
Revisiting Adjectives in Diraytata¹

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Abstract

In this contribution I discuss adjectives in Diraytata, an East Cushitic language spoken in Diraashe district, southern Ethiopia. It was claimed that the category of adjective is not clear-cut in all Cushitic languages. In some other studies it is further claimed that there are no adjectives in East Cushitic group and hence adjectival functions are carried out either by verbs or nouns. However, the present study argues for the presence of an independent category of adjective different from noun and verb categories in Diraytata. This category subsumes both primitive (underived) and derived adjectives (contrary to the previous work). Hence, adjectival functions are carried out by adjectives but not by “adjectival words” that belong either to the category of nouns or verbs.

1. Introduction

Diraytata is one of the least described languages in the Cushitic family of Afro-Asiatic phylum. It is spoken by the people calling themselves Diraasha. The Diraasha people live in Diraashe district in Segen Area Peoples Zone within the Southern Nations, Nationalities and People’s Regional State of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. In the 2008 Population and Housing census, the Diraasha people are registered in two different names: under the name Gidole 41,107 and under the name Diraashe 30,123. When we combine together the number of the people is about 71, 230. However, the data obtained from Diraashe Administrative Office shows that the number of the people is estimated to be 76, 000.

The language has three varieties: eastern, western and southern varieties (Black 1973). The east and the west varieties are spoken by the lowlanders

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whereas the south variety is spoken by the highlanders. The present paper is based on the south variety which is spoken by the people who inhabit areas in and around the township of Gidole.

The language has an SOV word order. Subject NPs are overtly case marked when constituents other than subject are focused otherwise the subject NP occurs in the absolutive form without case maker when it is focused (for the details on focus see Wondwosen, 2006: 53). Verbs in the language agree with their subject NPs only.

The data for the present study were collected from the following native speakers during a two months field trip in Gidole. Terrefe Yohannes (age 45), Kissalo Dennebe (age 40), Datiko Kitampo (age 55) and Kussiya Tolonge (age 50). The techniques basically used for data collection was elicitation. However, interview and group discussion were also used to draw more data and also to clarify some concepts, ideas which require more explanation. Using these techniques structured data were drawn from consultants. The collected data were organized and analyzed in the light of descriptive linguistics.

The objective of this paper is to offer a reanalysis of the previously available claim on adjectives in Diraytata. Banti (1986) describes about adjectives in East Cushitic group in general. In the study, he claims that there are no adjectives in the group and hence adjectival functions are carried out with adjectival words that belong to either noun or verb classes. Contrary to this, the present study demonstrates the existence of an adjective class different from a noun and a verb classes in Diraytata. The paper will be divided into four sections: section two presents previous analyses, section three provides a reanalysis of adjectives and this will be followed by a brief conclusion.

2. Previous works

In the literature, it has been claimed that adjectives are not part of a universal category of human languages. This position was articulated by linguists such as Dixon (1982), Schachter (1985), Hale and Keyser (2002)

and Amritavalli and Jayaseelan (2004). However, after a detailed investigation of the languages for which this claim had been made, Dixon (2004: 9-12) argues that adjectives are universal category of human languages. Hence all languages have adjectives.

In his dissertation entitled “Aspects of Diraytata Morphology and Syntax: A Lexical-Functional Grammar Approach” Wondwosen (2006: 83-93) discusses adjectives in Diraytata. He identifies about 13 attributive adjectives. In this study, Wondwosen claims that predicative adjectives show a great affinity towards verbs and hence they are verb-like than adjectives. The reason for such claim is the consideration of focus, reduplication and predicative nominal. By comparing predicative nominals with predicative adjectives, he argues that predicative adjectives resemble verbs in that they prefix the focus marker morpheme *he-* and also they reduplicate initial part of their stem to indicate number whereas predicative nominals use an independent morpheme *pa* to mark focus and they use the suffix *-jja* to indicate number.

Regarding the relationship between attributive and predicative adjectives, he further states that it is not possible to assume that the attributive form is derived from the predicative form or vice versa. For example, the attributive form *dder* ‘tall’ has a predicative form *heder*. The two forms share the bound stem *-der*. Regarding the category of the bound stem *-der* Wondwosen (2006: 92) states that it is a category-neutral bound stem. Both the attributive and predicative adjectives are derived from this common category neutral bound stem. Finally, he concludes that predicative adjectives are verbs and attributive adjectives are adjectives.

The other study on adjectives in Diraytata is Wondwosen (2010) “The Category of Adjectival Elements in Diraytata (Gidole)”. In this article, Wondwosen groups attributive adjectives into five following Dixon’s semantic classification such as dimension, physical property, human propensity, color and value (Wondwosen, 2010: 2-4). Regarding the nature and categorical status of adjectival words, he refuted the conclusion made in Wondwosen (2006). In this publication, he claims that both the predicative

and attributive adjectives are derived from a category neutral base. The example given was *he-der* ‘be tall’ and *dder* ‘tall’. As can be observed from these examples the common element for the two is the bound stem *-der*. It is plausible to argue that the attributive form *dder* is derived from the category neutral bound stem *-der*. However, it seems implausible to argue that the predicative form *he-der* is derived from the category neutral bound stem *-der* as the focus marker prefix *he-* is not a derivational morpheme. He finally argues that it is implausible to consider the bound stem *-der* as category neutral and also to consider the predicative form is verbal and the attributive form is adjectival. Therefore, this question is left open for further research. The present paper is meant to address this issue.

3. Reanalysis of the Previous Data

The presence and absence of adjectives in Cushitic languages has been debated for a century. Andrzejewski (1956) and Bell (1953) argue that there are no adjectives in Somali but Saced (1988, 1999) uses the term ‘Adjective’ for stative verbs and regarded them as separate part-of-speech. Thus, a general consensus has not been reached yet. Hayward (1978) argues that there are no ‘adjectives’ in Afar. Banti (1986) deals with this issue in the whole East Cushitic group and argues that there is no adjective in East Cushitic languages. From the preceding discussion one can raise the following basic question. Is there a word class adjective in Diraytata distinct from a noun and a verb word classes? In the remainder of this paper I will address this issue. In order to answer this basic question I will use both the grammatical and the semantic criteria to prove the presence or the absence of adjective in Diraytata.

3.1 Grammatical criteria

I will use the grammatical criteria outlined in Dixon (2010: 105-108) to distinguish adjectives from both verbs and nouns. These will be discussed in turn.

3.1.1 Distinguishing Adjectives from Verbs

The following criteria can be used to distinguish adjectives from verbs in Diraytata

3.1.1.1 Intransitive predicate

In Diraytata, only intransitive verbs can function as head of intransitive predicate as can be observed from the following examples.

1. (a) *nam-at-in he-ʔan-i*
man-NFS-DEF FOC- go –PRF
'The man WENT'.
*(b) *nam-at-in he-der-i*
man-NFS-DEF FOC-tall-PRF

Example (1a) is grammatical and (1b) is ungrammatical. From the ungrammaticality of (1b) we can learn that adjectives like *der* 'tall' do not function as head of intransitive predicate in Diraytata.

3.1.1.2 Imperative mood

In Diraytata, imperative mood is encoded by the morpheme *-i* for second person singular. This morpheme is attached to verbs as illustrated in the following examples.

2. (a) *ʔan-i* 'you (sg.) go!'
(b) *dam-i* 'you (sg.) eat!'
*(c) *der-i*
*(d) *poor-i*

The examples in (2a,b) are well-formed whereas the examples in (2c,d) are ill-formed. The reason for the well-formedness of the examples in (2a,b) is that in both cases the imperative marker morpheme is suffixed on the verbs *ʔan* 'go' and *dam* 'eat'. However, in (2c,d) the imperative marker is attached on the adjectives *der* 'tall' and *poor* 'black' that is why examples (2c,d) are ill-formed.

3.1.1.3 Causative formation

In causative derivation verbs behave differently from adjectives. A causative is derived from verbs by attaching the morpheme *-i* or *-osi*. The causative morpheme *-i* derives causative from intransitive verbs whereas the causative morpheme *-osi* derives causative from transitive verbs. The following are illustrative examples.

3(a) verb	Gloss	causative	Gloss
he-ʔurkʔ-	‘melt’	he-ʔurkʔ-i	‘cause to melt’
he-kaal-	‘enter’	he-kaal-i	‘cause to enter’
(b) verb	Gloss	causative	Gloss
he-kʔuur-	‘cut’	he-kʔuur-osi-	‘cause to cut’
he-picǝf-	‘buy’	he-picǝf-osi-	‘cause to buy’

Causative is derived from adjectival predicate by attaching the causative morpheme *-ajj*. Consider the following examples.

4.	Adjective	Gloss	causative	Gloss
	poor	‘black’	poor-ajj	‘make black’
	room	‘red’	room-ajj	‘make red’
	ʔat	‘white’	ʔat-ajj	‘make white’

As can be learned from the examples in (3) and (4) although both adjectives and verbs derive causative by attaching affixes, the causativizer morpheme of adjectives is different from verbs. This can tell us that adjectives do not behave as verbs with respect to causative derivation.

3.1.1.4 Reduplication

Reduplication applies to both adjectives and verbs. Verbs reduplicate their stem initial CV- to express intensity/ iterative action as in (5) below.

5. 1p.sg.	he-m-picǝf-	I bought’	he-m-pi-picǝf-
		‘I bought again and again’	

2p.sg. he-p-piddi-t ‘You (sg.) bought
‘You (sg.) bought again and again’
3 sg.m. he-pidd- ‘He bought’ he-pi-pidd-
‘He bought again and again’

(Wondwosen, 2010:9)

As shown in the above examples the verb *pidd-* ‘buy’ reduplicates its root initial CV- as *pipidd-* ‘bought again and again’ to express iterative /intensive action. In contrast, adjectives reduplicate their root initial CV- to indicate agreement in number with a head noun. The following are illustrative examples.

6. (a) herr-ad-an dē-dder
dog-PL-DEF REDP- tall
‘The tall dogs’
- (b) karm-ad-an me-mmerd
lion-PL-DEF REDP-fat
‘The fat lions’

In (6) *herradan* ‘dogs’ and *karmadan* ‘lions’ are plural head nouns. The modifying adjectives *dder* ‘tall’ and *mmerd* ‘fat’ reduplicate their initial CV- and became *dedder* and *memmerd* to agree with head noun they modify in number. When we compare the examples in (5) with (6) we can learn that although both verbs and adjectives reduplicate in the language, the reduplication in adjective is basically different from the reduplication in verbs in that adjectives agree with the head noun in number whereas the function of reduplication in verbs indicate intensive / iterative actions.

3.1.1.5 Nominalization Processes

In Diraytata, nouns can be derived from verbs. This process is productive in the language. For example agent/experiencer nouns, action nouns, result nouns, manner nouns and gerundive nouns can be derived from verbs by attaching different derivational morphemes. Agentive nouns are derived

from verbs by attaching the nominalizer morpheme *-ampajt* as in example: ጎuk- ‘drink’ - ጎukampajt ‘drinker’

Similarly, action nouns are derived from verbs by suffixing the nominalizer morpheme *-ant* and *-ajt* as in examples: feel- ‘run’ - feelant ‘running’ and dīh- ‘build’- dīhajt ‘building’.

Result nouns can be derived from verbal bases by attaching the morpheme *-a* or *-Vt* or *-itta*. As in: *k’ur-* ‘decide’- *k’ura* ‘decision’, *ጎum-* ‘create’ - *ጎumat* ‘creation’, and *ጎot-* ‘insult (v)’ - *ጎotitta* ‘insult (n)’

Manner nominals can also be derived from verbs by attaching the nominalizer morpheme *-iffet*. As in *soh-* ‘stand’ - *sohiffet* ‘manner of standing’.

Moreover, gerundive nouns can be derived from verbs by attaching the morpheme *-(t)ot* as in *pidā-* ‘buy’ - *piddot* ‘buying/ to buy’.

When we come to adjectives, only abstract nouns are derived from adjective by suffixing the nominalizer morpheme *-unt* or *-uma*. As in *pald’* ‘wide’ - *paldunt* ‘wideness’ and *sek* ‘far’ - *sekuma* ‘farness’.

As we can learn from the above examples the nominalization processes do not apply to verbs in the same way that it applies to adjectives. In the language nouns derived from verbs are numerous in number than nouns derived from adjectives. Hence, deverbal nominalization is very productive in the language. Moreover, the derivational morphemes that are attached to adjectives are quite different from the derivational morphemes attached to verbs.

3.1.1.6 Inflectional marking

Still another difference between verbs and adjectives comes from the consideration of grammatical features aspect, person etc. In Diraytata, verbs inflect for aspect, person and always prefix the focus marker morpheme *he-* in the perfective aspect. Further, verbs occur in word final position as shown in (7).

7. (a) *he-pidǝ-i*
FOC-buy-PRF
'(He) BOUGHT.'
- (b) *pidǝ-in*
buy-IPFV
'(He) BUYS/ WILL BUY.'
- (c) *he-m³-pidǝ-i*
FOC-I- buy-PRF
'(I) BOUGHT.'
- (d) *he-p-pidǝ-i-t-i*
FOC-2-buy-2-PRF
'(You (sg.)) BOUGHT.'
- (e) *kussijj-at laha he-pidǝ-i*
Kussijj-NFS ram-ABS FOC-buy-PRF
'Kussijja BOUGHT a ram.'
- (Wondwosen, 2006: 16)

In the above examples, the morpheme *-i* and *-in* on the predicate *pidǝ* 'buy' in (7a,b) are perfective and imperfective markers respectively. In (7c) the prefix marker *n-* is first person marker and (7d) the discontinuous morpheme *p---t* is a second person marker. In (7a) and (7c-e) the prefix *he-* is a focus marker.

In contrast, adjectival predicates do not take aspect and person markers.

8. (a) *?ant-ot he-dǝr*
I-NFS FOC-tall
'I AM TALL.'
- (b) *?att-it he-dǝr*
you-NFS FOC-tall
'You (sg.) ARE TALL.'
- (c) *?ijj-at he-dǝr*
he-NFS FOC-tall
'(He) IS TALL.'

³The prefix morpheme *m-* is a first person marker.

In (8) the adjective *der* occur as a final constituent without aspect marker. There is no person marker on the adjectives. The prefix *he-* marks focus both on verbs and predicative adjectives.

From the foregoing discussion we have seen that verbs in the language can function as intransitive predicates, they can suffix imperative markers, can encode causative form by suffixing the causativizer morphemes *-i* and *-osi*, can reduplicate their stem initial CV- to show iterative/intensive action, can derive agent/ experiencer, action, result, manner and gerundive nominal. On the other hand adjectives in the language do not function as intransitive predicates, they cannot suffix imperative marker, can derive causative verb by suffixing the morpheme *-ajj* which is different from verbs, can reduplicate the initial CV to show plural number, can derive abstract nouns only and cannot attach aspect and person markers. These differences between verbs and adjectives clearly justify that the category of a verb is different from an adjective in Diraytata. Now let us consider nouns and adjectives.

3.1.2 Distinguishing Adjectives from nouns

The following criteria can be used to distinguish adjectives from nouns

3.1.2.1 Modification

The relation between adjective and noun in Diraytata is one of modification. That is an adjective modifies the head noun in an NP. Let us consider the following examples.

9. (a) harr-et-in(ett) i⁴d-dër-at
donkey.F-NFS-DEF ATR-tall-F
'the tall donkey'

(b) herr-ot-in im-merd'
dog.M-NFS-DEF ATR-fat
'the fat dog'

⁴The high front vowel / i/ is an epenthetic vowel as the language do not allow onset cluster.

In (9) above, *harretin(ett)* ‘the donkey’ and *herrotin* ‘the dog’ are head nouns and the structures *idderat* ‘tall.F’ and *immerd* ‘fat’ are modifying adjectives. The relationship between the head nouns *harretine(ett)* ‘the donkey’ and *herrotin* ‘the dog’ and the adjectives *idderat* ‘tall’ and *immerd* ‘fat’ is that of modified and modifier.

3.1.2.2 Gender marking

In Diraytata, noun is not overtly marked for gender. The gender of a noun, in a noun phrase, is indicated by an agreement element between the head noun and the modifying adjective. A noun may have just one inherent gender as can be observed from the examples in (10).

10. (a) Feminine Nouns
 ʔorajt ‘hyena’
 luulet ‘anklet’
 ʔikkiret ‘louse’
 k'udfdet ‘thorn’
 hupat ‘tortoise’
 kaʔalt ‘jackal’ etc.
- (b) Masculine Nouns
 parat ‘year’
 keltjt ‘baboon’
 haant ‘bee’
 kamanat ‘cow’
 leehot ‘month’
 ʔorket ‘he-goat’ etc.

The feminine noun in (10a) modified by adjective, the modifying adjective attach the feminine gender marker morpheme *-at* to agree with the head noun in gender. This can be illustrated in the following examples.

11. (a) ʔorjt-et ih-hmaʔa-at
 hyena.F-NFS ATR-short-F
 ‘(a) short hyena’
- (b) kaʔalt-et id-d̄er-at
 jackal.F-NFS ATR-tall-F
 ‘(a) tall jackal’

In (11) the head nouns *ʔorajtet* ‘hyena’ and *kaʔaltet* ‘jackal’ have a feminine inherent gender and following that the modifying adjectives *hhumaʔa* ‘short’ and *dǝǝr* ‘tall’ suffix the feminine marker morpheme *-at* to agree with their respective head nouns.

In contrast, when the nouns in (10b) are modified by adjective they do not attach a gender marker. Consider the following illustrative examples.

12. (a) *keltajt-et ih-humaʔa*
baboon.M-NFS ATR-short.M
‘(a) short baboon’
- (b) *kaman-at id-dǝr*
cow.M-NFS ATR-tall.M
‘(a) tall cow’

When the noun is of a masculine gender there is no overt gender marker morpheme that can be attached on the modifying adjective in a noun phrase. In such cases the gender marker is a zero morpheme. For example, in (12) *keltajtet* ‘baboon’ and *kamanat* ‘cow’ are masculine head nouns and following that the modifying adjectives *hhumaʔa* ‘short’ and *dǝǝr* ‘tall’ do not suffix a gender marker as there is no overt masculine gender marker.

A close examination of the examples in (10), (11) and (12) reveals that gender is an inherent feature of a noun. Whereas adjectives may take any gender to agree with the head noun it modifies. In other words, adjectives are carriers of a morpheme that indicate gender; nouns do not carry these morphemes in Diraytata.

3.1.2.3 Number marking

Adjectives differ from nouns in number marking. Plural number in adjective is marked by reduplicating the root initial CV- of the adjective as shown below.

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13.	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
	'tall'	dɕɕɛr	dɕɕɛɕɕɛr
	'good'	dɕɕɪk	dɕɕɛdɕɕɪk
	'fat'	mmerɕ	memmerɕ

Number marking on adjective is regular in the language whereas in nouns, there are different plural marking morphemes that can be attached to a singular noun to derive its corresponding plural form. Consider the following examples.

14.	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
	'year'	par	paraɕa
	'iron'	silf	silfalla
	'sticks'	halitt	halijja
	'louse'	?ikkiret	?ikkira
	'rope'	sura	surra

As we can observe from (14) above, there are different plural marking morphemes that can be attached to nouns. These pluralizing morphemes are *-ada*, *-alla*, *-(j)ja*, *-a* and doubling stem final consonant (for the details, (see Wondwosen, 2006: 65-70). When we compare the singular forms with the plural forms we can observe that nouns in Diraytata have an irregular number marking but adjectives have regular number marking. Besides, adjectives reduplicate their initial CV- whereas nouns reduplicate their stem final consonant to indicate plural as in example, *sura* 'rope' and *surra* 'ropes'. This is also another distinguishing feature of nouns from adjectives.

3.1.2.4 Case marking

In Diraytata, case is realized on the head noun in an NP. Consider the following examples.

15. (a) nam-at iɕ-dɕɛr he-toy-i
man-NFS ATR-tall FOC-die-PRF
'(A) tall man DIED.'

- (b) ጎiskettet-i m-merd-at he-toy-t-i
 woman-NFS ATR-fat-F FOC-die-F-PRF
 ‘(A) fat woman DIED.’
- *(c) nam id-der-at he-toy-i
 man ATR-tall-NFS FOC-die-PRF
- *(d) ጎisketteti m-merd-i-t he-toy-t-i
 woman ATR-fat-NFS-F FOC-die-F-PRF

A close inspection of the examples in (15) reveals that examples (15a,b) are well-formed and examples (15c,d) are ill-formed. The reason for the well-formedness of the examples in (15a,b) is that the case marker morphemes –*at* (for masculine) and –*i* (for feminine) nouns are attached on the head noun *nam* ‘man’ and *ጎiskettet* ‘woman’ respectively. In contrast, in examples (15c,d) the same case marker morphemes –*at* and –*i* are attached on the attributive adjectives *idder* ‘tall’ and *immerd* ‘fat’ respectively. The ill-formedness of the examples in (15c,d) can be accounted for in terms of the occurrence of case marking morphemes on the adjectives. From this we can learn that when a head noun occurs with a modifying adjective in an NP, the case marker always attaches to the head noun.

3.1.2.5 Possession

Possession is marked by possessive markers (for the details, (see Hayward, 1980). The bound possessive pronouns are suffixed to the possessed head noun as illustrated in examples (16) below.

16. (a) man-aw ‘my house’
 house-my
- (b) man-ajt ‘your (sg.) house’
 house-your
- (c) man-ajj ‘his house’
 house-his
- (d) man-addf ‘her house’
 house-her

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In the above example the possessed noun is *man* ‘house’ and the possessor bound suffixes are *-aw* ‘1st person singular’, *-ajt* ‘2nd person singular’, *-ajj* ‘3rd person masculine singular’ and *-adǝ* ‘3rd person feminine singular’. Now let us consider whether or not the adjectives like *ǝer* ‘tall’ take the bound possessive markers.

17. *(a) *ǝer-aw*
 tall-my
 *(b) *ǝer-ajt*
 tall-your
 *(c) *ǝer-ajj*
 tall-his
 *(d) *ǝer-adǝ*
 tall-her

The examples in (17) are ill-formed. From this we learn that only nouns but not adjectives take possessive suffixes.

3.1.2.6 Verbalization

In Diraytata, middle verbs are derived from adjective by suffixing the morpheme *-ad* as shown below.

18.	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Middle</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
	<i>ǝer</i>	‘tall’	<i>ǝerad</i>	‘got tall’
	<i>merǝ</i>	‘fat’	<i>merǝad</i>	‘got fat’
	<i>poor</i>	‘black’	<i>poorad</i>	‘got black’
	<i>room</i>	‘red’	<i>roomad</i>	‘got red’

The following are sentential examples.

19. (a) *kussijj-at he-ǝer-ad-i*
 kussijj-NFS FOC-tall- MID-PRF
 ‘Kussijj GOT TALL.’
- (b) *kussijj-at he-merǝ-ad-i*
 kussijj-NFS FOC-fat-MID-PRF
 ‘Kussijj GOT FAT.’

In the above examples middle verbs are derived from adjectives by suffixing the derivational affix *-ad'*. Similarly, causative verbs are derived from adjectives by attaching the derivational morpheme *-ajj*. The examples in (4) are repeated here as in (20) below.

20.	Adjective	Gloss	Causative	Gloss
	poor	'black'	poor-ajj	'make black'
	room	'red'	room-ajj	'make red'
	?at	'white'	?at-ajj	'make white'

In (20) causatives are derived from adjective by suffixing the morpheme *-ajj*. As can be learned from the examples in (18) and (20) verbs are formed from adjective by attaching the morphemes *-ad'* and *-ajj*. However, this verbalization process does not apply to nouns. This is also another difference between adjectives and nouns.

3.1.2.7 Copula Clause

In Diraytata, there is no copula (cf. Hayward, 1980:279). As a result a predicative adjective occurs as a final constituent in a clause as shown in (21).

21. (a) kussijj-at he-der
kussijj-NFS FOC-tall
'Kussijj IS TALL.'
(b) kittonnajju-t he-somm-at
kittonnajju-NFS FOC-beautiful-F
'Kittonnajju IS BEAUTIFULL.'

In the above examples the adjectives *der* 'tall' and *somm* 'beautiful' occur as a final constituent of the sentences. But in predicative nominal the case is quite different from predicative adjective. Consider the examples below.

22. (a) kussijj-at kollampajt pa
kussijj-NFS teacher FOC
'Kussijj IS A TEACHER.'
(b) kittonnajju-t kollampajt-et pa
kittonnajjut-NFS teacher-F FOC
'Kittonnajju IS A TEACHER.'

In (22) the noun *kollampajt* 'teacher' occurs preceding the focus morpheme *pa*. When we compare the predicative adjective in (21) with the predicative nominal in (22) we can observe that in the predicative adjective the focus marker *he-* is prefixed on the adjective whereas in the predicative nominal the focus marker morpheme *pa* is an independent morpheme that occurs as a final constituent in the sentence. From this we can conclude that predicative adjectives occur as a final constituent in a copula clause whereas predicative nominal occur preceding the focus marker *pa*.

Thus far, we have seen the difference between nouns and adjectives. In our discussion we noted that an adjective modifies a head noun, it agrees with a head noun in number and gender, feminine gender on adjectives is expressed by the morpheme *-at* and masculine gender by zero morpheme whereas number on adjectives is encoded by reduplicating the initial CV- of an adjective, adjectives do not take a case marker morpheme, adjective does not attach a possessive marker, adjectives are used to derive verbs and adjectives occur as a final constituent in a copula clause. In contrast, nouns are entities modified by adjectives, they have inherent gender that is not morphologically realized, number in nouns is marked by different morphemes, case is always realized on the head noun, possessive pronoun is suffixed to a possessed noun, middle and causative verbs cannot be derived from nouns and predicate nominal do not occur as a final constituent in a copula clause. The above grammatical criteria clearly show that the class of nouns is different from the class of adjectives in Diraytata.

3.2 Semantic criteria

So far we have seen the grammatical criteria that show adjectives in Diraytata are different from both verbs and nouns. In this subsection I shall consider the semantic criteria for recognizing adjectives. There are two major semantic tasks for adjectives to perform (see Dixon 2010: 71 for details). The first task is to further specify the referent of a noun and the second one is to state the property of a noun. I shall discuss each in turn.

3.2.1 Specifying the referent of the head noun

The specification of the referent of the head noun is shown by adjectives that function as modifier within an NP. Consider the following examples.

23. (a) nam-at-in id-der he-toj-i
 man-NFS-DEF ATTR-tall FOC-die-PRF
 ‘The tall man DIED.’
- (b) iskatet-i-n is-som-at he-ʔan-t-i
 woman-NFS-DEF ATTR-beautiful-F FOC-go-F-PRF
 ‘The beautiful woman came.’
- (c) ʔijj-at kaman ip-por he-pidd-i
 he- NFS cow. ABS ATTR-black FOC-buy-PRF
 ‘He bought a black cow.’
- (Wondwosen 2010:4-5)

In examples (23) the attributive adjectives is indicated by doubling the initial consonant of the adjective. For example the adjective *der* ‘tall’ geminates its initial consonant as in *dder* to modify the head noun *namatin* ‘the man’ in the NP. Similarly, the adjective *som* ‘beautiful’ geminates its initial consonant *s* and becomes *ssom* when it functions as attributive adjective in (23b). By the same token, the adjective *poor* ‘black’ doubles its initial consonant *p* when it modifies the noun *ʔijjat* ‘he’ and becomes *ppoor*. From this state of affairs, we can generalize that specification of the referent of the head noun in an NP is indicated by geminating the initial consonant of an adjective in Diraytata.

3.2.2 State a property

In Diraytata making a statement that something has a certain property is encoded by placing an adjective in the predicate position. This is shown in the following examples.

24. (a) nam-at-in he-d̄er-at
 man-NFS-DEF FOC-tall
 ‘The man is TALL.’

- (b) *iskatet-i-n he-merd-at*
woman-NFS-DEF FOC-fat-F
'The woman is FAT.'

In (24) the subject noun phrases *namatin* 'the man' and *isketetin* 'the woman' are subjects and the forms *hederat* 'is tall' and *hemerd-at* 'is fat' are predicate adjectives. There is no copula in Diraytata (cf. Hayward, 1980:279).

The foregoing discussion shows that adjectives in Diraytata can be recognized by the function of specifying the property of the head noun and /or by making a statement that something has a certain property. Moreover, according to Dixon (2010:73) an adjective can be recognized by the meaning or semantic types it covers. Based on this there are 29 attested true adjectives in Diraytata which can fall into two semantic types. 21 adjectives fall within four core semantic types: dimension, value and color and 8 adjectives form two non-core semantic types: physical property and human propensity. In what follows I shall present the attested adjectives in Diraytata based on semantic types along with the list of verbs and nouns derived from adjectives.

A) List of Core Semantic Types

1) DIMENSION

- k'alla?** 'narrow' (**k'alla?at** = feminine) (attributive = **k'k'alla?**,
predicative = **hek'alla?**)
k'ak'k'alla?/k'akalla?(REDP⁵), **k'alla?ood-** (V)
'become narrow', **k'alla?ajj** (CAUS) 'make narrow',
k'alla?unt (N) 'narrowness'
- kaan** 'big' (**kaanat** = feminine) (attributive = **kkaan**,
predicative = **hekaan**), **kakkaan / kakaan** (REDP),

⁵ **k'ak'k'alla?a** and **k'ak'alla?a** are reduplicated forms of attributive and predicative adjectives respectively.

	kaanaad- (V) ‘become big’, kaanajj (CAUS) ‘make big’, kaanunt (N) ‘bigness’
tf’if	‘long’ (tf’ifat = feminine) (attributive = tf’ifif , predicative = het’ifif), tf’ifit’ifif/ tf’ifit’ifif (REDP), tf’ifaad- (V) ‘become long’, tf’ifaajj (CAUS) ‘make long’, tf’ifunt (N) ‘long-ness’
der	‘tall’ (derat = feminine) (attributive = dder , predicative = hedder), dedder / dedder (REDP), deraad- (V) ‘become tall’ derunt (N) ‘tallness’
huma?	‘short’ (huma?at = feminine), (attributive = hhuma? , predicative = hehuma?), huma?ood- (V) ‘become short’, humma?ijj (CAUS) ‘make short’, humma?unt (N) ‘shortness’
tinna?	‘small/ little’ (tinna?at = feminine) (attributive = ttinna? , predicative = hetinna?), tittinna?/ titinna? (REDP), tinna?ood- (V) ‘become small’ etc., tinna?ijj (CAUS) ‘make small’ etc. tinna?unt (N) smallness
pald	‘wide’ (paldat = feminine), (attributive = ppald , predicative = hepald), pappald/ papald (REDP), paldaad- (V) ‘become wide’, paldajj (CAUS) ‘make wide’ paldunt (N) ‘wideness’
k’ahan	‘thin’ (k’ahanat = feminine) (attributive = k’k’ahan , predicative = hek’ahan), k’ak’k’ahan/ k’ak’ahan (REDP), k’ahanaad- (V) ‘become thin’, k’ahanaajj (CAUS) ‘make thin’, k’ahanuma (N) ‘thinness’
lek	‘abundant, numerous, many’ (lekit = feminine) (attributive = llek , predicative = helek), lellek / lelek (intensive), lekaad- (V) ‘become abundant’, lekijj (CAUS) ‘make abundant’, leka (N) ‘multitude’
sek	‘far’ (sekat = feminine), (attributive = ssek , predicative = hesek), sessek/ sesek (REDP), sekaad- (V) ‘become far’, sekajj (CAUS) ‘make far’, sekunt (N) ‘farness’

d̥eh ‘near’ (**d̥ehat** = feminine) (attributive = **d̥d̥eh**, predicative = **hed̥eh**) (**d̥d̥d̥eh/d̥d̥eh** (REDP), **d̥ehaad-** (V) ‘become near’, **d̥ehajj** (CAUS) ‘make near’, **d̥ehunt** (N) ‘nearness’

2) AGE

k’im ‘old’ (**k’int** = feminine) (attributive = **k’k’im**, predicative = **hek’im**), **k’ik’k’im** (intensive), **k’imaad-** (V) ‘become old’, **k’imijj** (CAUS), ‘make old’, **k’imunt-** (N) ‘oldness’, **k’imajt** ‘an elder (M), **k’imajtet** ‘an older (F)’, **k’imajjum** (V) ‘become an elder’

?awfitt ‘new’ (**?awfittet** = feminine), (attributive = **??awfitt**, predicative = **he?awfitt**), **?awfittaad-** (V) ‘become new’, **?awfittijj** (CAUS) ‘make new’, **?awfittunt** (N) ‘newness.

3) VALUE

najk’ ‘bad, wicked, evil’ (**najk’at** = feminine), (attributive = **nnajk’**, predicative = **henajk’**), **nannajk’/ nanajk’** (REDP), **najk’aad-** (V) ‘become bad’ etc., **najkajj** (CAUS) ‘make bad’ etc., **najk’unt** (N) ‘badness’

d̥ikk ‘good, kind’ (**d̥ikkat** = feminine) (attributive = **d̥d̥ikk**, predicative = **hed̥ikk**), **d̥d̥d̥ikk / d̥d̥ikk** (REDP), **d̥ikkaad-** ‘become good, kind’, **d̥ikkijj** (CAUS) ‘make good, kind’, **d̥ikkunt** (N) ‘goodness, kindness

somm ‘beautiful, pretty, handsome’ (**sommat** = feminine) (attributive = **ssomm**, predicative = **hesomm**), **soossomm / sosomm** (REDP), **sommuma-** (V) ‘become beautiful’ etc., **sommumijj** (CAUS) ‘make beautiful’ etc. **sommunt** (N) ‘beauty’

pil ‘different’ (**pilet** = feminine) (attributive = **ppil**, predicative = **hepil**) (**pippil/ pipil** (REDP)), **pilaad-**

(V) ‘become different’, **pilajj** (CAUS) ‘make different’, **pilunt** (N) ‘difference’

4) COLOUR

- room** ‘red’ (**roomat** = feminine) (attributive = **rroom**, predicative = **heroom**) **rorroom/ roroom** (REDP), **roomaad-** (V) ‘become red’, **roomajj** (CAUS) ‘make red’, **roomunt** (N) ‘redness’
- poor** ‘black’ (**poorat** = feminine), (attributive = **ppoor**, predicative = **hepoor**), **poppoor / popoor** (REDP), **pooraad-** (V) ‘become black’, **poorajj** (CAUS) ‘make black’, **poorunt** (N) blackness
- ?at** ‘white’ (**?atat** = feminine) (attributive = **??at**, predicative = **he?at**) **?a?at/?a?at** (REDP), **?ataad-** (V) ‘become white’, **?atajj** (CAUS) ‘make white’, **?atunt** (N) whiteness
- tf’ajkid** ‘green’ (**tf’ajkidat** = feminine) (attributive = **tf’tf’ajkid**, predicative = **hetf’ajkid**), **tf’atf’tf’ajkid/ tf’atf’ajkid** (REDP), **tfajkidaad-** (V) ‘become green’, **tf’ajkidajj** (CAUS) ‘make green’, **tfajkidunt** (N) ‘greenness’

B. List of Non-core Semantic Type

1) PHYSICAL PROPERTY

- tassf** ‘soft’ (**tassfat** = feminine) (attributive = **ttassf**, predicative = **hetassf**) **tattassf/ tataassf** (REDP), **tassfood-** (V) ‘become soft’, **tassfajj** (CAUS) ‘make soft’, **tassfunt** (N) ‘softness’
- hurs** ‘heavy’ (**hursat** = feminine) (attributive = **hhurs**, predicative = **hehurs**) **huhhurs / huhurs** (REDP), **hursaad-** (V) ‘become heavy’, **hursajj** (CAUS) ‘make heavy’, **hursunt** (N) heaviness

k'apanaw	‘cold’ (k'apanawat = feminine) (attributive = k'k'apanaw , predicative = hek'apanaw), k'ak'k'apanaw / k'ak'apanaw (REDP), k'apanawood- (V) ‘become cold’, k'apanawijj (CAUS) ‘make cold’ k'apanwunt (N) ‘coldness’
tf'atajt	‘sour/ bitter’ (tf'atajtat = feminine), (attributive = tf'tf'atajt , predicative = hetf'atajt), tf'atf'tf'atajt / tf'atf'atajt (intensive), tf'atajtaad- (V) ‘become sour’, tf'atajtajj (CAUS) ‘make sour’, tf'atajtunt (N) ‘sourness’
tf'ap	‘wet ’ (tf'apat = feminine), (attributive = tf'tf'ap , predicative = hetf'ap), tf'atf'ap (intensive), tf'apood- (V) ‘become wet’
hofsil	‘light’ (hofsilt = feminine) (attributive = hhofsil , predicative = hehofsil), hofsilaa d- (V) ‘become light’, hofsilijj (CAUS) ‘make light’, hofsilunt (N) ‘lightness’
merdf	fat (merdat = feminine) (attributive = mmerdf , predicative = hemerdf) memmerdf / memerdf (REDP), merdfaad- (V) ‘become fat’, merdfajj (CAUS) ‘make fat’, merdfunt (N) ‘fatness’

2) HUMAN PROPENSITY

kokk	‘strong(m)’ (kokkat = feminine), (attributive = kkokk , predicative = hekokk) kokokk (intensive), kokkaad- (V) ‘become strong’, kokkijj (CAUS) ‘make strong’, kokkunt (N) ‘strength’
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4. Conclusion

So far, we have considered the question “Is there a word class adjective in Diraytata distinct from a noun and a verb word classes? In order to answer this basic question, we have seen both grammatical and semantic criteria

that distinguish adjective from noun and verb classes. The grammatical criteria prove that adjectives in Diraytata are different from both verbs and nouns. Verbs in the language can function as intransitive predicates, they can suffix imperative markers, can encode causative form by suffixing the causativizer morphemes *-i* and *-osi*, can reduplicate their stem initial CV- to show iterative/intensive action, can derive agent/experiencer, action, result, manner and gerundive nominal. In contrast adjectives in the language do not function as intransitive predicates, they cannot suffix imperative marker, can derive causative verb by suffixing the morpheme *-ajj* which is different from verbs, can reduplicate the initial CV to show plural number, can derive abstract nouns only and cannot attach aspect and person markers.

Similarly, nouns in Diraytata are entities modified by adjectives, they have inherent gender that is not morphologically realized, number in nouns is marked by different morphemes, case is always realized on the head noun, possessive pronoun is suffixed to a possessed noun, middle and causative verbs cannot be derived from nouns and predicate nominal do not occur as a final constituent in a copula clause. Whereas adjectives modify head nouns, they agree with head nouns in number and gender, feminine gender on adjectives is expressed by the morpheme *-at* and masculine gender by zero morpheme whereas number on adjectives is encoded by reduplicating the initial CV- of an adjective, adjectives do not take a case marker morpheme, adjective does not attach a possessive marker, adjectives are used to derive verbs and adjectives occur as a final constituent in a copula clause.

The semantic criteria, on the other hand, distinguish adjectives from both verbs and nouns. Adjectives are different from nouns in that they specify the referent of the head noun and they state the property of a noun. But nouns do not have such function. Besides, Adjectives are different from verbs in that adjectives are used to derive causative and stative verbs. Adjectives in the language distinguish quality or attribute while verbs denote events (activities or states/situations) and nouns denote entities. Thus, the grammatical and semantic criteria show that the class of adjective different from a class of noun and verb exist in Diraytata.

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The present study rejects the previous claim made by Banti (1986) on East Cushitic languages that there is no adjective class as such. Besides, it also rejects the claim made by Wondwosen (2006) that adjectives are derived from a category neutral form. I, therefore, recognize an adjective class in Diraytata. This class subsumes 29 attested true (non-derived) adjectives which can be classified into two semantic types. There are 21 adjectives that can fall into core semantic type and 8 adjectives that can fall into non-core semantic type.

Abbreviations:

ATR	Attributive
CAUS	Causative
DEF	Definite
F	Feminine
FOC	Focus
M	Masculine
N	Noun
NFS	Non-focalized subject
NP	Noun phrase
sg.	Singular
PL	Plural
PRF	Perfect
REDP	Reduplication
V	Verb

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