STRUCTURE OF THE NOUN PHRASE

IN

KAFI NOONOO

BY

GIRMA TESFAYE TEKLE

JUNE 2010

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KAFI NOONOO

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES, ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN LINGUISTICS

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Abstract

*This thesis is an attempt to give a structural description of the Noun Phrase of Kafi Noonoo. In Kafi Noonoo words generally end in a final vowel (usually **-o/oo**) in their lexical entry (i.e. in isolation). Constructions of Noun Phrase structure involve a change in final vowel and/or tone, reduction, or modification of stem-final vowels or consonants.*

*The head of an NP may be a (common) noun, a pronoun, a proper name, or zero; in the last case one of the adnominal elements (demonstrative, quantifier, etc.). The NP takes optional specifiers, namely the demonstratives, genitive NPs of possession and quantifiers. Kafi Noonoo is generally head-final in its NP construction. However, this order can be reversed where there is a need for emphasis on the head noun; in which case, both the head and the modifier are distinct phonological phrases. The unmarked structure of the NP consists of **(Demonstrative) – (Numeral) – (Adjective) – (Genitive) - (NP)**.*

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List of Abbreviations

ACC	Accusative	1SG	1st person singular
[-COUNT]	Uncountable	1PL	1st person plural
[+COUNT]	Countable	2SG	2nd person singular
Dem	Demonstrative	2PL	2nd person plural
FUT	Future	3SG	3rd person singular
FV	Word-final vowel	3PL	3rd person plural
GEN	Genitive	3SGF	3rd person singular feminine
IMP	Imperative		
NOM	Nominative	3SGM	3rd person singular masculine
NP	Noun Phrase		
NUM	Numeral		
ORD	Ordinal		
PP	Postpositional Phrase		
PROG	Progressive		
Pres	present tense		

Note on Transcription

Kafi Noonoo is described as a tone language of two level tones: high and low (Tadesse 1999). In this study tones are assigned High and Low by marking the appropriate diacritic on the tone-bearing units. In addition, due to the unavailability of IPA symbols, the following symbols are used instead of the conventional IPA symbols.

Symbol	Description of the sound it denotes	Examples
č	Voiceless palatoalveolar affricate	**church** (English)
č'	Voiceless palatoalveolar ejective	**ch'**äw (Amharic) 'salt'
š	Voiceless palatoalveolar fricative	**sh**ine (English)
y	Voiced palatal approximant	**y**et (English)
j	Voiced palatoalveolar affricate	**j**ump (English)

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 The Kafa People and Their Language

Kafa, the homeland of coffee, is the name of an old kingdom located in the southwest part of Ethiopia, south of the Gojeb River between roughly 37^0 E and 35^030' E, bordering the Omo River valley on the south, on its east-west course along approximately the 7^0N line (Fleming 1976: 356).

The people of Kafa call themselves Kafecho, their land Kafa and their language, Kafi Noonoo (Tadesse 1999). The people are primarily agrarian, and produce a substantial amount of coffee, enset (false banana), teff, barley, wheat, honey and other cereals. They had their own kingdom (of considerable size and wealth) which they lost in 1897 after a long and severe war against the Shewan ruler, Menelik II (Bahru Zewde 2002: 65-69). Despite their long history of independence, little has been recorded about the people and their language and culture. Some scholars (Cecchi 1880, Cerulli 1926 and Lange 1982) have discussed the history of the people.

Kafi Noonoo (the language of the Kafa people) is spoken in the province of Kafa, located in the southwestern part of Ethiopia. It is also spoken in pockets in Mizan Teferi, Teppi, Sheye Bench and Jimma towns in the southwestern part of the country. According to the 2007 census, it is spoken by approximately 880,251 people. Kafi Noonoo (an SOV word-order language) is an Afroasiatic language belonging to the Omotic family, North Omotic by sub-family, Kafa-Gimojan (or Gonga) by group and Kafa by sub-group (Fleming 1976). According to Tadesse (1999), linguistically, Kafi Noonoo consists of three dialects, none of which have been well-described. Rolf Theil, on the other hand, argues that Kafi Noonoo includes six dialects, which he names Gimbo, Deechi, Xallo, Manjiyoo, Canni, and Geeshi (n.d.). This needs further

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investigation as it is a division made on the basis of the partition of districts in the administrative region. Fleming, on the other hand, says that there are a number of slightly varying dialects which are not well-mapped and not well-described (1976: 357).

Until recently Kafi Noonoo was only a spoken language. However, now it has been reduced to writing and is serving as a medium of instruction at elementary and junior high school levels. It is also used to train teachers at teacher training institutions. The language has also been in use for administrative and judiciary purposes in Kafa zone since May 2008.

1.2 Previous Studies on the Language

As was noted above, very little linguistic research has been done on the language. Published works were done by Cecchi (1880), Cerulli (1926 and 1951), Leslau (1958) and Fleming (1976). There have also been a few unpublished senior essays and master's theses produced by undergraduate and postgraduate students of AAU in the departments of Linguistics and Ethiopian Languages and Literature. Some of the unpublished works include Nega (1984), Kassie (1987), Minwuyelet (1984).

Cecchi (1887) was the first traveler to make a grammatical sketch of Kafi Noonoo, with a glossary of several pages.

Cerulli (1951) provides a description of the phonology, morphology and syntax of Kafi Noonoo. He attempted to describe, in the traditional way, all aspects of the grammar of the language. He greatly improved on earlier descriptions of the language. Cerulli further compiled a comparative lexicon, that is, a Kafi Noonoo-Italian and Italian-Kafi Noonoo vocabulary.

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Leslau (1958) was the first linguist to identify Mocha, a dialect of the Kafa cluster, as a tone language. Apart from tones, he described the phonemes and dealt with the main features of the phonological system, the distribution of phonemes and stress. He identified three tones: high, low and falling, of which a high tone and low tone can occur on either short or long vowels, and a falling tone occurs only on long vowels.

Fleming's 1976 work is the only earlier study written in English that provides information specifically on Kafi Noonoo. His primary concern was to examine studies on Gonga languages for the purposes of historical reconstruction and classification. To this end, he worked out a matrix table of lexical percentages of common retention among these languages (lexicostatistics). He also investigated some aspects of Gonga phonology and morphology for the purposes of the reconstruction. He described the phonemes and attempted to describe the verbal and nominal morphology of the language. He identified 5 vowel and 22 consonant phonemes.

According to Fleming, Kafi Noonoo has 5 short vowels (with allophones) and 5 long vowels, like many other Omotic languages.

i/I	u	i:	u:
e/ɛ	o	e:	o:
a/ɔ		a:	

(Fleming 1976: 366)

This cannot be fully correct since there is a clear phonemic distinction between the vowels [a] and [ä] (see section 2.6). I mention this fact, but will not further discuss the vowel inventory of the language (or other phonological matters) here.

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In Fleming's 1976: 366 analysis, Kafa has 22 consonant phonemes. These are presented as follows.

p	t		č	k	ʔ
p'	t'		č'	k'	
b	d		j	g	
f		š			h
m	n				
w	r l	y			

Minwuyelet's 1984 work is a brief and very theoretically oriented sketch of the Noun Phrase in Kafa. In his data analysis, he failed to recognize the presence and function of tone in the language. His work, moreover, did not consider the function of long vowels and consonant gemination in the language. He identified the fact that Kafa inflects for number, gender and case. He says that nouns inflect for gender, but then argues that none of the modifiers of the noun phrase shows a gender distinction. Moreover, he says that there is no nominative case marker in the language, which is certainly not correct. ¶ Thus this work has many deficiencies, which I have tried to improve on.

Nega (1984) worked on the verb morphology of Kafi Noonoo and the relationship of this language with the other Omotic languages. He briefly described the conjugation of verbs, their inflections and the functions. He also briefly investigated ways of compounding in the language. Phonologically, he described vowel and consonant deletion, vowel harmony, epenthesis, vowel assimilation and lengthening; he also discussed allomorphic alternation in the morphophonemic processes of the language.

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Kassie (1987) discussed the syntactic analysis of the declarative sentence in Kafi Noonoo and the possible word order-patterns of the language using a transformational framework.

Taddese (1999) provided a preliminary description of the tonology of Kafi Noonoo in the framework of autosegmental phonology. In his study, he identified two basic tones, H and L on a relatively level pitch (pp. 24-25). The tone-bearing unit is a mora containing a vowel. Each tone-bearing unit, according to him, can be associated with a single tone only, whereas a single tone can be associated with one or more tone-bearing units. In his study, he observed that if a sequence of high tones is separated by one or more low tones, the second high tone will be lower in pitch than the first high tone (down drift).

Syllables with a short vowel, according to him, are associated with a single tone segment, and syllables with a long vowel are associated with one or two tone segments. This means that Kafi Noonoo is a mora-counting language. The following minimal tone pairs/ triplets illustrate (some) possible tone contrasts:

kášó	'ripe'	**kàšò**	'soul'	**kášò**	'farm tool'
mààč'ò	'abdomen'	**màáč'ó**	'to cut'		
kémó	'to sell'	**kémò**	'to buy'		

Tolemariam (2009) is a detailed study of verbal derivation in several Ethiopian Afroasiatic languages, including Kafi Noonoo and its very close relative Shakki Noonoo.

1.3 The present study

From the studies reviewed above, it is apparent that Kafi Noonoo is in need of a thorough linguistic description, including in particular a syntactic description of phrasal categories. This work, therefore, attempts to describe and analyze the structure of noun phrases in Kafi Noonoo. Particularly it aims at identifying the noun phrase constituents in the structure of the language and showing possible combinations of linguistic elements within the noun phrase. By doing so, the study assumes the following significance:

- Serving as a starting point for those who want to do further study on Kafi Noonoo,
- Providing source materials for other researchers who are interested in descriptive and comparative study of the language,
- It can be useful for pedagogical purposes, i.e. preparing textbooks, literacy materials, lexicographic materials etc. for the speakers of the language,
- The study may be useful for typological classification of the language family and
- Last, but not least, the study may make its own small contribution to the study of universal grammar.

Chapter Two

Kafi Noonoo Nominal Morphology

2.1 Personal Pronouns

In Kafi Noonoo, there are distinct pronoun forms for subject, object, possessive, and reflexive functions. The subject pronouns are also used as possessive adjectives. Concerning the object pronouns, all monosyllabic forms double the stem-final vowel before they attach the object morpheme -**n** or the genitive morpheme -**ččó**. Reflexive pronouns are formed by attaching the morpheme -**k'éll** 'head' to the subject pronoun. Pronouns add the same case endings as nouns: accusative -**n** and genitive -**ččə** or -**ččó**. The only difference is that monosyllabic pronouns lengthen the vowel before -**n** or -**ččó** (but not before –**k'éll**). (There are no monosyllabic nouns).

Pronouns in Kafi Noonoo can be summarized as follows:

	Subject Pronouns	Object Pronouns	Possessive Pronouns	Reflexive Pronouns
1SG	tà	tàán	tàáččó	tàk'éll
2 SG	nè	nèén	nèéččó	nèk'éll
2 SG Respect	íttì/ íttò	íttìn/ íttòn	íttìččó/ íttòččó	íttìk'éll/ íttòk'éll
3 SG Masc.	bì	bìín	bìíččó	bìk'éll
3 SG Fem.	bị́	bîin	bííččó	bík'éll
3 SG Respect	bò	bòón	bòóččó	bòk'éll
1PL	nò	nòón	nòóččó	nòk'éll
2PL	íttò/ íttòší	íttòn/ íttòšín	íttòččó/ íttòšíččó	íttòk'éll/ íttòšík'éll
3PL	bòònò/ bòònòší	bòònòn/bòònòšín	bòònòččó/ bòònòšíččó	bòònòk'éll/ bòònòšík'éll

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2.2 Nominals

In Kafi Noonoo, nouns are inflected for number and case; they have inherent lexical gender, either masculine or feminine. Nominal phrases take head-final vowel (FV) which is marked once only, at the end of the phrase. This vowel indicates the case, number, and gender of the NP; most often it is **-o/ -oo** (in masculine singular) or **-e/ -ee** (in feminine[1] singular). Irregular nominals (very few) end in **-a** or **-i**. Any modifiers that precede the head noun do not take the final vowel. If a modifier follows the head noun (the marked order), then both elements take the FV. The conditioned presence vs. absence of these FVs is evidence suggesting that the **-o/ -oo** or **-e/ -ee** we get word-finally is actually a suffix and not part of the stem.

Taddese (1999: 56-57) classifies Kafi Noonoo nominals into three tonal classes.

(**a**) Class I Nominals. These end in a short vowel with a high tone: **kèt'ó** 'house', **dèč'ó** 'day', **č'ààyó** 'porcupine', **màǎččé** 'female'.

(**b**) Class II Nominals, which end in a short vowel with a low tone: **máč'ò** 'horse', **ʔášò** 'person', **gàáč'ò** 'benefit', **gáč'è** 'female eagle', **kùnáánè** 'bitch'.

(**c**) Class III Nominals, which end in a long vowel with underlying LH tone: **búšòó** 'boy', **gàttòó** 'ox', **k'ààwòó** 'summer', **ʔéč'č'èé** 'mole'.

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[1]Feminine gender in Kafi Noonoo can be also marked by word-final -i (class I only) as in:

č'àày-í	'porcupine FEM'
mììm-í	'cow'
mààm-í	'calf FEM'

-i also serves to indicate diminutive.

č'út'-í	'louse DIM'	**č'út'-ó**	'louse'	**k'èén-í**	'bed DIM'	**k'èén-ó**	'bed'
kèt'-í	'house DIM'	**kèt'-ó**	'house'	**mèèn-í**	'meat DIM'	**mèèn-ó**	'meat'

2.3 Case and Number

The case system of Kafi Noonoo appears to be a normal nominative-accusative system, i.e. not marked nominative. The morphological forms which a Kafi Noonoo noun may take are the nominative, accusative, and genitive, both singular and plural. (There is also a distinct vocative form which will be discussed briefly in sec. 2.3.2) This can be illustrated in the following table.

	Nom Sg	Nom Pl	Acc Sg	Acc Pl	Gen Sg	Gen Pl
house (I)	kèt'ó	kèt'ó/ kèt'ínà?ó	kèt'ó-n	kèt'ínà?ó-n	kèt'ó-ččɔ	kèt'ínà?ó-ččɔ
porcupine (I)	č'ààyó	č'ààyínà?ó	č'ààyó-n	č'ààyínà?ó-n	č'ààyó-ččɔ	č'ààyínà?ó-ččɔ
lake (II)	géjjò	géjjò	géjjò-n	géjjò-n	géjjò-ččɔ	géjjò-ččɔ
ape (II)	šákkò	šákkò/ šákkènà?ó	šákkò-n	šákkènà?ó-n	šákkò-ččɔ	šákkènà?ó-ččɔ
sheep (III)	dòròó	dòròó/ dòrénà?ó	dòròó-n	dòrènà?ó-n	dòròó-ččɔ	dòrènà?ó-ččɔ
boy (III)	bùšòó	bùšììšòó	bùšòó-n	bùšììšòó-n	bùšòó-ččɔ	bùšììšòó-ččɔ
barn (III)	gòtòó	gòtòó/ gòténà?ó	gòtòó-n	gòtènà?ó-n	gòtòó-ččɔ	gòtènà?ó-ččɔ

Most Kafi Noonoo words have a distinct form for each of these six case/number combinations, although there are some exceptions (see 'lake' above). The regular derivation of all forms from the nominative singular stem can be displayed in the following way.

```
                    ┌─→ [+ -Ø or -nà?ó]            = Nom. Pl.
Stem  ──────────────┼─→ [+ -ččɔ]                   = Gen. Sg. (Loc. Sg.)
(=nom.sg.)          └─→ [+ -Ø or -nà?ó + -ččɔ]      = Gen. Pl. (Loc. Pl.)
```
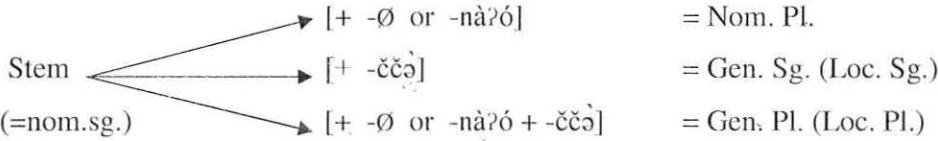
There is an irregular plural with **-šìì-** for two words in the language (see sec. 2.5 below).

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2.3.1 Nominative Case

Nominative case in Kafi Noonoo appears in unmarked contexts: that is, in isolation, in citation form, as subject, object, and in some oblique contexts (i.e. the object of some postpositions). Examples of this are given below.

Nominative Subject

1 a. bùšòó-Ø   ʔààč'ó   kìtt-á   hámm-t-è

   boy-NOM.SG   water   fetch-to   go-PAST-3SGM

   'The boy went to fetch water.'

Nominative Object

2 a. tà kèèjjè kèt'ó   kèmé-t-Ø

   I   three   house-NOM.SG buy-PAST-1SG

   'I bought three houses.'

Nominative Oblique

3 a. bì gúmbòò-ná nòò-n t'òób-t-é

   he   stick-with   1PL-ACC hit-PAST-3SGM

   'He hit us with (a) stick.'

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2.3.2 Vocative Case

Vocative case marks a noun whose referent is being addressed. For some classes of nouns, Kafi Noonoo has a morphological vocative case. For other types of nouns it uses the nominative case as vocative. The vocative can be set off from the rest of the construction by a pause before and/or after.

If a proper name is the addressee, the vocative ending for the masculine gender is -**ó** and for feminine gender optionally -**è**. The proper name takes these endings only in the vocative, not in any other case; a name like 'Dachito' (in Amharic) is actually 'Dachiti' (in Kafi Noonoo). However, the masculine names will be given here in translation as ending in -**o**, to conform with the usual form of the names in Amharic. Thus (the pause is indicated by #):

4   **a. Dáččító # nè   tà   mànòó nè   nè**

        Dachito   you my brother you be   'Dachito, you are my brother.'

    b. nè # Dáččító # tà   mànòó nè   nè

        you Dachito my brother you be   'You, Dachito, are my brother.'

    c. Ɂáwùllàt(è) # nè   tà   mànèé nè   nè

        Awullat   you my sister   you be   'Awullat, you are my sister.'

    d. nè # Ɂáwùllàt(è) # tà   mànèé nè   nè

        you Awullat   my sister you be   'You, Awullat, are my sister.'

When personal pronouns 'you' are used as vocatives, they show no morphological modification: **nè** or **íttò/ íttòší.** The pronoun may be accompanied by a common noun used as a noun of address; if so, a final long -**oo** on the noun will shorten. This does not happen if the noun of address occurs alone, without the pronoun. Thus:

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5   **a. bùšòó # tìb**

       boy   stand   'Boy, stand up!'

    b. nè # bùšó # tìb

       you   boy   stand   ·You boy, stand up!·

    c. dòyèččínàʔó # tìbót

       students   stand   'Students, stand up!'

    d. íttò/ íttòší dòyèččínàʔó # tìbót

       you   students   stand   ·You students, stand up.·

Other examples involving nouns of address:

6   **a. dòònó # nè   šìgò kòní nè**

       lord   your   name who be   'Sir, what is your name?'

    b. génnèé # nè   šìgò kòní nè

       woman your name who be   'Madam, what is your name?'

The words 'lord' and 'woman' occur here in the (unchanged) nominative form.

The addressee noun can be preceded by a modifier; if so, the head noun takes the same vocative morphology which it would otherwise take. Thus:

7   **a. dòònó Kèró # hačč wòb(ót)**

       lord   Kero   here come   'Lord Kero, come here.'

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b. hìn   Kèró #   hačč   wòb(ót)

  this   Kero   here   come   'You Kero, come here.'

c. génnèé   ʔáwùllàt(è) #   hačč   wòb(ót)

  woman   Awullat   here   come   'Madam Awullat, come here.'

2.3.3 Accusative Case

Accusative case in Kafi Noonoo is optionally marked by the suffix **-n**. The presence of the accusative marker is obligatory when the object of the construction is a proper noun, as in:

8   **a. úrò[2]   nòó-n   šálləg̗-t-é**

      man   we-ACC   remember-PAST-3SGM   'The man remembered us.'

     b. úrò   nò   šálləg-t-é

      man   we   remember-PAST-3SGM   'The man remembered us.'

     c. almaazi-n   t'òòb-t-è

      almaz- ACC   hit-PAST-3SGM   'He hit Almaz.'

     *__**d. úrò   almaazi   t'òòbtè**

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[2] **úrò** 'man' and **úrè** 'woman' are definite in Kafi Noonoo. The speakers of the language use these terms for nouns whose referent is already known to the hearer; otherwise, **ʔášò** 'person-indefinite' can be used as in:

ʔášò	**wàà-t-è**	
person	come-past-3SGM	'(a) person came'
úrè	**wàà-t-àn**	
woman	come-past-3SGF	'the woman came'

The question of **-n** vs. **-Ø** as object marker clearly needs careful study; a first approximation is that they seem to be in free variation for most types of nominals. Definiteness does not seem to be a factor.

2.3.4 Genitive Case

The genitive construction in Kafi Noonoo has two possibilities. One consists of the simple juxtaposition of the possessor and possessed, usually in that order. The possessor appears in the (unmarked) nominative case and the possessed appears in whichever case a simple noun would otherwise appear in the matrix clause. In the following example, the possessed appears in the nominative case since a simple noun in citation form takes the nominative.

9   a. màt'í   k'éddò

         bee.NOM.SG   color.NOM.SG   'the color of the bee'

     b. mììmì   ʔéjjó

         cow.NOM.SG   milk.NOM.SG   'milk of the cow'

     c. bùšèé   kèt'ó

         girl.NOM.SG   house   'house of the girl'

The second option for the genitive construction is to use the overt genitive marker -ččə̀.

10   a. màt'í-ččə̀   k'éddò

         bee.GEN.SG   color.NOM.SG   'the color of the bee'

     b. mììmì-ččə̀   ʔéjjó

         cow.GEN.SG   milk.NOM.SG   'milk of the cow'

In more detail, the genitive construction in Kafi Noonoo can be realized in several ways.

(A) By using the suffix **-Ø**. This always involves changing the stem-final vowel to **-e/ ee** or **-i**.

11   **a. šèèkkòó** 'grass'   **šèèkkèé-Ø** 'of grass'

       b. **dòyó** 'learning'   **dòyè-Ø** 'of learning'

       c. génnòó 'women'   **génní-Ø** 'of women'

(B) By using the suffix **-ččə̀**, only if the genitive precedes the head noun.

12   **a. màt'í** 'bee'   **mát'ì-ččə̀ k'éddò** 'color of the bee'

       b. bùšèé 'girl'   **bùšèé-ččə̀ kèt'ó** 'house of the girl'

In forming the **-ččə̀** genitive of some words, there is deletion of the stem-final syllable of the host word, as in:

13   **a. mèènó** 'meat'   **mèè-ččə̀** 'of meat'   (**-nó** is absent)

       b. ʔèèyó 'honey'   **ʔèè-ččə̀** 'of honey'   (**-yó** is absent)

       c. kòšó 'injera'   **kò-ččə̀** 'of injera'   (**-šó** is absent)

       d. kèt'ó 'house'   **kè-ččə̀** 'of house'   (**-t'ó** is absent)

Note that there will be no deletion of the stem-final syllable when the morpheme **-ččə̀** serves a non-possessive function, as in:

14   **a. kèt'ó-ččə̀**   **gùtte**   **húmò**   **ímmì-t-è**

       house-for   two   thousand give-PAST-3SGM

       'he gave two thousand for the house'

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b. kèt'ó-čč*ò* gùtte ?ášò bèè-t-é

house-in   two   person exist-PAST-3SG

'there exist two persons in the house'

This stem-final syllable deletion needs further investigation. (See also sec. 4.1.2.6.)

(C) By using the suffix **-ččó** or **–ččí**. This is a variant of **-ččò** which is used only phrase-finally, that is, only if the head noun precedes the genitive or if the genitive stands alone in a headless construction. The choice between **-ččó** and **-ččí** seems to be governed by the gender of the head noun; a masculine head noun is followed a genitive marked with **-ččó**, and a feminine or diminutive head noun is followed by a genitive marked with **-ččí**. (Note that in all cases, a pre-head genitive will take **-ččò**.) Thus:

15   **a. kèt'ó bùšòó-ččó**   'house of the boy'

      b. kèt'ó bùšèé-ččó   'house of the girl'

      c. kùnáánè bùšòó-ččí   'bitch of the boy'

      d. mììmì bùšòó-ččí   'cow of the boy'

      e. kèt'í bùšòó-ččí   'house (DIM) of the boy'

In these examples, an alternative (and purely phonological) analysis in terms of vowel harmony or vocalic distance assimilation would seem possible: a head noun with **-o** takes genitive **-ččó**, and a head noun with **-i** or **-e** takes genitive **-ččí**. However, two arguments can be made against this:

16

(a) When the head noun is zero (headless construction), then "assimilation" cannot be at work, since there is nothing to assimilate to. Here the choice between **-ččó** and **-ččí** will depend on the gender of the (implicit) object we are thinking of. Thus:

16 **a. bùšòó-ččó**   'the boy's [house (masc.), etc.]'

  b. bùšòó-ččí   'the boy's [cow (fem.), etc.]'

(b) With proper names, the genitive form of a masculine name does not end in **-o**, but the genitive marker is **-ččó** any way. Thus:

17 **a. Dáččítí šìišìinde-ččó**

  b. *Dáččítí šìišìinde-ččí   (See section 4.1.2.4 below)

Note that the case-label "genitive" may be misleading, as the "genitive" also has other functions, e.g. as the case used with locative postpositions and in purpose constructions (see examples in chapter 4).

The genitive **-ččə̀** form of Kafi Noonoo nouns appears preceding a locative postposition. The postposition (meaning of *near X, by X, to X* or *at X*) is obligatory: without it the construction will be ungrammatical. In the following, the full form of 'house' is **kèt'ó**.

18 **a. gàttòó kè-ččə̀ gáʔò-ččə̀ bèè-t-é**

  ox house-GEN near-to exist-PAST-3SG

  'The ox is near the house.'

 ***b. gàttòó kè-ččə̀ bèèté**

Note that **-ččə̀** appears here both on the adposition itself and on its nominal complement. It must appear on the adposition (19a); it can be omitted on the noun, but then the noun must appear in its full, unreduced form (19b). Thus:

19 ***a. gàttòó ke-ččə̀ gáʔò bèèté**

  b. gàttòó kèt'ó gáʔò-ččə̀ bèèté

17

For notational convenience, in the rest of this thesis I will sometimes refer to the post-head genitive in **-ččó/-ččí** simply as the **-ččó** genitive, as opposed to the pre-head genitive in **–ččə̀**.

In general, there is a problem with the genitive marker **-ččə̀** which I have not been able to fully resolve. The marker **-ččə̀** can also serve (apparently) postpositional function 'to/ for'. I am not sure whether these are the "same" morpheme or not. Moreover, under certain circumstances the **-ččə̀** marker can appear reduplicated, i.e. **-ččə̀-ččə̀**; it is not clear what the correct way to an analyze this is (as true reduplication? as postposition followed by genitive? something else?). These problems have led to inconsistency in the glossing of **-ččə̀**, which is sometimes glossed 'GEN' and sometimes 'to/ for'. The issue must be left for future research. (See also sec. 4.1.2.6.)

2.4 Possessives

The possessive construction in Kafi Noonoo has the unmarked order possessor-possessee, but the reverse order is possible for emphasis. The possessor can be marked by attaching the genitive case marker **-ččó/-ččí** (if phrase final), or **-ččə̀** (if prenominal).

20	**bùšòó** 'boy'	**búšèé** 'girl'	**kòšó** 'injera'

kòšó bùšòòččó	'injera, the boy's'	**bùšòòččó**	'the boy's'
kòšó bùšèèččó	'injera, the girl's'	**bùšèèččó**	'the girl's'
bùšòòččə̀ kòšó	'the boy's injera'		
bùšèèččə̀ kòšó	'the girl's injera'	(Taddese 1999: 62)	

18

When nominative pronouns ending in a low tone are used in the possessive construction, the final underlying low tone changes to high:

		Underlying	Surface	
21	a. tà	gàttòó —→	tágàttòó	
	my	ox	'my ox'	
	b. nè	gàttòó —→	négàttòó	
	your	ox	'your ox'	
	c. bì	gàttòó —→	bígàttòó	
	his	ox	'his ox'	
	d. bò	gàttòó —→	bógàttòó	
	his/ her	ox	'her/ his ox'	
	e. nò	gàttòó —→	nógàttòó	
	our	ox	'our ox'	
	f. bòònò	gàttòó —→	bòònógàttòó	
	their	ox	'their ox'	

Note also that the pronouns **íttì, íttò** reverse their tones:

		Underlying	Surface
	g. íttì	gàttòó —→	ìttígàttòó
	your	ox	'your ox'
	h. íttò	gàttòó —→	ìttógàttòó
	your	ox	'your ox'

2.5 Plural Formation

The regular pluralization process involves affixation. The nominative singular form is the stem from which the other forms can be derived. The plurals are formed by suffixing -Ø (rare) or **-nàʔó** (usually).

Based on the classification of the respective class nominals, the regular pattern of plural formation of the language can be summarized as follows:

- In Class I Nominals, the terminal vowel **-ó** changes to **-í-** when the plural suffix **-nàʔó** is added.

22   **a. kèt'ó** ⟶ **kèt'- + nàʔó** ⟶ **kèt'ínàʔó**   'house'

      b. č'ààyó ⟶ **č'àày- + nàʔó** ⟶ **č'ààyínàʔó**   'porcupine'

- In Class II nominals, the terminal vowel **-ò** changes to **-è-** when the plural suffix **-nàʔó** is added.

23   **a. máč'ò** ⟶ **máč'- + nàʔó** ⟶ **máč'ènàʔó**   'horse'

      b. ʔàšò ⟶ **ʔàš - + nàʔó** ⟶ **ʔàšènàʔó**   'person'

- In Class III nominals, the terminal long vowel **-òó** changes to **-é**. Note that the stem-final **é** takes high tone.

24   **a. k'éttòó** ⟶ **k'étt- + nàʔó** ⟶ **k'étténàʔó**   'neck'

      b. kàfòó ⟶ **kàf- + nàʔó** ⟶ **kàfénàʔó**   'bird'

      c. ʔìndèé ⟶ **ʔìnd- + nàʔó** ⟶ **ʔìndénàʔó**   'mother'

Irregular nouns, on the other hand, can change singular into plural in the following ways:

- By adding suffix **-Ø** to the singular form:

25 géjjò géjjò-**Ø** 'lakes'

Note that the word **dòònó** 'lord' involves the same zero-pluralization processes, but with an internal change of **n** to **ŋ+jj** in the surface form. Such internal change is highly exceptional. Thus:

26 dòònó dòònjjó   'lords'

- By changing word-final (short or long) vowel **-e** or **-i** to (short or long) **-o**:

27 **a.** màààččé màààččó 'females'

  b. génnèé génnòó   'women'

  c. mììmí mììmó   'cows'

Note that it is also possible for this last type of nouns to form their plurals by suffixing **- nàʔó**:

28 **a.** màààččé màààččénàʔó 'females'

  b. génnèé génnínàʔó   'women'

Two nominals, **bùšòó** 'boy' and **gììšó** 'small', form their plurals in a very irregular way:

	SG	PL	GLOSS
29	**a. bùšòó**	**bùšììšòó**	'children'
	b. gììšó	**gìšííšó**	'small ones'

2.6 Numerals

Numerals, like nouns, take the final vowel **-o/ -oo** or **-e/ ee**. The ending vowel of the citation form is generally long and takes LH tone. However, the numeral shows definiteness marking. When the numeral is definite, the vowel becomes low-tone -**à**, and when it is indefinite the vowel becomes low-tone -**ä̀**. This is the only case of a 'definite article' in Kafi Noonoo, as far as I know.

30						
	a. ìkkòó	'one'	**ìkkà**	'the one'	**ìkkä̀**	'someone'
	b. gùttòó	'two'	**gùttà**	'the two'	**gùttä̀**	'some two'
	c. ʔààšìròó	'ten'	**ʔààšìrà**	'the ten'	**ʔààšìrä̀**	'some ten'
	d. ʔààbbòó	'forty'	**ʔààbbà**	'the forty'	**ʔààbbä̀**	'some forty'
	e. bálló	'hundred'	**bállà**	'the hundred'	**bállä̀**	'some hundred'

Chapter Three

Heads and Specifiers

3.1. Nominals

The most common type of noun phrase in many languages consists of a single word which is either a noun or a pronoun (Dryer 2008: 1). Before dealing with the description of the heads and specifiers of the noun phrase in Kafi Noonoo, it is necessary to establish what are considered as nominals. This is based on syntactic criteria. Any lexical item that can be used in the positions of **dàngə̀yó** 'elephant' and **kúrò** 'donkey' (below) can be considered as a nominal.

1
    a. kúrò   **wáà-t-é**

        donkey   come-PAST-3SGM   '(A) donkey came.'

    b. Dáččítí [3]   **dàngíyó-n**   **wùt'ì-t-é**

        Dachito   elephant-ACC kill-PAST-3SGM 'Dachito killed (an) elephant.'

    c. dàngíyó-n   **wùt'òó**   **gòndò-nè**

        elephant- ACC killing   bad   be   'Killing (an) elephant is bad.'

    d. wòdde   **dàngíyí-nàʔó**

        many   elephant-PL   'many elephants'

    e. kúrò   **gááwetó- nè**

        donkey   good   be   '(A) donkey is good.'

Lexical categories that are not nominals do not fit in the positions occupied by nominals, and thus result in the ungrammaticality of the constructions.

2
    a. * wáàté [4]   **k'ìtìté**

        came   died

    b. * č'íínté [4]   **wùt'ìté**

        saw   killed

---

[3] Masculine proper names commonly end in -i in all environments except in the vocative case.

[4] In 2a, b the first verb cannot be part of a serial verb construction because it is explicitly marked as Past.

The nominal position in (1) can be filled in not only by a simple nominal such as **kúrò** 'donkey' and **dàngíyó** 'elephant', but also by a derived nominal, as in:

3   **a. ùyó**   **gòndò nè**

        drinking   bad   be   'Drinking is bad. '

    b. bì **ùyó**   **šùnnìhè**

        he drinking like.present   'He likes drinking.'

    c. bì   **úyò-ččɔ̀**   **wáà-t-é**

        he   drink-GEN come-PAST-3SGM   'He came for a drink.'

    d. wòddì **ùyó**   **gòndò nè**

        much drinking bad   be   'Drinking (too) much is bad.'

    e. hín   **ùyó**

        this   drinking   'this drinking'

    f. hín   **úyò**

        this   drink   'this drink'

ùyó 'drinking' and **úyò** 'drink' (note the tonal difference) are derived nominals which serve the various functions of nominals in examples (3a-f) above.

Proper nouns also count as nominals, as they occur in most of the nominal positions of simple nouns. The following data illustrate this point.

4   **a. Keri** **hàmmɔ̀-t-é**

        Kero   go-PAST-3SGM   'Kero went.'

    b. Keri **k'áč'č'èmòó-n** **wùt'ì-t-é**

        Kero   hyena-ACC   kill-PAST-3SGM   'Kero killed the hyena.'

    c. hín **Daččiti**   **déʔò**   **nè**

        this   Dachito   generous be   'This Dachito is generous. '

The proper nouns **Kero** and **Daččito** (4a-c) above serve the function of nominals. However, not all functions of simple nominals are possible with proper nouns. Adnominal adjectives and numerals, for instance, cannot be used with proper nouns.

24

5   **a. òógä̀**   **kúrò**

       big   donkey   '(a) big donkey'

     b. * òógä̀   **Dačči̇ti**

       big   Dachito

     c. wòddä̀   **kúrò**

       many   donkey   'many donkeys'

     d. * wòddä̀   **Dačči̇ti-nàʔó**

       many   Dachito-PL

Nominals are classified into countable and uncountable nouns, denoted by the feature [+/-COUNT]. This classification depends on the type of quantifiers a nominal may take.

3.2 Nominal Specifiers

Nominal specifiers can fall into various types: articles, demonstratives, possessives, quantifiers, etc. However, the category "article" does not seem to exist in Kafi Noonoo. There are no morphologically visible definite articles in Kafi Noonoo, although numerals do show a special definite form and a special indefinite form (see sec. 2.6). The numeral **ìkkä̀** 'one' can be used as a kind of indefinite article, as in many languages:

6   **a. ìkkä̀**   **dàngíyó**   **wáà-t-é**

       one   elephant   come-PAST-3SGM   '(An) elephant came.'

     b. ìkkä̀   **bùšòó**   **wòččäb**

       one   boy   send.IMP   'Send (a) boy.

Numerals precede the head noun in Kafi Noonoo (see sec. 2.6), and this is true for **ìkkä̀** 'someone' in its use as an indefinite article as well. If the order is violated, the structure will be ungrammatical:

7   *****dàngíyó**   **ìkkä̀**   **wáà-t-é**

       elephant   one   come-PAST-3SGM

3.2.1 Demonstratives

Demonstratives refer to a specific person, a thing, a place or an event in terms of its proximity to the speaker in place, time, or discourse. In Kafi Noonoo, the choice of these depends largely on the direction (location) of the object referred to, specifically for an object that is visible to the speaker. Thus, in Kafi Noonoo **dámb** suffixing **hín / èb**[5] is used for objects located in a position higher (vertically) than the speaker; **dèš** suffixing **hín / èb** is used for objects located in a position lower than the speaker; **bèk'áčč** and **òkk** suffixing **hín / èb** are used for objects located far in front of the speaker. **hín** and **èb** (if they occur alone without any attachment to other demonstratives) are used to refer to objects adjacent to the speaker. The semantic difference (if any) between **hín** and **èb** is not clear to native speakers, including myself. Some of the most common demonstratives and demonstrative combinations are as follows:

dámb(a)	'high up'
dèš	'low down'
hín(í) / èb(í)	'adjacent/ next'
bèk'áčč	'distal front' (a barrier in between the speaker and the thing referred to)
bèk'áčč / òkk èb	'very distal front'
òkk hín	'distal front' (at average distance)

Several of these items are followed by a vowel in parentheses. This vowel is deleted in non-phrase-final position (e.g. prenominally), but surfaces when the demonstrative is used independently (phrase-finally); see below.

---

[5] **èb** is pronounced as **èβ** in this construction.

26

This list of demonstratives can be presented as:

Demonstrative 1   Demonstrative 2

⎛ dámb ⎞   ⎛ hín ⎞
⎜ dèš ⎟   ⎜ èb ⎟
⎜ bèk'áčč ⎟   ⎝   ⎠
⎝ òkk ⎠

The following examples show the adnominal use of the demonstratives in Kafi Noonoo.

8   a. dámb   hín   bùšòó

       that (high up)   this   boy   'that boy high up'

    b. dámb   èb   bùšòó

       that (high up)   this   boy   'that boy high up' (a bit distal)

    c. dèš   hín   bùšòó

       that (low down) this   boy   'that boy low down'

    d. dèš   èb   bùšòó

       that (low down) this   boy   'that boy low down' (a bit distal)

    e. hín / èb   bùšòó

       this   boy   'this boy'

    f. bèk'áčč / òkk   hín   bùšòó

       that   this   boy   'that boy'

27

g. bèk'áčč / òkk   èb   bùšòó

  that   this   boy   'that boy'

The demonstratives can also appear without a head noun, and here an interesting difference emerges between Dem.1 and Dem.2. Without a head noun, the demonstratives **híní** and **èbí** mean "this one". By contrast, the demonstratives of the set Dem.1 are spatial adverbs. Thus **dámbá** means "up there"; it cannot mean "that one up there". To express the latter concept, one must say **dámb híní**. (Note the final **-í** is used on **híní** and **èbí** when used independently, and similarly the final **-a** on **dámbá**.)

The demonstratives of the set Dem.2 normally follow Dem.1, as illustrated above. The reverse order is ungrammatical. But it is possible to bracket Dem.1 by two demonstratives of Dem.2, one preceding and one following Dem.1. These two demonstratives may be the same or different. Thus:

9   **a. èb   dámb   hín   bùšòó**

      this   that   this   boy   'that boy high up'

    b. hín   dèš   èb   bùšòó

      this   that   this   boy   'that boy low down'

    c. hín   bèk'áčč   hín   bùšòó

      this   that   this   boy   'that boy'

    d. hín   òkk   èb   bùšòó

      this   that   this   boy   'that boy'

Thus, it is possible to have the order **(Dem.2) - (Dem.1) - (Dem.2) - (NP)** in the language.

Note also that the demonstratives **bèk'áčč** 'that' and **òkk** 'that' can reduplicate, occurring twice or even 3 or more times to show iconically how far the object referred to is found from the speaker. (Such reduplication with **dámb** or **dèš** would be extremely unusual.) Such expressions are very common in storytelling. Thus:

10   **a. òkk   òkk   èb   bùšòó**

     that   that   this   boy   'that boy'

    b. èb   òkk   òkk   òkk   èb   bùšòó

     this   that   that   that   this   boy   'tha-a-a-at boy'

Such a construction is found in many Ethiopian languages.

All the demonstratives can be used either when pointing to the object or the thing, or facing in the direction of the object or the thing. The demonstratives show no agreement of any type with gender and number (for any distinction) of the nouns they are attached to. Compare the following examples:

11   **a. hín / èb   bùšòó**

     this   boy   'this boy'

    b. hín / èb   bùšèé

     this   girl   'this girl'

    c. hín / èb   gènní-nàʔó

     this   woman-PL   'these women'

In the above constructions, there is no change in the form of the demonstrative **hín**, though the head noun **bùšòó** 'boy' and **bùšèé** 'girl' in (11a & b) are SG, and **gènní-nàʔó** 'women' is PL.

The position of demonstratives in Kafi Noonoo is strictly prenominal; thus:

12　a. *bùšòó　　　　hín / èb　　　　　　　　'boy this'

　　b. *gènní-nà?ó　hín / èb　　　　　　　　'women these'

The phrase-final forms **híní, èbí** can only occur if the demonstrative phrase is headless, functioning as an independent nominal taking the appropriate case marker. Thus:

13　a. híní　mááyò-n　　máà-t-é

　　　this　food-ACC　eat-PAST-3SGM　　　'This one ate (the) food.'

　　b. Keri　híní-n　　t'òòb-t-é

　　　Kero　this-ACC　hit-PAST-3SGM　　　'Kero hit this one.'

　　c. dámb èbi　mááyò-n　　máàté

　　　that　this　food-ACC　eat-PAST-3SGM　'That one ate the food.'

3.2.2 Possessive Pronouns

Possessive Pronouns (see sec. 2.4) can co-occur with head nouns in the language; their function is to indicate possession, and secondarily to show definiteness by restricting the head noun. In Kafi Noonoo, "bare" possessive pronouns must precede the noun they specify. If the possessive pronoun takes -**ččò**, then either order is possible.

14　a. tà/ nò/ nè/ íttì/ bí/ bì/ bòònò (ččò)　　gàttòó

　　　my/ our/ your/ her/ his/ their (GEN)　　ox

　　b. gàttòó　　tàá-ččó/　nèé-ččó/　bòó-ččó

　　　ox　　　　1SG-GEN/ 2SG-GEN/ 3SG-GEN

30

c. mììmí   tàá-ččí/ nèé- ččí / bòó- ččí

cow   1SG-GEN/ 2SG-GEN/ 3SG-GEN, etc

In addition to possessive pronouns, possessive nominals can also be used to serve the same function. The same prenominal position is standard but not obligatory. The genitive noun may be zero-marked or may take **-ččɔ̀**. In the inverted order **-ččó** (or **-ččí**) is required.

15   a. Daččiti (ččɔ̀)   gàttòó

Dachito (GEN)   ox   'Dachito's ox'

b. míímí-nàʔó (ččɔ̀)   ʔéjjò

cow-PL   (GEN)   milk   '(the) cows' milk'

c. dàngìyó (ččɔ̀)   č'ɛ̀ɛ̀ròó

elephant (GEN)   tail   '(the) elephant's tail'

d. *gàttòó   Daččiti

ox   Dachito

e. gàttòó   Daččiti-ččó

ox   Dachito-GEN   'Dachito's ox'

f. mììmí   Daččiti-ččí

cow   Dachito-GEN   'Dachito's cow'

In Kafi Noonoo, an NP may have two or more determiners such as demonstrative(s) and a personal pronoun as in:

31

16 a. hín bì bùšèé bèèllèé nè

    this 3SGM daughter clever be   'This daughter of his is clever.'

    b. òkk èb tà kòrč'ó ʔààt't'ó nè

    that this 1SG book expensive be   'That book of mine is expensive.'

    c. òkk òkk òkk èb bò bùšòó

    that that that this s/he boy   'that boy of hers/ his'

Note that all the constituents — demonstratives, possessive pronouns, and even the head noun — are optional in the construction. Hence, the basic structure can be summarized as: **(Demonstrative) - (Quantifier) - (Possessive pronoun) - (Head Noun).**

In such examples the linear order is always demonstrative followed by possessive pronouns. The reverse order is ungrammatical:

17 a. *bì hín bùšèé bèèllèé nè

    he this daughter clever be

    b. *tà òkk èb kòrč'ó ʔààt't'ó nè

    my that this book expensive be

3.2.3 Personal Pronouns in Apposition

Personal pronouns can also be used as non-possessive, appositional specifiers. The pronouns **tà** 'I', **nò** 'we', **nè** 'you SG', **íttì/ íttò** 'you SG respect', **íttò/ íttòší** 'you PL', **bí** 'she', **bì** 'he', **bò** 'he/she /respect/' and **bòónó/ bòònòší** 'they' can be used to define nouns in this way, as in the following examples.

18　a. tà　Daččiti　dááhɛ̀ró　tà　nè

　　　　I　　Dachito　lion　　I　　be　　　　　　'I, Dachito, am a lion.'

　　b. nò　génnòó　　šúún-èmmó　nò　nè

　　　　we　woman.PL　work-FUT.　1PL　be　　　'We women will work.'

　　c. nè　Kero　bèèllòó　nè　nè

　　　　you　Kero　clever　2SG　be　　　　　　'You, Kero, are clever.'

　　d. bí　k'ààbbèè　bèèllèé　nè

　　　　she　elder　　　clever　　be　　　　　　'She, the elder, is clever.'

　　e. íttó　dòyéččə̀-nàʔó　háčč　wòbót

　　　　you　student-PL　　here　come.IMP　　'You students, come here.'

　　f. bòónòší　gìréčč-nàʔò-n　č'éég

　　　　they　　poor-PL-ACC　call　　　　　　'Call them, (i.e.) the poor.'

3.2.4 Quantifiers and Numerals

Quantifiers restrict the amount designated by the head noun. The following are the common quantifiers in Kafi Noonoo.

wòddòó　　　　　　　'much, many, several'

gííšéččó　　　　　　　'some, small, little, few'

ùbbá/ bùllá　　　　　'all'

č'úút'bàát'è　　　　　'little /a small fraction'

All these quantifiers can occur with both [-COUNT] and [+COUNT] nouns. The following examples illustrate this:

19   **a. wòddằ**   **dàngíyí-nàʔó**   **wáà-t-ètè**

      many/ several   elephant-PL   come-PAST-3PL   'Many elephants came.'

     b. wòddằ   **ʔèèyó**   **kèččètò**   **nè**

      much   honey   sold   be   'Much honey is sold.'

     c. gííšéččé   **dòyèččə̀-nàʔó**

      some/ few   student-PL   'some/few students'

     d. gííšèččé   **ʔéjjò**   **úččä-t**

      some/ little   milk   drink-PAST   'I drank some/a little milk.'

     e. ùbbä/ bùllä   **dòyéččə̀-nàʔó wáà-t-ètè**

      all   student-PL   come-PAST-3PL   'All the students came.'

     f. ùbbä/ bùllä   **ʔààč'ó**   **úfetè**

      all   water   spilt   'All the water spilt.'

     g. č'úút'bàát'è   **émmíšè**

      little   goat   '(a) little goat'

     h. č'úút'bàát'è   **kììhó**

      little   salt   '(a) little salt'

Note that whenever a modifying word ending in **-o(o)** occurs before a noun, it does not normally keep the **-o(o)**; rather, the vowel changes to **-ằ**. If the modifier ends in **-e**, then the **-e** survives unchanged.

34

These quantifiers can also be used without a noun but serving the function of an independent NP in the construction, as in:

20 a. **wòddòó   ùfeté**

      much   spilt   'Much spilt.'

    b. **wòddé-nàʔó   hámm-t-ètə̀**

      many-PL   go-PAST-3PL   'Many went.'

    c. **gííšéččé   úččè-t-Ø**

      some   drink-PAST-1SG   'I drank some.'

    d. **gííšéččé-nàʔó   šággə̀-t-ètə̀**

      few-PL   arrive-PAST-3PL   'Few arrived.'

    e. **ùbbá/ bùllá   ùfeté**

      all   spilt   'Everything/all of it was spilt.'

    f. **ùbbá/ bùllá   ʔátààl-t-Ø**

      all   invite-PAST-1SG   'I invited everyone.'

    g. **č'úút'bàát'è   máà-t- Ø**

      little   eat-PAST-1SG   'I ate a little'

    h. **č'úút'bàát'è-n   yèččí   wàá-t-é**

      small-ACC   catch come-PAST-3SGM 'He brought a small fraction.'

Concerning numerals, there are two types that occur as modifiers of nouns. One of these is cardinal numerals: **ìkkòó** 'one', **gùttòó** 'two, **kèèmó** 'three', **ʔàwùddò** 'four' etc. These contrast with ordinal numerals: **ìkkìnòó** 'first', **gùttìnòó** 'second', **kèèjìnòó**

'third', ʔàwùddìnòó, and so on. Ordinal numbers end with -nè (or with -nòó in isolation). Both cardinal and ordinal numerals always precede the noun. Consider the following examples.

21   a. ìkkä̀   dàngíyó

       one   elephant   'one elephant'

      b. gùttä̀   dàngíyó

       two   elephant   'two elephants' OR

      c. gùttä̀   dàngíyí-nàʔó

       two   elephant-PL   'two elephants'

      d. ìkkì-nè   dàngíyó

       one-ORD   elephant   'the first elephant'

      e. gùttì-nè   dàngíyó

       two-ORD   elephant   'the second elephant'

Cardinal numerals can occur in an NP only if the head noun is [+COUNT], either lexically or as understood in context (see sec. 3.2.6 below). Otherwise, the construction will be ungrammatical, as in:

22   *a. gùttä̀   bùddínó

       two   flour

     *b. kèèjjä̀   ʔàà̌čʼó

       three   water

The ordinal construction always takes the morpheme -nè (as in examples 21d and e above), which is formally the same as the copula. Both cardinal and ordinal numerals

can be used with demonstratives which always precedes the numeral as in the following examples.

23   **a. hín gùttằ dàngíyó dàllòó nè**

      this   two   elephant   thin   be   'These two elephants are thin.'

    b. hín gùttì-nè dàngíyó dàllòó nè

      this   two-ORD elephant thin be   'This second elephant is thin.'

    c. hín gùttì-nè tà dàngíyó dàllòó nè

      this   two-ORD my elephant thin be   'This my second elephant is thin.'

3.2.5 Measure Phrases

The head element of a measure phrase denotes a measuring unit which is itself quantified. Measure phrases in Kafi Noonoo appear with numerals and can specify both [-COUNT] and [+COUNT] nouns as in the following examples.

24   **a. ʔáwùdằ k'òndèé ʔààč'ó**

      four   jar   water   'four jars of water'

    b. ʔáwùdằ góddemmè ʔáŝò

      four   hall   person   'four halls of people'

    c. ʔùùččằ dòóllé bùnòó

      five   cup   coffee   'five cups of coffee'

    d. ìkkằ t'áánèé bàáró

      one   load   corn   'one load (of pack animal) of corn'

37

e. ʔùùččǟ   mággè   mììmó

    five   byre   cows   'five byres of cattle'

f. kèèjjǟ   kààmèélè   gààšòó

    three   car   teff   'three car-loads of teff'

g. gùttǟ   káše   gàttòó

    two   team   ox   'two teams of oxen'

h. yíít'yǟ   gòtèé   bàáró

    nine   barn   corn   'nine barns of corn'

In the above structures, the measure phrases specify the head noun. If the head noun is [+COUNT], the head of the measure phrase can be dropped; the numeral will then modify the head noun directly. However, it is impossible to drop the head of the measure phrase with a [-COUNT] head noun. The result would be a numeral plus a [-COUNT] noun, which is, of course, ungrammatical. Thus:

25   **a.** ìkkǟ   káše   gàttòó

    one   team   ox   'one team of oxen'

    b. ìkkǟ   gàttòó

    one   ox   'one ox'

    c. ʔàwùdǟ   k'òndèé   ʔààč'ó

    four   jar   water   'four jars of water'

    d. *ʔàwùdǟ   ʔààč'ó

    four   water

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Moreover, it is impossible to pluralize measure phrases in Kafi Noonoo, whether they are used with [-COUNT] or [+COUNT] nouns. Otherwise, the construction will be ungrammatical as in:

26   a. *ʔàwùdằ k'òndèé-nàʔó   ʔààč'ó

        four   jar-PL   water

      b. *yììt'ìyằ gòtèé-nàʔó   bààró

        nine   barn-PL   corn

Note that the same combination [NUM, NOUN-PL] is grammatical when it is not used as a measure phrase:

27   ʔàwùdằ   k'òndèé-nàʔó

        four   jar-PL   'four jars'

The entire measure phrase must precede the head noun in the noun phrase; the measure phrase may not be split. Thus:

28   a. *gùttằ   gàttòó káše

        two   ox   team

      b. *ʔàwùdằ ʔààč'ó k'òndèé

        four   water   jar

      c. *ìkkằ bààró t'áánèé

        one   corn   load

However, it is possible to position the head of an NP ahead of the numeral-Measure Phrase combination. Such constructions are often used to emphasize the head noun, and they involve an intonation break immediately after the head noun. For example:

39

29 a. gàttòó gùttä̀ kášò

        ox   two   team   'two teams of oxen'

                                    (lit. ox, two teams)

    b. ʔààč'ó ʔàwùdä̀ k'òndó

        water four   jar   'four jars of water'

                                    (lit. water, four jars)

Finally, the head NP can be omitted entirely; if so, the thing that is counted will be understood from context. Thus:

30 gùttä̀ kášò kèmé-t-Ø

        two   team buy-PAST-1SG   'I bought two teams (of oxen).'

Hence, the basic (non-emphatic) structure of an NP with Measure Phrase structure is **[(Numeral) - (Measure word)] - (Head Noun).** This can be illustrated with the examples:

31 a. gùttä̀ kášä̀ gàttòó kèmé-t-Ø

        two   team ox   buy-PAST-1SG   'I bought two teams of oxen.'

    b. gùttä̀ kášó kèmé-t-Ø

        two   team buy-PAST-1SG   'I bought two teams (of oxen).'

    c. kášä̀ gàttòó kèmé-t-Ø

        team ox   buy-PAST-1SG   'I bought a team of oxen.'

    d. gùttä̀ gàttòó kèmé-t-Ø

        two   ox   buy-PAST-1SG   'I bought two oxen.'

40

e. gàttòó   kèmé-t-Ø

ox   buy-PAST-1SG   'I bought an ox.'

3.2.6 Classifier Phrases

Classifier Phrases consist of a numeral and a head noun. The classifier phrase in turn modifies a head noun which is a collective noun. Like a measure phrase, the classifier phrase is used to count individual instances of the head noun, but additionally it serves to classify the head noun semantically. The commonly used classifiers in Kafi Noonoo are **bààtòó** 'leg', **č'ámmó** 'root', **k'èllò** 'head', **ʔááfó** 'eye (meaning seed)', **dòómbèé** 'vagina (meaning one "ball" of onion)', **šòómèè** 'cob', **nèèt'è** 'stand', **bìnnòó** 'buttock'. The classifier phrase always precedes the head noun.

32 a. ìkkä̀   bààtèé   bùnòó

one   leg   coffee   'one individual coffee plant'

b. ʔàwùdä̀   č'ámm   dìʔó

four   root   cardia   'four individual Cardia trees'

c. kèèjjä̀   k'èllò̀   yàngò

three   head   sorghum   'three individual sorghum plants'

d. gùttä̀   dòómbèè   dúk'ùšòó

two   "ball"   onion   'two individual onions'

e. ʔùùččä̀   šòòmèé   bàáró

five   cob   corn   'five cobs of corn'

41

f. yìlt'ìyằ   nèèt'è   ʔúút'ó

    nine   stand   enset   'nine individual enset plants'

Classifier phrases headed by **ʔààfó** 'seed', for example, itemize the seeds of **bùnòó** 'coffee', **ʔààtó** 'peas', **bàáró** 'corn' etc. as in the following examples.

33   **a. ʔùùččằ   ʔààfèé   bùnòó**

        five   seed   coffee   'five seeds (beans) of coffee'

    b. yìlt'ìyằ   ʔààfèé bàáró

        nine   seed   corn   'nine seeds (kernels) of corn'

    c. kèèjjeằ   ʔààfèé   ʔààtó

        three   seed   peas   '3 seeds of peas (individual peas)'

A word like **bùnòó** 'coffee' is itself polysemous: it can mean coffee plant, coffee bean, or coffee as a drink. The choice of measure phrase or classifier phrase will help to disambiguate polysemous expressions:

34   **a. ìkkằ   bààtèé bùnòó**

        one   leg   coffee   'one individual coffee plant'

    b. ìkkằ   ʔááfèé bùnòó

        one   seed   coffee   'one bean of coffee'

    c. ìkkằ   dòóllé bùnòó

        one   cup   coffee   'one cup of coffee'

In classifiers phrases, the presence of a numeral is normally obligatory, except that 'one' may be omitted and the phrase will then be understood as indicating 'one' even in its absence. Thus:

35　**a. šòòmèé**　**bàáró**　**máà-t-òn**

　　　cob　　corn　　eat-PAST-1PL　　'we ate a cob of corn.'

　　b. nèèt'è　**ʔúút'ó**　**kèmè-t-àn**

　　　stand　　enset　　buy-PAST-3SGF　　'she bought one enset plant.'

This depends partly on the choice of the classifier; the following are extremely odd:

36　**a. ˀbààtèé**　**bùnòó**

　　　leg　　coffee　　　　　　　intended: 'one coffee plant'

　　b. ˀbìnnèé　**ʔúút'ó**

　　　buttock　enset　　　　　　intended: 'one enset plant'

In classifier phrases, as with measure phrases, it is possible to omit the head of the classifier phrase without any change in meaning, but only when the head noun is understood in context as [+COUNT]. Consider the following examples.

37　**a. ìkkằ**　**bùnòó**

　　　one　　coffee　　　　　　'one individual coffee plant'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(NOT: 'one cup of coffee'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　or　'one coffee bean')

b. ʔùùččǎ   bàáró

    five   corn   'five cobs of corn'

c. yììt'ìyǎ   ʔúút'ó

    nine   enset   'nine individual enset plants'

This is also true of other Omotic languages such as Korete and Yem (Binyam 2002, Derib 2004).

The basic structure of an NP with Classifier phrase is thus:

[Numeral - (Classifier)] - (NP)

Chapter Four

Complements

In the present section, the different types of complements that occur with head nouns are examined. These complements are used to modify the head noun. Nominal complements can be phrasal or clausal constituents in type.

4.1 Phrasal Complements

There are 3 types of phrasal complements to a head noun: adjectival, genitival and postpositional.

4.1.1 Adjectival phrases

In Kafi Noonoo, adjectival phrases generally precede the head noun as in:

1   a. dàllä̀   dàngíyó

         thin   elephant   '(a) thin elephant'

      b. bèèllä̀   dòyèččó

         clever   student   '(a) clever student'

      c. mággä̀   ʔàmìyó

         heavy   rain   '(a) heavy rain'

However, adjectives may also occur following the head noun. The reversal of the position adds emphasis to the noun referred to, and is accompanied by an audible intonational break (marked by #).

2   a. dàngíyó # dàllòó

         elephant   thin   '**thin** elephant'

b. dòyèččó # bèèllòó

student   clever   **'clever** student'

c. ʔàmìyó # mággòó

rain   heavy   **'heavy** rain'

If a noun phrase consisting of noun and adjective is plural, then the plural marker will always appear on the noun, and will also appear on a postnominal adjective. Thus:

3   **a. dàllè   dàngíyí-nàʔó**

        thin   elephant-PL   'thin elephants'

     b. *dàllè-nàʔó dàngíyí-nàʔó

        thin-PL   elephant-PL

     c. dàngíyí-nàʔó dàllè-nàʔó

        elephant-PL   thin-PL   'elephants, the thin ones'

     d. *dàllè-nàʔó dàngíyó

Prenominal adjectives do not show any morphological agreement with the noun; they are invariant, irrespective of the case, number and gender of the noun, as in:

4.   **a. dàllè dàngíyí-nàʔó**

        thin   elephant-PL   'thin elephants'

     b. dàllè dàngíyó-n   bèège-t-Ø

        thin   elephant-ACC   see-PAST-1SG   'I saw (a) thin elephant.'

     c. ʔáʔ   émmíšé wáà-t-án

        black   goat   come-PAST-3SGF   'The black nanny goat came.'

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d. ʔááʔ   émmíšé-nàʔó wáà-t-ètè

    black   goat-PL   come-PAST-3PL   'The black goats came.'

However, if the adjective is postnominal, or occurs in a headless phrase, or is used as a predicate adjective, then it does indicate gender, number, and case:

5   **a. dàllè   bùšòó**

        thin   boy   '(the) thin boy'

    b. dàllè   bùšèé

        thin   girl   '(the) thin girl'

    c. bùšòó dàllòó   wáà-t-é

        boy   thin.SGM come-PAST-3SGM   'The boy, the thin one, came.'

    d. bùšèé dàllèé   wáà-t-àn

        girl   thin.SGF come-PAST-3SGF   'The girl, the thin one, came.'

    e. dàllòó   wáà-t-é

        thin.SGM   come-PAST-3SGM   'The thin (boy) came.'

    f. dàllèé   wáà-t-àn

        thin.SGF   come-PAST-3SGF   'The thin (girl) came.'

    g. bùšòó dàllòó   nè

        boy   thin.SGM be   'The boy is thin.'

    h. bùšèé dàllèé   nè

        girl   thin.SGF be   'The girl is thin.'

i. bùšììšòó dàllèé-nà?ó nè

child-PL   thin-PL   be   'The children are thin.'

In Kafi Noonoo, more than one adjective can occur within a single noun phrase; there is no grammatical factor that determines the possible number of adjectives or their linear order in the construction, as in:

6   a. ?áá? dàllè émmíšé

black   thin   goat.FEM   'the black thin nanny goat'

b. dàllè ?áá?   émmíšé

thin   black   goat.FEM   'the thin black nanny goat'

c. ?áá? dàllè gììšə kùp'p'e émmíšé

black   thin small strong   goat.FEM   'the black, thin, small strong nanny goat'

The transposition of the order of the adjectives (of different shape, size, color, quantity, quality etc.) does not lead to ungrammaticality in the language.

4.1.2 Genitive Noun Phrases

The term genitive is used for a construction in which a noun phrase occurs subordinated to the head noun and denotes a "possessor" in a very general sense. Genitive constructions are formed either by simple juxtaposition of Dependent- Head (always in that order), or by suffixing **-ččə** to the dependent (in either order). Genitives normally occur pre-head in the construction; however, in general, the head can precede the genitive (now marked with **-ččó / -ččí**) whenever there is a need for emphasis. The genitive relationship covers many semantic relations like possession, source, purpose, location, time etc. I will discuss only the five types just mentioned.

4.1.2.1 Simple Possessive Genitives

In the simple possessive genitive, the prototype for all other genitive subtypes, the genitive (possessor) noun phrase generally precedes the head (possessed) noun. Pronouns or proper nouns, when they precede nouns, may be interpreted as genitives.

7   **a. tà**   **kèt'ó**

      1SG   house   'my house'

    b. kèt'ó   **tàá-ččó**

      house   1SG-GEN   'my house'

    c. keri   **bùšòó**

      Kero   boy   'Kero's boy'

    c. bùšòó   **keri-ččó**

      boy   Kero-GEN   'Kero's boy'

In the marked genitive construction, the explicit genitive morpheme **-ččə̀** appears following the genitive noun, as in:

8   **a. keri-ččə̀**   **bùšòó**

      Kero-GEN   boy   'boy of Kero' (It is Kero's boy, not any other)

    b. òógä̀   **bùšòó-ččə̀**   **émmíšó**

      big   boy-GEN   goat   'the big boy's goat'

    c. tà   **kè-ččə̀**   **gífè**   **mállètòó**

      1SG house-GEN door color   'my house's door's color'

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d. òóge bùšòó-ččɔ̀ émmíšé mèènó

big boy-GEN goat-GEN meat   'the big boy's meat of goat'

e. òkkèb-ččɔ̀ mèččé

that-GEN wife   'that one's wife'

With **-ččɔ̀**, the inverted order is possible, for emphasis; **-ččɔ̀** becomes **-ččó** (or **-ččí**) phrase-finally, and the Head Noun also takes the word-final vowel(FV):

9 **a. bùšòó Keri-ččó**

   boy   Kero-GEN   'Kero's boy'

  b. bùšèé Keri-ččí

   girl Kero-GEN   'Kero's girl'

  c. émmíšó òóge bùšòó-ččó

   goat big boy-GEN   'the big boy's goat'

Pronouns are similarly interpreted as genitives when they attach the morpheme **-ččɔ̀** or **-ččó** (in the inverted order):

10 **a. tàá-ččɔ̀ kòrč'òó**

   1SG-GEN book   'my book'

  b. kòrč'òó tàá-ččó

   book 1SG-GEN   'book of mine'

  c. nèé-ččɔ̀ émmíšó

   2SG-GEN goat   'your goat'

d. émmíšó   nèé-ččó

   goat   2SG-GEN   'goat of yours'

e. bòó-ččə̀   émmíšó

   his/her-GEN   goat   'his/her goat'

f. émmíšó   bòó-ččó

   goat   3SG-GEN   'goat of his/hers'

Embedded multiple genitives are also possible, as in (6c) above and (9):

11   tà   mànòó-ččə̀ k'órèddòò

      my   brother-GEN clothes   'my brother's clothes'

When a possessive genitive occurs in a construction with one of the other four genitive types mentioned below, it is always positioned after the temporal genitive but preceding all the other types, as in:

12   ʔàànèé tà   gèèší bìtèé(-ččə̀) ʔèèeyó

      last.year my   Gesha tej   honey

      'my last year's Gesha honey used for tej'

4.1.2.2 Source Genitives

Source genitives define the head noun in relation to the item from which it is derived or prepared. See the following examples.

13   a. gààšèé(-ččə̀) kòšó

     teff   injera   'injera made of teff'

b. bàárə̀(-ččə̀)   **dòòč'ó**

    corn   local beer   'beer made of corn'

c. émmíšé(-ččə̀)   **mèènó**

    goat   meat   'meat of goat'

In the structures (13a-c), **gàà šèé** 'teff', **bàárə̀** 'corn' and **émmíšé** 'goat' are nouns that show the genitive relation of a material source of the head nouns.

However, there are also nouns for which, in the folk belief, one cannot possibly say from which material source they are made. Such nouns do not allow source genitive complements, as the material source of such nominals is felt to be unknown (the same point is made for Zayse in Baye, 1990). Hence, such nominals as **ʔààbò** 'sun', **ʔàgènò** 'moon', **šímààyó** 'sky' and **t'ójjénò** 'star' do not have source genitive NPs as their complements.

The source genitives may optionally take **-ččə̀**, as in:

14   **émmíšé(-ččə̀)**   **mèènó**

        goat (GEN)   meat   'meat of goat'

Source genitives must occur adjacent to the head. No other word (like adjectives) can intervene between the source genitive and the head noun.

15   a. *gàà šèé   p'ìt't'áše   kòšó

        teff   nice   injera

    b. *bàárə̀ šààwə́ dòòč'ó

        corn   sweet   beer

c. *émmíšé òógä̀ mèènó

goat big meat

The ungrammaticality occurs here because the adjectives **p'ìt't'ášä̀** 'nice', **šààwə́**
'sweet', and **òógä̀** 'big' are inserted between the head noun and the source genitive.
Phrasal constructions do not allow the insertion of any modifying element not belonging
to the phrase itself. The structure will be grammatical if the adjective precedes the
source genitive, as in:

16 **a. p'ìt't'ášä̀ gààšèé kòšó**

nice teff injera '(a) nice injera of teff'

b. šààwə́ bàárə̀ dòòč'ó

sweet corn beer '(a) sweet beer of corn'

c. òógä̀ émmíšé mèènó

big goat meat '(a) big (piece of) meat of goat'

In these structures, the adjectives **p'ìt't'ášä̀** 'nice', **šààwə́** 'sweet', and **òógä̀** 'big'
directly modify the head nominals. The adjectives can also modify the dependent
nominal. In the following examples, with inverted word order (Head - Genitive), only
this interpretation is possible:

17 **a. kòšó [p'ìt't'ášä̀ gààšèé-ččó]**

injera nice teff-GEN 'injera of nice teff'

b. dòòč'ó [šààwə́ bàárə̀-ččó]

beer sweet corn-GEN 'beer of sweet corn'

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4.1.2.3 Purpose Genitives

Purpose genitive NPs indicate the function or the purpose of the head noun in the structure as in:

18   a. gábet'èé   bààkkòó

        egg   hen   'hen for eggs'

    b. ʔéjjɔ̀   mììmó

        milk   cows   'cows for milk'

    c. góyè   gàttòó

        farm   ox   'ox for farm'

Purpose genitives, like source genitives, can have the morphologically visible suffix -ččɔ̀ on their complements, e.g. :

19   a. dòò-ččɔ̀   bàáró

        beer-GEN   corn   'corn for beer'

    b. mèè-ččɔ̀   gàttòó

        meat-GEN   ox   'ox for meat'

Reversing the nouns in a purpose genitive NP construction leads to a source genitive interpretation. Compare **19a** to **20a**, and **19b** to **20b**.

20   a. bàárɔ̀   dòòč'ó

        corn   beer   'beer of corn'

    b. gàttèé   mèènó

        ox   meat   'meat of ox'

Here purpose genitive NPs are reversed to source genitive NPs. The genitive nouns in (19a, b) express why the corn or the ox is needed; however, in (20a, b) the genitive nouns show the source of the head nouns **dòòč'ó** 'beer' and **mèènó** 'meat' respectively.

Whenever a source and a purpose genitive co-occur within the same NP, the source genitive NP occurs nearest to the head noun and the purpose genitive precedes it.

21   **a. dììrèé(čč̀ə) gàttèé mèènó**

       blessing   ox   meat   'meat of ox for graduation'

    b. bààrèé(čč̀ə) bààrə́ dòòč'ó

       holiday   corn   beer   'beer of corn for holiday'

The reverse order is ungrammatical:

22   **a. *gàttèé   dììrèé   mèènó**

    b. *bààrə́   bààrèé dòòč'ó

Note that the genitive marker can be attached to a purpose genitive whenever it co-occurs with a source genitive.

23   **dììrèé-čč̀ə   gàttèé mèènó**

       blessing-GEN   ox   meat   'meat of ox for graduation'

It is possible in Kafi Noonoo to have two purpose genitive NPs in a single construction, but it is impossible (and apparently logically contradictory) to have two source genitive NPs in a single construction. Consider the following examples.

24   **a. dììrèé   [mèè-čč̀ə   gàttòó]**

       blessing   meat-GEN   ox   'ox for meat for the graduation'

b. bààrèé [dòò-ččɔ̀ bààró]

holiday beer-GEN corn 'corn for beer for the holiday'

*__c. émmíšé__ gàttèé mèènó

goat ox meat

*__d. šèk'èé__ bààrɔ́ dòòč'ó

barley corn beer

In 24c meat can be from goat or ox but not both at the same time.

Like the source genitive (15 a-c), purpose genitives do not allow the insertion of any adjectival modifiers between the purpose genitive and the head noun. This can be illustrated in the following examples as:

25 *__a. mèè-ččɔ̀__ šààwí gàttòó

meat-GEN delicious ox

*__b. dòò-ččɔ̀__ p'ìt't'ášä̀ bààró

beer-GEN nice corn

The construction will be grammatical if the adjective precedes the genitive NP, as in:

26 **a. šààwí** mèè-ččɔ̀ gàttòó

delicious meat-GEN ox 'ox for delicious meat'

b. p'ìt't'áše dòò-ččɔ̀ bààró

nice beer-GEN corn 'corn for nice beer'

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4.1.2.4 Locative Genitives

Locative genitives show the original place or the location of the thing referred to by the noun. In the unmarked order (Genitive - Head), the locative genitive cannot take -**ččə̀**. Thus:

27   **a. šìišìind**   **bùšòó**

       Shishinda   boy   'Shishinda boy'

    b. [*]**šìišìindččə̀** **bùšòó**

       Shishinda   boy

    c. gèèší   **ʔèèyó**

       Gesha   honey   'Gesha honey'

    d. č'ánni   **màà ʔòó**

       Chenna   bull   'Chenna bull'

The head nouns in (27 a-d) **bùšòó** 'boy', **ʔèèyó** 'honey', **mààʔòó** 'bull' are modified by the name of a place to indicate where these items come from.

The reverse order is ungrammatical:

28   [*]**a. bùšòó**   **šìišìind**

    [*]**b. ʔèèyó**   **gèèší**

If (and only if) the locative genitive indicates a nationality, then the reverse order becomes grammatical if -**ččó** is added, as in:

29   **bùšòó**   **káfà-ččó**

       boy   kafa-GEN   'Kafa boy'

Concerning the sequence of genitives in a sentence, the locative genitive must precede the source genitive, and standardly precedes the purpose genitive:

30   **a. šììšìind**   **gààšèé**   **kòšó**

        Shishinda   teff   injera   'injera made from Shishinda teff'

    b. šììšìind   **kò-ččə̀**   **gààšòó**

        Shishinda   injera-GEN   teff   'teff for injera from Shishinda'

    c. gèèší   **bìtèé**   **ʔèèyó**

        Gesha   tej   honey   'honey for tej from Gesha'

    d. gèèší   **ʔèè-ččə̀**   **bìtòó**

        Gesha   honey -GEN   tej   'tej made from Gesha honey'

The reverse order is ungrammatical.

31   *a. **gààšèé**   **šììšìind**   **kòšó**

    *b. **bìtèé**   **gèèší**   **ʔèèyó**

Unlike source and purpose genitives, locative genitives allow the insertion of an adjective before the head noun as in:

32   **a. šììšìind**   **šààwí**   **kòšó**

        Shishinda   delicious   injera   'delicious injera from Shishinda'

    b. gèèší   **p'ìt't'ášä̀**   **ʔèèyó**

        Gesha   nice   honey   'nice honey from Gesha'

It is also possible for an adjective to modify the whole locative genitive construction. Consider the following examples.

33   a. šààwí   [šìšììnd   kòšó]

       delicious   Shishinda   injera   'delicious Shishinda injera'

     b. p'ìt't'áše   [gèèší   ʔèèyó]

       nice   Gesha   honey   'nice Gesha honey'

Note that in 33a, b, the locative is an intrinsic part of the concept ('Shishinda injera'), whereas in 32a, b the locative is an incidental adjunct.

Locative genitives can also serve as a complement of proper nouns, e.g.

34   [šìšìình-ččƏ   Dáččítí]   bèèllòó nè

       Shishinda-GEN Dachito   clever   be   'Dachito of Shishinda is clever.'

The reverse order serves the same function.

35   Dáččítí   šìšìình-ččó   bèèllòó nè

       Dachito   Shishinda-GEN clever   be   'Dachito of Shishinda is clever.'

Locative genitives with proper names are possible only with names of persons as head nouns; with names of places, a relative clause construction must be used instead.

36   [kàfá   bèètƏ   ʔággàrí] díč'č'ààt-nè

       Kafa   exist   Agaro   growing-be

       'Agaro [place-name] (which is) of Kafa is growing.'

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4.1.2.5 Temporal Genitives

Temporal genitives are used to show a specific time relation with the head. The following examples illustrate this.

37   a. yììččə̀ [3]   màayó

      yesterday   food   'yesterday's food'

      b. ʔàànèé   šààč'òó

         last year   hunger   '   last year's hunger'

      c. hànàáččə̀   dòyòó

         today   learning   'today's lesson'

The reverse order is ungrammatical as in:

38   *màayó   yììččə̀

      food   yesterday

When a temporal genitive noun phrase occurs with other genitive noun phrases and/or other complements, it always precedes all other complements. Consider the following examples.

39   ʔàànèé   gèèší   bìtèé   ʔèèyó

      last year   Gesha   tej   honey   'last year's Gesha honey for tej'

---

[3] -ččə̀ is lexicalized as an inseparable part of the words yììččə̀ 'yesterday', yààččə̀ 'tomorrow', and hànàáččə̀ 'today'. Other temporal expressions do not attach this stem-finally, as in: šárə̀tá 'day after tomorrow', šebààtá 'seven (i.e. a week after)', and šárə̀tòóbá 'two days ago'.

Non-initial position produces ungrammaticality:

40 *a. **gèèší**   **ʔààněé**   **bìtèé**   **ʔèèyó**

       Gesha   last year   tej   honey

  *b. **gèèší**   **bìtèé**   **ʔààněé**   **ʔèèyó**

       Gesha   tej   last year   honey

Concerning the overall sequence of genitives, when several types of genitives co-occur in a single construction, the temporal genitive must occur first, then the possessive; the most normal order of the other genitive types is locative, then purpose, then source (although there can be some flexibility regarding the order of locative and purpose). Hence, the general order will be: **Temporal – Possessive – Locative – Purpose - Source - Head Noun**. This can be illustrated in the following examples.

41   a. **ʔààněé**   **tà**   **gèèší**   **bìtèé**   **ʔèèyó**

       last year   my   Gesha   tej   honey

       'my last year's Gesha honey used for tej'

    b. **hànàáččɔ̀**   **bì**   **čʼánni**   **bààrèé**   **bààrɔ́**   **búddìnó**

       today   his   Chenna   holiday   corn   flour

       'his today's flour of Chenna corn to be used for the holiday'

4.1.2.6 Genitives with Double -ččə̀

As was mentioned in chapter 2 (end of sec. 2.3.3), the genitive marker -ččə̀ can sometimes appear reduplicated. The following examples are all grammatical with either one -ččə̀ or two -ččə̀. The reduplicated version is emphatic in some way, but the exact semantic difference is not clear to me, nor is it clear whether the two -ččə̀ are really the same element.

42   **a. ʔèè-ččə̀-ččə̀**   **bìtòó**

        honey-GEN-GEN   tej   'tej from honey'

       b. mèè-ččə̀-ččə̀   **gàttòó**

        meat-GEN-GEN   ox   'ox for meat'

       c. dòò-ččə̀-ččə̀   **bàáró**

        beer-GEN-GEN   corn   'corn for beer'

This double genitive can also occur with "inverted genitives":

       d. bìtòó   **ʔèè-ččə̀-ččó**

        tej   honey-GEN-GEN   'tej from honey'

       e. gàttòó   **mèè-ččə̀-ččó**

        ox   meat-GEN-GEN   'ox for meat'

Note that here the phrase-final vowel (**-o**) only occurs in the second of the two genitive markers.

4.1.3 Adpositional Phrases

An adpositional phrase can serve as a complement of a nominal head in the noun phrase (Bussmann 1996). Kafi Noonoo is strictly postpositional in structure.

The following are noun phrases with a postposition in Kafi Noonoo.

43   **a. nèè-ččǝ̀**   **gòmmó**

       you-for/to   road   'road for/to you'

       b. k'óndèé-t'ǝ̀   **ʔààč'ó**

       jar-in   water   'water in the jar'

       c. k'ààk'èé-t'ǝ̀   **šèt't'òó**

       fire-on   pot   '(a) pot on the fire'

       d. šìkkòó-nà   **k'ítòó**

       knife-with   death   'death by knife'

       e. ʔášòó-yè   **dàmbá**

       human-over   high up   'beyond human beings'

In examples (43a-e), **-ččǝ̀** 'to/ for', **-t'ǝ̀** 'in/on', **-nà** 'with', and **-yè** 'over' are postpositional elements. (Recall the difficulty with the analysis of **-ččǝ̀** mentioned in the previous section.) The postpositional phrase normally precedes the noun it modifies. The reverse order, however, does not lead to ungrammaticality.

44   **a. gòmmó**   **nèè-ččó**

       road   you-for/to   'road for/to you'

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b. ʔààč'ó   **k'óndèé-t'ó**

water   jar-in   'water in the jar'

c. šèt't'òó   **k'ààk'k'èé-t'ó**

pot   fire-on   'pot on the fire'

d. k'ítòó   **šìkkòó-nà**

death   knife-with   'death by knife'

e. dàmbá   **ʔášòó-yè**

high up   human-over   'beyond human beings'

Note that **-t'ɔ̀** shows the same allomorphy as **-ččɔ̀**, namely **-t'ɔ̀** vs. **-t'ó**.

4.2 Relative Clauses

There is no evident formal difference between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses in Kafi Noonoo. The verb always comes at the end of the relative clause. Both orders, Relative Clause – Head and Head- Relative Clause, are possible; the Relative Clause may also be headless. There is no relative particle or linker; however, the relative clause is marked by an intonational break. These topics will be discussed individually below.

In most cases the relative clause precedes the head noun in Kafi Noonoo, as in:

45   **a. yììččɔ̀**   **nè**   **č'ìínne-t**   **úrò**   **k'ìtìté**

yesterday   you   see-PAST   man   died

'The man who you saw yesterday died.'

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b. úrè   kèmè-t   ʔààččòó   ʔààllè-t-ó   nè

woman   buy-PAST   gold   lost-PAST-3SG   be

'The gold that the woman bought is lost'

c. nè   nààggä̀-t   bùšèé   dòyèččə̀   nè

you   insult-PAST   girl   student(fem)   be

'The girl that you insulted is (a) student.'

However, the head noun can also occur at the beginning of the construction, for emphasis:

46   a. úrò   yììččə̀   nè   č'íínne-t- o   k'ìtì-t-ə̀

man   yesterday   you   see-PAST-2SG   die-PAST-3SGM

'The man who you saw yesterday died.'

b. ʔààččòó   úrè   kèmè-t-ó   ʔààllè-t

gold   woman   buy-PAST-3SG   get lost-PAST-3SG

'The gold that the woman bought is lost'

Note that in (46) the relative clause verb (č'íínnètó, kèmètó), which is now phrase-final, takes a FV -ó; contrast (45), where the same verb in non-phrase-final position takes a zero ending. In general, relative clause verbs that precede the head noun seem to show a reduced inflection compare to verbs in independent clauses; however, I have not investigated this.

It is also possible in the language to have a relative construction without a head nominal. In such a headless relative, the FV appropriate to the missing head gets suffixed directly to the relative verb. This can be illustrated in the following examples.

47   a. wàà-t-ó   tà   mànòó nè

        come-PAST-3SGM.NOM my brother be   '(The one) who came is my brother.'

    b. wàà-t-ì   tà   mànèé nè

        come- PAST-3FSG.NOM my sister   be   '(The one) who came is my sister.'

In examples (47a, b), the head nominals are missing; the case, number and gender of the head nominals are marked on the relative verb.

There are several significant structural differences between the two orders, Relative Clause - Head and Head - Relative Clause.

    a) The order Relative Clause - Head is the unmarked order, as is the case for all other kinds of modifiers.

    b) The combination of Relative Clause - Head or Head - Relative Clause (in either order) is always followed by an intonational break. In the unmarked order Relative Clause - Head, there is no break between the Head and the Relative Clause; but in the order Head - Relative Clause, the Head and the Relative Clause are separated by a break. In the following examples, the break is indicated by #.

48   a. jìmmá dòyí bèèt bùšòó # tà   mànòó nè

        Jimma   learn exist boy   my   brother be

        'The boy that is learning in Jimma # is my brother.'

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b. bùšòó # jìmmá dòyí bèètó # tà mànòó nè

boy   Jimma   learn   exist   my   brother   be

'The boy # that is learning in Jimma # is my brother.'

c) In both orders, the head noun takes a FV which expresses case, number, and gender. In the order Head - Relative Clause, the relative clause verb also takes a FV agreeing with the head; this is also true for headless Relative Clauses. But in the order Relative Clause - Head, the verb takes no FV and thus shows no agreement with the head. See examples (45, 46 and 48) above.

These factors argue that the marked order Head - Relative Clause is perhaps better analyzed as an appositional construction. The structure would involve a Head Noun followed by a headless relative clause in apposition:

not   "the boy who came"

but   "the boy, (the one) who came".

Each element in apposition is a separate phrase; this explains the pause in the structure Head - Relative Clause, and also the fact that both the head and the relative clause take the FV. By contrast, the unmarked order Relative Clause - Head represents a tight bond between relative clause and head; there is no pause, and the relative clause verb takes no FV.

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In Kafi Noonoo, it is possible for a single nominal head to have two or more relative clause complements, as in the following examples:

49   a. [yììččə̀   wààt] úrò # [nèè-ččə̀ bì   šigòó-n   gètə̀t-ó] #

yesterday   came   man   2SG-to   3SGM   name-ACC   tell-PAST-3SG.NOM

tà   mànòó   nè

my   brother   be

'The man that came yesterday that told you his name is my brother.'

b. ʔèèyó # [nò   ùbbá màà-t-ó]   #   [nè   wòrgäne-t-ó] #

honey   we   all   eat-PAST-3SG.NOM   2SG   admire-PAST-2SG.NOM

gèèšèé   wàà-t-ó   **nè**

Gesha   come-PAST-3SG.NOM   be

'The honey that we all ate that you admired came from Gesha.'

c. [yììččə̀   wààt-ó]   #   [nèè-ččə̀ bì   šigòó-n

yesterday   come-PAST-3SG.NOM   2SG-to   3SGM   name-ACC

gètə̀-t-ó] #   [káf-ì   bùšèé-n   šààggá   gàbìí

tell-PAST-3SG.NOM   Kafa-NOM   girl-ACC   marry   think.PROG

bèètə̀]   **úrò   tà   mànòó   nè**

exist.3SG.NOM   man   1SG   brother   be

'The man that came yesterday that told you his name that is thinking to marry a Kafa girl is my brother.'

Note that in examples like 49c, with more than one Relative Clause in pre-head position, the FV **will** appear on all Relative Clauses except the last one, i.e. on all

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Relative Clauses except the one that is immediately pre-head. The relative clauses that take a FV will also be followed by a pause.

In the following discussion, I will present the interaction between relative clauses, adjectival phrases and genitive NPs in the matrix clause.

When relative clauses occur with adjectival phrases, the relative clause must come in the peripheral position of the structure. The construction will be ungrammatical if the relative clause is inserted between the adjective and the head noun. Consider the following examples.

50   a. [tà   ʔárìí bèèt]   bèèllèé dòyèččó

       I   know exist clever   student   'the clever student that I know'

    b. bèèllèé dòyèččó [tà   ʔárìí   bèètó]

       clever   student   I   know   exist   'the clever student that I know'

    c. dòyèččó bèèllòó [tà   ʔárìí   bèètó]

       student   clever   I   know   exist   'the clever student that I know'

    *c. bèèllèé [tà   ʔárìí   bèèt] dòyèččó

In the same way, relative clauses cannot occur between genitive and the nominal head. This is true for all types of genitive. Thus:

51   a. [tà   màà-t]   émmìšè   mèènó

       I   eat-past goat   meat   'meat of goat that I ate' (Source)

b. émmìšè   mèènó   [tà   màà-t-ó]

goat   meat   I   eat-PAST-NOM   'meat of goat that I ate'

*__c.__ émmìšè   [tà   mààt]   mèènó

d. [nò   kèmè-t]   bìtèé   ʔèèyó

we   buy-past   tej   honey   'honey for tej that we bought'

e. bìtèé   ʔèèyó   [nò   kèmè-t-ó]

tej   honey   we   buy-PAST-NOM   'honey for tej that we bought'

*__f.__ bìtèé   [nò   kèmèt]   ʔèèyó

g. [hànàáččə̀   tà   màà-t]   yììččə̀   mèènó

today   I   eat-PAST   yesterday   meat

'yesterday's meat that I ate today' (Temporal)

h. yììččə̀   mèènó   [hànàáččə̀   tà   màà-t-ó]

yesterday   meat   today   I   eat-PAST-NOM

'yesterday's meat that I ate today'

*__i.__ yììččə̀   [hànàáččə̀   tà   mààt]   mèènó

j. [ʔàddísààb   tà   č'ìínnè-t]   šìšììnd   bùšòó

Addis Ababa   I   see-PAST   Shishinda   boy

'Shishinda boy that I saw in Addis'   (Locative)

k. šììšììnd   bùšòó [ʔàddísààb   tà   č'íínnè-t-ó]

Shishinda boy   Addis Ababa I   see-PAST-NOM

'Shishinda boy that I saw in Addis'

l. šììšììnd   [ʔàddísààb   tà   č'íínnèt] bùšòó

Within the relative clause construction the head noun can serve various functions:

A) the subject of the relative clause.

52   [___ táà-n   č'íínnə̀-t] bùšòó bùšèé-n   nààgə̀-t-é

             1SG-ACC see-PAST   boy   girl-ACC   insult-PAST-3SGM

        'the boy that saw me insulted the girl.'

B) the object of the relative clause.

53   **a.** [tà ___ č'íínne-t] bùšòó bùšèé-n   nààgə̀-t-é

        I   see-PAST boy   girl-ACC insult-PAST-3SGM

        'The boy that I saw insulted the girl.'   OR

      b. [tà   bì̀n   č'íínnə̀-t] bùšòó bùšèé-n   nààgə̀-t-é

        1SG him   see-PAST boy   girl- ACC insult-PAST-3SGM

        'The boy that I saw insulted the girl.'

C) Possessive within the relative clause.

54   **[(bì)   níhòó   k'ìtə̀-t]   ùró**

         his   father   die-PAST   man   'the man whose father died'

D) Oblique of the relative clause.

55   **[kòrč'ó bìì-ččə̀   tà   kèmmét] ùró**

         book   3SGM-to 1SG   sell-PAST   man

         'the man to whom I sold the book'

Concerning the marking of the grammatical relation of the head noun within the relative clause, Kafi Noonoo is characterized by obligatory pronominal copying in oblique and possessive relative clauses, and optionally in object relative clauses. In this strategy a pronoun that has explicit reference to a Head NP appears inside the relative clause, as in:

56   **híní   nè ùró [bí šígòó-n   tà   báttä̀-t-ó]**

      this.NOM be man his name- ACC I   forget-PAST-NOM

      'This is the man that I forgot his name.' (…whose name I forgot.)

In this relative clause, the pronoun **bi** 'his', referring to **ùró** 'man', is retained within the relative clause in the position required of possessors.

All the above examples were of semantically restrictive relative clauses. Non-restrictive relative clauses are also possible, though there is no structural difference. In the following examples the head noun is a proper noun and its reference is already clear even without the relative clause.

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57   a. **Keri**   [nò   dòjjìí   bèètó]   káfàččó   nè

         Kero   1PL   teach.PROG   exist   kafa-GEN   be

         'Kero, who teaches us, is a Kafa.'

       b. ?ággàrí   [káfá   gùùdoččò   bèètí]   bùnòó   č'óllìí bèèt-nè

         Agaro   kafa   round-in   exist   coffee   grow   exist-be

         'Agaro [place-name], which is in the vicinity of Kafa, grows coffee.'

4.3 Adnominal Noun Complement Clauses

In Kafi Noonoo, English adnominal noun complement clauses have several possible equivalents, some of which overlap with the structure of relative clauses. The following are a few examples.

58   a. **[Kafi Noonoo   mággòó   nè   íímm]   gàbòó**

         Kafi Noonoo   difficult   be   say.present   thought

         'the idea (which says) that Kafi Noonoo is difficult'

       b. [tèèp   wòhó   nè]   íímm   ?íbèròó

         Teppi   far   be   say.present   truth

         'the fact (which says) that Teppi is far'

       c. gíjjè   nè   dè?ó   ?íbèrìtìnòón   nòókìáččòn

         money   2SG   took   being.true   you.deny.NEG

         'You cannot deny the fact that you took the money.'

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d. [nè   bìí-n   ʔárìit]   nábòó   ʔárɔ̀č̌ä̀tò   nè

2SG   3SGM-ACC   knew   reason   known.NOM   be

'The reason (why) you knew him is known.'

e. [bí   wààt   ʔààbò]   bààrèé   ʔààbò   nè

3SGF   came   day   holiday   day   be

'The day (that) she came was a holiday.'

In examples (58 a, b), the complement clause is embedded under a verb of saying. In (58c), the construction is adnominal noun complement clause. In (58d, e), we have a relative clause.

More generally, in Kafi Noonoo, noun clauses can occur not just as complements of nouns, but also as complements of verbs or as a clausal subject of the verb. They occur (at least) in the following environments:

a) As subject of a clause

59   [bì   báttèhé   gètó]   ʔíbèròò   šaahaač̌č̌é

3SGM   forgets   tell.PROG   true   seem. NEG

'That he forgets does not seem true.'

b) As object of a clause

60   [gífò   k'èč̌čó   bèèmó-n]   t'ììšɔ̀t

door   open   exist- ACC   notice.1SG.PAST

'I noticed that the door was open.'

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c) As complement to a noun

61   [gíjjè   nè   dèʔó]   ʔíbèrìtìnòón   nòókkìáččə̀n

        money you take   being.true   you.deny.NEG

        'You cannot deny the fact that you took the money.'

Chapter Five

Summary and Conclusion

5.1 Summary

Here are the possible combinations of linguistic elements in the noun phrase.

In the preceding chapters a description was given of the constituents of the NP in Kafi Noonoo. An NP in Kafi Noonoo can consist of a bare noun, or a headless NP, or a head noun and one or more modifying elements. When a noun phrase has more than one linguistic element within a single structure, the head noun preferentially occupies the final position of the phrase structure. Initial position of the head is also possible, for emphasis; medial position is also found.

The following list of structures is not meant to be complete.

A) Bare noun- the head noun alone can constitute the NP.

1   **a. ùró kèmé-t-é**

      man   buy-PAST-3SGM   'The man bought.'

    b. nò   bèègä-t-òn

      1PL   see-PAST-1PL   'We saw.'

    c. Keri hàmmə̀-t-é

      Kero go-PAST-3SGM   'Kero went.'

B) Headless NP

2   **a. òógò   wáà-t-é**

        big   come-PAST-3SGM   'The big one came.'

C) Head Noun and One Constituent

i) Quantifier + Head N

3   **a. gííšéččé   émmíšè-nàʔó**

        some/ few   goat-PL   'some/few goats'

    b. gííšéččé   kììhó

        little   salt   '(a) little salt'

ii) Demonstrative + Head N

4   **a. hín   bùšòó**

        this   boy   'this boy'

    b. òkk èb   mááyò

        that   this   food   'that food'

iii) Possessive + Head N

5   **a. tà   gàttòó**

        1SG   ox   'my ox'

    b. míímí   ʔéjjò

        cow   milk   '(the) cow's milk'

iv) Adjective +Head N

6   **a. dàllè   dàngíyó**

       thin   elephant   '(a) thin elephant'

    b. dàngíyó   dàllòó

       elephant   thin   '**thin** elephant'

D) Head Noun and Two Constituents

i) Possessive + Adjective + NP

7   **a. bò   génjằ bùšòó**

       3SG   tall   boy   'her/ his tall boy'

ii) Demonstrative + Numeral + NP

8   **a. hín gùttằ dàngíyó**

       this   two   elephant   'these two elephants'

    b. hín gùttì-nè   bùšòó

       this   two-ORD   boy   'this second boy'

E) Head and Three Constituents

i) Demonstrative + Adjective + Possessive + NP

9   **a. hín génjằ tà   bùšèé**

       this   tall   1SG girl   'this my tall daughter'

F) Head and Four Constituents

i) Demonstrative + Numeral + Adjective + Possessive + NP

10   a. èb   gùttì-nè   ʔààt't'   bì   k'órèddòó

        this two-ORD expensive 3SGF garment

        'this, the second, expensive garment of hers'

G) Head Noun + Relative Clause

11   a. nè   č'ìínnä̀-t   ʔààççòó

        you see-PAST gold   'the gold you saw'

H) Head Noun + Two or More Relative Clauses

12   a. [yììččə̀ wààt] úrò [nèèččə̀ bì   šigòó-n gètə̀tó] tà   mànòó nè

        yesterday came man you-to 3SGM name-ACC told   my   brother be

        'The man that came yesterday that told you his name is my brother.'

J) Headless Relative Construction

14   a. wàà-t-ó   tà mànòó nè

        Came-3MSG-NOM my brother be   'The one who came is my brother.'

5.2 Conclusion

This thesis has been concerned with the structure of NPs in Kafi Noonoo. After an initial introductory chapter, chapter two discusses the noun morphology of Kafi Noonoo. The basic classes of nominal are presented, and the phonological qualities they exhibit. Thus, Kafi Noonoo nominatives generally end in **-o/ oo** in masculine gender and **-e/ ee** in feminine gender. This **-o/ oo** or **-e/ ee** constitutes the nominal's Final Vowel (FV), a vowel which always occurs on the nominal in the phrase-final position but is deleted otherwise. Case and number morphology of nominals is also examined. The accusative case is marked by **–n**; the genitive (optionally) by **-ččə̀**; the genitive marker can be reduplicated under conditions which are not clear. Possessive pronouns are the same as subject pronouns except for tone change. Plurals are formed with suffixes **-nàʔó** or **Ø**, or (very rarely) by other methods.

In the third chapter, nominal heads and various types of specifiers are analyzed. Nominals may be either simple or derived (e.g. verbal nouns). Except for the use of the numeral 'one' as an (optional) indefinite article, the language has no articles. Definiteness can be expressed by the use of demonstratives or possessive pronouns; an exceptional case is that of **ùró** 'the man' and **ùré** 'the woman', which would otherwise be **ʔášò** 'person'. Only numerals have an explicit form for definite vs. indefinite. Concerning quantifiers, all quantifiers in the language can occur with both [+COUNT] or [-COUNT] nouns. Measure phrases and Classifier phrases are also examined.

Chapter four studies phrasal and clausal complements of the Head Noun. Phrasal complements include adjectival, genitive, and postpositional phrases. Adjectives generally occur preceding the head noun; they can also follow the head noun for emphasis. Prenominal adjectives do not take a FV and do not show any morphological agreement with the noun; when appearing in postnominal position, in a headless phrase, or when used as a predicate adjective, the adjective does take a FV and shows case, number, and gender.

Several different types of genitive relations were examined. Among the genitive discussed, source and purpose genitives are tightly bound to the head noun. They normally do not allow the insertion of any modifying element between the genitive and the head noun. Temporal genitives hold the initial position in relation to the other complement genitive NPs; all others follow it, in the standard sequence: **Temporal – Possessive - Locative – Purpose – Source - Head Noun.** Postpositional complements normally precede their head noun.

Regarding relative clauses, NPs can be relativized in various positions and functions. There is no apparent difference between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. The basic (but not obligatory) position of relative clause is preceding the head noun. Adnominal noun-clause complements exist, but do not show any single clearly profiled grammatical structure.

The NP in Kafi Noonoo is basically head-final. In general, there seems to be a consistent structural difference between structures of the form Modifier – Head (unmarked) and Head – Modifier (marked). In the unmarked order Modifier – Head, several properties can be observed:

a) There is no pause between Modifier and Head.
b) The modifier does not take phrase-final **-o (o)**.

By contrast, in the marked order Head – Modifier, these properties are found:

a) There is (or can be) a pause after the Head Noun.
b) Both the Head Noun and the Modifier take phrase-final **-o (o)**.
c) This marked order is emphatic.

This argues that the marked order should be seen as an appositional structure:

the book, the big (one)

the house, (that) of John

the man, (the one) who you saw yesterday

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Consistent with this is also the fact that the pure juxtapositional genitive Gen – Head cannot be inverted; only the structure Gen-ččə̀ Head can be inverted. Evidently the structure Gen – Head represents a "tighter" bond than Gen-ččə̀ Head.

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this study is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university, and that all the sources of the material used for this thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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