

Case system of Kafinoonoo

by

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This is to certify that the Thesis prepared by Taye Kassa, entitled *Case system of Kafinoonoo* and submitted in partial fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of masters of Arts in General linguistics compiles with the regulations of the university and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis is a study of the case system of Kafinoo. Its focus is on marking of core and peripheral arguments. In addition, genitive case marking and case in different constructions like NPs, pronominals and passive are also discussed. In core argument, arguments in A/S position and arguments in O position have been seen. According to the data by which this thesis is conducted; arguments in A/S position are not morphologically marked. In other words nominative case in Kafinoo is morphologically unmarked. This is the first study to show that proper names, morphologically marked nouns, simple derived names behave differently with respect to O marking. Some of them are optionally marked, some of them are obligatorily marked, and still others can occupy the O position by lengthening their final vowels and then optionally marked. In Kafinoo there is no consistent way of accusative marking. Proper names including personal names behave in two ways in O position. They can occupy the position either by lengthening their final vowel or they can be suffixed by -n without lengthening. Personal pronouns especially 1SIG, 1PLU, 2SIG and 3distal pronouns behave similarly in O position. As in the proper names they can lengthen their final vowels and then they can be suffixed by -n. Unlike these 3proximal pronouns, marked plural nouns and derived nouns are obligatorily marked in O position by -n. Modified NPs in S/A position are not morphologically marked, whereas they can behave differently in O position. Prenominals are also not marked in A/S position but they too behave differently in O position. These can either lengthen their final vowels or they can be optionally marked by -n.

Genitive in Kafinoo is marked in different ways. Simple juxtaposition can show the genitive case. In addition, ‘-tʃ’ can mark the genitive case in Kafinoo. There is still a

phonologically conditioned variant of ‘-tʃ’ which also can mark the genitive in Kafinoonoo. This is ‘-dʒ’ which marks the genitive of noun that end in / m/ followed by vowel. These all are discussed in this thesis and finally the main findings are summarized.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

A/S: agent or subject

ACC: accusative

ALL: alletive

AUX: auxiliary

BEN: benefactive

BLT: basic linguistic theory

COM: comitative

COMP: comparative

F: feminine

GEN-: genitive

INS: instrumental

LOC: locative

M: masculine

NMLZ: nominalizer

NOM: nominative.

PST: past tense

PL: plural

S/O subject or object

THV: thematic vowel

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CHAPTER ONE

Background of the Study

1. Introduction

1.1. The People

According to Fleming (1976:356) Kafa is the name of the old Kingdom located 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 roughly 7° north latitude. Similarly, Abbink (2007) states that Kafa is the name of the former kingdom in Southern Ethiopia and nowadays of an administrative zone. The term is now frequently used for the inhabitants of the zone. According to Gascon (2007) the region of Kafa is a wet and densely populated highland area (1700-3000m above sea level) on the right bank of Omo River.

Kafa is an administrative zone which is found in Southern nations, nationalities and peoples region. It is located to the west of the regional capital Awassa. It is about 450km away from Addis Ababa. The administrative zone of Kafa is relatively located south west of Oromiya region of Jimma zone, west of the Konta woreda and Dawro zone, north of the south Omo Zone and east of Bench Maji and Sheka Zones.

According to Orent (1969:197), the Kafa are of diverse ethnic origins, as various pre-existing and conquered groups were incorporated over time. In line with Orent, Abbink (2007) discusses that the Kafa are an ethno-linguistic group or people in Southern Ethiopia, formerly belonging to the Kafa Kingdom. Bieber (1920) cited in Abbink (2007) states the Kafa kingdom was complicated in its social organization, customs and material culture. In line with others, Lange (1982) discussed the Kafa as highly stratified society

with elites at the top, followed by the nobles, commoners (Peasant “serfs”), crafts men groups such as the àáddò or mánjò (hunters), màànnòó (tanners/leather-workers), jàmmànòó (weavers), and Qém mò (blacksmiths) as well as slaves on the lowest social rung.

According to Tadesse (1999), the people of Kafa call themselves “Kafecho” and they call their land “Kafi-aageto” and they call their language “Kafinoonoo” which literally means “the mouth of Kafa.” Fleming (1976: 356) also states that Kafa refers to the place, “Kafecho” refers to the male Kafa person and “Kafechi” refers to the female Kafa person. The Kafa are mainly agriculturalists. Their livelihood highly depends on agricultural products. They produce ‘inset’ which is false banana, and maize for domestic consumption; tef, wheat, barley and others are also produced as staple food. The Kafa are known for their coffee and cardamom production. These two and others like honey are the main commercial products. In addition, they are known for their forest conservation which is recently recorded by the UNESCO as a world heritage.

1.2. The Language

According to Tadesse (2007), Kafinoonoo is an Afro- Asiatic language of the Gonga sub group of the North Omotic family, though there is disagreement among scholars for the genetic affinity of Omotic to Afro Asiatic. Kafinoonoo itself belongs to Kafa Gimojan by group and Kafa by sub group. According to Fleming (1976), this sub group is alternatively called “Gonga” and Kafa belongs to the south Gonga. Fleming (1976) claims Kafinoonoo consists of four geographical dialects, namely manjo ‘A’, manjo ‘B’, manjo ‘C’ and the ‘Gojeb’ dialects. However, Tadesse (1999) states that Kafinoonoo, linguistically, consists of three undescribed dialects. Tadesse didn’t specify who or what

these dialects are. Meanwhile, Theil (2007) came up with six dialects. He claims that Kafinoonoo is usually divided into six dialects which he calls, Gimbo, Dechi, Xallo, Manjiyo, Cani, and Geshi (these are written in Latin script where X is read as t' and C as tʃ). The question of dialects of Kafinoonoo is left for further investigation. This research is conducted on the standard Kafinoonoo by which educational materials are prepared.

According to Tadesse (1999), Kafinoonoo was limited to spoken language until recently. Following the downfall of the Derg regime, however, minority languages have got constitutional recognition so as to serve as a language of communication, education, and administration. As a result, since 1996 Kafinoonoo has been serving as a medium of instruction at the level of elementary school in the first cycle (1-4). In addition, through the efforts made by the community and the government, the language is now further promoted to administrative language in the zone and besides is given as a subject till grade 10. According to central statistics agency (2007) it is spoken by 865,131 people.

1.2.1. Phonology

1.2.1.1. Consonants

Concerning the phonology of Kafinoonoo different scholars have come up with varying numbers of the consonant phonemes. Among them, Reinisch (1888:79) claims that Kafinoonoo has 27 consonant phonemes. Marcos (1982) cited in Theil (2007) claims that Kafinoonoo has 23 consonant phonemes. Fleming (1976) identified 22 consonant phonemes. Meanwhile, Theil (2007) came up with two kinds of analyzing Kafa phonology. He divides Kafinoonoo into Kafa I and Kafa II. His Kafa II is the phoneme system before Amharic loan sounds started to enter into the language. He claims that the Kafa I is the recent development stage of Kafa phonology. He argues that the consonant

inventory of Kafinoonoo constitutes of 22 phonemes with Amharic loan sounds. Therefore, Theil claims if foreign phonemes are excluded, Kafinoonoo has only 18 consonant phonemes. As can be seen from Table 1, Theil represented different sounds by his own symbols. For instance, he represented ʔ with P, tʃ with s' and ʃ with S. For the sake of convenience, I have put the IPA transcriptions of the sounds in brackets. In Fleming's consonant phonemes, /s/ is missing but it is attested in the language in words like 'màsmàáf' which is an emotional expression uttered when a person faces something frightening. In Theil's consonants (in both **I** and **II**) the recurrent sounds like dʒ and tʃ, are missing. In addition, he argued that phonemes like /ʔ/, /s/, /l/ and /z/ as a foreign sounds. On the contrary, he included /l/ in his Kafa II phoneme inventories. In this regard, Theil presented controversial inventories to his readers. In addition, Theil transcribed 'bug' as "gélgéjó" which is actually called "gégéyó" and he transcribed 'tall' as "gènjòò". Here in 'bug' he represented 'y' by /j/ in 'tall' he represented 'dʒ' by /j/ which is difficult to identify. These unclarities call for further investigations of phonology of Kafinoonoo.

Fleming's (1976) consonants			bilabials	alveolars	Inter dentals	palatals	velars	glottals
	stops	non ejec.	b p	d t			g k	ʔ
		ejectives.	P	t'		c	k	
		fricatives	f			š		h
		affricates				j č		
		nasals	m	n				
		liquids		l,r				
	glides	w			y			
Theil's (2007) Kafa I	stops	non ejec.	b p	d t			g k	P (?)
		ejectives	P	t'		s' (tʃ')	k'	
		fricatives	f	s	z	S (ʃ)		h
		affricates						
		nasals	m	n				
		liquids		l,r				
	glides	w			j(y)			
Theil's (2007) Kafa II	stops	non ejec.	b p	d t			g k	P (?)
		ejectives	p'	t'		S' (tʃ')	k'	
		fricatives	f	s				
		affricates				j (dʒ)		
		nasals	m	n				
		liquids		l				
	glides	w						

Table 1: Comparison of Theil's and Fleming's consonant phonemes of Kafinoonoo

As is seen from the table above, phonemes which are missing in Fleming's are included in Theil's Kafa I which shows that they are Amharic loan sounds as seen in the example below.

“zàámbílò” from Amharic “zembil” which means ‘woven basket’

“gàázàró” from Amharic “gejera” which means ‘big knife’ The phoneme /s/ is missing both in Kafa I and II but it is attested in Kafinoonoo in words like “màssèmyó” which is an emotional expression said when things go wrong. A Kafa traditional song which used to be sung in the funeral ceremony ends with a word which contains /s/ “hose!” this is to signal that the song is ended.

As to me, though its frequency is very limited, it is attested in the language as seen in the words above and should be recorded in the consonant inventory of Kafinoonoo. This sums up the consonant phonemes of Kafinoonoo to 23 for the moment. Kafa phonology needs further thorough investigation as there is no common agreement among scholars who have done research on the phonology of the language. According to Tadesse (2007); consonant gemination, vowel length, and tone are phonemic. Examples in A and B below show the phonemic feature of vowel length and tone respectively.

A • kèèmò ‘three’

• kèémò ‘Prophecy’

• gárò ‘bur’

• gàárò ‘unripe’

B • káfò ‘farm tool’

• káfó ‘ripe’

• gót]’ó ‘swamp’

• gòt]’ò ‘border’

According to Tadesse (2007), raising tone appears only on long vowels. Tadesse also states consonant gemination is common. However not every consonant geminates: consonants such as /z/ /r/ and /w/ resist gemination and others tʃ, dʒ, p, l, geminate most of the time. Still others f, ʃ, h, y are realized as either a stop or an affricate when they geminate.

1.2.1.2. Vowels

Most scholars agree that Kafinoonoo has five long vowels and five short vowels if foreign sounds are excluded, (Theil 2007:7). Similarly Fleming (1976) identified 10 vowel phonemes of Kafinoonoo. Reinisch (1888) also claims that Kafinoonoo has five long and five short vowel phonemes. For the sake of ease let us see by contrasting the vowel phonemes of the three scholars in Table 2.

	Reinisch 1888	Fleming 1976	Theil 2007
Short front	i	i/I	i
	e	e/ε	e
	a	a/a	a
Short back round	o	u	u
	u	o	o
Long front un round	ii	ii	ii
	ee	ee	ee
	aa	aa	aa
Long back round	oo	oo	oo
	uu	uu	uu

Table 2: Vowel phonemes of Kafinoonoo

According to Fleming (1976b) diphthongs are rare in Kafinoonoo. However Theil (2007) claims that diphthongs are nonexistent in his data but he ascribes the following four vowel-plus-semivowel sequences.

- ay
- aaw
- aay
- aw

In addition to the above, Theil identified a sixth short vowel which he phonetically represented by [ə]. I prefer to substitute it with /ä/. It appears in a word “färfätto” which

means wise and cunning for a person, very sharp for knife. Theil argues that this word is a loan and hesitates because it has phonological and semantic resemblance to Italian “perpetto”.

1.2.2. Morphology

Morphology is that part of grammar which studies the structure of words. The basis of a word is a lexical root to which various morphological processes apply to produce the finished item. These processes can be derivation, inflection and, etc.

Derivation: in Kafinoonoo, word can be derived by attaching derivational morpheme –tʃo/i to verbs. The following examples show how words can be derived from verbs.

èèfò	‘to mourn’	dùùβò	‘to sing’
èèppètʃò/i	‘mourner’	dùùbbètʃò/i	‘singer’

In these examples f→pp

β→bb

o→e

o→e

Tadesse (2007) stated that the unmarked default ending of nouns, adjectives and verbs is o/oo and grouped these lexical items into three conventional morphological classes as follows.

- Class I ending in ó (H)
Thematic vowel -e and/or -i, e.g. ímó, èèfó, àáʔó etc.
- Class II ending in ò [L]
Thematic vowel –e, éllò, yúllò, íppò, etc.
- Class III ending in òó [LH]
Thematic vowel –i, e.g. kòòròó, òògòó etc.

However the class three categories end in –oo, the thematic vowel is not consistent as Tadesse claims. When lexical item in the class inflects, the final vowel changes to ‘-í’, but when the process is a kind of modification and derivation, the final vowels change to ‘-e/ee’. The following examples show the inconsistencies of these thematic vowels.

kòòròó	‘to write’	òògòó	‘big’
kooreeket’o	‘house of writing’	òògé kèt’ò	‘big house’
kòòr’íyò	‘I write’	òògìyòó	‘to make big’
kòòrèé hinnòò	‘way of writing’	òògítinò	‘bigness’

These thematic vowels are recurrent in morphological processes of Kafinooonoo. A few examples of modifiers are given below. There are also certain nouns whose default ending is ‘-í’. Almost all proper names end in –i. It is these nouns that either lengthen their final vowel or suffixed by –n in O position (section 2.2.2. on page 25).

1a.	ààʔó	“black”
	gàttòó	“ox”
	ààʔígàtòó	‘black ox’
b.	òògòó	“big”
	kèt’ó	“house”
	òògékètó	‘big house’

In the case of modifying, the final vowel of a modifier word changes to thematic vowel.

We will see this process henceforth in many examples.

Reduplication: This describes the repetition of all or part of the root either before or after it, (Dixon 2010a:139). In Kafinooonoo reduplication is rare except for the irregular Plural formations of a few words.

2a. bùfòó	“child”
bùfífòó	“children”
b.òògòó	“big (SG)”
ògòògòó	“big (PL)”
c. gífò	‘small (SG)’
gífífò	‘small (PL)’

The above few instances exemplify the reduplication in Kafinooonoo. In 2 (a) /f/ is reduplicated to show the plural form of “bùfòó”, in 2 (b) /g/ is reduplicated to form the Plural form of “òògòó” i.e. big. This shows that in Kafinooonoo adjectives of size show number.

Affixation: - affixation is a morphological process which involves adding an affix to a root or stem (Dixon 2010a:141). In Kafinooonoo nouns can be derived by affixation as in 4a and b below.

3a. gòyò	‘farm’	b. dòyòó	‘to learn’
gòtʃfè- <i>t/ò</i>	‘farmer’	dòyè- <i>t/ò</i>	‘learner’ (M)
gòyè- <i>t/ó</i>	‘with farm’	dòyè- <i>t/i</i>	‘learner’ (F)

Therefore we can form words by affixing a derivational suffix *-t/* to words. These are not an easy task because there may be a change in certain roots as in 3(a) where /y/ → /tʃ/ before the suffix is added to the root, in addition to the change of unmarked default ending. Morphology of Kafinooonoo (derivation) needs further thorough investigation.

- ‘gòyè-tfò’ refers to the one who has a farm.
- ‘gòtfjè-tfò’ refers to the one who farms.

Inflection: - according to Dixon (2010a:143) “inflection is a morphological process which obligatorily applies to a root or derived item of a certain word”. Blake (2004:243) defines inflection as a system of marking grammatical categories on a word like case, number, gender, aspect and tense .According to Tadesse (2007), in Kafinoonoo; nominals are inflected for gender, number and case. In our case and in this section in particular, we will see gender and number.

Gender:	gèndzdz-òó	“tall” (M)	mátj’ -ò	‘stallion’
	gèndzdz-èé	“tall” (F)	mátj’ -è	‘mare’
	dòdzdzètj’-ò	“teacher” (M)	kúr-ò	‘jackasses’
	dòdzdzètj’-i	“teacher” (F)	kúr-è	‘jenny’

In Kafinoonoo nominals are inflected for gender as in the example above. In certain circumstances “e/i” can be diminutive markers and “o” can be augmentative marker. In Kafinoonoo ‘o’ is inherently masculine marker and ‘e’ is inherently feminine marker. In the language gender markers sometimes shift to show number. The following examples show this linguistic phenomenon.

gènnèé	‘woman’	ìndèé	‘mother’
gènnòó	‘women’	ìndòó	‘mothers’

Number: according to Dixon (2010:429) number is a grammatical system termed as singular, dual and plural. In Kafinoonoo forms used for singular can refer to multiple referents. The regular Plural form of nominals is marked by ‘-nàzò’ but Singular is not

morphologically marked. The regular plural marking is portrayed in the following examples. I prefer to use ‘marked plurals’ henceforth to identify it from general number.

bààkkèé	“hen”	gàttòó	‘ox’
bààkkèé- <i>nàʔó</i>	“hens”	gàttèé- <i>nàʔó</i>	‘oxen’
kàfòó	“bird”	dòrò	‘a sheep’
kàfèé- <i>nàʔó</i>	‘birds’	dòrèè- <i>nàʔó</i>	‘sheep’

In addition to the above, the singular form expresses general meaning. In the above example, which I have taken as singular (only when it is not gender marked) can be also Plural denoting general meaning. The following examples clearly demonstrate these.

kùnáàn-òó	‘dog(s)’	àfò	‘man/men’
dòrò	‘(a) sheep’	t'ák'k'ó	‘stone(s)’
mít'ó	‘tree(s)/wood’	kòòríŋ'òó	‘book(s)’

NB. The singular counterpart of the above general number is always masculine in gender.

1.2.3. Order of Clausal Constituents

According to Dixon (2010a:233) order of clausal constituent is the order in which words must or may occur in a phrase, in a clause or in a sentence. Concerning order of clausal constituents, Dixon (2010a:73) claims that the most basic question to be asked about any language is “what is its word order?”-whether employing preposition or postpositions, whether genitive constituent preceded or followed the head of its noun phrase, and so on. Similarly, Tadesse (2007) claims that, like in other Omotic languages, the canonical word order in Kafinoonoo is subject-object-verb.

In the case of adjectives, as in other SOV languages, attributive adjectives come before the noun and predicative adjectives come on the predicate position as displayed in the following example:-

4a. òògé gàttòó vs. gàttòó òògà-hè

big ox vs. ox big-become (the ox becomes big)

b. k'ábìni bùfòó vs. bùfòó kábìni-yè

short child vs. child short-become (the boy becomes short)

In Kafinoonoo cross-referencing bound pronominal forms which are attached to the verb are for the subject only. On the contrary, Kafinoonoo lacks cross-referencing bound pronominals for object. Examples below are presented to show the cross-referencing bound pronominals of the A/S arguments. These bound cross-referencing pronominals that refer to the A/S are not marked for case.

Wùt'òó “to kill”

Wùt'ì-t-èètè → “*they* killed”

Wùt'ì-t-òn → “*we* killed”

Wùt'ì-t-àn → “*she* killed”

Wùt'ì-t-òtè → “*you (PL)* killed”

Wùt'ì-t-è → “*he* killed”

Wut'ì-t-ìn → “*you* killed”

1.3. Review of Previous Works on Kafinoonoo

Linguistic research on Kafinoonoo is mainly limited to senior essays and MA theses. Most of the earlier works are also limited to lists of words, phonological and grammatical sketches. Published works on Kafinoonoo and Kafa in general include: Antonio Cecchi (1887), Leo Reinisch (1888), Brockelmann (1950) Cerulli (1951), Leslau (1958) Fleming (1976), Bender (1976), and Lange (1982).

We can also find a limited number of unpublished senior essay papers, MA thesis and PhD dissertations. Among these Orent (1967 and 1969), Alemayehu (1981), Nega (1984), Minwuyelet (1984), Aberash (1985), Tadesse (1999) Dawit (2004) Honelign (2009) and Girma (2010) are instances.

Cecchi's (1887), Brockelmann's (1950) and Cerulli's (1951) work present grammatical sketches of Kafinoonoo. According to Tadesse (1999), Cecchi was the first person who has sketched the grammar of Kafinoonoo. Cecchi also contributed by gathering and compiling vocabulary of several hundred words.

Reinisch (1888) discovered the phonology and gave an account of the morphology of the language. In addition he supplied German vocabulary translations.

Leslau (1958) identified "Mocha" (which is currently called Shakinoono) as a dialect of Kafa and differentiated it as a tone language. He also discussed the phonemes and their features.

Orent (1967 and 1969) determined on the culture and religion especially spirit-mediators and individual shrines of the Kafa in general and “Dochay cult” in particular. In his paper, he also assessed the structure of social organization and family relations.

Fleming (1976) which is enclosed in “Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia” of Bender’s collection of (1976) discusses the history of Kafinoonoo and the people with elucidation of lexical meaning and differences of each dialect towards each other due to geographical variations. He also presents verb morphology, process of nominalization, adjectivization and some gender distinction or gender markers, and identified independent pronouns.

Alemayehu’s (1981), Aberash’s (1985) and Nega’s (1984) work present the verbal markers and verb phrase, verb morphology of Kafinoonoo respectively.

Lange (1982) briefly narrates the history and the social structure of the Gonga kingdom. He focused on the political structure and the dynastic rule of the then Kafa noble classes.

Minwuyelet (1984) describes the noun phrase of Kafa. He focuses on noun phrase explanation. His objective was studying the noun phrase of Kafa and treating the noun phrase as it functions in simple sentences.

Tadesse (1999) describes the tonology of Kafinoonoo. He also identifies the number of tones in Kafinoonoo and displays how tone is represented.

Bender (2000) discusses the phonology, TAM, copula connectors and case markers in comparison with other Omotic languages. Among the studies which are presented above, Bender is the first person who shallowly discussed about the case.

Dawit (2004) investigates inter-sentential and intra-sentential code switching between Amharic and Kafinoonoo in Bonga town.

Theil (2007) presents the phonology of Kafinoonoo by criticizing the earlier phonological works. He introduced a new system of analyzing the phonology of Kafinoonoo. He comes up with Kafa I and Kafa II. His Kafa I is the later development of Kafa phonology and his Kafa II states the phonology of Kafinoonoo before being intervened by Amharic loan sounds.

Girma (2010) presents a detailed analysis of noun phrase structure of Kafinoonoo. He discussed personal pronouns, nominals and shallowly stated how nouns are marked for case.

The present study deals with case marking in detail.

1.4. Theoretical framework

In this section basic linguistic theory, which is the base for this study is reviewed.

1.4.1. Basic Linguistics Theory

Dryer (2001) states basic linguistic theory as follows.

“Basic linguistic theory is referred to as the theoretical framework which is most widely employed in language description, particularly in grammatical description of entire languages. It is the framework assumed by most work in linguistic typology and probably the most widely used and best known theoretical framework in field linguistics”.

According to Dixon (2010a: 1) BLT approaches linguistics as a branch of natural science. Dixon says “the duty of a linguist is to give details of the nature of human language, through vigorous participation in the description of languages each viewed as an incorporated system-together with elucidation of why each language is the way it is, associated to the more systematic pursuits, forecast and assessment”. According to Dixon (2010a:3). BLT differs from other approaches to the study of language in different ways,

- ❖ It is being continually improved by account of new languages, each modification enable it to distinguish a little more fully the important nature of language as cultural attribute of human being.
- ❖ It sees every language as an absolute linguistic system as a division of natural science, it describes, explains, predicts and evaluates the features of language.
- ❖ Basic linguistic theory was motivated by the following points.

- To offer the sketch description of configuration of human language
- To supply guides for those who desire to follow the main issue of linguistics and then by inductive simplification contributing to the typological theory.

(Dixon 2010a:1-3)

“Contrasting many theoretical frameworks in linguistics”, Dryer says “which are often ephemeral and pass quickly into obsolescence, basic linguistic theory is a cumulative framework that has slowly developed over the PST century as linguists have learned how to describe languages better”.

According to Dixon (2010a:182) a linguist working on any language can use BLT as a framework for grammar writing since it offers a logical presentation of grammatical categories, constructions and possible interrelations. A linguist can use BLT flexibly to fit for a particular language. Basic linguistic theory as Dixon claims, does not declare any specific feature which present in every language. Instead the linguist can choose from a range of linguistic elements and parameters which fit the language he/she describes (Dixon 2010a:183).

Unlike general to specific theories Dixon says, “BLT follows a specific to general method of investigation flourishing a set of measurements that is indicative and flexible”. Each description of language on the bases of BLT supplies a response to the theory, making it possible to be improved and enlarged. BLT provides a harmonized outline of what is found in all natural languages (Dixon 2010a:2).

1.4.1.1. Case System

According to Dixon (2010a: 244), a case system is used to mark the function of core arguments (S, A, O) and /or to mark spatial, temporal, and other elements. In BLT case system is divided into two categories.

- Marking of core arguments and
- Marking of peripheral arguments

1.4.1.1.1. Marking of Core arguments

Core arguments are, according to Dixon, two/three which can be subject or agent and object. Marking of these core arguments have four possibilities.

$$\text{I} \quad \boxed{\text{A}} = \boxed{\text{S}} = \boxed{\text{O}}$$

$$\text{II} \quad \boxed{\begin{array}{c} \text{A} \\ \text{Nominative} \end{array}} = \boxed{\begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \text{Nominative} \end{array}} \quad \boxed{\begin{array}{c} \text{O} \\ \text{Accusative} \end{array}}$$

$$\text{III} \quad \boxed{\begin{array}{c} \text{A} \\ \text{Ergative} \end{array}} \quad \boxed{\begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \text{Absolutive} \end{array}} = \boxed{\begin{array}{c} \text{O} \\ \text{Absolutiv} \end{array}}$$

$$\text{IV} \quad \boxed{\text{A}} = \boxed{\text{Sa}} = \boxed{\text{So}} = \boxed{\text{O}}$$

Row-I shows A, S, O all being marked differently. It is extremely unusual to find such tripartite system applying right across the grammar although it can be part of mixed marking.

Row-II is the most common system where A, and S marked in the same way (nominative case) and O marked differently (accusative). In our case we will focus on this kind of case marking, since Kafinoonoo is a normal or unmarked nominative as we will see later.

Row-III is less common but still found in about one-quarter of world's languages where S and O marked in the same way (absolute case) and A differently (ergative).

Row-IV shows that an intransitive verb with an S argument which acts volitionally will be marked A (Sa) while an S argument whose referent essentially lacks control over the activity is marked like O (So). Such marking is called 'Split-s' marking.

Source: Dixon (2010b: 119)

There are three basic ways of marking the function of core argument (Dixon 2010a: 125)

1. Marking on an NP realizing (or partly realizing) the argument by choice from a system of case affixes or clitics or by adpositions which may be a separate word or a clitic. A clitic or adpositional word will precede or follow the NP. A case expression affix may go on.

- 1) just the last word or
- 2) just the first word or
- 3) just the head or
- 4) all words in the NP or
- 5) all words of certain grammatical type in the NP.

Sometimes, case will go on just the last word if all the words of the NP occur together; if they are separated into more than one position in the clause, it will go on to the last word of each part.

2. Marking by a bound pronominal which realizes the argument. This is generally attached to the verb or a verbal auxiliary but in some languages may cliticize onto the first constituent of the clause.
3. Constituent order: in some languages there is ordering of phrasal constituent in a clause, e.g. AOV, and SV or OVA and SV is used to express a case. Pronouns also have case forms, providing redundant information about syntactic function.

1.4.1.1.2. Marking of Peripheral Arguments

According to Dixon Peripheral arguments are non-core arguments and are optional. Typically these include instrument, accompaniment, recipient, beneficiary, time, place, manner and a variety of other roles. These types of arguments usually occur with the verbs of certain semantic type. In BLT what Dixon calls marking of peripheral arguments was called theta-theory in government and binding theory. According to the proponents of government and binding theory, theta-theory was concerned with the assignment of theta-roles to each argument NP which provides their semantic information (Azeb 1993:14).

Dixon (2010a:127:) states that nominative or accusative may receive zero marking. In contrast peripheral NPs with a common noun as head generally require some explicit marking. However, there may be an exception in the case of proper names of places; these nouns may be used alone with either locative or allative meaning depending on the nature of accompanying verb (example ‘stay [at] split rock’ or go [to] split rock’).

According to (Gregory.et.al, 1990) semantic cases name various semantic roles of various participants in the situation described by the verb. Sample peripheral cases describing the participants involved in the activity, state or property are illustrated as follows:

- Instrument; for example (slice it) *with a knife*.
- Accompaniment; for example (he settled down) *with his wife*.
- Recipient; for example (she showed the weapon) *to the police*.
- Beneficiary; for example (she wrote a letter) *for her illiterate cousin*.
- Locative; for example (he put the money) *in the box*.
- Experiencer; for example (Mary hates) *Mozart*
- Cognitor; for example (*she considered*) the red skirt.

Source: Dixon (2010a:126, b: 130)

To summarize case marking, in BLT, it is divided into two parts-marking of core arguments which includes nominative and accusative cases in nominative languages and absolutive and ergative cases in absolutive-ergative languages. Marking of peripheral arguments are related to assigning of semantic roles to the participant arguments. However we will not investigate semantic roles in this study. We will only focus on the structural features of the core and peripheral arguments. We will see how core arguments are marked in Kafinoonoo (chapter 2 on page 25) and how marking of peripheral arguments operates in Kafinoonoo (chapter 3 on page 48).

1.5. Objective of the Study

This study presents the case system of Kafinoonoo on the basis of basic linguistic theory.

The objective of this study is to identify and understand different facets of the case system of Kafinoonoo. The specific objectives of the study are:

- To investigate which cases are found in Kafinoonoo.
- To scrutinize and describe the properties of the case system in Kafinoonoo.
- To present case system in:
 - Passive construction
 - Locative clauses
 - Noun phrases and pronominals
 - Instrumental clauses
 - Allative clause
 - Comparative construction

1.6. Significance of the Study

Since this is the first comprehensive work on case systems of Kafinoonoo, it can serve as a launch pad for the researchers who are interested in studying Kafinoonoo and case system in general. This study is hoped to supply those who are engaged in Kafinoonoo planning. Those who need to write grammar books on Kafinoonoo can also benefit from this study.

1.7. Methodology

The data for this study comes from three sources. Firstly, since the researcher is a native speaker of the language under study, he uses his language competence as a source of data.

Secondly, other native speakers are consulted so as to avoid interest bias. All of them are the native speakers of the language. Aklilu Adelo is from Decha district and speaks the Decha variety. Muluaem Gezahegn is from Shishinda and speaks the variety that is spoken around Shishinda. Kifle Meshesha is from Gimbo and speaks the Gimbo variety.

The researcher is from Shishinda but speaks both the Bonga and the Shishinda variety.

The data generated by the researcher and checked by the consultants are further evaluated by contrasting with the standard variety with which grade 7 and 10 text books are written.

Thirdly, pertinent previous works are also consulted in order to ensure the validity of the data.

The data collected through these means are described using BLT framework (section 1.4 on page 17), and glossed using the IPA transcription except y. y is written in phonemic.

In order to avoid signs which are cumbersome and difficult to read, long vowels are written with double vowel grapheme.

Attempts are made to mark tone but there may be miss positioning of tone marks, so tone marking in this thesis is open to comments and criticisms. This may help for further improvement of the tone marking.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Marking of Core Arguments

According to BLT, core arguments are obligatory arguments for a specific verb, which must be either stated or understood from the context. Therefore this chapter presents how core arguments are marked for case in Kafinoonoo.

As mentioned above, core arguments are arguments which occupy the subject and object position in a given sentence. These arguments may be marked for case in order to show their syntactic relation. According to Blake (2004:23) case is the system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads. The case of argument in subject or agent function is the nominative. According to Blake (2004:224) nominative is a case on the noun expressing the subject relation. According to Dixon (2010b: 428), nominative is a case inflection marking transitive agent and intransitive subject. On the other hand, the argument with the object function is expressed by accusative case. Accusative case, according to Dixon, is an inflection marking on transitive object.

Therefore, when we are talking about marking of core arguments, we are speaking about the nominative and accusative cases. Markedness has been invoked as an explanation for different case marking patterns. This explanation is in line with the discriminating approach to case marking which take the main function of case marking to distinguish subject from object.

2.1. Marking of S/A arguments in Kafinooonoo

Arguments in S/A function bear no marking but consist of the bare stem; the nominative owes its status as a nominative to the existence of marked cases. The following examples can show this.

5a. *bùf-èé-Ø* *dòr-èé-nà?ó-n* *yòòkk-è-t-àn*
child-F-NOM sheep-THV-PL-ACC chase-THV-PST-3FSG
‘A/The girl chased sheep’

b. *Àlmààzì-Ø* *dòr-èé* *k'uyòó-tf* *hàmm-è-t-àn.*
Almaz-NOM sheep-GEN herd-LOC go-THV-PST-3FSG
‘Almaz went to shepherding’

c. *?úrò-Ø* *gáttòó* *kèm-è-t-è*
man-NOM ox: ACC buy-THV-PST-3MSG
“The man bought an ox”

Examples in 9a-c show the zero marking of arguments in A/S position. This proves the above explanation true. An argument in A/S function appears without being marked. For comparison, let us cross check this with a null subject by the following examples.

6 a. *kèt'ó-Ø* *kèm-è-t-òtè*
house-ACC buy-THV-PST-2PL
‘You (PL) bought the house’

b *màà?òó* *bàf-í-t-ètè*
bull:ACC slaught-THV-PST-3PL
‘They slaughtered the bull’

- c. *doy-èé kèt'òó-tf hàmmè-t-àn*
 learning-GEN house-LOC go-PST-3FSG
 ‘She went to house of learning (school)’

Whether the arguments in S/A function physically occupy the position or are null, they remain unmarked as in the above examples. Therefore, as Tadesse (2007), Bender (2000) and Cerulli (1951) stated this work shows that arguments that occupy S/A position are zero marked or not morphologically realized.

2.2. Marking of Argument in O Function

Different scholars like Fleming (1976), Tadesse (2007), Bender (2000) and other researchers like Girma (2010) claim the argument in O function is marked by the case inflection **-n**. On the other hand, Cerulli (1951: 294-7) states that accusative takes **-n** or may be unmarked. However, I argue that the marking of arguments in O position is fourfold, since there are contexts where marking is obligatory by **-n**, there are contexts where lengthening is used as an accusative, and lengthening plus marking is used and there are contexts where marking is optional.

2.2.1. Optional marking with **-n**

Simple nouns are optionally marked in O function. These nouns can or cannot be marked in O position. The following examples can show how these nouns behave in O function.

- 7a. *Tààyi-Ø wòdd-é mít'ó-(n) bètftf-i-t-é*
 Taye-NOM many-THV tree-ACC plant-THV-PST-3MSG
 ‘Taye planted many trees’

- b. *bùf-òó-Ø gèppòó-(n) gòtʃf-í-t-é*
 child-M-NOM hill-ACC till-THV-PST-3MSG
 ‘A/The boy tilled the hill’
- c. *Kifilì-Ø emmíf-òó-(n) kèmm-é-t-é*
 Kifle:NOM goat-M-ACC buy-THV-PST-3MSG
 ‘Kifle bought the goat’
- d. *Kèmméti-Ø tʃ`àày-ó-(n) wùt`-í-t-é*
 Kemeto-NOM porcupine-M-ACC kill-THV-PST-3MSG
 ‘Kemeto killed porcupine’
- e. *chènéti-Ø kòòríʃʃf(òó-(n) fèmm-é-t-é*
 Cheneto-NOM letter-ACC read-THV-PST-3MSG
 ‘Cheneto read the letter’

As shown in the above examples common nouns in O position are optionally marked.

2.2.2. Marked with either –n or with lengthening.

This group includes proper names, 2nd plural pronouns, 3rd plural pronouns and demonstrative pronouns.

2.2.2.1. Proper nouns.

Nouns in this class are personal names and place names. This class of nouns functions in O position in two ways. They lengthen their final vowel or without lengthening they are suffixed by -n. The next examples show these clearly.

- 8a. *k`àʃ`tʃ`èmm-òó-Ø Kifilì m`à-t-é*
 hyena-M-NOM Kifle:ACC eat-PST-3MSG
 ‘A/The hyena ate Kifile’

- b. *k'átʃ'ʃ'ém-òó-Ø Kifili-n màà-t-é*
 hyena-M-NOM Kifile-ACC eat-PST-3MSG
 ‘The hyena ate Kifile’
- c. *tà-Ø Mùlùálèmiì ʃ'èégg-é-t*
 I-NOM Mulualem: ACC call-THV-PST
 ‘I called Mulualem’
- d. *yíitʃ Tààyìi bèègg-è-t*
 yesterday Taye:ACC see-THV-PST
 ‘I saw Taye yesterday’
- e. *mát'ó-Ø Adimàsìi kùpp-i-t-é*
 bee-NOM Admasu:ACC sting-THV-PST-3MSG
 “The bee stung Admasu”
- f. *mát'ó-Ø Adimìsì-n kùpp-i-t-é*
 bee-NOM Admasu-ACC sting-THV-PST-3MSG
 ‘The bee stung Admasu’

As shown above personal names occupy the O position in sentences either by lengthening their final vowel or by being suffixed by ‘-n’ without lengthening the final vowel. These personal names that occupied the O position by lengthening, and pronouns which we will see later on fulfill the structural requirement of the sentences by occupying the O position. There is one context where -n seems to be the only option for case marking personal names as in the following discourse.

9A: *kòníni mát'ó kùppító?* (Whom did the bee sting?)

B*: *Àdmààsìi* (Admasu)

However this marking is NOT for case rather it is for auxiliary. The above example is corrected as in the following.

A: *kòníni mát'ó kùppító?* (Whom is it the bee sting?)

B: *Àdmààsí-ní* (it is/was Admasu)

The question is a cleft like construction with a verb form ending in **-o**. The answer contains here, the focus marker ‘**-i**’ with the morpheme that shows auxiliary. Therefore, ‘**-n**’ is used to show two things, i.e., accusative and auxiliary affix. The following example briefly states the two features of **-n**.

10a. *àm/òó-n bùf-èé-n kùppító?*

what-AUX child-F-ACC stung

‘What was the girl stung with?’(Lit: what was it that stung the girl?)

Therefore one should not be confused in identifying between accusative marker **-n** and the auxiliary marker **-n**)

2.2.2.2. The second and third person plural pronouns.

The second and third person plural pronouns are marked for ACC in the same way as proper nouns/ have identical marking with proper names. These plural pronouns can occupy object position by being suffixed by **-n** or by lengthening their final vowel. Let us discuss these by the following examples.

11a. *dààhèr-òó-Ø bònòfii wùt'-i-t-é*

lion-M-NOM them:ACC kill-THV-PST-3MSG

‘A/The lion killed them’

- b. *dààhèr-òó-Ø bònòfì-n wùt'-í-t-é.*
 lion-M-NOM they-ACC kill-THV-PST-3MSG
 ‘A/The lion killed them’
- c. *kààmèél-ò-Ø ittòfì dàám-í-t-é*
 car-NOM-M you:ACC take-THV-PST-3MSG
 ‘A/The car took you’ (PL)
- d. *kùr-ó-Ø ittòfì-n k'àpp-í-t-é*
 donkey-M-NOM you-ACC kick-THV-PST-3MSG
 ‘The donkey kicked you’

These pronouns can be summarized in the following table.

Person	Nominative	Gloss	ACCUSATIVE		Gloss
			Option I	Option II	
2 nd plural	ittòfì	you	ittòfìí	ittòfì-n	you(PL)
3 rd plural	bònòfì	they	bònòfìí	bònòfì-n	them

Table.3 Pronouns that take up O position by lengthening or by marking.

The marker for the persons on verbs can be *-nàʔó*, which is also plural marker. The following examples show us the anaphorical use of *-nàʔó*. So, one should not be confused when s/he comes across such a feature in sentences.

12a *hàmm-î-t-nàʔó-n*

go-THV-PST-3PL-AUX

‘They had gone’

- b. *màà-t-nàʔó-n*
eat-PST-3PL-AUX
'They had eaten'
- c. *wàà-t-nàʔó* *wòtt-é-t-èté*
come-PST-3PL go back-THV-PST-3PL
'The ones who came had gone back'

2.2.2.3. Demonstrative Pronouns.

According to Dixon (2010b:223) “demonstratives are grammatical rudiments whose main purpose is to point to an object in the location of communication”. In line with Dixon, Diessel (2006:430) defines demonstratives as a deictic expression, “indicating the relative distance of the referent in the speech situation in comparison with the deictic centre”, and he adds, “The deictic centre is defined by the speaker’s location at the time of utterance”. Diessel (1999a and 2005a) cited in Diessel (2006) claims that all languages have at least two demonstratives that indicate a deictic contrast. Kafinoonoo employs a four-term system where the proximal is differently marked for referents which are near to the speaker and near to the hearer. Let us see it from the following examples.

hìní ‘near to the speaker’

mèní ‘near to the hearer’

ókkébí ‘relatively far (but not too far) to both the speaker and the hearer.

bèk'átjèbì ‘away from both the speaker and the hearer’

The following table summarizes the demonstratives in Kafinoonoo

Demonstrative Pronouns	Gloss	Object position		Gloss
		Option I	Option II	
hìni	proximal	hìníí	hìní-n	this/these-ACC
mèni	medial	mèníí	mèní-n	that-ACC
ókkébi	medial	ókkébií	ókkébi-n	that-ACC
bék'átjèbi	distal	bék'átjèbií	bék'tjèbi-n	over there-ACC

Table.4 Demonstrative pronouns

As summarized in table above demonstrative pronouns in Kafinoonoo occupy the O position in a sentence either by suffixed by **-n** or by lengthening their final vowels. The following examples depict these briefly.

- 13a. *mèní-n tàá-tf dèéβ*
that-ACC I-LOC bring:2SG
‘Bring that to me’
- b. *ókkébi-n kémb-òn*
that-ACC sell-1PL
‘Let us sell that one’
- c. *hìní-n wùt'-ib*
this-ACC kill-2SG
‘(You) kill this one’

As with the proper nouns, demonstrative pronouns behave in two ways. They can occupy O position by lengthening their final vowel or they can be suffixed by ‘-n’ without

lengthening the final vowel as displayed in the above examples. Arguments in O position are marked differently as in the examples above.

2.2.3. Obligatorily marked with –n

Nouns in this class include marked plural nouns, derived nouns and gender marked nouns. Here I used ‘marked plurals’ to distinguish it from general number and to focus on those plural nouns which are formed by marking the noun with the plural marker *-nàʔó*. This marker is notoriously misleading since it can also be used anaphorically for the third person plural pronouns as in section (2.2.2.2. under 12a-c on page 31-32).

2.2.3.1. Marked plural nouns.

Plural forms of nouns are formed by suffixing the plural marker ‘*-nàʔó*’ to nouns. As noted earlier, gender markers can be shifted to show number. In this section, we do not focus on this feature of the language. In addition, in the language general number is denoted without marking. We do not focus this too in this section. Our main focus in this section is plural nouns which are formed by suffixing the noun by *-nàʔó*. Before proceeding, let us see some instances of plural formation in Table 3.

	Singular/general	gloss	Marked plural	gloss
1	kàfòó	bird(s)	káfèé- <i>nàʔó</i>	birds
2	dòró	(a) sheep	dòrèé- <i>nàʔó</i>	sheep
3	kòórítʃ̀ò	book(s)	kòórítʃ̀é- <i>nàʔó</i>	books
4	pèénnòó	pen(s)	pèénnèé- <i>nàʔó</i>	pens
5	gènnèé	woman	gènnèé- <i>nàʔó</i>	women

Table 5 Plural forms of nouns

14a. *kààmèél-òó-Ø kàfèé-nàʔó-n wùt'-í-t-é*

Car-M-NOM bird-PL-ACC kill-THV-PST-3MSG

‘The car killed the birds’

b* *áròó-Ø mít'-í-nàʔó bètʃf-í-t-é.*

he-NOM tree-THV-PL plant-THV-PST-3MSG

c. *áròó-Ø mít'-í-nàʔó-n bètʃf-í-t-é.*

he-NOM tree-THV-PL-ACC plant-THV-PST-3MSG

‘He planted the trees’

When the O position is occupied by marked plural nouns (plurals which are formed by marking the noun by ‘-*nàʔó*’), marking for the accusative is obligatory. That is why 14b is ungrammatical. Those marked plural nouns in O position behave as nominative when they are unmarked. For this reason, the function of the argument in O position and the argument in S/A position is confusing to identify and there is no agreement between the two arguments. As a result the licensing principle here seems agreement. Among the above examples, “b” is ungrammatical due to lack of object quality. Suffixing of ‘-*n*’ shows which argument is subject and object.

2.2.3.2. Derived nouns.

As with marked plural nouns, derived nouns in Kafinooonoo are obligatorily marked in O position. As mentioned earlier nouns in Kafinooonoo can be derived by suffixing the noun by -*tʃ*. In the process of attaching the derivational morpheme, gender inflection goes to the last syllable of the derived noun following the morpheme. If the morpheme ends in – o/oo the derived noun is masculine and if it ends in i/e the derived noun is feminine. Table 4 shows derived nouns in Kafinooonoo.

Verbs from which nouns are derived	gloss	derived nouns	gloss
íppò	to be angry	íppè- <i>tfò</i>	nervous(M)
dòdʒdʒòó	to teach	dòdʒdʒé- <i>tfi</i>	teacher(F)
dòyòó	to learn	dòyé- <i>tfi</i>	learner(F)
gòyó	to farm	gòtʃfjé- <i>tfò</i>	farmer(M)
èèfò	to mourn	èèppé- <i>tfò</i>	mourner(M)
dùùβó	to sing	dùùbbé- <i>tfi</i>	singer(F)

Table 6: Derived nouns

These derived nouns are obligatorily marked in O position by suffixing **-n**. Examples in 19 (a-e) below show this briefly and from which a, c, e, and g are ungrammatical.

15a* *dòy-èé kèt-tʃfĩ wùll-òó-Ø dòdʒdʒé-tfò yòókk-í-t-é.*

Learning-GEN house-GEN head-M-NOM teach-NMLZ discard-THV-PST-3MSG

b. *dòy-èé kèt-tʃfĩ wùll-òó-Ø dòdʒdʒ-é-tfò-n yòókk-í-t-é*

learning-GEN house-GEN head-M-NOM teach-THV-NMLZ-ACC discard-THV-PST-3MSG

‘Head of house of learning (a/the director) discarded the teacher’

c* *dòdʒdʒ-è-tʃf-ò-Ø dòy-è-tʃf-ó yòókk-í-t-é.*

Teach-THV-NMLZ-M-NOM learn-THV-NMLZ-M discard-THV-PST-3MS

d *dòdʒdʒ-è-tʃtʃ-ò-Ø* *dòy-è-tʃtʃ-ó-n* *yòók-k-í-t-é*
 teach-THV-NMLZ-M-NOM learn-THV-NMLZ-M-ACC discard-THV-PST-3MSG
 ‘The teacher discarded the student’

e*. *tàát-òó-Ø* *gòtʃtʃ-é-tʃtʃ-ó* *nàád-í-t-é.*
 Government-M-NOM farm-THV-NMLZ-M thank-THV-PST-3MSG

As it is portrayed in the examples above, derived nouns are obligatorily marked in O position. 19a; c and e are ungrammatical because of lack of accusative marker. Derived nouns like plural nouns, behave as a nominative in O position unless they are marked. The suffixing of the derivational morpheme to those nouns might have made them behave as nominative unless marked in O position.

2.2.3.3. Gender marked nouns.

Nouns in this class are limited in number. These nouns all refer to human beings. These are **ʔùró** “man”, **ʔùré** “woman”, **bùfòó** “boy”, **bùfèé** “girl”, **gènnèé** “woman” (honor) and **dòónó** “man” (honor)

16a. *Mààrí-Ø* *yàwr-é* *bùf-èé-n* *fàágg-í-t-é*
 Marew-NOM pretty-F child-F-ACC marry-THV-PST-3MSG.
 ‘Marew married a/the pretty girl’

b. *Kàámèél-ò-Ø* *bùf-òó-n* *nèt 't'-í-t-é*
 Car-M-NOM child-M-ACC trample-THV-PST-3MSG
 ‘The car trampled the boy’

c. *Ìmmítì-Ø gènnèè-n fàágg-í-t-é.*

Imito-NOM woman-ACC marry-THV-PST-3MSG.

‘Imito married the woman’

As mentioned earlier, the above nouns are obligatorily marked in O position.

2.2.3.4. Proximal pronouns.

These pronouns obligatorily need marking in O position. They are also gender marked.

These are displayed in Table 6 on the next page.

Number	Gender	nominative	gloss	accusative	gloss
3 rd proximal	M	áròó	he	áròó-n	him
3 rd proximal	F	árèé	she	árèé-n	her

Table.7. Pronouns which are obligatorily marked by -n

These are pronouns that obligatorily need ‘-n’ to be suffixed to them when they occupy the object position in a sentence. These proximal pronouns are gender marked and the distal pronouns are not gender marked. The following examples substantiate these in detail.

17a. *k'átf'tf'ém-òó-Ø áròó-n màá-t-é*

Hyena-M-NOM he-ACC eat-PST-3MSG

‘The hyena ate him’

b*. *k'átf'tf'ém-òó-Ø áròó màá-t-è*

hyena-M-NOM he eat-PST-3MSG

c. *nè-Ø árèé-n fààgg.*

you-NOM she-ACC marry.

‘(You) marry her’

d*. *nò-Ø árèé tʃʷínn-é-t-ón*

we-NOM she see-THV-PST-1PL

Examples in 21(b) and (d) are ungrammatical because of lack of accusative marker.

2.2.4. Marking with lengthening plus optionally with –n

In this class we find first person (both singular and plural), second person singular, and third person distal pronouns. These pronouns lengthen their final vowel and then are optionally marked in O position.

2.2.4.1. First SG and PL, second SG and third distal pronouns.

These pronouns function in O position by lengthening their final vowel and then can be optionally suffixed by **-n**. I called this phenomenon lengthening plus optional marking.

These pronouns are summarized in Table 5.on the next page.

	Number	nominative	Gloss	Accusative		gloss
				Option I	Option II	
	1 SG	tà	I	tàà	tàà-n	me
	1PL	nò	we	nòò	nòò-n	us
	2SG	nè	you	nèè	nèè-n	you
Distal	3FSG	bì	she	bîi	bîi-n	her
Distal	3MSG	bì	he	bîí	bîí-n	him

Table 8. Pronouns that lengthen their final vowel and then optionally marked.

As it is shown in Table 5, pronouns in this class lengthen their final vowels in O position or/ and then they are optionally suffixed by ‘-n’. Compare the following examples.

18a. *bòónòfi-Ø nòò dàn-é-t-èté.*

they-NOM we: ACC meet-THV-PST-3PL

‘They met us.’

b. *bòónòfi-Ø nòò-n dàn-é-t-èté*

they-NOM we-ACC meet-THV-PST-3PL

‘They met us.’

19a. *kàámèél-ò-Ø nèè dàám-í-t-é.*

car-M-NOM you:ACC take-THV-PST-3MSG

‘The car took you’

b. *kàámèél-ò-Ø nèè-n dàám-í-t-é.*
 car-NOM you-ACC take-THV-PST-2MSG
 ‘The car took you’

20a *bì-Ø tàà t'òóbb-í-t-é*
 he-NOM I:ACC beat-THV-PST-3MSG.
 ‘He beat me’

b. *bì-Ø tàà-n t'òóbb-í-t-é*
 he-NOM I-ACC beat-THV-PST-3MSG.
 ‘He beat me’

Obviously, pronouns can also be followed by the verb ‘auxiliaries’ as in the example below.

21 a *kòní-n-ì dìnér-ó k'òppító?*
 who-AUX-FOC snake-M bite?
 ‘Who did the snake bite?’

In Kafinoonoo arguments in O position are marked differently as discussed in previous sections. Differential object marking is a phenomenon in which the arguments in O position are marked differently due to different reasons. The phenomenon is attested in different languages of the world, e.g. in Nilo-Saharan and Afro-Asiatic languages (Dimmendaal 2010:14). Different scholars have pointed out various reasons for differential object marking. For instance, Danon (2002:46) stated the following.

“....A well-known typological generalization is that among the languages that have differential marking for object of different classes , some distinguish definiteness from indefiniteness while others are sensitive to properties such as specificity, animacy or person.”

(Danon 2002:46)

In line with Danon, Dimmendaal (2010:38) identified animacy, definiteness and use of light verbs for differential object marking in his Nilo-Saharan analysis. Similarly, Blake (2006:212-219) has also distinguished reasons for differential object marking and stated animacy, definiteness and gender as factors that cause differential object marking. In Kafinoonoo there may be other additional reasons for the differential object marking. In proper names, phonology may be the reason. All personal nouns end in -i. These nouns either lengthen their final vowels or are suffixed by -n without lengthening. The issue of differential object marking is left for further investigation.

2.2.5. Case in modified NPs

Definiteness and indefiniteness are not morphologically marked. As a result definiteness is notoriously difficult to identify. For this reason I focused on the heads that are modified by different modifiers. In the language NPs in S/A position appear without overt case marker. On the other hand, in O position these NPs can appear with or without overt case. The following examples show this briefly.

- 22a. *kúr-ó-Ø* *òóg-é* *ʔàá-í* *mátf'-ó-n* *k'àpp-í-t-é*
 donkey-M-NOM big-THV black-THV horse-M-ACC kick-THV-PST-3MSG.
 ‘A donkey kicked a big black horse’
- b. *òóg-é* *ʔàá-í* *kúr-ó-Ø* *buf-òó-n* *kàpp-í-t-é*
 big-THV black-THV donkey-M-NOM child-M-ACC kick-THV-PST-3MSG
 ‘The big black donkey kicked the boy’
- c. *Àllátti-Ø* *kèédzdz-é* *gìfíjé* *gàtt-èé-nàʔó-n* *kèmm-í-t-èté*
 Allato-NOM three-THV small:PL ox-THV-PL-ACC sell-THV-PST-3PL
 ‘Alato sold three small oxen’
- d. *áròó-Ø* *tà* *kèédzdz-é* *mít 'í-nàʔó-n* *kùt 't'-í-t-é*
 he-NOM I:GEN three tree-THV-PL-ACC cut-THV-PST-3MSG.
 ‘He cut my three trees’

As shown in examples above NPs are not overtly marked in A/S position. On the other hand, NPs (with marked plural nouns as their head) on the object position appear with overt case as in the examples above. (e.g. 22 (d) the NP [**kèédzdzè** **gìfíjé** **gàtté-náʔò-n**] is clearly marked by **-n**. As discussed earlier, marking of arguments in O position is not consistent; the above only show one type of marking by **-n**. It is the NP which is marked once for case. The case is expressed only on the last word of the NP.

2.2.5.1. Case in pronominal phrase.

According to Crystal (1997:417) pronominalization refers to rules which replace lexical noun phrase with a pronoun. Pronominal include the class of personal pronouns and little and big PRO. We have discussed how the non referential pronominals (personal

pronouns) behave in relation to case marking in previous sections, so now we focus on adjectival and quantifier pronominals. As seen in the examples (23) below, what is marked is the nominal phrase (NP). The NP happens to contain possessive pronominals (adjective pronominals). Examples in (25) present the quantifier pronominals with respect to their syntactic relations. These are also marked like common nouns in O position.

23 a. *bí wòmò-Ø nòò(-n) émrikk-í-t-é*
 s/ he:GEN coming-NOM we-ACC happy-THV-PST-3MSG

‘His coming made us happy’

b. *bí dùúfò-Ø àágétòó(-n) wòrgàn-ì-t-é*
 s/ he:GEN singing-NOM world-ACC surprise-THV-CAUS-PST-3MSG

‘His singing surprised the world’

c. *nò bèémó bònòfí ípp-ì-t-é.*
 we:GEN living-NOM them:ACC upset-THV-CAUS-PST-3MSG

‘Our living made them upset’

24a. *bí wòmò (-n) fùn-àát/- èèté*
 He:GEN coming-ACC like-NEG-3PL

‘They don’t like his coming’

b. *nò kàáyó (-n) bèég-àán-ná?ò-n*
 we:GEN playing-ACC see-NEG-3PL-AUX

‘‘They didn’t see our playing’’

- c. *bòónòfi* *émròó (-n)* *wàáy-é-t-ón*
 they:GEN happiness-ACC hear-THV-PST-1PL
 ‘We heard their happiness’

This class of words is also optionally marked in O position in a sentence. These are displayed in the following examples.

- 25a *wòddòó (-n)* *wùt '-í-t-èèé*
 Many-ACC kill-THV-PST-3PL.
 ‘They killed many’

- b. *gìíf-è-tfíf-òó (-n)* *kèm-é-t-án*
 few-THV-NMLZ-M-ACC buy-THV-PST-3FSG
 ‘She bought few’ (=not enough)

- c. *màát-òó (-n)* *dàn-é-t-ón*
 numerous-M-ACC find-THV-PST-1PL
 ‘We found numerous ones’

2.2.6. Case in passive Construction

According to Dixon (2010a:116) there are four basic characteristics of prototypical passive derivation.

- a. Applies to an underlying transitive clause and forms a derived intransitive.
- b. Underlying object becomes subject of the passive.
- c. The underlying agent goes in a peripheral function, being marked by noncore case (or can be omitted).

- d. There is non explicit (that is non-zero) formal marking of passive construction, this can be morphological process applying to the verb or periphrastic verbal construction.

These are the processes by which passive sentences are derived from the underlying sentences. In this section we do not focus on passive derivation but investigate how arguments are marked for case in passive sentences passive sentences as in the following sentences.

- 26a. *dórò-Ø k'átɪf'ém-òó-ná mándʒ-é-t-é*
 sheep:NOM hyena-M-INS eat (passive)-THV-PST-3MSG
 ‘The sheep were eaten by hyena’
- b. *bùf-òó-Ø ʔètt-òó-ná kòtɪf-é-t-é*
 child-M-NOM enemy-M-INS pierce (passive)-THV- PST-3MSG.
 ‘The boy was pierced by the enemy’
- c. *két'ò-Ø hàkk-é-t-é*
 house:NOM build (passive)-THV-PST-3MSG
 ‘The house was built’
- d. *Kìfìli-Ø t'òópp-é-t-é*
 Kìfìli:NOM beat (passive)-THV-PST-3MSG
 ‘Kìfìli was beaten’

In 26 (a and b) the arguments which occupy the agent position in underlying sentences are now marked by instrumental and placed in peripheral position of the sentences. On the other hand, arguments of the O position in the underlying sentences are now

promoted to the S position without being overtly marked, as seen in the above they become patient subjects and zero marked for nominative. Sensory or emotion verbs are transitive in Kafnnoonoo. If the predicate is one of the following, like hate, hunger, thirsty, tire, bore, angry etc, the experiencer argument is marked for accusative as in the following.

27a. *tàà (-n) fít't'-ì-í-t- é*

I-ACC hate-THV-CAUS-PST-3MSG

‘I hated’ (Lt. it made me hate).

b. *tàà (-n) tàáh-ì-í-t- é*

I-ACC bore-THV-CAUS-PST-3MSG

‘I was bored’ (Lt. it bored me).

c. *tàà (-n) fàátf"-ì-í-t- é*

I-ACC hangry-THV-CAUS-PST-3MSG

‘I am feeling hungry’ (Lt. it is hungering me)

d. *tàà (-n) màràát-ì-í-t- é*

I-ACC tire-THV-CAUS-PST-3MSG

‘I was tired’ (Lt. it tired me).

The reason for these is the intervention of the causative morpheme -i- to the verb.

For further details (cf. Tolemariam 2009:44-49) for it is not the objective of this thesis to investigate how the causative is derived.

CHAPTER THREE

3.1. Marking of peripheral arguments and possession.

3.1.1. Marking of peripheral arguments

As explained earlier, peripheral arguments are non-core arguments and optional. In this section peripheral arguments or semantic roles or thematic relations will be discussed.

3.1.1.1. Locatives

According to Dixon (2010b:337) locative is a marker indicating position of rest at, on, or near the referent of the noun phrase to which it is attached. It is a morphological case which is used to identify location of something. According to Anderson (1971:81) locative indicates the spatial position of nominative and characterized in particular examples of peripheral case markers like ‘in’ and ‘on’. In Kafinoonoo locative and benefactive or recipient are marked in the same way by the same marker. This is because they are the spatial destinations for the activity expressed by the verb. Therefore, in this thesis the term locative is used for locative, benefactive and recipient. In Any movement towards anywhere except place names ,directional movements like *dùgllá* “downstairs” *dàmbá* “upstairs” and motion shown by ablative and Allative is marked by “-**tf**”. These ones do not have specific destination. Locative is morphological marked by the suffix **-tf**. The following examples clearly illustrate this marking.

28a. *kòrèddòó-n wòdèr-òó-tf ítftf-i-b*
cloth-ACC clothesline-M-LOC spread-THV-IMP.

‘Put the clothe on clothes line’

b. *bùf-èé-Ø kòórìtf’-òó-n kòdzdz-òó-tf gèdd-è-t-àn*

child-F-NOM book-M-ACC bag-M-LOC put-THV-PST-3FSG

‘The girl put the book in the bag’

c. *nò kèt'-ò dòy-èé kèt-tfj-ì gá?òó-tfi*

we:GEN house-M learning-GEN house-GEN near-LOC

‘Our house is near of the house of learning (school)’

d. *tàà-tf bìnòó dèéb*

me-LOC coffee bring

‘Get me coffee’

e. *bùf-òó-Ø bì ááb-ì-tf kòórìtf-òó kòór-í-t-é*

child-NOM he:GEN father-THV-LOC letter-M writeTHV-PST-3MSG

‘The boy wrote the letter for his father’

Instances in 28a-c show the locative. The locative is marked by -tfj which is used for different purposes. In this section, however, it shows the location in/on which the entity is placed. In 28(a) it shows the place where the clothe is to be spread on. In 28b it shows the specific place where ‘the book’ and ‘money’ are placed. 28(c) shows the relative site or destination of the house, which is near the school.

3.1.1.2. Allative and ablative

According to Dixon (2010a:331) allative is a marker indicating movement towards the referent of the noun phrase to which it is attached. In line with Dixon, Crystal (1997:45) defines allative as a type of inflection which expresses the meaning of motion ‘to’ or ‘towards’ a place. Gregory, et.al (1996:40) also state allative as a morphological case of location which expresses the fact that an object is moving towards a location. In

Kafinoonoo, allative is morphologically marked by **-wàán** .This can be made plain by the following examples.

- 29a. *Kifili-Ø fííííndi-wàán hámm-ì-t-è*
 Kifle-NOM Shishinda-allative go-THV-PST-3MSG
 ‘Kifle went towards Shishinda’
- b. *bùf-òó-Ø tʃ’ànn-í-wàán hámm-í-t-é*
 child-M-NOM chena-THV-ALL go-THV-PST-3MSG
 “The boy went towards Chena”.

The examples in 29 (a and b) shows the allative in Kafinoonoo. The allative marker -wàán does not have a final vowel. With a final vowel, it shows the opposite, i.e. not moving towards the place but moving backwards from the place. Therefore, allative in Kafinoonoo appears with the “go” verbs. The later (ablative) is used with the “come” verbs. When the allative marker “**wàán**” has a final vowel, it marks an ablative rather than an allative. Ablative is the case that expresses the role of source which is expressed by “from” in English, Blake (2004:217). In line with Blake, Dixon (2010:242) states ablative as marker indicating movement away from the referent of the noun phrase to which it is attached .So far as my data is concerned allative in Kafinoonoo is marked by ‘**-wàán**’ where as the ablative is marked by ‘**-wàánè**’. Let us contrast the following examples:

- 30a. *bòóngí-wàán hámm-í-t-é* Vs. *bòóngí-wàáné wàá-t-é*
 bonga-ALL go-THV-PST-3MSG Vs. bonga-ABL come-PST-3MSG.
 ‘He went towards Bonga’ Vs. ‘He came from Bonga’

Here allative is governed by the ‘go’ verb where as ablative is governed by the ‘come’ verbs. In Kafinoonoo “hàmmìtè” which means ‘went’ selects “-wàán” and the verb “wàáté” which means ‘came’ selects “-wàáne”.

3.1.1.3. Instrumental

Instrumental is a case inflection marking the referent of the NP to which it is attached as weapon, tool, or material used in the activity described by the verb,(Dixon 2010a:126).In similar way, Gregory. et.al (1996:574) defines instrumental as morphological case which identifies the means of accomplishing the action expressed in the verb. As the above two, Crystal (1997:274) explains instrumental as a form taken by a noun phrase (often a single noun or pronoun), when it expresses such a notion as “by means of”. He adds that the term has special status in case grammar when it refers to the semantic case of instrumental entity casually drawn in a verb’s action. Similarly, Black (2004:176) states instrumental as a case expressing the means by which an activity is carried out. In Kafinoonoo, instrumental case is morphologically by suffixing **-nà**. The following data description clearly verifies the existence of instrumental in Kafinoonoo.

- 31a. *bùf-òó- n gùmbòó-ná t'òóbb-í-t-é*
 child-M-ACC stick-INS hit-THV-PST-3MSG
 ‘He hit the boy with the stick’
- b. *pèènn-òó-nà kòór-í-t-án*
 pen-M-INS write-THV-PST-3FSG
 ‘She wrote with pen’.

c. *mèénó-n fíkkó-ná màátʃ*

meat-ACC knife-INS cut

‘Cut the meat with knife’

d. *bàátò-ná hámm-é-t-án*

foot-INS go-THV-PST-3FSG

‘She went on foot’

In Kafinoonoo instrumental is morphologically marked as seen in the example above. But there are points to note. In the language, coordination takes two places i.e. **-nà** is attached to both of the coordinated phrases. The following examples show this briefly.

32a. *Tààyi-nàà Kífíli-nà gùmb-òó-nà dàáhèr-òó wùt'-ì-t-ètè*

Taye-coordinator Kifle- coordinator stick-M-INS lion-M: ACC kill-THV-PST-3PL.

‘Taye and Kifle killed the lion with the stick’

b. *nèé-nnà tàà-nnà bàátòó-nà hámm-è-t-òn*

you- coordinator I - coordinator foot-INS go-THV-PST-1PL

‘You and I went on foot’

‘**-na**’ can also connect comitative case with the noun that comes before it as an instrumental. The following example shows that briefly.

33a. *tà nùútfjò-nà tòókkàá hámm-é-t*

I friend-INS comitative go-THV-PST

‘I went along with my friend’

In 33 (a) the comitative case is shown by “**tòókkàá**” which means jointly, along with, or together with which is bridged by instrumental ‘-nà’ which is attached to the noun. In the case of instrumental the marker-nà is immediately attached to the noun which is used as instrument. When it is used as a conjunction, it occupies two places-preceding the two conjoined nouns.

34a. *gìnòó-ná kòtʃf-i-t-é*

spear-INS pierce-THV-PST-3MSG

‘He pierced with the spear’

b. *Kifilí- ná Mùlùálèmi-ná wàá-t-èté*

Kifle-coordinator Mulalem-coordinator come-PST-3PL

‘Kifle and Mulalem came’

c. *Kifilí-ná tòókkàá hàmm-é-t*

Kifle-INS-COM go-THV-PST

‘I went together with Kifile’

d. *Mùlùálèmi-ná tòókkàá wàá-t-é*

Mulalem-INS-COM come-PST-3MSG

‘He came along with Mulalem’

3.1.1.4. Experiencer

This section deals with role coding pattern of experiencer verbs. An analysis of morphological encoding of experiencer roles with different verbs shows that, from semantic point of view, these predicates do not form a homogenous class and must be classified into several groups (Ganenkov 2006:179). Ganenkov expresses experiencer verbs as verbs whose argument perceives a visual image or sound has particular physical,

mental or possesses some information. In Kafinoonoo, experiencer is not morphologically marked. Perception verbs and the emotion verbs are used to show an experiencer argument in sentences. The following examples demonstrate this.

35a. *nò mìfràátítf-òó wàáy-é-t-ón*

we good news-M hear-THV-PST 1PL

‘We heard good news’

b. *dàáhèr-òó bòydʒdʒ-òó-n bèègg-í-t-é*

lion-M antelope-M-ACC see-THV-PST-3MSG

‘The lion saw the antelope’

c. *ʔùró bùf-òó-n bèègg-í-t-é*

man child-M-ACC see-THV-PST-3MSG

‘The man saw the boy’

In 35(a-c) all arguments in S position can be thought of as experiencer of the action stated by the verb. These arguments may not be physically affected by the action stated by the verb. Emotion verbs behave differently. Most of the time they take causatives that demotes the S arguments to O position as in the following sentences.

36a. *tàà bùútfí-ì-í-t-é*

I:ACC boreTHV -CAUS-PST-3MSG

‘I was bored’ (Lit. It bored me)

b. *yòóyó tàà fít't-ì-í-t-é*

winter I:ACC hate-THV- CAUS -PST-3MSG

‘I hate winter’. (lit. It caused me hate...)

c. *bùf-èé tàà fít 't'-ì-í-t-án*
 child-F I:ACC hate-THV- CAUS -PST-3FSG
 ‘I hated the girl’ (lit. It caused me hate the girl)

3.1.1.5. Comparative

According to Dixon (2010b:424) comparative typically involves comparing two participants namely, the comparee and the standard, in terms of some property or parameter. In Kafinoonoo, comparative is marked by a suffix ‘-yèé’ which is attached to a standard. The following examples portray the comparative.

37a. *Àdmási-yèé Tààyi gèndz-òó-n*
 Admasu-COMP Taye tall-M-AUX
 ‘Taye is taller than Admasu’

b. *Kífili-yèé Mùlùálèmi dàll-òó-n*
 Kifle-COMP Mulualem thin-M-AUX
 ‘Mulualem is thinner than Kifle’

c. *màtf"-ó-yèé kàámèél-ò fittètíjó-n*
 horse-M-COMP car-M fast-AUX
 ‘Car is faster than horse.’

As seen in the examples above comparative is marked by the suffix –yèé which is attached to the standard noun with which the comparee is being compared against.

3.1.2. Possessive marking

According to Dixon (2010b:262) the term ‘possession’ covers a wide range of relationships and every language has in its grammar a ‘possessive construction’ within an

NP. On the basis of an NP internal possessive construction, Dixon came up with two terms, i.e. genitive and pertensive. Genitive shows an extra NP possessive relation which is added to the possessor item. Pertensive is a marker of an intra NP possessive relation which is added to a possessed item. Different scholars use the term ‘genitive’ for both-marking on the possessor noun and marking on the possessed noun. Gregory et.al (1996:461) describes genitive as “a morphological case whose primary function is to mark an attribute of a noun. The most usual type of attribute is possession which is why the genitive is often called possessive marker in literature on universals”. Similarly Blake (2004:222) elaborates genitive as a case which encodes the adnominal relation that subsumes the role of possessor.

In this section, therefore, marking of possessive is presented. In this research the data doesn’t show the pertensive or marking on the possessed noun. According to the data on which this work is based, there is no separate marking for ownership, whole-part relation and kinship relations. For this reason, this section focuses on the genitive marking by juxta position, thematic vowel, -tʃ and -dʒ which is the allomorph of -tʃ.

3.1.2.1. Genitive Marking

Genitive, as mentioned earlier, is the way how ownership is expressed. Genitive can be expressed in different ways. The possessor noun precedes possessed noun. This is what we call juxtaposition. The final vowel of the possessor noun changes to thematic vowel to show ownership. -tʃ is also suffixed to the possessor noun to show the ownership. For the sake of convenience let us put it in short as in the following.

1. **R D** (where R= possessor and D=possessed).

e.g. *tà mùddòó*

I nose → 'my nose'

2. **R_{thematic vowel} D** (where final vowel changes to thematic vowel).

e.g. *.bùnòó* 'coffee'

wàámó 'leaf' → *bùn-èé wàámó* (where -oo → ee)

coffee-GEN leaf

'Leaf of coffee'

3. **R_{tj} D** (where possessor noun is suffixed by -tj). In this case the possessor noun undergoes certain morphological processes.

e.g. *k'èénó* 'bed'

bàátòó 'leg' → *k'èé-tjì bàátòó*

bed-GEN leg.

'Leg of bed'

The final section discusses/hints at meaning differences between various possessive constructions. Having this concept of the genitive marking in Kafinoonoo, let us go to the details about how the genitive is marked in the language.

3.1.2.1.1. Juxtaposition

This alternative involves no marking at all and save the ordering of elements. This operates in the order of possessor noun followed by the possessed noun. Examples in 45(a-f) present the genitive encoding by juxtaposition.

38a. *tà kifòò*

I:GEN hand

‘my hand’

b. *nè kèt'ò*

you:GEN house

‘your house’

c. *kifilí kòórtf'òó*

kifle:GEN book

‘Kifle’s book’

d. *màátf'i màtf'ó*

macho:GEN horse

‘Macho’s horse’

As mentioned earlier, the above items show us possessive case without being marked.

The simple juxtaposition operates here.

3.1.2.1.2. Genitive Marked by Thematic Vowels.

Genitive marking need not, of course, be just by affixes or clitics; other morphological processes may be available, (Dixon 2010b:269). As noted in section (1.2.2. on page 9) the unmarked default ending of possessor nouns are replaced by thematic vowels to show genitive case. The following examples show this clearly.

39a. *gáttòó* ‘ox’

k'árò ‘horn’ → *gátt-èé k'árò*

horn-GEN ox

‘Horn of ox’

b. *finàátòó* ‘bamboo’

gòtòó ‘granery’ → *finàát-èé gòtòó*

bamboo-GEN granery

‘Granary of bamboo’

b. *gábbèró* ‘stool’

bàátòó ‘leg’ → *gabber-èé bàátòó*

stool-GEN leg

‘Leg of stool’

c. *fèékkòó* ‘kind of grass used for thatching’

két'ó ‘house’ → *fèékk-èé két'ó*

grass-GEN house

‘House of grass’

d. *nùúk'k'òó* ‘clay’

bààrètòó ‘jar’ → *nùúk'k'-èé bààrètòó*

clay-GEN jar

‘Jar of clay’

e. *finàátòó* ‘bamboo’

gòtòó ‘granary’ → *finàát-èé gòtòó*

bamboo-GEN granery

‘Granery of bamboo’

f. bààró ‘maize’

wàámó ‘leaf’ → *bàár-í* *wàámó*
maize-GEN leaf
‘Leaf of maize’

Examples in 39 (a-f), show that genitive is encoded by a thematic vowels in a specific noun. In this process, the final vowels of the possessor nouns are replaced by either e or i. As seen in the data above, these thematic vowels encode genitive case. As discussed in section (1.2.2. on pages 9), thematic vowel can also encode modification. Tolemariam (2009:53) argues that thematic vowels can function as a derivational morpheme of the causatives. Therefore, they may encode derivation as well.

3.1.2.1.3. Genitive Marking by Suffix-tʃi/o.

In Kafinoonoo when genitive is marked by –tʃi/o, certain morphological process operates on the possessor noun. Except for the personal pronouns and proper names, there is always deletion of final syllable from the possessor noun. The following description shows this clearly.

40a. k'èénó ‘bed’

bààtòó ‘leg’ → *k'èé-tʃi* *bààtòó*
bed-GEN leg
‘Leg of bed’

b. ʔèéyó ‘honey’

kùtʃó ‘scum’ → ʔèé-tʃí kùtʃó
honey-GEN scum
‘Scum of honey’

c. mít'ó ‘tree’

wàámó ‘leaf’ → mì-tʃí wàámó
tree-GEN leaf
‘Leaf of tree’

d. gùdínó ‘pig’

gáfò ‘teeth’ → gùdí-tʃí gáfò
pig-GEN teeth
‘Teeth of pig’

Examples in 40 (a-d) show that genitive is marked by the suffix ‘-tʃí’. When genitive is marked by the suffix the final syllables are deleted from the possessor noun. The above examples prove this true. There are contexts where the suffix ‘-dʒi’ is used to mark genitive. ‘-dʒi’ is the allomorph of ‘-tʃí’ which is used to mark the genitive, when the final syllable of the possessor noun is m (+vowel). There for it is phonologically conditioned morpheme. As is in the genitive marked by ‘-tʃí’, similar morphological processes operate on the possessor noun. The following examples are best witnesses for these.

41a. màámó ‘calf’

wòdèrò ‘rope’ → *màán-dzì wòdèrò*

calf-GEN rope

‘Rope of calf’

b. k’ém mó ‘blacksmith’

gáfòó ‘village’ → *k’è-dzdzì gáfòó*

blacksmith-GEN village

‘Village of blacksmith’

d. wàámó ‘ear’

gúdítfó ‘ring’ → *wàá-dzdzì gúdítfó*

ear-GEN ring

‘Ring of ear’

On the other hand personal pronouns and proper names resist deletion of final syllable in the position of possessor noun, when they are marked for genitive by ‘-tʃi’. Here when the possessor noun is proper noun or personal pronoun, and gender marked nouns like the woman, girl and so on the word order is not as strict as in juxtaposition. In this case the order can either be possessor noun followed by possessed noun or possessed noun followed by possessor noun. The following examples show this briefly.

42a. *Tààyi-tʃi kèt’ó* OR *kèt’ó Tààyi-tʃó*

Taye-GEN house

house Taye-GEN

‘Taye’s house’

‘Taye’s house’

- b. *nò-tfĩ gàttòó* OR *gàttòó nò-tfò*
 we-GEN ox ox we-GEN
 ‘Our ox’ ‘Our ox’
- d. *bùfèè-tfĩ kòórtf’òó* OR *kòórtf’òó bùfèè-tfò*
 the girl-GEN book book the girl-GEN
 ‘The girl’s book’ ‘The girl’s book’

When genitive shows the origin or source of an individual –**tfi** is suffixed to the name that encodes the origin or source. As in 44 above word order is not strict. The following examples show this in detail.

- 43a. *Kifilí Gimbè-tfò* OR *Gimbè-tfĩ Kifilí*
 Kifle Gimbo-GEN Gimbo-GEN Kifle
 ‘Kifle of Gimbo’ ‘Kifile of Gimbo’
- b. *Tààyí fìfìíndé-tfò* OR *fìfìíndé-tfĩ Tààyí*
 Taye Shishinda-GEN Shishinda-GEN Taye
 ‘Taye of Shishinda’ ‘Taye of Shishinda’
- c. *Káfè-tfĩ àfò* OR *àfò Káfè-tfò*
 Kafa-GEN people people Kafa-GEN
 ‘People of Kafa’ ‘People of Kafa’

3.2.2. Meaning Differences of Possessive Construction.

1. In Kafinoonoo, there is a semantic difference between genitive marked by the thematic vowel and ‘-tfi’ as in **gàbbèrè bàátòó** ‘leg of the stool and ‘**gàbbèrè-tfĩ bàátòó** ‘leg of

the stool' where 'gàbbèré bàátò' refers to the leg of the stool but not other part of the stool whereas 'gàbbèré-tjî bàátò' refers to the leg of the stool but not of the chair's.

2. In the above examples (42a-c) the construction in which the possessed noun is followed by the possessor noun, the meaning emphasizes the size or certain attribute of the possessed noun. In the construction where the possessor noun is followed by the possessed noun, the reference is made to what some body possesses.

Chapter four

4. Summary

This thesis is concerned with the case system of Kafinoo. After an initial introductory chapter, chapter two discussed marking of core arguments and case in passive and pronominals in Kafinoo. In the core arguments, we discussed how the nominative and accusative cases are marked. In addition, we described case in passive construction and in pronominal adjectives and quantifiers. In chapter three we discussed peripheral arguments and genitive marking in Kafinoo. We discussed how these arguments are marked for the function they play in a sentence. In this chapter we also discussed how genitive is marked in Kafinoo by juxta- position, thematic vowel, and suffixing with the morpheme -tʃ. The thesis has been conducted on the basis of BLT.

1. Core argument marking.

Under core argument, nominative and accusative cases are incorporated. Nominative case is related to marking of argument in A/S position. Arguments in this position are not morphologically marked in Kafinoo as in the following.

a. *ʔùró-Ø mít'ó-(n) bètʃf'-í-t-é*

man-NOM tree-ACC plant-THV-PST-3MSG

‘The man planted the tree’

b. *Àdmàsí-Ø bí kìfòó-(n) màátʃ'-í-t-é*

Admasu-NOM he-GEN hand-ACC cut-THV-PST-3MSG

“Admasu cut his finger”

On the other hand arguments in the O position are not consistent with respect to case marking in Kafinoo. Marking of these arguments are:

a. Obligatory with the marked plural nouns as in;

• *mít '-i-nà?ó-n kùt '-i-t-é*

Tree-THV-PL-ACC cut-THV-PST-3MSG

‘He cut the trees’

b. Obligatory with derived nouns as in;

• *dòdʒdʒ-è-tf-ì-n* *yòókk-í-t-é*

Teach-THV-NMLZ-F-ACC discard-THV-PST-3MSG

‘He discarded the teachers’

c. Obligatory with the 3proximal pronouns as in;

• *árèé-n fàágg-í-t-é*

she-ACC marry-THV-PST-3MS

‘He married her’

a. Obligatory with gender marked nouns

• *bùf-òó-n* *nèt 't '-i-t-é*

child:MAS-ACC trample-THV-PST-3MS

‘It/he trampled the boy’

b. Personal names, 2PL and 3PL personal pronouns behave in the same way in O position. They either lengthen their final vowel or they are suffixed by –n.

• *gáttòó-Ø* *Álmáziì* *kòtʃf-í-t-é*

Ox-NOM Almaz:ACC gore-THV-PST-3MSG

‘The ox gored Almaz’

• *gáttòó-Ø Àlmàázì-n kòtʃf-i-t-é*

Ox-NOM Almaz-ACC gore-THV-PST-3MSG

‘The ox gored Almaz’

- c. 1PL and 1SG personal pronouns, 2SG personal pronouns, 3distal personal pronouns behave in the same way in O position. They lengthen their final vowel and then they can be optionally marked by -n, as in the following.

• *dàhér-òó-Ø nòò-(n) yòókk-i-t-é*

Lion-M-NOM we-ACC chase-THV-PST-3MSG

‘The lion chased us’

• *Kifilí bìi-(n) fàágg-i-t-é*

Kifle she-ACC marry-THV-PST-3MSG

‘Kifle married her’

- d. In contexts other than the above marking of the argument in O position is optional as in;

• *mít'ó-(n) kùt't'-i-t-èté*

tree-ACC cut-THV-PST-3PL

‘They cut the tree’

2. Peripheral arguments are also marked for the role they play in the sentences.

- Locative is marked by -tʃ
- Comitative is marked by -tòkà/í
- Ablative is marked by -wàánè
- Allative is marked by -wàán

- Instrumental is marked by -nà
- Recipient is marked by -tʃ
- Benefactive is marked by -tʃ
- Comparative is marked by -yèé

3. Genitive case is marked by;

- juxta position as in *Taayi kèt'ó* 'Taye's house'
- thematic vowel as in *gàbbéréè bàátòó* 'leg of stool'
- tʃi/ dzì as in *k'èétʃi bàátòó* 'leg of bed' OR
- as in *màándzì wòdèró* 'rope of calf'

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