ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

WORD FORMATION IN KAFI NOONOO

BY

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ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to describe the major word formation processes in Kafi Noonoo. Most Kafi Noonoo words are formed by two word formation processes, i.e. affixation or compounding, and only some words by reduplication and changing the tone pattern. Abstract, agentive, instrumental, action, gerundive (infinitival), and manner nominals are derived from nouns, adjectives and verbs by suffixation. With regard to verbs, there are causative, reciprocal and passive which are derived only from verbs by suffixation. Adjectives are formed from nouns and stative verbs. The main types of compound words are nouns, adjectives and prepositions. They are formed from combinations of the same or different word classes. The third type of word formation process is reduplication. It forms frequentive and adverbial nouns. The fourth is tone. It is used to form nouns and verbs from other nouns and verbs by changing their pitch pattern.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

ABL	ablative
ABT. N	abstract noun
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
AGE.N	agentive noun
CAUS	causative
DET	determiner
EPN	epenthetic
F	feminine
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
IMPV	imperfective
LOC	locative
M	masculine
MAN	manner
NOM	nominative
PASS	passive
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PRS	present
PST	past

RECP	reciprocal
SG	singular
V	verb
Vr	verb root
Vs	verb stem
WFR	Word Formation Rule
1st	first person
2nd	second person
3rd	third person
→	becomes
/ /	enclosed phonemic item
‘ ’	enclosed glosses
[ ]	enclosed phonetic items & WFRs
*	ungrammatical grammar
´	high tone
\	low tone
ø	deleted
+	has the character
–	hasn’t the character

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The People of Kafa

Kafa is the name of an old kingdom located in the south western part of Ethiopia, south of the Gojeb River between roughly 37° E and 35° 30' E, bordering the Omo River Valley generally on the south on its east-west run along approximately 7°N (Fleming, 1976a).

The people call themselves in different ways based on gender. The males are called *Kèfíčó* and the females Kèfíčé (Fleming, 1976a).

The Kafa people are primarily agrarian; their livelihood depends on agricultural products. Their stable food is *inset* 'false banana', but corn, wheat, barley, teff are also important. In addition to agriculture they are known for cattle rearing and producing honey (Taddese, 2001).

According to the population and housing census of Ethiopia in 2007, Kafi Noonoo is spoken by 870,213 people in the area (C.S.A, 2008: 24).

1.2 The Language

Kafi Noonoo[1] is one of the Omotic language which is spoken in Kafa zone, in and around Bonga, in the south west of Ethiopia. According to Fleming (1976a) Kafi Noonoo is an Omotic language which is categorized under Northern Omotic of Kafa-Gimojan in the sub-group of Kafa. The Kafa sub-group is alternatively called Gonga[2]. Kafi Noonoo belongs to South Gonga.

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[1] According to Taddese (2001), the term *nóónòó* means mouth, and *kàfá* is the name of the land. When kàfá is used as an adjective, it becomes Kàfí. Hence, Kàfí Nóónòó literally means the mouth of the Kefa.

[2] The term Gonga has a long tradition of use in the literature as a linguistic term. It represents a language sub-group consisting of Kafi Noonoo, Anfillo, Bosha, Amuru, Naga, Boro (Shinasha) and Guba (Fleming, 1976a).

Regarding the dialects of Kafi Noonoo, Fleming (1976a) states that, linguistically Kafi Noonoo consists of a number of slightly varying dialects. Even if, they are basically geographical dialects, neither of them is well described. The following is the family tree of Omotic languages.

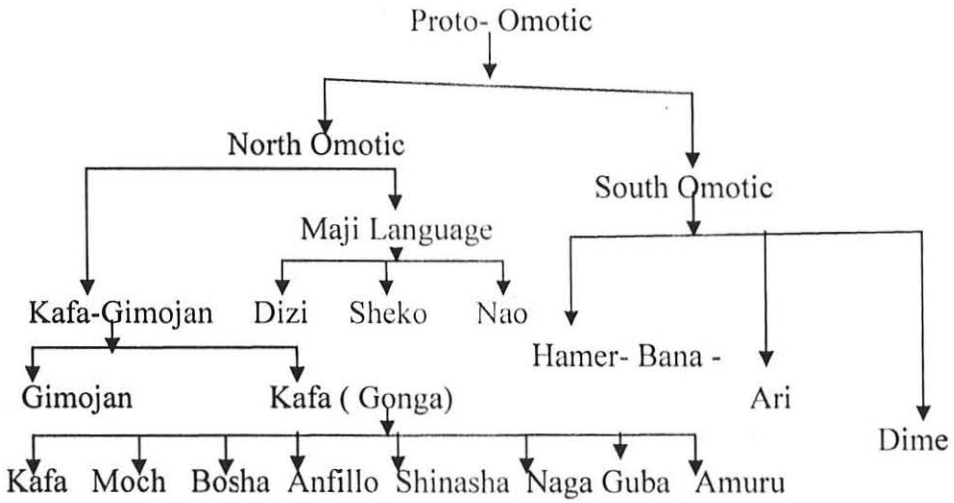


Figure-1 Family Tree of Omotic adapted from Fleming (1976a, p. 300)

Until recently, Kafi Noonoo was only used as spoken language. Following the policy of the existing government which recognizes the right of nation and nationalities to use their languages for all forms of communication in their respective regions, Kafi Noonoo has been introduced as a medium of instruction at the elementary level and as one subject at high school; it is also the administrative language in the Kefa zone.

1.3 Statement of the problem

Despite the fact that Kafi Noonoo is one of the languages that is spoken in south western Ethiopia, little research has been done on the language. Of course, various reasons contributed to this. One of the main problems is the inconvenient situation before 1991. After 1991, some foreigners and Ethiopians have been working on the language, especially on

phonology and morphology. But, as far as I am concerned, no work has been done on word formation of Kafi Noonoo. Hence, this thesis gives an in depth account of the topic.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 General Objective

The general objective of the study is to investigate the possible word formation processes in Kafi Noonoo.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

The following are the specific objectives of the study.

-To identify the affixes used to derive words in Kafi Noonoo.

-To show the processes at which compound words are formed.

-To investigate whether words are formed through reduplication or not.

-To identify if tone has any role in word formation.

-To suggest the possible word formation rules.

1.5 Significance of the Study

This work is expected to have a lot of significance. The researcher hopes that it contributes to the development of the language. It also may serve as a reference material for language teachers and policy designers. Moreover, it can be used as a base for further researchers.

1.6 Scope of the Study

This research is limited in its scope to the word formation processes with special focus on derivation and compounding. Furthermore, the researcher includes other possible word formation processes such as reduplication and tone in Kafi Noonoo, based on the weak lexicalist approach.

1.7 Methodology

To carry out this study different methods have been employed. First available materials concerning Kafi Noonoo were reviewed. Then, the necessary data were collected and recorded from native speakers of the language, Bonga dialect through elicitation based on questionnaires. Finally, the collected data was described and analyzed through the software **Audacity** and **Praat** since the tone pattern difference in the word has its own role in the word formation of the language.

1.8 Review of Related Literature

There is limited linguistic research done on Kafi Noonoo. Most of the previous works have been limited to lists of words, phonology and grammatical sketches. But recently some Ethiopians and foreigners have been studying it. Some of those (the previous & recent) works are reviewed below.

Cecchi (1887) is the first researcher to make a grammatical sketch of Kafi Noonoo with a glossary of several hundred words.

Cerulli (1951) is another scholar who focuses on the description of the phonology, morphology and more generally, the grammar of the language. In this work, he greatly improved earlier descriptions of the language.

Leslau (1958) is the first linguist to identify Mocha, a dialect of the Kafa cluster that has three types of tone: high, low and falling. High and falling tone can occur on short or long vowels, but a low level tone only on long vowels. Moreover, he describes the phonemes and deals with the main features of the phonological system.

Kasa (1970) studies the phoneme system of Kafi Noonoo. He states that the language has 5 vowels and 22 consonants. Moreover, he identifies the segmental phonemes and the phonemic value of consonant gemination and vowel length.

Fleming's (1976a) work is concerned with examining studies made on Gonga languages for the purpose of historical reconstruction and classification. In addition to this, he investigates some aspects of Gonga phonology and morphology for the purpose indicated above. Moreover, he describes the phonemes and attempts to describe the verb and nominal morphology of Kafi Noonoo. In his analysis of phonemes, he states as Kafi Noonoo has 22 consonant and 5 short and long vowel phonemes. They are presented as in table 1 and 2 below.

	Labial	Alveolar	Post Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p b	t d			k g	ʔ
	p'	t'				
Fricative	f		ʃ			h
Affricate				tʃ dʒ		
				tʃ'		
Nasal	m	n				
Liquids		l r				
Glides	w			j		

Table 1- The consonant phonemes of Kafi Noonoo adapted from Fleming (1976b, p. 355).

Short				**Long**		
Front	Central	Back		Front	Central	Back
i		u	High	i:		u:
e/ɛ		o	Mid	e:		o:
	a/ə		Low		a:	

Table 2- The vowel phonemes of Kafi Noonoo adapted from Fleming (1976b, p. 355).

Fleming (1976b) notes that gemination is very common, but never word initially; yielding 40 consonantal contrasts. Regarding the vowels, he states that diphthongs are rare in the language. Except before /y/ and /w/ or noun suffixes /o/, /e/, or /i/, vowels do not combine as diphthongs.

Minwuyelet's (1984) B.A thesis is on the noun phrase in Kafi Noonoo. He identifies the components, the patterns and functions of the noun phrase. Moreover, he shows the agreement between the subject noun and the verb phrase.

Nega (1984) deals with the verb morphology in Kafi Noonoo on his B.A thesis. He identifies the structure and function of inflectional suffixes. Moreover, he describes the conjugation of verbs and morphophonemic processes of the language such as deletion, vowel harmony, epenthesis, vowel contraction and assimilation. He explains these morphophonemic processes in Kafi Noonoo as follows.

The first morphophonemic process is consonant and vowel deletion. In Kafi Noonoo the consonant /h/ which is the present tense marker is deleted before a vowel /o/. As the result of this, there will be a successive vowel occurrence of /i/ or /e/ and /o/. Since the language does not allow a sequence of two non-identical vowels, the first vowel will be deleted (Nega, 1984, p.22). Consider the following examples.

1)	/ *šu:ne-h-o/	
/h/ → ø/- o	/* šu:ne-o/	
/e/ → ø/- o	[šu:no]	'I work'

2) /*wut'i-h-o/

/h/ → ø/ - o /*wut'i-o/

/i/ → ø/ - o [wut'o] 'I kill'

Vowel deletion is also found when a root final /i/ is followed by a suffix which begins with /a/ or /e/. This is illustrated as follow (cf. Nega, 1984, p. 22).

3) /* wut'i-ač-t-an(e)/

/i/ → ø/-a /* wut'-ač-t-an(e)/

/t/ → č/č- [wut'ačča n(e)] 'she did not kill'

4) /*hammi-emm-o-t-one/

/i/ → ø/-e [hammemmotone] 'I shall go' (masc.)

The second morphophonemic process is vowel harmony. This process changes a root final vowel /i/ or /e/ to /a/ if the consonant between the root final /i/ or /e/ and the vowel /a/ of the next syllable is /h/. This may represented as follow (cf. Nega, 1984,p. 23).

$$\left\{\begin{matrix}/e/\\/i/\end{matrix}\right\} \rightarrow [a]/\text{-ha}$$

5) /*šu:ne-h-an(e)/

/e/ → [a]/-ha [šu:na-h-an(e)] 'she works'

6) /*wut'i-h-an(e)/

/i/ → a/-ha [wut'ahan(e)] 'she kills'

The third is epenthesis. In Kafi Noonoo an epenthetic [j] is used to break the sequence of /e/ and /a/, which can be resulted from conjugation of negative marker suffix. Consider the following examples (cf. Nega, 1984, p. 23).

ø → [y] /e-a

7) /*šu:ne-ač-t-e/

ø → [y] /e-a /* šu:ne-j-ač-t-e/

/t/ → [č]/ č- [šu:nejačče] 'He did not work'

An epenthetic vowel [i] is also used to break the sequence of /n/ and /b/ at morpheme boundary. This can be represented as follow (cf. Nega, 1984, p. 23).

ø → [i]/n-b

8) /*šu:ne-an-bet-e/

ø → [i]/n-b /*šu:ne-an-i-bet-e/

ø → [y]/e-a [šu:nejanibete] 'I am not working'

The fourth is vowel contraction. When two identical vowels come one after the other, they become one long vowel. (cf. Nega, 1984, p. 25).

/*keme-emm-o-ta-ne/

/ee/ → [e:] [keme:mmotane] 'I shall buy' (masc.)

The fifth is assimilation. It is the process at which one sound is influenced by its neighboring sound (Birjandi & Ali, 2005, p.131). The following are some of the examples of assimilation found in the language (cf. Nega, 1984, p. 25).

A) /h/ → [č]/ č-

9) /*wut'i-ač-h-ete/

/h/ → [č]/ č- /wut'i-a č-č-ete/

/i/ → ø /-a [wut'ač-č-ete] 'They do not kill'

B) /t/ → { [n] /n- ; [č]/č- }

10) /*wut'i-an-t-o-t-ane/

/t/ → [n]/n- /* wut'i-an-n-o-t-ane/

/i/ → ø /-a [wut'annotane] 'I have not killed' (masc.)

11) /*wut'i-ač-t-ete/

/t/ → [č]/č- /*wut'i-ač-č-ete/

/i/ →ø/-a [wat'aččete] 'They did not kill.'

Aberash's (1985) work shows the kind of verbs of Kafi Noonoo, their phrase structure and the different possible arrangement of the constituents of verb phrase.

Kassie (1987) presents the syntactic analysis of the declarative sentences in the language and their possible patterns. In addition to this, he discusses the structure of declarative sentences in using transformational process and the phrase structure rules.

Taddese (2001) deals with the tonology of Kafi Noonoo. He identifies that the language has rising and falling tones in addition to the two basic tones, high and low. He states that absorption and bridging are the two most pervasive phonologically accountable pitch phenomena in Kafi Noonoo tonology. It means in Kafi Noonoo, when a bimoraic syllable with LH contour occurs followed by H, the sequence LHH undergoes tone absorption resulting in LH. He classifies the nominals and verbs in to different classes (i.e. class I, II, and III) since the Kafi Noonoo tonal alternations are associated with morphological processes. This means there are different vowels referred to as theme vowels[3] that pop up when some suffixes are attached to root forms. Consider the following examples from Taddese (2001, p. 51).

I. Class I Nominals

(a) *kèt'ó → kèt' + - ná?o → két'iná?ó*

'house' PL 'houses'

b) *ànàámó → ànàám - + - ná?o → ànàáminá?ó*

' male' PL 'males'

In this class the terminal vowel /o/ has underlying H, and the theme vowel is always /-i-/ and is high toned.

[3] Theme vowel is the name that represents the stem-final vowel. In kafi Noonoo these vowels do not serve any semantic function; it appears that they are just inflectional class markers, but at the same time they are trigged by the present and past tense morphemes (which are only consonant) due to the syllable structure of the language which does not allow a cluster of consonants or a geminate consonant with in a syllable in word-medial position. They do not show up in cases where suffixes start with a vowel (Taddese, 2001, p.37).

II. Class II Nominals

(a) *bágò* → *bág-* + - *náʔó* → *bágènáʔó*

'sheep' (SG) PL 'sheep' (PL)

b) *máćò* → *máć* - + *-náʔó* → *máćènáʔó*

'horse' PL 'horses'

Here the terminal vowel /o/ has a low tone. The theme vowel in this class is /-e-/ and it has underlying L tone.

III. Class III Nominals

(a) *káfòó* → *káf* _+_ *náʔó* → *káfénáʔó*

'bird' PL 'birds'

b) *k'áwòó* → *k'áw* _ + _ *náʔó* → *k'áwénáʔó*

'gun' PL 'guns'

In this class the terminal vowel is long, i.e.,/oo/ and has an underlying rising tone. The theme vowel of this class bears underlying H tone. But the root can have L or H tone. Since rising tones are disallowed after a H tone, the underlying LH will turn into surface HH tone by the bridge rule.

Moreover, he describes Kafi Noonoo has eight syllable types. These are V, VV, VVC, VCC, CV, CVV, CVC, CVVC or CVVCC. The following examples are adopted from Taddese (p.42).

V	**à**ʃò	'man'
VV	**àá**fò	'eye'
CV	**hà**mó	'to go'
VC	**ám**búkkó	'termite'

VCC	**ànd**	'now'
VVC	**àáf**	'infront of'/ 'before'
CVV	bá**róó**	'forehead'
CVC	**màn**dèrò	'darkness'
CVVC	**dóól**lóó	'antelope'
CVVCC	**yiic'c'**	'yesterday'

Samson (2003) discusses the structure of relative clauses in Kafi Noonoo and finds out that a relative clause and a head noun together form a noun phrase. In addition to this, he shows that Kafi Noonoo relative clause formation employs the strategy of gapping, which is a process that does not represent overtly the relativized NP.

Theil (2007) wrote an article on phonological analysis of Kafi Noonoo. In this work he deals with vowels, consonants (single consonants, geminates, and clusters), tones and morphological alternations (gemination). In doing so his main emphases is on the problems created by sounds only occurring in loanwords.

Tilahun's (2009) M.A thesis is on the morphology of Kafi Noonoo. His finding shows that nouns are inflected for number, gender, definiteness and case; and verbs for agreement, tense, mood and polarity. Besides, he shows that, nouns can be derived from nouns, adjectives and verb stems; adjectives from verbal and noun stems and verbs from verbal stems. Moreover, different grammatical functions of morphemes of the language and four types of pronouns are identified. Even though he discusses some points of the present study, he did not include all types of derived nouns and verbs. Even, some of the morphemes identified need correction. For instance, he identified /-ítínó/ as abstract noun marker. But the middle /t/ should be doubled.

Tolemariam (2009) deals with causatives and passives of Kafi Noonoo in his Ph.D dissertation. His finding shows that vowel /-i-/ and /-e-/ have two different function. When they come at the root final they function as thematic vowel. But, when they come next to the stem final vowel they become causative and passive markers respectively.

1.9 The Present Study

As it is observed from the review of literature, no researcher has dealt with the process of word formation in detail. So, this work is meant to fill this gap. This thesis tries to treat nominalization, adjectivization and verbalization processes of derivation and compounding. It also attempts to investigate other possible word formation process in the language such as reduplication and tone.

1.10 Theoretical Framework

Interest in word-formation has probably always gone hand-in-hand with interest in language in general, and there are scattered comments and works on the subject of word-formation from the time of Panini, who provided a detailed description of Sanskrit word-formation, right up to the present day (Bauer, 1983, p. 2).

However, its development even at present is not that much advanced than what was before. Part of the reason for this is the disagreement between the scholars in using unitary approach in dealing with word formation. Among them for instance, Jespersen, (1974) managed word formation by merging synchronic and diachronic approaches but, others like Bloomfield (1935) considered word formation totally from synchronic point of view; and Koziol (1937) totally from diachronic point of view (Bauer, 1983, p. 2).

If all the above scholars were in position to use a composition of the two, it could be possible to see a better development. In other words, since different linguist had been following a different theoretical assumption after the diachronic and synchronic distinction drawn by De Saussure (1916), it had been difficult to come up with a clear view of word formation (Bauer, 1983, pp. 2-3).

There are also other scholars who have a completely different idea on word-formation. These are American Structuralisms and early Transformational Generative Grammarians. They had not been interested in word formation. Because, the former major interest had been in units smaller than word and the latter was in units larger than word, i.e., the structure of phrases and sentences.

Even if it is so, the "Chomskyan Revolution" in 1957, with the publication of Syntactic Structures (Chomsky, 1957) radically changed the approach to language taken by the majority of the most influential linguists. "This was the time in which word-formation research found itself"(Bauer, 1983, p. 2). Moreover, word formation was treated by two different hypotheses since this time: Transformationlist and Lexicalist.

In the transformationlist hypothesis, works such as Chomsky (1957) and Less (1960) did not consider word formation rules as an autonomous system located in the lexicon. They rather considered word formation process to be part of the transformational component. According to these scholars, the only items in the lexicon were simple words, i.e. those are neither compounds nor derived forms. But it is claimed, since their treatment of word formation process has showed a number of inadequacies. Among these the entire word formation operation was extremely complicated because the rules were unconstrained (Chomsky, 1970). Furthermore, syntactic transformations, which are

regular processes, could not account for the idiosyncrasy found in the derivation of complex lexical items (Chomsky, 1970).

On the contrary, the lexicalist approach advocates that syntax does not have access to the internal structure of words. Thus, Chomsky (1970) strongly argues that words with derivational features cannot be derived syntactically from the deep structure as they should be part of that (Chomsky, 1970; Selkirk, 1982).

The study of word-formation became more important within the Transformational Generative paradigm with the publication of "Remarks on Nominalization" (Chomsky, 1970). It was in this paper that the dichotomy between the 'Lexicalist' and the 'Transformationlist' approaches to lexical insertion was set up as one of the major divisions within the transformational school. This dispute brought the data of word-formation into the centre of linguistic interest, although no change was made in the basic assumption that the words formed were special kinds of sentences whose internal shape was determined by the phonology. (Chomsky, 1970; Bauer, 1983, p. 5).

Following Chomsky's (1970) remarks, two main approaches have emerged within the lexicalist hypothesis: the Strong and Weak Lexicalist approaches. The Strong Lexicalist approach, as discussed by Lieber (1980) and Kiparsky (1982), among others treat both derivation and inflection in the lexicon, and thus, as a morphological process. On the other hand, the Weak Lexicalist approach as proposed by Siegel (1994) and Aronoff (1976), among others, assumes that derivations treated in morphology, whereas inflections in syntax. Still some others like Scalise (1984) believe that inflections can be treated under phonology.

According to Bauer (1983), "word-formation process is classified as derivational and compounding."(p. 34). She states also that derivation is

a process obtained through affixation. Since this study aims at showing how new lexical items are formed by the process of affixation and compounding I follow the framework of the Weak Lexicalist hypothesis outlined in Halle (1973), Jackendoff (1975), and Aronoff (1976) among others. The lexicalist hypothesis stipulates that words with derivational morphology and compounding are not formed by syntactic transformation but rather by morphological transformation in the lexicon. As syntax defines possible sentences, morphology defines possible words in a language (Aronoff, 1976, p. 30). As Halle (1973) proposes, when dealing with lexical items, we take into account the actual and the possible but not the impossible and the non-existent words based on specific language rules.

For the formation of rules, the framework developed by Selkirk (1982) is followed. Her framework shows that "any language has a particular grammar of word structures, which conforms to certain general principles governing the possible word structures in the language" (Selkirk, 1982, p. 9). She adds that while phrase structure rules operate in the syntax, word structure rules operate in the lexicon, and word formation rules constitute one sub-component of the lexicon. The other sub components are the dictionary consisting of freely occurring words and the extended dictionary which includes the list of affixes and other bound forms (Selkirk, 1982, p.10). She adds that native speakers of a language have intuitions about the internal structure of words in their language. Such intuitions are said to be captured by the word structure rules of the language which are known as context free rewriting rules. Every new word formed by a word formation rule must be in the domain of one of the major lexical categories. The assignment of such lexical category helps to infer the relation between mother and daughter nodes in word structures. Furthermore, the relation between mother and

daughter nodes, in turn, is related to the head theory of Selkirk (1982), which proposes that every complex word has a head, which bears the features of the mother node. In light of this, the element with the same category feature with the mother node is considered as the head of the word. In most cases, affixes have the same category features as their dominating nodes, and thus, can be heads.

Regarding compounds, the constituent of the compound which bears the same syntactic category feature as the whole compound is considered as head. The head assigns to the entire word its category by means of a mechanism referred to as percolation. As Selkirk (1982) the concept of percolation is put as follow. "If a constituent α is the head of a constituent β, α and β are associated with an identical set of features (Syntactic and diacritic)"(p. 21).

The other word formation process to be discussed is reduplication. According to Maravesik (1978, p. 319), "reduplication of an element has a semantic effect of iteratively, intensity or frequentativeness to those of the unreduplicated counterparts."

In following this frame work, the study tries to describe the word formation process of Kafi Noonoo.

CHAPTER TWO

2. AFFIXATION

Affixation is one of the major types of word formation process. Bauer (2003) defines affixation as "the process of adding affixes to create new lexemes or may change the syntactic category of the base to which they are added" (p. 27). In Kafi Noonoo nominals, verbs and adjectives are derived from different lexical categories by adding different suffixes. Derivation of these three word classes will be discussed exhaustively in this chapter.

2.1. Nominalization

Nominalization refers to the process of turning noun or other parts of speech to noun (Comrie & Thompson, 1985, p. 349). In Kafi Noonoo various types of nominals such as abstract, agentive, instrumental, result, action (process), gerundive, infinitival, and manner are derived from nominal, verbal and adjectival stems. We will discuss each of them as follow.

2.1.1 Abstract Nominals Derived From Nouns & Adjectives

In Kafi Noonoo abstract nominals are derived from other nominals or adjectives by adding suffix /*-ittìnò*/ to noun. When this suffix is added to nouns or adjectives, the final vowels of the nouns or adjectives are deleted. This is illustrated in the tables 3 & 4 below respectively.

Nouns	Gloss	Derived Nominals	Gloss
a. má:čé	'woman'	*má:č- ìttìnò*	'womanhood'
b. gìdí:rè	'girl'	*gídí:r- ìttìnò*	'girlhood'
c. gú:nò	'slave'	*gú:n- ìttìnò*	'slavery'
d. bùšò	'child'	*bùš- ìttìnò*	'childhood'
e. nù:čò:	'friend'	*nù:c- ìttìnò*	'friendship'
f. àšó	'man'	*àš- ìttìnò*	'manhood'
g. t'íbò:	'relative'	*t'íb- ìttìnò*	'relativeness'
h. níhòó	'father'	*níh- ìttìnò*	'fatherhood'
i. índè:	'mother'	*índ- ìttìnò*	'motherhood'
j.mànè:	'sister'	*màn- ìttìnò*	'sisterhood'
k.mànò:	'brother'	*màn- ìttìnò*	'brotherhood'

Table-3 Abstract Nominals from Concrete Nouns

The above table shows that while the suffix */-ìttìnò/* is added to nouns, all the terminal vowels are deleted to avoid impermissible sequence of two non-identical vowels in the language. Such derived nominals can occur as NP in the sentences like the following:

1a) *àré: gídí:rè-nè*

she girl-be.PRS

'She is a girl'

1b) *àré: bí- gídí:r-ìttìnò -ná gé:c'í<y>án*

she 3GEN- girlhood –of pride<EPN>3SG.F

'She is pride of her girlhood'

1c) *àré: bí-šù:nó-ná gé:c'í<y>án*

she 3GEN-work-of pride<EPN>3SG.F

'She is prides of her work'

In sentence (1a) *gìdí:rè* 'girl' uses as a noun phrase or noun in the verbal phrase *gìdí:rènè* 'is a girl' since its category is noun. In the second sentence (1b) the derived noun *gídí:rìttìnò* 'girlhood' serves as a NP or noun in the prepositional phrase *gídí:r-ìttìnònáˊ* 'of her girlhood' since it replaces the position of non-derived noun *šù:nó* 'work' in sentence (1c).

When we compare the words *gìdí:rè* 'girl' and *gídí:rìttìnò* 'girlhood', though both of them are nouns, their sub category is different, i.e. the former is concrete and the latter is abstract noun. This difference emanates from the suffix added to the base noun. It means [+ABST.] feature percolates from suffix to the whole noun. Thus, concrete noun is changed to abstract.

Tilahun (2009, p.22) identifies */-ítínó/* as abstract noun marker. But, my data shows that the */t/* of the suffix should be geminated and all of the tones in the suffix are low.

Adjectives	**Gloss**	**Derived Nominals**	**Gloss**
a.gá:wò	'good'	*gá:w- ittìnò*	'goodness'
b. nàc'c'òó	'white'	*nàc'c'- ittìnò*	'whiteness'
c. àc'ó	'wise'	*àc'- ittìnò*	'wisdom'
d. dù:ró:	'foolish'	*dù:r- ittìnò*	'foolishness'
e. k'ùp'ó	'strong'	*k'ùp'- ittìnò*	'strength'
f. kèttòó	'easy'	*kètt- ittìnò*	'scandalous'
g. c'ìc'ó:	'thin'	*c'ìc'- ittìnò*	'thinness'
h. k'àbìnò	'short'	*k'àbìn- ittìnò*	'shortness'
i. šàtó	'cowardly'	*šàt- ittìnò*	'cowardice'
j. c'é:llò	'red'	*c'é:ll- ittìnò*	'redness'
k. á:ngó:	'fat'	*á:ngó:*	'fatness'
l. kátìnò	'near'	*kátìn- ittìnò*	'nearness'
m. wòhó	'far'	*wòh- ittìnò*	'farness'

Table -4 Abstract Nominals from Adjectives

4a) *tàsfáyì dù:bbó dù:bbí-t-e*

Tesfaye sing sing-PFV-3SG.M

'Tesfaye sang a song'

4b) *dù:bb-èčó wáá-t-é*

singer-AGN.N come-PFV-3SG.M

'The singer came'

The first sentence shows the occurrence of the stem *dù:bbí-* 'sing' as a verb whereas the second shows the occurrence of derived agentive nominal *dù:bbèčó* 'singer' as a subject.

When */-èčó~-čó/* is added to intransitive verb stems, it is used to derive masculine experiencer nominals. But, while the morpheme last vowel is changed to /i/ the exepreiencer nominals become feminine. Look at the following examples.

Verb Stems	**Gloss**	**Nominilizer**	**Experiencer Nominals**	**Gloss**
a.kó:tí-	'lie'	*-èč-ó*	*kó:tèčó*	'liar'(masc.)
b.kó:tí-	'lie'	*-èč-í*	*kó:tèčó*	'liar'(fem.)
c.wòc'c'í-	'run'	*-èč-ó*	*wòc'c'íèčó*	'runner'
d.šá:c'é-	'become hungry'	*-č-ó*	*šá:c'éčó*	'One who feel hungry'
e.bùkkì-	'become gray hair'	*-èč-ó*	*bùkkèčó*	'gray haired'

Table-7 Experiencer Nominals from Verbs

The above table shows that experiencer nominals are derived from intransitive verb stems by taking the same morpheme with agentive nominals. The only difference between them is that, the former shows the agent of the action whereas the later shows the experiencer.

The derivation of these nominals can be represented by the following word formation rule.

$[[X]_{Vs} \quad +\text{-èčó/-čó}] \rightarrow \quad [X]_{Agen.N/\ Exper.N}$

2.1.2.3 Result Nominals

Result nominals are derived from verb by suffixation of the morpheme */-ó~ óó /* on the verb stems. Consider the following table that shows the derivation of these nominals.

Verb Stems	Gloss	Nominilizer	Result Nominals	Gloss
a.ìmí-	'give'	-ó	*ìmó*	'gift'
b. àrìí -	'know'	-ó	*àríyó*	'knowledge'
c. účí-	'drink'(v)	-ó	*úyó*	'drink'(n)
d.màá-	'eat'	-ó	*màáyó*	'food'
e.èmìrí-	'happy'	-óó	*èmìró:*	'happiness'
f. mà:c'í-	'decide'	-ó	*mà:c'ó*	'decision'
g. tàáhí-	'exhaust'	-óó	*tàáhó*	'exhaustion'
h.nà:ggí-	'insult'(v)	-ó	*nà:ggó*	'insult'(n)
i. ìppé-	'a silky mood'	-ó	*ìppó*	'anger'
j. úppí-	'curse'(v)	-ó	*úfó*	'curse'(n)
k. á:či-	'hide'	-ó	*á:čó*	'secret'

Table -8 Result Nominals from Verbs

As can be seen from the above table more words take morpheme /-ó/ than /-óó/. Thus, morpheme /-óó/ is an allomorph of /-ó/. When /-ó/ or /-óó/ is added to the stem of the verb, the theme vowels are deleted. This phonological process is not applicable for the root that has one syllable with long vowel (cf. **d** above). For such types of roots the result nominilizer is simply added and [y] is inserted between the two non-identical vowels to avoid impermissible sequence of vowels.

These derived nominals belong to different category type from their stems since they have [+N] category feature obtained from the suffix. Such nominals can occur as a subject or object in the sentences as in the following examples:

5a) *àró: nòófìtó má: -h –é*
he bread eat –IMPV-3SG.M
'He eats bread'

5b) *má:<y>ò kàšòó-č k'à:wí: -h-é*
eat<EPN>NOM life- for important-IMPV-3SG.M
'Food is important for life'

5c) *àró: má:<y>ò k'ànnàyí<y[4]>é*
he eat<EPN>NOM prepare <EPN>3SG.M
'He prepares food'

In sentence (5a) the root of the verb *má:* 'eat' is used as a verb but, in (5b) and (5c) the derived nominal *má:yò* 'food' is used as subject and object respectively. Segment [y] that appears between the root and nominalizer /-ó/ is obtained by the phonological rule, insertion. The word formation rule formulated for such nominals is:

[[X-] **V** + -ó/-óó] → [X] **Res. N**

---

[4] The present tense (IMPV) marker in Kafi Noonoo is /-h-/, but sometimes that segment is deleted and a glide [y] is inserted to separate a sequence of two non identical vowels that violates the rule of the language (Taddese, 2001, p. 38).

2.1.2.4 Action Nominals

According to Comrie & Thompson (1985) process/action nominals refer to "the fact, the act, the quality or occurrence" (p. 350) of the base from which such nominals are derived. In Kafi Noonoo they are derived from the verb stem by suffixation of /-ó/ as shown in the table below.

Verb Stems	Gloss	Nominalizer	Action Nominals	Gloss
a.wòc'í-	'run'	-ó	*'wòc'ó'*	running
b.kóté-	'sit'	-ó	*'kótó'*	'sitting'
c. hàmmí-	'go'	-ó	*hàmó*	'journey'
d. dìhí-	'fall down'	-ó	*dìhó*	'falling down'
e. kémé-	'buy'	-ó	*kémó*	'buying'
f. góčí-	'till'	-ó	*góyó*	'tilling'
g. cì:nní-	'see'	-ó	*cì:nó*	'seeing'
h. wà:jé-	'hear'	-ó	*wà:jó*	'hearing'
i. kémí-	'sell'	-ó	*kémò*	'selling'

Table 9- Action /Process Nominals from Verbs

As shown in the above table, when morpheme /-ó / is added to the stem of the verb, the theme vowel is deleted. Besides, the stem of the verb that has /č/ sound next to the theme vowel is changed to /y/ (cf. **f** above). The following examples show the occurrence of such nominal in structure.

6a) *k'òc'ìtí dó:jè kèt'ó-č wóc'c'í<y>é*

Kochit school –ALL run<EPN>3SG.M

'Kochit runs to school'

6b) *wòc'-ó* *í:wìttínó: -č* *gá:wètò-né*

run-NOM health -for good-be.PRS

'Running is good for health'

In (6a) the stem of the verb *wòc'í-* 'run' is used as a verb whereas in (6b) the derived action nominal *wòc'ó* 'running' is employed as a subject of the sentence. The reason for gemination of the consonant in sentence (6a) is related to the tense. It means in Kafi Noonoo there are words those geminate while inflected for tenses (Taddese, 2001, p. 54).

The following word formation rule may formulate for these nominals.

$[[X\text{-}]_{\mathbf{V_S}} + \text{-ó/ò}] \rightarrow [X]_{\text{ACT.N}}$

2.1.2.5 Gerundive Nominals

Gerundive nominals are nominals which have a distribution of nominal features as well as verbal properties (Siegel, 1994). In Kafi Noonoo gerundive nominals are derived from verbs when morpheme /- ó ~ - óó / is added on the verb stems. This is illustrated in the following table.

Verb Stems	**Gloss**	**Nomi-nilizer**	**Gerundive Nominals**	**Gloss**
a.wòc'í-	'run'	-ó	*wòc'ó*	'running/to run'
b.ùčí-	'drink'(v)	-ó	*ùyó*	'drinking/to drink'
c. màčí-	'wash'	-ó	*màyó*	'washing/to wash'
d. màá-	'eat'	-ó	*màáyó*	'eating/to eat'
e. gù:rí-	'slaughter'	-óó	*gù:ró:*	'slaughtering/to slaughter'
f. kà:čí-	'play'(v)	-ó	*kà:yó*	'playing/to play'
g. hìdí-	'sweep'	-óó	*hìdó:*	'sweeping/to play'
h. cí:ní-	'see'	-ó	*cí:nò*	'seeing/to see'

i:gètí-	'talk'(v)	-ó	*gètó*	'talking/to talk'
j. èllé-	'listen'	-ó	*èllό*	'listening/to listen'
k. kòté-	'sit'	-ó	*kòtó*	'sitting/to sit'
l. k'èyí-	'sleep'	-ó	*k'èyó*	'sleeping/to sleep'
m. kò:rí-	'write'	-ó	*kò:ró:*	'writing/to write'

Table- 10 Gerundive/Infinitival Nominals from Verbs

As can be observed in the above table, gerundive or infinitival nominals are derived when suffix /-ó/ or /-óó/ is attached to the verb stems. Morpheme/*óó*/ is added on the verb roots end with alveolar or voiced consonants whereas /ó/ is attached to verb roots end with any consonant.

In this process the category type of the verb is changed to [+N] since the affix added to the verb stem has [+N] feature. Like any noun these nominals also occur in the structure of noun phrase in the sentence. Look at the following examples.

7a) *àró: tàhó: -n màčí-h-é*
he cloth-ACC wash-IMPV-3SG.M
'He washes the cloth'

7b) *àró: tàhó: -n màỳ-ó šùnní<y>é*
he cloth-ACC wash-GER like<EPN>3SG.M
'He likes washing the cloth'

7c) *àró: tàhó: -n màỳ-ó k'á:wí<y> é*
he cloth-ACC wash-INF want<EPN>3SG.M
'He wants to wash the cloth'

In sentence (7a) the stem *màčí-* 'wash' stands as a verb in the verb phrase *tàhó:n màčíhé* 'washes the cloth'. But in (7b) the derived gerundive nominal *màyó* 'washing' stands as a noun in the noun phrase tàhó:n màyó 'washing the cloth' that is subsumed in the verb phrase *tàhó: -n màyó šùnníyé* 'like washing cloth'. It is the same for sentence (7c).

Even though this investigation shows the above fact, Tilahun (2009, p.24) states that the morpheme /ò/ and /ó/ are gerundive and infinitival nominal markers respectively.

The possible word formation rule for such nominals is:

$$[[X\text{-}]_{Vs} \; + \text{-} \acute{o}/\text{-}\grave{o}/\text{-} \acute{o}\acute{o} \;] \rightarrow \; [X]_{Ger.N/Inf.N}$$

2.1.2.6 Manner Nominals

Manner nominals refer to "the means or ways of doing something" (Comrie & Thompson 1985, p.354). Even if manner nominal in Kafi Noonoo is shown by word *hinno:* that is equivalent to the English word 'manner', the stem of some verbs take morpheme /-e ~ –i/ before the independent word *hinno:* . Look at the following table.

Verb Stems	Gloss	Manner Nominals	Gloss
a. kòté-	'sit'	*kòté hìnnó:*	'manner of sitting'
b. ùčí-	'drink'(v)	*ùčí hìnnó:*	'manner of drinking'
c. né:t'é-	'stand'	*né:t'é -é hìnnó:*	'manner of standing'
d. wòc'c'í-	'run'	*wòc'c'í -í hìnnó:*	'manner of running'
e.hàmmí-	'go'	*hàmmí hìnnó:*	'manner of going'
f. dóyí-	'learn'	*dóy-é hìnnó:*	'manner of learnig'
g. hàggí-	'build'	*hàggí hìnnó:*	'manner of building'
h. kò:rí-	'write'	*kò:rí hìnnó:*	'manner of writing'
i. èllé-	'listen'	*èllé-é hìnnó:*	'manner of listening'
j. gètí-	'talk'(v)	*gètí-í hìnnó:*	'manner of talking'
k. c'ìíní-	'see'	*c'ìíní-í hìnnó:*	'manner of seeing'

Table- 11 Manner Nominals from Verbs

This table shows that manner nominals are derived from the verb by attaching morpheme/-í or -é/ and *hìnnó:*. But, there are some manner nominals formed by taking only the word *hìnnó:* . In this process, the stems with /i/ theme vowel take the morpheme /-í / and those end with /e/ take /- é/. Consider the following examples.

8a) *àró: á:c'ò ùčí<y>é*

he water drink<EPN>3SG.M

'He drinks water'

8b) *bí ùčí hìnnó: wàrgànìkkìmmó-né*

3GEN drink manner admirable - be

'His manner of drinking is admirable'

8c) *àró: wòc'c'í<y>é*

he run<EPN>3SG.M

'He runs'

8d) *bí wòc'c'í: hìnnó: wàrgànìkkìmmó-né*

3GEN running manner admirable -be.PRS

'His manner of running is admirable'

When we compare the derived words *ùčí hìnnó:* 'manner of drinking' in sentence (8b) and *wòc'c'íí hìnnó:* 'manner of running' in (8c) derived from the stems of verb *ùčí-* 'drink' and *wòc'í-* 'run' respectively, the former does not take any morpheme while the latter take morpheme/-í/.

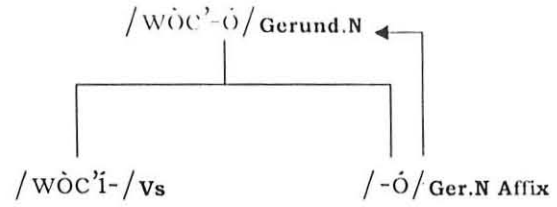
The possible word formation rule for these nominals is:

[[x-]$\mathbf{v_S}$ + (-í/ć/) + hìnnóó] → [x]$_{\mathbf{MAN.N}}$

2.1.3 Summary

In general most of the derived nominals take morpheme /-(o)o/. This does not mean that those all derived nominals take the same morpheme. Even though they seem the same, since their functions are different when they are attached to different verb roots or stems, they are different. Such types of morphemes are called homonymous.

All of the nominalization processes shown so far except some, are category changing. It means, while the suffix is attached to the root/stem of the verb or adjective the category type of the stem is changed because, the affixes have the category feature [+N] that percolates up to the derived nominals. This process is shown as follow.



The affix in the above representation is the head since its category feature percolates up to the nominal. This suggests that, in this language the head of derived word is found on the right side of the root/stem. Based on this, it is possible to formulate the general rule of nominalization of Kafi Noonoo as follow:

[[x-] +Aff] ⟶ [x]

[[+V/+N/+Adj.] + N] [+N]

This rule indicates that, in this language, it is possible to form nominals by adding a nominal morpheme with [+N] feature to the noun, Adjective or Verb root (stem).

2.2 Verbalization

In the previous section, we discussed the derivation of nouns. This section is devoted to the derivation of verbs.

In Kafi Noonoo, different types of verbs: causative, reciprocal and passive verbs are derived from simple verb stems.

2.2.1 Verbs Derived from Verbs

2.2.1.1 Causative Verbs

Katamba (1993) defines causative as a grammatical feature of verbs which show a situation at which someone cause somebody else to do something.

In addition to this Comrie (1985, p.331) states that there are three types of causatives.

> Causatives can be divided in to three: Analytical, lexical and morphological: Analytical causative are expressed by separate predicates expressing the notion of causation and the effects, as in, for example, 'He caused Mary to sit'. In the case of lexical causatives, the causative situation is expressed by lexical forms which tend to have no formal relation to that of the effect, as in the case of 'kill' is the causative of 'die'. While morphological causatives are obtained by a morphological means of suffixation.

Since the objective of the study is limited to morphology, only morphological causatives will be discussed.

In Kafi Noonoo, causative verb is derived from both transitive and intransitive verb stem by adding the morpheme /-i/. Tolemariam (2009, p. 45), also identifies this morpheme.

2.2.1.1.1 Causativization of Transitive Verbs

As stated above the morpheme that changes the transitive verb stem to causative is /-i-/. Consider the following table.

Verb Stems	Gloss	Causativized verbs	Gloss
a. gù:rí-	'slaughter'	*gù:rí-ì-*	'cause to slaughter'
b.kùt'ť'í-	'cut'	*kùt'ť'í-ì-*	'cause to cut'
c.bèčí-	'grow'	*bèčí-ì-*	'cause to grow'
d.hàggí-	'build'	*hàggí-ì-*	'cause to build'
e.màčí-	'wash'	*màčí-ì-*	'cause to wash'
f. ùčí-	'drink'	*ùčí-ì-*	'cause to drink'
g. c'ùčí-	'tie'	*c'ùčí-ì-*	'cause to tie'
h. kò:rí-	'write'	*kò:rí-ì-*	'cause to write'
i. šèmmé-	'read'	*šèmm -ì-*	'cause to read'
j. ká:čí-	'play'	*ká:čí-ì-*	'cause to play'
k.gàbìní-	'sew'	*gàbìči-ì-*	'cause to sew'
l. kèmé-	'buy'	*kèm-ì*	'cause to buy'

Table-12 Causative from Transitive Verbs

As can be observed from the above table while causativization process takes place the theme vowel of the transitive verb stem which is dissimilar with the causative verb is deleted since it violates the phonological rule of the language. The sound /n/which is found at the end of the root also changed to/č/.

Syntactically, a causative verb has different characteristics from its non-causative counterpart since the causative verb has one more NP than the non-causative one. Regarding this Comrie (1983,) says that, "The causative verb may be a transitive verb formed from an intransitive; but it may also in many languages, be formed from a basic verb already of higher valence" (p.323).

In Kafi Noonoo, both mono and di-transitive verbs add one more NP to the sentence while causativized. The following sentences illustrate this.

9a) *àró: bàgòó-n gù:rí <y>è*

he sheep-ACC slaughter<EPN>3SG.M

'He slaughters the sheep'

9b) *abábì bíí-n bàgòó -n gù:rí-ì<y>è*

Abebe 3GEN-ACC sheep-ACC slaughter-CAUS<EPN>3SG.M

'Abebe makes him slaughter the sheep'

9c) *àró: dʒèmá:lì-č ká:mè:lò kèmé-t-é*

he jemal -DAT car buy-PFV-3SG.M

'He bought the car for Jamal'

9d) *kàbádì bíí-n dʒèmá:lì-č ká:mè:lò kèm-íì-t-é*

kebede 3GEN-ACC jemal -DAT car buy-CAUS-PFV-3SG.M

'Kebede made him buy the car for Jemal'

As can be understood from the sentences, in (9a) the verb *gù:rí-* 'slaughter' has one NP before causativized. But, when causativized as in (9b) it gets one more additional NP. It is possible to show their difference as follow.

/ *gù:rí-* / 'slaughter' = V+ [NP-]

/ *gù:rí-ì-* / 'cause to slaughter' =V+ [NP NP-]

It is the same for the sentences (9c) and (9d). The di-transitive verb *kèmé-* 'buy' has two NP in non-causativized manner but, while causatived as in (9d), it gets one more NP. The variety on number of argument between the sentences of the two groups – (9a) and (9b) with (9c) and (9d) is related to the type of verb i.e. mono or di-transitive. The following structure also shows the difference between the sentences (9c) and (9d).

/*kèmé-*/ 'buy' = V+ [NP NP-]

/ *kèm-ì*/ 'cause to buy' = V+ [NP NP NP-]

In addition to this the subject (causer) of the non-causative sentence, *àró:* 'he' leaves its position to the new NP 'Abebe' obtained as the result of causativization, and move to object (causee) position in sentence (9b). In other word at the result of causativization the experiencer of non causativized verb in (9a) becomes the patient in sentence (9b).

2.2.1.1.2 Causativization of Intransitive Verbs

Causativization of intransitive verb has its own characteristics that differentiate it from the transitive one. That is, while causativized, it passes through two steps. First the intransitive verb is changed to transitive and the transitivized again to causative. These causatives are somewhat related to what (Palmer, 1994, p.164) calls 'direct (single) and indirect (double)' causative.

According to Comrie (1985, p.331), "different languages use different types of causatives. It may be lexical, analytical, morphological or two of them at the same time. For instance English language uses lexical for single and analytical for double causative." In light of this when we see Kafi Noonoo, it uses only morphological for both single and double causatives.

The morpheme that derives transitive verb (single causative) from intransitive verb stem is /-í-/. When this morpheme is redupilicated it employs to derive causative verb from already transitivized verb stem. The difference between transitivized verb and its causative is illustrated in the following tables.

Intransitive Verb Stems	Gloss	Transitivized verbs	Gloss
a. kòté-	sit	*kòt-í-*	make sit
b. dìhí-	fall	*dìčí-í-*	make fall
c. wòc'í-	run	*wòc'í-í-*	make run
d .ùfé-	spill	*ùkk-í-*	spill
e. t'álle-	clean	*t'áll-í-*	clean
f. ɑùfí-	boil	*gùfí-í-*	boil

Table-13 Transitivized Verbs

Transitivized Verb Stems	Gloss	Causativized verbs	Gloss
a.kòt-í-	make sit	*kòt-íí-*	cause to make sit
b. dìčí-í-	make fall	*dìč-íí-*	cause to make fall
c. wòc'í-í-	make run	*wòc'-íí-*	cause to make run
d. ùkk-í-	spill	*ùkk-íí-*	cause to spill
e. t'áll-í-	clean	*t'áll-íí-*	cause to clean
f. gùfí-í-	boil	*gùf-íí-*	cause to boil

Table -14 Causatives from Transitivized Verbs

Table (13) shows that morpheme /-í-/ is used to derive transitivized verb from intransitive verb stem. In this process the theme vowel which is dissimilar with the morpheme is deleted.

On the other hand table (14) shows that the redupilicated form of the single causative morpheme, i.e. /-íí-/ is employed to derive causativized form of intransitive verb (double causative). In other word, when double causative is formed from single causative (trasitivized verb) only morpheme /-í-/ is added on transitivized verb stem. In this process the theme vowel of the transitivized verb stem is deleted to avoid

impermissible sequence of three identical vowels (cf. **b, c** & **f**). The following examples illustrate this.

10a) *ábábì wòc'c'í-t-é*

Abebe run-PFV-3SG.M

'Abebe run'

10b) *tèsfááyì ábábì-n wòc'í-í-t-é*

Tesfaye Abebe-ACC run -CAUS-PFV-3SG.M

'Tesfaye made Abebe run'

10c) *kàbádì tèsfááyì-n ábábì-n wòc'-íí-t-é*

Kebede Tesfaye-ACC Abebe-ACC run-CAUS-PFV-3SG.M

'Kebede cause Tesfaye to made Abebe run'

The difference between these sentences can be seen from three perspectives: morphological, syntactic and semantic.

The morphological difference is that the intransitive verb stem in sentence (10a) *wòc'c'í-* 'run' does not take any causative morpheme. But transitivized verb *wòc'í-í-* 'run' in (10b) and double causativized verb stem *wòc'-íí-* in (10c) take morpheme /*-í-*/ and /*-íí-*/ respectively.

When we compare the difference between the sentences syntactically, we observe that the subject of intransitive verb in sentence (10a) become object in sentence (10b) because of transtivization or single causativization. In case of sentence (10c), the subject of sentence (10b) Tesfaye become object of the sentence (10c) since the verb is double causativized. In other way, the verb in this sentence takes one more argument than the verb in (10b). It is possible to show the difference between the verbs as follow.

(a) / wòc'c'í-/ = V+ [-]

(b) / wòc'í-í-/ =V+ [NP-]

(c) / wòc'í-í-/ =V+ [NP NP-]

These structures show that the number of arguments that a verb needs increases as the verb changes from intransitive to single causative (like in **b**) and then to double causative(like in **c**). In addition to syntactic, they have also semantic difference. The experiencer of sentence (10a) *abábì* leaves its position to the new agent *tèsfááyì* and become patient in (10b). At the result of double causativization the newly introduced agent in (10b) again leaves its position to other newly introduced agent *kàbádì* and become theme in (10c).

In contrast to this investigation Tilahun (2009, p.52), identifies morpheme /-ib/ as causative marker. I think his conclusion may emanate from the data that is elicited only from imperative sentence since the morpheme /-b/ is only found in imperative causative sentence. Compare the following examples.

11a) *abábì wòc'c'í<y>é*

Abebe run<EPN>3SG.M

'Abebe runs'

11b) *tèsfáyì abábì-n wòc'í-í<y>é*

Tesfaye Abebe-ACC run-CAUS<EPN>3SG.M

'Tesfaye make Abebe run'

11c) *kàbádí tèsfáyì-n abábì-n wòc'-íí<y>é*

Kebede Tesfaye-ACC Abebe-ACC run-CAUS<EPN>3SG.M

'Kebede cause Tesfaye to make Abebe run'

12a) *abábì wóc'ɛ'í <y>é*

Abebe run<EPN>3SG.M

'Does Abebe run?'

12b) *tèsfáyì abábì-n wóc'í-í<y>é*

Tesfaye Abebe-ACC run-CAUS<EPN>3SG.M

'Does Tesfaye make Abebe run?'

12c) *kàbádì tèsfáyì-n abábì-n wóc'í-í<y>é*

Kebede Tesfaye-ACC Abebe-ACC run-CAUS<EPN>3SG.M

'Does Kebede cause Tesfaye to make Abebe run?'

13a) tèsfáyì abábì-n wóc'-é í<y>è

Tesfaye Abebe-ACC run-3SG.M say<EPN>3SG.M

'Tesfaye says to Abebe run!'

13b) kábádì tèsfáyì-n abábì-n wóc'í-í-b-é

Kebede Tesfaye-ACC Abebe-ACC run-CAUS-IMPV-3SG.M

í<y>è

say<EPN>3SG.M

'Kebede says to Tesfaye make Abebe run!'

When we compare these three types of sentences- statement (11), question (12) and imperative (13), we understand that causative marker /-í-/ is found in all causative sentences. The difference between the statement and question type is only the tone of the first syllable of the verb, i.e. the syllable that has low tone in the former case become high in

later. But, the imperative sentence in (13b) has one more segment in difference with the others .i.e. imperative marker /-b/. As to Tilahun's idea, if it is a causative marker, it should occur in all (most) of the causative sentences, but not. This is the reason for concluding as morpheme */-ib/* is not causative marker.

2.2.1.1.3 Causatives of Reciprocal verbs

The causative of reciprocal verb of Kafi Noonoo is expressed morphologically as other verbs. The morpheme used to derive this causative is */-íí-/*. Consider the following table.

Reciprocal verb stems	**Gloss**	**Causativized Recp. Verbs**	**Gloss**
šùmééé-	'kiss each other'	*šùm-íí-*	'cause to kiss each other'
jèt'é-	'hit each other'	*jèt'-íí-*	'cause to hit each other'
t'ùʔéé-	'push each other'	*t'ùʔ-íí-*	'cause to push each other'
šùnéé-	'love each other'	*šùn-íí-*	'cause to love each other'
c'ííné-	'see each other'	*c'íín-íí-*	'cause to see each other'
dègéé-	'help each other'	*dègé-íí-*	'cause to help each other'

Table -15 Causativized Reciprocal Verbs

The following example also illustrates causativization of such verbs.

14a) *tèsfáyì bí-mànè: -nàʔó-n yèt'í -t-é*

Tesfaye 3GEN-brother-PL-ACC hit -PFV-3SG.M

'Tesfaye hits his brothers'

14b) *tèsfáyì bí-mànéː -nàʔó-n yèt'-íí-t-é*

Tesfaye 3GEN-brother-PL-ACC hit-CAUS of recp-PFV-3SG.M

'Tesfaye made his brothers hit each other'

In sentence (14b), the verb *yèt'-íí-* 'cause to hit each other' is causativized as in simple intransitive verb by taking suffix /-íí-/even if the reciprocal verb is transitive. The second difference between the causative of transitive verb and reciprocal as shown in (14b) is that, the patient NP *bí-mànéé-nàʔó* 'his brothers' which has a grammatical function of object in sentence (14a) gets the role of both causee and patient since they participate in both action. The word formation rule formulated for such derived verbs is: [[x-] + -íí-] → [x-]Caus of Recp.v

2.2.1.2 Reciprocal Verb

Reciprocal verb refers to a verb that shows the action done between two persons or groups. In Kafi Noonoo reciprocal verb is derived from normal verb stem by attaching suffix /-é~-éé-/. While it is formed the theme vowel dissimilar with /e/ is deleted. Consider the following examples in the table below.

Verb stem	Gloss	Reciprocal verb	Gloss
a. šùmí-	'kiss'	*šùm-éé-*	'kiss each other'
b. jèt'í-	'hit'	*jèt'-é-*	'hit each other'
c. t'ùk'í-	'push'	*t'ùʔ-éé-*	'push each other'
d. šùní-	'love'	*šùn-éé-*	'love each other'
e. c'í:ní-	'see'	*c'í:n-é-*	'see each other'
f. dègé-	'help'	*dègé-é-*	'help each other'

Table-16 Reciprocal Verbs

This table shows that suffix */-é~-éé-/* is a reciprocal verb marker. When it is derived the end vowel of the stem of the verb which is not similar with the suffix is deleted. In contrast to this, Tilahun (2009, p. 53) states as */-èèb/* is a reciprocal verb marker. The following examples illustrate the derivation of this verb.

15a) *gìrmáyì abàráášì-n šùnní-h-é*

Girma Aberash-ACC love-IMPV 3SG.M

'Girma loves Aberash'

15b) *gìrmáyì-nà abàráášì-nà šùn-éé-h-éété*

Girma- and Aberash-and love-RECP-IMPV-3PL

'Girma and Aberash love each other'

Based on this fact it is possible to formulate the following word formation rule:

$$[[\text{X-}]_{\text{VS}} \text{ +-é /-éé}] \rightarrow [\text{X-}]_{\text{Recp.V}}$$

2.2.1.3 Passive Verbs

In Kafi Noonoo passive verb is formed from active verb stem by attaching morpheme */-è-/*. The following examples show the derivation of such verbs.

Verb Stems	Gloss	Passivized verbs	Gloss
a. kèmé-	buy	*kèmé-è-*	'be bought'
b.máčí-	wash	*máč-è-*	'be washed'
c.šú:né-	work	*šú:né -è-*	'be work'
d.táhè-	wear	*táhè -è-*	'be worn'
e. dí:rí-	bless	*dí:r-è-*	'be blessed'
f. ùppì-	curse	*ùpp-è-*	'be cursed'
g. hàggí-	build	*hàkk-è-*	'be built'
h. kòčì-	sew	*kòč-è-*	'be sewed'
i.t'àllí-	clean	*t'àll-è-*	'be cleaned'
j.kùtt'ì-	cut	*kùč-è-*	'be cut'
k.šàággi-	carry	*šàákk-è-*	'be carried'
l. kèkí-	call	*kèk è*	'be called'
m. k'èčì-	open	*k'èč-è-*	'be opened'

Table –17 Passive Verbs

The above table shows that while this morpheme attached to the stem, the theme vowel which is not similar with the passivize morpheme is deleted to avoid impermissible sequences of vowels. In addition to this, when sound /t'/ and /g/ occur at the middle of the base, they are changed to /č/ and/k/. Even though Tolemariam's (p.135) investigation also shows as morpheme /-è-/ is passive marker, differently Tilahun (p.51) identifies/-étì/.

The derivation of these verbs may follow the following rule:

$$[\ [x\text{-}]\mathbf{v_s} + \text{-}\grave{e}\text{-}] \rightarrow [x\text{-}]_{\text{pass. v}}$$

In contrast to causativization, Passivization results in the reduction of arguments of the verb. It means a verb with a 'y' number of arguments changes to one with 'y-1' arguments because of the passive morpheme (Hirut, 1993, p. 42). Consider the following examples:

16a) *táddèsì ká:mé:lò kèmé-t-é*

Taddese car buy –PFV-3SG.M

'Taddese bought a car'

16b) *ká:mé:lò kèmé-è -t-é*

car buy-PASS-PFV-3SG.M

'A car was bought '

16c) *ká:mé:lò táddèsì-ná kèmé- è – t - é*

car Taddese-INST buy-PASS-PFV-3SG.M

'A car was bought by Taddese'

In sentence (16b), *ká:mé:lò* 'car' which is the direct object of the sentence (16a) becomes the subject; and the subject of the sentence (a) i.e. *Taddese*, is missed. From semantic point of view the subject of sentence (16b) is patient that receives the action. The agent of the active sentence *Taddese* in (16a) can occur optionally as an oblique object by taking morpheme /-ná/ as indicated in sentence (16c).

While passive verb formed, the subject of active sentence is removed and the object is moved to subject position. This is the property of passivization as pointed out in Perlmutter and Postal (1977), Keenan (1975), quoted by Hirut (1993) from Van Valin (1980, p. 316) as follows.

> ...the basic function of the passive is direct object-to-subject promotion, with demotion of the initial subject as a consequence of direct object promotion ...subject demotion (actor suppression) is the basic function of the passive, with direct object promotion being an optional feature: both of these positions take Passivization to have two aspects, subject demotion and direct object promotion.

It is possible to indicate the changes happen when an active verb is changed to passive as follows:

(SUBJ) → Ø/oblique Agent

(OBJ) → (SUBJ)

This structure shows that passivization changes the subject of a sentence in to optional oblique agent and its object in to subject.

2.3 Adjectivization

Adjectivization is the process of deriving adjective from any lexical category. In Kafi Noonoo adjectives are derived from nouns and stative verbs.

2.3.1 Adjectives Derived from Nouns

One means of deriving adjective in Kafi Noonoo is adding suffix /-è/ to nouns. Consider the following example.

Noun	Gloss	Derived Adjectives	Gloss
a. àcò	'water'	*àc-è*	'waterish'
b. ámìjò	'rain'	*ámìj-è*	'rainy'
c. dángò	'mud'	*dáng-è*	'muddy'
d.t'àkk'ó	'stone'	*t'ákk'-è*	'stony'
e. jóngò	'wind'	*jóng-è*	'windy'
f. gí:dò	'power'	*gí:d-è*	'powerful'
g.á:bó	'sun'	*á:b-è*	'sunny'

Table- 18 Adjectives from Nouns

This table shows that adjectives are derived from nouns by adding suffix /-è/ to nouns. When this morpheme is added to the nouns, the final vowel is deleted. Tilahun (2009, p. 54) also identifies the same morpheme. The following examples illustrate this.

17a) *àré: t'àk'k'ó àwré-h-án*

she stone throw-IMPV-3SG.F

'She throws a stone'

17b) *àré: t'àk'k'è kìtá: mìt:ò -č bè: -h-é*

she stony area -LOC live-IMPV-3SG.M

'She lives in stony area'

The above examples show that, *t'àk'k'ó* 'stone' which stands as a noun in sentence (17a) is changed to adjective *t'àk'k'è* 'stony' while suffix /-è/ is attached to it as in sentence (17b). In (17b), *t'àk'k'è* 'stony' modifies a noun, *kìtá: mìtò:* 'area'.

2.3.2 Adjectives Derived from Stative verbs

In Kafi Noonoo adjectives are also derived from stative verbs by suffixation of /-ó~ -ò~-óó/. Consider the following table.

Stative verb stems	Gloss	Derived Adjectives	Gloss
a. c'é:llé-	'become red'	*c'é:ll-ó*	'red'
b. à:ngí-	'become fat'	*à:ng-ó:*	'fat'
c. k'ábìní-	'become short'	*k'ábìn-ò*	'short'
d. gèndʒé-	'become long'	*gèndʒ-ó:*	'long'
e. nìrí-	'become raw'	*nìr-ó*	'raw'
f. kátìní-	'become near'	*kátìn-ó*	'near'
g. wòkí-	'become far'	*wòh-ó*	'far'
h.kùpp'é	'become strong'	*kùpp'-ó*	'strong'
i. dàllí-	'become thin'	*dàll-ó:*	'thin'

Table-19 Adjectives from Stative Verbs

This table shows that while morphemes /-ó~ -ò~-óó/ are added in the stative verb stems, the theme vowels of the stems are deleted to avoid impermissible sequence of vowels in the derive adjectives. The following sentences illustrate this.

18a) *Kàbádí dàll-é-h-é*

Kebede thin-become-IMPV-3SG.M

'Kebede becomes thin'

18b) *kàbádí dàllóː ùróː -né*

Kebede thin man-be.PRS

'Kebede is a thin man'

In sentence (18a) the word *dalle-* 'become thin' is a stative verb. But, while morpheme /*-óó-*/ is attached to this stem, it becomes an adjective *dàllóː 'thin'* that modifies a noun *ùróː* 'man' as in (18b).

Thus, the derivation of adjective is category changing since it is derived from noun and stative verb.

It is possible to formulate the following WFR to this process.

$[[X\text{-}]_{N/\ Stat.V} + \text{-é/ ó~ -ò~-óó}] \rightarrow [X]_{Adj}$.

CHAPTER THREE

3. COMPOUNDING

Compounding refers to the process at which "two (more) elements which could potentially be used as stems are combined to form another stem" (Bauer, 1983, p.28). In Kafi Noonoo compound words can be formed by combining two words. Regarding the classification, based on (Bauer, 1983) idea that says the normal way of classifying compounds is by the function they play in a sentence as nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc. they may be classified in to three: compound noun, adjective and preposition.

3.1 Compound Nouns

Compound noun is a noun that formed from two identical or different lexical categories. In this language such compound is formed from the combination of two different nouns, and noun with adjective or verb.

3.1.1 Noun + Noun Compounds

One way of forming compound nouns is combining two different nouns. In Kafi Noonoo these nouns are commonly used to call different things such as instruments, places, disease, containers and others. On the other hand, it is possible to categorize them in to two: endocentric and exocentric compounds. The following examples illustrate this.

a) Endocentric Compounds

Endocentric compound refers to the compound at which its meaning is emanated from its parts. Regarding assignment of head Bauer (1983), states the following. "Endocentric compounds denote a subclass of items referred to by one of their elements; this element can be treated as the

head of the compound" (, p. 35). In Kafi Noonoo such compounds are the most common. The following table shows this:

Nouns	Gloss	Compound Nouns	Gloss
1a. k'ĭ:c'ò	'material'	*kèčì k'ĭ:c'ò*	'utensil'
b. kèt'ò	'house'		
2a. bùrc'ĭk'ò	'cup'	*šá:yè bùrc'ĭk'ò*	tea- cup
b. šá:yò	'tea'		
3a. gù:dó	'rubbish'	*gù:dí hìdòó*	'broom'
b.hìdòó	'cleaning'		
4a. t'àk'k'ò	'stone'	*yí:kkò t'àk'k'ò*	'millstone'
b. yí:kkò	'flour'		
5a. kámé:lò	'car'	*kòjò kámé:lò*	'sewing machine'
b.kòjò	'sewing'		
6a. k'ĭ:c'ò	'material'	*bùkè: k'ĭ:c'ò*	'dough container'
b.bùkó:	'dough'		
7a. sá:ndú:k'ó	'box'	*bìrèwèé*	'money box'
b. bìrèwòó	'money'	*sá:ndú:k'ó*	
8a. k'òndó	'pot'	*á:c'ì k'òndó*	'water-pot'
b. á:c'ò	'water'		
9a. nìhòó	'father'	*kòčì nìhòó*	'step-father'
b. kòšò	'injera'		
10a.ìndé:	'mother'	*kòčì ìndé:*	'step mother'
b. kòšó	'injera'		
11a.ìndè: /gènnèé	'mother'	*kèčì ìndè: / kèčì gènnèé*	'wife'
b. kèt'ò	'house'		
12a. k'èllό	'head'	*kèllí c'àdó*	'headache'
b. c'àdó	'hitting'		

13a. má:c'ò	'stomach'	*má:c'è šá:c'ò*	'stomachache'
b. šá:c'ò	'biting'		
14a. šìmètò:	'waist'	*šìmètè kùt'ó*	'back pain'
b. kùt'ó	'cutting'		
15a. kèt'ò	'house'	*dòjé kèt'ò*	'school'
b.dòjòó	'learning'		
16a. bàkkó:	'field'	*Kòjé bàkkó:*	'battle field'
b. kòjó	'fighting'		
17a. kèt'ò	'house'	*gìbìnò kèt'ò*	'mosque/church'
b. gìbìnò	'belief'		
18a. kèt'ò	'house'	*màájè kèt'ò*	'restaurant'
b. màáyò	'food'		

Table-20 Compound Nouns from Two Different Nouns

This table shows that different types of compound nouns formed from the combination of two nouns. The compounds represented by number 1-5 are instrumental compounds. They are formed by combining two nouns the second members of which are instrumental for the realization of the thing designated by the first members. In the formation of these compounds, the first word final vowel /-o(o)/ is changed to /-i/ or/-e/. There is also change of sound /t'/ to /č/ when it appears at root final of the base. It is difficult to state the reason for change.

The compounds from number 6-8 are locative compound nouns. They called locative since the first noun referring to a thing contained and the second referring to a container.

The compounds represented by number 9-11 are the compound noun function as kinship term. They are formed by combining *nìhòó/ìndé:*

'father/mother' with other noun. While this compound is formed, the last vowel of the first member of the compound /o/ is changed to /i/.

The compound nouns represented by number 12-14 refer to the name of disease. They are formed by combining names of certain parts of body with other nouns.

The compound nouns from 15-18 refer to the locations in which different activities take place. For instance *dòyé kèt'ò* 'school' refers to the location at which the teaching learning activities takes place.

In the above compound nouns, the head is found in the right hand. For instance, in the compound noun *kòyé bàkkó:* 'battle field' and *kòčì ìndèé* 'step-mother', the heads are *bàkkó:* 'field' and *ìndèé* 'mother' respectively since they hold the basic meaning of the whole compound. Regarding the percolation, based on the semantic criterion that says "the notion head is crucial in characterizing the semantics of the compounds" (Selkirk, 1982, p. 22), the feature of the whole component percolates from the second member.

Based on the facts discussed so far, it is possible to formulate the following rule for compound nouns:

$$[X_N + X_N] \rightarrow [X]_N$$

b) Exocentric Compounds

It refers to a compound that is formed from two nouns whose meaning is different from the meaning of parts (Bauer, 1983, p. 35). In Kafi Noonoo such type of compound noun is rare. Consider the following example.

1. *t'àk'k'é k'èllό* 'someone who doesn't accept advise'

   a. *k'èllό* 'head'

   b. *t'àk'k'ό* 'stone'

In this example the first word *t'àk'k'ó* 'stone' refers to a non-animate thing and the second member *k'èllό* 'head' refers to one part of body. Their combination gives a compound noun which has different meaning from the parts. Hence, it is stated as non-head compound (Bloomfield, 1935).

3.1.2 Adjective + Noun Compounds

Compound nouns are formed from the combination of adjective and noun. However, it is not productive as the previous one. In this compound the head is a noun that is found on the right side since it carries the basic meaning and determines the category type. Consider the following examples.

1. *bùšá: šànbàtó:*	'saturday'
a. *bùšá: (adj)*	'small'
b. *šànbàtó: (n)*	'weekend'
2. *ó:gì šànbàtó:*	'sunday'
a. *ó:gó(adj)*	'big'
b. *šànbàtó: (n)*	'weekend'
3. *nàc'c'é àšó*	'white man/foreigner'
a. *nàc'c'ó:(adj)*	'white'
b. *àšó(n)*	'man'
4. *á:ʔì mìt'ó*	'a kind of tree'
a. *á:ʔò*	'black'
b. *mìt'ó*	'tree'
5. *k'ànnà kìšó*	'right hand'
a, *k'ànnó:*	'right'
b, *kìšó*	'hand'

6. *jó:čé kìšó* 'left hand'

a, *jó:čó:* 'left'

b, *kìšó* 'hand'

These examples show that, when the last vowel of the non-head word is /o/, it becomes /i or e or a/.

For such compound, it can be possible to formulate the following rule:

$$[X_{Adj} + X_N] \rightarrow [X]_N$$

3.1.3 Verb + Noun Compounds

Compound noun is also formed from the combination of verb and agentive noun. In the process of such compounding, if the theme vowel of the verb is /i/ it is lengthened or changed to /e/. But, if it is /e/ it remains as it is. Consider the following examples.

1. gòčí: k'èyèčó 'farmer'

a. gòčì-(v) 'till'

b. k'èjèčó (n) 'someone who alive'

2. mùt't'è giyèčó 'guerrilla'

a. mùt't'è-(v) 'intrude'

b. gijèčó(n) 'enterer'

3. c'á:dʒdʒé k'èyèčó 'proletariat'

a. c'á:dʒdʒí- (v) 'sweat'

b. k'èjèčó (n) 'someone who alive'

The possible word formation rule (WFR) for these compound nouns is

$$[X_V + X_N] \rightarrow [X]_N$$

3.2 Compound Adjectives

In Kafi Noonoo compound adjective is formed from the combination of two different adjectives, noun and adjective or from an adjective and noun. We will see these as follow.

3.2.1 Noun + Adjective Compounds

Compound adjectives are formed by combining noun with adjective. They are either endocentric or exocentric.

a. Endocentric Compound Adjectives

These compounds have an adjectival head representing the basic meaning and categorical features of the compounds. Look the following examples.

1. *màllèt gòndó*	'colorless/ugly'
a. *màllètó (n)*	'color'
b. *gòndó*	'useless'
2. *má:c' t'àllό:*	'clean- hearted'
a. *má:c'ò(n)*	'stomach'
b. *t'àllό: (adj)*	'clean'
3. *á:f dó:gò/yá:mò*	'blind'
a. *á:fò (n)*	'eye'
b. *dó:gò/yá:mò (adj)*	'blind'
4. *gí:d bé:tò*	'strong'
a. *gí:dò (n)*	'power'
b. *bé:tò (adj)*	'someone who has something'

5 *màllèt bé:tò* 'good looking'

a. *màllètó(n)* 'color'

b. *bé:tò (adj)* 'someone who has something'

As stated above, the head of this compound is an adjective. Thus, its adjectival feature percolates from the head to whole compound.

The other type of compound adjective is exocentric; but, it is less productive. The followings are some of the examples.

6. *á:f kùpp'ó* 'shameless'

a. *á:fò (n)* 'eye'

b. *kùpp'ó (adj)* 'strong'

7 . *mùllí kùpp'ó* 'cruel'

a . *mùlló* 'heart'

b . *kùpp'ó* 'strong'

These examples show that the meanings of the compounds are different from their parts. The possible word formation rule for such compounds is: $[X_N + X_{Adj}] \rightarrow [X]_{Adj}$

3.2.2 Adjective + Noun Compounds

Compound adjective is formed from the combination of an adjective and a noun. In this case, the last vowel of the first member becomes /i or e/. Consider the following examples.

1. *nàc'c'é* ɛ̀dʒdʒó 'milky-white'

a. *nàc'c'ó:* 'white'

b. ɛ̀dʒdʒó 'milk'

2. *á:ʔí ší:t't'ó*	'charcoal-black'
a. *á:ʔó*	'black'
b. *ší:t't'ó*	'charcoal'

These examples show that the second members' nouns qualify the adjectives by showing their degree. Based on headedness criteria since the first members play the main role, they should be the head. Since this idea opposes the above generalization that says the head of compound words of Kafi Noonoo is found on the right hand, it is taken as an exception for the language. In order to save such problems Scalise (1984, p. 93) suggests that "the formatives which are not subject to generalizations are stored directly in the dictionary."

The word formation rule formulated for such compounds is:

$$[\ X_{Adj} + X_{N}\ ] \rightarrow [\ X\ ]_{Adj}$$

3.2.3 Adjective + Adjective Compounds

Compound adjective is also formed from the combination of two adjectives. In this process the first member adjective qualifies the second in terms of degree. The following are examples.

1. *t'àllé nác'c'ó:*	'pure- white'
a. *nác'c'ó:*	'white'
b. *t'àlló:*	'clean'
2. *p'ìt't'á:sè ká:wò*	'pretty- red'
a. *ká:wò*	'red'
b. *p'ìt't'á:šò*	'beauty'

While compound adjective formed from the combination of two adjectives, the head is found on the right hand. This is because the first member adjective in both case describe the second members adjective. Thus, the adjectival feature here also percolates from the adjective in the right hand to the whole. The last vowel of the non-head vowel here also changed to /e/.

The WFR formulated for these compounds can be the following:

$[X_{Adj} + X_{Adj}] \rightarrow [X]_{Adj}$

3.3 Compound Prepositions

Compound prepositions are also found in Kafi Noonoo. They are formed from the combination of prepositions and adverbs. In this process since the prepositions on the right hand holds the main meaning of the compounds, they are taken as the head. The following examples illustrate this.

1. *hìnìjé dànbá*	'upward'
a. *hìnìjé* (Adv.)	'here'
b. *dànbá* (Prep.)	'up'
2. *hìnìjé dèš*	'down ward'
a. *hìnìjé*(Adv.)	'here'
b. *dèš* (Prep.)	'down'
3. *òkkèbìjé hàč*	'towards here'
a. *òkkèbìjé* (Adv.)	'there'
b. *hàč* (Prep.)	'toward'

For such compounds the following WFR can be formulated.

$[X_P + X_p] \rightarrow [X]_P$

3.4 Different Characteristics of Kafi Noonoo Compounds

In this sub section, the phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic characteristics of Kafi Noonoo compound as lexical items will be discussed.

3.4.1 Phonological Characteristics

In the process of Kafi Noonoo word formation the phonological process mostly seen is change of the final vowel of the first members of the compounds, i.e. /(o)o/ to / i or e/. The second one is change of consonants /š/ and /t'/ to /č/. It is difficult to identify the reason. It may relate with the historical background of the language. Consider the following examples.

1. *bùké: k'í:c'ò*	'dough container'
a. *bùkó:*	'dough'
b. *k'í:c'ò*	'cotainer'
2. *bìrèwé sá:ndù:k'ó*	'money box'
a. *bìrèwó:*	'money'
b. *sá:ndù:k'ó*	'box'
3. *dòjé kèt'ó*	'school'
a. *dòjó:*	'learning'
b. *kèt'ó*	'house'

In the above examples the last vowel of the first members of the compounds' – *bìrèwó:* 'money', *bùkó:* 'dough', and *dòyó:* 'learning' is changed to /ee/.

The following examples show when the last vowel /(o)o/ is changed to /i/.

1. *á:c'ì k'óndó:*	'water-pot'
a. *á:c'ò*	'water'
b. *k'óndó:*	'pot'
2. *kòčí nìhó:*	'step-father'
a. *kòšò*	'injera'
b. *nìhó:*	'father'
3. *k'èllí c'èdó*	'headache'
a. *k'èlló*	'head'
b. *c'èdó*	'biting'

The other phonological process is change of consonants' /t' and š/ to /č/ while they appear at the middle or end of the first word of the compound. The following examples illustrate this concept.

1. *kèčì k'ĭ:c'ò*	'utensil'
a. *kèt'ó*	'house'
b. *k'ĭ:c'ò*	'material'
2. *kòčì ìndèé*	'step-mather'
a. *kòšò*	'injera'
b.*indèé*	'mother'

However, when these sounds appear at the beginning of the first word or at any place of the head, they are not changed. Consider the following examples.

1. *šìmètè kùt'ó*	'back pain'
a. *šìmètó:*	'waist'
b. *kùt'ó*	'cutting'
2. *má:jè kèt'ó*	'restaurant'
a. *má:jò*	'food'
b. *kèt'ó*	'house'

While compound adjective formed from the combination of noun and adjective the phonological process mostly observed is deletion of the last vowel of the noun. Compare the following examples with the above.

1. *màllét gòndó*	'ugly'
a. *màllétó*	'colour'
b. *gòndó*	'useless/bad'
2. *má:c t'àlló:*	'clean-hearted'
a. *má:cò*	'stomach'
b. *t'àlló:*	'clean'
3. *á:f dó:gò*	'blind'
a. *á:fó*	'eye'
b. *dó:gò*	'someone who hasn't something'

3.4.2 Morphological Characteristics

One of the morphological characteristics of compound words stated by Dixon & Aikhenvald (2004) is, "the first element of a compound cannot be further inflected or modified; the compound belongs to the same word class as its final member" (p. 26).

In Kafi Noonoo it is impossible to attach inflectional elements to each word of the compound since the constituent is not treated independently. It is rather the whole constituent is treated as a single lexical item. Therefore, it is impossible to attach the plural marker /-náʔó/ at the middle of the compound words but at the end. Consider the following examples:

1. *má:jè kèt'ó*	'restaurant'
a. *má:jò*	'food'
b. *kèt'ó*	'house'
* *má:jènàʔó kèt'ó*	'restaurants'
má:jè kèt'ínàʔó	'restaurants'
2. *kòjé: bàkkó:*	'battle field'
a. *kòjó*	'fighting'
b. *bàkkó:*	'field'
* *kòjé:nàʔó bàkkó:*	'battle fields'
kòjé: bàkkénàʔó	'battle fields'
3. *kòčì nìhó:*	'step-father'
a. *kòšò*	'injera'
b. *nìhòó*	'father'
* *kòčìnàʔó nìhòó*	'step-fathers'
kòčì nìhénàʔó	'step-fathers'

These examples show that the structure of the language does not allow the intervention of the constituents with the plural marker morpheme /-náʔó/. Rather the whole compound takes this inflectional morpheme at the end.

The other morphological characteristic found in the language is formation of compound words from simple and derived forms. Look at the following examples.

4. The compound formed from simple words.

a) *má:jè kèt'ó* 'restaurant'
b) *á:f dó:gò* 'blind'
c) *kòčì ìndé:* 'step-mother'
d) *á:'ì mà:dó* 'black board'

5. The compounds formed from simple and derived forms.

a) *má:c'è šá:c'-ò* 'stomachache'
b) *k'èllí c'àd-ó* 'headache'
c) *šìmètè kùt'-ó* 'back pain'

The examples in (4a-d) show that the compounds are formed from two simple words, whereas the examples in(5a-c) are formed from the simple word and the second member nouns derived from verbs *šá:c'í* 'bite', *c'àdí-* 'hit' and *kùt'í-*'cut' respectively.

3.4.3 Syntactic Characteristics

This characteristic concerned with checking whether the compound word functions as one of the lexical categories or not in the sentence. Regarding this Aronoff, (1976, p. 49) states the following, "syntactically every new word must be a member of some major lexical category, the exact category being determined by the WFR which produces the word ..." Accordingly Kafi Noonoo compounds belong to one of the major categories. Consider the following sentences.

19a) *àró: t'àllè nàc'c'ó k'át'èró: -n kèmé-t-é*

he pure-white paint –ACC buy-PFV-3SG.M

'He bought pure-white paint'

19b) *àró: bì-kóčì nìhòó - n šùnní-y-é*

he 3GEN-step father-ACC love-IMPV-3SG.M

'He loves his step-father'

19c) *dòyé kèt'ó dò:yé t'á:ʔò: -né*

learn house learn place – be.PRS

'A school is a place to learn'

The compound words in the above sentences indicate as they function as one of a major lexical category. For instance, *t'àllè nàc'c'ó* 'pure-white' in sentence (19a) is employed as an adjective that modifies the noun *k'át'èró:* 'paint'. Compound noun *kóčì nìhòó* 'step-father' and *dòyé kèt'ó* 'school' in sentence (19b and c) is categorized under noun since they take the position of object and subject in each sentence respectively.

3.4.4 Semantic Characteristics

Semantically all forms of compounds refer to a single unit whether their meaning is originated from the constituent parts or not. For instance, the meaning of the compounds like *nàc'c'é èjjó* 'milky-white', *áá'ì máddòò* 'black board' and *kòčí nìhòó* 'step-father' emanates from the constituents. In contrary to this, the meaning of exocentric compound obtains out of the constituent parts. For example the meaning of *t'àk'k'é k'èllό* 'one who does not advised or rude' not relate with the constituent parts. Even if it is so, both of them refer a single unit. Hence, meaning is the main means of identifying compounds as lexical category even, in case of difficulty in identifying whether the combination of constituents are lexical or phrasal, since the meaning obtained from the combinations

in case of lexical and phrasal is different. Compare the following compound with their corresponding free syntactic combination.

Syntactic phrases		**Lexical Compound**	
1 á:'í mìt'ó	'a black tree'	1 á:'í mìt'ó	'a type of tree'
a) á:'ó	'black'	a) á:'ó	'black'
b) mìt'ó	'tree'	b) mìt'ó	'tree'
2. nàc'c'é àšó	'any white man'	2. nàc'c'é àšó	'foreigner'
a) nàc'c'ó	'white'	a) nàc'c'ó	'white'
b) àšó	'man'	b) àšó	'man'

Table -21 Comparison between syntactic phrase and lexical compound

The above examples show that when the consecutive words are treated as syntactic phrase or lexical compound their meaning is entirely different. Their difference is explained as follow. While the compositional word *á:'í mìt'ó* treats as syntactic phrase it refers to any black tree but, in case of lexical compound it refers to only one type of tree that is called by this name. In the same way the phrase *nàc'c'é àšó* refers to a person who resembles a white man rather than referring only foreigner in the compound noun.

3.5 Summary

Based on the facts seen so far, it is possible to say a compound has a meaning that is different or more than the sum-total meaning of the corresponding syntactic combinations.

Lastly, the permissible and impermissible possibility and general rule for forming compound words of Kafi Noonoo is shown as follow.

	N	V	Adj	Prep
N	+	-	+	-
V	+	-	-	-
Adj	+	-	+	-
Adv.	-	-	-	+

+Permissible

-Impermissible

Chart -1 Permissible or impermissible combination of lexical categories.

This chart shows that noun and adjective play a great role than other lexical categories in forming compound words of Kafi Noonoo. That is the reason for getting more permissible possibility than others. The general word formation rule proposed for this language is the following.

1. $\begin{bmatrix}+N\\+V\end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix}+N\\-V\end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow N$

2. $\begin{bmatrix}+N\\-V\end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix}+N\\-V\end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow N$

3. [+Prep] + [+Adv.] ⟶ Prep

4. [+N] + [+N] ⟶ Adv

CHAPTER FOUR

4. REDUPILICATION

Reduplication is a morphological word formation process in which some portion of the word is doubled. If an entire word or stem is reduplicated, it is total reduplication, but if only a part is reduplicated, it is partial reduplication (Inkelas, 2006, p. 415).

The types of reduplication appears in languages vary from language to language. In some languages both types are found; in others only one of the two (Maravesik, 1978). As far as I investigate, in Kafi Noonoo only complete reduplication is found. But, it is not productive as others word formation processes. The words derived in this process are used to form verb that shows the frequency of the action and adverbial nouns.

As stated above the frequentative verb is formed by reduplicating the root of a verb as below.

Verb bases	**Gloss**	**Reduplicated verbs**	**Gloss**
a. šàf-	'touch'	*šàfšàfé-*	'touch repeatedly'
b.t'ó:b-	'hit'	*t'ó:bt'ó:bì-*	'hit repeatedly'

Table -22 Frequentative verbs from verb roots

This table shows that the frequentative verb is formed from a verb root by reduplicating the root without adding or reducing any segment. It is said complete since the whole root of the word is reduplicated. Look at the following examples.

20a) *k'òc'c'ìtì* *bí-mànó: -n* *šàfé-h-é*

K'ochit GEN-brother-ACC touch-IMPV-3SG.M

'Kochit touches his brother'

20b) *k'òc'c'ìtì* *bí-mànó: -n* *šàfšàfé -h -é*

K'ochit GEN-brother-ACC touch repeatedly-IMPV-3SG.M

'Kochit touches his brother repeatedly'

These examples indicate that, while frequentative verb is formed (20b), it does not change any structure unless showing the repetition of the action, i.e. semantic .The rule formulated for such process can be:

$[X^1_{VB} + X^1_{VB}] \rightarrow [X]_{\textbf{Vs Intensive}}$

In Kafi Noonoo adverbial nouns are also formed by root reduplication from noun. Look at the following table.

Noun	**Gloss**	**Reduplicated Nouns**	**Gloss**
a. t'ùmò	'evening'	*t'ùm t'ùm*	'every evening'
b. àrèddó:	'day'	*àrèdd-í àrèdd-á*	'every day'
c.mà:ddó	'morning'	*mà:dd-í mà:ddó*	'every morning'
d. k'à:wó	'autumn'	*k'à:w-í k'à:wó*	'every autumn'
e.jò:jó	'summer'	*jò:j-í jò:jó*	'every summer'

Table- 23 Adverbial Nouns from Nouns

This table shows that, while adverbial nouns are formed by reduplication process from nouns, the phonological process takes place is deletion of the last vowel. In addition to this change of the last vowel of the noun to /i/ in the first member of reduplicated noun and in to /a/ in the second member respectively is also observed. But sometimes it is changed to /i/

only in the first member as in examples (**b, c**, and **d**). The following sentences illustrate this.

21a) *àró: má:ddó-na wá: -h -é*

he morning-in come-IMPV-3M

'He comes in the morning'

21b) *àró: má:ddì má:ddó màrká:tò-č hámmí<y>é*

he morning morning Merkato-ALL go <EPN>3M

'He goes to Merkato every morning'

Based on this fact it can be possible to formulate the following word formation rule for adverbial noun.

$[[X]_N + [X]_N] \rightarrow [X]$ **Adverbial Noun**

CHAPTER FIVE

5. WORD FORMATION BY CHANGING THE TONE PATTERN

According to Taddese (2001) Kafi Noonoo has rising and falling contour tones in addition to the two basic tones: H and L. He states that tone pattern difference in a word brings meaning difference. This shows that tone pattern is another word formation process in the language. Consider the following examples taken from (Taddese, 2001, p. 34).

I. Nominals Formed from Other Nouns

Examples:

1 a)	*káʃó*	'ripe'
b)	*kàʃò*	'soul'
c)	*káʃò*	'farm tool'
2a)	*mà:c'ò*	'abdomen'
b)	*màác'ò*	'stripe'

II. Nominals Formed from Verbs

3a)	*gìmó*	'to enter'
b)	*gìmò*	'entrance'
4a)	*gòjó*	'to farm'
b)	*gòjò*	'farm'

5a) *k'èmó* 'to sleep'

b) *k'èmò* 'bed'

6a) *újó* 'to drink'

b) *újò* 'a drink'

III) Verbs Formed from Verbs

7a) *kémó* 'to sell'

b) *kémò* 'to buy'

8a) *hót'ò* 'to overflow'

b) *hòt'ò* 'to look down'

These examples show that in Kafi Noonoo it is possible to form nouns from other nouns or verbs, and verbs from verbs by only changing their tone pattern. But, it is not as productive as derivation and compounding.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has been concerned with the identification of word formation process of Kafi Noonoo. Accordingly, most of Kafi Noonoo words are formed by two major word formation processes: affixation and compounding, and some words by reduplication and by changing tone pattern.

Different types of nominals: abstract, agentive, instrumental, action, gerundive, infinitival and manner can be derived from noun, adjective and verb by suffixation. Among these nominals, most take morpheme /-ó/ when derived. This is related with one of the characteristics of the language that most of the nouns end with vowel /o/.

In this language, different types of verbs: causatives, reciprocals and passives are derived only from verbs. Causative is derived by affixation of /-i- or –íí-/, whereas reciprocal and passive by /-è-/ and /–é~–éé-/ respectively. Passivization results in the reduction of argument structure of verbs in opposite to causativization, which increases argument structure.

The other word class formed by affixation is Adjective. It is derived from nouns and stative verbs by affixation of /-è/ and /-ó~ -ò~-óó/ respectively.

Compounding is the second major word formation process in Kafi Noonoo. In this language, compound nouns, adjectives and prepositions can be formed by combining two words which are in the same or different word class. The categories included in this process are nouns, adjectives, verbs, prepositions and adverbs.

In general compound words of Kafi Noonoo are divided in to two: endocentric and exocentric. In the former category, the word on the right hand determines the types and the meaning of whole compound.

The third word formation process is reduplication. In Kafi Noonoo, it is formed by reduplicating the base of verb or noun. Frequentive verb is formed by reduplicating verbs whereas adverbial noun by reduplication of noun.

The other word formation process in the language is tone. Different categories such as nouns and verbs are formed from other nouns or verbs by changing their pitch pattern. But reduplication and tone alteration are not as productive as the other two.

To sum up, while a word is formed in Kafi Noonoo, it shows some differences from its base/stem counterparts phonetically, morphologically, syntactically and semantically. The main phonological process observed is vowel harmony on the last vowel of the words.

Regarding assignment of, position of the head, since in case of derivation, the most decisive part of the word (affix) and in case of compounding, the decisive word in the compound is found in the right side, it is possible to conclude as Kafi Noonoo is head final language.

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ካሳ ጥላሁን (1970 ዓ.ም) አፋቸዉን በከፍኛ ቋንቋ የፊቱ የቦንጋ 2ኛ ደረጃ ት/ቤት ተማርዎች የሚሰሩአቸዉ የአማርኛ ስህተቶች። የቢኤ ማማያ ጽሁፍ፤ አዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ።

APPENDIX

List of words

1) Nouns

Noun	Gloss
1.á:cò	'water'
2. á:fò	'eye'
3. àrèddó:	'day'
4. àšó	'man'
5. bàkkó:	'field'
6. bìrèwó:	'money'
7. bùkkó:	'gray hair'
8. bùrcìk'ò	'cup'
9. bùšó	'child'
10. càdó	'hitting'
11. dángó	'mud'
12. dòyó:	'learning'
13. èjjó	'milk'
14. gìbìnò	'belief'
15. gìdí:ré	'girl'
16. gí:dò	'power'
17. gòndó	'bad'

18. *gù:dó* 'dirt'

19. *gú:nò* 'slave'

20. *gù:dó* 'rubbish'

21. *hàró:* 'dawn'

22. *ìndèé/gènné:* 'mother'

23. *k'à:wó* 'autumn'

24. *k'èllό* 'head'

25. *k'í:c'ò* 'material'

26. *k'í:c'c'ò* 'struggle'(n)

27. *k'ùfó:* 'cloud'

28. *k'òndó* 'pot'

29. *ká:mé:lò* 'car'

30. *kèt'ò* 'house'

31. *kìšó* 'hand'

32. *kó:tò* 'lay'

33. *kùt'ó* 'cutting'

34. *kòšò* 'injera'

35. *kòjó* 'fighting'

36. *kòjò* 'sewing'

37. *má:čé* 'woman'

38. *má:cò* 'stomach'

39. *mà:ddó* 'morning'

40. *má:jò* 'food'

41. *màllètó* 'color'

42. *màné:* 'sister'

43. *mànó:* 'brother'

44. *mìt'ó* 'tree'

45. *nìhòó* 'father'

46. *nìjó:* 'desire'

47. *nù:čó:* 'friend'

48. *šá:có* 'hunger'

49. *šá:cò* 'biting'

50. *sá:ndú:k'ó* 'box'

51. *šá:jò* 'tea'

52. *šáčèwo* 'thirsty'

53. *šànbàtó:* 'weekend'

54. *šì:kkó:* 'mucus'

55. *ší:t't'ó* 'charcoal'

56. *šìmètò* 'waist'

57. *šù:nó:* 'work'

58. *šè:rò* 'smell'

59. *t'àk'k'ó* 'stone'

60. *t'ìbó:* 'relative'

61. *t'ùmò* 'evening'

62. *ùjó* 'drink'(n)

63. *jé:llò* 'scandalous'

64. *jí:kkò* 'flour'

65. *jò:jó* 'summer'

66. *èmèró:* 'happiness'

2) Adjectives

Adjective	Gloss
1. *ɑ́ɑ́'ò*	'black'
2. *á:ngó:*	'fat'
3. *àc'ó*	'wise'
4. *bùšá:*	'small'
5. *c'é:llò*	'red'
6. *c'ìcó:*	'thin'
7. *dàllɔ́:*	'thin'
8. *dù:ró:*	'foolish'
9. *gá:wò*	'fine'
10. *gèndʒó:*	'long'
11. *gí:dè*	'powerful'
12. *k'ábìnò*	'short'
13. *k'ànnó:*	'right'
14. *k'ùp'ó*	'strong'
15. *kátìnò*	'near'
17. *kèttó:*	'easy'
17. *kùpp'ó*	'strong'
18. *nàc'c'ó:*	'white'
19. *nìró*	'raw'
20. *ó:gó*	'big'
21. *šàtó*	'cowardly'
22. *wòhó*	'far'

3. Verbs

Verb Stem	Gloss
1.á:či-	'hide'
2. àrí: -	'know'
3. bèčí-	'grow'
4. c'í:ní-	'see'
5. cùčí-	'tie'
6. dàbbé-	'hunt'
7. dìhí-	'fall down'
8. dí:rí	'bless'
9. dójjí-	'teach'
10. dókkí-	'erase'
11. dù:bbí-	'sing'
12. dójí-	'learn'
13. dègé-	'help'
14. èllé-	'listen'
15. èmìrì-	'happy'
16. gàbìnní-	'sew'
17. gètí-	'talk'(v)
18. gòčí-	'till'
19. gùfí-	'boil'
20. gù:rí-	'slaughter'
21. gétí-	'talk'(v)
22. hàggí-	'build'
23. hàmmí-	'go'

24. *hìdí-* 'sweep'

25. *ìmí-* 'give'

26. *ìppé-* 'a silky mood'

27, *k'èčì-* 'open'

28. *k'é:lle-* 'measure'

29. *k'èjí-* 'sleep'

30. *k'ùc'í-* 'scrap'

31. *k'ùyè-* 'keep'

32. *ká:cci-* 'comb'

33. *ká:či-* 'play'

34. *kèkí-* 'call'

35. *kèmé-* 'buy'

36. *kémí-* 'sell'

37. *kòc'í-* 'maintain'

38. *kòčí-* 'pierce'

39. *kòčì-* 'sew'

40. *kò:ri-* 'write'

41. *kòte-* 'sit'

42. *kùtt'ì-* 'cut'

43. *máá-* 'eat'

44. *mà:c'í-* 'decide'

45. *máčí-* 'wash'

46. *nà:ggi-* 'insult'

47. *né:t'é-* 'stand'

48. *šá:bbí-* 'milk'

49. *šà:ggi-* 'carry'

50. *šèmmé-* 'read'

51. *šùmí-* 'kiss'

52. *šùní-* 'love'

53. *šú:né-* 'work'

54. *t'àllí-* 'clean'

55. *t'óóbí-* 'hit/beat'

56. *t'ùk'í-* 'push'

57. *tá:hí-* 'exhaust'

58. *táhé-* 'wear'

59. *ùčí-* 'drink'

60. *ùjé-* 'spill'

61. *ùppì-* 'curse'

62. *wà:yé-* 'hear'

63. *wòcí-* 'run'

64. *wocí-* 'melt'

65. *wút'í-* 'kill'

66. *wòc'c'í-* 'run'

67. *yèt'i-* 'hit'

68. *èllé-* 'listen'

69. *cé:ll-é-* 'become red'

70. *à:ng-í-* 'become fat'

71. *k'ábìn-í-* 'become short'

72. *gènj-é-* 'become long'

73. *á:k'k'-í-* 'become black'

74. *nìr-í-* 'become raw'

75. *kátìnn-í-* 'become near'

76. wòkk-í-	'become far'
77.kùpp'-é	'become strong'
78. dàll-í-	'become thin'

4. Prepositions & Adverbs

Preposition	**Gloss**
1. dànbá	'up'
2. dèš	'down'
3. hàč	'toward'
4. òkkèbìjé hàč	'towards here'
5 .hìnìjé dànbá	'upward'
6. hìnìjé dèš	'down ward'
7. òkkèbìjé(Adv.)	'there
8. hìnìjé (Adv.)	'here'

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and that all sources of the materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name Abdulfetah Nesha

Signature [signature]

Place Addis Ababa University

Date 23/06/2011

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as a University Advisor.

Name _____

Signature _____

Place _____

Date _____