



Verb morphology of Dube

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ABSTRACT

The Dube language is spoken by a small group of people along the Wabi-Shebelle River in southeastern Ethiopia. It is an unclassified language. There is a high degree of language shift among the native speakers in addition to the language receiving little scholarly attention so far. This article describes the verb morphology of this unsafe endangered language. Dube has verb roots to which both inflectional and derivational morphemes are attached. From the inflectional point of view, Dube uses prefixes, suffixes and circumfixes. The inflectional category is morphologically marked in the tense-aspect, person and mood domains. It is more of an aspect of language. The circumfix marks future tense (future imperfective). Simple imperfective (present continuous) is morphologically marked. Future and simple imperfectives for second-person plural and third-person plural are marked by a prefix. In the simple Imperfective, the second and the third person plural forms have the same tense marker morpheme. The perfective and future are marked with -en and -oo, respectively. The order of morphemes is also interesting in that the future marking morpheme follows the person marker in the singular, but precedes the person marker in the plural. The mood of the verbs has no imperative marker. The imperative distinguishes number, but not gender. The singular addressee is not morphologically marked on the verb. However, the plural addressee is marked with a suffix. The jussive is formed with a prefix. Verb derivations include causativization, passivization, reflexives/reciprocals and frequentatives. Direct causative is formed by adding the suffix -siyy to the verb root. Passive is marked by the prefix -la-. Dube verbs show frequentative through reduplication of the first syllable of the verb root. Inchoative verbs are derived from adjectives by adding suffix -aad.

Keywords: - Dube, verb morphology, inflection, derivation

1. INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this article is to provide a preliminary analysis of the verb morphology of the Dube language. Here, I briefly discuss the Dube people surveying the limited material which is available in the literature.

The Dube is a small group of people who live along the banks of the Wabe Shabelle River in southeastern Ethiopia. The Dube live in Ime, but also further upstream, in Bale and Arsi Zones. According to Braukämper (2004), the Dube are descendants of the Bantu, and notes that “The [Dube], a dark-skinned Somali-speaking population on the banks of the Wabi Shäbälle, are the offspring of Bantu slaves who settled and expanded there since the 19th century” (2004, p. 15). Swayne (1900, p.22) also comments that the Adone (Dube) of the Wabe Shebelle is racially different from the Somali, calling them a “river race”. Asnake (2009, p.144) describes these people (the Dube and the Rer Bare) as people of “Bantu” descent living in Ethiopia. There is another, pejorative term “Adona” which refers collectively to both of these groups, the Rer Bare and the Dube.

The Dube elders state that the Wabe Shebelle River is their gift and is everything to them. They depend on tilling the banks of the river. The Dube led their life at Ime, according to Swayne (1900, p. 210), by “cultivating the ground [and] herding cows”, fishing, hunting and herding animals. Some of them cannot imagine life outside the river banks. The Dube people have traditional foods such as thick porridge called *soor*, which is prepared from maize or sorghum¹. When they find it available, hippopotamus² meat is their favorite food.

The number of Dube people living in Gasera wereda kebeles was around 5000 (Tadesse, 2018). According to informants, during censuses in Ethiopia, the Dube are registered either as Oromo or Somali, though in fact, they are distinct in terms of their identity and way of life. Almost all of

¹ Over a century ago, the traveler Swayne (1900: 211) said, “The Adone [=Dube, Rer Bare] living at Ime have been great cultivators of *jowari*, which they eat.” *Jowari* is another name for durra, a type of sorghum.

² Elder informants state that the number of hippos is currently diminishing, even nearing extinction in the Shebelle River as they all hunt them for food. According to informants, the Dube are discriminated against by the Oromo for eating hippopotamus. They have a special hunting team with a leader called *horganti* and a special ceremony when they leave to hunt hippo.

the Dube people are Muslims though traditional (pre-Muslim) religious practices are also followed.

The Dube (and Rer Bare) have their language. In addition, they speak Somali and Afan Oromo. The language is highly threatened because of the influence of the dominant languages, Somali and Afan Oromo, but there are still a few thousand people who speak it. Dube and Rer Bare are still now assumed to be the same language, with a common pejorative name '*Adona*'. Consequently, the limited available literature about their language is even written using the terms Rer Bare and '*Adona*' which is uncertain to say that the statement about their languages belongs to both Dube and Rer Bare or only to Rer Bare. Bender (1975) stated the following about these people and their language:

D. W. McClure, Sr., first reported to me the presence of Sudanese immigrants on the Wabi Shebelle River at Gode in eastern Ogaden. They were said to have their language, bearing the given name. Later Taye Reta informed me that Sudanese immigrants are found along the Ganale and Dawa Rivers as well and that they are referred to by the Somali as *rer bare* (*rer* means sub-tribe in Somali). They are also known as *adona*, and they speak Somali as well as their language(s)... I cannot say with certainty whether they speak one or more languages...So far no linguistic data has come my way. (Bender 1975, pp. 74-75)

In the list of Ethiopian languages compiled by the same scholar, Bender (1976, p. 12) states the following about Rer Bare: "Nilo-Saharan? By this name (tribe-of Bare) the Somalis refer to Sudanese immigrants on the Shebelle River around Gode... also known as Adona. Which language or languages the Rer Bare speak is unknown." I found no other source (written or oral) which suggests a Sudanese origin for the Dube or Rer Bare. On the other hand, Bender (1976) also mentioned a language he calls 'Shebelle'; it is "reputedly a Bantu language once spoken on Shebelle River". My informants identify Shebelle with Rer Bare. The Ethnologue, with no source, stated, reports Rer Bare as an extinct language (Grimes, 2000, p. 117). As my fieldwork showed, the language is certainly not extinct or nearly extinct. However, the language is at an unsafe level of endangerment. The majority, but not all, children and families in a certain community use that language as their first language, yet this may only be the case in certain

contexts (like at home where kids interact with parents and grandparents) (UNESCO, 2023) Though the people seem to have come originally from Bantu-speaking territory, their language does not look like Bantu at all, but rather Cushitic, and greatly resembles Somali. These linguistic points will be discussed here from its verbal morphology.

The data was collected from native speakers of the language during fieldwork in 2017 and 2018. The article has three sections. In the first section, I provide brief descriptions of the people and the language of Dube. The second section and third section is the main section of the paper, which examines briefly the verb morphology of Dube. In the second section, I present a paradigm of verb inflection in terms of time (past, future, and "simple imperfective") as the language is more of an aspect language, but tense markers are also observed in the data. Then, in the third section, I present verb derivation forms and their negative forms. Finally, a summary of the paper is provided.

2. Verb Morphology

According to Payne (1997, p.47) verbs convey "the least time-stable concepts". They show an action, event, or state. Crystal (2008, p.520) also states that "a verb refers to an element which can display morphological contrasts of tense, aspect, voice, mood, person and number." This paper will present the descriptions of inflection and derivation of verbs. In this section, I present a paradigm of verb inflection in terms of time (past, future and "simple imperfective"). Then, I present verb derivation forms and their negative forms.

2.1. Tense/Aspect and Mood (TAM)

Dube marks TAM in its verb through morphological means. The language employs suffixes, circumfixes and prefixes in marking TAM. Dube shows the difference between perfective and imperfective aspects. The notion of perfective in Dube refers to all completed actions (past in general). The imperfective refers to uncompleted non-past actions, which can be future or present continuous. Below, I present how verbs mark Tense/Aspect in Dube, using the verb roots *magal-* 'hear', *een-* 'eat', *koy-* 'come', *keen-* 'bring', *agar-* 'see', *suubiy-* 'work', *reeg-* 'stay', and *deel-* 'play'. The morpheme *-i* shows a simple past. The circumfix *sa...e* marks future imperfections. Present continuous is marked by the suffix *-oo* (simple imperfective).

First, the root form of each verb is presented, followed by the inflectional forms. Person-number inflection is discussed in Section 3.2.

(1)	Root	Perfective	Future IPF	Present IPF
	magal-	magali	samagale	magaloo
	een-	eeni	sa'eene	eenoo
	koy-	koyi	sakoye	koyoo
	keen-	keeni	sakeene	keenoo
	agar-	agari	sa'agare	agaroo
	suubiy-	suubiyi	sasuubiye	suubiyoo
	reeg-	reegi	sareege	reegoo
	deel-	deeli	sadeele	deeloo

As shown in the above data of verb roots *magal-* 'hear', *een-* 'eat', *koy-* 'come', *keen-* 'bring', *agar-* 'see', *suubiy-* 'work', *reeg-* 'stay', and *deel-* 'play', the morpheme *-i* shows simple past. The circumfix *sa...e* marks future imperfective. Present continuous is marked by the suffix *-oo* (simple imperfective). The following are sentential examples.

- (2)
- a. iyyuuga soor-ayi een-i
he porridge-OBJ eat-PF
'He ate porridge'
- b. Abdu soorayi sa'eene
Abdu soor-ayi sa-een-e
Abdu porridge-OBJ IPF.FUT-eat-IPF.FUT
'Abdu will eat porridge'
- c. iyyuuga soor-ayi een-oo
he porridge-OBJ eat-IPF
'He is eating porridge.'

The present imperfective is marked by suffix *-e* (seen also as a component of the future *sa...e*). The person and number markers remain the same as future and present continuous imperfective.

- [3] a. ani minka uusoode
ani min -ka uu- sood -e
I home -DEF.M to go IPF.PRES
'I go home.'
- b. kedir baraar walbo masjidka ayi un tabe
kedir baraar walbo masjid-ka ayi un tab-e
kedir day every mosque-DEF.M ACC to go-IPF.PRES
'Kedir goes to the mosque every day.'

2.2. Mood

2.2.1. Imperative

There is no imperative marker for singular imperative. The way the speaker says the word or its rising intonation shows that the verb is in an imperative mood. The imperative has the same form whether it is addressed to a man or a woman, but to show plural it takes a plural marker *-a*. This imperative marker is also observed in other Cushitic language like Oromo (Bender, 1976), Konso (Ongaye 2013)

- (4) a) tab -Ø
go.M/F-IMP.2SG
“(You(SG)) go!”
- b) dil -Ø
kill.M/F - IMP.2SG
“(You(SG)) kill!”
- c) dila
dil -a
kill.M/F.-IMP.2PL
“(You (PL)) kill!”
- d) minka heeg
min-ka heeg -Ø
house -DEF sweep -IMP.2SG
“(You (SG)) sweep the house!”
- e) minka heega
min -ka heeg - -a
house -DEF.M sweep -IMP -PL
“(You (PL)) sweep the house!”

2.2.2. Jussive

Jussive is formed with the prefix *ha-* added to the verb, as in the following examples:

- [5] a) iyyuuga minka ha’uu taboo
iyyuuga min-ka ha’ -uu tab -oo
3MSG.PRO house -DEF. let to go -IPF
‘Let him go home.’
- b) ha taboo
ha tab -oo
let go -IPF
‘Let him go.’

- c) ha tabtoo
 ha tab -t -oo
 let go -3SG.F-IPF
 'Let her go.'
- d) ha tabnoo
 ha tab -n -oo
 let go -1PL -IPF
 'Let us go.'
- e) ha abeeboo
 ha abeeb -oo
 let drink -IPF
 'Let him drink.'
- f) ha abeeboo
 ha abeeb -oo
 let drink -IPF
 'Let them drink.'

The following table is the paradigm for positive jussives. Notice that the third-person masculine singular is the same as the third plural.

Table 1: Positive Jussive Paradigm

PERSON	VERB		PERSON/MARKER	ASPECT	GLOSS
SG					
1	ha	tab		-oo	‘Let me go.’
3M	ha	tab		-oo	‘Let him go.’
3F	ha	tab	-t	-oo	‘Let her go.’
PL					
1	ha	tab	-n	-oo	‘Let us go.’
3	ha	tab		-oo	‘Let them go.’

2.2.3. Person, Number and Gender

Dube verbs are inflected for the person (first, second and third), number (singular or plural) and gender (masculine or feminine) of the subject. In the table below, I have presented the suffixes of each person, number and gender using the verb *abeeb*- 'drink', with examples.

Table 2: Person, Number and Gender Markers in Perfective (Simple Past)

	Verb	Person Marker	Perfective	Number Marker	Examples	Gloss
SG						
1	abeeb	-	-i	-	ani abeebi	'I drank.'
2	abeeb	-t	-i	-	adi abeeti	'You drank.'
3M	abeeb	-	-i	-	iyyuuga abeebi	'He drank.'
3F	abeeb	-t	-i	-	iyyeeda abeebti	'She drank.'
PL						
1	abeeb	-n	-i	-	unno abeebni	'We drank.'
2	abeeb	-t	-	-en	isin abeebten	'You drank.'
3	abeeb	-	-	-en	iyyooda abeeben	'They drank.'

As can be seen from the above table, *-t* is used to mark both second-person (singular and plural) and third-person feminine singular. The suffix *-n* is a portmanteau marker for first person plural whereas the suffix *-en* marks both second and third-person plural. Its grammatical function is marking the plurality of numbers and persons in a verb. The suffix *-i* marks the perfective aspect for all persons; in the second and third person plural, the number marker *-en* may plausibly be underlying "Perfective *-i* + Plural *-an* > *-en*", with /ia/ > /e/.

In the following tables, person, number and gender markers in the Future and Present continuous imperfective forms are presented with examples using the same verb *abeeb*- 'drink'.

Table 3: Person, Number and Gender Markers in Future

	Verb	Person Marker	Number Marker	Future	Examples	Gloss
SG						
1	abeeb	-	-	sa...e	ani sa'abeebe	'I will drink.'
2	abeeb	-t	-	sa...e	adi sa'abeebte	'You will drink.'
3M	abeeb	-	-	sa...e	iyyuuga sa'abeebe	'He will drink.'
3F	abeeb	-t	-	sa...e	iyyeeda sa'abeebte	'She will drink.'
PL						
1	Abeeb	-n	-	sa...e	unno sa'abeebne	'We will drink.'
2	Abeeb	-t	-an	sa-	isin sa'abeebtan	'You will drink.'
3	Abeeb	-	-an	sa-	iyyooda sa'abeeban	'They will drink.'

The second-person plural and the third-person plural number are marked by *-an* for both future and simple imperfective forms, but by *-en* in the perfective form as shown in Table 3. The person markers remain the same for both future and simple imperfective forms.

Table 4: Person, Number and Gender Markers in Present Continuous (Imperfective)

	Verb	Person Marker	Simple Imperfective	Number Marker	Examples	Gloss
SG						
1	abeeb	-	-oo	-	ani abeeboo	‘I am drinking.’
2	abeeb	-t	-oo	-	adi abeebtoo	‘You are drinking.’
3M	abeeb	-	-oo	-	iyyuuga abeeboo	‘He is drinking.’
3F	abeeb	-t	-oo	-	iyeeda abeebtoo	‘She is drinking.’
PL						
1	abeeb	-n	-oo	-	unno abeeboon	‘We are drinking.’
2	abeeb	-t	-oo	-an	isin abeebootan	‘You are drinking.’
3	abeeb	-	-oo	-an	iyyooda abeeboo’an	‘They are drinking.’

In the simple Imperfective, the second and the third person plural forms retain the tense marker – *oo*, though the other tense/ aspect forms (Perfective and Future) do not retain their respective markers (*-i.-e*). The marker –*oo* follows the person marker in the singular, but precedes the person marker in the plural; this is strange and should be investigated further.

2.3. Verb Derivation

A verb can be derived from other verbs, nouns, or adjectives. In this section, I will present causative, passive, reflexives/reciprocals, repeated action and inchoative verbs derived from adjectives.

2.3.1. Causative

Causative generally signifies a relationship of cause and effect. In causative, the agent and the caused event are the main arguments. According to Payne (1997), causative forms of a verb can be marked lexically or morphologically. In lexical causatives, the verb may show no change, idiosyncratic change, or suppletive, a distinct verb. In morphological causatives, the forms are marked by affixing morphemes to the verb stems to form new causative stems. This is essentially observed in Dube verbs. Causative verbs are formed in Dube by adding the suffix *-siyy* to the verb root for direct causative. The examples below are of direct causatives, which involve only two participants. Consider the following examples:

[6]	Verb root	Gloss	Causative stem	Gloss
	een-	‘eat’	eensiyy	‘cause to eat’
	abeeb-	‘drink’	abeebsiyy	‘cause to drink’
	dil-	‘kill’	dilsiyy	‘cause to kill’
	agar-	‘see’	agarsiyy	‘cause to see’

dowor - 'beg' doworsiyy 'cause to beg'

The following sentence pair illustrates causative verbs. The plain verb in the first example is compared with its causative.

- [7] a) iyyuuga eeni
 iyyuuga een-i
 3SG.M-NOM eat-PF
 'He ate (it).'
- b) iyyuuga eensiiyi
 iyyuuga een-siyy-i
 3SG.M-NOM eat -CAUS -PF
 'He caused to eat (it).'

2.3.2. Passive

Passive is understood among the Dube speakers as the action is more emphasized than the doer of the action.

Passive is marked by prefix *la-* attached to the verb root as in the following examples:

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------|--------|-----------|------------|
| [8] | agar- | 'see' | laagar- | 'be seen' |
| | jeelad- | 'like' | lajeelad- | 'be liked' |
| | gooyy- | 'cut' | lagooyy- | 'be cut' |
| | een- | 'eat' | la'een- | 'be eaten' |
| | gad- | 'sell' | lagad- | 'be sold' |

When sentential examples are made using passive verbs, the doer of the action may optionally appear, marked by the objective case *-ayi*. When an instrument becomes the passive subject, the prefix *la-* is changed to *lu-* as shown in the last passive sentence below; this may be a combination of *la-uu-* 'PAS-to'.

- [9] a) iyyuuga jeeliya
 iyyuuga jeel -iya
 he love- -3M.SG
 'He loves.'
- b) iyyuuga lajeeliya
 iyyuuga la- jeel -iya
 he PAS- love- -3M.SG
 'He is loved.'
- c) iyyuuga wobaayi dabadi
 iyyuuga woba -ayi dabad -i
 he-NOM river -OBJ swim (3M) -PF

‘He swam a river.’

- d) wobaa iyyuugaayi labadi
 wobaa iyyuuga -ayi la- dabad -i
 river 3PRO.M -OBJ PAS- swim PF
 ‘The river was swum by him.’
- e) masarti geedayi gooyti
 masar -t -i geed -ayi gooyy -t -i
 axe -F -DEF tree -OBJ cut -3F.SG -PF
 ‘The axe cut a tree.’
- f) geediki masra lugooyyi
 geed -k -i masra lu- gooyy -i
 tree -M -DEF axe INST- cut PF
 ‘The tree was cut with an axe.’

2.3.3. Reflexives and reciprocals

I have treated reflexives and reciprocals together as they are marked with the same morpheme. The reflexive in Dube is marked by the verbal prefix *is-*, which is not inflected, as the following examples demonstrate. Here I present reflexives of Dube verbs followed by reciprocals.

- [10] a) ani isgooyyi
 ani is- gooyy -i
 I self- cut -PF
 ‘I cut myself.’
- b) iyyuuga isgooyyi
 iyyuuga is- gooyy -i
 he self- cut -PF
 ‘He cut himself.’
- c) iyyeeda is gooyyiti
 iyyeeda is- gooyy -(i)³t- -i
 she- self- cut -3SG.F-PF
 ‘She cut herself’
- d) unno isgooyini
 unno is- gooyy -(i)n- -i
 we-NOM self- cut -1PL -PF
 ‘We cut ourselves.’

³ The parenthesis indicate the morpheme *-i* is optional

In reciprocals, two participants perform an action against each other for mutual benefit or disadvantage. As shown in the following examples, the prefix *is-* is also the reciprocal marker. The morpheme is the same as the reflexive marker.

[11]	ehi	‘insulted’	isehi	‘insulted each other’
	digi	‘washed’	isdigi	‘washed each other’
	dunkudi	‘kissed’	isdunkudi	‘kissed each other’

2.3.4. Reduplication

Dube verbs are reduplicated to show repeated actions. The process of reduplication is that the first syllable of a verb is repeated to show a repeated action. The following are illustrative examples of Dube verbs showing reduplication.

[12]	gooyyi	‘cut’	googooyyi	‘cut repeatedly’
	taabbadi	‘touch’	taataabbadi	‘touch repeatedly’
	dunkudi	‘kiss’	dudunkudi	‘kiss repeatedly’

2.3.5. Inchoative

Inchoative verbs, which show a change of state or entering a state, are derived from adjectives by adding the suffix *-aad*. As shown below adjectives of size and color show the derivation of inchoative verbs. I haven’t further investigated the case for other adjectives forms.

[13]	gaab	‘short’	gaabaad	‘become short’
	deer	‘tall’	deeraad	‘become tall’
	wiin	‘big’	wiinaad	‘become big’
	ideg	‘strong’	idagaad	‘become strong’
	fudud	‘light’	fududaad	‘become light’
	ba’an	‘lazy’	ba’anaad	‘become lazy’
	jan	‘small’	janaad	‘become small’
	badan	‘many’	badanaad	‘become many’
	asuus	‘red’	asuusaad	‘become red’
	midow	‘black’	midowaad	‘become black’
	ed	‘white’	edaad	‘become white’

2.4. Negation

In this section, I present verbal negation as it occurs in declarative sentences. The forms of verbal negation are presented and analyzed in perfective aspect and the simple future imperfective. In general, all negative forms take either the prefix *ma-* or *an-*.

Negative Perfective

Negative perfective is marked by the circumfix *ma-...-ne* in verbal sentences, as shown in the following examples:

- [14] a) ani ma kooyine
 ani makooy-ne
 I NEG come -NEG
 ‘I did not come.’
- b) adi matabne
 adi ma- tab -ne
 you NEG go -NEG
 ‘You did not go.’

Note that the same verb form is used with all persons and numbers as shown below:

- [15] ani matabne ‘I did not go.’
 adi matabne ‘You did not go.’
 iyyuuga matabne ‘He did not go.’
 iyyeeda matabne ‘She did not go.’
 unno matabne ‘We did not go.’
 isin matabne ‘You did not go.’
 iyyooda matabne ‘They did not go.’

2.4.1. Negative Future Imperfective

The positive Future and the positive simple Imperfective have the same Negative form. This combines elements from both of the positive forms: *sa-ma-ROOT-oo*, which has *sa-* (like the future) and *-oo* (like the simple Imperfective) and the negative marker *ma-*.

- [16] a) iyyuuga sakeene
 iyyuuga sa- keen -e
 3SG.M.NOM FUT- bring -FUT
 ‘He will bring.’
- b) iyyuuga samakeenoo
 iyyuuga sa- ma- keen -oo
 3SG.M.NOM FUT NEG bring IPF
 ‘He will not bring.’

The following are the negative future imperfective paradigm:

- [17] ani samataboo ‘I will not go.’
 adi samatabtoo ‘You will not go.’

iyyuuga samataboo	‘He will not go.’
iyyeeda samatabtoo	‘She will not go.’
unnoo samatabnoo	‘We will not go.’
isin samatabtanoo	‘You will not go.’
iyyooda samatabanoo	‘They will not go.’

The above sentential example is summarized in the following table:

Table 5: Negative Future Imperfective Markers

PERSON	FUTURE	NEG	ROOT	PERSON	NUMBER MARKER	ASPECT
SG						
1	sa-	ma-	tab	Ø	Ø	-oo
2	sa-	ma-	tab	-t	Ø	-oo
3M	sa-	ma-	tab	Ø	Ø	-oo
3F	sa-	ma-	tab	-t	Ø	-oo
PL						
1	sa-	ma-	tab	-n	Ø	-oo
2	sa-	ma-	tab	-t	-an	-oo
3	sa-	ma-	tab	Ø	-an	-oo

2.4.2. Negative imperative

A negative imperative is formed by adding the prefix *an-* to the Simple Imperfective of the verb for the singular; in the plural, the plural marker *-a* or *-eena* is added to the verb and replaces *-oo*.

The following are examples:

- [19 a) minka anheegtoo
 min -ka an- heeg -t -oo
 house DEF NEG- sweep.M/F -2 -IPF
 “(You (SG)) do not sweep the house!”
- b) minka anheegta
 min -ka an- heeg -t -a/eena
 house DEF NEG- sweep.M/F -2 -2PL
 “(You (PL)) do not sweep the house!”
- c) antabtoo
 an- tab -t -oo
 NEG- go -2 IPF
 ‘(You (SG)) do not go!’
- d) andiltoo
 an- dil -t oo

NEG- kill -2 IPF
 ‘(You (SG)) do not kill!’

2.4.3. Negative Jussive

Dube marks negation in jussive. In the third person, the negative jussive has only one form: *an Verb-ne* as in (20a). The following sentences show the verb in negative jussive with full pronominal subject as in (20b).

- [20] a) an tabne ‘Let him/her/them not go.’
 b) iyyeeda an tabne ‘Let her not go.’
 iyyuuga an tabne ‘Let him not go.’
 isin an tabne ‘Let them not go.’

For the first person, the negative jussive shows the following forms, clearly built on the positive jussive:

- c) an tabnoo ‘Let us not go.’
 an taboo ‘Let me not go.’

In the positive forms, the imperative (2nd person) and jussive (1st/3rd person) look completely different. In the negative, however, they are quite similar, as shown in the following table below:

Table 6: Negative Imperative/ Jussive Paradigms.

Person	Negative	Verb	Person Marker	Aspect	Number
SG					
1	an-	tab	-	-oo	
2	an-	tab	-t	-oo	
3M	an-	tab	-ne		
3F	an-	tab	-ne		
PL					
1	an-	tab	-n	-oo	
2	an-	tab	-t		-a/-eena
3	an-	tab	-ne		

Summary

The main purpose of this paper was to provide a preliminary analysis of the verb morphology of the Dube language. I have presented several paradigms of Dube verb inflection in terms of aspect (Perfective and Imperfective). The morpheme *-i* shows perfective whereas the circumfix *sa...e* marks future imperfective. Plain Imperfective form (present progressive) is marked by adding the

suffix *-oo* to the root verb. Dube verbs mark person, number and gender. The suffix *-t* marks both second-person (singular and plural) and third-person singular feminine. The suffix *-n* is a portmanteau marker for first person plural whereas the suffix *-en* is a plural suffix for both second and third-person plural. The suffix *-i* is a perfective aspect marker for all persons except for second and third-person plural, which do not explicitly mark the perfective aspect of the verb. Dube verb derivation includes causative, passive, reflexives/reciprocals and repeated action. A causative verb is formed by adding the suffix *-siyy* to the verb root whereas a verb in the passive is marked by the prefix *la-*. Reflexive/reciprocal in Dube is marked by the prefix *is-*. On the other hand, the repeated action of the verb is marked by partial reduplication. Verbalization of (some) adjectives is possible by adding the suffix *-aad*.

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I have used the following list of abbreviations in this article.

1	first person	CAUS	causative
1PL	first person plural	DEF	definite
1SG	first person singular	IMP	imperative
2PL	second person plural	INST	instrumental
2	second person	M/F	masculine/feminine (gender)
2SG	second person singular	NEG	negative
3	third person	NOM	nominative
3F	third-person feminine	OBJ	objective
3M	third person masculine	PAS	passive
3PL	third person plural	PF	perfective
3SG	third person singular		