

Article

Adjectives in Arbore

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Abstract

This paper investigates the grammatical properties of adjectives in Arbore, an Eastern Cushitic language spoken in the South-west part of the South region of Ethiopia. Arbore has three open word classes, namely: adjectives, nouns and verbs. In Arbore, adjectives take certain morphological markings that are available to nouns and verbs, thus they share grammatical properties with nouns and verbs. On the phrasal level, the inflectional categories which adjectives share with nouns are number-gender agreement markers within NPs: *-a* with non-plural noun heads, *-o* with plural noun heads, and *-e* with both kinds of noun heads. On the clausal level, they inflect for verbal categories, such as person, gender, aspect and mood. Consequently, adjectives in Arbore can occur in different functional slots within clauses though they have limited possibilities compared with nouns and verbs. Major functions of adjectives include: modifier to the head noun within an NP and head of intransitive predicate in verbal clauses. Adjectives can also function as copula complements but they exhibit both noun-like and verb-like behavior. The copula verb, *-a* [*-ta ~ -dā*] ‘be’, which is also a predicative marker, is attached to the adjective functioning either as copula complement or as intransitive predicate. Furthermore, adjectives are negated as verbs, with the same negative circumfix that negates verbs. In this respect, in Arbore adjectives are clearly verb-like. Adjectives may be used in polar interrogative clauses, but they cannot be used alone as affirmative or negative responses to polar ‘yes/no’ questions.

Keywords: adjective, modifier, intransitive predicates, Arbore, Eastern Cushitic

1 Introduction

The Arbore language belongs to the Eastern Cushitic subgrouping of the Cushitic language family, relatively the smallest in the subgroup in terms of the number of speakers. Arbore is spoken by about 7,000 people who live on the western bank of the Woyt'o River in the Woyt'o Valley in the South-West part of the South Region of Ethiopia (cf. Gabbert 2012: 17). The Arbore live in four divisions/villages (Gandareb, Kulaama, Murale, and Eegude) which lie on the north and south of the river. The Arbore people are composed of two major groups, namely Gondorobba and the Marle (Hayward 1984; Gabbert 2012; Ongaye 2021). The Gondorobba group includes those who live in Gandareb, Kulaama and a further division in the north of the river called Kuyle (cf. Hayward 1984: 4). The Marle group includes those who live in Murale and Eegude divisions to the South of the river. A significant portion of the Arbore population is reported to live in neighboring communities in Hamar and Bena-Tsema Weredas in South Ethiopia Region and a further small number of the native population in some Borana areas in Oromia Regional State (Binyam and Firew 2023). The Arbore are predominantly pastoralists. Although cattle play a vital role in their daily subsistence, they practice a mixed pastoral-farming economy. To some extent, they cultivate staple crops such as sorghum and maize for home consumption.

Arbore is an agglutinating, predominantly suffixing, and synthetic language. It is also a language that has complex nominal and verbal morphology. Whether a noun will select a prefix, or a suffix may depend on factors associated with phonological shape, morphological (lexical), and semantic (only for gender-specific noun forms) form of the particular noun. For a verb stem, lexical identity mostly governs the stem's affix preference. Nominals inflect for number, gender and case. Arbore has a complex number and gender marking system. Number reference can be coded through grammatical and lexical means (Binyam and Firew 2023: 1). Nouns make a three-way (tripartite) distinction: singular, plural and singulative. There are also three genders in the language, masculine, feminine and plural gender. The third type, i.e. 'plural gender' is peculiar feature of Cushitic languages, particularly of Eastern-Cushitic languages. Verbal categories include: preverbal selector (bound subject pronoun), aspect, mood, voice, and deictic/direction. Syntactically, Arbore is a verb-final (predicate-final) language with SOV word order.

2 The adjective class

As Dixon (2004:1) noted, the recognition of word classes in a language must be based on internal grammatical criteria of that language. While that is true, distinguishing the adjective class from noun and verb classes is not always easy and straightforward. In Arbore, for example, adjectives show grammatical properties similar to those of verbs. They may function as head of a predicate—and inflect like verbs. That is, adjectives functioning as predicate take inflections available to verbs—such as person, gender, aspect and mood. Verbal stems in Arbore may be expanded by derivational extensions which encode various grammatical concepts such as causative, inchoative, middle, and imperative. The causative and inchoative suffixes may be used to extend the adjectival stems. There are also a few instances in which adjectives share some properties with nouns and other word classes. For example, adjectives take the proximal deictic suffix *-lo*, like nouns and numerals. Verbs also take this suffix. However, there is in each instance a difference in syntactic function. Both adjectives and numerals can directly modify a head noun within NP with or without *-lo*, but with a difference of meaning. The difference is that an NP in which the adjective/numeral is marked with *-lo* has a definite meaning (see example 3). In addition, verbs may modify a noun through a relative clause. In such instance, *-lo* is suffixed to the relative clause verb. Hayward (1984: 191) argues that *-lo* is a general deictic definitive suffix that also functions like a definite article.

While Arbore adjectives share certain grammatical properties with verbs and nouns, they have morphosyntactic and semantic properties that distinguish them from both. Typical properties of Arbore adjectives include:

- i. Adjectives can directly modify a noun, whereas verbs modify a noun through a relative clause.
- ii. Adjectives in modifying (attributive) function take number agreement markers/suffixes which are not available to nouns: *-a* with non-plural heads and *-o* with plural heads. Only adjectives take these agreement suffixes.
- iii. When used in a modifying function, they take a linking element *-(a)ʔan*, in addition to *-a* or *-o*.
- iv. Adjectives, nouns and verbs may undergo reduplication, but they exhibit different reduplication, syntactic functions, and meanings. Adjectives undergo partial reduplication, where the initial CV of the adjectival root is reduplicated

to mark plural agreement when modifying a semantically plural head noun of an NP. While adjectives, nouns, and verbs can all undergo reduplication, regular and productive reduplication is found primarily in adjectives. Our data also attest to a handful of verb stems with reduplicated forms. In verbs, reduplication indicates repetition or intensity of action. Unlike adjectives and verbs, nouns form their plural by full reduplication, although this is an infrequent occurrence.¹

- v. Adjectives may take a subset of the allomorphs available to verbs. For example, only two of three causative allomorphs can be used on adjectives *-s* or *-(V)s*. Causative derivation has a different semantic effect with adjectives and with verbs—with adjectives it refers to a state that can be perceived of as being caused to change temporarily or permanently (see §4.2.1) whereas with verbs they refer to an action, or getting into a state.

Although most Arbore adjectives display these properties, they do vary in their morphology and syntactic function. For example, not all adjectives take a linking element *-(a)ʔan* when functioning as modifier of NP head. But, in order to show this, we shall first discuss their morphological properties (§3) and syntactic functions (§4). In addition, in each of these sections, we discuss their semantic content.

3 Morphological properties

Morphologically, the adjective class of Arbore is divided into three major types: Type I (§3.1), II (§3.2), and III (§3.3). Although members of Type I differ from those of Type II in terms of their morphosyntactic properties, they share some common properties. However, Type III adjectives share only a few properties with Type I and Type II. We now discuss the morphological properties relevant to each type of Adjectives.

3.1 Type I adjectives

Members of Type I are inflected for both nominal and verbal categories. As is shown in Table 1, Type I adjectives have different forms in attributive and predicative.

¹ All members of this noun group are monosyllabic and masculine. In addition, a suffix *-me* is used to mark plural feminine forms of these nouns. However, it appears that the lack or presence of reduplication differentiates singular forms from plural ones.

Table 1: Type I adjectives

SEMANTIC TYPE	ATTRIBUTIVE (CITATION) FORM	PREDICATIVE FORM	
COLOUR	<i>ʔezi</i>	<i>ʔezida</i>	‘white’
	<i>watti</i>	<i>wattida</i>	‘black’
	<i>buri</i>	<i>burida</i>	‘red’
	<i>bori</i>	<i>borida</i>	‘fawn’
	<i>ʔiliʔi</i>	<i>ʔiliʔida</i>	‘green’
DIMENSION	<i>gudda</i>	<i>guddida</i>	‘big, fat’
	<i>kummi</i>	<i>kummida</i>	‘short animates’
	<i>muri</i>	<i>murida</i>	‘short inanimates’
	<i>deeri/deera</i>	<i>deerida</i>	‘tall, long’
	<i>k’oofa</i>	<i>k’oofada</i>	‘thin’
PHYSICAL PROPERTY	<i>gogi</i>	<i>gogida</i>	‘dry, hard’
	<i>nununyi</i>	<i>nununyida</i>	‘soft’
	<i>mumuč’o</i>	<i>mumuč’oda</i>	‘smooth’
	<i>kujji/kujja</i>	<i>kujjida</i>	‘wet’
	<i>heddi</i>	<i>heddida</i>	‘raw, unripe’
	<i>hooli</i>	<i>hoolida</i>	‘naked’
QUANTIFICATION	<i>gudda</i>	<i>guddida</i>	‘many, much’
	<i>gič’č’i/gič’č’a</i>	<i>gič’č’ida</i>	‘small, few’
AGE	<i>wayna</i>	<i>waynada</i>	‘old’
POSITION	<i>dewwi</i>	<i>dewwida</i>	‘near’

It should be noted that the great majority of Type I adjectives end in a high vowel *i*. However, when they function as modifier of the head of an NP, they exhibit different forms depending on the number-gender of the head of the NP. Unlike Type II and III, Type I adjectives take obligatory number agreement markers: *-a* with non-plural heads and *-o* with plural heads.

- (1) a. *mo-ha* *gudd-a*
 man/person-M big-AGR
 ‘a fat man’
- b. *ɖummo-ha* *gudd-o*
 children- M big-AGR
 ‘fat children’

Type I adjectives must occur with one of the two number agreement markers when modifying a noun within an NP, as-in (1).

Type I adjectives take a predicative marker, *-da*, when they occur in predicative function. However, there are members of this category that have a citation form ending in *a*. The predicative form of these adjectives is also identical to their citation, as illustrated by Table 2.

Table 2: Adjectives with identical citation and predicative form

SEMANTIC TYPE	ATTRIBUTIVE (CITATION) FORM	PREDICATIVE FORM	
HUMAN PROPENSITY	<i>fajja</i>	<i>fajja</i>	‘good, useful, clean’
	<i>bedda</i>	<i>bedda</i>	‘bad, useless, dirty’
PHYSICAL PROPERTY	<i>kulda</i>	<i>kulda</i>	‘hot’
	<i>laafna</i>	<i>laafna</i>	‘weak’
	<i>harna</i>	<i>harna</i>	‘weak’
DIFFICULTY	<i>ɖilfa</i>	<i>ɖilfa</i> ²	‘heavy’
	<i>sassana</i>	<i>sassana</i>	‘light’
POSITION	<i>fek’k’a</i>	<i>fek’k’a</i>	‘far’
VALUE	<i>dansa</i>	<i>dansa</i>	‘beautiful’

The difference in form for adjectives in Table 1 and 2 is not clear at this point. Hayward (1984: 202) points out the difference between the two forms depending on the number-gender system of nouns. The adjectives in Table 1 form the predicative forms similarly to feminine nouns while those in Table 2 typically pattern like masculine and plural nouns.

² Additional form of *ɖilfa* has been mentioned by Hayward (1984:341), i.e. *ɖilfe*, but our current data does not allow as to describe the source of this variation.

In addition, if not all, the adjectives mentioned in Table 2 differ from those in Table 1 in that they take a linking element *-aʔan* when in attributive function, as illustrated by (2) and contradicted by (4b).³

- (2) a. *ʔeeno-ha fajj-aʔan-o*
 milk-M good-LINK-AGR
 ‘good milk’
- b. *ker-a bedd-aʔan-a ʔa-j dor-a*
 dog-M good-LINK-ARG PVS.IMPERV-3SG bark-IMPERV
 ‘The bad dog is barking.’
- c. *ʔedī-ha fafajj-aʔan-a*
 goat-M good.REDUP-LINK-AGR
 ‘good goats’

Type I adjectives may take a demonstrative element (the proximal marker suffix) *-lo* when they modify a head noun directly.

- (3) *kalal-lo gič’č’-a-lo bamir-o helleč*
 flower-PROX small-NON.SG:ARG-DEF friend-PL.G butterfly.M
- gudd-a ʔa-j k’aat-t-a.*
 big-ARG PVS.IMPERV-3SG have-3F-IMPERV
 ‘This little flower (feminine) has many butterfly friends.’

The head noun as well as the adjective functioning as modifier in an NP may co-occur with the suffix *-lo*, but in each case *-lo* has a different function. As shown in (3), *-lo* is suffixed to the head noun *kalal* and the modifying adjective *gič’č’a*. In the first case, with the feminine noun, it functions only as deictic marker. In the second case, with the modifier, functions as definite article. Hayward (1984) suggested that the definiteness of a noun may be shown on modifiers to it within the NP. Similarly to nouns and adjectives, number words may also take this demonstrative element. (See Hayward 1984: 191-2 for further discussion of this element).

³ It should be noted, though, that while we find these sorts of rare exceptions, Type II adjectives uniformly behave the same way in their attributive function.

Another distinctive morphological property of Type I adjectives is reduplication. Unlike nouns, adjectives exhibit partial but regular and productive initial CV-reduplication. This repetition of the initial (first) syllables is a peculiar feature of the Arbore adjectives.

Table 3: Adjectival reduplication

ATTRIBUTIVE (CITATION) FORM	REDUPLICATED FORM	
<i>fajja</i>	<i>fafajja</i>	‘good, useful, clean’
<i>fek’k’a</i>	<i>fefek’k’a</i>	‘far’
<i>ɖilfa</i>	<i>ɖiɖilfa</i>	‘heavy’
<i>goga</i>	<i>gogoga</i>	‘dry’
<i>bura</i>	<i>bubura</i>	‘red’

Reduplicated adjectives agree in number with head nouns that are semantically ‘plural’. The meaning of reduplication for most of these adjectives is plurality, as illustrated in (4).

- (4) a. *ɖede* *bubur-a* *ɖi-j* *j-eečč-e*
 goat.M:DEF red.REDUP-AGR PVS.PERV-3M/F 3PL-come-PERV
 ‘The red goats came.’
- b. *kaččo-ha* *ɖiɖilf-o*
 stone-M.PL heavy.REDUP-AGR
 ‘heavy stones’

In Arbore, adjectives show grammatical properties similar to those of verbs. They may function as head of an intransitive predicate—and inflect like verbs (see §4.1). That is, adjectives functioning as predicate take inflectional categories available to verbs—such as person, gender, aspect and mood, as in (5).

- (5) *ɖi-Ø* *ɖilfa-s-t-e*
 PVS-2SG heavy-CAUS-2SG.SUBJ-PERV:AFFIR
 ‘You made (it) heavy’

For derivational extension marking other than that restricted to the verbal category, Type I adjectives pattern like verbs—for causative, middle voice, and inchoative. This is shown in (6).

- (6) a. *ʔi-Ø* *ʔilf-as-t-e*
 PVS-2SG heavy-CAUS-2SG.SUBJ-PERV:AFFIR
 ‘You made (it) heavy’
- b. *ʔi-j* *gudd-at-Ø-e*
 PVS-3SG big-MID-3M.SG-PERV:AFFIR
 ‘He became big’

In Arbore, passive is the only verbal derivational category which cannot be used with adjectives. Generally, the semantic types for Type I adjectives include: COLOUR, DIMENSION, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, QUANTIFICATION, AGE, HUMAN PROPENSITY, DIFFICULTY and POSITION.

3.2 Type II adjectives

Type II adjectives differ from Type I in that they are derived forms, mostly from nouns. Most members of the Type II adjectives are from the semantic type COLOUR.⁴ There are a number of characteristics which distinguish them from Type I adjectives—depending on morphosyntactic grounds. Firstly, they pattern as members of the noun class when used predicatively. Secondly, they do not inflect for verbal categories. Finally, they do not modify a noun directly. Generally, Type II adjectives do not have forms with reduplicated stems—a peculiar property which sets them apart from both Type I and Type III adjectives.

⁴ Among the Arbore society of South-West Ethiopia, cattle are essential links in the network of people-culture-visual world. Colour terms in Arbore are not only used exclusively to describe the cattle-colours, but also other colour configurations in cattle, such as patterns of spots, shape of horns, ear markings and size. Such colour terms can be derived from other domains, such as animal species, plant species, environmental features (e.g. mountain, soil, shade), and objects (eg. beads, shells, belt). These colour terms are similes of animals, plants, objects, etc. that refer, metaphorically, to the visual appearance of cattle’ coats.

Table 4: Type II adjectives

NOUN FORM	ADJECTIVAL FORM	
<i>muluk' (f)</i>	<i>muluk'a</i>	‘dark brown, dark brown object’
<i>foom (m)</i>	<i>fooma</i>	‘striped object’
<i>k'abbat (m)</i>	<i>k'abbata</i>	‘cold object’
<i>haaraaj (m)</i>	<i>haaraaja</i>	‘new object’
<i>boorač (m)</i>	<i>boorateta</i>	‘spotted’ (pattern/spot (of goats)
<i>č'irč'ira</i>	<i>č'irč'irata</i>	‘spotted’ appearance (of goats)

Since most of the Type II adjectives are originally from nouns, in predicative function, they behave like nominal predicates. Thus, in predicative function, which predicative marker suffix is used often depends on the basic shape and gender of nouns. We can see that consonant-final Type II adjectives mark predicative function by suffixing the bound copula suffix *-a*.

- (7) *muluk'-a*
 dark_brown.-COP
 ‘(It) is dark brown’

The predicative (copula) suffix *-da* has variants, i.e. *-a* and *-ta*.⁵ There is a phonological basis for choice between these two morphological forms. Consonant-final members mark predicative function by suffix *-a*, like Type I adjectives. Vowel-final members of the group mark predicative function by suffixation of *-ta*, as illustrated in Table 5.

As shown in Table 4, there is one member of this group which has consonant-final form, *boorač*. In predicative function, it behaves just the same way as consonant-final masculine nouns which end in *č* or *t* or as nouns that have derived number reference forms. That is, *boorač* is a masculine noun form which may optionally be pronounced as *booraj*—*č* weakens to a palatal glide *j* before a consonantal segment as in *boora[j]teta* (/boorač-te-ta/). In addition, masculine nouns may have feminine singulative reference forms. Such nouns terminating in palatal [j] or nasals [n, m] add the singulative number reference suffix *-te* to represent feminine forms, as in *boorate*. Generally only this feminine form can occur with the predicative *-ta* in predicative function.

⁵ As pointed out by Hayward (1984:135), there is no one phonological form in Arbore which straightforwardly represent the affirmative copula. For example, in cases with a simple noun head, whether *-a* or *-ta* is employed to mark the predicative function depends on the noun’s basic shape and gender.

(8) *boora-te-ta*

spotted-F.SINGUL-COP

‘It is a spotted one.’ (e.g. ‘It is a spotted goat’)

Furthermore, Type II adjectives can have two further morphosyntactic properties, depending on whether they occur clause-initially or clause-finally. Unlike Type I adjectives, they can occur clause-initially within a clause. It should be noted that Arbore is a predicate-final language so adjectives and/or nouns functioning as predicates typically occur clause-finally. Although ‘predicate-final’ is the typical syntactic slot where adjectives and nouns functioning as predicates appear, Type II adjectives do not adhere to this syntactic rule, as shown in (9)

(9) a. [*ha-tto*] [*ʔohol-a*]

DEM:M.SG-DIS donkey.M-COP

‘That is a donkey.’

b. [*hundub-e*] [*guddi-da*]

backyard.F-NOM big-COP

‘The backyard is big.’

c. [*boora-te-ta*] *fóol* *ʔeze*

spotted-F.SINGUL-COP face/front.M white

‘It is the face/front (that) it spotted’

The examples in (9a-b) show that the position of a predicate within a clause in which the noun *ʔohol* or the adjective *guddi* is clause-final. In contrast, Type II adjectives can be fronted to clause-initial position, as in (9c). Thus the structure in (9c) in which *boorateta* appears as some sort of front-shifted predicate is moved to clause-initial position for focus or contrastive emphasis. In the case of (9b) *hundub* (cf. nominative *hundube*) is a feminine non-focused subject. If *hundub* is focused the form is changed *hunduba* because the forms of focused nouns functioning as subject NPs are more or less identical to the forms of the same nouns functioning as nominal predicates (cf. *ʔohola*). In contrast, the noun *fóol* in (9c) is a nominative form. The head of non-focused NP in subject function shows nominative marking, but there are a group of nouns that do not exhibit overt segmental marking or undergo tonal change (cf. Hayward 1984: 147). Masculine nouns terminating

in *l* and having high tones lack nominative marking, e.g. *fóol* (as in (9c)). Nevertheless, in (9c) the focused constituent is not the head of NP, but instead is the predicate.

Focused Type II adjectives can occur with primary adjectives of colour that can be used without a nominal head in an NP or that act like NPs in subjects function, as in (10).

- (10) [č'irč'ir-a-ta] ʔeze
 spotted-F.SINGUL-COP white
 'It is white (that) it spotted.'

Another Type II adjective, *moramorač* 'yellow object' (not in Table 4), is a noun that refers to a particular type of bead. It differs from the other members in that it does not take any morphological marking of any sort and/or lacks the morphosyntactic properties of other members of the group.

3.3 Type III adjectives

Type III adjectives differ from Type I and Type II in that they have limited morphological and syntactic possibilities. They also vary in their formation and composition, as shown in (Table 5).

Table 5: Type III adjectives

FORM	ATTRIBUTIVE FORM	PREDICATIVE FORM	
<i>zeera</i>	-	<i>zeera</i>	'very, indeed'
<i>mook'</i>	<i>mook'a</i>	-	'ignorant (of)'
<i>k'ooso</i>	<i>k'oosfoʔana</i> / <i>k'oosfoʔano</i>	<i>k'oosida</i> / <i>k'oosoda</i>	'thin'
<i>lahat</i>	<i>lahat</i>	-	'another, other'

The form *zeera* and *mook'* can occur only as compound adjectives. The word *zeera* can be combined with adjectives (Type I), as in (11-12), while *mook'* is combined with nouns, as in (14).

- (11) ʔussu [guddi-me zeera]PRED
 3MS.PN big-NOMZ INTENS
 'He is fat'

The form *zeera* is an augmentative or intensifier, which is used to indicate the degree of quality. Only adjectives can occur with *zeera*. In (11), *guddime* occurs as predicate head. The fact that *zeera* expresses degree of quality—with *guddime/nilime* it indicates ‘more than a usual size’, as in (11 and 12a) and with *fayye* it indicates ‘more than a usual quality’, as in (12b).

- (12) a. *ha-lo* [*nili-me* *zeera*]*PRED*
 DEM:M.SG-PROX huge/gross-NOMZ INTENS
 ‘This is fat’
- b. *daadi-ta-lo* [*fajj-e* *zeera*]*PRED*
 mead-DEM:F.SG-PROX good-NOMZ INTENS
 ‘This mead is excellent’

As it is shown in (11) *guddime* occurs in the NP functioning as predicate of the verbless clause. The adjective acting as the head of the NP, *guddi*, appears to be in predicative form. Note that Type I adjectives often change their final vowel from *a* to *i* when they occur in the predicative function. The predicative marking is always shown finally on the element functioning as an intensifier or modifier/qualifier, i.e. *zeera*. It generally carries the meaning that emphasizes excessiveness (e.g., the state of being ‘excessively big, excessively good’ etc.), and it can function as an intensifying modifier—simply by intensifying the physical characteristics or values described by the deadjectival (nominalized) predicate. The suffix *-me* is not a productive nominalizer in the language. It applies to just a few adjectives all of which belong to the semantic types of PHYSICAL PROPERTY and VALUE. That is, *-me* only occurs on compound adjectives which refer to gradable properties—‘big’, ‘huge’, and ‘good’. Moreover, adjectives marked with *-me* always appear before the grader or intensifier *zeera*.

It seems that Arbore lacks native words which denote such concepts as ‘fat’ and ‘excellent’ so descriptions related to these concepts are expressed by compounds involving primary adjectives and *zeera*.⁶ Interestingly, the compound *fayye zeera* is extended to mean ‘beautiful’ so that it can be used as PHYSICAL PROPERTY adjective, as in (13):

⁶ There are three words which resemble *zeera* in form: *zeer* ‘(be) curious’, *seer* ‘talk in a very measured and comprehensive manner’ and *seera* ‘law’. It appears that there some sort of semantic relationship between these forms and *zeera*. In other words, *zeer*, may be used in the extended adverbial sense ‘be true, be right, be just, straight etc’, is semantically comparable with *seer* and *seera*, as they also belong to similar semantic fields.

- (13) *dafar-t-ass-e* [*fajj-e* *zeera*]*PRED*
 cloth-F-3F.SG.POSS-NOM good-NOMZ INTENS
 ‘..., her clothes are beautiful.’

It should be noted from the Type I adjectives in Table 2 that the simple adjective *dansa* ‘beautiful’ is almost synonymous with *fajje zeera* of the above example. While both forms are value adjectives semantically, the compound form is used only for an expression of ‘beauty’ which has inanimate reference. On the other hand, the simple form occurs with NP head nouns denoting human and animate referents.

Another adjective attested is *mook’*. This adjective patterns as Type I adjectives in terms of its morphological and syntactic properties (Hayward 1984: 207). It may occur as modifier of a noun within an NP. It is suffixed by the gender-number agreement marker *-a* like Type I adjectives in this position.

- (14) *modo-ha* *mook’-a* *ʔaar-s-Ø-e*
 people-M ignorant-AGR see-CAUS-2-PL.PERV
 ‘Show (p) it to the ignorant people!’

It can directly modify the head noun, as in (14), or the head that co-occurs with another complement-like noun appearing intermediately after the modified head, as in (15).

- (15) *mo-ha* *lol* *mook’-a* *ʔi-j* *j-eečč-e*
 man/person-M anger.M ignorant-AGR PVS.PERV-3M/F 3M.S-come-PERV
 ‘An even-tempered man has come.’

However, this adjectival form *mook’* has unusual property that sets it apart from both Type I and II, i.e. it does not occur in predicate function as predicate head. Another syntactic position of *mook’* attested outside the NP is in reason clauses, as in (16).

- (16) *k’olle* *wa-j* *ka* *zaha-t-e* *ʔa-n*
 cattle.F:NOM thing-3F.SG ABL/SOURCE die-3F.SG-PERV PVS.IMPERV-1SG

mook’
 be_ignorant

 ‘I don’t know what the cattle died of.’

Moreover, it also behaves unusually in word-formation, in that it can also be productively combined with nouns to form compound adjectives. The form *mook'* and the nouns with which it combines must appear in the basic form, as in their citation form (cf. Hayward 1984: 207). When *mook'* compounds or collocates with the nominal complements, the resultant words become compound adjectives and all of them belong to the semantic type of HUMAN PROPENSITY, as illustrated in Table 6.

Table 6: Adjectival compounds involving noun + *mook'*

NOMINAL COMPLEMENT		
<i>haasow</i>	<i>mook'</i>	‘Inarticulate, ignorant of conversation; one who does not communicate his thought properly’
<i>derne</i>	<i>mook'</i>	‘unaggressive; ignorant of fighting’
<i>herreeg</i>	<i>mook'</i>	‘stupid; ignorant of thought; one who does not think properly’
<i>horrat</i>	<i>mook'</i>	‘hospitable, friendly; ignorant of chasing away; one who has no hatred towards ’

No suffix co-occurs between the parts of these compound adjectives. The nominal forms *derne* and *horrat* are native, while *haasow* and *herreeg* appear to be loanwords. They may possibly have been borrowed from Oromo, but with minor adaptation in order to fit into the type of compound or complement structure shown in Table 7. They are well-attested in Oromo—*haasawa* ‘conversation, talk’ and *herreega* ‘math, calculation’. The simple adjective *k'aro* ‘intelligent’ which is considered as an antonymic pair, appears to be derived from the noun *k'aro* (m) ‘intelligent person’

The other two adjectives of Table 6, *k'ooso* and *lahat* do not participate in compounding. The adjective *k'ooso* behaves morphologically like Type I in terms of its predicative form, and Type II in terms of its attributive form. Hayward (1984) argues that this *k'ooso* is a ‘hybrid’ adjective, in that it can function as an independent noun phrase or predicate. It has two forms in predicative contexts: *k'oosoda* and *k'oosida*. These are like Type I adjectives in having similar predicative form. It also takes the linker *-ʔan* and number agreement marker *-a/-o*, in the same way as Type I adjectives in attributive function— *k'oosoʔana/k'oosoʔano*. On the other hand, the adjective *lahat* ‘another, other’ is a quantifier and can be a nominal modifier within an NP. It may possibly have been derived from the relational noun *lah* ‘back (of body), behind’, also a locational/directional word, and possibly from some sort of genitive/reflective or

emphatic marker *-t* (*-at*). Compare following examples of *lah* functioning as directional (17a) and *lahat* functioning as an adjective (17b-c).

- (17) a. *seʔe-ta-to* *ʔezeʔe*⁷ *balo* *min* *lah* *gir*
 cow.SG-DEM.F-DIST white there house behind be.present
 ta-lo
 DEM.F.SG-PROX
 ‘that white cow is over there behind the house’
- b. [*mo-ha* *lahat* *ʔa-j* *j-eečč-e?*
 man/person-M another PVS.IMPERV-3SG 3M.S-come-PERV
 ‘Did another man come?’
- c. *biče* *lahat* *ʔaso* *gir-a?*
 water another 3PL.PN be.present-IMPERV:AFFIR
 ‘Is there any other water?’

Although compound adjectives are generally uncommon in Arbore, with the exception of adjective-like forms involving *zeera* and *mook*, there is a distinct set of adjectival forms that must be analyzed as morphologically compounds, as illustrated in Table 7.

Table 7. Compound adjectives involving *ʔil/faro*+Type I adjective

<i>ʔil</i>	<i>deeri</i>	‘deep’	<i>ʔil</i>	‘interior, inside’, <i>deeri</i> ‘long’; lit. ‘deep interior’
<i>ʔil</i>	<i>muri</i>	‘shallow’	<i>ʔil</i>	‘interior, inside’, <i>muri</i> ‘short’; lit. ‘short interior’
<i>faro</i>	<i>goga</i>	‘dry, strong’	<i>faro</i>	‘finger’, <i>goga</i> ‘dry’; lit. ‘dry-fingered’

Unlike the first sort of compound listed in Table 7, these compounds are constructed from Type I adjectives and nouns denoting location/body part. The meaning resulting from these compounds may depend on the association between the component elements, but it is directly related to the semantic field of the adjectival components—DIMENSION

⁷ Hayward (1984:91) notes that there are certain processes resist rigid classification as either purely phonological or purely morphological. They occur infrequently and are subject to exceptions. Similar remarks apply to what we identify as *E-harmony*—a process whereby a low vowel is raised and fronted to [e] word-finally in a stem containing only *e* vowels. Accordingly, the construction in (10) exemplifies *E-harmony* with the form *ʔeze* in predicate position (/ʔeza/→ [ʔeze]). Although other instances of *E-harmony* exist, example (17) clearly illustrates the exceptions that require further investigation.

(as in the first two forms) and/or PHYSICAL PROPERTY (as in the third form). In addition, the first two compound forms are uninflected and function as intransitive predicates. The compound *faro goga* resembles Type I adjectives, i.e. it has wider morphological and syntactic possibilities than the other two forms.

4 Syntactic properties

We will now examine the syntactic properties of the adjective class. As pointed out in §2, adjectives in Arbore have two major syntactic functions: modifier of the head of NP (§4.1) and head of predicate (§4.2).

4.1 Within the NP

Adjectives can modify a noun in an NP directly. Type I and Type II adjectives occur as agreeing modifiers within the NP. Gender and number are agreement categories within the NP. That is, gender and number of the head noun determine the form of the adjectival modifiers. The head noun takes gender-number suffixes *-ha* (masculine and plural nouns) and *-ta* (feminine nouns). Adjectives as modifiers take agreement markers: *-a* (with non-plural noun heads) and *-o* (with plural noun heads).

- (18) a. *liit-a* *bur-a* *ʔi-j* *j-ečč-e*
 bull-M.SG red-AGR PVS.PERV-3SG 3M.SG-come-PERV
 ‘The red bull came.’
- b. *modo-ha* *gudd-a*
 people-M.PL many-AGR
 ‘many people’
- c. *wa-ha* *gudd-o*
 thing-PL many-AGR
 ‘many things’

As illustrated in (18), adjectives agree in number with the head nouns they modify. It should be noted that there are some instances of what Hayward calls ‘E-harmony’ seen in the gender marker suffix as well as in the agreement marker, as in (19).

- (19) *seʔe-te ʔeze maječč-i*⁸
 cow-F.SG white NEG:3SG-come-NEG.PERV
 ‘The white cow didn’t come.’

We could suggest that the E-harmony occurs when the head noun stem contains a stem-final glottal preceded by the vowel *e*. However, this harmony process does not occur in every similar scenario. The NP in (20) is more or less has similar form/structure—and it is the reminder of the scenario in which E-harmony does not occur.

- (20) *seʔe-ta ʔeze faji-a*
 cow-F.SG white:AGR good-COP
 ‘The white cow is good.’

The example in (20) demonstrates the fact that case is not an obligatory agreement category in a noun phrase.

In many respects, numerals (number words) behave like nouns in Arbore. For example, they have inherent gender like nouns. Each numeral has a given gender each, though the numeral ‘one’ has both masculine and feminine forms, as in (21a).

- (21) a. *mo tokko* b. *saal takka*
 man.M one.M woman one.F
 ‘one man’ ‘one woman’

They also tend to pattern with nouns in the marking of predicate forms, e.g. *tokkoda* ‘it is one(m)’ or *takkada* ‘it is one(f)’. Likewise, they take nominative marking in the same as consonant-final feminine nouns, as illustrated by (21b).

- b. *ʔafur-e ʔa-j gir-t-a?*
 four.F-NOM PVS.IMPERV-3SG be.present-3F.SG-AFFR
 ‘there are four’

⁸ In Arbore, verb subject markers are of two types: prefixed and suffixed. The basis for the choice between these two marking strategies is lexically determined, as pointed out by Hayward (1984: 254). The person, gender and number of subject NP’s head govern the specific terms within these agreement paradigms. Interestingly, subject agreement can be expressed via a pronominal prefix/suffix on the verb, or by a Preverbal Selector (PVS) prefixed to the verb. The PVS consists two components: a bound subject pronoun and a sentence identifying element. Notably, this PVS subject marker can sometimes indeterminate regarding gender, as it does not differentiate between the 3MS and 3FS subjects.

There are, however, some instances where numerals appear with the linker *-(a)ʔan*, just like Type II adjectives.

- (22) *ker-o-ha* *laam-aʔan-o* *bedd-aʔan-o*
 dog-PL-M.PL two-LNK-AGR bad-LNK-AGR
 ‘two bad dogs’

As it is shown in (22), when numerals and adjectives co-occur within expanded NPs modifying a noun, numerals precede adjectives. However, due to the fact that numerals can be used to modify nouns (almost in the same way nouns modify other nouns), and have some properties that nouns generally possess, they cannot be incorporated into the adjective class.

In addition, numerals may be marked for definiteness. As Hayward (1984: 191) argues, the general deictic suffix *-lo* (a proximal deictic marker; cf. Binyam 2016: 5) also functions as marker of definiteness. See the example below:

- (23) *ker-o-lo* *seezze-lo*
 dog.M-PL-PROX three.PL.GEND-DEF
 ‘these three dogs’

Thus, the deictic element *-lo*, which is attached to the numeral *seezze*, is also used for the definite ‘the’. The examples illustrated above are further semantic evidences that suggest numerals may be best treated as nouns. The non-adjective QUANTIFIER *buli* ‘all, every’, is further evidence for the distinguishing the adjective class from other word classes in the language. Unlike the prototypical adjective quantifiers (cf. example 18b-c), this quantifier may not be used adjectivally.

- (24) *modo* *buli*
 people.M all/every
 ‘all people’

Neither of these elements are marked for gender-number agreement markers. Unlike numerals, this quantifier always appears phrase finally.

- (25) *modo-ha* *kure* *dur-e* *buli*
 people-M.PL dance.PL.GEND dance-INF all
 ‘all the people who danced a dance’

4.2 Within the predicate

Adjectives in Arbore can function as head of an intransitive predicate. In many Cushitic languages, e.g., Iraqw (SouthCushitic), the syntactic possibilities of verbs are determined by the transitivity class they are assigned to (cf. Aikhenvald 2015). Arbore verbs occur in pairs with respect to transitivity (cf. Hayward 1984: 252), i.e., transitive and intransitive (typically, stative verbs). Due to the stative nature of adjectives, when they function as head of an intransitive predicate, they take some of the morphological categories available to verbs in this syntactic slot. In predicative function, they appear with a preverbal selector (PVS) like any other verbs in the language. Preverbal selector contains bound subject pronoun and sentence-type identifying elements. The stems of the adjectives functioning as predicate share inflectional properties with verbs, such as person, gender, aspect and mood. Verbal stems in Arbore may be expanded by derivational extensions. There are about eight derivational extensions which encode grammatical concepts such as causative, inchoative, middle, and imperative. Of the verbal extensions, causative, inchoative (also ‘middle’) can be used to extend the adjectival stems.

4.2.1 The causative

Both adjectives and verbs causativize in the same way. There are three types of causative suffixes in Arbore: *-i*, *-s*, and *-is*. With the exception of a set of morphological categories which are restricted only to verbs (e.g., prefixed verb subject markers containing specification of person, gender and number), adjectives follow the same pattern of morphological causative formation as other verbs by using these causative suffixes. However, only Type I adjectives can form a morphological causative marked with *-s* or *-(V)s*, as illustrated by examples below.

- (26) a. *ʔi-Ø* *ʔilfa-s-t-e*
 PVS-2SG heavy-CAUS-2SG.SUBJ-PERV:AFFIR
 ‘You made (it) heavy’
- b. *ʔi-na* *ʔilfa-s-n-e*
 PVS-1PL heavy-CAUS-1PL.SUBJ-PERV:AFFIR
 ‘We made (it) heavy.’
- c. *ʔi-Ø* *watto-s-t-e*
 PVS-2SG black-CAUS-2SG.SUBJ-PERV:AFFIR
 ‘You made (it) black.’
- d. *ʔi-na* *watto-s-n-e*
 PVS-1PL black-CAUS-1PL.SUBJ-PERV:AFFIR
 ‘We made it black.’

As we can see from the examples above, the preverbal selector always precedes the causativized adjective form containing morphological categories—subject markers and terminal vowels. The *2sg*, *2pl* and *3f.sg* suffixed subject markers have two alternants, *-t* and *-Ø* (cf. Hayward 1984: 271). Such subjects on causative extended-stem adjectives are marked by the form *-t*. However, these subjects on verbs can be marked either by *-Ø* (on what Hayward (1984) calls Causative I extended-stem verbs) or by *-t* (on other extended-stem verbs, e.g. Middle extended-stem verbs), as in (27).

- (27) a. *ʔi-Ø* *ʔoor-is-Ø-e*
 PVS-2SG arrive-CAUS-2SG.SUBJ-PERV:AFFIR
 ‘You made (it) arrive’
- b. *ʔi-Ø* *hariy-a-t-e*
 PVS-2SG feel-MID-2SG.SUBJ-PERV:AFFIR
 ‘You made (it) feel (something)’

In (27), the causative is suffixed to the verbal stems to increase the valency of the clause. Causative clauses involve an agentive ‘causer’, but a ‘causee’ is implied. The adjectives in (26a-d) behave like intransitive verbs that express change of state with an involvement of the causer in the caused. Causative derivation comes with a difference of meaning—with adjectives it refers to a state that can be perceived of as being caused to change

temporarily or permanently (as in (26a-d)) whereas with verbs they refer to an action, or getting into a state, or being in a state that varies through time. Like verbs, adjectives can take the terminal vowel *-e*. The suffix *-e*, as other terminal vowels in the language signals aspect and mood.⁹ Moreover, this terminal vowel is attested only with Type I adjectives, but well attested with verbs of all types (transitive, intransitive, active, stative etc.).

4.2.2 Adjectives with middle voice markers

Additional evidence for the underlying semantics of the adjective category in Arbore comes from inchoative formation. Adjectives, similar to verb stems, can take middle voice markers and form a clause that has an inchoative reading. In Arbore, middle voice markers serve multiple functions within a single grammatical category or simply under the category of mood. Depending on the morphological form of verb stems, the middle voice markers are of three types: *-t* (*-at/-ot*), *-d* (*-ad/-od*), and *-ha* (*-aha/-oha*).¹⁰ Interestingly, middle extensions can be used to derive inchoative intransitive verbs from adjectives. With Type I adjectives, these suffixes form deadjectival inchoative verbs whose overt subjects are underlying undergoers, as illustrated by (28).

- (28) a. *ʔi-j* *gudd-at-Ø-e*
 PVS.PERV-3SG be.big-MID-3M.SG-PERV:AFFIR
 ‘He became big’
- b. *ʔi-j* *gudd-aha-t-e*
 PVS.PERV-3SG be.big-MID-3F.SG-PERV:AFFIR
 ‘She became big’
- c. *ʔi-n* *wənn-od-Ø-e*
 PVS.PERV-1SG be.old-MID-1SG.SUBJ-PERV:AFFIR
 ‘I became old’ (Lit.; ‘I got older’)
- d. *ʔi-na* *wənn-oha-n-e*
 PVS.PERV-1PL be.old-MID-1PL.SUBJ-PERV:AFFIR
 ‘We became old’

⁹ Arbore has a set of vowels, the so-called *Terminal Vowels* which occupy verbal and adjectival predicates’ final morphological slot. They signal grammatical categories such as aspect, mood and rarely supplementary subject reference (cf. Hayward 1984: 255).

¹⁰ For the first persons, the middle markers exhibit alternants: *-ot*, *-od*, and *-oha*.

These same suffixes, with stative verb stems, form intransitive stative verbs which are known as ‘middle’.¹¹ The subject of a middle extended-stem verb is semantically both an agent and a patient. Compare the following examples with (28):

- (29) a. *ʔi-n* *kum-d-Ø-e*¹²
 PVS.PERV-1SG bow/bend.down-MID-1SG.SUBJ-PERV:AFFIR
 ‘I bowed, bent down’
- b. *ʔi-na* *kum-aha-n-e*
 PVS.PERV-1PL bow/bend.down-MID-1PL.SUBJ-PERV:AFFIR
 ‘We bowed, bent down’

As shown in the examples above, adjectives show similar morphological and syntactic properties to stative verbs. Below are additional examples of inchoative derivations where the PVS is conjugated in the imperfective aspect.

- (30) a. *ʔa-n* *wayn-od-Ø-a*
 PVS.IMPERV-1SG be.old-MID-1SG.SUBJ-IMPERV:AFFIR
 ‘I’m becoming old’
- b. *ʔa-na* *wayn-oha-n-a*
 PVS.IMPERV-1PL be.old-MID-1PL.SUBJ-IMPERV:AFFIR
 ‘We are becoming old’

Adjectives such as *wayna* also behave like verbs in that they can occur in negative, jussive and imperative constructions.

¹¹ As one of the three voice categories (active, passive and middle), the so-called ‘middle’ is an intermediate between active and passive voices (cf. Dixon 2012: 192).

¹² *kumde* has undergone lexically determined process of contraction.

4.2.3 Adjectives with negation markers

Adjectives are negated in the same way as verbs. In negative sentences, they appear with negative affixes. In Arbore, a negative verbal clause is formed by two discontinuous morphemes (or circumfixes): *ma-...-i/-inti/-o*.¹³

- (31) a. *ma-na-wajɲ-ot-i*
 NEG-1PL-be.old-MID:1PL.SUBJ-NEG:PERV
 ‘We haven’t’ became old.’
- b. *ʔa-ma-wajɲ-od-o* ¹⁴
 1SG-NEG-be.old-MID:1SG.SUBJ-NEG:IMPERV
 ‘I don’t/won’t become old’ (or ‘I will not be old’)
- c. *ma-na-wajɲ-oha-no*
 NEG-1PL-be.old-MID:1PL.SUBJ-NEG:IMPERV
 ‘We don’t/won’t become old.’ (or ‘We will not be old’)

Negative marker discontinuous morphemes apply equally to verbs and adjectives, as shown in the examples above. Arbore employs two negation strategies: (i) affixation—where adjectives functioning in intransitive predicates are negated like verbs by the negative circumfixes, as shown in the examples above, and (ii) where adjectives functioning in copula complement or verbless clauses are negated like nouns by the negative copula *maala* ‘not’ (see §4.3).

4.2.4 Imperative, hortative and jussive

Adjectives can occur in imperative, hortative, and jussive clause types by taking their derived middle extended-stem form. Although adjectives are not typically marked for these moods, affixing the respective mood markers to their middle extended-stem enables them to as volitional or non-volitional stative verbs. For example, the adjective *wajɲ-* in its middle extended-stem form can be used to command an addressee to be in the state of being ‘old’. In Arbore, singular addressee is unmarked while plural addressee is marked by *-a*, as illustrated by the following examples:

¹³ The negation marker *ma-* invariably occurs in preverbal position, but the postverbal negation marker has aspect conditioned variants: *-i* (simple past), *-inti* (past perfect), and *-o* (present and future).

¹⁴ Following Hayward (1984: 327), the first person singular in the prefixed system can be analyzed as the absence of marking (i.e. as $\emptyset$). Due to the phonotactic prohibition on initial vowel and absence of any other consonantal prefix, a glottal stop [ʔ] is inserted automatically to satisfy the structural onset.

- (32) a. *wajɲ-oh-a*¹⁵
 be.old-MID-IMPER:SG
 ‘Be old (sg)!’ (or ‘may you (sg) be old!’)
- b. *wajɲ-od-a* (also *wajɲode*; cf. Hayward 1984: 284)
 be.old-MID-IMPER:PL
 ‘Be old (pl)!’ (or ‘may you (pl) be old!’)

The middle voice marker is used to command someone to be ‘old, become old’, as the addressee has not control over being in this state—thus its function in (32a-b) is to make the expression carry an optative imperative reading. The meaning of the middle voice plus imperative derivation is in fact not entirely predictable. Compare the following examples:

- (33) a. *ma-wajɲ-ot-i*¹⁶
 NEG-be.old-MID-IMPER:NEG
 ‘Don’t (sg) be old!’ (or ‘may you (sg) not be old!’)
- b. *ma-n-wajɲ-ot-i*
 NEG-PL-be.old-MID-IMPER:NEG
 ‘Don’t (pl) be old!’ (or ‘may you (pl) not be old!’)

In (32) and (33), both the positive and negative imperative clauses express the wish of the speaker, but there is no way for the addressee(s) to make the desired state happen or prevent it from happening. The negative imperative constructions in (33a-b) have a prohibitive reading. They appear to have similar reading to that of negative imperative construction with verbs, since they take the same marking, see examples (34a-b) below.

¹⁵ The terminal vowel *-a* marks affirmative imperative singular for all middle extended-stem verbs.

¹⁶ In the case of non-indicative forms that have the negative marking terminal vowel *-i* High tone assignment applies.

- (34) a. *ma-kum-t-i*
 NEG-bow/bend.down-MID-IMPER:NEG
 ‘Don’t (sg) bow/bent down!’
- b. *ma-n-kum-t-i*
 NEG-PL-bow/bend.down-MID-IMPER:NEG
 ‘Don’t (pl) bow/bent down!’

The plural addressee in a negative imperative clause is marked by a prefix, *-n*, which occurs pre-adjectivally or pre-verbally.

In Arbore, adjectives can be combined with a pre-verbal particle *ʔaldū-* ‘let’ in hortative and jussive clauses. Again the very same adjective in its middle-extended form be used to express hortative and jussive mood. First and third subjects are marked by enclitics attached to the particle *ʔaldū-*.

- (35) a. *ʔaldū=n wajyn-od-Ø-a*
 let=1SG be.old-MID-1SG.SUBJ-AFFIR
 ‘Let me be old!’
- b. *ʔaldū=na wajyn-oha-n-o*
 let-1PL be.old-MID-1PL.SUBJ-AFFIR
 ‘Let us be old!’

Hortative/jussive distinction in Arbore is made only by the enclitics attached to *ʔaldūj*, i.e., *=n* and *=na* for hortative, as in (35a-b), while *=j* and *=so* for jussive, as in (36a-b).

- (36) a. *ʔaldū=j wajyn-ot-o*
 let=3M.SG be.old-MID-AFFIR
 ‘Let him be old!’
- b. *ʔaldū=so wajyn-ot-e*
 let=3PL be.old-MID-AFFIR
 ‘Let them be old!’

In addition, the terminal vowels attached to adjectival forms may entail the distinction between the two moods i.e., *-a* for 1sg,; *-o* for 3m.sg, 3f.sg, and 1pl; and *-e* only for 3pl.

Hortatives may be expressed in other ways, usually, but not necessarily, involving the pre-adjectival or pre-verbal particle *ʔaldū-*. The hortative in (35) may express encouragement or urge, but they may also express some degree of discouraging or dissuasion when negated as dehortatives, as in (37).

- (37) a. *ma-n-waŋŋ-ot-i*
 NEG-1SG-be.old-MID-NEG:IMPERV
 ‘Let me not be old!’ (Lit.: ‘Let me not be getting old’)
- b. *ma-na-waŋŋ-ot-i*
 NEG-1PL-be.old-MID-NEG:IMPERV
 ‘Let us not be old!’

As in (37), dehortative constructions with adjectives or verbs (38a-b) differ from hortative counterparts, in that they do not involve the particle *ʔaldū-*.

- (38) a. *ma-n-rakk-add-i*
 NEG-1SG-experience.trouble-MID-NEG:IMPERV
 ‘Let me not be in trouble!’
- b. *ma-na-rakk-at-i*
 NEG-1PL-experience.trouble-MID-NEG:IMPERV
 ‘Let us not be in trouble!’

Moreover, the middle voice on adjectives in the imperative, hortative/jussive constructions has much more semantic effect than on verbs. Nevertheless, adjectives with middle voice markers behave like inchoative verbs with progressive overtones (as in (37a-b)). Although subject markings have much the same distribution for adjectives as for verbs, they do not have semantic role as agent or patient. Unlike subject of verbs, subject of adjectival predicates is always the experiencer. Likewise, subject of middle extended-stem verbs is semantically a patient, while subject of middle-extended adjectival stems is always the experiencer. As we have seen in (38), the subject has more control over the undesired state expressed with the extended-stem stative verb *rakkadd-* ‘be in trouble; experience trouble’ than the undesired state expressed with the extended-stem adjective in (38).

4.2.5 Inchoative formation

Adjectives occur with the same inchoative markers as verbs. The inchoative marker suffix *-w* is used to derive deadjectival inchoatives or inchoative intransitive verbs. There is in fact variation within adjectives in the way they derive their inchoative forms. As we have seen in (§4.2.2), adjectives such as *wənn-* may be marked by the middle voice suffixes, and the resultant forms have an inchoative reading. However, such adjectives do not form deadjectival inchoatives with the regular inchoative suffix *-w*. In contrast, VALUE and PHYSICAL PROPERTY adjectives take the inchoative suffix *-w* like stative verbs to form deadjectival inchoative verbs.

Table 8. Inchoative derivation

<i>NOMINAL</i> <i>FORM</i>	<i>ADJECTIVAL</i> <i>FORM</i>	<i>CAUSATIVE</i> <i>FORM</i>	<i>INCHOATIVE</i> <i>FORM</i>
<i>bedd</i> (f) ‘badness, evil, worthlessness’	<i>bedda</i> ‘bad, useless, dirty’	<i>beddos-</i> ‘spoid (tr.)’	<i>beddaw-</i> ‘become bad/spoiled/dirty’
<i>kuldač</i> (m) ‘heat, fever’	<i>kulda</i> ‘hot’	<i>kullos-</i> ‘heat (tr.), boil (tr.)’	<i>kulow-</i> ‘become hot, boil (intr.), get hot’
	<i>mumuč’o</i> ‘smooth’	<i>mumuč’nos-</i> ‘make smooth’	<i>mumuč’now-</i> ‘become smooth’

Like deadjectival inchoative verbs in Table 9, the non-agentive suffix *-w*, which also has zero realization (zero marking on some verbs), is used to derived inchoative intransitive verbs. Hayward (1984: 252-3) argues that derived inchoative verbs can sometimes be seen to have a cognate noun or adjective from which they are obviously derived. The forms in Table 9 are cognate between three word classes and there is obviously semantic overlap between adjectives and verbs or nouns. However, in Arbore, as the case in East Cushitic languages, verbs occur in pairs with respect to transitivity (p.252). Transitive and intransitive verb pairs are always cognate lexically; the slight difference between the two verbs is the presence or absence of verbal extensions such as middle and causative. For instance, the simple form *kull-* ‘heat (tr.)’ (with no causative suffix) and the extended form *kullos-* ‘heat (tr.)’(with the causative suffix) can both function as transitive verbs, but they differ slightly semantically. As Hayward (1984:253) puts it, argues, ‘a causative extension always implies the inclusion of at least one agentive argument within the semantic structure of the verb, while an inchoative

extension always implies the absence of an agentive argument.’ There may be semantic overlaps between the cognates listed above, but they may be distinguished on morphological grounds. For instance, unlike verbs, adjectives do not occur with *-ʔ*, a middle voice suffix which has an autobenefactive sense. Verbs like *kull-* can be combined with *-il*, a suffix which has a middle or reflective sense—*kulil-* ‘warm oneself (e.g. at a fire)’. In addition, verbs may undergo partial reduplication process, indicating repetition or intensity, for example *k’eb-* ‘break (intr.)’ ~ *k’ek’eb-* ‘shatter (intr.)’. However, reduplication of verbs does not seem to be a productive process in Arbore. In contrast, reduplication of adjectives is very productive, although reduplication with non-Type I adjectives is not productive. For instance, the verbal form *kull-* has an irregular reduplicative form *tutuldaʔana*. This form is restricted to noun modifier position within an NP. The meaning of reduplication for adjectives is plurality, and reduplicated adjectives generally agree with the head noun in number.

Interestingly, there is a peculiar property of nouns which distinguishes them from adjectives, i.e., they can be used in inchoativization process with the copula verb *daj-* ‘become’, as in the examples in (39a-b).

- (39) a. *goran-e* *ʔi-j* *seʔ* *daj-t-e*
 heifer-NOM PVS.PERV-3SG cow COP-3SG-F-PERV
 ‘The heifer became a cow.’
- b. *maare* *ʔi-j* *goran* *daj-t-e*
 calf.NOM PVS.PERV-3SG heifer COP-3SG-F-PERV
 ‘The calf became a heifer.’

In Arbore, the subject in neutral sentences almost always appears in the nominative. The subject also occupies the pre-PVS position, clearly pragmatically it is the topic of the sentence. As we see in (39), the inchoatives fit into the syntax of neutral sentences with focused subject NPs—{subject-PVS-complement(s)-copula/verb}. The bound subject pronoun in the PVS agrees with the clause subject in number and person and the subject marker in the verb agrees with the focused subject NP in number and person. As Hayward (1984: 121) argues, the focused constituents can be analyzed as having predicate forms exhibiting the presence of copula. Thus, the construction(s) in (39) is one of an inchoative formation with nouns as complements of the copula verb *daj-*. Note

that the copula *daj-* maybe cognate with the regular copula suffix *-da*.¹⁷ What we found here however is that only nouns, but not adjectives can occur with the copula verb *daj-* which inflects for number, person, gender and even aspect (see §4.3 for further morphosyntactic status of the Arbore copulas). Moreover, it was noted that PVS is absent in a relative clause with a focused subject, but with a verb in a relative clause the head of which is a copula subject NP, as in (40a), or an axillary verb the head of which has no non-subject function, as in (40b).

- (40) a. *min-(h)a dʒiʔ-e min-(h)a wənn-a*
house-REL fall-PERV house-REL old-COP
‘The house which fell down was an old house.’
- b. *gor-h-atto katot ʔub beh-o-lo fəjj-a*
road-REL-DIST left.hand up go.out-AUX good-COP
‘That road that goes up to left is good.’

In both examples, the adjectival predicates agree with the focused subject in number. Such agreement only exists between the focused subject nominal and adjectival predicates, but not with verbal predicates.

4.3 Adjectives as copula complements

With the exceptions of a few syntactic restrictions, most adjectives can be copula complements. As we have seen in the previous sections, the co-occurrence of adjectives with predicative markers (*-a*, *-ta* and *-da*) may provide evidence that what were originally analyzed as verbless clause complements in a verbless clause construction can be reinterpreted as copula complements. In Arbore, adjectives with predicative markers on the surface appear as verbless clause complements, but they may be analyzed as copula complements, as in (41a).

- (41) a. *seʔe ʔezi-da*
cow.NOM white-COP
‘The cow is white’

¹⁷ Banti (2004) argues that most Omo-Tana languages (East Cushitic) have prefix conjugation verbs, one of which is Arbore. The presence of PVS in (39a-b) suggest that *daj-* may, indeed, have some characteristics of verbs.

As we recall, Arbore is a verb-final language, thus adjectives and verbs, or nouns in predicative functions occupy the rightmost slot of a clause—a slot available to affirmative predicative forms. The example in (41a) presents evidence for the status of predicative marker(s) as uninflected affirmative copula verb(s). Further evidence is the co-occurrence of adjectives with a free negative copula element *maala* ‘not, be not’¹⁸ which takes the syntactic slot of the affirmative counterpart *-da*. If not all, most adjectives are negated by the invariable negative copula verb *maala*. Like its positive counterparts, *maala* does not inflect for tense or aspect, or person/subject.

- b. [seʔe]CS [ʔezi]CC [maala]CV
 cow.NOM white be_not
 ‘The cow is not white’
- c. [seʔe-ta ʔeze]CS [fajja]CC [maala]CV
 cow.NOMF-SG white:AGR good be_not
 ‘The white cow is not good.’

As it is shown in (41b-c), *maala* appears after the adjectives as independent element because it is a verb despite it is not inflecting for verbal categories. In (41b), it occurs with the adjective *ʔezi* as one argument occupying the copula complement slot, while in (41c) it occurs with *fajja* but negating the whole NP plus the predicate. No element can intervene between the adjective and the negative copula, but elements referring to past time such as *bal* ‘formerly’ maybe placed after the subject NP, as in (41d).

- d. [mo]CS *bal* [guddi]CC [maala]CV
 person.M state_time big be_not
 ‘The man was not big’

¹⁸ It appears that the negative copula form *maala* could be a product of two morphological elements—possibly from the negative non-past particle *ma-* and from an old grammaticalized auxiliary *-la*, which are both attested in present-day Arbore, the latter as *-lo* [-llo] ‘to be’ or ‘have’. Another Cushitic language, Oromo, has an old negative non-past **ma-lee* that survives as a postposition meaning ‘without’. Further similar evidence from other Cushitic languages has been reported by Banti (2004).

4.4 Adjectives in polar interrogative clauses

In Arbore, polar interrogative clauses can be formed by attaching the invariable interrogative marker suffix *-koh* to an adjective or a noun.

- (42) a. *min-o* [*guddi-koh*]
 house.M-DEF big-Q
 ‘Is this house big?’

However, polar interrogative questions with verbs are formed by attaching the question marker suffix *-e*, as in (42b).

- b. *ɖussut* *hallo* *ɖi-j* *j-eečče-e*
 3M.SGPRO here PVS.PERV-3SG 3m-come.PERV-Q
 ‘Did he come here?’

As shown in the examples above, in Arbore, adjectives in interrogative/question clause construction are clearly non-verb-like, and can never function as a verbal predicate.

5 Summary

In Arbore, adjectives are clearly distinct from all other classes of words, although they share some characteristics with nouns and verbs. In this study, we have shown that adjectives can be distinguished from other classes especially from nouns and verbs by morphological, syntactic and semantic properties. On the basis of morphological and syntactic criteria, the adjective class is classified into three Types—those that behave like nouns and verbs (Type I), those that have nominal origin and/or behave like nouns (Type II), and those that behave quite differently from Type I and II (Type III). Type I adjectives can take various grammatical elements when they modify a noun directly, such as the proximal marker suffix *-lo*, number agreement marker(s) *-a/-o*, and a linking element *-aʔan*. In addition, adjectives may take the invariable interrogative marker suffix *-koh* to form polar interrogative clauses. They also take person/subject, gender, aspect, and mood inflections, just like verbs. Adjectival stems may be expanded by derivational extensions. Accordingly, causative, inchoative and middle are some of the verbal extensions which can be used to extend the adjectival stems. Moreover, we have described in detail syntactic criteria that best define the adjective class, or that possibly distinguish them from noun and verb classes. Syntactically, adjectives can occur in different functional slots within phrases and clauses though they have limited

possibilities compared with nouns and verbs. They can function as modifier to the head noun within a NP and head of intransitive predicate in verbless clauses. Adjectives can also function as copula complements, although their function as copula complement is expressed through a bound copula morpheme. More interestingly, adjectives are negated as verbs, with the same negative circumfix that negates verbs. In this respect, in Arbore adjectives are clearly verb-like. Adjectives may be used in polar interrogative clauses; however, they cannot be used alone as affirmative/negative responses to polar ‘yes/no’ questions.

Symbols and abbreviations

1	First person	NEG	Negative
2	Second person	NOM	Nominative
3	Third person	NOMZ	Nominalizer
AFFIR	Affirmative	NON.SG	Non-Singular
AGR	Agreement	PERV	Perfective
AUX	Auxiliary	PL	Plural
CAUS	Causative	PL.GEND	Plural Gender
COP	Copula	PN	Pronoun
DEF	Definite	POSS	Possessive
DEM	Demonstrative	PRED	Predicative
DIS	Distal	PROX	Proximal
F	Feminine	PVS	Preverbal Selector
IMPER	Imperative	Q	Question
IMPERV	Imperfective	REDUP	Reduplication
INTR	Intransitive	REL	Relativizer
LINK	Linking	SINGU	Singulative
M	Masculine	SG	Singular
MID	Middle	SUBJ	Subject

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