Valency-Adjusting Constructions in Rayya Oromo: Causative and Middle

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Article Info

Abstract

Rayya Afan Oromo is a scarcely studied variety of Oromo spoken in Northern Ethiopia. The objective of this study is describing valency-adjusting constructions that refer to either valency increasing or valency decreasing construction in the variety. To achieve this objective, causative construction and middle construction were selected purposively by convenient sampling technique. The study employed a descriptive qualitative research approach. Data for the study were obtained through field linguistics method which covered recording of communicative events and direct elicitation. The work discovered that morphologically derived causative verbs could come from a verb or a (verbalized-) noun and/or an adjective stem. Markers, -s- and -s(i) is- are used in interansitive verb roots/stems, whereas -s (i) is- is used in transitive verb roots/stems. In case of nouns and adjectives roots/stems, -s- is used. Additionally, verbalized-noun roots/stems can be causativized by -siis-, whereas adjective roots/stems can be causativized by -e(e)ff-. Thus, the causativization results in increasing arguments by one or two to the basic structure and transform the arguments. In this case, the basic subject moves to the object position and the applied argument, that is, the causer argument becomes the subject of the derived causal structure. Concerning middle markers of the variety, -(a)at- is marking the middle in verb, noun and adjective roots/stems. However, -(a)aw- is also marking the middle in adjective roots/stems. And middle construction reduces the valency in the variety. In general, the Rayya Afan Oromo variety has markers of causative and middle constructions respectively for increase and decrease valencies in a nutshell.

Keywords: causative, middle, inchoative, auto benefactive and valency

1. Introduction

Rayya Afan Oromo (henceforth RAO) is a scarcely studied variety spoken in Northern Ethiopia (Teferi, 2019). The speakers of the variety are 612 in southern Tigray zone (CSA, 2010). The objective of this paper is describing the valency-adjusting construction in RAO. To describe the variety valency-adjusting construction, it is good to deal with the formation of Oromo moieties between 12th and 15th centuries: Borana and Barentu (Keller, 1995). The two moieties were gradually divided into *Sabbo* and *Gona, Mecha* and *Tulema*, *Rayya and Assabo[4], Sikko* and *Mando*, *Itu* and *Humbanna* (Asmarom, 2006). The first two sets belong to Borana, whereas the rest are branches of Barentu. Though the majority descendants of these moieties are in Oromia National Regional State today, a few descendants settled in Tigray and Amhara National Regional States. A case in point is Rayya and Assabo, which are descendants of Barentu, in Southern Tigray and Northern Wello (Kebede, 2009; Teferi, 2019).

It is believed that Rayya covers the area extending from Ala Wuha in North Wello to Wajjarat in Southern Tigray. As described by Alemu and Sisay (2005 E.C.), Lasta and Wag in the West, Yajju in the South, Endarta in the North and Afar Regional State in the East surround the area. Rayyans call the area Rayya-Rayyuma (literally Rayya is Rayya nothing else). The Rayya Oromos (henceforth RO) live with the Tigrean, Amhara, Agew and Afar ethnic groups in Tigray National Regional State. They are currently found in localities such as Warrabaye, Degaga, Kufkufto, Ta'o, Gerjele, Fachagama, Ganda Chirrecha, Allamata, Ganda Gara, Ta'a, Baso, Hada, Hijira, and Ganda Goro. In addition, they are scantily found around Kobo in North Wello Zone (Kebede, 2009; Mekonnen, 2002).

This paper describes valency-adjusting construction in this variety. This construction incorporates valency-increasing and valency-decreasing tendencies and this paper considers the issue of causative from valency-increasing and that of middle construction from valency-decreasing. Causative construction implies an expression where the caused event is depicted as taking place as a result of someone does something or something happens, that is, if y had not happened, z would not have happened. Causative modify the stem and affect the transitivity.

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[1] It is pronounced as Azebo by Tigrinya speakers, maybe due to phonological process.

Middle construction involves a reduction in valency. As mentioned earlier in this paper, the general objective of this paper is describing the valency-adjusting construction in this variety. Specifically, causative construction and middle construction in RAO were targeted and described.

2. Previous Studies on RAO

Though Afan Oromo has received some attention from linguists, unfortunately most researchers ignored the variety of RAO (Teferi, 2019). To the knowledge of the researcher, the only devoted work to this variety is 'documentation and grammar description' (Teferi, 2019). He documented different genres of the variety's communicative events and described the grammar in general. The work of Kebede (2009) also has included RAO as part of a larger analysis of the Afan Oromo dialect continuum. Additionally, Benyam (1988) and Kebede (1997) have offered an analysis of some aspects of the phonology of the dialect. However, none of them focused on the variety valency-adjusting construction severally.

3. Methods

The study employed a descriptive research design that incorporated qualitative research approach. Two valency-adjusting constructions, causative and middle, were selected purposively by convenient sampling technique. Data for the study were obtained through field linguistics method which covered recording of communicative events and direct elicitation. About three hours of audio corpora were recorded by these data collecting methods. The recording data was edited, and the target issues were transcribed, glossed and translated to English language.

4. Functional Typology of Valency-adjusting Construction

In the syntax, valency refers to the number of complements that are necessary to form a sentence with the verb, while semantically valency refers to the number of arguments that make a proposition out of the verbal head. Thus, a valency-adjusting construction is identical with what is called an operation on semantic cases (Wunderlich, 2012). As described by Payne (2006) among the others, there are two types of valency-adjusting constructions: valency-increasing and valency-decreasing constructions. Valency-increasing constructions are causatives, applicative,

dative shift, dative of interest, and possessors raising; whereas valency-decreasing constructions are middles, reflexives, reciprocals, subject omission passives, object omission anti-passives, object demotion and object incorporation.

Of these two categories, this article focuses on causative and middle constructions in RAO. According to Mous (2012), these valency-adjusting constructions are the usual Cushitic verbal derivations among the others. Thus, in the following sub-sections, the two constructions of RAO are analysed.

4.1. Causative Construction

A causative is a linguistic expression that increases the valency of the verb by introducing the agent/causer argument to a scene (Kroeger, 2005). It "expresses an ordinary event or situation with the addition of a causer, i.e., an AGENT that is external to the situation itself" (Payne, 2006: 258). Thus, a grammatical construction with a causative predicate contains an additional argument, the causer.

Though Afan Oromo is rife with morphological causatives, the shapes of the markers have been remained controversial. Some scholars such as Baye (1986), Dubinsky, Lloret and Newman (1988), Gragg (1976), Griefenow-Mewis (2001), Kebede (2009), Lloret (1987), Owens (1985b), Shimelis (2014), Temesgen (1993), and Tolemariam (2009) list the language causative markers from two to eight types. Except Kebede's study, the rest studies consider -s- [5]and -s(i)is- as Afan Oromo's causative markers in common. These suffixes, -s- and -s(i)is-, can be termed as single/first/direct and double /second/indirect causatives, respectively. The RAO variety has both -s- and -si(i)s- causative markers. The causativization processes of the variety are provided below.

4.1.1. Causativization of Verbs

In most languages of the world, "causatives can be formed from a wide range of verbs, including transitive verbs" (Haspelmath, 1993:92). For intransitive varbs, causativization can be

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[2] The ultimate hyphen indicates as the occurrence of -s is not allowed ultimately rather it needs other grammatical morphemes. This holds true for all bidirectional hyphenated morphemes in this paper.

considered as transitivization (Katamba, 1993). This is why the single causative marker -s- is also used as transitivizing affix of Afan Oromo intransitive verbs in works of Shimelis (2014) and Dubinsky et al. (1988) among others. Table 1 contains an example of transitivization/ causativization in Rayya Afan Oromo intransitive verbs.

TABLE 1

Transitivization/ Causativization Process of Intransitive Verbs

No	Pre-CS root/stem	Gloss	TRR/CS affix	Causativized/ transitivized stem	Gloss
1	k'aar-	traverse	-s-	k'aars-	cause to traverse
2	danf-	boil	-s-	danfis-[damɸis-]	boil something
3	ɗiig-	bleed	-s-	ɗiigs-[ɗiiss-]	cause to bleed
4	bul-	spend night	-s-	buls- [buʃʃ-]	cause to spend night
5	jaaʔ-	flow	-s-	jaas-	cause to flow/out of
6	laal-	look/see	-sis-	laalsis-[laaʃʃis-]	cause to see
7	ɗaal-	takeover/inherit	-sis-	ɗaalsis-[ɗaaʃʃis-]	cause to takeover
8	ɗiis-	abandon	-sis-	ɗiisis-	cause to abandon
9	hor-	prosper	-siis-	horsiis-	cause to prosper
10	dʒibb-	hate	-siis-	dʒibbisiis-	cause to hate

In Table 1, we observe that the morphemes -s- and -si(i)s- add a causative/ transitivity meaning to an intransitive verb of the variety. As indicated in the Table, the transitivising/ causative morpheme -s- is used in the first five pre-causative roots/stems. Note that there are other phonological/ morphological processes in some causativized/ transitivized verb stems- insertion of epenthetic vowel ([2] and [10]), assimilation ([2-4], [6-7]), and deletion of consonant phoneme with or without vowel lengthening compensation ([5] and [8]). In [6-8] of the Table, the causative marker -sis- is used, whereas -siis- is added to *hor-* and *dʒibb-* in [9-10] of the Table. The causative marker -siis- is an allomorph of the marker -sis- that is also analyzed for Hararge Afan Oromo (Shimelis, 2014). In other words, if the ultimate syllable of the pre-causative root/stem is long, -sis- is used, and if it is short or geminated -siis- is used. The only exception that the author noted is *raf-**sis**-* [*raffis-*] 'cause to sleep'.

In addition to the above single (-s-) and double causative (-si(i)s-) morphemes, some pseudo causative markers are also attested as triple or quadruple morphemes. In fact, the new finding of Shimelis (2014) explicates this ambiguity. As to him, the single causative/transitive marker (-s-) and the double causative marker (-si(i)s-) can concatenated in Afan Oromo. Hence, occurrences

of a causativizer -s in adjacency is not permissible, "the initial **s** of each additional causative marker is dropped after the -s of the preceding causative marker" (Shimelis, 2014:102). This is what happens in RAO variety too. Additionally, it should be noted that the deletion of initial causative marker in other ways as indicated in Table 1 [8]. In this example, *ɗiis-*, the final phoneme of the pre-causative root/stem is /s/. And if the causative marker -sis- is appended to it, the causativizer removes its initial -s. Furthermore, if two double causative markers or one single and two double causative markers occur in adjoining manner, they all remove their initial -s except the one occurring immediately after the pre-causative root/stem. Consider an illustrative example in below.

> a. *ɗaal-**sis**-**siis**-* [*ɗaaʃʃisiis-*]
>   takeover/inherit-CS-CS-
>   'Someone caused somebody to make someone else takeover/inherit'
> b. *ɗiig-**s**-**sis**-**siis**-* [*ɗiissisiis-*]
>   bleed-TRR-CS-CS-
>   'Someone caused somebody to make someone else bleed'
> c. *ɗiis-**sis**-**siis**-* [*ɗiisisiis-*]
>   abandon-CS-CS-
>   'Someone caused somebody to make someone else abandon'

In example [a], the initial -s of *-siis-* is removed, whereas in [b], both -sis- and -siis- drop their initial -s. In [c] on the other hand, both double causative markers omit their first -s since the verb root/stem terminating phoneme /s/ as already mentioned. Now, let us look at the causativization process of transitive verbs as exemplified in Table 2.

TABLE 2

Causativization Process of Transitive Verbs

Pre-CS Root/stem	Gloss	CS affix	Causativized Verb stem	Gloss
maam-	call	*-sis-*	*maam**sis**-*	cause to call
ʔidʒaar-	build	*-sis-*	*ʔidʒaar**sis**-*	cause to build
waraab-	fetch	*-sis-*	*waraab**sis**-*	cause to fetch
daak-	grind	*-sis-*	*daak**sis**-*	cause to grind
fuuɗ-	take	*-sis-*	*fuuɗ**sis**-[*fuusis-*]	cause to take/marry
ɲaat-	eat	*-sis-*	*ɲaat**sis**-[*ɲaatʃiʃis-*]	cause to eat
tʃʼuf-	close	*-siis-*	*tʃʼuf**siis**-*	cause to close/shut down
kʼor-	sew/challenge	*-siis-*	*kʼor**siis**-*	cause to sew/challenge

As can be observed in Table 2, the variety's transitive verb roots/stems host the double causative marker rather than the single causative form. As understood from the Table, the suffixation of double causative marker in transitive verbs conveys the meaning of 'cause someone to order someone else'. Similarly, if a transitive verb combines with other structures (for instance ideophone) to form composite verb, than the causativizer is -si(i)s-. For example, *walfuusis-* from (*wal* + *fuud̃-*) + -sis- 'cause to marry each other'. In cases of garaga*ʃʃ-* 'cause to return' and ga*d̃diisis-* 'cause to leave' on the other hand, the causative markers are -s- and -sis- respectively, since both *gal-* and *d̃iis-* are intransitive verbs.

4.1.2. Causativization of (Verbalized-) Nouns or Adjectives

According to Dixon (2012:242-243), "in some languages, an affix with the same form as the causative derivation used on a verb may also be added to an adjective or noun, creating a transitive verb with causative-type meaning". Therefore, a morphological process of causativization/transitivization may also apply to a noun or an adjective. This is what the researcher has come across in RAO variety as indicated in Table 3.

TABLE 3

Transitivization/Causativization Process of (Verbalized-) Nouns or Adjectives

Pre-CS Noun/Adj	Gloss	INCH affix	CS affix	Transitivization/ Causativized Verb stem	Gloss
haraara	reconciliation		*-s-*	*haraars-*	cause to reconcile
ʔarraba	tongue		*-s-*	*ʔarrabs-*	(cause to) insult
jaabbii	riding	*-at-*	*-siis-*	*jaabbatsiis-[jaabbatʃtʃiis-]*	cause to ride
tap'a	game	*-at-*	*-siis-*	*tap'atsiis-[tap'aʃtʃiis-]*	cause to play
saalfii	awe	*-at-*	*-siis-*	*saalfatsiis-[saalfaʃtʃiis-]*	cause to venerate
dirribii	bifold		*-s-*	*dirribs-*	cause to double
gabaabaa	short		*-s-*	*gabaabs-*	cause to shorten
guddaa	big/large		*-s-*	*guddis-*	cause to grow
diimaa	red		*-eʃʃ-*	*diim-eʃʃ-*	cause to become red
dʒabaa	strong		*-eeʃʃ-*	*dʒab-eeʃʃ-*	cause to be stengthen

As presented in Table 3, the causative-type meaning of the nouns under causativized/ transitivized verb stems are formed by both single and double causative markers. However, double causative marker is used with middle construction (i.e., following verbalized nouns). In

adjective, only single causative marker is used. Note that, assimilation and epenthesis are involved in the process.

As presented above, morrphological causative formation generally implies combining morphemes forming a morphological unit within which the idea of causation is expressed or implied. When causative marker is added to intransitive verbs, the causative suffix adds a subject which functions as agent, whereas the inherent subject is displayed as the object. For instance in ɗiig- 'bleed' the subject becomes bleed, however in ɗiigs- 'cause to bleed' the subject is the cause and the action receiver is the object. In double causative, for instance in *ɗiigsisiis-* 'someone caused somebody to make someone else bleed', there are causer; agent of cause and causee; agent of effect. Transitive verbs are causativized by the affixation of -sis-/-siis-. The word '*ʔarraba'* becomes causative after being given by affixation -s- to form causative construction. The same holds true for adjective by affixation of -s- and -eʃʃ-/-eeʃʃ-.

4.2. Middle Construction

The notion middle construction has been used in a variety of senses: subject-reflexive interpretation and benefactive/malefactive interpretation are among others (Mous, 2012:405). According to Payne (2006:246), what all these "constructions have in common is that they involve a reduction in valence". According to him, middle construction is neither passive nor active, it is in between. He also defines the middle construction in general as it denotes a transitive situation in terms of the property of the patient-subject that contributes to the activity. Lyons (1968:373) on the other hand describes middle construction as it is used to express events in which "the 'action' or 'state' affects the subject of the verb or his interests". In the current study, however, the term middle is taken in a broad sense corresponding to that given in Kemmer (1994) and Shimelis (2014) which states middle as a semantic category that intermediate in transitivity between one-participant and two-participant events.

In Cushitic languages, the middle voice is very common derivational morphology (Mous, 2012; 2004). As he added, it is mostly marked by "t (or related sounds)" in most east Cushitic languages (Mous, 2004:77). As a member of lowland east Cushitic, the middle derivation in Afan Oromo is marked by the suffix -at- (cf. Appleyard, 2012; Banti, 2004; Baye, 1986;

Hayward, 1975; Owens, 1985a; Shimelis, 2014, and Tolemariam, 2009 among others). As indicated by the scholars, the suffix -at- may realized as -aɗɗ- and/or -atʃʃ-. As reported by Tolemariam (2009) on the other hand, the variety of Mecha uses -(a)ah- and -(o)om- as middle markers in addition to vowel lengthen in -at-. By alluding to middle construction this much, let us look at Rayya Afan Oromo middle markers as exemplified in Table 4.

TABLE 4

Deriving Verb Stems from Other Verb Roots/stems through Middle Markers

Pre-MID Root/stem	Gloss	MID Affix	Middle Verb Stem	Gloss
bit-	buy	*-at-*	*bit**at**-*	buy for oneself
ɗal-	give birth	*-at-*	*ɗal**at**-*	to be born
ɗik'-	wash	*-at-*	*ɗik'**at**-*	wash oneself
feʔ-	load	*-at-*	*feʔ**at**-*	load oneself
gub-	burn	*-at-*	*gub**at**-*	to be burn(t)
hiɗ-	jail/tie	*-at-*	*hiɗ**at**-*	tie for oneself
daak-	grind	*-at-*	*daak**kat**-*	grind for oneself
ʔeeg-	wait	*-at-*	*ʔeeg**gat**-*	wait for oneself
guur-	collect	*-at-*	*guur**rat**-*	collect for oneself
haad-	shave	*-at-*	*haad**dat**-*	shave oneself
hook'-	itch	*-at-*	*hook'**k'at**-*	itch oneself
ʔoof-	drive/mate (animal)	*-at-*	*ʔoof**at**-*	drive for oneself/to be mate
suuf-	scent	*-at-*	*suuf**at**-*	smell for oneself
fuuɗ-	take/marry	*-at-*	*fuɗ**at**-*	take for oneself
hirp'-	subsidize	*-at-*	*hirp'**at**-*	ask for subsidize
ʔarg-	see	*-at-*	*ʔarg**at**-*	get for oneself
guduuff-	tie	*-at-*	*guduuff**at**-*	tie(save) for oneself

As indicated in Table 4, the variety's middle verb stems are derived from the given verb roots/stems by the addition of affix -at-. If there is a long vowel before the final consonants, the middle verb stems are formed by doubling the final consonant of the given roots (consider *daak-*, *guur-*, *ʔeeg-*, *haad-*, and *hook'-*). The same holds true for Hararge variety (Shimelis, 2014). However, the final consonant /f/ remains unchanged for RAO (*ʔoof-* and *suuf-*). Additionally, the rule of geminating the final consonant does not apply to the verb root fuuɗ-. Instead, the rule shortened the long vowel of the root like that of Hararge's variety as reported by Shimelis (2014). Besides the affix -at-, middle verbs can be formed by attaching -ɗ-/-aɗɗ- to the root/stem

forms in first person singular and command constructions. This can be inferred from the following examples.

   a. *ʔani biddeena ɲaat-ɗ-e* [*ɲaaɗɗe*]
      I.NOM food eat-AUBV-PF
      'I ate a food for my advantage'
   b. *ʔani datʃʃee fuud-ɗ-e* [*fuɗɗe*]/*fuud-aɗɗ-e* [*fuɗaɗɗe*]
      I.NOM land take-AUBV-PF/take-AUBV-PF
      'I took a land for my benefit'
   c. *zabana hayila sillaasee-n ɗal-aɗɗ-e*
      period Haile_Silassie-1SG give_birth-MID-PF
      'I was born during the Reign of Haile Silassie'
   d. *ʔati kana k'ab-aɗɗ-u*
      you. NOM this hold-MID-IMP
      '(You), hold this one!'
   e. *k'ursii ɲaat-ɗ-u* [*ɲaaɗɗu*] *dura*
      breakfast (loan) eat-MID-IMP before
      'First, eat a breakfast!'

As apparent from example [a-c], the middle markers of the verbs that narrating about first person singular subject is *-ɗ-* and *-aɗɗ-*. These middle markers also attach to commanding verbs in examples [d and e]. In example [b], both affixes can replace each other, whereas replacing *-aɗɗ-* in place of *-ɗ-* in the first and the last examples is ungrammatical. The reverse is true for examples [a and c]. In the database, only six middle verbs attach both affixes interchangeable. A close inspection of Table 4 and examples [a-e] reveals that all middle affixes occur after verb roots. However, if they occur with transitivizer, they follow the transitive marker. For instance, in *danf-i-s-at-*, boil-ep-TRR-MID- 'boil for oneself', and *tol-s-aɗɗ-*, [toʃʃaɗɗ-] be_nice-TRR-MID- 'make be nice for oneself (1SG)', -s- precedes both *-at-* and *-aɗɗ-*. Note that the position of the markers is reversal with inchoative affix.

In Afan Oromo, the middle form has a wider semantic range of functions (cf. Baye, 1986; Hayward, 1975; Mous, 2004; Shimelis, 2014 and Tolemariam, 2009 among others). Let us consider these functions in RAO variety.

4.2.1. Auto benefactive Middle

The auto benefactive middle indicates that a subject performs something for its own benefit. It "is a type of middle action where the actor is a beneficiary of his/her own action" (Shimelis,

2014:196). Auto benefactive is the most productive sense of middle derivation in Afan Oromo. This holds true for the language's variety under investigation. In examples below, the bolded affixes indicate that the action encoded by the verb is beneficial in some way to the subject.

> a. *Ɂisii-n buna danf-i-s-**at**-t-e*
>   she-NOM coffee boil-ep-TRR-AUBV-3SG.F-PF
>   'She boiled a coffee for her own benefit'
> b. *Ɂinni mataa dik'-**at**-e*
>   he. NOM head wash-AUBV-PF
>   'He washed his head for his own benefit'
> c. *Ɂani Ɂisii san k'ab-**aɗɗ**-e*
>   I.NOM she.DO that hold-AUBV-PF
>   'I held her for my advantage'
> d. *Ɂani biddeena ɲaat-**ɗ**-e* [*ɲaaɗɗe*]
>   I.NOM food eat-AUBV-PF
>   'I ate a food for my advantage'

All the verb roots/stems with which the auto benefactive middle affixes occur in example [a-d] are transitive. The first stem *danfis-* is transivitised by -s-, whereas the rest three roots (*dik'-, k'ab- and ɲaat-*) are naturally transitive. Therefore, the auto-benefactive middle affixes maybe used to drive only transitive roots/stems of the variety. As described by Mous (2012) the notion subject-reflexive can be used instead of auto-benefactive middle. Of course, an auto-benefactive middle marker may need a reflexive clause to become subject-reflexive. For instance, in [b], the doer of the action is not clear unless the reflexive *Ɂuf* 'self' is added to it like; *Ɂinni Ɂuf-iin mataa dik'-at-e* 'he himself washed his head for his own benefit'. On the other hand, the construction *Ɂinni mataa Ɂuf dik'-e* 'he himself washed his head' is also possible (cf. Shimelis, 2009).

4.2.2. Verbalizer Functions of Middle Construction/Inchoative

Inchoative derivations are denominal and/or deadjectival verbalizers. The affixes -(a)at- and -(a)aw- are used to derive verbs from nouns and/or adjectives giving them the meaning 'to a change of state or entering a state' or 'to become'. The marker - (a)aw- functions only with adjectives, whereas -(a)at- is used with both nouns and adjectives. The markers -aat- and -aw- occur twice and once in the database, respectively. Table 5 and 6 indicate inchoatives

TABLE 5

Deriving Verb Stems from Noun through Middle Markers

Noun	Gloss	MID affix	Middle Verb Stem	Gloss
dʒaala	accomplice	*-at-*	*dʒaalat-*	love
hagooga	veil	*-at-*	*hagooggat-*	masked/veil oneself
hamma	range	*-aat-*	*hammaat-*	become difficult
kadaa	entreaty	*-at-*	*kadat-*	entreaty for oneself
dubbii	speech	*-at-*	*dubbat-*	speak
dʒilbiibbii	kneel	*-at-*	*dʒilbiibbat-*	kneel oneself
gaafii	question	*-at-*	*gaafat-*	request
mulʔii	revelation	*-at-*	*mulʔat-*	become seen
mufii	umbrage	*-at-*	*mufat-*	to be sulk
raawii	accomplishment	*-at-*	*raawwat-*	to be accomplish
dahoo	trench	*-at-*	*dahat-*	to be hide out
dungoo	kissing	*-at-*	*dungat-*	to be kiss
rakkoo	trouble	*-at-*	*Rakkat-*	to be trouble
deebuu	thirst	*-at-*	*deebat-*	to be thirst
milʔuu	glance	*-at-*	*milʔat-*	throw a glance at
k'ubannoo	settlement	*-at-*	*k'ubat-*	to be settle
ʔindʒifannoo	victory	*-at-*	*ʔindʒifat-*	defeat

TABLE 6

Deriving Verb Stems from Adjectives through Middle Markers

Adjective	Gloss	MID affix	Middle Verb Stem	Gloss
hap'p'ii	slight	*-at-*	*hap'p'at-*	become slight
hoosa	bad	*-at-*	*hoosat-*	become pale
salp'aa	light	*-at-*	*salp'at-*	become light
k'alʔaa	thin	*-at-*	*k'alʔat-*	become thin
dʒabaa	strong	*-aat-*	*dʒabaat-*	strengthen
gabaabaa	short	*-at-*	*gabaabbat-*	shorten
beela	hungry	*-aw-*	*beelaw-*	to be hungry
k'abbana	cool	*-aaw-*	*k'abbanaaw-*	become cold
k'ullaa	nude	*-aaw-*	*k'ullaaw-*	become nude
dotii	green	*-aaw-*	*dotaaw-*	become green
ʔulfa	pregnant	*-aaw-*	*ʔulfaaw-*	become pregnant
matʃtʃii	drunk	*-aaw-*	*matʃtʃaaw-*	to be drunk

As indicated in both Table 5 and 6, -at- is used in inchoative by lengthen its vowels within two constructions. This is does not happen when it is attached to verb roots/stems. Unlike verb roots/stems, adjectives additionally use the middle marker -(a)aw-, while the rest rules remain similar.

5. Summary and Conclusion

In summary, causative markers in RAO variety are identified as follows. -s- and -sis-/-siis- are used in interansitive verb roots/stems, whereas -sis-/-siis- is used in transitive verb roots/stems. In case of noun roots/stems, -s- is used, whereas -siis- is used for verbalized noun stems. Adjectives are causativized by affixation of -s- and -eʃʃ-/-eeʃʃ-. In transitive verbs, the morphological causative markers are identified as -sis-/-siis-. Double causative is also identified for both interansitive and transitive verbs in the RAO variety. Concerning middle markers of the variety, -at-/-aat- is marking the middle in verb, noun and adjectives roots/stems. However, -aw-/-aaw- is also marking the middle in adjective roots/stems.

In conclusion, RAO variety has morphological markers of causative and middle constructions. The variety clearly marks both valency-adjusting constructions by using morphemes. Since this paper is limited to the analysis of morphological causative construction, further researchers are suggested to explore lexical and syntactic causatives.

List of Abreviations/Symbols

Abbreviation or Symbol	Meaning	Abbreviation or Symbol	Meaning
1	First person	F	Feminine
3	Third person	i.e.	That is
AUBV	Auto-benefactive	IMP	Imperative
CS	Causative	MID	Middle
DO	Direct Object	NOM	Nominative
ep	Epenthesis/insertion	PF	Perfective
[ ]	Phonetic representation	RAO	Rayya Afan Oromo
	If with number to mean number	SG	Singular
-	Morpheme boundary	TRR	Transitivizer
( )	Optional Element		
/			

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