' a flower smelled' in Oromo. .

10.6. Conclusion on the Meanings of the Middle

Are these types of meanings of the middle verb linked to one general meaning or not? I believe that most middle meanings can be linked to one underlying meaning. I follow Kemmer (1993) in that the middle verb is about oneness. There are points which need clarification. For instance, from whose perspective is the idea of oneness of participants of the middle perceived? Is it the perspective of the participants, the observer or the researcher? I argue that the meaning of oneness is approached from the observer's perspective. Every kind of middle meaning is determined by the perspective of the observer. Therefore, the most important participant is the observer; participants such as agents, non-agents and patients are secondary. It is the observer who links one participant to another. As regards the observer I would like to make four points clear: one, the observer is a subconscious observer; thus, it is not the speaker or the thinker. It does not refer to any particular individual or object. Two, the speaker or the thinker may or may not recognize the observer; the observer is consciousness itself. Yet, whether or not the observer is recognized by individual

speaker/hearer, it is always there at a subconscious level. Three, the observer understands and registers every mental event of the speaker or the thinker. The speaker or the thinker is the same as a participant of the event unless he / she consciously identifies himself / herself with the observer. Four, the observer has infinite perspectives so that it differentiates different point of views of the speaker / listener. We can assume that there is only one observer for every speaker / listener.

With respect to the observer, the individual speaker/listener has two choices: the speaker/listener can be the same as her/his own body part, feelings or possessions; or, the speaker/listener separates her/himself from objects and feelings around her/himself. If the speaker/listener opts for the former, then, the speaker or listener fails to identify her/himself with the observer. But, if the speaker opts for the latter, then, then the speaker/listener identifies her/himself with the observer. The second option enables the speaker/hearer to influence the former not vice versa. The first option corresponds to the middle event while the second option corresponds to the causative event. This means that the idea of oneness and separation are fundamental and in opposition in human consciousness. Separation is impersonal in the sense that the speaker has become observer. The contrast of the middle and the causative emanates from such an opposition of oneness and separation of the event (see also Chapter 5). If the speaker/listener subconsciously prefers the first option, most likely the event would be expressed by middle marking system. However, if the speaker subconsciously prefers the second option, most likely the event would be expressed by non-middle system (causative). In Semitic and Omotic languages, the middle and the passive markings overlap to show that the speaker/listener's ideas oscillates between oneness and separation as in **wänbär-u tä-säbbär-ä** 'the chair is broken or the chair was broken', in Amharic (the demoted agentive subject in the passive structure can be an observer). On the other hand, in Cushitic languages there is no such overlap of the middle and the passive to indicate that the speaker/listener chooses one option for one event.

In most middle meanings one participant is identified with another. Such identification of one participant with another creates the general semantic oneness of the middle verb. A simple instance of such a case is body grooming middles. In a body grooming middle event an agentive subject is identified with a patient; in this case the agentive subject and the patient form one entity (one life). The same case is observed in autobenefactive middles. In this case the observer thinks that to get or do something for one's own benefit is to be one with the thing; to posses something is to be one with the thing. This point is strengthened by beneficiary middles.

In some Omotic languages and in Semitic languages, 'to take something' is middle whereas 'to give' is causative marked. In Shakkinoono verbs such as **àràtt-à-yè** 'he borrowed' and **kèm-è-yè** 'he bought' contrast with causative verbs such as **àràtt-ì-hè** 'he lent' and **kèmm-ì-yè** 'he sold'. Similarly, in Amharic verbs such as **tä-bäddär-ä** 'he borrowed' and **tä-k'k'äbbäl-ä** 'he received' contrast with causative

forms as **a-bäddär-ä** 'he lent' and **a-k'äbbäl-ä** 'he handed over'. Similarly in Tigrinya, the verb **tä-qäbäl-ä** 'he received' contrasts with the causative form as **a-qäbbäl-ä** 'he handed over'. These cases are not coincidences; there is a systematic perception in them. Similar to the autobenefactive middle, in beneficiary middles to take/receive something is to possess and to be one with the thing; to give or to sell is to be separate with the thing and it is the causative event.

Semantically, the take/give meaning could be further extended to emotion, cognition and perception middles. In emotion middles the expriencer receives some kind of emotion or feeling towards which she/he reacts. For instance, in Afar verbs such as **meeš-it-** 'to be worried', **farh-it-** 'to be happy', **bakahar-it-** 'to be angry' and **yin?ibb-it-** 'to hate' are middles. In such cases the expriencer is identified with the emotion or feeling she/he receives. Similarly, in cognition middles the expriencer receives information. In Oromo, for instance, cognition verbs such as **k'albif-at-** 'to identify, recognize', **bar-at-** 'to learn', **hub-at-** 'to understand', **yaad-at-** 'to remember' and **irranffat-** 'to forget' are cognition middles. In such cases the expriencer is identified with the kind of information she/he receives. Similarly, in perception middles the expriencer is identified with the kind of sense she/he receives.

There are similarities and variations of middle marking system within language family and across language families. For instance, autobenefactive middles are productive in Cushtic languages. In Oromo autobenefactive middles are derived only from transitive verbs. There is no autobenefactive sense for intransitive verbs. Languages such as Hadiya, Kambaata and Sidama also do not have autobenefactive middles for intransitive verbs. Body grooming middles are commonly middle marked across Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. Variations in derivations are common across languages. Some verbs are marked for middle in some language while they are unmarked in others. It is also the case that some verbs in some languages are marked for middle while they are marked for passive or causative in others. There are also some instances where morphological middles of some languages are expressed syntactically in others. With respect to argument structure, we observe three middle types: argument decreasing, valency neutral middles and valency ambiguous middles. An external argument of a middle event could be an affected agent, an expriencer subject or non-agentive subject depending on the semantics of the verb. Middle verbs can be linked to one underlying meaning.

11. The Passive in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic

This chapter is organized into six sections. 11.1.and 11.2. 11.3. discuss forms of personal and impersonal passives respectively; 11.3. treats special impersonal passives with unspecified human subjects. 11.4. considers complex passives. 11.5. discusses the syntax of the passive while 11.6. is concerned with the semantics of the passive.

11.1. Functional Range of the Passive

We observe two types of passive markings across Afro-Asiatic languages. The first type of passive marking is a case where the passive marking distinctively differs from the middle marking. The second type involves passive marking which is identical to the middle marking.

11.1.1. Distinct Passive Marking

A distinctive passive marking is a passive marking which has a different form from the middle markings. One group of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages has a distinct type of passive marking. Many languages which have distinct passive marking derive the middle by the morpheme –**at/-aɗ**-. Most of these languages derive the passive by the morpheme –**am**-. For instance in Oromo, the passive marking is –**am**- as in **gurgur-am**- 'to be sold', **bit-am**- 'to be bought' and **ajjees-am**- 'to be killed'. These passive verbs are derived from active verbs **gurgur**- 'to sell', **bit**- 'to buy' and **ajees**- respectively. Similar to Oromo, Gawwada (Geberew 2003: 51) derives passives by the suffixation of the morpheme –**am**-; for instance, verbs such as **ug'-am**- 'to be drank', **k'ot-am**- 'to be farmed', **k'aark'ar-am**- 'to be helped', **yi?-am**- 'to be eaten' and **pitam-am**- 'to be bought' are passives. Similarly, in Diraytata (Gidole) (Wondosen 2007: 112) the passive is marked by the morpheme –**am**- as in **heɗaw-am-** 'be hit', **heɗam-am-** 'be eaten', **hek'uur-am**- 'be cut', **he?ikay-am**- 'be killed' and **heɗih-am**- 'be built. In Konso (Mous 2004a: 218) verbs such as **akim**- 'to treat', **pan**- 'to open', **kaasat**- 'to ask' and **erg**- 'to send' are marked for the passive by the morpheme –**am**- as **akim-am**- 'be treated', **pan-am**- 'be opened', **kaasat-am**- 'be asked' and **erg-am**- 'be sent'. In Highland East Cushitic languages the passive marking is –**am**-. For instance in Hadiya, verbs such as **mur-am**- 'be cut' and **uww-am**- 'be given'; in Kambaata verbs such as **wok'k'ar-amm**- 'be hit' and **aass-am**- 'be given'; and in Sidama verbs such as **mur-am**- 'be cut' and **šir-am**- 'be killed' are passives.

In Afar, the passive is marked by the morpheme **-im-**. In this language, passives such as **yigir-y-im-** 'to be cut'[59], **yoʔob -t-im-** 'to be drank', **youkum-t-im-** 'to be eaten' and **diin-t-im-** 'was slept' are derived from non-passive counterparts such as **yigir-** 'to cut', **yoʔob-** 'to drink', **youkum-** 'to eat' and **diin-** 'to sleep'. In Awingi, a central Cushitic language, the passive is marked by the morpheme **–ist-** as shown in verbs such as **kew-ist-** 'be cut', **ku-ist-** 'be killed' and **y-ist-** 'be given'[60] which are derived from **kew-** 'to cut', **ku-** 'to kill' and **x-** 'to give' respectively. Khamta (Mengistu 1984: 41), one of Agew dialects spoken in Tigray, forms the passive by the morpheme **-ş-**; for instance passives such as **ciŋ-ş-** 'be found', **mir-ş-** 'be forgotten' and **jim-ş-** 'be sung' are derived from **ciŋ-** 'to find', **mir-** 'to forget' and **jim-** 'to sing'.

11.1.2. Non-Distinct Passive Marking

Another group of Ethiopian languages, namely all Semitic and Omotic, have non-distinct passive marking. Non-distinct passive marking typically involves **t** as prefix (Semitic) or suffix (Omotic) which is similar to the Cushitic middle. These languages mark both the passive and the middle by the same morpheme. For instance, Amharic verbs such as **särr-** 'to work', **gäddäl-** 'to kill', **k'orrät'-** 'to cut', etc., are marked for the passive as **tä-särr-** 'be done', **tä-gäddäl-** 'be killed', **tä-k'orrät'-** 'be cut/is cut'. In Tigrinya verbs such as **tä-k'oris'-** 'be cut/is cut', **tä-k'ätil-** 'be killed', **tä-wa-hïb**[61]**-** 'be given' are passives.

In Mesqan (Getu 1989: 34) verbs such as **tä-sebbär-** 'be broken/is broken', **tä-k'et't'är-** 'be killed', **tä-zebbär-** 'be returned', **tä-sekkät-** 'be worked', **tä-keffät-** 'be opened/is opened' and **tä- wek'k'äs-** 'be reproached' are passives. In Kistane (Alemayehu 2000: 49) passive verbs such as **tä-t'iggär-** 'be sold', **tä-gäddäl-** 'be killed', **tä-wok'k'-** 'be hit', **tä-arrät-/tarrät-** 'be cut/is cut' and **tä-ač'č'-/tač'č'-** 'be closed/is closed' are formed by the prefixation of the morpheme **tä-** to the corresponding verb stems. In Eža (Fekede 2002: 78) verbs such as **tä-säbbär-** 'be broken/is broken', **tä-bettär-** 'be separated/is separated', **tä-k'at't'är-** 'be tied/is tied', **tä-dännäg-** 'be hit/hit oneself' and **tä-säddäb-** 'be cursed/curse oneself' are passives. Similarly in Goggot (Kebede 2002: 80) passive verbs such as **tä-wäk'k'-** 'be hit', **tä-säbbär-** 'be broken/is broken' and **tä- mirräʔ-** 'be blessed' are derived by the prefixation of the morpheme **tä-** to the stem of transitive verbs. A similar case is observed in Zay (Getu 1999: 41) as in **tä-säbär-** 'be broken/is broken', **tä-mizän-** 'be weighed', **tä-baräk-** 'be blessed', **tä-tuk'as-** 'be begged', **tä-gläbät'-** 'be turned up side down/is turned up side down' and **tä-dbalak'-** 'be mixed/is mixed'.

---

[59] In the Kunnaba dialect, North Afar, person agreement elements such as **-t-**, (3F:PF) and **-y-** (3M:PF) appear between verb roots and passive markings.

[60] The root verb of the passive form differs from that of the active root.

[61] The active stem of this verb is **hib-** 'to give'.

In Dorze verbs such as **k'ans'-ett-** 'be cut', **wor-ett-** 'be killed' and **emm-ett-** 'be given' are passives. Verbs such as **feent-ett-** 'be boiled', **t'el-ett-**'be seen' and **hank'-ett-** 'be angered' are passives with similar forms in Dawuro, Konta (Hiywot 1988) and Wolayta (Wakasa 2002). In Gofa (Sellassie 2004:59) verbs such as **meečč-ett-** 'be eaten', **oots-ett-** 'be worked', **šo?-ett-** 'be kicked' are passives. In Gamo (Selamawit 2004:37-39) the passive marking is **–ut-** as in **is'-ut-** 'be cut', **do?-ut-** 'be opened' and **geež-ut-** 'be cleaned'. Similar to Gamo, Koorete (Beletu 2003: 62; Biniyam, 2008), an East Ometo language, employs the morpheme **–ut-** in passive derivation as in **tab-ut-** 'be counted', **meys-ut-** 'be broken', **burs-ut-** 'be cut' and **wod-ut-** 'be killed'. Zayse (Dani'el 1988: 27-38) is similar to Koorete in the sense that it derives passive verbs by suffixing the morpheme **–ut-** to stems of transitive verbs as in **lam-ut-** 'be opened', **ibis-ut-** 'be shut', **kar-ut-** 'be saved', **oyč-ut-** 'be insulted' and **s'el-ut-** 'be seen'. In Maale (Azeb 2001: 100-101), a South Ometo language, verbs such as **mú?-ínt-** 'be eaten', **yérk'-ínt-** 'be kissed' and **?ááš-ínt-** 'be hidden' are passives. Similarly, Malo (Mahder 2003: 87), a North Ometo language, employs the morpheme **–int-** as in **?ad-int-** 'be hit', **bayz-int-** 'be sold', **gač'-int** – 'be cut', **šat-int-** 'be hated', **ikk-int-** 'be caught' and **yer-int-** 'be kissed'. Oyda (Abrham 2003: 48-49) is a North Ometo language; yet unlike North Ometo languages and similar to South Ometo it derives the passive by the morpheme **–int-** as in **ekk-int-** 'be taken', **is's'-int-** 'be hated', **mu?-int-** 'be eaten', **be?-int-** 'be seen', **gačč-int-** 'be cut', **bayz-int-** 'be sold', **šamp-int-** 'be rested', **lamm-int-** 'be changed' and **zor-int-** 'be advised'.

Yem (Hirut 1993: 40-41), a West Omotic language, has **–t-** as a passive marker as in **wor-t-** 'be killed', **mak-t-** 'be told', **dam-t-** 'be kissed', **wag-t-** 'be sold', **šun-t-** 'be loved', **sol-t-** 'be found' and **om-t-** 'be hated'. In Sheko (Hellental p.c.) the morpheme **–t'-/-t-** is used as a passive marking as in **akaaf-t-** 'be built', **aka-t'-** 'be cut', **afikus-t'-** 'be prepared', **k'or-t'-** 'be asked' and **ay-t'-** 'be danced'. In Benchnoon (Rapold 2006: 324-326) passive verbs could be derived by the suffixation of the middle/passive morpheme **–t-** or **–ñ-** to causative stems. Passives such as **mùs-t-** 'be eaten', **ús-t-** 'be seized' and **érs-t-** 'be known' are derived from verbs such as **mú-s-** 'to make eat', **ùt'-ās-** 'to make seize' and **ēr-s-** 'to make know' respectively. In Benchnoon, in many cases the passive derivation is accompanied by tone change. In Shakkinoono, the passive marking is the same as the middle marking **–a-**. Similar to Benchnoon, in Shakkinoono, all passive verbs are derived from causative stems as in **k'át't'-ìyà-yè** 'he is punished', **gódd-ìyà-yè** 'be hurt' and **tókkár-ìya-ye** 'it was slept'. In Kafinoonoo the form **–e-** is used as passive/middle marking. For instance verbs such as **šumm-e-** 'be kissed' and **k'ut'-e-** 'be cut' are passives. In this language, verbs which have **–e-** as root final vowel derive passives by lengthening the morpheme **–e-** as in **keme-e-** 'be bought' and **šune-e-** 'be worked'.

11.2. The Form of the Impersonal Passive

Many linguists recognize the possibility of passives of agentive intransitive verbs in certain languages while they rule out the possibility of passives of patient oriented (unaccusative) intransitive verbs. For instance, Blevins (2003) argues that there are no passives of patient oriented (unaccusative) intransitive verbs because passivization demotes agentive subject arguments which patient oriented intransitive verbs lack. As he notes, for instance, in German only agentive intransitive verbs with human agents allow the derivation of impersonal passives. Similarly, Shibatani (1985: 834) says, "…passives of non-agentive intransitives are generally not permitted." But, in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages both agent and patient oriented intransitive verbs are allowed to be passivized. Both human and animate agentive intransitive verbs can have impersonal passives. Impersonal passives of intransitive verbs are basically subjectless passives. They have uniformly a third person masculine singular default subject agreement marker on the verb.

In Afar verbs such as **gaddab-tim- e** 'dancing was had', **diin-tim-e** 'sleeping was had' and **daff-tim-e** 'sitting was had' are passives of agentive intransitives while verbs such as **reb-tim-e** 'dying was had' and **sugum-tim-e** 'living was had' are impersonal passives of patient oriented intransitive verbs. In Awingi passives of agentive intransitives such as **gïŋ-ïst-uxa** 'running was had', **ɣur-ïst-ïxo** 'sleeping was had', **ess-ïst-uxa** 'weeping was had' and **ɣ^{w}aɣiy-ïst-ïxa** 'laughing was had'. Similarly passives of patient oriented intransitive verbs such as **kïr-ïst-ïxo** 'dying was had' are not uncommon in Awingi.

In Dorze verbs such as **wots-ett-ires** 'running was had', **bet-ett-ires** 'going was had', **yetss-ett-ires** 'dancing was had' and **ičč-ett-ires** 'sleeping was had' are impersonal passives. In Shakkinoono verbs such as **tókkár-ìyà-yè** 'sleeping was had', **míč'č'-ìyà-ỳe** 'laughing was had', **éépp-ìyà-ỳe** 'weeping was had', **bèé?-ì-yè** 'survival was had' and **k'ít-ìyà-ỳe** 'dying was had' are impersonal passives which include passives of agentive and patient oriented intransitive verbs. Similarly in Kafinoonoo impersonal passives such as **tokkar-ee-te** 'sleeping was had', **mič'č'-e-te** 'laughing was had', **ep-e-te** 'weeping was had' and **k'it-e-te** 'dying was had' are common.

In Tigrinya verbs such as **tä-bäxïy-uu** 'sleeping was had', **tä-sïħq-uu** 'laughing was had', **tä-saʔïsïʔ-ï-woo** 'dancing was had' and **tä-däk'k'ïs-uu-woo** 'sleeping was had' are acceptable.'

There are two categories of languages concerning their impersonal passive morphology. The first category of languages marks their impersonal passives by the same morpheme as the personal passive as shown in the above examples. The second category differentiates between the personal and impersonal markings. Such two

passive markings are observed in Ari, an East Omotic language. This language has **-er-** and **–im-** as passive markings. The morpheme **–er-** marks an impersonal passive such as **ʔeel-er-** 'be called' and **bul-er-** 'be united' , **ši?-er-** 'be washed', **kaš-er-** 'be paid', **deis-er-** 'be killed' while the morpheme **–im-** marks the personal passive as in **zig-im-** 'be found', **xobr-im-** 'be worn' and **deis-im-** 'be killed', **gi?i-im-** 'be hit', **dux-im-** 'be buried' (Daniel 1987: 19-20).

In Hadiya, a Highland East Cushitic language which borders Gurage languages, personal passives are marked by the morpheme **–am-** similar to other Lowland and Highland East Cushitic languages while impersonal passives seem to be marked by a different morpheme as shown below:

1. **hak'k'i beet-inne mur-am-ukko**
   tree-NOM boy-INST cut-PASS[1]-3M:PF
   'A tree was cut by a boy.'

2. **ulla-nne kad-akko-ʔo**
   ground-LOC dance-3M:PF-PASS[2]
   'Dancing was had on ground.'

3. **hak'k'-anne afuur-akko-ʔo**
   tree-LOC sit-3M:PF- PASS[2]
   'Sitting was had on a tree.'

4. **siin-anne ag-akko-ʔo**
   cup-LOC drink-3M:PF- PASS[2]
   'Drinking was had with cup.'

An instance shown in (1) is a structure of passive of transitive verb. The nominal **hak'k'i** 'tree' is the subject of the passive structure and the agentive subject is expressed as oblique noun phrase **beet-inne** 'by a boy'. In this example the verb is marked for the passive by the morpheme **–am-** which is followed by subject agreement element **–ukko**. Instances shown in (2-4) are passive structures of impersonal passives. The passive verbs are not marked by the passive marking **–am-** but by the morpheme **-ʔo**. This morpheme, unlike **–am-**, is not attached to a verb root. It is preceded by the subject agreement element, **akko** according to my analysis based on Hadiya data.

11.3. Impersonal Subject Marking

Two different types of passive markings are common in Gurage languages. For instance, Endegañ (Eyasu 2003: 94) has two types of passive markings. In this language, similar to other Ethio-Semitic languages, personal passives are formed by prefixing the morpheme **tä-** to transitive verb stems as in **tä-ʔakkäd-** 'be tied' and

tä-sappär- 'be broken'. But impersonal passives are derived by suffixing the morpheme **–u** referring to unspecific subject like 'one, they' in English or 'on' in French**,** which is a floating morpheme and which labializes labial or velar consonants, to intransitive verb stems as in **dänäg^{w}-y** 'be hit', **b^{w}ar-y** 'be said', **m^{w}änäč'-y** 'be peeled', **dak'^{w}-y** 'be laughed', **nämwaj-y** 'be loved' and **säk^{w}ar-y** 'be drunk'. Similarly in Eža (Fekede 2002: 79-80) the impersonal passive is formed by the suffixation of the morpheme **–u** to a stem pattern **$C_1VC_2(C_2)äC_3$** as in **sännäk'-u** 'be stolen', **k'ät't'är-u** 'be killed', **bä?är-u** 'be said', **dä?k'-u** 'be laughed' and **met't'är- u** 'be chosen'. The morpheme **–u** is a floating morpheme and it labializes the right most labial or velar sounds and consequently these passive verbs surface as **sännäk'^{w}-**, **k'^{w}ät't'är-**, **b^{w}ar-**, **dak'^{w}-**, **m^{w}ännäč'-** and **m^{w}et't'är-** respectively. But, in Goggot (Kebede 2002: 80-81) the impersonal passive is formed by the morpheme **–e-** which changes to **–i-** after a palatal sound. For instance, verbs such as **čočč-i-m** 'be worked'[62], **sïr-e-m** 'be bought', **märräč-i-m** 'be elected', **bänn-e-m** 'be eaten', **wäk'k'-i-we-m** 'be hit' and **säčč-i-m** 'be drunk' are impersonal passives. These verbs are examples of impersonal passives of transitive verbs. In this language personal passives are formed by the prefixation of the morpheme **tä-** as in **tä-wäk'k'-** 'to be hit', **tä-säbbär-** 'to be broken', **t-ažž-** 'to be seen' and **tä-mirrä?-** 'to be blessed' (Kebede 2002: 80).

Impersonal passives are derived by the same passive morpheme as the personal passive in some languages while in others they are derived by only the impersonal passive morpheme. They are formed differently. Impersonal passives are subjectless passives with dummy subjects in the mind of the speaker. The default subject agreement element on the verb is uniformly third person masculine singular.

11.4. Complex Passives

Passive verbs are derived not only from simple stems such as unmarked intransitive and transitive verbs but also from derived stems such as causative, middle or passive itself.

11.4.1. Passives of Causatives

It has already been discussed that in Benchnoon there are two ways in which a passivization process requires a causative stem. A similar case is observed in Shakkinoono, a language which is spoken to the Northwest of Benchnoon. In Shakkinoono, every verb with the middle/passive **–a–** is derived from a causative stem. For instance, **tókkàr-ì<y>à-yè** 'sleeping was had' is derived from a causative stem. The intransitive form is **tókkàrà-yè** 'he slept' while the causative form is **tókkàrà-ì-yè** 'he made someone sleep' (see Chapter 4).

[62] The **–m** in these examples is not passive marking.

Passives are sometimes derived from causative stems in other languages also. For instance, in Oromo passives of causatives such as **č'ab-s-am-** 'be broken', **bak'-s-am-** 'be melted', **gurgur-siis-am-** 'made to be sold', **bičč-isiis-am-** 'made to be bought', **hojeČČ-iis-am-** 'made to be done/worked', **k'očč-isiis-am-** 'made to be farmed', **k'offor-siis-am-** 'made to be dug', etc., are common. In Sidama passives of causatives such as **doy-ss-am-**'be rounded' and **daad-s-am-** 'be melted' are acceptable. The same is true with languages such as Hadiya and Kambaata. Similarly, in Dorze, a North Ometo language, passives of causatives such as **wor-is-ett-** 'made to be killed' and **anč'-is-ett-** 'made to be minced', **ha?-is-ett-** 'made to die', **wok'-iis-ett-** 'be rotted', **moč'-is-ett-** 'be cooled', **zo?-iis-ett-** 'be reddened', **bal-iis-ett-** 'made to be forgotten' and **mi?nts-is-ett-** 'made be broken' are common. Similarly in Dawuro passives of causatives such as **teer-is-ett-eedda** 'made ripe', **boos'-is-ett-eedda** 'it was whitened', and **fent-is-eedda** 'made to be boiled' are common. In languages such as Oromo and Dorze simple passives as well as complex passives are permitted while in languages such as Shakkinoono, only complex passives are possible for one class of verbs.

11.4.2. Middle-Passives and Double Passives

Generally, in languages where the middle marking is the same as the passive marking, the middle morpheme does not appear followed by the passive morpheme as a sequence of the same morpheme. Yet there are some very rare cases of such a sequence in Amharic. For instance, the middle verb **täññ-a** 'he slept' could be passivized to derive the impersonal passive verb as **tä- täññ-a** 'there was sleeping'. In the verb **täññ-a** 'he slept', the morpheme **tä-** is not part of the root since it is related to the noun **mäññïta** 'bed'.

There are also cases where passives are productively derived from middles. For instance, in Oromo passives of autobenefactive middles are common as in **bit-at-am-** 'to be bought for one's own benefit' and **gurgur-at-am-** 'to be sold for one's own benefit'. The passives of autobenefactive middles obviously do not make any difference from the passive since autobenefactive middles are transitive. We can observe passives of such middles as shown below:

Oromo:

5a. **hoolaa-n** **Olii-tiin** **bit-am-e**
sheep-NOM Olii-INST buy-PASS-3M:PF
'A sheep was bought by Oli.'

5b. **hoolaa-n** **Olii-tiin** **bit-at-am-e**
sheep-NOM Olii-INST buy-MID-PASS-3M:PF
'A sheep was bought by Oli (for his own benefit).'

(5a) is a passive structure of transitive situation where **hoolaa-n** 'a sheep' is a direct object and **Olii-tiin** 'by Oli' is an agentive subject. (5b) is a passive of autobenefactive middle where the direct object and the agentive subject are expressed exactly as in (5a). Such complex passive formation is restricted to languages which are characterized by autobenefactive middles.

In Kambaata the middle is productively followed by the passive to give reciprocal meaning as in **awwaan-ak'k'-amm-** 'to follow one another', **suunk'-ak'k'-an(m)-** 'to love each other'. It is also the case that some passives are derived from passive stems to form double passives. The interpretation of double passives is also reciprocal. For instance, in Sidama (see also Anbessa 1984: 13) passives such as **gan-am-am-** 'to hit each other', **t'on-am-am-** 'to insult each other' and **suunk'-am-an-** 'to kiss each other' are derived from passive stems. In Kambaata verbs such as **y-am-an-** 'to say one another' are derived from passive stems. Hadiya also employs the same strategy; but given the fact that the third person plural subject morpheme contains the morpheme –**am**-, the order –**am-am**- is not distinct in this language as in **suunk'-am-amukko** 'they kissed each other', **ʔit-am-amukkoo** 'they loved each other', **wač'-am-amukko** 'they fought each other', **ap'p'it'-am-amukko** 'they hit each other' and **geer-am-amukko** 'they followed each other'. It has to be noticed that Hadiya does not have a passive verb form for the third person plural subject since the agreement element –**amukko** contains the morpheme –**am**-; in this case, the passive event is understood from the context. Thus, for instance, the verb **mu-ramukko** could be associated to different meanings based on the specific morpheme division of the verb and the context in which such verb is used: **mur-am-ukko** 'it was cut', **mur-amukko** 'they cut' or **mur-amukko** 'they were cut' (This analysis is confirmed by Tadesse p.c.).

In Kafinoonoo the passive marking is often doubled to give reciprocal interpretation as in, for instance, **šum-e-** 'to be kissed', but **šum-e-e-** 'to kiss each other'; **wut'-e-** 'to be killed', but **wut'-e-e-** 'to kill each other'. Similarly, in Wolayta, when the passive marking is doubled, the result is a reciprocal verb as in **er-ét-étt-** 'to understand each other' (Wakasa 2002: 338). In Koorete, the reciprocal verb is the result of doubling the passive marking as in **č'us-ut-ut-** 'to insult each other', **šoh-ut-ut-** 'to wash each other', **saas'-ut-ut-** 'to beat each other', **woɗ-ut-ut-** 'to kill

each other', etc. (Beletu 2003: 64). In Konta, double passives such as **dorr-et-et-** 'to choose each other', **borr-et-et-** 'to insult each other', **err-et-et-** 'to know each other', **ed-et-et-** 'to talk to each other', etc., (Hiwot 1988: 37) are common.

To summarize, complex passives are of three types: passives of causatives, passives of middles and passives of passives. In some very few languages only passives of causatives are allowed while in many languages passives of causatives are an option. And in some languages passives of causative are not allowed or not reported at least. Passives of middles are restricted to languages which have distinct passive marking and autobenefactive middles. Passives of passives are observed in some languages to give a different interpretation from the passive, namely reciprocal.

11.5. The Structure of the Passive

This section discusses structure of the personal and impersonal passive. The first section discusses demotional and promotional aspects of the personal passive. Some examples of structures of the complex passive shall also be given. The second section deals with structures of the impersonal passive.

11.5.1. The Structure of the Personal Passive

Blevins (2003) notes that personal passives are regarded as canonical passives because they show all the properties related to the passive construction. In the personal passive structures the patient is promoted to subject position while the agent is demoted to an instrument adjunct. Yet, it is a matter of debate whether the demotional aspect or the promotional aspect is the main defining characteristic of the personal passive (Siewierska 1984; Blevins 2003). It is common that the agent of a passive of a transitive clause is expressed as oblique noun phrases in Afro-Asiatic languages as shown below:

Hadiya:

6a. **beet-i** **hak'k'a** **mur-ukko**
boy-NOM tree.ABS cut-3M:PF
'A boy cut a tree.'

6b. **hak'k'-i** **beet-inne** **mur-am-ukko**
tree-NOM boy-INST cut-PASS-3M:PF
'A tree was cut by a boy.'

Kafinoono:

7a. **bušoo** **gindo-n** **k'ut'i-te**
boy.NOM tree-ACC cut-3M:PF
'A boy cut a tree.'

7b. **gindo** **bušoo-naa** **k'ut'-e-te**
tree.NOM boy-INST cut-MID/PASS-3M:PF
'A tree was cut by a boy.'

Eža (Fekede 2002: 78-79):

8a. **Wägu** **dadd-ota** **tä-dännäg-ä-m**
W chest-his MID/PASS-hit-3M-PF
'Wegu hit his chest.'

8b. **Wägu** **bä-gurz** **mïšt** **tä-dännäg-ä-m**
W by-old woman MID/PASS-hit-3M-PF
'Wegu is hit by an old woman.'

Examples shown in (6a), (7a) and (8a) are transitive structures where nominals such as **beeti** 'a boy' in (6a), **bušoo** 'a boy' in (7a) and **Wägu** are agentive subjects. Agentive subjects **beeti** 'a boy' in (6a) and **bušoo** 'a boy' in (7a) are expressed as oblique noun phrases in (6b), (7b). (8b) is not a passive counterpart of (8a). (8a) is reflexive middle while (8b) is a passive structure. **Wägu** becomes the subject of the passive structure in (8b) where the agent happens to be the oblique noun phrase **bä-gurz mïšt** 'by an old woman'. In Cushitic and Omotic languages the instrument suffix follows the agent in oblique noun phrases; in Semitic languages it precedes the agentive subjects as shown in the above examples.

It is also common that agentive subjects are omitted from the corresponding passive structures as shown below:

Dorze:

9a. **gaamoo-y** **Gidooo-raa** **wor-ett-ires**
lion-NOM Gido-INST kill-MID/PASS-3M:PF
'The lion was killed by Gido.'

9b. **gaamoo-y** **wor-ett-ires**
lion-NOM kill-MID/PASS-3M:PF
'The lion was killed.'

In (9a) **Gaamoo-y** ‘the lion’, the subject of the passive structure, precedes the oblique noun phrase **Gidoo-raa** ‘by Gido’, the agentive subject. In (9b) the oblique noun phrase is omitted.

In Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages the patients of transitive verbs uniformly become the subjects of the passive structure as in (10-12):

Awingi:

10a. **ŋi** **kan-e** **kew-ixo**
she-NOM tree-ACC cut-3F:PF
‘She cut a tree.’

10b. **kani** **kew-ist-ïxo**
tree cut-PASS-3M:PF
‘A tree was cut.’

Tigrinya:

11a. **iti-k'olaʔaa** **anbäsa** **k'ätil-a**
DEF-girl lion kill-3F:PF
‘The girl killed a lion.’

11b. **anbäsa** **tä-k'ätil-uu**
lion-NOM MID/PASS-kill-3M:PF
‘A lion was killed.’

Dorze:

12a. **izaa** **mitssaa** **k'ans'- arus**
she:NOM tree.ABS cut-3F:PF
‘She cut a tree.’

12b. **mitssa-y** **k'ans'-ett-ires**
tree-NOM cut-MID/PASS-3M:PF
‘The tree was cut.’

Structures shown in (10a), (11a) and (12a) are active events while (10b), (11b) and (12b) are passive counterparts. Nominals such as **kani** ‘tree’, **anbäsa** ‘lion’ and **mitssa-y** ‘tree’ are subjects of the corresponding passive structure. These subjects are the corresponding patients of active structures shown in (10a), (11a) and (12a). In all examples the verbs are passive marked. In Awingi and in Dorze the passive markings follow the verb stems; the same is true for all Ethiopian Cushitic and Omotic languages. In Tigrinya and in other Ethio-Semitic languages the passive marking precedes the verb stem.

There are also variations and similarities between languages with respect to the subject of the passive of double object structure as shown below:

Oromo:

13a. **barsiisaa-n** **kitaaba** **barataa-f** **kenn-e**
teacher-NOM book student-DAT give-3M:PF
'A teacher gave a book to a student.'

13b. **kitaab-ni** **barataa-f** **kenn-am-e**
book-NOM student-DAT give-PASS-3M:PF
'A book was given to a student by a teacher.'

13c.* **barataa-n** **(barsiisaa-tiin)** **kitaaba kenn-am-e**
book-NOM teacher-INST book give-PASS-3M:PF
'A student was given a book by a teacher.'

Kafinoonoo:

14a. **dojjaccɔ** **bušoo -icč** **koricčɔ-n** **emmi-te**
teacher-NOM boy-DAT book-ACC give-3M:PF
'A teacher gave a book to a student.'

14b. **koricčɔ** **(dojjaccɔ-naa)** **bušoo -icč** **emm-e-te**
book-NOM teacher-INST boy-DAT give-MID/PASS-3M:PF
'A book was given to student by a teacher.'

14c. ***bušoo** **(dojjaccɔ-naa)** **koricčɔ-n** **emm-e-te**
boy-NOM teacher-INST book-ACC give-MID/PASS-3M:PF
'A boy was given a book by a teacher.'

Amharic:

15a. **mämmïhïr-u** **lä-tämari-u** **mäs'haf** **sät't'-ä**
teacher-DEF DAT-student-DEF book give-3M:PF
'The teacher gave a book to the student.'

15b. **mäs'haf** **lä-tämari-u** **tä-sät't'-ä**
book DAT-student-DEF MID/PASS-give-3M:PF
'A book was given to a student.'

15c. **tämari-wa** **(kä-mämmïhïr-u)** **mäs'haf** **tä-sät't'-äčč**
student.DEF:F LOC-teacher-his book MID/PASS-give-3M:PF
'The student was given a book by his teacher.' /lit., 'The student was given a book from his teacher.'

In Oromo only the patient is promoted to subject position in passive structures as shown in (13). (13a) is an instance of an active structure. The same case is observed in Kafinoonoo as shown in (14). But Amharic shows a different characteristic in the sense that in this language both the patient and goal are permitted to be subjects of passive structures as shown in (15). In (15a), where the structure is active, **mäm-mïhïr-u** 'the teacher' is agentive subject, **lä-tämari-u** 'to the student' is goal and **mäs'haf** 'book' is patient. (15b) is passive structure; in this structure **mäs'haf** 'a book' is subject, **lä-tämari-u** 'to the student' is goal and the agent is omitted. (15c) is also a passive structure; in this structure the subject is **tämari-wa** 'the student', **kä-mämmïhïr-u** 'from the teacher' is the agent, which is optionally expressed as oblique noun phrase, and **mäs'haf** 'book' is patient (see Chapter 7).

Similar to Amharic, in Awingi both direct object and dative object are permitted to occupy subject position of the passive clause as in (16):

16a. **astamari** **kintanti-is** **mes'af-o** **y-ïxo**
teacher student-DAT book-ACC give-3M:PF
'A teacher gave a book to a student.'

16b. **mes'af** **astamari** **šohis** **kintanti-is** **y-ist-ïxo**
book teacher INST student-DAT give-PASS-3M:PF
'A book was given to a student through a teacher.'

16c. **kintanti** **astamari** **šohis** **mes'af** **y-ist-ïxo**
student teacher INST book give-PASS-3M:PF
'A student was given a book through a teacher.'

(16a) is a transitive dative structure where **astamari** 'teacher' is agentive subject, **kintanti-is** 'to student' is dative, **mes'af-o** 'a book' is direct object and **y-ïxo** 'gave' is transitive verb. (16b) and (16c) are passive counterparts of (16a). In (16b) the subject of the passive structure is the direct object of (16a), **mes'af** 'a book'. In this passive structure the verb is marked for the passive by the morpheme –**ist-** and subject agreement element –**ïxo** is suffixed to the passive stem. In (16c) the subject of the passive structure is the dative object **kintanti** 'student' meanwhile the direct object is not marked for the accusative case as compared to (16a). There are no examples of languages in which only the dative object can be promoted to the exclusion of the direct object in passive structures.

There are cases where the complements of preposition or postpositional phrases become subjects of the corresponding personal passives. Such passive structures seem

to have two subjects. Such cases are observed in Oromo and Amharic as shown below:

Oromo:

17a. **saree-n** **ulee-tiin** **rukut-am-e**
dog-NOM stick-INST hit-PASS-3M:PF
'He hit a dog with a stick.'

17b. **ulee-n** **ittiin** **saree-n** **rukut-am-e**
stick-NOM INST dog-NOM hit-PASS-3M:PF
'A stick, a dog was hit with.'

17c. **ulee-n** **ittiin** **saroo-n** **rukut-am-ani**
stick-NOM INST dog-NOM hit-PASS-3P:PF
'A stick, dogs were hit with.'

Amharic:

18a. **wïša-u** **bä -t'or** **tä-wägg-a**
dog-DEF INST-spear MID/PASS-pierce-3M:PF
'The dog was pierced with a spear.'

18b. **t'or-u** **wïša** **tä-wägg-a-bb-ät**
spear-DEF dog MID/PASS-pierce-3M:PF-3MSO
'The spear, the dog was pierced by.'

18c. **t'or-u** **wïš-očč-u** **tä-wägg-u-bb-ät**
spear-DEF dog-PL-DEF MID/PASS-pierce-3P:PF-MAL-3MSO
'The spear, the dog was pierced by.'

(17a) and (18a) are passive structures; phrases like **ulee-tiin** 'by stick' and **bä -t'or** 'with a spear' are postposition and prepositions of instrument respectively. In (17b) and (18b) instruments become the subjects of the corresponding structures along with the corresponding patients. Yet, as it is observed from (17c) and (18c) instruments are pseudo subjects because agreement on the verb is with the patients and not with the nominative marked sentence-initial instruments (see Chapter 7 and 8).

In Hadiya the instrument object is not permitted to become subject of the passive; yet passive of ingestive verbs trigger an impersonal passive which allows an instrument sentence initial constituent as in **siin-anne ag-akko-ʔo** 'it was drunk with a cup', where **siin-anne** 'with cup' is postpositional instrument, **ag-** 'to drink', **akko** 3M:PF and **ʔo** passive. In Kambaata, the object of an instrument becomes subject of the passive as **sineenta-s ag-am-eeʔ** 'the cup coffee is drunk with', where **sineenta-s** 'the cup' is the subject and **ag-am-** 'be drunk' is the passive verb while **-**

ee? is the agreement element. The same meaning is expressed in Sidama as **siin-ččo te ag-am-i** 'it was drunk with a cup' where **siin-ččo** 'the cup' the subject, **te** 'with' is a postposition and **ag-am-** 'drunk' is the passive verb. The same is true for Awingi as **finjal zïk-ïst-ïxo** 'it was drunk with a cup' and Tigrinya as **fïnjal tä-säty-ï-woo** 'it was drunk with a cup'.

There are also cases where locative objects become subjects of impersonal passive structures. Such cases are common in Oromo, Amharic, Kambaata, Sidama, Dorze and Awingi.

Kambaata:

19a. **ulla-n** **tes** **šalat** **kad-an-tee?**
ground-FOC LOC dance dance-PASS-3F:PF
'Dancing was had on ground.'

19b. **man?-s** **oss-an-tee?**
bed-DEF sleep-PASS-3F:PF
'Sleeping was had on a bed.'

Sidama:

20a. **isi** **batto-te** **sirb-i**
he ground-LOC dance-3M:PF
'He danced on ground.'

20b. **battuu** **sirb-am-i**
ground:NOM dance-PASS-3M:PF
'Dancing was had on ground.'

Dorze:

21. **woraa-y** **yetss-ett-ires**
cave-NOM sing/dance-MID/PASS-3M:PF
'Dancing was had on the cave.'

In examples shown above locative objects become subjects of impersonal passives. These subjects are, however pseudo subjects (see Chapter 7 and 8).

But, some languages such as Afar and Hadiya do not allow locatives to appear in the subject position of the impersonal passives as shown below:

Afar:

22a. **wo** **bara-l** **gaddabtim-e**
DEF ground-LOC dance:PASS-3M:PF
'Dancing was had on ground.'

22b. ***wo** **bara** **gaddabtim-e**
DEF ground dance:PASS-3M:PF
'Dancing was had on ground.'

Hadiya:

23a. **it't'i** **ulla-nne** **kad-ukko**
he-NOM ground-LOC dance-3M:PF
'He danced on ground.'

23b. **ulla-nne** **kad-akko-ʔo**
ground-LOC dance-3M:PF-$PASS_2$
'Dancing was had on ground.'

23c. ***ulla** **kad-akko-ʔo**
ground dance-3M:PF-$PASS_2$
'Dancing was had on ground.'

In (22a) **bara-l** 'on the ground' is a postpositional phrase of the impersonal passive structure. In (22b) the locative subject **bara** 'ground' is subjects of the corresponding impersonal passive structures. But, Afar does not permit locative objects to be subjects of the impersonal passives; and consequently (22b) is ungrammatical. In Hadiya, (23a) is an intransitive structure where **it't'i** 'he' is agentive subject, **ulla-nne** 'on ground' is postpositional phrase and **kad-ukko** 'danced' is a verb. (23b) is a passive counterpart of (23a). In (23b) there is no subject; and in (23c) the locative object **ulla** 'ground' occupies subject position of the impersonal passive which is not permitted in Hadiya. The construction to have a locative or instrumental initial pseudo subject is common but not general in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages.

There are two additional interesting restrictions on the passive. First, in the simple passive only one instrument is permitted (two identical post/preposition of instruments are ruled out) (see also Chapter 7) as shown in (24c).

Oromo:

24a. **hoolaa-n** **gurbaa-tiin** **bit-am-e**
sheep-NOM boy-INST buy-PASS-3M:PF
'A sheep was bought by a boy.'

24b. **hoolaa-n** **gurbaa-tiin** **biČČ-siis-am-e**
sheep-NOM boy-INST buy-CAUS-PASS-3M:PF
'A sheep was bought by a boy.'

24c. * **hoolaa-n** **gurbaa-tiin** **Olii-tiin** **biČČ-siis-am-e**
sheep-NOM boy-INST Olii-INST buy-CAUS-PASS-3M:PF
'A sheep was made to be bought by a boy through Oli.'

Double objects of instruments cannot appear in such structures, either the causee or the agent can appear as an oblique noun phrase. Thus, the object of instrument can be interpreted in either of two ways (the causee or the agent) depending upon the context. The same is observed in Dorze as shown in (26). The same is also true with Benchnoon (Rapold 2006: 329).

Second, the causee does not become the subject of the passive of the causative. The subject of the passive of a causative is the goal/theme just like that of the passive of verb without the causative (see Chapter 3).

25a. **muk-ni** **Tolasaa-tiin** **mur-am-e**
tree-NOM Tolasaa-INST cut-PASS-3M:PF
'A tree was cut by Tolasaa.'

25b. **muk-ni** **Tolasaa-tiin** **mur-siis-am-e**
tree-NOM Tolasaa-INST cut-CAUS-PASS-3M:PF
'A tree was made to be cut by Tolasaa.'

25c. ***Tolasaa-n** **muka** **mur-siis-am-e**
Tolasa-NOM tree cut-CAUS-PASS-3M:PF
'A tree was made to be cut by Tolasaa.'

Dorze:

26a. **izii** **barČ'umaa** **miʔnts-ires**
he-NOM chair.ABS break-3M:PF
'He broke the chair.'

26b. **izii** **nazaa** **barČ'umaa** **miʔnts-is-ires**
he-NOM boy. ABS chair.ABS break-CAUS-3M:PF
'He made the boy break the chair.'

26c. **barČ'umaa-y** **naza-raa** **miʔnts-is-ett-ires**
chair-NOM boy-INST break-CAUS-MID/PASS-3M:PF
'The chair was made to be broken by the boy.'

(25a) is a passive structure. In this examples the verb is marked only for the passive. Thus, the subject of this structure is a direct object of a transitive structure; and the object is agentive subject a transitive clause. By contrast, (25b) is a passive of the causative since the verb is marked for both the passive and the causative. In such a structure the causee cannot be the subject of the passive of the causative as shown in (25c).

To summarize, in the structure of the personal passive the agents are demoted to instrument adjunct. It is also common that agentive adjuncts are omitted from the passive structure. In Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages, direct objects are promoted to subject position. In very few languages either the dative object or the theme is allowed to occupy subject position while in many languages only the theme is allowed to become the subject of the passive structure. There are cases where instrument objects of transitive verbs occupy sentence initial position and are marked for nominative case to result in a double subject. Structurewise passives of transitive middles are the same as a passive of a transitive verb. The passive of a causative has only one instrument adjunct which can be interpreted either as a causee or the demoted agent depending on the extra linguistic context in which such structure is used.

11.5.2. The Structure of the Impersonal Passive

Siewierska (1984: 101-102) characterizes impersonal passives on the basis of their subjects that impersonal passives: a) are subjectless b) possess a dummy subject c) have an indefinite human subject. Type a) is a common case of impersonal passives of intransitive verbs. In Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages passives of intransitive verbs appear without an explicit subject and the default subject agreement on the verb is the third person masculine singular. Type c) concerns impersonal passives of transitive verbs such as unspecific subject constructions observed in Gurage languages. Type b) concerns impersonal passives which have cognate objects as subjects as shown below for Kambaata which has feminine cognate objects. If the cognate objects are masculine (28,29) and in subject position, it is difficult to show that they are not pseudo-subjects with default agreement on the verb as in other impersonal passive constructions.

Kambaata:

27a. **osalut** **osaal-an-tee?**
laughter laugh-PASS-3F:PF
'Laughter was had.'

27b. **rihut reh-an-tee?**
death die-PASS-3F:PF
'Death was had.'

Amharic:

28a. **läk'so tä-läk'k'äs-ä**
mourning MID/PASS-mourn-3M:PF
'Mourning was had.'

28b. **sak' tä-sak'-ä**
laughter MID/PASS-laugh-3M:PF
'Laughter was had.'

Dorze:

29a. **wots-ii wots-ett-ires**
running-NOM run-MID/PASS-3M:PF
'Running was had.'

29b. **buus-ii bet-ett-ires**
going-NOM go-MID/PASS-3M:PF
'Going was had.'

In (27-29), cognate objects, which are similar to the corresponding passive verbs, occupy subject positions of the passive structures. In (27) cognate objects **osalut** 'laughter' and **rihut** 'death' are derived from the corresponding verbs **osaal-** 'to laugh' and **reh-** 'to die'; in (28) **läk'so** 'mourning' and **sak'** 'laughter' are derived from verbs such as **aläk'k'äs-** 'to mourn' and **s'ak'-** 'to laugh'; and in (29) **wots-ii** 'running' and **buus-ii** 'going' are derived from **wots-** 'to run' and **bet-** 'to go' respectively. Although the cognate objects occupy subject positions, they are not necessarily subjects of the corresponding impersonal passive structures. It is often the case that impersonal passives appear without specified subjects as in **tä-läk'k'äs-ä** 'mourning was had' in Amharic for instance (see Chapter 7). There is a dummy subject in the mind of the speaker/hearer. In all cases the default subject agreement element on the verb is third person masculine singular.

The term 'impersonal passive' for both passives of intransitives and for unspecified human subject marking is unfortunate. Gurage languages have both processes and are different from other Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. In Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages passives of both agentive and non-agentive intransitives are allowed. Intransitive verbs with human, animate or inanimate subjects can be passivized. These impersonal passives are subjectless structures. There are cases where pseudo subjects occupy the initial position of the impersonal passive structures. Cognate objects are uniformly allowed to be in subject position in the impersonal passive structures.

But there is variation regarding objects of instruments and locatives as pseudo subjects of the impersonal passives structures. In many languages objects of instruments and locatives occupy initial position and are marked for nominative case. In a few languages they are not permitted without locative (adjunct) marking in the initial position of the impersonal passive structure. In all cases of impersonal passives, the default agreement element on the verb is third person masculine singular. There is no subject agreement with pseudo-subjects in initial positions. Agreement with cognate objects in this position cannot always be shown.

11.6. The Semantics of the Passive

In this section, the semantics of personal, impersonal, reciprocal, 'say' construction and middle passives shall be considered. The personal passive is considered as a prototypical passive since it is a common and well understood type of passive in most of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages.

The personal passive is a prototypical passive both in form and meaning. The personal passive is derived from transitive verbs. Formwise the subject of the personal passive is the object of a transitive clause while the subject of a transitive event is expressed as oblique object or omitted altogether form passive structures. This type of passive is common in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages as it has been shown already. Semantically, the passive structure expresses the patient is the affected participant and such affected participant is promoted to subject position as shown in the following examples:

Oromo:

30. **leenč'-i** **adamsaa-tiin** **ajjeess-am-e**
lion-NOM hunter-INST kill-PASS-3M:PF
'A lion was killed by a hunter.'

Amharic:

31. **bet-u** **bä-mämmïhïr-u** **tä-gäzz-a**
house-DEF INST-teacher-DEF MID/PASS-buy-3M:PF
'The house was bought by the teacher.'

Shakkinoono:

32. **dóóyyóó** **(ástámááròó -naà)** **náámí-ìs** **èmm-ìyà-yè**
book-NOM teacher-INST boy-DAT give CAUS:MID/PASS-3M:PF
'A book was given to student by a teacher.'

But, the semantics of the passive is not restricted to expressing the affectedness of the subject of the patient; it also shows that the agent is affected. Because of this fact

semantically the passive overlaps with the middle. The evidence for the affectedness of the passive event comes form negative "say" or "refuse" passives and middle passives. Negative "say" passives are common in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. This type of passives clearly show that the agent is the affected participant (see Chapter 7). Moreover, in Ethio-Semitic and Omotic languages the passive verb has a middle or passive interpretation depending upon extralinguistic context. Shibatani (1985:827) characterizes such passives as middle (medio) passives or pseudo-passives. In middle passives one form can be interpreted either as the passive or as the middle depending upon the extralinguistic context as in **tä-säbbär-a** 'it was broken or it is broken' in Amharic, **tä-dännäg-ä-m** 'it was hit or it is hit' in Eža (Fekede, 2002: 78-79), **mirk'-ett-ires** 'it was twisted or it is twisted' in Dorze, **tišk-ínt-** 'to be smeared or to smear oneself' in Maale (Azeb 2001: 102-104). The main reason for such semantic ambiguity is that both the passive and the middle share one characteristic in common; the agent is the affected participant in both cases. This means that passive structures in Semitic and Omotic languages have affected agents and affected patients.

Similarly, in passives where the object of instruments become pseudo-subjects of passive structures, both the agent and the patient are affected participants. The patient is affected by the agent but the agent is mainly affected by the object of instrument since the instrument is the source of joy and good feeling as shown below:

Oromo:

33. **burč'uk'k'oo-n** **ittiin** **biiraa-n** **ɗug-am-e**
glass-NOM INST beer-NOM drink-PASS-3M:PF
'A glass, beer was drunk with.'

Amharic:

34. **t'or-u** **awïre** **tä-wägg-a-b-ät**
spear-DEF-NOM beast-NOM MID/PASS-pierce-3M:PF-3MSO
'The spear, the dog was pierced by.'

Awingi:

35. **finjal** **zïk-ïst-ïxo**
cup drink-PASS-3M:PF
'Drinking was had with a cup.'

Kambaata:

36. **sineenta-s** **ag-am-ee?**
cup-3M.POSS drink-PASS-3M:PF
'Drinking was had with his cup.'

In (33) the pseudo subject of the passive structure is object of instrument **burč'uk'k'oo-n** 'glass'. In this structure the speaker thinks that joy and feeling of satisfaction comes mainly from the instrument with which the agent drinks beer. This means that the glass could be of a new model which has quality or other material that satisfies the agent. The same case can be observed from (34). In this structure a sense of relief and security comes as a result of the quality and strength of the material **t'or-u** 'the spear'. In (35) and (36) there is neither patient nor agent, the subjects of both passive clauses are objects of instrument to indicate that the material object gives satisfaction to the agent.

Similar interpretations are also observed from impersonal passives where the pseudo subjects are objects of instrument. Such impersonal passives show that someone is affected by the object as in:

Oromo:

37. **siree-n** **irra** **raf-am-e**
bed-NOM LOC sleep-PASS-3M:PF
'Sleeping was had.'

Amharic:

38. **mängäd-u** **tä-hed-ä-bb-ät**
road-DEF MID/PASS-go-3M:PF-MAL-3MSO
'Going was had on the road.'

Dorze:

39. **ketssaa-y** **yetss-ett-ires**
house-NOM sing/dance-MID/PASS-3M:PF
'Dancing/Singing was had in the house.'

In (37) the pseudo subject of the passive structure is **siree-n** 'bed' which is the object of instrument of the intransitive event shown earlier in this chapter. In this structure it is expressed that **siree-n** 'bed' is not an ordinary type of bed; it could be new, expensive or comfortable so that the one who sleeps on it feels happy. In (38) feeling of happiness comes not from the type of physical exercise, but from the type of road that action takes place. By the same token, in (39) joy and happiness comes not from the action of singing or dancing, but from the place where such action takes place and so on.

It is also the case that in many languages the passive has a reciprocal marking. The consequence of such formal similarity of the passive and the reciprocal marking is that agentive subjects of reciprocal events become patient oriented, which means that the subjects of reciprocal evens are affected participants. Such meaning is

common in Omotic languages as in **yét'-iyà-yeètè** 'They hit one another' in Shakkinoono, **yir-ett-iraa** 'They kissed each other' in Dorze, **ɓáɗ-ínt-é-ne** 'They hit each other' in Maale (Azeb 2001: 101), **suunk'-am-amukko** 'They kissed each other' in Hadiya, **suunk'-am-an-tuu** 'They kissed each other' in Sidama, **aw-waan-ak'k'-amme?i** 'They followed each other' in Kambaata, **tä-däbaddäb-u** 'They bit each other' in Amharic and **tä-sä?a?im-om** in Tigrinya 'They kissed each other'.

Finally, impersonal passives are associated to different meanings. It is often the case that in impersonal passives the speaker separates her/himself from feelings expressed by the verb and becomes the observer and evaluator of her/his own feelings. For instance, in Amharic non-agentive impersonal passives such as **tä-nor-ä** 'survival was had' and **tä-mot-ä** 'dying was had' are common. For instance, **tä-nor-ä** 'survival was had' expresses someone leads a depressing life from the point of view of the speaker while **tä-mot-ä** 'dying was had' expresses death is an opportunity to get relief from a desolate life. Similarly, in Afar the impersonal passive **diin-tim-e** 'sleeping was had' are observed. The verb **got'-am-i** 'sleeping was had' Sidama bears similar meaning. In Kambaata, verbs such as **reh-an-tee?** 'dying was had' are common.

It is also the case that such impersonal passives express change of mental state of a participant. For instance, in Amharic the verb **yï-(tä)-norr-all [yï-nnor-all]** 'Living will be had' shows a situation in which a person survives a hardship such as disease and extreme poverty. The utterance expresses that there is hope and that it is still possible to overcome any difficulty by living it. From the viewpoint of the speaker both the expriencer and the general life style are changed or affected. In other cases impersonal passives with agentive subjects express possibility and change of mental state. For instance in Oromo verbs such as **deem-am-a** 'going will be had' expresses possibility. The same is true with verbs such as **gïŋ-ïst-** 'to be run' in Awingi. Such meaning is, in fact, common in agentive impersonal passives of Afro-Asiatic languages.

In Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages there are languages that have distinct middle and passive markings and languages that have one marker for middle and passive. Distinct passive markings are observed in Cushitic languages where the middle is in most cases marked by **-t-** while the passive is by **-m-**. No distinction between middles and passives is observed in Semitic and many Omotic languages; in these language families both the middle and the passive are marked by **-t-**. Different from many other non-Afro-Asiatic languages of the world, Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages derive impersonal passives from agentive and patient oriented intransitive verbs. Impersonal passives have unspecified human subjects; but, there are special impersonal passives of transitives and intransitive verbs in Gurage languages with indefinite human subjects. In Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages passives of causatives, passives of middles and passives of passives are observed. Passives of pas-

sives have reciprocal interpretation. In Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages the personal passive is common and it shows that the patient is the affected participant. But negative "say" passives, middle passives and reciprocal passives show that both the agent and the patient are the affected participants. In most cases semantically in impersonal passives the speaker/hearer separates her/himself from the experience or feeling expressed by the verb and becomes the observer of such feelings; and this separating of oneself from one's own feeling as something that is different creates humour.

12. Conclusion

This chapter concludes the thesis by highlighting common and unique characteristics of the causative, the middle and the passive in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages in terms of typological relevance; I also make some remarks on phenomena that can be accounted for by historical inheritance or language contact.

Typically the causative verb derivation changes the valency by adding an external causer to the semantic frame. The interesting issue in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages is that the causative derivation does not necessarily add to the number of syntactic arguments. For example, in Amharic the time verb **räffäd–** 'become late' is used for an inanimate subject, time. But if the subject is a human being, the causative form is used as in **a–räffäd**- 'become late'. In this case the prefixation of the morpheme **a-** does add an external causer but there is no change in the number of arguments. Structurewise causative verbs such as **a–räffäd–** 'become late' are intransitives. Intransitive causatives are not uncommon in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages but most of them are verbalized nouns or ideophones.

Impersonal (subjectless/causerless) causatives are also an interesting causative structure observed in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. These causative structures have strict word order; patient precedes the causee. There is a third person masculine singular default subject agreement element on the verb similar to the impersonal passives of many Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. There is preference of imperfective aspect to show that the activity expressed by the impersonal causative is continuous. Impersonal causatives are centered on verbs of desire. Impersonal causatives are always single causatives; never double causatives. In Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages there are also double and triple causatives.

Common ranges of meanings of the middle are body-centeredness, mental event and spontaneous. These ranges of meanings of the middle are similar to Kemmer's (1993) discussion of the semantics of the middle observed in many languages of the world. Moreover, there are autobenefactive middles in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages, in Cushitic languages in particular. Autobenefactive middles are restricted to transitive verbs. There are also beneficiary middles in Cushitic, Semitic and Omotic languages. Reflexive middles are found only in Gurage languages.

In Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages there are three syntactic frames of the middle. The first one is the affected agentive subject. Body grooming middles are typical ones. These middle verbs have the affected agentive subjects since the agent is the same as the patient. The second one is a non-agentive subject. Non-translational body motion and spontaneous middles have non-agentive subjects. The third is the experiencer subject. Emotion, cognition and perception middles have experiencer

subjects. These syntactic frames of the middle are observed in many languages of the world.

Passives of transitive and intransitive verbs (impersonal passives) are common. There are impersonal passives of both agentive and patient oriented intransitive verbs. Impersonal passives of patient oriented intransitive verbs are observed only in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages and have not been reported in other languages before. Many Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages derive the personal and impersonal passives by the same passive marking while a few languages such as Hadiya have two different morphemes for the personal and impersonal passives. Gurage languages derive the personal passive by the morpheme **tä**- similar to other Ethio-Semitic languages. But they have a different form for the impersonal passives of transitive and intransitive verbs.

The subjects of the personal passives are commonly the patients in languages of the world. In Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages there are also cases where the initial positions of personal passive constructions are occupied by pseudo subjects (they do not trigger subject agreement). In such cases two constituents may be marked for nominative case. Similarly the initial positions of impersonal passives are occupied by pseudo subjects. Such pseudo subjects are locations and instruments. In most cases impersonal passives are subjectless and they have third person masculine singular default subject agreement on the verb. In Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages there is a special negation construction of the passive structure which shows the affectedness of the agent. Affectedness of the agent is what passive and middle have in common.

In most cases we find that the middle derivation is in opposition with a causative verb derivation. Such opposition is based on the semantic contrast of the middle and the causative. The middle is about mental oneness of the event while the causative is about mental separation of the causer and the causee or the caused event. The middle is a force that makes one while the causative is the force that separates. The interaction of these two forces creates balance and such a balance is observed when the causative follows the middle morpheme.

Some common features of Ethiopain Afro-Asiatic languages are due to common inheritence. One clear case is the morpheme **–t-**.[63] The morpheme **–t–** is a cognate form of Afro-Asiatic languages (see also Aikhenvald 1988). This morpheme derives both the middle and the passive in all Semitic and Omotic languages with the exception of Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo which employ the morpheme **–a–/–e–**. Many Cushitic languages of Ethiopia have the form **–t–/–d–** as a middle marking. In fact in Semitic languages this morpheme is a prefix while in Cushitic and Omotic lan-

[63] The form **–m-/-n-** , not **–t-**, derives the passive in Cushitic languages. As Aikhenvald (1988:11) notes the form **m/n**- is a cognate form of Afroasiatic languages.

guages it is a suffix; such position shift and sound change could be accounted for in terms of language change (see Hayward 1975).

The causative marking **s** seems to be a cognate form of Afro-Asiatic languages. The prefix **s–** is a causative morpheme in Older Egyptian (Reintges 1997: 40-41; Aikhenvald 1988: 8). As Aikhenvald notes the **s–** stem is common in Afro-Asiatic languages. In Berber languages the morpheme **s–** is common as a causative marking. For instance, from South Berber (Tuareg) in Tadhaq the causative form of the verb **älmäd** 'to learn' is **s–älmäd** 'to teach'; and in South Berber, as opposed to North Berber, the form **s-** has **ss–** as its allomorph. And Aikhenvald further notes that **s-** prefix is preserved in Cushitic languages such as Beja, Saho and Afar. In Cushitic languages and in most Omotic languages the morpheme **–s–** derives the causative. The morpheme **a–** is a typical causative marking in Ethio-Semitic languages. In fact there are some variations across languages. North Ethio-Semitic languages employ only the morpheme **a–** while Gurage languages employ **a–/at–**; and Amharic derives causatives by the morpheme **a–/as–** productively. As Aikhenvald further notes double causatives are not common in non-Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages to indicate that double and triple causatives are innovative forms of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages.

But, when we observe causative forms of some languages, the presence of the morpheme **–s** is accounted for in terms of language contact. For instance, the typical causative morpheme in Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo is –**i**.[64] But there are some verbs in Shakkinoono and fewer verbs in Kafinoonoo which derive causatives by suffixing the morpheme –**ss**. This causative morpheme is a borrowed form from neighbouring languages (see Tolemariam forthcoming).

Another case is the appearance of innovative forms of impersonal markings in Gurage languages. Gurage languages such as Eža and Goggot have two types of passive markings. These languages use the morpheme **t–** for canonical passive similar to other Semitic languages of Ethiopia; but they employ a different type of marking to indicate the impersonal passive. Such two different markings for the personal and impersonal passives are also observed in Hadiya, a Cushitic language neighbouring to Gurage languages. Reflexive middle is another innovation which is restricted to geographical area where Gurage languages are spoken. And double passives are restricted to areas where Hadiya, Kambaata and Sidama are spoken. An innovated form of the passive is used in Omotic languages such as Dime (Mulugeta 2007), Maale (Azeb 2001) and Oyda (Abrham 2003). In these languages **–n**, the passive marking in Cushitic languages, and **–t**, the passive/middle form in Semitic and Omotic languages are combined to give the form **–nt**, the passive marking.

[64] In fact, there are cases in Afar and Somali where the form –**i**- derives causative verbs. Aikhenvald (1988: 9-10) notes that the causative morpheme –**i**- is a cognate form of Cushitic languages.

Chapter 12

Language Index

Afar, 4, 5, 14, 75, 151, 155, 156, 157, 158, 162, 163, 167, 170, 172, 183, 184, 191, 194
Amharic, 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 24, 26, 27, 31, 32, 34, 40, 41, 42, 68, 70, 74, 76, 77, 116, 119, 121, 122, 124, 126, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135, 136, 142, 148, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 165, 166, 170, 175, 180, 181, 182, 186, 188, 189, 190, 191, 194, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 204
Awingi, 75, 155, 156, 157, 158, 160, 161, 163, 167, 170, 172, 178, 179, 181, 182, 189, 191

Basketo, 5, 198
Beja, 194, 201
Benchnoon, 5, 156, 171, 174, 185
Berber
  Berber-Lybic, 194

Chaha, 5

Dawuro, 5, 73, 156, 157, 171, 175
Diraytata (Gidole), 169
Dizi, 5, 198, 204
Dorze, 4, 5, 73, 151, 156, 157, 164, 170, 172, 175, 178, 179, 182, 183, 185, 186, 188, 190, 204

Endegañ, 5, 64, 173, 200
Enemor, 5
Eža, 5, 152, 157, 162, 170, 174, 177, 188, 194, 200

Gafat, 5, 155, 202
Gamo, 5, 171, 203
Gawwada, 5, 169, 200
Gedeo, 5, 204
Geez, 5
Gofa, 5, 171, 203
Goggot, 5, 157, 170, 174, 194, 201

Hadiya, 1, 5, 73, 155, 156, 158, 164, 169, 173, 175, 176, 177, 182, 183, 184, 190, 194
Harari, 5, 7, 155, 202

Iraqw, 203

Kafinoonoo, 4, 5, 44, 46, 47, 50, 51, 57, 138, 139, 141, 142, 143, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 156, 158, 165, 171, 172, 176, 180, 193, 204
Kambaata, 4, 5, 14, 72, 155, 156, 158, 169, 175, 176, 182, 186, 189, 190, 191, 194
Khamta, 5, 170, 202
Kistane, 5, 170, 200
Konso, 5, 169, 199, 203, 204
Konta, 5, 157, 171, 176
Koorete, 4, 5, 75, 156, 157, 171, 176, 198, 199

Maale, 5, 156, 157, 171, 188, 190, 194, 198
Malo, 5, 157, 171, 202
Mesqan, 5, 74, 170, 200

Oromo, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 13, 17, 19, 20, 23, 24, 50, 66, 70, 71, 73, 76, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, 89, 90, 92, 94, 96, 100, 101, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 111, 131, 141, 142, 148, 155, 157, 158, 159, 160, 162, 164, 165, 167, 169, 174, 175, 179, 180, 181, 182, 184, 188, 190, 191, 194, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203
Oyda, 5, 171, 194, 198

Saho, 194
Shakkinoono, 1, 3, 4, 5, 8, 44, 47, 49, 50, 56, 57, 60, 73, 138, 139, 141, 142, 143, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 156, 157, 158, 165, 166, 171, 172, 174, 175, 188, 190, 193
Sheko, 5, 159, 171, 198
Shinasha, 5, 200, 204
Sidama, 4, 5, 14, 72, 155, 156, 157, 158, 161, 169, 175, 176, 182, 183, 190, 191, 194
Silt'i, 5, 159, 200
Somali, 4, 5, 7, 151, 155, 194, 203

Tadhaq, 194
Tigrinya, 4, 5, 69, 152, 155, 157, 160, 161, 166, 170, 172, 179, 182, 201
Ts'amakko, 5
Tuareg, 194

Wolayta, 5, 73, 156, 157, 171, 176, 202

Yem, 5, 171, 201

Zay, 5, 170, 200
Zayse, 5, 171, 200

Bibliography

Abbaa Duulaa Gammadaa (1996). *Qabsoo Uummata Oromoo Eessaa Ka'ee Garamitti*. Finfinnee.

Aberash Tibebu (1985). *The Verb Phrase in Kafa*. B.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Abrham Dilnesaw (2003). *Word formation in Oyda*. M.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Ahimed Mohammed (1988). *The Verb Morphology of DIR-SOMALI of the Ogaden Region*. B.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (1988) "On Verb stem markers in Cushitic languages in the light of Afro-Asiatic", *Proceedings of the 9th international congress of Ethiopian Studies, Moscow, 26-29 August, 1986*. *Vol.5*. pp. 7-14. Moscow: Nauka publishers.

Akililu Yilma (1988). *Sheko Phonology and Grammar*. Addis Ababa University (Unpublished Manuscript).

Alemayehu Gurmu (2000). *Word Formation in Kïstaniññа*. M.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Alemayehu Haile (1981). *Omotic and Cushitic Verbal Markers: a possible isogloss*. M.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Alemtsehay Reta (1988). *Kebena Verb Morphology (Some inflections and derivations)*. B.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Allan, Edward J.(1976). "Dizi," in Bender, Lionel M. (ed). *The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*. Michigan: Michigan State University.

Alsina, Alex (1992). "On the Argument Structure of Causatives." *Linguistic Inquiry* 23: 517-553.

Amhara Region. (n.d.). Retrieved May 30, 2007. from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amhara_Region#Demographics

Anbessa Teferra (1984) *Sidamo Verb Morphology: Some Inflections and Derivations*. B.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Appleyard, D. (1972). "A-and-As-verb forms in Amharic," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 35: 18-26.

Appleyard, D. (1975). "A Descriptive Outline of Kemant" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38: 316-350.

Appleyard, D (1995). *Colloquial Amharic*: *A Complete Language Course*. London: Routledge.

Asafaa Tafarraa Dibaabaa (1997). *Edas – Edanas*. Jimmaa.

Askale Lemma (1994). *Word Formation in Girira*. M.A.Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Asmerom Leggese (1973). *Gada, Three approaches to the study of African Society*. New York: Free press.

Azeb Amha (2001). *The Maale Language*. PhD Thesis, University of Leiden.

Bibliography

Azeb Amha (1994). "Ometo Verb Derivation: The Case of Basketo, Maale, Koorete and Kulo" in Harold Marcus, (ed), *New Trends in Ethiopian studies: papers from the 12th International conference of Ethiopian studies*. *Vol. I*. pp. 1121-1130. Lawrenceville (N.J.): Red Sea.

Baye Yimam (1986). *The Phrase Structures of Ethiopian Oromo*. London: Ph.D. thesis, University of London.

Baye Yimam (1986 [1994]). *Yä amariña Sïwasäw*. Addis abäba: tïmämamad (Amharic Grammar). Addis Ababa: E.M.P.D.A.

Baye Yimam (1994a). "Some Aspects of Zargulla Morphology" in *Proceedings of the 11th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa, April 1-6, 1991*. PP. 419-428. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University

Baye Yimam (1994b). "Unaccusative structures in Amharic" in Harold Marcus, (ed). *New Trends in Ethiopian studies: papers from the 12th International conference of Ethiopian studies*. *Vol. I*. pp. 1238-1253. Lawrenceville (N.J.): Red Sea.

Beck, David (2000). "Unitariness of Participant and Event in the Bella Coola (Nuxalk) Middle Voice" *International Journal of American Linguistics* 66(2): 218-56.

Beletu Redda (2003). *The Morphology of Koorete*. M.A.Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Bender, Marvin Lionel et.al. (eds) (1976). *Language in Ethiopia*. London: Oxford University Press.

Bender, Marvin Lionel (1968). *Amharic verb morphology: a generative approach*. The University of Texas at Austin, PhD Dessertation.

Bender, Marvin Lionel. (2000). *Comparative Morphology of the Omotic Language*. LINCOM studies in African Linguistics, 19. Munich: LINCOM Europa.

Bezza Tesfaw (1997). *Causativization in Amharic*. M.A.Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Biniyam Sisay. (2008). *Aspects of Koorete Verb Morphology*. PhD Dissertation. University of Oslo.

Black, Paul (1973). *Draft Sketch of Konso Phonology, Morphology, and Syntax.* Unpublished Manuscript.

Blevins, James P (2003). "Personal and impersonals" *J. Linguistics* 39: 473-520.

Cole, Peter. (1983). "The Grammatical Role of the Causee in Universal Grammar" *IJAL* 49(2): 115-33.

Comrie, Bernard (1989 [1981]). *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology*: *Syntax and Morphology*. Worcester: Biling and Sons

Croft, William (1990). *Typology and Universals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

CSA. (1995). *The 1994 Population and housing census of Ethiopia, Results for Amhara Region*. Vol.I, Part I. Abridged statistical report. CSA.

CSA. (1996). *The 1994 Population and housing census of Ethiopia. Vol.I, Part V. Abridged statistical report*. Addis Ababa. CSA.

Culy, Christopher and Fagan, Sarah M.B. (2001). "The History of the Middle in Dogon" *Studies in African Linguistics* 30(2):171-194.

Bibliography

Daniel Aberra (1987). *Verb Morphology of Ari (Some Inflections and Derivations*). B.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Dani'el Hailu (1988). *The verb morphology of Zayse*. M.A. Thesis. Addis AbabaUniversity.

Doherty, Monika (1996). "Passive Perspectives; different preferences in English and German: a Result of parameterized processing". *Linguistics* 34: 591-643.

Dubinsky, S., Lloret, M.-R. & Newman, P. (1988). "Lexical and Syntactic Causatives In Oromo." *Language* 64: 485-500.

Eyassu Nega (2003). *The Morphology of Endegañ*. M.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Fagan, Sarah M.B (1988). "The English Middle," *Linguistics Inquiry* 15(2):181-203.

Feqade Baye (1988). *Shinasha Verb and Noun Morphology*. B.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Fekede Menuta (2002). *Morphology of Eža*. M.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Fisseha Shanko (1985). *Morphophonemics of nouns and verbs in the Kistane language*. B.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Geberew Tulu (2003). *The Morphology of Gawwada*. M.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Gemmechu Megersa (1988) "The Oromo World View," IES: First Interdisciplinary seminar of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, June 6-7.

Getu Shikur (1989). *Verb Morphology of Mesqan*. B.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Getu Shikur (1999). *Morphology of Zay*. M.A.Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Girma Mamo (1986). *Yamsa Verb Morphology: Some Inflections and Derivations*. B.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Girmay Berhane (1992). "Word Formation in Amharic," *Journal of Ethiopian Languags and Literature* 2: 50-74.

Givón, T. and Young, Phil (2001). "Cooperative and interpersonal manipulation in the Society of intimates" in Shibatani, Mayayoshi (ed.) *The Grammar of Causation and Interpersonal Manipulation*, pp. 23-56. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Greenberg, Joseph (1974). *Language Typology: A Historical and Analytic Overview*. The Hague: Mouton.

Griefenow-Mewis, Catherine (2001). *A Grammatical Sketch of Written Oromo*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

Gumii Qormaata Afaan Oromoo (1995). *Wiirtuu*. Jildii-7. Finfinnee.

Gutt, Ernst-August and Hussen. (1997). *Silt'i-Amhari-Engilis Dictionary*. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press.

Hailu Kasaye (1988). *Gidole Verb Morphology*. B.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Hardy, Donald E. (1994). "Middle Voice in Creek" *International Journal of American Linguistics* 60(1): 39-68.

Haspelmath, Martin (1993). "More on the typology of inchoative / causative verb Alternations," in Comrie, Bernard and Polinsky, Maria, (ed.), *Causatives and Transitivity*, pp. 87-120. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Hirut Woldemariam (1993). *Word Formation in Yam*. M.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Hiywot Tefera (1988). *Kulo Verb Morphology*. M.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Hayward, R.J. (1975). "Middle voice verb forms in Eastern Cushitic" *Transactions of the Philological Societ*y 1975: 203-244.

Hetzron, Robert (1976). "A Question in Oromo Morphophonology." *Folia Orientalia* 17: 29-40.

Hetzron, Robert (1969). *The verbal system of southern Agaw*. Los Angeles: University of California press.

Hudson, Richard (1976). "Beja" in Bender, Lionel M. (ed). *The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, pp. 97-132. Michigan: Michigan State University

Iwata, Seizi. (1999). "On the status of an implicit argument in middles" *Journal of Linguistics* 35:527-553.

Jaggar, Philip J. (1988). "Affected-Subject ('grade' 7) verbs in Hausa: What are they and where do they come from?" in Shibatani, Masayoshi (ed.): *Passive and Voice*, pp. 387-416. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Kane, Thomas Leiper (1990). *Amharic – English Dictionary*. Vol. I. and II. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Kane, Thomas Leiper (2000). *Tigrinya-English Dictionary*. Vol. I and II. U.S.A: McNeil Technologies.

Kazenin, Konstantin I. (1989). "The Passive Voice" *Language Typology and Language Universals,* Vol.2, pp. 899-916. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Kebede Hordofa Janko (1991). "A Contribution to the Dialectology of Afaan Oromoo: Consonantal Suffix Conjugation After the Glides" In *Proceedings of the 11th ICES* (Addis Ababa 1991) Vol. I, pp. 501-513. Addis Ababa.

Kebede Hordofa Janko (1994). *Baate (Wello) Oromo Phonology: Palatalization of Alveo-dental consonants and Related Issues*. M.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Kebede Tekle-Michael (2002). *The Morphology of Goggot*. M.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Kemmer, Suzanne (1993). *The Middle Voice*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Keyser, Samuel Jay (1984). "On the Middle and Ergative constructions in English," *Linguistic Inquiry* 15(3): 381-416.

Kortlandt, Frederik (1989). "On the Meaning of the Japanese Passive" in *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 24: 97-108.

Kozinsky, Isaac and Polinsky, Maria (1993) "Causee and patient in the causative of transitive: coding conflict or doubling of grammatical relations?", in Comrie, Bernard and Polinsky, Maria, (ed.), *Causatives and Transitivity*, pp. 177-240. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Kulikov, Leonid I. (1993). "The second causative': A typological sketch", in Comrie, Bernard and Polinsky, Maria, (ed.), *Causatives and Transitivity*, pp. 121-154. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Kulikov, Leonid I. (1998). "Passive, Anticausative and Classification of verbs: The Case of Vedic" in Kulikov, Leonid and Vater, Heinz (ed). *Typology of Verbal Categories*, pp. 139-153. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Kulikov, Leonid I. (1999). "Remarks on Double Causatives in Tuvan and other Turkic Languages" *Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne* 88: 49-50.

Kulikov, Leonid I. (2001). "Causatives," in Haspelmath, Martin, et. al. (ed.). *Language typology and universals*, pp. 886-898. Walter de Gruyter.

Kulikov, Leonid I. "Voice Typology" To appear in: Jae Song (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Typology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lange, Werner J. (1982). *History of Southern Gonga (Southwestern Ethiopia)*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Lee, Hyo Sang (1985). "Causatives in Korean and the binding hierarchy" In Eilfort, William H. et. al. (ed.). *Papers from the Parasession on Causatives and Agentivity*. Chicago Linguistic Society 21, 138-153.

Leslau, Wolf (1945). *Gafat Documents: Records of A South-Ethiopic language.* American Oriental Series, Vol. 28. New Haven.

Leslau, Wolf (1958). "Moča, A Tone Language of The Kafa Group in South-Western Ethiopia." *Africa* 28: 135-147.

Leslau, Wolf (1959). *A Dictionary of Moča (South-Western Ethiopia)*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Leslau, Wolf (1958). *The Verb in Harari.* University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, Vol. 21. University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Leslau, Wolf (1967). *Amharic textbook*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Leslau, Wolf (1979). *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage (Ethiopic*). Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Leslau, Wolf (1995). *Reference Grammar of Amharic*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Lloret, M.-R (1987). "The Morphology of the Causative in Oromo." *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 9: 141-156.

Mahder Tesfu (2003). *Morphology of Malo*. M.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Manney, Linda (1995). "Pragmatic Motivation for Inflectional Middle Voice in Modern Greek" *Functions of Language* 2(2): 159-188.

Mengistu Amberber (1984). *The Verb Morphology of Khamta*. M.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Mengistu Amberber (2003). "The grammatical encoding of 'thinking' in Amharic" *Cognitive Linguistics* 14 (2/3): 195-219.

Mengistu Seyoum (1995). *Social Organization of Production Among the Shekkacco of south western Ethiopia*. M.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Moges Yigezu (1984). *Hadiya verb Morphology*. B.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Moreno, Juan Carlos (1985). "Anticausatives: A Typological Sketch" in Eilfort, William H. et. al. (ed.). *Papers from the Parasession on Causatives and Agentivity*. Chicago Linguistic Society 21.

Mous, Maarten (1993). *A Grammar of Iraqw*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.

Mous, Maarten (2004a). "The Causative in Konso." in Kastenholz, R. & Storch, A. (eds.). *Sprache und Wissen in Afrika*, pp. 213-228. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

Mous, Maarten (2004b). "The Middle in Cushitic Languages." in the *Proceedings of the Berkeley Linguistic Society 27, special session on Afro-Asiatic linguistics*, pp. 73-85.

Mous, Maarten (2007). The middle and passive derivations in Konso. In Azeb Amha, Mous, Maarten & Savà, Graziano (eds.), *Omotic and Cushitic Language Studies: Papers from the Fourth Cushitic Omotic Conference, Leiden, 10-12 April 2003,* pp. 213-229. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

Mulugeta Seyoum (2008). *A Grammar of Dime*. Utrecht: LOT

Næss, Åshild (2003). *Transitivity: from semantics to structure*. PhD thesis University of Nijmegen.

Nedyalkov, V.P., & Silnitsky, G.G. (1973). "The Typology of Morphological and Lexical Causatives" in F. Kiefer (ed), *Trends in Soviet Theoretical Linguistics*, pp. 1-32. Dordrecht: Reidel.

Owens, J. (1985a). *The Oromo Causative: Lexical Grammar without Lexical Rules*. Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistic Club.

Owens, J. (1985b). *A grammar of Harar Oromo (Northeastern Ethiopia)*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.

Rao, Malathi and Bashir, Elena (1985). "On the Semantics and Pragmatics of Telugu Causatives" in Eilfort, William H. et. al. (ed.). *Papers from the Parasession on Causatives and Agentivity*. Chicago Linguistic Society 21: 224-240.

Rapold, Christian J. (2006). *Towards A Grammar of Benchnon*. PhD Dissertation. University of Leiden.

Reintges, Chris (1997). *Passive Voice in Older Egyptian: A Morpho-syntactic Study*. PhD Dissertation. University of Leiden.

Roper, E.M. (1928). *Tu Bedawie: an elementary handbook for the use of Sudan Government officials*. Hertford: Austin.

Payne, Thomas E. (1997). *Describing morphosyntax: A guide for field linguists*. Cambridge :Cambridge University Press.

Saeed, John I. (1987). *Somali Reference Grammar*. Maryland: Dunwoody Press.

Saeed, John I. (1995). The Semantics of the middle voice in Somali. *African Languages and Cultures* 8: 61-86.

Sasse, Hans-Jürgen (1976). "Dasenech," in Bender, Lionel M. (ed). *The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, pp. 196-221. East Lansing, Michigan: African Studies Center, Michigan State University.

Savá, Graziano (2005). *A Grammar of Ts'amakko*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

Selamawit Worku (2004). *Morphology of Gamo: Ganta dialect*. M.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Sellassie Cheru (2004). *The Morphology of Gofa*. M.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Shibatani, Mayayoshi (1973). *A Linguistic Study of Causative Constructions*. PhD. Dissertation. University California, Berkeley.

Shibatani, Mayayoshi (1985). "Passives and Related Constructions: A Prototype Analysis" in *Language* 61: 821-848.

Shibatani, Mayayoshi and Pardeshi, Prashant (2002). "The causative continuum" in Shibatani, Mayayoshi (ed.). *The Grammar of Causation and Interpersonal Manipulation*, pp.85-126. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Siewierska, Anna (1984). *The passive: A comparative Linguistic Analysis*. London: Croom Helm.

Siewierska, Anna (1988). "The Passive in Slavic". in Shibatani, Masayoshi (ed.) *Passive and Voice*, pp 243-289. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Sim Ronald (1977). *A Lingusitic Sketch: Phonology and Morphology of the word in Konso*. University of Nairobi.

Song, Jae Jung (1996). *Causative and Causation: A Universal-Typological Perspective*. London: Longman.

Stroomer, Harry (1987). *A Comparative Study of three Southern Oromo Dialects in Kenya: (Phonology, Morphology and Vocabulary)*. PhD Dissertation. University of Leiden.

Stroomer, Harry (2001). *A Concise Vocabulary of Orma Oromo (Kenya)*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

Taddese Habte Addo (1999). *The Tonology of Kafinoonoo*. M.A. Thesis. Trondheim.

Tamrat Jefar (1988). *Verb Morphology of Dizi*. B.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Tesfaye Abera (2003). *The Verb Phrase in Shinaha.* B.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Tesfaye Tewolde (1993). *Word Formation in Tigriña*. M.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Tizita Getaneh (2003). *Verb Morphology of Konso*. B.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Tolemariam Fufa (1988). *Theoretical Appraisal of Verb incorporation: the case of Shekacho causatives*. M.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Tolemariam Fufa (2007). "Word Order in Shekacho" in Azeb Amha, M. Mous and G. Savá (eds). *Omotic and Cushitic Language Studies: Papers from Fourth Cushitic Omotic Conference, Leiden, 10-12 April 2003*, pp. 89-98. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.

Tolemariam Fufa (forthcoming). "The Presence of the Causative Marking –iss- in Shakkinoonoo and –icc- in Kafinoonoo in terms of Language Contact". *Proceedings of Language Contact in Ethiopia: Examples from Cushitc, Omotic and Semitic Languages*.

Wakasa, Motomichi (2002). "A Note on the *–ett-* Derivation in Wolayta" *Tokyo University Linguistic Papers (TULIP)* 21: 307-343.

Whaley, Lindsay J. (1997). *Introduction to Typology: The Unity and Diversity of Language*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Yabe, Tomoyuki (2006). "Segmenting Amharic Causative as- into two Verbal Morphemes: Semitic a- and Cushitic –s" in Uhlig, Siegbert, (ed). *Proceedings of the XVth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Hamburg, July20-25, 2003*. pp. 913-920. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Yesegat Asaye (1988). *Dorze Verb Morphology: Some inflections and derivations*. B.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Yelma Teruneh (1984). *Burji verb morphology*. B.A. Thesis. Addis Ababa University.

Zelalem Lyew. *The Verb in Shinasha*. Unpublished paper.

Summary

Chapter 1 introduces the thesis. The chapter states that the general objective of the thesis is to determine a typology of verbal derivation in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. This objective has four goals. The first goal is to give detail description of verbal derivations of the three representative languages: Oromo, Amharic and Shakkinoono. The second goal is to undertake comparative work of verbal derivations in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. The third goal is to account for ranges of similarities and variations of forms and meanings of verbal derivations. The fourth goal is to give substantial evidence for any linguistic theory that seeks to account for levels of derivations of the causative, the middle and the passive. The chapter gives typological framework, procedure and methodology of the thesis.

Chapter 2 discusses the causative in Oromo. In this chapter three types of causative morphemes are identified. Causative structures such as single and double causatives are considered. Interesting issues such as intransitive causatives and impersonal causatives are discussed. The semantics of Oromo causatives and disagreements with earlier works are also presented.

Chapter 3 considers the causative in Amharic. Different types of Amharic causative morphemes are identified of which only two are basic. Single and double causatives are considered. The syntax of transitive causatives is investigated in detail. Structures of impersonal and intransitive causatives are discussed. The semantics of Amharic causatives are also considered.

Chapter 4 discusses the causative in Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo. Thematic vowels and causative morphemes are differentiated. Morphophonological properties of the causative morphemes are investigated. Borrowed causative morphemes are identified. The syntax of single and double causatives is considered. The semantics of Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo causatives are discussed.

Chapter 5 gives conclusion on the causative of Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. In this chapter the semantics of the causatives are deeply investigated. A new perspective, namely the separation meaning, is added to the pervious study on the semantics of the causatives. Causative-non-causative parallel derivations are described. General tendencies of structures of the causatives are considered. Issues of impersonal and intransitive causatives are highlighted.

Chapter 6 discusses the middle in Oromo. Types of middle morphemes and structures of the middle in Oromo are discussed. Body centred middles, emotion, cognition, perception, spontaneous and autobenefactive middles are discussed as semantic types of middles.

Chapter 7 considers the passive in Oromo. The passive morpheme is differentiated from the middle morpheme. The syntax of personal and impersonal passives is discussed; pseudo subjects are identified. The semantics of the passive is considered.

Chapter 8 discusses the middle/passive in Amharic. Amharic derives both the middle and the passive by the same morpheme. Structures of the middle are discussed. Structures of the personal passives and the impersonal passives are considered. Ambiguous structures (middle/passive) are investigated. Middle 'senses' of the middle/passive and passive 'senses' of the middle passives are discussed.

Chapter 9 discusses the middle/passive in Shakkinoono and Kafinoonoo. The form of the middle passive is discussed. Meaning ranges of the middle are considered. Structures of the personal and the impersonal passives are considered. The semantics of the impersonal passives are discussed.

Chapter 10 gives conclusions on the middle derivation in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. General meaning categories of the middle are discussed. Similarities and variations of middle derivations across languages are investigated. Argument structures and syntactic frames of the middle are considered. Conclusions on the meaning categories of the middle are given.

Chapter 11 gives conclusions on the passive derivation in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic language. Languages which have distinct passive derivation are differentiated from languages which derive both the passive and the middle with the same morpheme. Different characteristics of impersonal passive derivation in different languages are considered. Complex passives such as passives of passives, passives of causatives and passives of middles are investigated. Structures of the personal and impersonal passives are considered. The semantics of the passives are discussed.

Chapter 12 concludes the thesis. This chapter gives general and unique characteristics of verbal derivations observed in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages. Moreover, the chapter gives cognate, borrowed and innovated forms of derivational forms.

Samenvatting

Hoofdstuk 1 is de inleiding op het proefschrift. De bedoeling van het proefschrift is om te komen tot een typologie van werkwoordelijke afleidingen in de Afro-aziatische talen van Ethiopië. Het proefschrift heeft de volgende vier componenten: ten eerste wordt een gedetailleerde beschrijving van werkwoordelijke derivatie gegeven voor drie representatieve talen: Oromo, Amhaars en Shakkinoono. Ten tweede wordt er een vergelijking gemaakt van werkwoordelijke afleidingen in Ethiopische Afro-Aziatische talen. Ten derde wordt een verklaring gezocht voor de verschillen en overeenkomsten in vorm en betekenis die zijn beschreven. Ten vierde wordt onderbouwend materiaal aangeleverd voor theorieën die niveaus van derivatie van de causatief, de mediale vorm (middle) en de passief proberen te verklaren. Hoofdstuk 1 omvat het typologische framework, de procedures en de methodologie die zijn toegepast in het proefschrift.

Hoofdstuk 2 behelst de causatief in het Oromo. De causatieve morfemen worden in drie typen ingedeeld. Causatieve structuren zoals enkele en dubbele causatieven worden behandeld. Opmerkelijk zijn intransitieve en onpersoonlijke causatieven. Een studie naar het betekenisbereik van de Oromo causatief en verschillen met eerdere studies wordt gepresenteerd.

Hoofdstuk 3 gaat over de causatief in het Amhaars. Er zijn meerdere causatieve morfemen in het Amhaars, waarvan er twee primair zijn. Enkele en dubbele causatieven worden besproken. De syntax (zinsbouw) van overgankelijke causatieve werkwoorden wordt in detail geanalyseerd. Verder wordt de structuur van onpersoonlijke en onovergankelijke causatieven behandeld. Tevens wordt ingegaan op de betekenis van de causatief in het Amhaars.

Hoofdstuk vier behandelt de causatief in het Shakkinoono en het Kafinoono. Er wordt een verschil gemaakt tussen thematische klinkers en causatieve morfemen. De morfo-fonologische kenmerken van de causatieve morfemen worden onderzocht. Vastgesteld wordt dat er ook geleende causatieve morfemen zijn. Verder wordt de syntax van enkele en dubbele causatieven besproken, evenals het betekenisbereik van causatieven in het Shakkinoono en Kafinoono.

Hoofdstuk 5 besluit de bespreking van de causatief in Afro-aziatische talen in Ethiopië met een diepgaand onderzoek naar de semantiek/de betekenis van causatieven. Een nieuw gezichtspunt, namelijk de betekenis van opsplitsing, wordt toegevoegd aan de reeds bestaande studie(s) van het betekenisbereik van de causatief. Vervolgens worden causatieve – niet-causatieve parallelle afleidingen beschreven. Algemene trends in de structuur van causatieven worden bediscussieerd. Ten slotte worden onpersoonlijke en intransitieve causatieven voor het voetlicht gehaald.

Hoofdstuk 6 behandelt de mediale afleiding in het Oromo. De soorten morfemen en de structuren van de mediale afleiding in het Oromo worden besproken. Voorbeelden van het betekenisveld van de mediale afleiding zijn werkwoorden die refereren naar het lichaam, werkwoorden van emotie, cognitie en perceptie, werkwoorden die onwillekeurig verlopende processen aanduiden en autobenefactieve werkwoorden.

Hoofdstuk 7 gaat verder met de passief of lijdende vorm in het Oromo. Deze is onderscheiden van de mediale vorm. De syntax van persoonlijke en onpersoonlijke passieven wordt besproken en pseudo-subjecten worden gedetermineerd. Ook de betekenis van de passief wordt omschreven.

In hoofdstuk 8 wordt de mediale/lijdende vorm in het Amhaars besproken. In het Amhaars worden de mediale vorm en de lijdende vorm (middle en passief) afgeleid middels hetzelfde morfeem. Besproken worden zowel de structuren van de mediale afleiding als van de persoonlijke en onpersoonlijke passief. Structuren die ambigu zijn tussen mediale en lijdende vorm worden onderzocht. ‘Mediale’ betekenissen van de mediale/lijdende vorm worden behandeld, evenals ‘passieve’ betekenissen.

Hoofdstuk 9 heeft betrekking op de mediale/lijdende vorm in het Shakkinoono en Kafinoono. De vorm ervan wordt besproken en er wordt aandacht gegeven aan het betekenisbereik van de mediale afleiding. Verder komen de structuren van de persoonlijke en onpersoonlijke passief aan bod, en wordt de betekenis van de onpersoonlijke passief behandeld.

Hoofdstuk 10 geeft de slotsom van het onderzoek naar de mediale afleiding. Algemene betekeniscategorieën van de mediale vorm in de Afro-aziatische talen van Ethiopië worden besproken. Verschillen en overeenkomsten tussen talen worden geanalyseerd. De argumentsstructuur en syntactische opbouw van de mediale afleiding worden ontleed. Conclusies over de betekeniscategorieën worden gepresenteerd.

In hoofdstuk 11 worden conclusies getrokken over de passieve afleiding in Afro-aziatische talen van Ethiopië. Talen waarin de passief een speciale afleiding heeft worden daarbij onderscheiden van talen waarin de passieve en de mediale afleiding door hetzelfde morfeem worden gekenmerkt. Verschillende eigenschappen van onpersoonlijke passieve afleidingen in verschillende talen worden onder de loep genomen. Onderzocht worden ook complexe passieven zoals passieve afleidingen van passieve, causatieve en mediale vormen. Verder worden de structuren van persoonlijke en onpersoonlijke passieven doorgelicht. Tenslotte wordt het betekenisbereik van de passief behandeld.

Hoofdstuk 12 besluit het proefschrift met algemene en unieke kenmerken van de werkwoordelijke afleidingen die waargenomen zijn in de Ethiopische talen van de

Afro-aziatische familie. Bovendien geeft het hoofdstuk een overzicht van de verwante, geleende en nieuw opgekomen vormen van de afleidingen.

Curriculum Vitae

Tolemariam Fufa was born on 14 April 1964 in Wollega, Ethiopia. In June 1982 he completed his high school education at Shambu Comprehensive Secondary School, Wollega. In 1983 he joined Addis Ababa University and in 1986 he completed a study for the B.A. degree in Ethiopian Languages and Literature (Amharic). Between 1993 and 1996 he completed a study for the M.A. in linguistics at Addis Ababa University. From 1987 to 1992 he worked as a high school Amharic teacher in Gojjam, Ethiopia. From 1997 to 2000 he was an employee of Oromiya Education Bureau and worked as Oromo expert. From 2001 to 2003 he worked as Oromo and Amharic grammar instructor. From November 2004 to October 2008 he was employed as a Ph.D. researcher at Leiden University, Department of African Languages and Cultures. Currently he is working in Addis Ababa University, Department of Ethiopian Languages and Literature. He is a father of one son.