



ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

**COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES, LANGUAGE STUDIES,
JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION**

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

**DOCUMENTATION AND DESCRIPTION OF
HAMMAR NOUN MORPHOLOGY:
BANNA DIALECT IN FOCUS**

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**ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA
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DECLARATION

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

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ABSTRACT

Banna is an Omotic language of the Afro-Asiatic language family, and it is not well-studied and documented linguistically. Therefore, this study attempts to document the Noun Morphology of Banna. By way of documenting, the study has included 381 words, 54 phrases and 179 sentences from 15 consultants.

Both primary and secondary data were collected in this study. Key informants' interview was utilized for primary data gathering.

The findings of this study reveal that the Banna noun morphology is focused. In other words this noun morphology is considered through inflectional and derivational of the dialect. Particularly, based on inflection, nouns inflected for the purpose of definiteness, number, gender and case. And also, based on derivation, abstract and agentive nouns were discussed. These noun morphology are important guides to constituting and maintaining Banna dialect.

Linguistically, these studies have been shown by noun morphology starting with the addition of a suffix or prefix.

Therefore, in Banna, the noun morphology terms have to be inherent and clearly indicated by means of lexical items or grammatical markers, or they may be used in combination with various determiners in full NPs.

Finally, the documentation of annotation part is also attached to the thesis.

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Lists of Abbreviations and Acronyms

Term		Relevant entry
ABL	→	Ablative Case
Abst	→	Abstract
ACC	→	Accusative Case
Adj	→	Adjective
ALL	→	Allative Case
COM	→	Comitative Case
DAT	→	Dative Case
DEF	→	Definiteness
F	→	Feminine
GEN	→	Genitive Case
GE	→	Gender
IMF	→	Imperfective
INST	→	Instrumental Case
IPA	→	International Phonetic Association
LOC	→	Locative Case
M	→	Masculine
N	→	Noun
Neg	→	negative, negation
NGO	→	Non-Government Organization
NOM	→	Nominative Case
NP	→	Noun Phrase
Nu	→	Number
OSV	→	Object Subject Verb
Pst	→	Past Tense
PL	→	Plural number
Pro	→	Pronoun
Prep	→	Preposition
Sg	→	Singular number
SIM	→	Sudan Interior Mission
SNNPR	→	Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region
SOV	→	Subject Object Verb
3	→	Third person
-	→	Separates morphs and the corresponding glosses
.	→	Separates multiple glosses of a single morph or word form
()	→	Optional
//	→	Encloses a phoneme/phonemic
{ }	→	Encloses a phoneme/phonemic
[]	→	Phonetic representation
→	→	Becomes

LISTS OF INFORMANTS

No.	Consultants	Sex	Age	Living place	Educational background	Career	Languages spoken
1	Dohide Hunto	M	40	Muk'c'a	Grade 2	Farming	Banna
2	Dilli Sego	M	20	Muk'c'a	Grade 9	Farming	Banna and Amharic
3	Mlaku Liro	M	45	Muk'c'a	Grade 5	Farming	Banna
4	Ayeke Ari	M	44	Muk'c'a	Grade 3	Farming	Banna and Hammer
5	Super Galishar	M	60	Muk'c'a	-	Farming	Banna
6	Tsefaye Tamne	M	24	Muk'c'a	10+1	School Director	Amharic and Banna
7	Silebo Wado	M	50	Muk'c'a	Grade 3	Farming	Banna
8	Almitu Hailu	F	19	Muk'c'a	-	Farming	Banna
9	Greso Birro	M	55	Muk'c'a	-	Farming	Banna
10	Shelo Libo	M	25	Muk'c'a	-	Farming	Banna
11	Roro Gresho	M	19	Muk'c'a	-	Farming	Banna
12	Ayeki Alesho	F	44	Muk'c'a	-	Farming	Banna
13	Ayeke Rudar	M	50	Muk'c'a	-	Farming	Banna
14	Blaye Aschalew	M	22	K'ey Afer	10+3	Guide	Amharic, English and Banna
15	Henok Garsho	M	20	Alduba	Grade 10	Student	Amharic and Banna

Appendix One

Annotation

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Overview of the Thesis

This study is about noun morphology of Banna who live in the southwest part of Ethiopia in South Omo Zone in the state of Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region (SNNPR).

Banna is spoken in three Kebeles i.e. K'ak'o, Alduba and Muk'cha Kebeles in Banna-Tsema Woreda. In this thesis, the documentation and description of Banna noun morphology is discussed. This includes inflectional and derivational noun morphology. With regard to inflectional noun morphology, gender, number (singular and plural), definiteness and cases (nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, locative, allative, ablative, instrumental, and comitative), are analyzed. In derivational noun morphology, abstract and agentive nouns are examined.

The thesis is organized into four chapters and each chapter has different sections. Chapter one of the thesis deals with introductory aspects, this part consists of the people and their dialect, the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, the significance of the study, the scope of the study, the importance/significance of the paper, methodology of research (i.e. methods of data collection and data analysis), review of related literature and theoretical framework of documentation and description. Chapter two focuses on some notes on phonology of Banna i.e. consonant and vowel phonemes.

Chapter three of this thesis clarifies Banna Noun morphology. This includes inflectional and derivational noun morphology is also discussed. Finally, chapter four is addressed and summarizes the concluding thoughts.

1.2 The Banna People and their dialect

Banna is an Omotic language of the Afro-Asiatic language family. The language shares substantial similarity with Hamar, with a lexical similarity of 81%, and it is, therefore, considered as a dialect of Hamar by Blench (2006).

In terms of Omotic languages classification, Bender (2000) has genetically put the Banna dialect as follows.

- ❖ South Omotic/Aroid (Hamer-**Banna**, Aari, Dime, Karo)
- ❖ North Omotic/Non-Aroid
 - Mao
 - Bambassi
 - West Mao (Hozo, Seze, Ganza)
 - Dizoid (Dizi, Sheko, Nayi)
 - Gonga- Gimojan
 - Gonga/Kefoid (Boro. Anfillo, Kafa, Shekkacho)
 - Gimojan
 - Yemsa
 - Ometo –Gimira
 - Bench
 - Chara
 - Ometo Languages

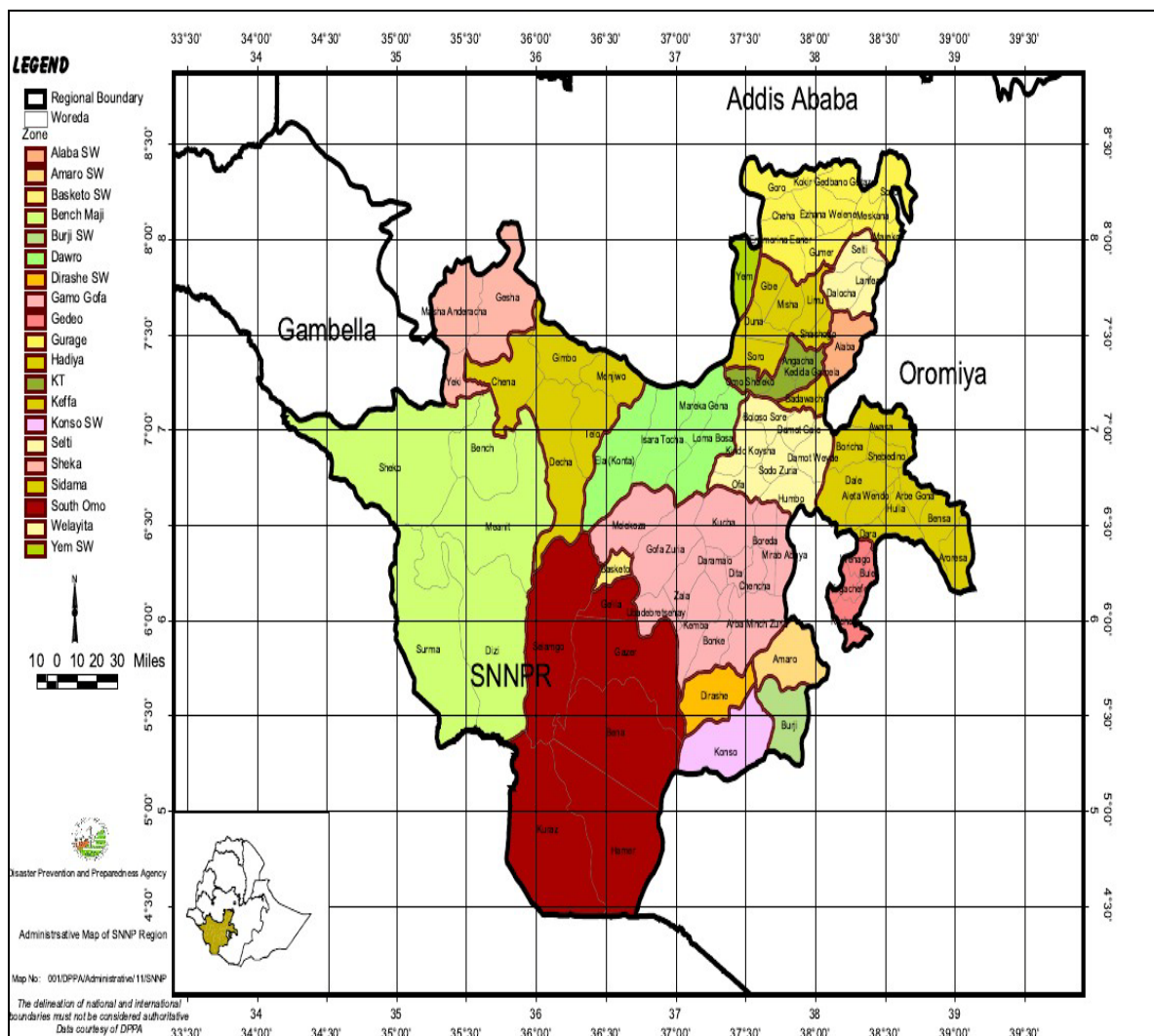
The Banna people live in the savannah-woodland area between the Weito and Omo rivers. The place is found approximately 710 km south of Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia, and around 42 km north of Jinka, the administrative center of the South Omo Zone. The people who speak Banna live in Banna-Tsemay Woreda, around K'ey Afer town in the South Omo Zone of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State. Regarding to the geographical location and language of Banna, Ken Masuda (2009:48) states that as follow:

*The Banna people consider Banna land to be divided into two ritual regions: **Ailama** and **Anno** (or Arkor). The western part of Banna land, Ailama, covers the area corresponding to three kebeles (Dizishi'sh, Goldya, and Mokocha) and some southern Ari areas; it is said to be protected by the ritual power of a bitta (ritual chief) of Dore lineage. Therefore, this region is also called Dore peino (land of Dore's lineage). The eastern part, Anno or Arkor, covers a vast area and is said to be protected by the ritual power of a bitta of Garsho zere. Both bitta lineages belong to the Gata clan.*

Based on the 2007 Census conducted by the CSA, the total population of Banna speakers is 27,018 (13,545 males and 13,473 females). In the area there are also people who are Tsemay, Ari, Konso, Hamar, Kara and Amhara that co-exist peacefully with the Banna.

Their subsistence economy is based on sorghum and maize cultivation and cattle herding. The Banna share a common cultural background with the Hamar, their southern neighbor, and intermarry with the South Ari and North Hamar (Ken Masuda 2009: 48).

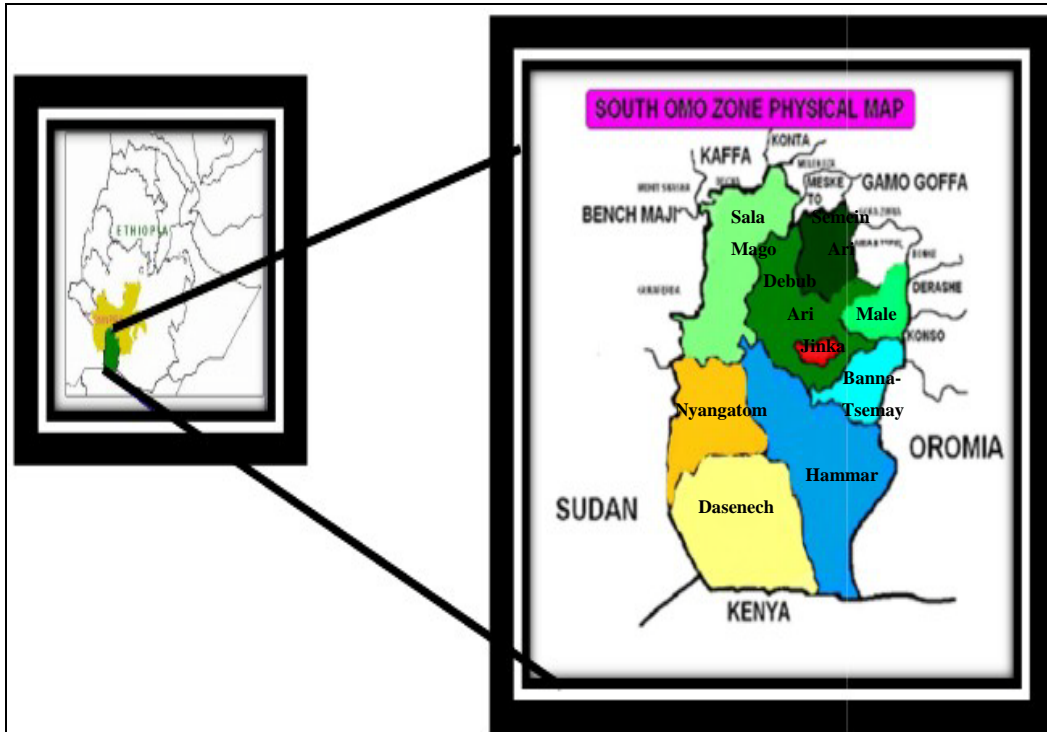
The most popular local foods which are considered parts of Banna's culture include '**ayizən**' and '**kurkufa**' food that are made of grinding maize and sorghum with cabbage. The Woreda is well known for its fertile soil. The map of Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples Regional state is presented as follow:



Source: in SNNPR, Population Affairs Coordination and Implementation
Map 1 the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples Regional state

The following map shows the area where the Banna people live:

Source: in South Omo Zone, Population Affairs Coordination and Implementation



Map 2 in South Omo Zone, of Banna people in Banna-Tsemay Woreda

1.3 Statement of the problem

The number of Banna speakers is around twenty seven thousand. Due to contact with neighboring communities, urbanization and tourism, the majority of the Banna are becoming bilingual, and they are gradually abandoning many cultural practices. They are not also using their language for education or administration. In addition to this, Banna is not linguistically well studied and documented so far.

From these points it assures that nouns of Banna are widely used by most societies. However, their functions, purposes and practices vary from culture to culture. Even though, some socio-cultural and linguistic studies have been conducted in the study area, noun morphology of the Banna has not given into account and not well documented with its different descriptions, functions, purposes, and values importance.

1.4 Objective of the Study

The main objective of this study is to provide a linguistic description and documentation of Banna Noun Morphology. This study provides an investigation of both inflectional and derivational noun morphology of the Banna.

The specific objectives of the study are:

- To provide a brief account of the inflectional categories of gender, number (singular and plural), definiteness and case like nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, locative, allative, instrumental, ablative, and comitative in Banna nouns;
- To discuss the derivational morphology of nouns in Banna;
- To annotate recordings of audio data with ELAN software;

1.5 Scope of the Study

The scope of this project is restricted to documenting and describing of the noun morphology of Banna.

1.6 Significance of the Study

Linguistic works are scarce in Omotic languages. The availability of detailed descriptions on each of the languages and dialects is necessary. So, when this work is completed, it could:

- Raise our understanding of the noun morphology of Banna, and its features and functions;
- Contribute to the preservation of the linguistic facts of the dialect through documenting and description;
- Serve as a reference material for further study on the dialect;
- Be useful for historical and comparative linguistic purposes;

1.7 Methodology of the Study

1.7.1 Methods of Data Collection

This study is basically based on qualitative data consisting primary and secondary sources. The method of the research is attempting to explain and look at a situation of descriptive and documentation of noun morphology.

In order to find out more about words, phrases and sentences, interviewing key consultants are the basic research methods used in the data collection process conducted in both by the Amharic and Banna dialect. By way of documenting, the data are gathered from 15 consultants. Therefore, this study attempts to document the Noun Morphology of Banna.

In addition to the primary data, I used literature and audio materials, and those are provided by different researchers in area give to make an accurate account of noun morphology in Banna society.

The researcher used materials like Olympus digital sound recorder 3500 for audio recording, Sony Handy Cam 4.0 mega pixels for taking photos, and an exercise book for taking notes.

1.7.2 Data Analyzing Method

The data were collected through elicitation and recording. After each of the collection session, transcription into IPA and editing took place manually with the help of native-speaker consultants.

The researcher applied different software packages for the presentation of collected data for documentation. The transcribed and edited audio data are annotated with Elan for further linguistic analysis.

1.8 Review of Related Literature

In this section, some of linguistic studies on Hamar and Banna are summarized and reviewed. Attempts are made to review studies done both on Banna and Hamar as they are considered as dialects of the same language (Bender (2000); Moges Yigezu (2012)).

Lydall (1976) has dealt with ‘a *structured description of the phonemes and some constituent of the Hamar.*’ She has identified twenty six consonant and ten vowel phonemes. In her study, she discusses nouns, modifiers and verbs. She deals with nouns that are marked for number and gender. The accusative case marker /-dam/ or /-dan/ and the instrumental postposition /-ka/ or /-xa/ ‘with’ are included.

The study identifies different classes of verbs, and states that the basic word of the language is *SOV*. However, when pronouns are subjects, and objects, noun phrases have the accusative suffixes, and the order may be *OSV*. This study focuses on the structured description of the phonemes and some constituent. Under the part of noun morphology, it touches specifically on number, gender and two types of case markers like accusative and instrumental postposition. So, there is more need to study further.

Getahun Amare (1995) deals with “*the Structure of Noun Phrases in Hamar.*” He has tried to identify and analyze the constituents of nominal structures in light of the *X-bar* theory. He discusses about the constituents of a NP structure, including nominal (heads), specifiers and complements. He also discusses the Non-head elements. It includes two sets of specifiers, i.e. determiners and quantifiers that subdivide from the N’’ and N’’ nodes respectively.

He also discusses three types of complements. These are functional arguments, restrictive modifiers and non-modifiers that subdivide from N’, N’, and N’’ nodes respectively. When a specifier and a complement occur at the same level, the specifier

occurs following the complement. So this study focuses on the structure of noun under the parts of syntactic. It does not touch specifically on noun morphology in detail. In general, it can be deduced that heads of NPs are final in Hamar.

Ken Masuda's (2009) study entitled '*an Ethnographic Description of Ethnic Identification,*' deals with the interethnic warfare in the Lower Omo Valley and its relationships between ethnic identity and culture, and between society and ecology. This paper gives ethnographic information about myth, clan classification, and interethnic warfare of the Banna. It also clarifies how Banna people construct their "ethnic" identity: they identify themselves as members of the Banna through a various forms of recognition and narratives.

Andreas Joswig (2011) has worked on the title of "*Grammar of the Hamar Language*". In this booklet, he has discussed on the nouns, modifiers of the noun phrase, pronouns and possessives, and subjects and predicates. He also deals with the verbs and person markings, transitive verbs, non-final verbs and verbal derivations, and other types of noun phrases and adverbs. Finally, all aspects of the grammar are illustrated by the story of '*The donkey, the dog and the goat*'

Moges Yigezu (2012) has worked on the topics of '*The Hamar-Banna Cluster: a Lexicostatistics Survey*'. The main purpose of his study was so as to arrive at a preliminary estimate of probable degree of intelligibility between languages and dialects from a single language family. So, in the survey, he has tried that he worked to determine the dialectal variation within the Hamar- Banna cluster and identify the possible linguistic center(s) for the envisaged mother tongue education in the area. The study employs different methods including lexicostatistical survey, intelligibility testing and interviewing native speakers. Based on lexical similarity, he concludes that Hamar and Beshada are almost 100% identical in mutual understanding. But the only difference between the two is more cultural rather than linguistic.

In comparing Hamar and Banna, he points out that they are dialects of the same language with some lexical variation. Around 95% of lexical words are the same and they are considered to have high degree of intelligibility.

Finally, based on collected words, he states that Hamar and Kara share 60% for the average of cognate count and 46.66% for the average of the spread score. He, therefore, concludes that they are different languages.

1.9 The conceptual framework of Documentary and Description Linguistics

A lot of scholars have discussed about documentary linguistics. They were discussing about language documentation, language description, difference between language documentation and description etc. So, before the researcher engages on the study, some points are discussed with regard to documentation as follow:

1.9.1 Language Documentation

Documentary linguistics is a new discipline of linguistics. This is focused on the documentation of endangerment language. So, to document the whole features of languages, using of technique documenting is vital. Language Documentation (Himmelman 2002:8)

Language documentation is concerned with the production of a lasting, multipurpose record of a language. The practical of “lasting, multipurpose record of a language” sets on the assumption that it is possible and useful to compile a database for a very broadly defined subject matter (a language) without being guided by a specific theoretical or practical problem in mind which could be resolved on the basis of this database.

The major reason why linguists have to engage with the idea of multipurpose documentations is the fact that a substantial number of the languages spoken today are threatened by extinction. Since it is impossible to check data with native speakers or to collect additional data sets of an extinct language, creating lasting, multipurpose documentation is thus seen as major challenge in language documentation (Himmelmann 2002: 10).

The purpose of documentation is to record of the whole language performance and distinctiveness of community's speech. As Woodbury (2003: 35) stated, the aim of language documentation:

is to provide a comprehensive record of the language practices and characteristics of a given speech community. The goal is not a short-term record for a specific purpose or interest group but a record for generations and user groups whose identity is still unknown and who may want to explore questions at the time when the language documentation was compiled.

1.9.2 Linguistic description

As Andrews, Larry (2006:26) defines description linguistics: "it is the work of objectively analyzing and describing how language is actually used by a group of people in a speech community." So, linguistic description is focused based on analyzing and describing of speech community. Its aim is to observe the linguistic analysis.

A linguistic description, according to Andrews, Larry (2006:26), is adequate if it achieves one or more of the following goals:

1. A description of the phonology of the language in question.
2. A description of the morphology of words belonging to that language.

3. A description of the syntax of well-formed sentences of that language.
4. A description of lexical derivation.
5. A documentation of the vocabulary, including at least one thousand entries.
6. A reproduction of a few genuine texts.

1.9.3 Difference between language documentation and description

As we discuss in the above, we can summarize the difference between language documentation and language description in three fundamental ways (Woodbury 2003: 43).

1. First, language documentation aims at record of linguistic practices and traditions of the speech community, while language description aims at the record of a language with language being understood as a system of abstract elements, constructions and rules which constitute the invariant structures of the utterance observable in a speech community.
2. Secondly, within the descriptive framework, data collection is supplementary to the analysis of the language system. However within the documentary framework, aspects of various approaches to languages - including descriptive linguistic - are unified.
3. The third major difference is within the descriptive framework, primary data are just means to analyze the language system. However, within the documentation framework, primary data are of major concern and presenting as many primary data with as much analytical information possible.

So, documentation is based on a broad variety of approaches to languages, each combining various well-established frameworks which are relevant to the completion of the language documentation. Compiling language documentation data, involves at least the following four steps (Woodbury 2003: 35-6 and Himmelmann 2002: 14):

- A. Decisions about which data to collect and include in the documentation
- B. The actual recording of the data
- C. Transcription, translation and commentary (annotation)

D. Presentation for public consumption and publicity accessible storage

In addition, the following issues should also be considered or discussed in documentary linguistics (Himmelman 2002: 14-16):

- Limits to documentation due to language right. According to recent thoughts in linguistics, the rights of the contributors and the speech community should be given priority over scientific interests.
- The parameters for the selection of communicative events should determine the kind and the number of events to be included. As many and as varied communicative events as one can record, transcription and translation can be included in language documentation.
- The quality of data depends on how the data were gathered and compiled. Thus evaluation and development of data gathering procedures are important areas of practical and theoretical inquiry within documentary linguistics.
- Further issues can be addressed which might include how communities can be actively involved in the design of a concrete documentation procedure from the very beginning to end; how the technical problems passed by the language documentation such as the choice of an appropriate recording and presentation technology, problem of archiving and maintaining documents, and the problem of providing and controlling access to documents.

Therefore, most of the issues discussed in this section would be relevant for documenting and describing of the gathered data.

CHAPTER TWO

Some notes on Phonology of Banna

In this chapter, the speech sounds of Banna are identified and described. For the sake of IPA convenience in subsequent sections, **ʔ**, **ch**, **sh**, **zh**, **ng**, **dh**, and **y** are written as **ʔ**, **tʃ**, **ʃ**, **ʒ**, **ŋ**, **dʰ**, and **j** respectively.

The description of the consonants is presented in section 2.1, and then followed by the description of the vowels in section 2.2.

2.1 Consonants

The consonant phonemes in Banna occur at five major points of articulation. These are labial, alveolar, alveo-palatal, velar and glottal. In the table, while the velar implosive stop phoneme **ɓ** is only found in Lydal Jean (1976:402), the voiceless palatal affricate **tʃ** and palatal ejective affricate **tʃʰ** are found in SIM Alduba (2001:10). However, the rest phonemes are found in both works. So the following merged consonant phonemes are given in table (1) (Lydal Jean 1976:402, SIM Alduba, 2001:10).

		Labial	Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	vl	p	t		k	ʔ
	vd	b	d		g	
	ej.				kʰ	
	imp	ɓ	dʰ		ɠ	
Fricative	vl	{f}	s	ʃ	{x}	h
	vd		z	ʒ		
	ej.		sʰ			
Affricate	vl		ts	tʃ		
	vd			dʒ		

	ej			tʃʳ		
Nasal	vd	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Liquids			l r			
Glides		w		j		

Table-1 Consonant Phonemes of Banna

All words start with a consonant in Banna. It is never lengthened, and word initial consonant clusters do not occur. Long consonants may occur in the middle of words or in the word-final position. Consonants may also be lengthened in the word-final position and short when a suffix is added. Consonant clusters are found in the middle and at the end of words.

From the collected data, the description of the consonant sounds of Banna is going to be presented as follow. The order is based on the point of articulation of the consonants.

2.1.1 The distribution of consonant phonemes in Banna

In this section, the various positions of phonemes in words and formations of consonant clusters are established. We display the distribution of consonants by classifying them according to their manner of articulation. These are stops, affricates, fricatives, glottal, and nasals, liquids and glides. Each class explains the word distribution in six columns. The words of the first column demonstrate the distributions of phonemes at word-initial position; the second column illustrates the distribution at word-medial position; the third column presents the distribution at word-final position. In the fourth column possibilities of gemination exemplify; in the fifth column the distribution at the pre-consonantal position is shown; in the last column are examples of distribution in post-consonantal position.

Sound	Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate	-C	C-
/p/	putʃo 'stars'	ʔapi 'eye'	ʔatp 'tongue'	tʃʰappi 'rotten'	ʔapti 'bird'	ʔalpa 'knife'
/b/	bukʰo 'knee'	sibada 'thick'	ʔab 'other'	dabbi 'animal'	zobta 'the lion'	ʔinba 'father'
/t/	tunni 'dull'	wakata 'left'	-	betta 'seed'	jetsa 'burn'	banti 'river'
/d/	dabi: 'animal'	dado 'mother'	-	-	sandi 'float'	pajda 'count'
/k/	koja 'dig'	nuki 'nose'	mi:sk 'beg'	li:kka 'small'	-	worki 'large'
/g/	gojjiti 'road'	pege 'far'	-	tʃʰaggi 'green'	ʔorgo 'short'	malgimi 'foolish'
/ʔ/	ʔorgo 'short'	ʃudiʔi 'grass'	-	-	-	-

Table-2: Stops and their distribution.

As can be observed from the above table, the least resourceful stop consonant phoneme is ʔ. It occurs very frequently at word initial position. Almost all consonant phonemes except ʔ are attested as a member of a cluster, as a geminate, and word finally.

Sound	Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate	-C	C-
/ts/	-	ʔatsi 'tooth'	-	-	-	-
/tʃ/	tʃetʃi 'ice'	gotʃa 'pull'	-	getʃtʃo 'old'	-	-
/dʒ/	dʒibar 'wind'	-	-	kʰadʒdʒi 'cold'	-	-

Table-3: Affricates and their distribution

As can be seen from the above table, there are three affricate consonants **ts**, **tʃ**, and **dʒ** in Banna. The affricate sound /**ts**/ occurs only at medial position of words but it has no initial and final position of words, and geminate counterpart. The second affricate sound **tʃ** occurs in almost every position except in the pre- and post-consonantal. It is not also frequently attested in word final position. The last affricate sound **dʒ** does not occur in every position. It only occurs in word-initial position. It is also geminated in word-medial position. It is not attested in other positions and pre-and post consonantal positions.

Sound	Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate	-C	C-
/s/	sijja 'dirty'	de:sa 'kill'	-	passi 'smooth'	k'aski 'dog'	warsa 'sing'
/z/	zombi 'blood'	t'u:za 'suck'	gazz 'straight'	bezz 'lake'	-	?annza 'girl'
/ʃ/	ʃa:mi 'sand'	geʃewa 'husband'	-	geʃfo 'husband'	k'oʃmba 'horn'	bawʃo 'king termite'
/ʒ/	-	wuʒa 'squeeze'	-	-	-	-
/x/	-	daxa 'tie'	lax 'six'	-	-	-
/h/	halli 'new'	womaha 'breath'	-	-	-	-

Table-4: Fricatives and their distribution

As can be shown in the above table 4, there are six fricative consonants in Banna. The fricative consonants **s** and **ʃ** appear in every position except as final position. The fricative consonants **z** is found in every position but it does not occur in pre-consonantal positions. The sibilant **ʒ** occurs only in medial word position. The other segments such as **x** and **h** do not occur in every position. When the fricative **h** is found initially and medially in word position, the fricative **x** is found medially and finally in word position.

Sound	Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate	-C	C-
/s'/	s'e:di 'near'	s'os'i 'full'	-	ges's'a 'heavy'	-	-
/tʃ'/	tʃ'appi 'rotten'	tʃ'atʃ'i 'root'	patʃ'tʃ' 'many'	wutʃ'tʃ'a 'drink'	-	k'ortʃ'i 'neck'
/k'/	k'anssa 'hear'	nok'o 'water'	mizak' 'right'	dok'k'a 'sit'	-	bank'i 'war'
/d/	desa 'know'	sibada 'thick'	ʔoʔid' 'thin'	buddo 'back'	ja:ndan 'the sheep'	-
/b/	botʃa 'think'	ʔebi 'bone'	guduɓ 'long'	ʔe:ɓbe 'skin'	-	gembo 'large'

Table-5: Glottalised consonants and their distribution

As shown in the above table, the consonant phonemes **tʃ'**, **k'** and **ɓ** occur in all words position except pre-consonant. The phoneme **s'** does not occur in word final position. This phoneme is also not occurred pre- and post- consonantal positions. Moreover, **d** can be appeared in every position but it cannot form the first element in a post-consonant cluster.

Sound	Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate	-C	C-
/m/	mizak' 'right'	gembo 'large'	makkam 'three'	ʔamma 'yellow'	zombi 'blood'	si:rma 'pregnant'
/n/	nuki 'nose'	goni 'correct'	ʔa:n 'hand'	gunni 'snake'	ʔantʃ'a 'laugh'	dar-ne 'LOC-V'
/ŋ/	-	ʔanɲi 'male'	doŋ 'five'	-	-	manɲa 'swell'
/r/	ro: 'leg'	mitʃare 'stick'	kidar 'together'	garri 'big'	durpi 'fat'	k'awro: 'from forest'

/l/	li:lo 'cloud'	kala 'one'	slal 'dust'	pi:lla 'fly'	palsa 'spite'	
/w/	worri 'wide'	tʃˀawli 'white'	kˀaw 'forest'	-	kˀawndar 'to forest'	matdikwana 'because'
/j/	jeda 'burn'	jaje: 'walk'	-	pajja 'good'	wajlam 'heart'	ʃanjide 'buy'

Table-6: Nasals, liquids and glides and their distribution

The nasal consonants **m**, **n** and **r** are attested in every position of a word. The resonant that is most restricted in terms of distribution is **ŋ**. It appears in word medial, final and post-consonantal positions. The consonant phoneme **l** is attested in every position of a word except in post-consonantal position. **w** is attested in every position of a word but it is not a geminated form. **j** occurs in all positions except in word final position.

2.1.2 Near Minimal Pairs

In principle, if two sounds bring change of meaning in identical position of words, they are considered to be separate phonemes. The arrangements of the pair words are to demonstrate the phonological contrast between consonants that are related phonetically. Some of the word pair contrasts are arranged based on their voice difference. Other pairs have been arranged based on their air stream mechanism and a group of pairs shows phonemic contrast between alveolar, nasal, velar, and glottal place of articulation. The following examples (**1-16**) are some of the minimal and near minimal pairs that have been identified in Banna.

1. [p] [b]

ka:pi 'wing'
na:bi 'name'

2. [b] [m]
na:bi 'name'
ʃa:mi 'sand'
3. [m] [n]
hami 'how'
hane 'when'
4. [n] [ŋ]
gunni 'snake'
ʔanʒi 'male'
5. [t] [d]
ʔinta 'I'
ʔinda 'mother'
6. [b] [d]
ʔinba 'father'
ʔinda 'mother'
7. [d] [g]
doŋ 'five'
gon 'correct'
8. [p] [dʰ]
paxa 'throw'
dʰaxa 'tie'
9. [p] [b]
ku:pa 'push'
c'u:ʃa 'wash'
10. [m] [w]
ma: 'girl'
wa: 'meat'

11. [b] [g]

bezz	‘lake’
gazz	‘straight’

12. [kʰ] [ʔ]

kʰikʰa	‘narrow’
ʔakʰa	‘wood’

13. [n] [r]

hane	‘when’
hare	‘what’

14. [s] [sʰ]

si:jjɑ	‘dirty’
sʰi:jjɑ	‘black’

15. [tʃ] [tʃʰ]

tʃetʃi	‘ice’
tʃʰetʃʰi	‘sky’

16. [b] [bʰ]

tʃʰuba	‘smoke’
tʃʰuβɑ	‘rub’

2.1.3. Gemmination

Gemmination/consonant length happens when a spoken consonant is pronounced for a clearly longer period of time than a short consonant (Crystal, David: 2003).

Consonant length is distinctive in Banna. Examples (17) are given as follow:

17. [n] [nn]

A. ʔena	‘long ago’
ʔenna	‘men’
B. kina	‘today’
kinna	‘these’

2.1.4 Free variation

If the two phonemes are interchangeably used one the other, it is a free variation. Because, when one phoneme is replaced by other phoneme, it does not change meaning differences of the word. So, in Banna it is also occurred. These consonant phonemes are [f], [p] and [k], [x]. Some examples (18 and 19) are provided as follow:

18. pajja and fajja ‘good’
 durpi and durfi ‘fat(N)’
19. ʔuka and ʔuxa ‘stab’
 ɖuka and ɖuxa ‘mountain’
 paka and paxa ‘throw’
 ɖaka and ɖaxa ‘tie’

As we have seen examples from the above, the phonemes /p/ and /f/ can be interchangeable without affecting meaning. The same is true for the phonemes of /k/ and /x/.

2.2. Vowels

There are five basic vowels: **i, u, e, o, a**, and five corresponding long vowels: **i:, u:, e:, o:, a:** in Banna. For the production of the vowel phonemes, we identify three heights of the tongue (high, mid and low) and three places of articulation: front, centre and back are listed in table (7) below.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i i:		u u:
Mid	e e:		o o:
Low		a a:	

Table-7 Vowels of Banna

2.2.1 Description of Banna vowels

As mentioned earlier, in Banna, all words start with a consonant. So vowels of Banna occur, in both short and long vowels, in word-medial and final positions. From collected data, illustrative examples (20-24) of vowels are provided as follow.

20. [i] High front vowel. Examples:

?inte	‘in’
worki	‘large’

21. [e] Mid front vowel. Examples:

mete	‘head’
jaje	‘walk’
pege	‘far’

22. [a] Low central vowel . Examples:

k’ami	‘ear’
tj’uba	‘smoke’

23. [o] Mid back vowel. Examples:

gotfa	‘pull’
nok’o	‘water’

24. [u] High back vowel. Examples:

mulk’a	‘round’
kufa	‘push’

Most of the time, the vowel **a** occurs at the end of nouns. But the short vowel /**u**/ does not appear word finally.

2.2.2 Contrast of Vowel Phonemes

The meaning of the words is contrast if different vowels appear in the same or nearly the same position. These types of differences are also applied in Banna. The following are examples (25-29) of contrastive vowels.

25. /a/ contrasts with /u/
garri 'big'
burri 'morning'
26. /i/ contrasts with /a/
a. **sijja** 'dirty'
pajja 'good'
b. **je:di** 'you(pl.)'
je:ða 'hold'
27. /i/ contrast with /o/
a. **?api** 'eye'
?apo 'mouth'
b. **nija** 'come'
woja 'stand'
28. /i/ contrast with /u/
k'ik'a 'narrow'
?uka 'stab'
29. /e/ contrast with /o/
a. **ges's'a** 'heavy'
dok'k'a 'sit'
b. **kedi** 'he'
kodi 'she'

2.2.3 Vowel length

Banna has a five vowel system with the vowels **i**, **e**, **u**, **o**, and **a**. These vowels /**i**, **e**, **u**, **o**, and **a**/ have long counterparts. Examples (30-34) are taken from Zinabu (2014:6)

30. /e/ and /e:/

ʔena long ago

ʔe:na people

31. /a/ and /a:/

kali youngest sibling or any

ka:li spoon (measure)

32. /i/ and /i:/

dik'a coffe ground

di:qa dry

33. /u/ and /u:/

gura row

gu:ra headdress

34. /o/ and /o:/

gobe running

go:be beautiful

CHAPTER THREE

Noun Morphology

3.1 Introduction

This section presents some important concepts about the morphology in general and inflectional and derivational in particular. According to Matthews (1991), morphology is defined as the branch of linguistics which is concerned with the forms of the words in different uses and constructions.

Inflectional morphology is the part of the morphology which deals with the way in which lexical stems are brought together with grammatical markers like for those plural and past markers Brown Keith (1991). He also defines derivational or lexical morphology as the part of the morphology which deals with the way in which lexical stems are formed.

The Formation of the new words in the sense of new lexeme is the field of lexical or derivational morphology (Brown, Keith 1991:225) He also suggested some of the principal criterion for the analysis of the words such as: The formal difference between sets of words; for instance in the case of *boys* we can start with the set *boy* and *boys* which differ in that the former lacks and the second contains the segment *-s*. Semantic distribution for example, *cat* (analogously *girls*, *boy*, *friends* and so on) is found in sentences describing single object and *cats*, *boys girls*, and *friends* in a sentence appropriately applied to situations describing more than one subject of the same kind. Grammatical analysis, acc. to Brown, Keith (1991) this criterion, helps one to identify the stem and the inflections.

As Craig, Colette G. (1986) summarizes, noun classes form a system of grammatical agreement. The fact that a noun belongs to a given class may imply the presence of

- agreement affixes on adjectives, pronouns, numerals etc. which are noun phrase constituents,
- agreement affixes on the verb,
- a special form of a pronoun which replaces the noun,
- an affix on the noun,
- A class-specific word in the noun phrase (or in some types of noun phrases).

A noun in Banna is a word that indicates a meaning by itself without being connected with the notion of time. There are two main kinds of noun: variable and invariable. Variable nouns have different forms for the singular, the dual, and the plural. Variable nouns are again divided into two kinds: static and derived. The static noun is not derived from another word, i.e. it does not refer to a verbal root. static nouns are divided into two kinds: concrete nouns (e.g., lion), and abstract nouns (e.g., love). Derived nouns are taken from another word (usually a verb) (e.g. office); they have a root to refer to. A derived noun is usually close to its root in meaning. It indicates, besides the meaning, the concrete thing that caused its formation (case of the agent-noun), or underwent its action (case of the patient-noun), or any other notions of time, place, or instrument.

Therefore, most of the issues discussed in this section would be relevant for the analysis and interpretation of the data and successes of this study.

The majority of nouns in Banna end in vowels. There are, however, some nouns which end in consonants. The nouns that end in vowels are referred to as terminal vowels. The terminal vowels are **i**, **a** and **o**. Sets of examples (35) are provided as follow.

‘i’

(35)	k’u:li	‘goat’
	ʔe:di	‘man’
	ʔo:ni	‘house’
	ja:ti	‘sheep’

na:si		‘child’
wa:ki		‘cattle’
se:ni		‘stone’
k’aski		‘dog’
	‘a’	
dūxa		‘mountain’
ʔinda		‘mother’
ʔinba		‘father’
ʔannza		‘girl’
ʔak’a		‘wood’
k’asa		‘louse’
	‘o’	
ro:		‘leg’
k’ajjo		‘worm’
ʔosso		‘rhino’
ʔapo		‘mouth’
gufo		‘fingernail’
buk’o		‘knee’
zullo		‘back’

Although limited in number, the following examples in (36) illustrative nouns that end with consonants:

(36)	ʔa: n	‘hand’
	ʔatp	‘tongue’
	wajlam	‘heart’
	k’aw	‘forest’
	bazz	‘lake’
	silal	‘dust’

In the subsequent sections, inflectional and derivational morphology of Banna nouns is discussed.

3.2 INFLECTIONS

Inflectional affixes signal grammatical relationships, such as plural, past tense and possession, and do not change the grammatical class of the stems to which they are attached (Barry J. Blake 2001:201). In this section, Banna nouns are discussed with regard to inflectional morphology. These are gender, number, definiteness and case. Thus, discussion on each of these grammatical categories is presented as follow.

3.2.1 GENDER

As Udry, J. Richard (November 1994) summarizes the concept of gender, it is the range of characteristics pertaining to, and differentiating between, masculinity and femininity. Depending on the context, these characteristics may include biological sex (i.e. the state of being male, or female), and sex-based social structures.

As cited in Mulugeta (2008), (cf Baye 1994, Hirut 2004:50) in most of Omotic language family, from distribution of gender sensitive morphemes like the definite marker elements, the feminine gender also, in Banna, incorporates biologically feminine animates and things small in size while the masculine gender incorporates all non-feminine nouns suggesting the default gender to be masculine.

In terms of dealing with gender, it is essentially expressed when the noun is made definite. So far, it seems that the gender agreement in the subject inflection of the noun, the head noun may be either masculine or feminine. On the other hand, gender is indicated by the use of the definite marker and different lexemes subject agreement markers strategies.

So, according to gender agreement with the noun, we have terms that prompt the same agreement as the third person, masculine subject marked by the suffix *-a* and *-ta* as exemplified in (37) below.

- (37) *na:s-a* ‘the son’ *na:si* ‘child’
ja:t-ta ‘the sheep’ *ja:ti* ‘sheep’
k’u:l-ta ‘the goat’ *k’u:li* ‘goat’

On the other hand, those that trigger the same agreement as the third person, feminine subject marked by suffix **-o** and **-(to)no**. Illustrative examples in (38) are shown.

- (38) *na:n-o* ‘the daughter’ *na:si* ‘child’
ja:n-o ‘the sheep’ *ja:ti* ‘sheep’
k’u:l-tono ‘the goat’ *k’u:li* ‘goat’

When we see in the examples, there is some phonological process. That is, **-i** is deleted at the end of noun stem when the definite suffix **-a** or **-ta** is added, so for the noun **na:si** ‘child’ is **na:s-a** ‘the son’, **ja:ti** ‘sheep’ is **ja:t-ta** ‘the (male) sheep’ and **k’u:li** ‘goat’ is **k’u:l-ta** ‘the (male) goat’, whereas when the definite suffix **-o** or **-(to)no** is added, so for the noun **na:si** ‘child’ is **na:n-o** ‘the daughter’, and **k’u:li** ‘goat’ becomes **k’u:l-tono** ‘the (female) goat’. When we see the definiteness nouns [**na:n-o**] and [**ja:n-o**], it is assumed that they are the shortened form of **/na:si-(to)no/** and **/ja:ti-(to)no/** respectively.

Some words referring to entities that have natural sex have different lexical terms for feminine and masculine. The following examples (39) show this kind of gender distinction:

(39) **For Masculine**

- A. *ʔinba* ‘Father’,
B. *gefewa* ‘Husband’
C. *ʔanʔi* ‘Male’
D. *ʔifimi* ‘Brother’

For Feminine

- A. *ʔinda* ‘Mother’
B. *gefeno* ‘Wife’
C. *ma:* ‘Female’
D. *mitʃfa* ‘Sister’

As can be observed from the examples, in Banna noun there is no formal relationship between masculine and feminine forms. That means, the two forms have totally different phonological representation.

3.2.2 NUMBER

Grammatical number is a morphological category characterized by the expression of quantity through inflection or agreement (Beard, R: 1992). Banna has two types of plural markers. These are **-na** and **-no**. The plural morpheme **-na** is employed when the number is in between two and three; whereas the latter plural morpheme **-no** is used when the number of the referred items is four and above. Illustrative examples in (40) are shown.

(40)	A.	k'a:ski	'a dog'
		k'aski- na	'dogs (2-3)'
		k'aski- no	'dogs (4 and above)'
	B.	ʔe:di	'a man'
		ʔe:n- na	'men (2-3)'
		ʔe:n- no	'men (4 and above)'
	C.	k'u:li	'a goat'
		k'u:l- la	'goats (2-3)'
		k'ole- no	'goats (4 and above)'
	D.	ʔu:kuli	'a donkey'
		ʔu:kul- la	'donkeys (2-3)'
		ʔu:kuli- no	'donkeys (4 and above)'

Depending on the ending of the stem of the noun, the stem final consonant may assimilate to the suffix. As can be observed in example (40B), the plural noun of **ʔe:di** becomes **ʔe:n-na** and **ʔe:n-no**. When either of the suffixes adds to the noun that means **-na** and **-no** to the noun, the stem final alveolar stop consonant **/-d/** is changed in to alveolar nasal consonant **/n/** in the environment before the suffix nasal consonant **-na/-**

no, and it is a process of regressive total assimilation as in ʔe:n-na and ʔe:n-no . Therefore, it can be shown as $\{-d/ \rightarrow [n] / -n\}$. In examples (40C-D), the plural nouns of **k'u:li** 'a goat' and **ʔu:kuli** 'a donkey' become $/k'u:l-la/$ 'goats' and $/ʔu:kul-la/$ 'donkeys' respectively. As described in the above, the suffix alveolar nasal consonant **/n/** is totally assimilated to alveolar liquid **/l/** when the stem final consonant follows alveolar liquid consonant. So, it can be shown as $\{-n/ \rightarrow [l] / l-\}$.

Most of the time, a plural marker does not show to the noun when we use a quantifier and a modifier in a sentence. But it is described by the quantifier and sometimes by the modifier. Illustrative examples in (41) are as follow:

- (41)
- A. makkam garri ʔak'a
 three large tree
 'Three large trees'
 - B. kidi wa:ki makkam ʃani-di-ne.
 he cattle three buy-3-Pst
 'He bought three oxen.'
 - C. ʔi-sa ja:ti ʔoʔidi dane
 I-GEN sheep five have
 'I have three sheep.'
 - D. lama-na dibi-na niʔidine
 two-PL thief-PL come-3-Pst
 'Two thieves came.'

As can be seen in the above, except in example (41D), the plural marker doesn't appear in a sentence. Even if the plural marker is not suffixed to the noun, it is described by the quantifier.

3.2.3 DEFINITENESS

Blake (2001:199) states that definite is specific and which the speaker assumes can be identified by the hearer. In English a common noun may be marked as definite by the use of the definite article (the), a demonstrative (this, that), or a possessive determiner

(my book). In section 3.2.1, it was tried to show about gender through definiteness. The indefinite reference is not morphologically marked in Banna. Definiteness is marked morphologically by **-a**, **-ta**, **(n)o** and **-(t)ono**. The terminal vowels are replaced by the vowel of the definite marker as in the following nouns. Examples (42) are given below.

- (42)
- | | | |
|----|---------------------|---------------|
| A. | wa:ki | ‘a cattle’ |
| | ▪ wa:x- a | ‘the ox’ |
| | ▪ wanŋ- o | ‘the cow’ |
| B. | ʔe:di | ‘a man’ |
| | ▪ ʔe- a | ‘the man’ |
| | ▪ ʔe:d- ono | ‘the woman’ |
| C. | zobo | ‘a lion’ |
| | ▪ zob- ta | ‘the lion’ |
| | ▪ zobo- tono | ‘the lioness’ |
| D. | ʔanŋi | ‘a male’ |
| | ▪ ʔanŋi- a | ‘the male’ |
| E. | ma: | ‘a female’ |
| | ▪ maji- no | ‘the female’ |

In example 42, when the definite morphemes **{-a and -ta}** indicates for the masculine, the suffix **{(n)o and -(t)ono}** is used for the definite feminine. In example (42A), when the definite marker is added to the noun, the final high front vowel ‘i’ is deleted and it is replaced by ‘a’ and then **/-k/** becomes **[-x]**. In example (42B), when the final stem consonant **/-di/** is deleted, the definite marker **/-a/** is simply added to the noun. So the definite noun of **ʔe:di** ‘man’ is ʔe-a ‘the man’.

In some cases, the definite marker is also suffixed to the modifier. Examples (43) are provided as follow.

- (43)
- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|-------------------|
| A. | tʃʷawli | ‘white’ |
| | ▪ ja:t- ta tʃʷawli- a | ‘the white sheep’ |
| | ▪ ja:n- o tʃʷawl- o | ‘the white sheep’ |

- B. s'i:ja 'black'
- s'i:ja-**a** na:s-**a** 'the black son'
 - s'i:ji-**no** na:n-**o** 'the black daughter'

As can be seen from examples (43A-B), in the presence of a modifier element in a noun phrase the definite marker is suffixed to the modifier.

In Other cases, the suffixes **-na** and **-(o)no** are also presented to indicate the definite marker of plural noun. Examples (44) □

- (44)
- A. ja:n-na 'sheep(PL)'
- ja:ti-**na** 'the sheep(PL)'
- ja:t-**ono** 'the sheep(PL)'
- B. k'u:l-la 'goats'
- k'ole-**na** 'the goats'
- k'ole-**no** 'the goats'
- C. na:n-na 'children'
- na:si-**na** 'the sons'
- na:s-**ono** 'the daughters'

From the examples, the definiteness is also marked by other suffixes **-na** and **-(o)no** to the plural noun. (From 44A-C) when the definite marker **-na** is attached to a masculine plural noun, the suffix **-(o)no** is marked to the feminine plural noun. These similar suffixes are also used to identify the plurality.

Generally, definiteness is marked at the end of the noun. With the exception of the accusative marker **-n**, other grammatical morphemes follow it. Examples are (in 45) as follow:

- (45)
- na:s-a-**n** 'the son'
- zobo-ta-**n** 'the lion'
- ʔo:ni-a-**n** 'the house'
- ja:t-ta-**n** 'the sheep'

In Banna, in addition to noun, definiteness is modified by demonstratives. Examples in (46) and (47) are shown below in terms of proximity.

(46) Near

<i>k-ono</i> <i>ʔed-ono</i> <i>dibine</i>	'this woman is thief'
<i>k-a:</i> <i>ʔe-a</i> <i>dibine</i>	'this man is thief'
<i>k-ono</i> <i>wanŋ-o</i> <i>ʔintine</i>	'this cow is mine'
<i>k-a:</i> <i>wax-a</i> <i>ʔintine</i>	'this ox is mine'

(47) Far

<i>ʔog-ono</i> <i>ʔed-ono</i> <i>dibi-ne</i>	'that woman is thief'
<i>ʔog-a:</i> <i>ʔe-a</i> <i>dibi-ne</i>	'that man is thief'
<i>ʔog-ono</i> <i>wanŋ-o</i> <i>ʔinti-ne</i>	'that cow is mine'
<i>ʔog-a:</i> <i>wax-a</i> <i>ʔinti-ne</i>	'that ox is mine'

Definiteness is marked on the demonstrative by **-ono** for feminine and **-a:** for masculine.

Inflections	Markers	Examples
Gender	- gender agreement with the noun	na:sa 'son' na:no 'daughter'
	- natural sex have different lexical terms for feminine and masculine	<i>ʔinba</i> 'Father' <i>ʔinda</i> 'Mother'
Number	-na is used for a noun in b/n 2 and 3;	k'aski- na 'dogs (2-3)'
	-no is used for a noun 4 and four	k'aski- no 'dogs (4 ≤)'
Definiteness	-a/-ta indicates for the definite masculine.	wa:x- a 'The ox' ja:t- ta 'The sheep'
	-(t)ono indicates for the definite feminine.	k'u:l- tono 'The goat'
	-na Indicates for the definite masculine plural.	ja:ti- na 'the sheep(PL)'
	-(o)no Indicates for the definite feminine plural.	k'ole- no 'the goats' ja:t- ono 'the sheep(PL)'
	the accusative marker -n , other grammatical morphemes follow it	na:s-a- n 'the son'
	Definiteness is marked on the demonstrative by -ono for feminine and -a: for masculine	<i>k-ono</i> <i>ʔed-ono</i> <i>dibine</i> 'this woman is thief' <i>k-a:</i> <i>ʔe-a</i> <i>dibine</i> 'this man is thief'

Table 8: Summary of Banna's gender, number and definiteness suffixes

3.2.4 CASE

Case is a grammatical category whose value reflects the grammatical function performed by a noun or pronoun in a phrase, clause, or sentence. In Banna, there are eight morphologically case markers that are inflected to the nouns. These are accusative case **-n**, dative case **-na**, genitive case **-sa**, **-e**, **-nno**, **-ntea** ‘of’ or apostrophe ‘s’, locative case **-damr** ‘under’, **-te** ‘in’, and **dar** ‘on’, allative case **-dar** ‘to/towards’, ablative case **-ro:** and **kalanka** ‘from’, instrumental case **-ka** ‘by’ and comitative case **be:sana** ‘with’.

3.2.4.1 Nominative Case

The nominative case used for the subject of a finite verb and sometimes for the complement of a copula. Banna is a nominative-accusative language. Except for the nominative case, the other cases in Banna are morphologically marked. For example, in (48 A-E), the subject is not morphologically marked for case.

- (48)
- A. kedi ʔo:ni ʃani-di-ne
they house buy-3-Pst
“They bought a house”
- B. ʔo:t-ta li:kka ʃudidi gaʔi-di-ne
calf-DEF small grass eat-3-Pst
“The small calf ate grass.”
- C. li:kk-ono k’aski-tono ʔapti-to-na-n gaʔi-di-ne
small-DEF dog-DEF bird-DEF-DAT-ACC eat-3-Pst
“The small dog ate the bird”
- D. zob-ta diʔi-di-ne
lion-DEF die-3-Pst
“The lion died”
- E. wodi rati-di-ne
we sleep-3-Pst
“We slept”

As can be seen in the examples, both in transitive and intransitive verbs, nominative case is not overtly marked in the subject of the sentences.

3.2.4.2 Accusative Case

The accusative case marker describes an object noun that is attached with **-n** to a noun and pronoun. It is suffixed to the object of the noun and the pronoun. This is in line with what accusative markers do in related languages. It is marked both in definite and indefinite nouns. Examples (from **49A-E**) are given.

- (49)
- A. kidi ja:t-ta-**n** matʃi-di-ne
 he sheep-DEF-ACC slaughter-3-Pst
 'He slaughtered the sheep.'
- B. henok ʔak'a-ta-**n** taxi-di-ne
 Henok tree-DEF-ACC cut-3-Pst
 'Henok cut the tree.'
- C. kedi gudr-ta-**n** ʔoʔiti-di-ne
 they hyena-DEF-ACC chase-3-Pst
 'They chased the hyena.'
- D. na:n-o ʔo:ni-**n** ʃanʃin-di-ne
 child-DEF house-ACC sell-3-Pst
 "The daughter sold a house."
- E. k'aski-a wa:-**n** gaʔi-di-ne
 dog-DEF meat-ACC eat-3-Pst
 'The dog ate meat.'

As can be seen from the above examples, the accusative case marker is shown by the suffix **-n** both to the definite and indefinite nouns. (From **49A-C**) When accusative is marked on a definite noun, the definite marker always precedes the case marker.

In Banna, the accusative case can be marked two times in a sentence. The following illustrative examples (in **50 A-B**) are:

- (50) A. zob-ta li:kk-o-n wuri-to-n ʔafi-di-ne
 lion-DEF little-DEF-ACC cat-DEF-ACC see-3-Pst
 ‘The lion saw the little cat.’
- B. k'aski na:s-a-n li:kka-n gaʔi-di-ne
 dog child-DEF-ACC little-ACC bite-3-Pst
 ‘A dog bit the little son.’

As can be seen from the above examples, the accusative case marker is also marked both on the modifier and the head noun. Definiteness can also be marked both on the head noun and its modifier.

The accusative case is also suffixed to pronouns in Banna. The following examples (from **51A-E**) are provided.

- (51) A. kidi kiʔa-n desi-di-ne
 he he-ACC kill-3-Pst
 ‘‘He killed him.’’
- B. kodi ʔiʔa-n ʔiri-di-ne
 she I-ACC insult-3-Pst
 ‘‘She insulted me.’’
- C. kidi haha-n nafa-je-ne
 he you-ACC like-Neg.-Pst
 ‘‘He didn’t like you.’’
- D. kodi kedā-n ʔiri-di-ne
 she they-ACC insult-3-Pst.
 ‘‘She insulted them.’’
- E. Kidi wodā-n nafa-de
 he we-ACC like-Neg
 ‘‘He doesn’t like us.’’

As illustrations indicated in the above, the accusative marker **-n** is also attached to the pronouns. Generally, the accusative case is marked both to the nouns and pronouns in Banna.

3.2.4.3 Dative Case

In the previous section, the accusative case was discussed. Now a dative case is discussed. A dative noun indicates the person receiving some-thing, or benefitting from something. So, in Banna the dative is marked by adding **-na** to the noun and pronoun. With regard to this case, examples (in 52) are provided as follow.

- (52) A. ?inta nok'o ?i-sa ?ananta-**na** ?imi-di-ne
 I water I-GEN friend-DAT give-3-Pst
 'I gave water to my friend.'
- B. kidi ?o:ni fanji-se mitftfa-**na** ?imi-di-ne
 he house buy-that sister-DAT give-3-Pst
 'He gave a house to his sister that he bought it.'
- C. dilli ji-sa ?ananta-**na** birre ?imi-di-ne
 dilli -GEN friend-DAT berr give-3-Pst
 'Dilli gave berr to his friend.'
- D. ?indo ?apala ?i-**na** ?imi-di-ne
 mother cloth I-DAT give-3-Pst
 'My mother gave me a cloth.'

As can be observed from the above examples, the dative case is marked by the suffix **-na** to the noun and pronoun.

3.2.4.4 Genitive Case

In grammar, a genitive case marks a noun as being the possessor of another noun (Olga Kagan: 2007). In Banna, the noun which expresses the ownership precedes the head noun and is marked by **-sa** attached to the definite form of the noun: Examples (in 53) are given as follow.

- (53) A. ʔe:d-o-sa ʔo:n-o
 man-DEF-GEN house-DEF
 ‘The woman’s house’
- B. $\text{sa: ʔaga na:s-a-sa}$ ne
 that child-DEF-GEN is
 ‘That belongs to the son.’
- C. ja:t-ta-sa wa:n-o pajja-ne
 sheep-DEF-GEN meat-DEF good-is
 ‘The sheep’s meat is good.’
- D. na:s-a-sa ʔo:n-o
 child-DEF-GEN house-DEF
 ‘The son’s house’
- E. ʔe-a-sa ʔo:n-o
 man-DEF-GEN house-DEF
 ‘The man’s house’

As can be observed from the above examples, the genitive case is marked by the suffix **-sa** to the noun that appears after the definite noun.

The genitive case is also marked by the suffix **-sa** to a pronoun. Examples (54) are given.

- (54) A. $\text{ʔinta nok'o ʔi-sa ʔananta-na ʔimi-di-ne}$
 I water I-GEN friend-DAT give-3-Pst
 ‘I gave water to my friend.’
- B. $\text{belet'e mas'afi-na ji-sa ʔananta-na ʔimi-di-ne}$
 belete book-DAT he-GEN friend-DAT give-3-Pst
 ‘Belete gave a book to his friend.’

The noun is also replaced by a pronoun. In this case, the possessive pronoun replaces the noun referring to the owner. There are two different sets of possessive pronouns. The first set replaces singular definite nouns or those indicating masculine: examples (in 55) are given.

- (55)
- A. wo-**ntea** ja:t-ta
we-GEN sheep-DEF
'Our sheep'
 - B. ki-**ntea** ja:t-ta
he-GEN sheep-DEF
'His sheep'
 - C. ko-**ntea** ja:t-ta
she-GEN sheep-DEF
'Her sheep'
 - D. ke-**ntea** ja:t-ta
they-GEN sheep-DEF
'Their sheep'
 - E. ?i-**ntea** ja:t-ta
I-GEN sheep-DEF
'My sheep'

As can be indicated in the above examples, the possessive case is marked by the suffix **-ntea** to the set of pronouns.

The second set of possessive pronouns replaces nouns of feminine (those ending in – **nno** to the pronouns). Illustrative examples (56) are as follow.

- (56)
- A. ?i-**nno** ?o:n-o
I-GEN house-DEF
"My house"
 - B. ja-**nno** ?o:n-o
you-GEN house-DEF
"Your house"
 - C. ki-**nno** ?o:n-o
he-GEN house-DEF
"His house"

- D. ko-**nno** ʔo:n-**o**
 she-GEN house-DEF
 “Her house”
- E. wo-**nno** ʔo:n-**o**
 we-GEN house-DEF
 “Our house”
- F. je-**nno** ʔo:n-**o**
 you-GEN house-DEF
 “Your (PL) house”
- G. ke-**nno** ʔo:n-**o**
 I-GEN house-DEF
 “Their house”

When something is belonging to some places, genitive case is expressed by the suffix **-e** to the noun. Examples (57) are given.

- (57) A. bann-**e** muze ʃanʃi-di-ne
 Banna-GEN banana sell-3-Pst
 ‘I sold Banna’s banana.’
- B. bann-**e** bunno wotʃi-di-ne
 Banna-GEN coffee drink-3-Pst
 ‘I drank Banna’s coffee.’

From the discussions, genitive or possessive case is marked by the suffix **-sa** to the noun and pronoun. The suffix **-e** is marked to the place noun, the suffixes **-nno** and **-ntea** are only added to the pronoun. When the suffix **-nno** is attached to the pronoun, which replaces nouns of feminine. Whereas, the genitive suffix **-ntea** is added to the pronoun, which replaces nouns of masculine. These are phonologically conditioned.

The following chart summarizes the possessive pronouns of Banna.

Gloss	Possessive Pronoun	Genitive	
		Singular/Masculine/Definite	Feminine
I	ʔinta	ʔi-sa /ʔi-ntea	ʔi-nno
You (Sg)	ja:	ha-sa/ha-ntea	ja-nno
He	kidi	ji-sa/ji-ntea	ki-nno
She	kodi	ko-sa/ko-ntea	ko-nno
We	wodi	wo-sa/wo-ntea	wo-nno
You (PL)	je□di	je-sa/je-ntea	je-nno
They	ke:di	ke-sa/ke-ntea	ke-nno

Tabl 9: Summary of possessive pronouns of Banna

3.2.4.5 Locative Case

Locative is a grammatical case which indicates a location. In Banna, there is locative case markers **-te** ‘in’, **-damr** ‘under’ and **dar-** ‘on’ marked to the noun. Examples (from 58 to 60) are presented as follow.

- (58) A. ʔe:di kala ʔo:ni-**te** dane
man one house-LOC is
‘A man is in a house.’
- B. ʔe:di makkam ʔo:ni-**te** dane
man three house-LOC are
‘Three men are in a house.’
- (59) A. k'u:l-ta ʔak'a-**damr** rati-di-ne
goat-DEF tree-LOC sleep-3-Pst
‘The goat slept under the tree.’
- B. ja:n-o ʔak'a-**damr** rati-di-ne
sheep-DEF tree-LOC sleep-3-Pst
‘The sheep slept under the tree.’

- (60) A. se:ni-ta t'arp'eza-n **dar-ne**
stone-DEF table-ACC LOC-V
"The stone is on the table."
- B. kidi duka-n **dar-ne**
he mountain-ACC LOC-V
"He is on the mountain."

From the examples, when the locative cases are marked by the suffixes **-te** 'in' (in example 58 A & B), and **-damr** 'under' (in example 59 A & B) to the nouns, the prefix **dar-** 'on' is attached before the verb and appeared after the noun.

3.2.4.6 Allative Case

Allative case expresses a motion towards a location. In Banna, allative case is marked by adding **-dar** to the noun. Examples (61):

- (61) A. kidi se:n-ta-dar k'aw-n-**dar** paxi-di-ne
he stone-DEF-ALL forest-ACC-ALL throw-3-Pst
"He threw the stone to forest."
- B. na:s-a-**dar** paxa
child-DEF-ALL throw
"Throw to the son!"
- C. ?o:ni-**dar** paxa
house- ALL throw
"Throw to house!"
- D. k'aw-n-**dar** ?ija-bude
forest-ACC- ALL go-Neg.
"Do not go to the forest!"
- E. kodi ?ato-n-dar rokimi-di-ne
she tree-ACC-ALL climb up-3-Pst
"She climbed up on the tree."

As can be seen from the examples, the allative case is marked by the suffix **-dar** ‘to/towards’ to the noun. The allative case appears two times in (61A) the sentence. This morpheme can be suffixed after definite and accusative case markers. Except **61 B**, the suffix **-dar** is attached after the accusative case marker **-n** to a noun.

3.2.4.7 Ablative Case

Ablative case is a grammatical case that is used generally to express motion away from something (Palmer, 1994:50-1). In Banna, ablative case is shown by the suffix **-ro:** ‘from’. With regarding to the ablative case, examples (in **62**) are given as follow.

- (62) A. wodi k’aj-ʔafar-**ro:** niʔa-de
 we Key-Afer-ABL come-Pst
 “We came from Key Afer.”
- B. wodi ʔadis-ʔaba-**ro:** niʔa-de
 we Addis-Ababa-ABL come-pst
 “We came from Addis Ababa.”
- C. wodi dzinka-**ro:** niʔa-de
 we Jinka-ABL come-pst
 “We came from Jinka.”

As we have seen from the above examples, the ablative case marker **-ro:** which means ‘from’ is attached to the noun. So in this dialect, ablative case is marked by the suffix **-ro:** to the noun.

When the origin of the event is not a place but a person, then instead of adding **-ro:** the word **kalanka** comes after the noun/pronoun. Example (in **63**) is given.

- (63) A. kidi ja:t-ta-n ʔi-**kalanka** ʃani-di-ne
 he sheep-DEF-ACC I-ABL buy-3-Pst
 ‘He bought the sheep from me.’
- B. na:no ʔanzano ʔinda **kalanka** ko-niʔa-de
 child-DEF girl mother ABL she-come-Pst
 ‘The girl came from my mother.’

3.2.4.8 Instrumental Case

The instrumental case indicates an object used in performing an action (<http://www.mediawiki.org/>). Instrumental case in Banna is shown by the morpheme – **ka** to a noun. The following examples (64) are provided with the suffix **-ka**.

- (64) A. zob-ta-dar wɨʃki-**ka** ki-disade
lion-DEF-ALL bullet-INST he-kill
‘He killed the lion with a bullet.’
- B. ʔe-a na:s-a-dar ʔak’a-**ka** ki-k’anade
man-DEF child-DEF-ALL stick-INST he-hit
‘The man hit the son with a stick.’
- C. na:n-o ʔo:ni-dar tonpo-**ka** ko-sade
child-DEF house-ALL broom-INS she-sweep
‘The daughter swept the house with a broom.’
- D. na:s-a ʔaton-dar tesibi-**ka** ki-tumade
child-DEF tree-ALL axe-INST he-cut
‘The son cut the tree with an axe.’

As can be observed from the above examples, instrumental case is marked by the suffix **-ka** to the noun.

3.2.4.9 Comitative Case

Blake (2001:197) states that “a case expressing with whom an entity is located.” There is no a comitative case marker in Banna. But it is expressed by the word **be:sana** ‘with’. Examples:

- (65) A. kidi k’u:l-la **be:sana** ki-nade
he goat-DEF COM he-come
‘He came with the goat.’

- B. dilli k'u:l-la **be:sana** ?o:ni-dar ki-nade
 Dilli goat-DEF COM house-ABL he-come
 'Dilli with the goats came to a house.'
- C. ?inta dilli **be:sana** dzinka-dar ji?i-di-ne
 I dilli COM Jinka-ABL go-3-Pst
 'I went to Jinka with Dilli.'

The following table summarizes all the case markers of Banna noun:

Case Type	Case Marker	Example	Translation
Nominative	Unmarked	kedi ?o:ni ?ani-di-ne	They bought a house.
Accusative	-n	-kidi ha-?a-n na?a-je-ne -kodi ke?a-n ?iri-di-ne	He didn't like you. She insulted them.
Genitive	-sa -e -nno -ntea	na:s-a-sa ja:t-ta bann-e muze ?anfi-di-ne ?i-nno ?o:n-no ki-ntea ja:t-ta	The son's sheep I sold Banna's banana My house His sheep
Dative	-na	?inta nok'o ?i-sa ?ananta-na ?imi-di-ne	I gave water to my friend.
Locative	-te -damr dar-	?e:di kala ?o:ni-te dane k'u:l-ta ?ak'a-damr rati-di-ne se:ni-ta t'arp'eza-n dar-ne	A man is in a house. The goat slept under the tree. The stone is on the table.
Allative	-dar	timirt-n ?onni-dar ?ija	Go to the school!
Ablative	-ro: kalanka	wodi k'aj-?afar-ro: ni?a-de kidi ja:t-ta-n ?i-kalanka ?ani-di-ne	We came from Key Afer. He bought the sheep from me.
instrumental	-ka	ja:t-ta-dar ?alpa-ka ki-taxade	He slaughtered the sheep with a knife.
Comitative	be:sana	kidi k'u:l-la be:sana ki-nade	He came with the goat.

Table 10: Summary of case marking morphemes in Banna

3.3 DERIVATIONS

Palmer (1994:215-16) states that, derivation is the process of forming a new word on the basis of an existing word, e.g. happiness and unhappy from happy. Derivation stands in contrast to the process of inflections. In this section, the derivation of abstract and agentive nouns is discussed. While abstract nouns are formed by adding the morpheme **-makko** to the nouns/adjectives, agentive nouns are derived by adding the suffix **-ja** to the verbs. Each of these is discussed in turn.

3.3.1 Noun derived from Nouns

The morpheme **-makko** is suffixed to a noun to derive noun. The nouns that are derived by this process are semantically characterized as abstract nouns. The following are examples (66):

(66)	A. na□si	‘child’	
		na:si- makko	‘childhood’
	B. di:bi	‘thief’	
		di:m- makko	‘theft’
	C. ?annza	‘girl’	
		?annza- makko	‘girlhood’
	D. ?inba	‘father’	
		?inba- makko	‘fatherhood’
	E. ?inda	‘mother’	
		?indi- makko	‘motherhood’

As can be observed in the above, the suffix **-makko** is marked to the base noun to derive the abstract noun. When the suffix **-makko** is added (in example 32B) to the noun **di:bi** ‘thief’, the stem final labial stop consonant **-b** is changed to labial nasal consonant /m/ in the environment before the suffix nasal consonant, and it is pronounced as [di:m-**makko**] ‘theft’ instead of /di:b-**makko**/. So, it can be shown as /-

b/ → **[m]** / **{-m}**. So this type of phonological process is regressive total assimilation. The following sub-section of derivational noun morphology is also discussed about another abstract noun.

3.3.2 Noun derived from Adjectives

In Banna, abstract nouns can be derived from adjective by suffixing the morpheme -**makko** to the adjective. Examples (67):

(67)	A. malgmi	‘foolish’	
			malgm- makko ‘foolishness’
	B. k’ara	‘truthful’	
			k’ari- makko ‘truthfulness’
	C. desija	‘wise’	
			desiji- makko ‘wisdom’
	D. wotʃtʃi	‘strong’	
			wotʃtʃi- makko ‘strength’
	E. zo:	‘red’	
			zo:ji- makko ‘redness’
	F. pajja	‘good’	
			pajji- makko ‘goodness’

Most of the abstract nouns are derived by attaching the suffix -**makko** to the adjectives. The final vowel /a/ of the stem is deleted and replaced by /i/, when the suffix -**makko** is added to the adjective. If the word ends with long vowels, the syllable /ji/ is added before the suffix -**makko** to the adjective.

3.3.3 Agentive Noun Derived from Verbs

In this paper, agentive nouns are derived from action verbs. The derived nouns have a meaning such as doer of the action specified by the verb. Examples (68) are given below.

(68)	A. miski	'beg'	
		miski- ja	'beggar'
	B. desa	'kill'	
		desi- ja	'killer'
	C. s'apa	'write'	
		s'api- ja	'writer'
D. wutʃa	'drink'		
	wutʃi- ja	'drinker'	
E. wadima	'work'		
	wadimi- ja	'worker'	
F. ʔadama	'hunt'		
	ʔadami- ja	'hunter'	

As can be seen in the above examples, the agentive nouns are derived from verbal bases by attaching the morpheme **-ja**. When it is attached to the verb, the final vowel **-a** is deleted and substituted by **/i/** before the agentive noun morpheme **-ja**.

The following table summarizes the derivation of Banna noun:

DERIVATIONS	Markers	Example
Noun Derived from Nouns	-makko	di:m- makko ‘theft’ ʔannza- makko ‘girlhood’
Noun Derived from adjectives	-makko	pakal- makko ‘bravery’ pajja- makko ‘goodness’
Agentive Noun Derived from Verbs	-ja	miski- ja ‘beggar’ desi- ja “killer“

Table 11: the Derivation of Banna noun

Chapter 4

4.1. Summary

The first chapter includes information about the dialect and people of Banna, scope of the study area, the importance of the study, and ways of using methodology. In this chapter, some of linguistic studies on Hamar and Banna are reviewed. Attempts are made to review studies done both on Banna and Hamar as they are considered as dialects of the same language. In addition to this, the theoretical/conceptual framework of documentary linguistics is presented.

The second chapter presents some notes on Phonology of Banna. The consonant phonemes in Banna occur at five major points of articulation. These are labial, alveolar, alveo-palatal, velar and glottal. In the table, while the velar implosive stop phoneme **ɣ** is only found in Lydal Jean (1976:402), the voiceless palatal affricate **tʃ** and palatal ejective affricate **tʃʼ** are found in SIM Alduba (2001:10). All Banna words start with a consonant. In Banna, there are ten vowels: five short **i, e, u, o, a**, and five long vowels **i:, e:, u:, o:** and **a:**. Vowels of Banna occur, in both the short and long vowels, in word-medial and final positions. Most of the time, the vowel /a/ occurs at the end of nouns. But the short vowel /u/ does not appear word finally

In the last chapter, it was discussed briefly about the main topic of Banna noun morphology. Most nouns end in vowels.

There are two main topics of Banna noun morphology, such as inflectional and derivational morphology. In this section, nouns are inflected for the purpose of definiteness, number, gender and case.

In terms of dealing with gender, it is essentially expressed when the noun is made definite. So far, it seems that the gender agreement in the subject inflection of the

noun, the head noun may be either masculine or feminine. On the other hand, gender is indicated by the use of the definite marker and different lexemes subject agreement markers strategies. Words like **?inba** ‘father’, **?inda** ‘mother’, **gefewa** ‘husband’, **gefeno** ‘wife’, **?anji** ‘male’, **ma:** ‘female’, etc have biological differences.

In Banna, singular was morphologically unmarked; plurals were marked by the suffixes **/-na/** and **/-no/** to a noun. The former one was indicated when the plural noun was in between two and three number; whereas the latter suffix was shown when the plural noun was four and above number.

The definitive suffixes were **-a**, **-ta** and **-(t)ono** attached to a noun. The suffix **a/-ta** indicates for the definite masculine. The suffix **-(t)ono** indicates for the definite feminine. The morpheme **-na** indicates for the definite masculine plural. The suffix **-(o)no** is used for the definite feminine plural. In addition to these, definiteness is marked on the demonstrative by **-ono** for feminine and **-a:** for masculine

Banna has eight morphologically distinct case marking morphemes, Accusative case – **n**, Dative case **-na**, Genitive case –**sa,-e, -nno, -ntea** ‘of’ or apostrophe ‘s’, Locative case **-damr** ‘under’, **/-te/** ‘in’, and **dar** ‘on’, Allative **/-dar/** ‘to/towards’, Ablative case **/-ro:/** ‘from’, Instrumental case **/-ka/** ‘by’ and Comitative case **be:sana** ‘with’.

The accusative case identified an object noun that was marked with **-n**. It was suffixed to the noun and pronoun. It was marked both in definite and indefinite nouns. Dative case in Banna was marked by the suffix **-na** to the noun. This suffix **/-na/** could also be attached to both head nouns. Additionally, the suffixes **–sa,-e, -nno** and **-ntea** were employed in Banna noun to mark the genitive case which was used as “**of**” or apostrophe “**s**”. So, a genitive/possessive case was marked by the suffix **-sa** to the noun and pronoun. When the suffix **-e** is attached to the place noun, the suffix **–nno** is used for feminine and **-ntea** is attached to the masculine pronouns. A locative case like **-damr** ‘under’ **dar-** ‘on’ and **-te** ‘in’ are attached to the noun. But the word **?inte** ‘in’ is used as postposition of the noun

There was an allative case marker that is marked to a noun. This suffix is **-dar** ‘towards’ to a noun. Ablative case was shown by the suffix **-ro:** ‘from’ to the noun. Instrumental case was marked by the suffix **-ka** to the noun. The suffix **-ka** could be attached to the noun if the noun was ended with vowels. There is no a comitative case marker. But it is expressed by the word **be:sana** ‘with’ after the noun.

Derivation stood in contrast to the process of inflections. In this work, the derivation of Banna has been discussed. Abstract and agentive nouns were derived. While abstract nouns were formed by adding the morphemes **-makko** to the nouns/adjectives, agentive nouns were derived by adding the suffix **-ja** to the verbs.

Banna is until now a scarcely documented that transfers to the next generation are unsafe. Banna is highly influenced by neighboring languages. Because, when the people of Banna contact with different language speakers, they can exchange different ideas through using of their own language. So, this leads to a high level of endangerment. Therefore, all the concerned bodies should support the documentation and description of the Banna, and the Banna speaking community should be concerned to teach their children in their mother tongue.

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